

AND YOU WILL KNOW THE TRUTH, AND THE TRUTH WILL MAKE YOU FREE<sup>1</sup>

A HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK (1620-1840) FOR UNDERSTANDING HOW THE  
EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF MASSACHUSETTS BENEFITS TODAY FROM CHATTEL  
SLAVERY AND ITS LEGACY

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<sup>1</sup> John 8:32.

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## PREFACE

“And you will know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.” (John 8:32)

These words from the Gospel of John remind us that our most essential experience of freedom comes from knowing the truth. Oppressive human structures and systems can imprison and control the body, but knowing the truth of such injustices preserves and restores the freedom of the soul.

In a way, the institution of American slavery was fundamentally based upon the denial of truth by those who benefited from that system of economic production, which demanded blindness to the reality of every human person’s dignity in our belovedness and worth to God. And so, at its foundation, any reparations movement must begin with truth telling.

Over the past 200 years, our diocese has begun to proclaim a more complete theological truth about the equality of all people in the heart of God, and the necessity of building beloved communities based upon that premise. However, until very recently we have been far less committed to telling the historical truth of our own ecclesiastical institutions’ connections to the wealth generated from the system of American slavery. The approach we have taken to our particular history with slavery has often been hoping that we could “forgive and forget” our complicity in it, as the secular logic sometimes goes. But, as Christians who believe that the truth is ultimately liberating, what is needed instead is an approach calling us to remember, repair, and reconcile.

We have been blessed as a diocese in recent years to see a number of our colonial era congregations leading the way in this work of remembering and truth telling. Inspired by that work, the Racial Justice Commission of the diocese has encouraged our Reparations Subcommittee to provide tools and resources to all congregations in our diocese to help them explore, compile, and share the truth of their connections to wealth generated from the slave economy. Often these links are indirect, and require greater understanding of the interconnectedness of the economic systems of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries than is often taught in school. This report’s purpose is to provide a road map to congregations and other faith communities looking to go deeper into how their own histories may be connected to the wealth generated by American slavery.

As you read this report, our prayer for you is that you will be inspired to courageously explore your own congregation’s history more fully, to not be afraid or embarrassed of what you might find about its connections to slavery, and to be willing to share what you find for the sake of our collective journey deeper into freedom. We are with you in this important work of discipleship!

### **The Reparations Subcommittee, March 2024**

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## INTRODUCTION

In the Book of Common Prayer's catechism, the mission of the Church is described in this way: "to restore all people to unity with God and each other in Christ."<sup>2</sup> For the congregations in the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts and for the diocese itself, naming and recognizing the many ways that the diocese and its congregations benefited economically, whether directly or indirectly, from the enslavement of African people is a fundamental part of the work of restoration. To live out this mission in thought, word, and deed requires a commitment both on the part of individuals and as an institution. As a body, we must commit to truth telling not as incidental, but as the central axis around which restoration is anchored. This report tackles a complicated, emotional, and tragic history by tracing the broadest outlines of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts's entanglements with the transatlantic trade of chattel slaves from Africa. It is rooted firmly in the hope of resurrection and insists that God's promise of new life made flesh in the person of Jesus Christ has and will continue to wholly transform what appears to human beings as irredeemable.

The consensus of both archival research and secondary scholarship is clear: chattel slavery was essential to the economic development of Massachusetts from the 1620s through the 1860s. That economic development created much of the wealth that funded the diocese and its congregations. Thus, the resources that the diocese received in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries from donors can be traced back to the trade of enslaved African people and the commodities produced by enslaved African people. The enslavement of African people throughout English

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<sup>2</sup> *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church: Together with The Psalter or Psalms of David, According to the Use of the Episcopal Church* (New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation, 1979), 854.

colonies in North America and on plantations in the West Indies (in addition to the global trade of slave-produced goods) constituted the engine that drove the world economy in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, even though not every individual Massachusetts resident was an enslaver.<sup>3</sup>

The purpose of this report is to describe the various ways that money generated by the economy of slavery and possessed by Episcopal laypeople, clergy, and bishops has entered the life of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts from 1620-1840. This paper offers preliminary background historical research and documents trends over time without being exhaustive. In this way, the report can inform ongoing work in congregations and other diocesan institutions exploring their connections to slavery.

In the first chapter, the report describes the shape of English colonial Massachusetts from the 1530s through the 1710s. In the second chapter, the report expounds on 12 Church of England parishes founded in Massachusetts before the American Revolution, digging into the sources of wealth that funded their construction.<sup>4</sup> In the third chapter, the report offers historical context for the decline of The Episcopal Church in Massachusetts after the Revolutionary War and its rebirth in the early 19th century. In the fourth chapter, the report describes the industries that funded the expansion of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts during the 19th century, including textile manufacturing, railroads, and whaling.

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<sup>3</sup> Slavery was not only practiced in the Western hemisphere.

<sup>4</sup> These parishes are King's Chapel in Boston, 1686; Christ Church in Quincy (Braintree), 1704; Queen Anne's Chapel/St. Paul's Church in Newburyport, 1711; St. Michael's Church in Marblehead, 1714; Christ Church in Boston (Old North), 1722; St. Andrew's Church in Hanover, 1727; St. Thomas Church in Taunton, 1728; St. Peter's Church in Salem, 1733; Trinity Church in Boston, 1733; St. Paul's Church in Hopkinton, 1743; Trinity Church in Bridgewater, 1747; Christ Church in Cambridge, 1759. For continuity's sake, this report will rely on the founding dates given in *The Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, 1784-1984: a mission to remember, proclaim, and fulfill*, ed. Mark J. Duffy (Boston: Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, 1984).

## CHAPTER 1

### 17TH CENTURY MASSACHUSETTS: AN ENGLISH COLONY

“In a time before now,” this land of Massachusetts was the home of tens of thousands of Native Peoples, the Pawtucket (Penacook), the Massachusett, the Pokantoket (Wampanoag), the Nipmuck, and the Pocumtuck, along with many more.<sup>5</sup> Native Peoples lived, hunted, worked, created, and traded with European ships and explorers.<sup>6</sup> The earliest recorded European contact with Massachusetts is John Cabot in 1497. By 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold had named Cape Cod. In 1605, Englishman George Weymouth was spotted by Wabanacki fishermen.<sup>7</sup> In 1614, John Smith described his travels through Abenaki and Wampanoag lands he called “New England.”<sup>8</sup> With newcomers came devastation for Native Peoples: “the first recorded epidemics began in coastal Massachusetts in 1616 and 1617, and devastated populations by as much as 90%.”<sup>9</sup>

In December 1620, 102 English settlers on the ship *Mayflower* arrived at Patuxet (Plymouth), a Native village ravaged by disease brought by Europeans. Plymouth’s founding was not an anomaly, but part of an emerging pattern of English migration to Atlantic shores.<sup>10</sup> By 1630, Providence Island, St. Christopher, and Nevis in the Caribbean, along with Massachusetts Bay Colony and New Scotland (Nova Scotia) were all English settlements.<sup>11</sup> Despite its failure to

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<sup>5</sup> “The History of the Neponset Band of the Indigenous Massachusett Tribe,” Massachusett Tribe, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://massachusetttribe.org/the-history-of-the-neponset>.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Pekka Hämmäläinen, *Indigenous Continent: The Epic Battle for North America* (Liveright, 2022), 70.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> “Massachusetts Facts: Historical Sketch,” Massachusetts Secretary of State, accessed May 1, 2023. <https://www.sec.state.ma.us/cis/cismaf/mf2.htm>

<sup>10</sup> Carla Gardina Pestana, *The World of Plymouth Plantation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020), 195.

<sup>11</sup> Pestana, 194.

secure a royal charter from the English government, Plymouth was “firmly on the edge of the Atlantic,” a member of the growing maritime networks of the 17th century.<sup>12</sup> For the Separatists who left everything they knew behind, religious purity and freedom were enough reason to undertake a treacherous, deadly journey and build a life with an unforeseeable future.

The colonial project of the English Crown in the 17th century was influenced by the ongoing commercial success of Iberian empires (i.e. the Portuguese and Spanish) who had been financially involved with the slave trade on the coast of Africa since the early 15th century.<sup>13</sup> Individual slaving voyages undertaken by English merchants and traders as early as 1530 demonstrate their “intense interest” in slave labor to bolster their economic goals.<sup>14</sup> But even before England began to look across the Atlantic with an eye towards permanent settlement, the English had a knowledge of slavery.<sup>15</sup> In the second half of the 16th century, English traders were frequently kidnapped and enslaved by Muslim pirates in the Mediterranean. Public literature of many forms—sermons, royal collections, plays, ballads—decried the practice of slavery, deeply influenced by the narratives of enslaved Englishmen abroad.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, however, English settlers in North America were “beginning to think about how large-scale slavery—particularly of Indian war captives—might serve as an instrument of colonial power and profit.”<sup>17</sup> While English culture proposed that the enslavement of white people was wrong, the English empire sought to

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> David Wheat, “Iberian Roots of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, 1440–1640,” *The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History*, <http://ap.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/origins-slavery/essays/iberian-roots-transatlantic-slave-trade-1440%E2%80%931640>

<sup>14</sup> Wendy Warren, *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2016), 29.

<sup>15</sup> Michael J. Guasco, “Settling with Slavery: Human Bondage in the Early Anglo-Atlantic World” in *Envisioning an English Empire: Jamestown and the Making of the North Atlantic World*, eds. Robert Appelbaum and John Wood Sweet (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 236.

<sup>16</sup> Guasco, “Settling with Slavery,” 250. Penal slavery and vagrancy legislation in the 16th century illustrate a tension between the idea of freedom in England and the practice of Tudor authorities compelling labor from those who through law-breaking had been placed in human bondage. See Guasco, “Settling with Slavery,” 244.

<sup>17</sup> Guasco, “Settling with Slavery,” 238.

create and sustain robust colonies that could compete economically with other European nations. Sir Francis Drake's 1586 naval attack on Spanish Santo Domingo and Cartagena in the West Indies exemplifies this imperial spirit.<sup>18</sup> Although the English colonists presented themselves as potential allies and companions to the land's Indigenous inhabitants, English colonial policies rendered Native Peoples as lesser, disregarding their sovereign habitation on the land.<sup>19</sup> In other words, Indian submission to Western powers was a requirement of coexistence—or else violence and death would follow.

Between 1630-1633, some 3,000 Puritans left England and arrived to settle the Massachusetts Bay Colony—in what is now eastern Massachusetts.<sup>20</sup> The first documented shipment of enslaved Africans was in 1638, recorded by Governor John Winthrop.<sup>21</sup> The ship *Desire* captured Pequot Indians and took them to the West Indies, returning with African slaves, cotton, tobacco, and salt. English migration continued for a decade, and when it ended in 1640, John Winthrop described the burgeoning trade relationship between the Massachusetts Bay Colony and the West Indies as an act of God.<sup>22</sup> Because the soil in the northern latitudes could not sustain the cash crops of the Chesapeake region, like tobacco, New Englanders needed a way to trade.<sup>23</sup> Colonists in the West Indies, who did not leave any of their land unplanted in order to maximize their profits on the sale of cash crops, required food and other supplies from other sources. In this vacuum, New England fisheries sold cod, hake, haddock, and other fish that they dried, salted and

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<sup>18</sup> Hämaäläinen, 59.

<sup>19</sup> Hämaäläinen, 58.

<sup>20</sup> Hämaäläinen, 74

<sup>21</sup> Warren, 7-8.

<sup>22</sup> Warren, 50.

<sup>23</sup> Warren, 49-50.



sold to the West Indies as food for the enslaved Africans.<sup>24</sup> Between 1752-1769, Jamaica imported 14.4 million pounds of fish from Massachusetts alone.<sup>25</sup>

Massachusetts merchants also sold plantations supplies like lumber, pork, tar, horses, and corn—essential items not locally available in the West Indies.<sup>26</sup> The Atlantic economy was unified around slavery and the production of commodities by enslaved Africans.<sup>27</sup> As the 1630s drew on, English merchants continued to explore the coast of West Africa. At least 19 voyages between New England and the West Indies took place in the 17th century, but certainly more occurred than were recorded.<sup>28</sup>

As the European struggle for control and power in colonial outposts abroad continued, the Puritans who founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony, led by John Winthrop, were able to secure a royal charter from Parliament during the reign of Charles I in 1629 that granted them permission to trade and colonize the area in between the Charles and Merrimack rivers.<sup>29</sup> Only a few years later in 1634, an African slave appeared in the colonial imagination of New England through the written account of William Wood, Massachusetts Bay colonist. The English accepted “the existence of enslaved Africans throughout the English Atlantic world.”<sup>30</sup> Neither Anglicanism nor

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<sup>24</sup>This fish was often described as “refuse-grade” or “Indies-grade” fish in account books from the 17th and 18th centuries. For more, see Christopher P. Magra, “‘Soldiers . . . Bred to the Sea’: Maritime Marblehead, Massachusetts, and the Origins and Progress of the American Revolution,” *The New England Quarterly* 77, no. 4 (12, 2004): 534.

<sup>25</sup> Peter Pellizzari, “Supplying slavery: Jamaica, North America, and British intra-imperial trade, 1752–1769,” *Slavery & Abolition* 41, no. 3 (2020): 540.

<sup>26</sup> Warren, 56.

<sup>27</sup> Warren, 53.

<sup>28</sup> Warren 45.

<sup>29</sup> “Massachusetts Bay Colony,” Britannica Academic, last updated March 19, 2020, <https://academic-eb-com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/levels/collegiate/article/Massachusetts-Bay-Colony/51297>. See also; Julius Herbert Tuttle, *Massachusetts and Her Royal Charter Granted March 4, 1628-29*. (Boston, Massachusetts: Society of the Order of the Founders and Patriots of America, 1924), 2: “It was in a period of unrest and religious persecution that conditions developed to favor the enterprise of the adventurers in New England.”

<sup>30</sup> Warren, 26.

Puritanism produced moral or theological objections to chattel slavery.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, at this time, the predominant church teaching was that keeping foreign slaves was biblically justified.<sup>32</sup> Slavery was not ruled unlawful in Massachusetts until 142 years later in 1783.

Eventually, the English Crown tried to involve itself directly in the slave trade economy with the incorporation of the Royal African Company (RAC) in the year 1660, its recharter in 1663, and its second recharter in 1672. The company was a state-sponsored attempt to monopolize the transatlantic slave trade, headed by the Duke of York, who from 1685 became James VII, King of Scotland/James II, King of England. The RAC successfully monopolized the slave trade: it “shipped more enslaved African women, men, and children to the Americas than any other single institution during the entire period of the transatlantic slave trade.”<sup>33</sup> From 1672 to the 1720s, almost 150,000 enslaved Africans were transported by the RAC primarily to the British Caribbean.<sup>34</sup> Fighting against the RAC, wealthy and influential merchants used their political networks to implement policies that consolidated their own wealth and power in order that “the large integrated slave plantation” would be the dominant social and economic model in Jamaica, one of many West Indian islands colonized by the English empire.<sup>35</sup> Jamaica is not representative of every English Caribbean colony, however, it was 10 times the combined area of the others and by the 18th century, it was the richest colony in the English empire.<sup>36</sup> Because of its proximity to

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<sup>31</sup> Warren, 31.

<sup>32</sup> Warren, 33.

<sup>33</sup> William A. Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672-1752* (Williamsburg, Virginia: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 11.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Trevor Burnard, “‘A Pack of Knaves’: The Royal African Company, the development of the Jamaican plantation economy and the benefits of monopoly 1672-1708,” *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 21, no. 2 (2020): 4.

<sup>36</sup> Nuala Zahedieh, “The Rise of ‘King Sugar’ and Enslaved Labor in Early English Jamaica,” *Early American Studies* 20, no. 4 (2022): 579, 580. See also, Howard Johnson, “Richard B. Sheridan: The Making of a Caribbean Economic Historian,” *West Indies Accounts: Essays on the History of the British Caribbean and the Atlantic Economy In Honour of Richard Sheridan*, ed. Roderick A. McDonald (Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 1996), 9. To learn more about English Barbados, the first West Indian colony that depended almost entirely on slave

the Spanish colonies nearby, it became an entrepôt—a port in which merchandise could be exported, stored, or re-traded without customs fees.<sup>37</sup> Of the 917 recorded transatlantic slave voyages between 1514 and 1700 to British colonies in the Caribbean (including St. Kitts, Barbados, Jamaica, Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat), 281 voyages record Jamaica as the principal place where captives were landed.<sup>38</sup> In that same period of time, 88,974 total captives embarked on voyages for Jamaica, but only 68,673 captives disembarked—27.5% of captives died during the crossing.<sup>39</sup>

The RAC defenders suggested that their monopoly on the slave trade served the public good because it provided ordinary Englishmen with capital and credit to purchase enslaved Africans.<sup>40</sup> Between 1672 and 1691, investors saw 7% annual returns, but significant amounts of capital were lost because of indebtedness.<sup>41</sup> Political support for the RAC also weakened after the Glorious Revolution, the events that led to the deposition of King James II of England/James VII of Scotland and the institution of William III and Mary II.<sup>42</sup> When the company dissolved, it ushered in Jamaica's transition to a large-scale plantation-based society. Deregulation of the market led to an increase in the price of a healthy enslaved African man and a greater number of voyages per year—and, surprisingly, the saturation of the market with enslaved African people did not significantly lower the price. For all these reasons, investment in slavery greatly increased.<sup>43</sup>

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labor, see Jerome S. Handler, "Custom and law: The status of enslaved Africans in seventeenth-century Barbados," *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slavery and Post-slavery Studies* 37, no. 2 (2016): 233-255.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, <https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyage/database>.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Burnard: 7.

<sup>41</sup> Burnard: 5.

<sup>42</sup> Burnard: 6.

<sup>43</sup> Burnard: 10-12.

However, regardless of the RAC's financial involvement in the local Jamaican economy, "slavery would have been the foundation of Jamaica."<sup>44</sup>

By the 1690s, -church officials in London recognized that funding clergy and churches in North America required regular cash infusions. Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Tenison considered the establishment of churches abroad a "national concern."<sup>45</sup> The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) was founded in 1701 by a royal charter from King William III to "promote the Glory of God, by the Instrucon of Our People in the Christian Religion" in the "Plantacons, Colonies, and Factories beyond the Seas, belonging to Our Kingdome of England."<sup>46</sup> Those plantacons (plantations), colonies, and factories relied on enslaved African labor to make a profit. As a missionary organization, the SPG sent Anglican clergymen, among them the Rev. William Clark who served as the first Anglican minister in Dedham. They also sent religious literature to North American colonies, supported education, and helped to build churches. By the 1750s, the SPG was a "slave-owning organization," having inherited two plantations in Barbados and 300 enslaved Africans from the estate of Chris Codrington in 1711.<sup>47</sup> In the 18th century, the SPG funded more than 400 agents overseas.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Burnard: 22.

<sup>45</sup> James B. Bell, *The Imperial Origins of the King's Church in Early America, 1607–1783* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 90.

<sup>46</sup> Rowan Strong, "A Vision of Anglican Imperialism: The Annual Sermons of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701-1714," *Journal of Religious History* 30, no. 2 (2006): 175.

<sup>47</sup> Alison Searle and Emily Vine, "The Correspondence of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," *Early Modern Letters Online*, <http://emlo-portal.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/collections/?catalogue=society-for-the-propagation-of-the-gospel#contributors>, accessed January 9, 2024. For more on Codrington's estate, see Janice Farrell McLean and Michael Anderson Clarke, "Missions in Contested Places/Spaces: The SPG, Slavery, and Codrington College, Barbados," *Mission Studies* 38, 3 (2021): 325-349, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1163/15733831-12341808>.

<sup>48</sup> Travis Glasson, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," Oxford Bibliographies, accessed May 1, 2023. <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/display/document/obo-9780199730414/obo-9780199730414-0067.xml>

The sermons preached at the SPG's annual meetings represented the "public vision of contemporary official Anglicanism" through the principal clergy who preached.<sup>49</sup> In these homilies, the colonial empire in North America and the West Indies, which was predicated and totally dependent upon the enslavement of African people and their unpaid labor, represented "the opening up of a world of missionary opportunity an opportunity required to be accepted by them [SPG] as a consequence of gospel imperatives."<sup>50</sup> Their imperial theology likened the success of English trade and commerce—slave-trading and the purchase and sale of commodities made by enslaved Africans—to England's special relationship with God.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, God had blessed and provided them with lands and people to convert and "missions" like the SPG were a "just and appropriate return for the riches England derived from its colonies and plantations."<sup>52</sup>

The SPG's money funded a ministry of conversion and baptism that was not limited to Indigenous and African slaves; it also included English colonists who had lost faith. Realistically, because of the physical distance between the Church of England and the relatively weak Anglican parishes in colonial New England, influential and wealthy lay people, often enslavers and plantation owners, exerted the most power.<sup>53</sup> The SPG capitulated to these powerful members of the colonial Church of England and preached a public Christian theology that "posed no threat to racial slavery and which therefore had some chance of being acceptable to English slave owners."<sup>54</sup> In this way, the missionary arm of the Church of England became a "useful ingredient in a slave-

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<sup>49</sup> Strong: 176.

<sup>50</sup> Strong: 183

<sup>51</sup> Strong: 187

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Strong: 194-195.

<sup>54</sup> Strong: 197.

owning society.”<sup>55</sup> Pro-slavery sermons preached the racial superiority of white people to Black people.

Technically, slavery was illegal in the English colonial world until the middle of the 17th century, yet the presence of enslaved Africans and Indigenous people is undeniable during this time period.<sup>56</sup> As European empires attempted to explicitly define the status of enslaved Africans via legislation, the English colony of Barbados passed a law in 1668 that served a dual function by giving “formal legal authority to customary practices in existence for many decades,” and by rendering the enslaved as “moveable property like any other chattel.”<sup>57</sup> It protected and codified “historically created and socially perpetuated practices” of African slavery in Barbados.<sup>58</sup>

By 1700, enslaved Africans made up a small 2% of the New England population, and yet, the lives of those enslaved Africans, other enslaved Indigenous people, and English colonists in Massachusetts were all connected to the economies of the West Indies and West Africa through the exchange of slave-produced goods and the labor that produced them.<sup>59</sup> In this way, although the lived experience of enslaved Africans and Indigenous people in the West Indies was dissimilar from the experience of their counterparts in Massachusetts, despite the ocean between them, these places were part of “one economic system.”<sup>60</sup> Due to the constraints of historical record, it is not possible to conclude that Indigenous enslavement was simply replaced by African enslavement in

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<sup>55</sup> Strong: 197

<sup>56</sup> Michael Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen: Human Bondage in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 4.

<sup>57</sup> Jerome S. Handler, “Custom and law: The status of enslaved Africans in seventeenth-century Barbados,” *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slavery and Post-slavery Studies* 37, no. 2 (2016): 247. The French *Code Noir* decreed by King Louis XIV of France in 1685 defined the legal qualities and specifications of the enslavement of Africans. This “Black Code” transformed enslavement into a heritable status passed from the mother to the child through *partus sequitur ventrem*—literally, the “offspring follows the mother.”

<sup>58</sup> Handler: 249.

<sup>59</sup> Warren, 52.

<sup>60</sup> Warren, 53.

Massachusetts between the 17th and 18th centuries. Rather, the enslaved African population continued to grow simultaneously with the sale of enslaved Indigenous people to the West Indies.<sup>61</sup> This report will not explore the details or lasting implications of colonial Indigenous-English relations, nor address at length Indigenous enslavement in Massachusetts. But, insofar as the enslavement of Indigenous people was the pre-existing model into which enslaved Africans first arrived, it is important to note that in the 17th century “slavery had been about warfare, nationality, and religion,” and that by the 18th, “race increasingly defined it.”<sup>62</sup> Indeed, the presence of enslaved Africans led to a “racialization of New England society that undermined its earlier hybrid qualities” and transformed colonial understandings of both race and slavery.<sup>63</sup>

The English slave trade and the two most salient state-sponsored organizations, the RAC and the SPG, are the foundation upon which the growth and development of the first 13 Church of England colonial parishes is built. Through both financial and religious ties to the English empire, Massachusetts Anglicans were entangled with an Atlantic economy whose roots reached deeply into the soil of enslaved African labor on West Indian plantations. Those 13 parishes are the (living) ancestors of the Diocese of Massachusetts today.

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<sup>61</sup> Elizabeth Pleck, “Slavery in Puritan New England,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 49, no. 2 (2018): 307.

<sup>62</sup> Margaret Ellen Newell, *Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), 245. Note also that the legal activism of second and third generation biracial and mixed race Indigenous and African people in New England revealed the inconsistencies in the law. See Newell, 246.

<sup>63</sup> Newell, 238.

## CHAPTER 2

### TWELVE CHURCH OF ENGLAND PARISHES IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1686-1759

On June 6, 1686, the first Anglican services held in the colony were led by the Rev. Robert Radcliff at the Town House, the current site of the Old State House in downtown Boston. A few months later, the new governor of the Dominion of New England, Sir Edmund Andros, arrived in the city, having been appointed to oversee Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, New Hampshire, Maine, and the Narragansett country.<sup>64</sup> At this time, the life of the Church of England was “inseparable” from the actions of the royal government—it was Andros who advocated and fundraised for the establishment of a Church of England parish in Boston, the aptly named King’s Chapel.<sup>65</sup> Across the seaport towns of young North American British colonies, royal governors Edward Randolph and Francis Nicholson intervened to institutionalize the national church, recognizing that a royal government presence would preserve worship according to the Book of Common Prayer.<sup>66</sup> However, in neither New York, Philadelphia, nor Newport was the controversy surrounding the founding of the King’s church in New England as intense as it was in Boston.<sup>67</sup> In this way, the founding of King’s Chapel “existed from political necessity, not by the permission of the ruling powers.”<sup>68</sup> The parish “was looked upon as an unwelcome and intrusive body” by non-Anglicans—

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<sup>64</sup> Bell, 30.

<sup>65</sup> Bell, 31-32. King’s Chapel is a Unitarian Universalist congregation today, but it began as a Church of England parish; its origin story is a part of the Diocese of Massachusetts’s history.

<sup>66</sup> Bell, 32.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Rufus Emery, “The Church of England in Newbury,” *Two Hundredth Anniversary, St. Paul’s Parish Newburyport, Mass. Commemorative services with Historical Addresses* (Boston: The Southgate Press – T.W. Ripley Co., 1912), 31, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://archive.org/details/twohundredthanni00newbiala>.



its very presence was the reason that many Massachusetts residents left England in the first place.<sup>69</sup> As a representation of both the English church and the English state, King’s Chapel attracted parishioners who belonged to the wealthiest and most powerful class of colonists.

Charles Apthorp Sr. (1698-1758) was the junior and senior warden of King’s Chapel in 1700-1702. He was the father of East Apthorp (1733-1816), the first rector of Christ Church Cambridge. He was a successful merchant and sold enslaved Africans as well as other goods. He placed an advertisement about enslaved Africans for sale in the *Boston Gazette* in 1737. He also had a business relationship with merchant Thomas Hancock, a slave trader, and with Hancock, purchased 85 hogsheads of molasses in 1753; at that time, 9,110 gallons of molasses cost £759.<sup>70</sup>

Isaac Royall Jr. (1719-1781), son of Isaac Royall Sr., was a slaveholder and brother-in-law to Henry Vassall. Royall bequeathed 200 acres of land to Harvard University upon his death. The source of Royall’s wealth—which also sustained and grew the Church of England in Massachusetts at both King’s Chapel and Christ Church in Cambridge—was, according to the Royall Professor of Law at Harvard Law School, “planted when Isaac Royall, Sr. decided to participate in the Triangle Trade and that the maintenance and expansion of this wealth during Isaac Royall, Jr.’s lifetime were intrinsically tied to the family’s decision to engage in slaveholding on a scale unknown to neighboring households.”<sup>71</sup> The Royall family enslaved more Africans than any other family in

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Hancock family. Hancock family papers, 1664-1854 (inclusive). Thomas Hancock papers, 1664-1795 (bulk 1717-1765), Current bills, domestic, 1753 August-December, Mss:766 1712-1854 H234, Box 4, Folder 12, Baker Library Special Collections, Harvard Business School, sequence 7, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:hbs.baker.gen:37300451-2018?n=7>

<sup>71</sup> Janet Halley, “My Isaac Royall Legacy,” *Harvard Blackletter Law Journal* 24 (2008): 120, accessed May 1, 2023, <http://www.law.harvard.edu/faculty/jhalley/cv/24.Harvard.Blackletter.117.pdf>.

the history of Massachusetts and their investment in the Church of England in Massachusetts came from the exploitation and sale of human beings.<sup>72</sup>

William Shirley (1694-1770), a parishioner at King's Chapel, served as governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, representing English settler and government officials who supported the Church of England in an "alien and hostile religious environment."<sup>73</sup> Shirley did business with Thomas Hancock, a local merchant who was involved in the slave trade. He also owned and rented enslaved people in Massachusetts and in the Bahamas.<sup>74</sup> He placed an advertisement in the *Boston News-Letter*, the first continuously published newspaper in the colony, on February 17, 1732:

*Ran away on Saturday Evening last, from Mr. Shirley in King Street, Boston, a Molatto Negro Boy, Named Jack, about Nineteen years of Age, of a Middle Stature, his Head close shaved, with three or four little Scars under the corner of one of his Eyes: He went off without a Hat, in a worsted cap, a brown Suit of Cloaths, with white Strings to his Breeches Knees, and a Ring on one of his Fingers. He liv'd before he came to the said Mr. Shirley first with Mr. Joshua Winslow of Boston Merchant and then with Mr. Leavit of Hingham. Whoever shall secure him, and bring him to his said Master in King Street, shall have all reasonable Charges allow'd, and Twenty Shillings for his Trouble.*<sup>75</sup>

The Shirley house on 42-44 Shirley Street in Roxbury is believed to be the only other still-standing slave quarters in the northern United States besides the Royall House and Slave Quarters.<sup>76</sup>

Henry Vassall (1721-1769), one of King's Chapel's prime funders, was the son of Leonard Vassall, a Massachusetts lawyer whose estate was worth £9907.5 in 1738;<sup>77</sup> 73% of that wealth

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<sup>72</sup> "Welcome to the Royall House and Slave Quarters," Royall House & Slave Quarters, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://royallhouse.org>.

<sup>73</sup> Jeremy Gregory, "Refashioning Puritan New England: The Church of England in British North America c. 1680–c. 1770," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 20 (2010): 88.

<sup>74</sup> Aabid Allibhai, "Working Report on Slavery at the Shirley-Eustis House," Shirley-Eustis House Association, Boston, May 2021, 1-2, accessed May 1, 2023, [https://1drv.ms/b/s!Ant3KbAAMSmz8xRlyS1tDWv75z\\_c?e=mooWiV](https://1drv.ms/b/s!Ant3KbAAMSmz8xRlyS1tDWv75z_c?e=mooWiV).

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* Italics and spelling preserved as originally printed.

<sup>76</sup> Allibhai, 2.

<sup>77</sup> "Leonard Vassall," Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146656191>.

was the human beings that they enslaved on their plantation in Jamaica.<sup>78</sup> Accounting for inflation, the Vassall estate is worth £1,827,197.35, or \$2,197,012.96 in 2023 dollars.<sup>79</sup> Henry was the great-grandson of William Vassall, a West Indian merchant who was in business with Samuel Maverick, one of the first Boston-based merchants to trade slaves.<sup>80</sup>

The Rev. William Barclay was sent as a missionary to Quincy from the SPG in 1703.<sup>81</sup> Christ Church in Quincy was founded in 1704. In 1725, Samuel Pain, merchant, signed a bond to pay Peter Marquand and others for building a Church of England parish in Braintree (Quincy).<sup>82</sup> Braintree's economic activity included supplying Boston with lumber, used to construct ships involved in the slave trade, through the construction of mills.<sup>83</sup> New England was the second-biggest supplier of lumber to Jamaica after Rhode Island.<sup>84</sup> The materials were used to build planter houses, plantation infrastructure, and city buildings.<sup>85</sup> Lumber was also used in the construction of ships that transported enslaved Africans and other commodities across the Atlantic. The stone quarried for King's Chapel was from Braintree, and the money that paid for the stone was connected to the slave trade through families like the Vassalls and Royalls.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Bank of England Inflation Calculator, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>.

<sup>80</sup> Warren, 67.

<sup>81</sup> Duffy, 103.

<sup>82</sup> Benjamin Cutler, *A Sermon Preached in Christ Church, Quincy, on Completing a Century Since Its Formation on Christmas Day, 1827*, (Cambridge, MA: Hilliard, Metcalf, and Co., 1828), 14, accessed May 1, 2023, [https://www.google.com/books/edition/A\\_Sermon\\_Preached\\_in\\_Christ\\_Church\\_Quinc/V-w1Qd9zTBMC?hl=en&gbpv=0](https://www.google.com/books/edition/A_Sermon_Preached_in_Christ_Church_Quinc/V-w1Qd9zTBMC?hl=en&gbpv=0).

<sup>83</sup> "Braintree," Massachusetts Historical Commission Reconnaissance Survey Town Report, 1979, 3, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://www.sec.state.ma.us/mhc/mhcpdf/townreports/Eastern/bra.pdf>.

<sup>84</sup> Pellizzari: 542.

<sup>85</sup> Pellizzari: 540, 541.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. See also, Charles Francis Adams, *History of Braintree, Massachusetts (1639-1708) the North Precinct of Braintree (1708-1792) and the Town of Quincy (1792-1889)* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1891), 290, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015004708965>.

John Bridger, officer of the Queen and vestryman at King’s Chapel, secured the support of Francis Nicholson, and Queen Anne’s Chapel was built in Newburyport in 1711. The Rev. Edward Bass served as the first rector. A few years later, the shipping business of Newburyport began “at the Waterside between Chandler’s Lane, now Federal Street, and Ordway’s Lane, now Market Street.” Here, “trade with Barbadoes [sic] and other West India Islands was carried on quite extensively.”<sup>87</sup> Nearly 30 years after the first church was constructed, Joseph Atkins, Patrick Tracy, Michael Dalton, Anthony Gwynn, and other merchants and sea captains decided to build a new church more accessible for those living in the center of town. Atkins enslaved two Africans, Jude and Jack.<sup>88</sup> Patrick Tracy was a “prominent merchant in the town and a large importer of foreign goods.”<sup>89</sup> Michael Dalton was a “large importer of West India goods” and contributed “liberally” to St. Paul’s in Newburyport.<sup>90</sup>

St. Michael’s Church in Marblehead was founded in 1714 by “benefactors and subscribers, sea captains, and Marblehead donors” including Francis Nicholson.<sup>91</sup> Two of its rectors, the Rev. Pigot and the Rev. Bours, enslaved Africans.<sup>92</sup> Many sea captains and wealthy Marblehead residents were connected, directly or indirectly, to the slave economy. In 1708, Francis Nicholson

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<sup>87</sup> John J. Currier, “St. Paul’s Church Newburyport,” *Two Hundredth anniversary, St. Paul’s Newburyport, Mass. Commemorative services and historical addresses*, (Boston: The Southgate Press – T.W. Ripley Co., 1912), 37, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://archive.org/details/twohundredthanni00thom/mode/2up>.

<sup>88</sup> Francis Higginson Atkins, *Joseph Atkins: The Story of a Family* (Boston: Dudley Atkins, Book and Job Printers, 1891), 36, accessed May 1, 2023, [https://www.google.com/books/edition/Joseph\\_Atkins\\_the\\_Story\\_of\\_a\\_Family/vm0PAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Joseph_Atkins_the_Story_of_a_Family/vm0PAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1).

<sup>89</sup> John J. Currier, *History of Newburyport, Mass: 1764-1909 Volume II* (Newburyport, Mass: Printed for the author, 1909), 216, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://archive.org/details/historyofnewbury2176curr/page/n7/mode/2up>.

<sup>90</sup> Currier, *History of Newburyport*, 213.

<sup>91</sup> “Our Story,” Saint Michael’s Episcopal Church Marblehead, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://www.stmichaels1714.org/about/#our-story>.

<sup>92</sup> Priscilla Sawyer Lord and Virginia Clegg Gamage, *Marblehead: The Spirit of '76 Lives Here*, (Philadelphia: Chilton, 1972), 248, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://archive.org/details/marbleheadspirit00lord>.

gifted an enslaved African to William & Mary College, a value of £30.<sup>93</sup> During a smallpox outbreak in 1730, “Negroes, Indians, and mulatto slaves were forbidden to walk the streets after nine o’clock at night.”<sup>94</sup> The following paragraph is from an 1880 history of Marblehead about the year 1768:

Nearly every family of sufficient wealth owned several negro slaves, and Colonel Lee is said to have owned a large number, whom he employed in the work of loading and unloading his ships as fast as they arrived from foreign ports. Slavery, so far from being considered an evil, was regarded as the only normal condition of the negro, and the institution was fostered and encouraged throughout the province. About five thousand slaves were owned in Massachusetts at this time. The church records of Marblehead bear evidence that even the clergymen of the town owned negro servants, not a few of whom were baptized and received into the church. Slave marriages are recorded, also, on the records of all three of the earlier churches.<sup>95</sup>

Christ Church in Boston (Old North) was founded in 1722. The Rev. Dr. Timothy Cutler began as rector at Old North after his ordination in the Church of England by the bishop of Norwich in 1723. While there, he dedicated himself to missionary work with Native Americans and Black people, but he himself enslaved a woman named Anne.<sup>96</sup> In the fall of 1740, Cutler baptized 37 infants at Old North, 30 of whom were Africans enslaved by parishioners.<sup>97</sup>

St. Andrew’s Church in Hanover was founded in 1727. The first full-time rector, the Rev. Addington Davenport, served from about 1730-1740 before answering a call at King’s Chapel as

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<sup>93</sup> “Slavery at William & Mary: A Brief Overview,” William & Mary University, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://www.wm.edu/sites/enslavedmemorial/slavery-at-wm/index.php>.

<sup>94</sup> Samuel Roads, *The History and Traditions of Marblehead*, (Boston: Houghton, Osgood, & Co., 1880), 49, accessed May 1, 2023, [https://www.google.com/books/edition/The\\_History\\_and\\_Traditions\\_of\\_Marblehead/-4IIAQAAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover](https://www.google.com/books/edition/The_History_and_Traditions_of_Marblehead/-4IIAQAAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&printsec=frontcover).

<sup>95</sup> Roads, 78.

<sup>96</sup> “This Old Pew: #27 – Reverend Dr. Timothy Cutler,” Old North Church, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://www.oldnorth.com/blog/this-old-pew-27-rev-timothy-cutler>.

<sup>97</sup> Jared Hardesty, “An Angry God in the Hand of Sinners: Enslaved Africans and the Uses of Protestant Christianity in Pre-Revolutionary Boston,” *Slavery & Abolition* 35, no. 1 (2014): 69, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://doi-org.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/10.1080/0144039X.2013.780459>.

assistant rector. In 1743, according to his eulogy, he enslaved people.<sup>98</sup> He left his house and the land he owned in Hanover to the SPG and the church so that it could sustain itself in perpetuity.<sup>99</sup>

St. Thomas Church in Taunton was founded in 1728. The first benefactor was Thomas Coram, sailor and shipbuilder, who describes himself as “a Faithful Factor for ye late Mr. Thomas Hunt, before he fell [sic] into his misfortunes, and for other principal merchants” who left for New England “to advance ye ship building in those parts.”<sup>100</sup> He lived in Boston from 1693 to 1697/98, when he moved to Taunton. In 1699, he bought land and opened a shipyard.<sup>101</sup> At this time, the trade of African slaves allowed for the shipbuilding and repair industries to blossom.<sup>102</sup> Any shipyard owner would have accepted payment from merchants involved in the transatlantic slave trade and in the trade of slave-produced goods. Coram worshiped regularly at King’s Chapel when he was in Boston; Taunton was staunchly Congregationalist. Coram deeded 59 acres of property to the Vestry of King’s Chapel in 1704.<sup>103</sup> When he moved back to London, he continued to protect

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<sup>98</sup> John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, in Cambridge, Massachusetts Volume III* (Cambridge: Charles William Sever, University Bookstore, 1885), 414, accessed May 1, 2023, [https://www.google.com/books/edition/Biographical\\_Sketches\\_of\\_Graduates\\_of\\_Ha/Qtu6AAAIAAJ?hl=en](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Biographical_Sketches_of_Graduates_of_Ha/Qtu6AAAIAAJ?hl=en).

<sup>99</sup> Samuel Deane, *History of Scituate, Massachusetts, From Its First Settlement to 1831* (Boston: J. Loring, 1831), 40, accessed May 1, 2023, [https://www.google.com/books/edition/History\\_of\\_Scituate\\_Massachusetts/DL0OAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0](https://www.google.com/books/edition/History_of_Scituate_Massachusetts/DL0OAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0).

<sup>100</sup> “America and West Indies: August 1713,” *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 27, 1712-1714*, ed. Cecil Headlam (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1926), 222. *British History Online*, accessed May 1, 2023, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol27/pp214-231>.

<sup>101</sup> Hamilton Andrews Mill, “Thomas Coram in Boston and Taunton,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 8 (1892): 134, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://www.americanantiquarian.org/proceedings/44769377.pdf>.

<sup>102</sup> Kerima M. Lewis, “Captives on the Move: Tracing the Transatlantic Movements of Africans from the Caribbean to Colonial New England,” *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 44, no. 2 (Summer, 2016): 155, accessed May 1, 2023, <http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/scholarly-journals/captives-on-move-tracing-transatlantic-movements/docview/1864045074/se-2>.

<sup>103</sup> H. B. Fant, “Picturesque Thomas Coram, Projector of Two Georgias and Father of the London Foundling Hospital,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (1948): 81, accessed May 1, 2023, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40577101>.

and encourage tar manufacturing in northern British colonies like Massachusetts.<sup>104</sup> Tar was used to repair ships involved in the transport of commodities like slaves, sugar, molasses, and cotton.<sup>105</sup>

St. Peter's Church in Salem was founded in 1733. Philip English, a wealthy Salem merchant and shipper, donated the land to establish the church. English was a shipper of fish, fishing tackle, and barrels sold in exchange for rum, molasses, and sugar, all grown or manufactured by slave labor.<sup>106</sup>

Trinity Church in Boston was founded in 1733, built by parishioners of King's Chapel, including Leonard Vassall and Charles Apthorp Sr.<sup>107</sup> Thomas Greene, Esq. (1705-1763), another leader in Trinity's founding, was a lawyer and merchant who traded tin, salt, wood, fish, and pork.<sup>108</sup> Per his eulogy, he enslaved people.<sup>109</sup> Peter Faneuil (1700-1743), a Trinity parishioner and one of the donors for the first organ, was a prominent and powerful merchant.<sup>110</sup> His account books are splashed with evidence of the sale of enslaved Africans, fish for the West Indies, rum, molasses, and other commodities. For example, a July 15, 1737, entry reads: "Fish (15,000 quintals); some to ship to Portugal; refuse grade to West Indies for molasses and rum, now in short

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<sup>104</sup> Fant: 82.

<sup>105</sup> Pellizzari: 543.

<sup>106</sup> Henry W. Belknap, "Philip English, Commerce Builder," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 41 (1931): 24, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://www.americanantiquarian.org/proceedings/44806879.pdf>.

<sup>107</sup> See the first paragraph of this chapter.

<sup>108</sup> Melatiah Bourn, Melatiah Bourn papers, 1728-1803, Nathaniel Holmes, 1728-1774, Accounts Current, 1758 (6 of 6), Mss:733 1728-1803 B775 Box 11, Folder 6, Baker Library Special Collections, Harvard Business School, Sequence 3, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:hbs.baker.gen:37974858-2019?n=3>.

<sup>109</sup> William Hooper, *A sermon preached in Trinity Church, at the funeral of Thomas Greene, Esq; August 5. 1763 / By William Hooper, A.M. Minister of said church* (Boston: Richard and Samuel Draper, and Thomas and John Fleet), microfiche, page 22, Massachusetts Historical Society.

<sup>110</sup> Helen Soussou, Alexander Bok, Marty Cowden, Judith Lockhart Radtke, "Trinity Church Boston: Facing the Reality of Our Past," Antiracism Team at Trinity Church, October 26, 2014, 10, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://www.trinitychurchboston.org/news-publication/trinity-church-boston-facing-the-reality-of-our-past>.

supply in Boston; especially rum from Cape Francois.”<sup>111</sup> Fifteen thousand quintals is approximately equivalent to 1.6 million pounds. Not only was Faneuil a mercantile investor in the sale and trade of enslaved Africans, but he also owned “a chariot and coach, with English horses, for state occasions, and two and four wheeled chaise for ordinary purposes. He had five negroes, and fourteen hundred ounces of plate, among which is enumerated ‘a large handsome chamber pot.’”<sup>112</sup> At his death, he owned eight properties in Cornhill and King Street and was invested in various seafaring vessels. A proposal for a 2019 public memorial, designed especially to memorialize the enslaved Africans who financed the construction of Faneuil Hall and the accumulation of his fortune, includes the following description by the artist:

Faneuil’s success and wealth in early Boston as a trader was directly tied to trafficking Africans and African-Americans. His participation in the Triangular Trade of people, goods, and raw materials made this ‘Jolly Bachelor’ a very wealthy man, and he passed that wealth onto the Commonwealth with the gift of the hall that bears his family’s name. This ‘cradle of liberty’ is indeed built with money secured by the trading of black people for goods and services. Even Merchants Row, where enslaved people were sold, passes directly behind Faneuil Hall, which sits directly at the heart of the current city of Boston.<sup>113</sup>

Gardiner Greene (1758-1832), another Trinity parishioner, was a cotton planter in Demerara, the region on the northern coast of South America now called the Guianas—from which demerara sugar gets its name. He purchased William Vassall’s house in 1758.<sup>114</sup> He was the son-in-law to Jonathan Copley, the father of Greene’s third wife, who painted portraits of the Royall

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<sup>111</sup> “The Complicated Legacy of Peter Faneuil,” The National Park Service, accessed May 1, 2023, [https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/peter-faneuil-legacy.htm#\\_ftn4](https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/peter-faneuil-legacy.htm#_ftn4).

<sup>112</sup> Samuel Adams Drake, *Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1873), 55, accessed May 1, 2023, [https://www.google.com/books/edition/Old\\_Landmarks\\_and\\_Historic\\_Personages\\_of/B1pDAAAAYAAJ?hl=en](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Old_Landmarks_and_Historic_Personages_of/B1pDAAAAYAAJ?hl=en)

<sup>113</sup> Steve Locke, “Auction Block Memorial,” Kickstarter, updated September 2020, <https://www.kickstarter.com/projects/auctionblockmemorial/auction-block-memorial/description>.

<sup>114</sup> *A History of the Gardiner Green Estate on Cotton Hill, now Pemberton Square, Boston*, ed. Winthrop S. Scudder (Boston: TR Marvin & Son Printers, 1916), 7, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044005044045?urlappend=%3Bseq=11%3Bownerid=4333320-15>.



family and other prominent merchant families, most of whom were involved in the economy of slavery and slave-produced goods. In fact, Copley's first wife, Mary Anne Appleton Greene, was William Appleton's daughter. Mary's sister, Sarah, was married to Amos Adams Lawrence.

St. Paul's Church in Hopkinton was founded in 1743, and built by the Rev. Roger Price (1696-1762) at his own expense. Price was appointed the "Bishop's Commissary over all Episcopal Churches in New England" in 1730, having been made rector of King's Chapel the year prior.<sup>115</sup> Price's autobiography details his travels to "a Factory on the coast of Guinea" called Whydah, where he served as a chaplain. Whydah (Ouidah) was a slave-trading port built by the English in the 17th century on the coast of Benin, what was referred to as the "Slave Coast."<sup>116</sup>

Trinity Church in Bridgewater was founded in 1747 with 14 acres of land given by Samuel Edson to the SPG.<sup>117</sup> The land was, in 1812, transferred to the Trustees of Donation and leased to John Edson, a member, for \$21/year on a 999-year lease. Samuel Edson was the grandson of Deacon Samuel Edson, mill owner and one of the original 56 proprietors of the plantation in Bridgewater, purchased from Ousamenquin, Sachem of Poconocket, in 1649.<sup>118</sup> Bridgewater adopted manufacturing as its major industry relatively early, including iron foundries and factories

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<sup>115</sup> Mary Plummer Salsman and Walter H. Stowe, "The Reverend Roger Price (1696-1762) Commissary to New England (1730-1748)," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 14, no. 3 (1945): 193, accessed May 1, 2023, <http://ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lsdar&bquery=AN+ATL+AiGW7190514000192&type=1&searchMode=Standard&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

<sup>116</sup> Robin Law, "William's Fort: The English Fort at Ouidah, 1680s-1960s," *Forts, Castles and Society in West Africa*, ed. John Kwadwo Osei-Tutu, (Boston: Brill, 2018), 119.

<sup>117</sup> Nahum Mitchell, *History of the Early Settlement of Bridgewater In Plymouth County, Massachusetts, Including an Extensive Family Register* (Boston: Kidder & Wright, 1840), 51, accessed May 1, 2023, [https://www.google.com/books/edition/History\\_of\\_the\\_Early\\_Settlement\\_of\\_Bridg/npclAQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0](https://www.google.com/books/edition/History_of_the_Early_Settlement_of_Bridg/npclAQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0).

<sup>118</sup> Mitchell, 11-12.

that produced cotton gins.<sup>119</sup> Both iron, used to make tools,<sup>120</sup> and cotton gins, used to process cotton more efficiently, were essential materials used on island plantations.

Christ Church in Cambridge was founded in 1759 after a successful appeal to Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Secker by the rector of King's Chapel, Henry Caner. Caner wrote that there is:

a Mission in that place to be of great consequence to the interest of Christianity in general, as well as to that of the Church of England in particular. The College, my Lord, is placed in that town; it is the only seminary of Learning for this Province. Socinianism, Deism, and other bad principles find too much countenance among us. To prevent these and the like errors from poisoning the fountain of education, it will undoubtedly be of great service to erect a Church there, agreeable to the desire of many of the inhabitants; and to entrust the conduct of it with a gentleman, who by his doctrine and good example may give a right turn to the Youth who are educated there.<sup>121</sup>

Henry Vassall and Isaac Royall Jr. contributed significantly to the church. The year that Henry Vassall died, 1769, the value of one of the Africans he enslaved, Anthony Vassall, was equivalent to the price of a pew—£13.6.8.<sup>122</sup>

These 12 Church of England parishes were each connected to the labor of enslaved Africans: first of all, through direct enslavement of African people, an unexceptional aspect of the lives of many founding parishioners and clergymen; secondly, through direct financial support to

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<sup>119</sup> Hosea Kingman, "History of Bridgewater Massachusetts," *The Plymouth County Directory, and Historical Register of the Old Colony, containing an historical sketch of the county, and of each town in the county; a roll of honor, with the names of all soldiers of the Army and Navy, from this county, who lost their lives in service: an alphabetical list of the voters: a complete index to the mercantile, manufacturing, and professional interests of the county, together with much valuable miscellaneous matter*, (Middleboro, Massachusetts: Stillman B. Pratt & Co., 1867), 31, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://archive.org/details/plymouthcountydi00prat>.

<sup>120</sup> James A. Delle, and Kristen R. Fellows, "Repurposed Metal Objects in the Political Economy of Jamaican Slavery," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 25, no. 4 (2021): 1000-1001.

<sup>121</sup> Samuel Francis Batchelder, *Christ Church, Cambridge: Some Account of Its History and Present Condition, Especially Prepared for Visitors* (Cambridge, 1893), 8-9, accessed May 1, 2023, [https://www.google.com/books/edition/Christ\\_Church\\_Cambridge/JC73wppizFgC?hl=en&gbpv=0](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Christ_Church_Cambridge/JC73wppizFgC?hl=en&gbpv=0).

<sup>122</sup> Parish Record Book, 1759-1878., 1759-1878, Christ Church in Cambridge (Mass.) church records, 88M-31, (1), Volume: 1, page 42, Houghton Library, Harvard University, [https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/24/archival\\_objects/447612](https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/24/archival_objects/447612).

congregations from individuals who directly profited from the slave trade; thirdly, through ties to individual wealth from the slave trade that can be documented and from which financial support of these congregations can be inferred through their membership in the community.

## CHAPTER 3

### AFTER THE REVOLUTION: A CASE STUDY

As 1776 approached, Anglican churches and clerics were in an “awkward and vulnerable” position.<sup>123</sup> Despite the best efforts of leadership abroad, including the Board of Trade, bishops of London, and the SPG, the Church of England was “one of the smallest religious groups in the colonies” by 1775.<sup>124</sup> Despite its small size, churches in major cities, like Boston, attracted members “from the ranks of royal and civil officials and well-to-do merchants.”<sup>125</sup> In 1775, there were 15 active Church of England clergymen in Massachusetts. By 1783, there were only three.<sup>126</sup> Just two years later, in 1785, the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States (TEC) was established nationally. However, almost 40 years after the beginning of the Revolutionary War, TEC in Massachusetts—under the supervision of Bishop Alexander V. Griswold, who also supervised Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont—was relatively weak.<sup>127</sup>

In 1819, a group of affluent Boston men decided to construct an Episcopal church, St. Paul’s on Tremont Street. Today, it is the cathedral church of the diocese. In the same year, John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, negotiated a treaty with Spain (Onís-Adams Treaty) that acquired the Floridas and expanded the southern border of the U.S. As part of the treaty, the federal government funded Boston merchants’ early investments in textile mills, specifically the Lowells,

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<sup>123</sup> Bell, 200.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Bell, 201.

<sup>127</sup> Bell, 206.

Lawrences, and Appletons, all wealthy Episcopal donors.<sup>128</sup> The donations received by TEC in Massachusetts from these families were tied to slavery through the U.S. government's economic and industrial expansion, for the treaty "not only yielded claims payments; it also expanded the territory in which slave-produced cotton could be grown for northern textile mills."<sup>129</sup> In other words, the North's industrial development, which led directly to donations to TEC, was "state-sponsored expansion" into and further economic investment in the transatlantic slave trade.<sup>130</sup> Boston merchants wielded power and influence to encourage engagement in foreign diplomacy that would benefit their own interests. These merchants received \$1.8 million in payouts from the treaty—funds for trade from which they had already profited or had dismissed because it was illegal.<sup>131</sup>

William Appleton (1786-1862), parishioner at St. Paul's, was a merchant heavily invested in the purchase of slave-produced goods like sugar, cotton, and rum. His company, William Appleton & Company, supported hundreds of sea voyages that connected the economies of the South, North, and England through the sale of textiles manufactured in Massachusetts factories.<sup>132</sup> He was also a major investor in the Boston Sugar Refinery, which between 1837 and 1840, sold or shipped \$834,947.08 worth of refined sugar, muscovado sugar, and molasses.<sup>133</sup> In a diary entry dated New Year's Eve 1843, Appleton writes that he has \$1,000,000 worth of property, outside of

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<sup>128</sup> Lindsay Schakenbach, "From Discontented Bostonians to Patriotic Industrialists: The Boston Associates and the Transcontinental Treaty, 1790-1825," *The New England Quarterly* 84, no. 3 (2011): 378-379. See the following paragraph on William Appleton. For more information on the Lowells and Lawrences, see the section in the following chapter about textiles.

<sup>129</sup> Schakenbach, 379.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Schakenbach, 400.

<sup>132</sup> Series III. Ship's papers, 1840-1873. William Appleton and Company records, Mss:766 1840-1889, Baker Library Special Collections and Archives, Harvard Business School, [https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/11/archival\\_objects/119760](https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/11/archival_objects/119760).

<sup>133</sup> Statements Showing Amount of Refined Sugar Exported from Oct 1. 1857 to Jan 1. 1841, Box 4, Folder 5, Boston Sugar Refinery records, Baker Library Special Collections and Archives, Harvard Business School.

his business income.<sup>134</sup> Three years later, he funded the first chapel of St. Stephen's and the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge for \$25,000 and \$26,000, respectively.<sup>135</sup>

David Sears Jr. (1787-1871), parishioner at St. Paul's, inherited a vast fortune from his father. With it, he involved himself in real estate. He created Fifty Associates & Co., a real estate liquidating trust. In 1823, the value of Fifty Associates property was \$215,000, and its capital on hand was \$91,666.66 His connection to slave-produced goods is through Israel Thorndike, another Boston merchant heavily invested in transatlantic voyages involving slave-produced goods.<sup>136</sup> Sears was invested in Brig *Rambler*, an Israel Thorndike ship that carried rum to Madras.<sup>137</sup> He bought 65 boxes of Cuban sugar in 1799.<sup>138</sup> He received \$7,728.54 insurance payment from Israel Thorndike in 1801 on his \$19,000 investment in the ship *Borneo*.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> William Appleton Diary, Nov. 28, 1843-Aug. 27, 1848, Volume 169, William Appleton and Company records, Series IV. Personal papers, 1813-1862, Baker Library Special Collections and Archives, Harvard Business School.

<sup>135</sup> William Appleton Diary, Nov. 28, 1843-Aug. 27, 1848, Volume 169, William Appleton and Company records, Series IV. Personal papers, 1813-1862, December 31, 1846 entry, Baker Library Special Collections and Archives, Harvard Business School.

<sup>136</sup> Thorndike chaired the committee charged to convince Congress to pass the Jay Treaty.

<sup>137</sup> Ship Alexander Hodgdon papers, 1803. Israel Thorndike business records, Mss:766 1778-1899, Box 13, Folder 13, Baker Library Special Collections and Archives, Harvard Business School, [https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/11/archival\\_objects/2897871](https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/11/archival_objects/2897871).

<sup>138</sup> Israel Thorndike, 1755-1832. Israel Thorndike business records, 1740-1899 (inclusive), 1791-1811 (bulk). Volume 2. Mss:766 1778-1899 Box 2, Folder 4, Sequence 1. Baker Library Special Collections, Harvard Business School, <https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:hbs.baker.gen:35096473-2018>.

<sup>139</sup> Israel Thorndike, 1755-1832. Israel Thorndike business records, 1740-1899 (inclusive), 1791-1811 (bulk). Volume 5, pages 71-80. Mss:766 1778-1899 Box 3, Folder 11, Baker Library Special Collections, Harvard Business School (Seq 21.), <https://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:hbs.baker.gen:35156602-2018?n=21>.

## CHAPTER 4

### INDUSTRIES THAT FUNDED THE EXPANSION OF TEC DURING THE 19TH CENTURY

One hundred sixteen Episcopal congregations were founded in the eastern part of Massachusetts from 1800-1900. Each congregation was funded by different individuals and communities, many of whom have specific connections to the slave trade, the production of cotton and sugar through plantation slavery in the West Indies and Southern states like Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, and the related industries it sustained with enslaved African labor. To understand how significant portions of the wealth that created these institutions was related to the economy of slavery in the United States, we must briefly describe the major industries in Massachusetts during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

#### I. Textiles

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Massachusetts experienced economic instability caused by the trade embargoes of the 1810s, the War of 1812, and the financial depression of the 1830s and 40s. In the 1830s, an infusion of Boston-based capital helped the development of western Massachusetts through the construction of a railroad connecting Boston and the Connecticut River Valley. Along the Charles River in Waltham and the Merrimack River in Lowell and Lawrence, cotton textile manufacturing mills dotted the land as Massachusetts industrialized. Similarly, in Springfield and Chicopee, agriculture and small-scale industrial paper, iron, saw, and grist were replaced by these mills, and by 1835, the Chicopee Manufacturing Company was valued

at \$750,000.<sup>140</sup> With the support of Boston businessmen like the Lawrences and local merchants like the Dwights, the Massachusetts region’s “first full-scale manufactories” and “entire communities based on cotton textile production” developed.<sup>141</sup> Cotton mills brought with them other diversified industries—rail, machine shops, boarding houses, tenements –and these mills depended entirely on the raw cotton that was shipped from southern plantations in the United States and West Indian plantations.<sup>142</sup> Enslaved Africans grew and picked that cotton. Thus, Episcopalians invested in the textile industries were profiting from the labor of enslaved Africans on cotton plantations.

William Appleton is a prime example of this through his investment in the Dwight Company. Amos Lawrence and his son Amos Adams Lawrence, grandfather and father of William Lawrence, Bishop of Massachusetts, respectively, were heavily invested in the textile mills and related industries in Lawrence and Lowell, Massachusetts. William Lawrence, Amos Lawrence’s nephew, served as rector of Grace Episcopal Church in Lawrence in 1876. But the sphere of influence for these men extended beyond Massachusetts state lines. By 1856, all three cotton mills in Chicopee were – consolidated into the Dwight Manufacturing Company. William Appleton’s network held 8% of the capital in the company, or 40 shares.<sup>143</sup>

## II. Railroad

By 1835, the first three (Boston & Lowell, Boston & Providence, Boston & Worcester) rail lines were operating. In the 1830s and 40s, merchants and businessmen who were invested in the

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<sup>140</sup> Beth English, *A Common Thread: Labor, Politics, and Capital Mobility in the Textile Industry* (University of Georgia Press, 2010), 8, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/book/11941>.

<sup>141</sup> English, 7.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Francois Weil, “Capitalism and Industrialization in New England, 1815–1845,” *The Journal of American History* (Bloomington, Ind.) 84, no. 4 (1998): 1352, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2568084>.



expanding trade of cotton and related commodities wanted to connect Boston with the rest of New England. New technologies of the railroad and steam power allowed for greater freedom of movement and since greater quantities of raw materials could be moved from place to place more quickly and efficiently, profit for factory owners increased, encouraging further investment in industrialization, all of which ultimately depended on the labor of enslaved Africans on plantations. Kirk Boott, an Episcopalian, was involved in creating the Boston & Lowell line along with William Appleton.<sup>144</sup>

St. Anne's Church in Lowell was established in 1824 by the Merrimack Company because of Kirk Boott, the chief planner, engineer, and architect of Lowell.<sup>145</sup> In fact, the town of Lowell and St. Anne's were so closely tied that it was tradition for the rector to serve on the board of directors of the first bank in Lowell.<sup>146</sup> The women who worked in the mill at Lowell had special obligations to the parish: firstly, to pay 37 ½ cents every fiscal quarter and secondly, to attend services there.<sup>147</sup>

### III. Whaling

The oil produced by whale-hunting cities like New Bedford and Nantucket had a global appeal in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. At that time, "whale oil was nearly as essential to a functional society as petroleum is to our own."<sup>148</sup> This oil and spermaceti candles, both produced

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<sup>144</sup> *Summer Saunterings by the B & L: A Guide to Pleasant Places Among the Mountains, Lakes And Valleys of New Hampshire, Vermont and Canada* (Boston: Passenger Department, Boston & Lowell Railroad, 1885), 9, accessed January 9, 2024, <https://archive.org/details/summersauntering00bost/mode/2up?ref=ol>.

<sup>145</sup> Joseph W. Lipchitz, "The Golden Age," *Cotton was King: A History of Lowell, Massachusetts*, ed. Arthur L. Eno, Jr. (New Hampshire Publishing Company & Lowell Historical Society, 1976), 86.

<sup>146</sup> Lipchitz, 93.

<sup>147</sup> Lipchitz, 98.

<sup>148</sup> Heidi Scott, "Whale Oil Culture, Consumerism, and Modern Conservation," *Oil Culture*, eds. Ross Barrett and Daniel Worden, (University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 5.

by refining whale blubber, were used to illuminate cities like London and Paris. The oil was sold in advertisements along with cotton, molasses, tobacco, and sugar.<sup>149</sup> Lamps and candles fueled by whale oil “lit homes and factory floors, streetlamps and the headlights of trains, and guided ships home from lighthouses.”<sup>150</sup> Whale oil was also an essential part of the industrialization of New England because it lubricated waterwheels, cotton looms, and other machinery.<sup>151</sup> In 1834, the total revenue of the 434 whaling ships that sailed from New Bedford, Nantucket, and New London was \$10,130,000—more than 10,000 men were employed in the industry.<sup>152</sup> The oil was sold to Europe, the West Indies, and the United States. In the late 1840s, almost 78% of the whale oil for sale on the global market was from whales caught off the eastern coast of the United States.<sup>153</sup> The resources amassed by whaling success were then invested into cotton textile manufacturing, the construction of railroads, and the shipping industry.<sup>154</sup> In 1851, for example, \$877,293.80 worth of sperm oil was used on 1,012 miles of Massachusetts railroad.<sup>155</sup> By the

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<sup>149</sup> Pellizzari: 541. See also, “London Markets for Colonial Produce,” *The Observer* (1791- 1900), Dec 21, 1835, accessed May 1, 2023, <http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/historical-newspapers/london-markets-colonial-produce/docview/473986720/se-2>.

<sup>150</sup> Bathsheba Demuth, “Harvesting Light: New England Whaling in the Nineteenth Century,” Yale University, Energy History, accessed May 1, 2023, <https://energyhistory.yale.edu/units/harvesting-light-new-england-whaling-nineteenth-century>.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> “Art. I.—The American Whale Fishery: Importance Of The Whale Fishery To The United States—Its Foreign Origin—Its Origin In The United States—Capture Of The First Whale—First Spermaceti Whale Taken—The Progress Of The Fishery—Manufacture Of Sperm Candles Commenced—Decline During The Revolution—Establishment Of A Colony At Halifax—Condition From 1787 To 1789—Vessels Employed In The Whale Fishery, And Importations Of Oil—Suspended During The War Of 1812—Importations Of Oil—The Ocean—Sperm And Right Whale—Outfits—Instruments Of The Whale Fishery—Character Of The Sailors—Discipline On Board Ship—Mode Of Capture—Incidents—Preparation Of Oil—Whalebone—Eminent Whalers—Points Of Ranging Ground—Conclusion,” *The Merchants’ Magazine and Commercial Review* (1839-1870) 3 (Nov 01, 1840): 371-372, accessed May 1, 2023, <http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/trade-journals/art-i-american-whale-fishery/docview/127974243/se-2>.

<sup>153</sup> David Moment, “The Business of Whaling in America in the 1850’s,” *Business History Review* 31, no. 3 (Sep 01, 1957): 263, accessed May 1, 2023, <http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/scholarly-journals/business-whaling-america-1850s/docview/1296271482/se-2>.

<sup>154</sup> Moment: 264.

<sup>155</sup> “Consumption of Oil on Railroads in Massachusetts,” *The Merchants’ Magazine and Commercial Review* (1839-1870) 26, no. 5 (May 01, 1852), accessed May 1, 2023, <http://search.proquest.com.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/trade-journals/consumption-oil-on-railroads-massachusetts/docview/127920943/se-2>.

1860s, however, more reliable sources of fuel were discovered, effectively killing the whaling industry in Massachusetts.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Jeremy Zallen, *American Lucifers: The Dark History of Artificial Light 1750-1865* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 53.

## CONCLUSION

Many of the people who fueled and funded the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts made their fortunes through wealth connected to the slave economy or by directly owning enslaved people. In the first chapter, the report describes the burgeoning trade relationships between Massachusetts merchants and West Indian plantations through the sale of foodstuffs, like fish and pork, and supplies, like lumber and metal. In the second chapter, the report details the financial connections between founding donations from wealthy Episcopal parishioners and the origins of that wealth—either the direct ownership of enslaved Africans or trade in slave-produced goods. In the third chapter, the report describes the period of decline in the membership of Anglican parishes in Massachusetts after the Revolutionary War. In the final chapter, the report outlines three of the major industries in which wealthy Massachusetts Episcopalians were invested, textiles, railroads, and whaling, and ties each of those industries to the enslaved labor of Africans through economic history.

The intention of this report was not to follow and trace the origin of each dollar invested in the diocese, but to demonstrate that, with enough research, so many of our dollars can be traced back to the economy of slavery. It would require many historians several years to account for each dollar donated to the diocese; that was not in the scope of this project. Hopefully this first step, made possible by the various historical reports about this diocese's ties to chattel slavery that have already been published (in some cases by congregations who have already done significant historical research), will inspire individuals in parishes to begin and/or continue doing this research on their own legacies. Future areas of study include, but are certainly not limited to, some of the following topics: the growth of TEC in Massachusetts during Reconstruction up until the late 20th

century in relationship to Massachusetts's economic development in industrialization, manufacturing, transportation, and trade; sources of labor after the Civil War and the increase in the population of non-English immigrants; how congregations planted in the suburbs in the 1950s and 1960s were practicing white flight, the "process by which white households left central cities to avoid living in racially diverse neighborhoods or jurisdictions" rooted in racist beliefs about Black people due to the growth of the Black population in the North during 1940-1970;<sup>157</sup> and the history and funding for the construction of summer chapels.

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<sup>157</sup> Leah Platt Boustan, "Was Postwar Suburbanization 'White Flight'? Evidence from the Black Migration," NBER Working Paper Series, 13543, 2009, 2, <https://doi.org/10.3386/w13543>.

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