



The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

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Dear Colonial Society Members:

Our year began auspiciously last September with the anticipation of observing several very significant anniversaries—the quadricentennial of the arrival of the Mayflower and its refugees and of their strategic reception by Wampanoag people who inhabited what is now southeastern Massachusetts; the 250th anniversary of the Boston Massacre that solidified Patriot resistance to British rule, ultimately resulting in the Declaration of Independence six years later; and the Bicentennial of statehood for Maine that separated it from Massachusetts under the Missouri Compromise over the issue of the expansion of slavery.

The programs and festivities to mark these dates were not to be, as the COVID-19 pandemic necessitated their cancellation to the chagrin of so many of us who had looked forward to a year full of joyous celebration and also of sober reflection on our failure to realize the promise of America for all our citizens. Fortunately, the Colonial Society's flagship program of scholarly publication continued without interruption, when two major volumes were issued in the spring—*Of Plimoth Plantation* by William Bradford, published jointly with the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and volume 2 of *The Correspondence of Thomas Hutchinson: 1767–1769*, edited by John W. Tyler.

As you perhaps know, this is my last *Letter from the President*. I still hope to conclude my tenure at our scheduled Annual Meeting on November 19, but am not optimistic. I have enjoyed enormously these fourteen years as President of your Society and am happy to see our publications program thrive under the stewardship of John Tyler; our house and furnishings in very good order with continuing planned programs of maintenance and conservation under the watchful eye of Toby Hall, who is also retiring this fall after 40 years of exemplary service to the Society; and a growing number of programs and events at 87 Mount Vernon Street that bring our mem-

bership together for lively discussion, conversation, and networking. I look forward to seeing many of you at these in the future.

Sincerely yours,
Donald R. Friary

Launching a New Viewer

By James F. Cooper Jr.

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts is pleased to announce the formal launch of a new viewer on its webpage, through which scholars can view manuscript images displayed side by side with transcriptions of that same page. Our document viewer is now accessible on the CSM homepage under the “documents” tab, along with the first collection of documents that have been transcribed.

This initiative marks an important transition, and a historic moment, for CSM. We are now able to present important, shorter documents to researchers. We are also able to reach a considerably wider audience than through our conventional letterpress editions. CSM recognizes that digital publication represents an important way to expand its readership, and that many libraries now order more books in digital than in print formats. Our document viewer offers readers the options of leafing through transcribed pages one at a time, or jumping to a particular page. Currently a fully functional work in progress, the document viewer approximates the book experience, and at length will add an exciting and significant enhancement: searchability.

Digital CSM launches with three important documents that stem from important partnerships the Society has established with other institutions. The first is an

early draft of the Cambridge Platform of church government, in the hand of the Rev. Richard Mather, written c. 1648. The CSM sponsored the transcription of this document through its partnership with New England's Hidden Histories, a project of the Congregational Library that seeks to secure, digitize, transcribe, and publish online New England's earliest manuscript church records. Known to colonial New England churchgoers as their "constitution" of church government, the Platform is the most iconic document in early Congregational history. It is highly significant for its influence upon political culture, for it incorporated a system of checks and balances and limitations on authority, spelling out both the powers and the limits of church officers, and the "liberties" of the brethren.

This early draft of the Platform helps to illuminate the transatlantic context of the construction of the document. In 1646 the General Court in Boston called for a synod of the colony's Congregational ministers. The outward purpose of the synod was to create and adopt a document that would establish a uniform practice of worship and practice for New England Congregational churches. But the call was also an immediate response to increasing criticism from Presbyterian ministers in England who had risen to the fore during the English Civil War. The published Platform reflects numerous subtle but significant differences in comparison to the earlier draft. These differences speak not to issues of lay and clerical authority in New England, but to the desire to soften language for the English audience. For example, while Mather acknowledged "dispute" among New Englanders over the Westminster Confession, the printed Platform only admitted to "debate." While Mather noted "wee vary indeed from [Presbyterian] apprehensions," the printed version adds "we still reserve due reverence" for Presbyterians.

This document was transcribed by independent scholar Lori Stokes, who has also color coded both the transcription and the printed platform, allowing scholars to instantly see the differences between the two documents.

The other two documents to debut are manuscript images and transcriptions of record books from First Church Rowley (1664-1784) and First Church Westborough (1724-1808). While nearly all church record books are of historical value, some truly throw back the curtains, allowing us to peer inside church windows to examine life within. The Rowley and Westborough manuscript records books are two such volumes.

The densely packed Rowley book, which was lost for

decades before being unearthed by Hidden Histories in a small local bank vault, offers an unprecedented look at church life during the second generation of settlement. Narratives of disciplinary cases, which typically are covered in a paragraph or two, extend on in the Rowley volume for pages at a time. Church record books often refer in brief and general terms to private disciplinary meetings and private meetings between pastors and parishioners. But we are almost never privy to the details of these meetings. The Rowley volume brings us right into the minister's study. The Rev. Samuel Phillips often acted as a virtual audio recorder, apparently recording notes from private meetings with churchgoers in his home either during these meetings or directly thereafter. Often we are left with dialogue that is close to verbatim in nature.

The record book casts striking light on community life in Rowley as well as church affairs. Considerable attention is devoted to the ongoing struggles between the Reverend Phillips and several "worthy laymen" who organized factional opposition to the minister. Ongoing exchanges between Phillips and one Phillip Nelson, the son of a town founder, are especially dramatic.

The Rowley volume, which also includes a full set of vital statistics, represented a significant transcription challenge, owing to Samuel Phillips's idiosyncratic hand. Transcription, funded by CSM, was completed by Helen Gelinis, New England's Hidden Histories' Director of Transcription, Lori Stokes, and Ken Minkema of the Jonathan Edwards Center at Yale University.

The Westborough volume of church records is fascinating partly because the picture it paints of church and community life contrasts so sharply with Rowley. It is clear that church controversies abounded in the period from the early 1720 through the 1760s; the Westborough church was asked to send representatives to numerous neighboring church councils. But for a nearly forty-year stretch, the Westborough church itself seems to have experienced little significant strife, even during the tumultuous Great Awakening.

The relative harmony in Westborough is partly a testament to Reverend Ebenezer Parkman's skills in navigating church affairs. The record book demonstrates that Parkman focused upon a set of external rules—specifically the Cambridge Platform—and urged all parties to abide by them. He essentially guided the congregation, allowing it to render most decisions. Often he did not weigh in with his own opinions, and he refused to break ties votes. The church members seemed disinclined to contend over their own decisions. Frequently, church

votes were unanimous, but many were not. To a startling degree, minorities in Westborough were willing to accept majority rule.

The transcription of the Westborough church record book was funded by CSM and completed by James F. Cooper, III, in partnership with New England's Hidden Histories. The volume represents one important piece in a larger mosaic that may make Westborough the most fully documented community in eighteenth-century New England. Central to this body of documentation is the 4000-page diary of Ebenezer Parkman, which has been transcribed by Prof. Ross Beales. The diary is available in its entirety through the Ebenezer Parkman Project, with which the CSM is partnered. The diary adds tremendously to our understanding of community and church life in Westborough and is invaluable when used in conjunction with the church records. We find, for example, that Parkman was slow and reluctant to embrace the American Revolution relative to his congregation, an observation that does not come through clearly from the church record book alone. Though in many communities, local ministers stirred popular support for the Patriot cause, this dynamic was reversed in Westborough.

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts has previously published in book form the best and most significant of early Massachusetts' vast body of church records, including those from First Church Boston, First Church Wrentham/Chelmsford, and the First Churches of Reading and Rumney Marsh. We are excited to open this new digital chapter in the distinguished history of the organization by making available three more of the most important documents in the history of New England Congregationalism.

Remembering Bernard Bailyn

The Colonial Society lost its senior and most distinguished member when Bernard Bailyn died on August 7th. He became a resident member in 1954, delivering at the December meeting a paper on "The Will of Robert Keayne," which became, over the years, one the CSM's most frequently republished essays. In 1958, he spoke at the annual meeting on "The Relevance of Colonial History." He was a frequent participant in Colonial Society events and gave the keynote address, "New England History and the Wider World: Notes on Some Central Themes of Modern Historiography," at the conference on seventeenth-century New England in 1982. He was



Bernard Bailyn

elected to Honorary Membership in 1995. Always interested in new scholarship on early America, he was a generous and engaged moderator of the 2003 Graduate Student Forum. In March 2018, he was the guest of honor at a reception at 87 Mount Vernon Street when the *New England Quarterly* published a special issue of essays written by his former students and other colleagues to mark the 50th anniversary of the publication of *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (1967). In the weeks since his death, his many publications and honors have been frequently listed elsewhere. What follows are some personal recollections by members of the Society.

Chris Jedrey: In the latter days of my time in graduate school, I had fallen into the habit of avoiding casual contact with Bud as we each went about our business in and around Harvard Yard. This was in part because I was usually behind in my schedule for delivering thesis chapters. I say my schedule because he had none for me. As his students have often noted, he was a very hands-off thesis advisor. In all honesty, I also avoided him because when I did run into him, he would invariably make some teasing, or just inscrutable, remark which I, in an advanced state of graduate student paranoia exacerbated by a bad job market, would spend days trying to decipher, trying the patience of my graduate student friends. Bud, of course, being a sensible and busy man, thought no more about the encounter once it was over.

This foolishness of mine came to an end in the following way. I was looking for a book in one of the Widener stacks not far from the old fourth floor entrance. As I left the stack with my book, I dutifully turned off the stack light and, just then, noticed Bud walking toward me. I instinctively withdrew into the

now-dark stack to wait for him to pass by, when it suddenly occurred to me that it was possible that he was headed for the stack where I was now lurking in the darkness. I had an uncomfortable few moments, thinking hard but without success, about just how I might explain myself if he flipped on the light switch for my stack and found his hapless graduate student therein. He walked on by, to my great relief.

I owe him, as do his many students, an immeasurable debt for the standard of excellence he set for us in his teaching and writing, one that has in no way been less important for me in my legal career than it has been for my fellow students who followed him in teaching and writing history. He also helped me to grow up, however belatedly. His supportive but hands-off thesis advisor role, which I took to be indifference at the time, especially in comparison to the overly engaged role that we graduate students often played when advising undergraduate theses, was in fact an intentional strategy, well established by my time in graduate school. Put simply, if I was going to succeed as a historian, it was on me to find my topic and figure out how to make it work. His famous colloquium sessions and seminar gave us useful examples, both positive and negative, as did the reading marathon we went through in preparation for the General Exam. However, he wanted us to learn for ourselves how to do history, not to talk with him about doing it or to carry out parts of his own research agenda, which of course he could, and did, do far better for himself.

As is the case with many of his students, I can still hear his “So what?” question in my head. It is an ongoing challenge to anyone who thinks, writes and talks for a living. It boils down to something like, I have heard what you said, now tell me why I should care about it? What have you taught me that I did not already know? This was the harsh but salutary discipline that he offered to his students. I resented it in graduate school, began to appreciate it when I was Senior Tutor of Lowell House charged with explaining Harvard’s rules to my students, and have made it a guiding principle in my work for clients over the last 35 years.

Bob Allison: At the end of my first semester in graduate school, I ran into another student who had also been in Bailyn’s colloquium. She told me she was leaving the program. She was from one of Massachusetts’ blue-collar cities, and it was clear through much of the semester that she was not happy at Harvard, finding most of the other students and many of the faculty pretentious. So, I asked, what are you going to do?

“It’s kind of neat,” she said. She had made the rounds

of her professors telling them she was leaving, and most had reacted as though she had already wasted enough of their time. But Professor Bailyn had asked her, “So, what are you going to do?”

She said she thought she would go back to her home town and teach high school.

“Wouldn’t you be better off doing that with a degree from the Ed. School?”

Yes, she said, that would probably make sense.

He picked up the phone, called someone at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, and told them he had a student who wanted to transfer from the GSAS.

So, she was stayed at Harvard but moved to the Ed School as he suggested, and had arranged for her.

I don’t know what happened in her life after that, but that teaching moment has stayed with me. The smallest part of what we do as teachers happens in the classroom.

The most valuable part of my graduate education—probably the most valuable part of all my education—was working for a couple of years as his research assistant. He was editing a collection of documents on the ratification of the Constitution. My job was to look up things that needed citation, and which he did not know off the top of his head. Things that Bernard Bailyn did not know off the top of his head were fairly obscure. He would send me into the stacks to locate a quote. To me the quote sounded like it might be Shakespeare. He would say, “I think it’s Hamlet, Act 3, Scene 2.” And sure enough, it was.

Sometimes I would come back having written several pages of notes on a topic, which he would read, and then sit at his typewriter and bang out two sentences which made it seem like he had been thinking about this issue for most of his career. This was a lesson in how to write. I was also tasked with preparing the biographical sketches for the several hundred people who spoke, wrote, or were otherwise mentioned in the volumes. Some were obvious, and the problem was condensing what needed to be said about Washington, Madison, or Samuel Adams? Others required digging. One of my favorites was a judge from North Carolina, and the most interesting thing about him was his untimely death. On a warm April day he sat on his front porch, and began to doze in the afternoon sun. A turkey in the yard seeing the judge’s red hat bobbing, took it as a challenge and attacked. Though the judge awoke and fought off the turkey, his wounds became infected and the judge died.

I ended the judge’s brief biography with this anecdote, and Professor Bailyn crossed it out. My next draft

tightened the story, but still he crossed it out. And so on, every draft I would put in the judge, the turkey and the red hat on an April day on a front porch in North Carolina, and he would take it out. I don't think we ever said anything to each other about this, but clearly we disagreed about its importance to the story.

When the two volumes came out, I immediately turned to the biographies and looked up the judge. His biographical sketch ends: "Died of wounds sustained in an attack by a turkey."

Ten words, not one unnecessary, in a perfectly structured sentence.

Susan Lively: "What should I read?" I asked Professor Bailyn. I had just told him that I was going to take a year off between college and graduate school to go to Nepal, where my husband was going to be studying on a traveling scholarship. I wanted to make the most of my time abroad, planning to read vast amounts of history in between studying Nepali and trekking in the Himalayas. But Bud seemed bemused by my question. It wasn't that there weren't books in Nepal. Kathmandu had fabulous second-hand bookstores where one could find a vast array of material, including old copies of Harvard's *Courses of Instruction*, complete sets of Dickens, and the poetry of William Wordsworth and Longfellow. And, thanks to the U.S. Agency for International Development, the city had a well-stocked library as well. It was just that, in Bud's mind, it was the job of the historian to read everything, retain it, and learn from it. He gave me no suggestions.

It was not until I attended Bud's graduate seminar the following year that I understood why he wanted me to explore history—any and all history—for myself. Though the syllabus for the course seemed exceedingly random—Rosicrucianism? the Australian bicentennial? chicken fights? the Profumo affair?—the method in his madness soon became apparent. Nothing was more exhilarating than when, at the end of the week's two-hour discussion, he would lean back in his chair and say, "Look!" and then reveal why he had had us read a particular work. The lessons that emerged from these sessions – the impact of the judicious use of adjectives; the limitations of "slice" history; the insights gained from exploring historical dead ends; the dangers of presentism; the joy of unraveling an apparent contradiction; and the power of a telling detail – have stayed with me for over thirty years. Name a book that we read in that seminar and I will tell you its point.

Indeed, I hope that if you mentioned any book I have read since then, I could tell you what I learned from

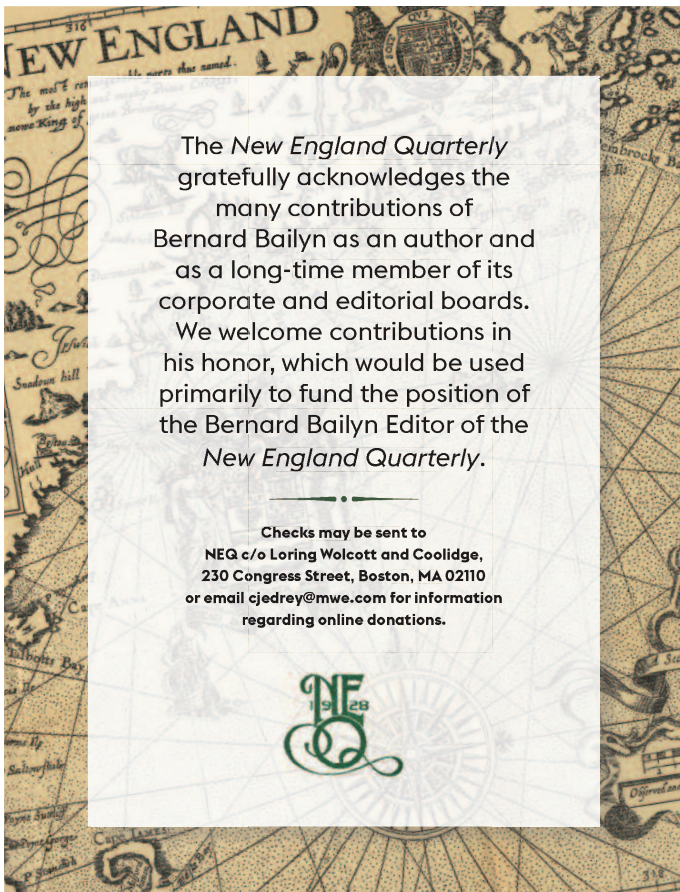
it. Professor Bailyn's rigorous seminar provided generations of students with the analytical skills necessary to read, retain, and learn. These are disciplined habits of mind that he modeled throughout his own life. Through the brilliance of his teaching, he transformed unformed initiates who wanted to be told what to read into robust thinkers who read voraciously and were capable of reaching conclusions for themselves, a powerful legacy shared by anyone who had the privilege to be his student.

John Tyler: I never was lucky enough to be one of Professor Bailyn's students, but I had some inkling of what the experience must be like from serving on a number of committees with him, most particularly the Publications Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which he chaired. Like his students, I was in awe of, and more than a little intimidated by, him. I tried not to disgrace myself in the few comments I made, but he was a most admirable chair. All sides of the issue were thoroughly, but expeditiously, aired, the question resolved, and the discussion moved on. The meetings always ended on time.

Shortly after I became editor of the Colonial Society, I attended another meeting at which he was present. We were casting around for suitable documentary collections that the CSM might publish. I mentioned that although Malcolm Freiberg and Catherine Shaw Mayo had transcribed nearly all of Thomas Hutchinson's letters in the Massachusetts Archives, nothing had ever really been done with them. Shouldn't the project be brought to a more complete fulfillment? Bailyn cocked his head and said with a wry smile, "Do you really want to spend the rest of your professional life doing that?" I naively said "yes," and it was nearly a quarter of a century later before the first volume appeared. And I'm still working on the remaining three volumes, but they are now, at least, in draft form.

Bailyn never intervened in the project or proffered ideas of how it should be done. He only offered encouragement and constructive help. I remember one early meeting at the Colonial Society, when with a twinkle in his eye, he produced from his book bag two shoeboxes full of note cards, cataloguing the references to every Hutchinson letter he had encountered while writing *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson*.

Volume Two of *The Correspondence of Thomas Hutchinson* was dedicated to him, and fortunately, he was able to see it a month or two before he died. I received the following email from him on 29 June: "Only some surgery and slow recovery could have kept me from acknowledging the receipt of the magnificent vol II of the



events scheduled for spring 2020 that never happened does not diminish the achievement of the editors. Ken Minkema's new transcription restores the richness and idiosyncrasies of Bradford's seventeenth-century prose, much of which tended to be flattened out by Samuel Eliot Morison's 1952 version, the most recent rendition previously available. Frank Bremer has annotated the 400th anniversary edition in a way that gracefully, but succinctly, profits from nearly seventy years of rich scholarship about Native American history and early Puritan theology and practice. The volume was a joint endeavor published by both the Colonial Society and our friends at the New England Historic Genealogical Society (New England Ancestors). Other special features of the book include an introduction by Native American historian and activist Paula Peters and a transcription and analysis by Eric Reymond of the Hebrew vocabularies Bradford included on blank pages in the manuscript. These Hebrew word lists had never been printed before and provided a fiendish challenge for the book's brilliant designer and typesetter: Paul Hoffman. Perhaps not too many readers will venture into the last seventy pages of the volume, but they will be missing out on a dazzling display by Reymond of philological pyrotechnics. The Genealogical Society, which is managing the marketing of *OPP*, reports strong early sales of the volume. Their expert marketers even arranged for a spot on the local television news, surely another first for anything the Colonial Society has been involved in!

correspondence and other papers. A brilliant work of editing and commentary. It sets a standard that you yourself will have to work hard to match in future projects. TH has finally found his voice thanks to your editing!"

It is said one dies three deaths: one when the heart stops, a second when we are laid in the ground, and a third when we are spoken of for the last time. If so, Bernard Bailyn will continue be a lively presence at 87 Mount Vernon Street for an infinitely receding future.

A Brief Report on Publications

Despite the vicissitudes of the past spring, the printing presses kept rolling, and two new Colonial Society publications appeared right on time. Indeed, from inception in December 2017 through the appearance of a printed volume in May 2020, the 400th anniversary edition of William Bradford's *Of Plimoth Plantation* was produced in record time for a Colonial Society volume. The fact that it was rushed to print in advance of commemorative

The second volume of *The Correspondence of Thomas Hutchinson*, edited by John Tyler and Elizabeth Dubrulle, appeared just a few weeks before *Of Plimoth Plantation*. It covers the years 1767 through 1769. The relative calm that followed the repeal of the Stamp Act was soon subsumed by controversy following the passage of the Townshend Acts and the first stirrings of the nonimportation movement. The newly-instituted American Board of Customs Commissioners provided an additional irritant and the rising level of popular protest prompted Bernard to hint broadly of the need for Regular troops to keep the Bostonians in line. Hutchinson warned against the idea, wisely foreseeing that no justice of the peace would authorize the use of force against an unarmed civilian population. Under these circumstances, the presence of 2,200 troops in a town of 15,000 caused further contention. Bernard's role in summoning troops was revealed when many of his letters to English officials found their way into print in the Boston newspapers, and the legislature soon called for his removal. Hutchinson became acting governor after Bernard's departure in midsummer 1769, but he found the job tougher than he imagined as efforts

to enforce the nonimportation agreement became increasingly violent toward the close of the year.

In May, the Colonial Society entered into an agreement with the Dartmouth Historical and Arts Society (DHAS) of Dartmouth, Massachusetts, to produce jointly a two-volume edition of the eighteenth-century records of the Dartmouth Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. Although the Colonial Society has produced many volumes of Congregational and Anglican Church records, this is the first set of Quaker documents it has published. The project of making these records publicly available was already well advanced when Fellow Member Elton Hall, a longtime resident of South Dartmouth, first alerted us to the undertaking. The DHAS has previously posted excellent digital images of the entire collection on its website (<https://www.dartmouthhas.org/quaker-transcriptions.html>), and their transcription, carefully checked and rechecked by DHAS members, is well advanced. The CSM will publish only a small part of the total collection: the Minutes of the Men's Meetings from 1699 through 1785, and the Minutes of the Women's Meeting for the parallel period. The entire collection of 6,000 handwritten pages of the records of the Dartmouth Meeting continues throughout the nineteenth century and on into the twentieth. Among the items left on the table by the CSM was the Society's Book of Discipline. For those unfamiliar with Quaker belief and practice, the Book of Discipline offers an excellent introduction. Though sorely tempted to include the Book of Discipline the CSM elected not to, because it is not unique and eighteenth-century printed editions of similar books are already available on the internet, but the curious will find it interesting reading and clearly legible on the DHAS website.

Persecuted by the Congregationalist majority in the early days of Massachusetts history, many Quakers settled in the borderlands between Rhode Island and Plymouth in territory seized from the Indians after King Philip's War. The Dartmouth (Smith's Point) Monthly Meeting was in many ways the founding society in the region, and a number of other meetings later spun off from it. The Quakers kept careful records as members moved from one location to another, and, famously endogamous, they recorded all marriages as well. The unique beliefs of the Quakers mean that the meeting minutes also contain references to such issues as slavery and manumission; pacifism and war (including participation in the region's privateering interests); gender relations; freedom of religion; and associations with Native Americans. Professor Thomas Hamm of Earlham College, a widely recognized authority on Quakers, will edit

the CSM's two volumes and provide a scholarly introduction.

Another recently initiated project will be the collected works of Daniel Gookin (1612-1687), superintendent of the Praying Indians. In this capacity he visited and, in some sense, oversaw the several praying towns—the first and most famous of them, Natick—that came into being after 1650. At the time of King Philip's War, he devoted himself to protecting the Christian Indians from the animosity of the colonists and was instrumental in shepherding the Natick community to Deer Island, where (in theory) they could be protected. In or about 1674, he sent Robert Boyle, the governor (or head) of the New England Company, a copy of "Historical Collections of the Indians in New England," which he envisioned as one section of a longer history of New England. An elaborate outline is all that survives of this second project. He turned away from it to write "An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England in 1675, 1676, and 1677," a sorrowfully specific description of the ravages directed at these people. He wrote as well a "Narrative of troubles with the Manquaoy Indians" [Mohawks], again a text he sent to Boyle, though it is still missing. None of these works was published in his own day. In 1792, the Massachusetts Historical Society, which had acquired the manuscript of "Historical Collections," published it in the first volume of its Proceedings. The "Sufferings" were printed in *Archeologicae Americanae* (1837), as the proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society were then called, from a copy of the original manuscript. A new edition of these important works will be edited by Fellow Members David Hall and Adrian Weimer.

The next printed volume in the series of CSM *Publications* will be *The Correspondence of Thomas Hutchinson, Volume Three* edited by John Tyler and new associate editor Margaret Hogan. The Boston Massacre occasioned a flurry of letter writing for Hutchinson. So frequent was the correspondence to and from him that this volume covers only the first ten months of 1770, beginning with the rising tide of violence in January and February as patriot leaders began to use increasingly coercive methods to enforce compliance with the nonimportation agreement. Immediately following the Massacre, Hutchinson faced demands to remove British troops to Castle William, an island fortress in the harbor, which would render them useless to suppress civil disorder. In subsequent months, he also maneuvered skillfully to delay the trials of Captain Thomas Preston and his soldiers, until tempers cooled. Both sides moved swiftly to control the flow of information to London, producing contradictory

narratives from soldiers, townspeople, and government officials. The British ministry's response was also confused. Parliament was locked in political paralysis as colonial policy became mixed with the contention between two evenly matched British political groupings absorbed in local disputes that had little to do with imperial affairs. The slow tempo of transatlantic communication, often taking between two to six months before requests for advice could be answered, meant that Hutchinson frequently needed to act without clear instruction. The acquittal of Thomas Preston near the end of the volume pointed the way to a relaxation of tensions and a respite in patriot efforts to arouse discontent.

Appearing shortly after *Hutchinson Three* will be the sixth and final volume of *The Papers of Francis Bernard* edited by Fellow Member Colin Nicolson, which covers the years from Bernard's return to England in 1769 until his death in 1779. After Bernard's departure from Massachusetts on 1 August 1769, he returned to England where he became a key advisor on American colonial policy. He suffered a stroke sometime between May 1771 and January 1772, but recovered sufficiently to remain somewhat active until his death. The volume documents his attempts to influence British colonial policy. Upon leaving office, he maintained regular communication with his successor, Thomas Hutchinson: Bernard was both an interlocutor and intercessor, channeling Hutchinson's views and pressing his own opinions upon British ministers. His controversial proposals for reforming colonial government did not fall on deaf ears and in the aftermath of the Boston Tea Party of 1773, Prime Minister Lord North and American Secretary Lord Dartmouth were receptive to Bernard's ideas for revising the Massachusetts Province Charter and instituting the direct appointment of a royal Council. Bernard's letters on colonial opposition and resistance, accumulated from 1765, constituted a major source of detailed evidence for the British government in persuading Parliament to adopt the punitive Coercive Acts that would trigger rebellion in Massachusetts in the late summer and early autumn of 1774. Bernard even supplied the British with the names of the prospective royal councilors and future Loyalists whom the rebellious colonists forced from office.

Bernard Six concludes the series by exhibiting how British colonial policy took cognizance of the information on colonial opposition supplied by the King's representatives in the American colonies. Hitherto, British historians of the Imperial Crisis of 1765-74 have tended to marginalize that evidence, preferring to emphasize the domestic British political context to colonial policymaking or ministerial and parliamentary reactions to events

in America. British politicians did not view the Imperial Crisis through the eyes of the royal governors, but their perceptions of seemingly "rebellious" colonists were indubitably shaped by the sense of crisis that governors manufactured in their correspondence.

Community History Day

The CSM Education Committee supported the South Boston Community History Day, an annual event at Dorchester Heights. Children from schools in South Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, and the North End come to Dorchester Heights in South Boston, where the cannon brought by Henry Knox from Fort Ticonderoga forced the British evacuation of Boston in March 1776, the first victory in the War for Independence. At the Heights the students meet historical characters, including Henry Knox and Phillis Wheatley, as well as sailors from the USS CONSTITUTION and other historical interpreters for an unforgettable engagement with history. Though the 2020 History Day had to be postponed, history will return to the Heights in 2021. This was the first program supported by the education grants announced in last year's newsletter. The k-12 Education Committee hopes to support more new programs in the near future, which bring history alive for students.



Fellow Member Bob Bellinger engages students in drumming at Dorchester Heights.



Police Commissioner William G. Gross joins students at the Dorchester Heights Monument



Fellow Member Bob Hall presents the story of Venture Smith, who purchased his own freedom, and his family's, in 18th-century Connecticut.

Colonial Society Graduate Forum

COVID forced the Colonial Society to postpone its 18th Graduate Forum until 2021. Fortunately, all of our panelists, and Moderator Linda Kerber, May Brodbeck Professor in the Liberal Arts and Professor of History *Emerita*, Lecturer in Law at the University of Iowa, were prepared to wait until June 11, 2021 for this event.

Once again committee members Bob Gross, Susan Lively, and Bob Allison were able to select candidates for

the forum, which promises to be an engaging day, with presenters coming from Scotland, from Berkeley, and from points in between.

Border Controls: *Trading Posts and Harbor Forts*

Sam Slattery, *William and Mary*, Harbor Forts, the Policed Atlantic, and the Struggle for Power in British America

Eric Trautman-Mosher, *University of New Hampshire*, Trading Places: Native Consumers and British Merchants in an Eighteenth-Century Empire of Goods

Bodies and Souls: *Religious Freedom and Social Controls in Early America*

Anna Todd, *University of Pennsylvania*, The Ties that Bind: Illegitimacy in Early America

Erik Nordbye, *Harvard University*, Faith-Based Capitalism: Religious Dissenters and the Struggle against Church Taxes in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts

Identity Politics: *Personal Loyalties and Ideological Attachments in the Age of Revolution*

Jamie MacPherson, *University of Stirling* (Scotland), John Adams: Friendship and Politics, 1774-1801

Russell Weber, *University of California at Berkeley*, American Feeling: Political Passions and Emotional Identity in the Early Republic, 1754-1797

Join us on June 11, starting at 9 a.m., at 87 Mount Vernon Street, and concluding with Professor Kerber's reflections at 3 p.m.

News of Members

James W. Baker spent several years preparing to address Plymouth's 400th Anniversary, but then nature intervened. Recent and forthcoming publications include "Clark's Island: From Pilgrims to Today," in *Duxbury: Our Pilgrim Story* (Duxbury 2020); *Made in America: The Pilgrim Story and How It Grew* (General Society of Mayflower Descendants) and *Plymouth Rock's Own Story* (The Pilgrim Society).

Peggy M. Baker continues to write about Plymouth Colony topics ("Sarah and Elizabeth Collier: Making a Mark in Plymouth Colony," which will appear in the upcoming *Mayflower Quarterly*, will be her 35th article in that publication), although the expected busy 2020 "speaking season" is no longer a possibility. Her article,

“Adventuresome William Collier,” is included in *Duxbury, Our Pilgrim Story: A 2020 Perspective*, published this year by Duxbury 2020 Inc. Work for the General Society of Mayflower Descendants on the 6th and 7th generations of Pilgrim Thomas Rogers continues . . . slowly.

James B. Bell has contributed an essay to *The Oxford History of Anglicanism Volume II, Establishment and Empire, 1662-1829*, discussing the extension during that period of the English Church to the American colonies, the new United States and the provinces of Canada.

Richard Bell was promoted to the rank of Professor of History at the University of Maryland. His new book, *Stolen: Five Free Boys Kidnapped into Slavery and their Astonishing Odyssey Home*, is presently a finalist for both the George Washington Prize and the Harriet Tubman Prize.

Francis J. Bremer, coordinator of New England Beginnings, was one of the co-editors, along with Kenneth P. Minkema and Jeremy D. Bangs, of ‘Of Plimoth Plantation’ by William Bradford. *The 400th Anniversary Edition*, published jointly this year by the Colonial Society and the New England Historic and Genealogical Society. Bremer is also author of *One Small Candle: The Plymouth Puritans and the Beginning of English New England* (Oxford University Press, 2020). His essay on “Dissent in New England,” appeared in John Coffey, editor, *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions, Volume I: The Post-Reformation Era, c. 1559–c. 1689* (Oxford University Press, 2020). In June he delivered (virtually) the Baker Lecture at the Boston Public Library on “The Unappreciated Role of Women in Puritanism,” which is the subject of the book he is now working on.

Nym Cooke is well embarked on a comprehensive and detailed inventory of the pre-1821 printed and manuscript American sacred music in a large number of key libraries and historical societies in the northeast. He’s just completed a short-term fellowship at the American Antiquarian Society, and is waiting for the pandemic to settle down enough so that he can begin work at the Massachusetts Historical Society, the John Hay Library at Brown University, and the appropriate Harvard libraries, under a New England Regional Fellowship Consortium grant. Nym’s inventories of individual libraries are being combined in a searchable database that will eventually be available online. If any CSM member knows of significant collections of early American sacred music that might be overlooked, or has any questions about this project, please contact Nym at nymcooke@gmail.com.

Paul Erickson left the Boston area and his position at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences to take up the role of Randolph G. Adams Director of the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan. He looks forward to welcoming members of the Colonial Society there to make use of its marvelous collections related to early America, particularly the era of the Revolution.

Dan Finamore and his colleague Austen Bailly are working on a major marine painting exhibition and book entitled *In American Waters: The Role of the Sea in American Painting*. The show is being co-organized by the Peabody Essex Museum and the Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art, and will open in Salem in May and Crystal Bridges in November, 2021. Casting the net far wider than the traditional definition of marine painting, and with works dating from the 1680s to today, the project explores how artists have infused their work with the influential beauty, violence, poetry and transformative power of the sea in American life.

Donald Friary has been elected an Honorary Trustee of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. He has also designed and is leading historical/architectural tours of Salem for small groups (1-8 people) under the aegis of the international firm ToursByLocals (toursbylocals.com). His themes are Salem and the Sea; Grand Mansions and Sailors’ Lodgings: The Architecture of Salem, Massachusetts; Salem in 1799; Nathaniel Hawthorne’s Salem; The Great Salem Fire of 1914; Salem: Then and Now; or a customized tour.

David Hall’s *The Puritans: A Transatlantic History* (Princeton) appeared in November; Hall reflected on the book at a Colonial Society meeting in October. He and Adrian Weimer (Providence College) are editing the writings and letters of Daniel Gookin (1612-1687), best known for his description of the colonists’ brutal treatment of the “Christian” Indians in Massachusetts during King Philip’s War; the book will be published by the Colonial Society. He has been doing podcasts and radio interviews with the likes of the BBC about aspects of Puritan history.

Margaret A. Hogan has assumed the position of associate editor of the CSM’s *Correspondence of Thomas Hutchinson* series, working with fellow member John W. Tyler.

Daniel Mandell, professor of history at Truman State University, recently published *The Lost Tradition of Economic Equality in America, 1600-1870*, with Johns Hopkins University Press. He has also written several articles

resulting from the book: “The Founders Supported Strong Economic Regulations in Moments of Crisis,” *Washington Post*, May 7, 2020; “How the Civil War Changed the Way Americans Thought About Economic Inequality,” *TIME*, April 7, 2020; and “Fight for Economic Equality is as Old as America Itself,” *The Conversation*, August 4, 2020, which has been reprinted in various newspapers. Mandell also discussed the new book on the podcast *The Rogue Historian*, <https://keithharrishistory.com/the-rogue-historian-podcast/2020/7/30/the-lost-tradition-of-economic-equality-in-america-with-daniel-mandell>, and in a webcast with Liz Covart sponsored by the Massachusetts Historical Society, May 14, 2020, which can be viewed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X4_oK3e4SUQ&feature=youtu.be

Carl R. Nold retired in June after seventeen years as president and CEO of Historic New England. The board of trustees honored him with the title president emeritus and created the Carl R. Nold Fund for Museum Education in his honor. One hundred ten donors contributed \$1.3 million to the endowment fund. Boston Preservation Alliance announced that Carl is the 2020 recipient of their Codman Award for Lifetime Achievement in historic preservation, the eighth person to receive this award in the organization’s forty-two-year history.

Mary Beth Norton returned to the eighteenth century after decades of work on seventeenth-century topics and published *1774: The Long Year of Revolution* with Alfred A. Knopf. The narrative history of the period begins with the tea crises of late 1773 and ends with Gage’s order sending troops to Concord in April 1775.

Carla Pestana’s book, *The World of Plymouth Plantation*, will be published with Harvard/Belknap in October 2020; it places Plymouth in its wider Atlantic context. She continues to serve as chair of her department at UCLA.

Neal Salisbury is the author of “Traacherous Waters: Tisquantum, the Red Atlantic, and the Beginnings of Plymouth Colony,” which will appear in a special issue, “Reframing 1620,” of *Early American Literature*, vol. 56, no. 1, in February 2021. He presented a brief version of the article to the Society at its meeting in February 2020. After a lengthy hiatus, he is now resuming research on Joshua Tefft, a Rhode Island colonist who was convicted and executed for allegedly aiding the Narragansetts in attacking the English during King Philip’s War. He is especially interested in hearing from members who may know about Massachusetts’ role in prosecuting Tefft.

D. Brenton Simons was appointed Vice Chairman of the Plymouth 400th Anniversary State Commission; due to the COVID-19 pandemic many of the commemorative events have been postponed until next year at the earliest, including a visit to Boston by former UK Prime Minister Sir John Major and a Ceremony of Remembrance in Plymouth, both now rescheduled for April 2021. Brenton reports that the New England Historic Genealogical Society has published a number of Quadricentennial-related titles this year, including the 400th anniversary edition of *Of Plimoth Plantation*, in collaboration with the Colonial Society, and *The Mayflower Migration*, by Colonial Society member Robert Charles Anderson, among several others.

Reiner Smolinski, General Editor of Cotton Mather’s *Biblia Americana* (1693-1728) and professor of early American literature at Georgia State University (Atlanta), has published another volume of Cotton Mather’s *Biblia Americana: Vol. 2: Exodus—Deuteronomy*, Edited, with an Introduction (Tubingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2019), xxii + 1,461 pp. This is the sixth published volume of ten (2010–). ISBN 978-3-16-158946-1. Reiner Smolinski and Ken Minkema are currently finishing a new *Cotton Mather Reader* for Yale UP.

John W. Tyler wrote an essay this spring entitled “Thomas Hutchinson’s Enemies List: Unmasking Conspiracy and Wickedness in the Patriot Cause.” It will appear in a future issue of the *New England Quarterly*. Volume 3 of *The Correspondence of Thomas Hutchinson* (January–October, 1770) is going forward smoothly with the able assistance of new associate editor Margaret Hogan.

Robert J. Wilson III has just finished an institutional history of the university where he serves as the University Historian and emeritus professor of history. The projected title is *125 Years of Georgia College (1889–2014): The History of Georgia’s Public Liberal Arts University*. The book should appear in print in late fall, 2020 or early spring, 2021.

Kinvin Wroth, as Professor Emeritus at Vermont Law School, continues to be active in the work of the law school and as Reporter to procedural rules advisory committees of the Vermont Supreme Court and as a member of the steering committee of the Economics for the Anthropocene project’s Law and Governance Initiative, based at McGill University, Montreal. He has written a chapter, “Lawyers and Ecological Law,” in G. Garver et al., eds., *From Environmental to Ecological Law*, published by Routledge Press, for fall 2020 publication.

The Work of the House Committee

By Elton W. Hall, Curator

Nobody needs to be reminded what an extraordinary and totally unforeseen year this has been. There are many ways to look at a year. Most of us go by the calendar. Educators plan their academic year, and our treasurer worries about our fiscal year. With regard to the Colonial Society, my year runs from Annual Meeting to Annual Meeting. No matter which of these determines your starting point, everyone's year started out well. At the 2019 Annual Meeting the reports were all good, showing satisfying accomplishment during the past year and exciting plans for the future. We adjourned to the Somerset Club where we finished off the evening with good food and fellowship. Soon after that we broke out and displayed our 2020 calendars. On January 28, the House Committee met at the house to consider the matters of maintenance, repair, and conservation for the coming year.

The House Committee is very fortunate in comprising members with many of the various areas of expertise required to maintain the house and its contents. If we don't have exactly what we need, there is always someone in the group who knows where to get it. That is very helpful, because in a typical meeting we cover a broad range of issues. While most of us are retired, a couple of the members are still fully employed, and although they make every effort to be present, sometimes unavoidable conflicts prevent their participation at a meeting. Those who cannot be present respond to the agenda with whatever they have to contribute prior to the meeting. The January meeting provides a good example. The major undertaking for this year would be the restoration of the south façade of the Carriage House, which consists mostly of glazed doors and windows fabricated in 1988 to fill the areas occupied by the old carriage doors when the building was converted into a dwelling. We had discovered that during the thirty years of their service they had deteriorated beyond the abilities of ordinary house carpenters and painters to repair them. Lynne Spencer, our preservation architect member, examined them and explained that the deterioration was not due to inadequate maintenance but rather that at the time they were made, custom mill shops were using a species of pine that later proved to be highly susceptible to rot. We decided that the project required the skills of Essex Restorations, the firm that had carried out the restoration of the main house after the extensive winter storm damage of 2015. Lynne would meet with Walter Beebe-Center, principal

of the firm, discuss the project and request a proposal.

The next item on the agenda was the vestibule right inside the front door, which has grown increasingly shabby in recent years. Don Friary reported that he had arranged a visit by furniture conservator Christine Thomson, who had come to the house and taken a goodly number of paint samplings from various places around the area to see what we could learn about the history of paint layers. She would report on her findings when she had had a chance to examine and analyze them. While little or nothing has been done to that space beyond the addition of one or two more layers of paint since the Colonial Society acquired the building, it is clear that over the years a number of alterations have been made. The principal changes are the addition of the inner doors and the fenestration around the front door. There are also a few bits and pieces of hardware and a few notches, painted over but not filled, where other pieces had been let in.

Amid our examination and discussion, the thought arose that this is a relatively small room in the house, but clearly a lot has happened to it. Perhaps it offers an opportunity to make a careful study of it, examine every detail and see what we can learn about what has happened there since 1806. We might learn things that would provide new information about changes to the entire house. At the end, we would be left with some alternatives for the next step, which could run the gamut from simply slapping on another coat of paint to a complete restoration. The latter course would of necessity be largely conjectural, based on research not only of the existing fabric, but also surviving examples of Bulfinch's work to ascertain the most likely appearance of the original work.

The one part of the job that we wanted to go ahead on was refinishing the front door. That would not seem to be an insurmountable task, but nothing is ever easy in an historic house in an historic district. Refinishing a front door in place poses a number of problems both for the work and the traffic using the door. If you take it to a workshop, you can't just leave a gaping hole there. What do you put in its place? What will the Beacon Hill Historical Commission have to say about it? Robert Mussey volunteered to get an estimate from a conservator to restore the door with a specific finish, but we eventually settled on Essex Restorations.

Robert also reported that the large gilt mirror frame between the two windows of the meeting room, possibly made by John Doggett of Roxbury, and the French cabinet beneath it had gone to Chris Shelton for conservation. Removal of the mirror revealed the wall paper that had been on the wall of that room before the Society ac-

quired the house. Robert Mussey reports that gilding stabilization and repairs on the gilding on the gilt mirror frame are nearly complete, and awaiting final tweaking. All work on the reproduction gilt French cabinet under the mirror is also complete. Additional supporting structure was added under the marble top to better support the marble bust which is usually displayed on top. Both pieces will be returned to the house in October.

The conservation discussion continued to consideration of possibilities for the next projects. Robert provided a list of seven items of which we discussed four. The needlework hatchment from the Parkman family is an important piece with a known history and in need of work both to stabilize it and repair some minor damage. The Channing/Morse family sofa attributed to Isaac Vose is in need of reupholstering and some structural repair. Once restoration is complete, we plan to move the sofa from the Channing Room on the third floor to the Library, replacing the yellow, overstuffed sofa presently there. The other two pieces discussed were the enormous Parkman family bookcase in the Meeting Room, and an upholstered, open-arm easy chair in the Drawing Room. The Parkman bookcase presents several problems. It is a monumental piece and part of our important Parkman collection. It has the name of Francis Parkman, Jr. inscribed inside. In its present location, it is impossible to see entirely. There is some damage to the secretary drawer that could be relatively easily repaired on site, but there are many lesser bits of damage all around, and to put it into first class condition, as we have done with the other Parkman pieces, would require considerable time and expense. The alternatives of having it restored at the house or moving it to a conservator's shop both have significant problems. Moreover, in its present location it is subject to ongoing damage as the chairs in front of it tend to be pushed back against it when they're in use during a meeting. We decided to mull that over for a while and consider various possibilities. The open-armed easy chair, from which the springs have been protruding through the bottom for years, also came under consideration. It is a relatively recent production in 17th-century European style. The general feeling of the committee was that it is not worth the cost of having it restored and that it should be deaccessioned and disposed of.

Having completed our tour around the house and disposed of the material items on the agenda, we returned to the dining table to take care of some business matters. Chairman Nylander had circulated a conflict of interest form with the request that all members of the committee print copies and sign them. This is a part of our gentle but ongoing effort to make sure that the So-

ciety is maintaining "best practices" in all the departments of our operations.

The second item of business concerned my decision last fall to make this my last year as Curator of the Society, having completed forty years of attendance at Council meetings. Tom Michie agreed to head a Curator Search Committee. He reported that his committee had been developing a job description and had sought legal and professional advice concerning certain elements of it. Work on that was nearing completion, and they were considering what would be the most effective way to promulgate it. Several useful suggestions came from around the table.

Since its re-establishment when Don Friary became President of the Society, most of the discussion has involved specific issues with the fabric of the house or the conservation of individual objects or classes of objects such as furniture or works on paper. The general arrangement of the house has remained pretty much the same since the three large collections of furniture and furnishings came in soon after our acquisition of the house. Richard Nylander has suggested that we ought to step back and take a larger view of the house as a whole or the furnishing of entire rooms. Discussion of the Parkman bookcase brought this subject up again. Other than its present location, there is only one other place in the house where it could go. That is on the east wall of the Channing room, almost directly above its present location. The Channing Room was set up to exhibit the collection related to William Ellery Channing that had been assembled from members of the Channing family by Henry Channing and eventually transferred to the Society. Gradually, many of the most important items in the collection have been conserved and moved to the second floor, where they make a better contribution to the décor of the house and may be seen by members who attend meetings. The Channing Room has recently become something of a lumber room where furniture is stored when there is no place for it on the first two floors. The suggestion arose that were the Parkman bookcase moved up there and properly restored, it could be the centerpiece of a repurposed and refurnished room that would make a much greater contribution to the usefulness of the house. We agreed to contemplate that idea and discuss it again at future meeting. Thus we adjourned.

Robert Mussey went right to work contacting conservators for the Channing/Morse sofa and the hatchment. He also did some exploratory work on the sofa to see if he could find any remains of the original cover fabric. If he could not, we would use horsehair as a thor-

oughly appropriate cover for that piece. Having found no original fabric, he placed an order for horsehair, which now comes from China. During the process of restoration, it was discovered that the sofa originally had rows of decorative brass nails along all fabric edges, so that has been reproduced in the new upholstery. It should return to the house in October.

Proposals for many of these projects had just been received when the corona virus struck. Everything shut down. The conservators stopped work, and the house became almost entirely silent for some time. As we begin the return to our usual activities, Essex Restorations has commenced work on the Carriage House, and the conservators have resumed work on the furniture.

Revolution 250

More than sixty organizations in Massachusetts—and some in New Hampshire and Rhode Island—have joined Revolution 250, to prepare commemorations of the American Revolution's beginnings. This year our focus has been on lobbying the Massachusetts General Court to create a 250th Commission. With the legislature still in session, there is time to remind your State Senators and Representatives to support this effort—S 1813, sponsored by Nick Collins, and H 2672, sponsored by David Biele.

Revolution 250 is also preparing commemorative activities for the Fall of 2020, marking the 250th anniversary

of the Boston Massacre Trials. Plans are well under way to do a virtual re-enactment of these pivotal trials, *Rex v. Wemms* and *Rex v. Preston*, which featured the extraordinary defense team of Josiah Quincy and John Adams. The City of Quincy—home of both lawyers, as well as prosecutor Samuel Quincy (Josiah's older brother), is also planning commemorative activities.

Revolution 250 also this Fall has launched its own podcast, featuring interviews with historians, historical interpreters, and keepers of historical sites. Our first, with Gordon Wood, aired in early September.

For more on Revolution 250, check out its website, <https://revolution250.org/>.



MHS Director Catherine Allgor, and Colonial Society Vice President Robert Allison, address the Joint Committee on Administration, lobbying for H 2672 and S 1813.

Development Committee Report

By Anne Grimes Rand

Members of the Colonial Society showed strong support through the Annual Fund this year, contributing over \$35,000 to advance the Society's mission of publication, research and fellowship. The timely release of William Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation* demonstrates the Society's careful planning, issuing the definitive version of this seminal work as the nation's eyes turn to Massachusetts to mark the 400th anniversary of MAYFLOWER's arrival. The Colonial Society's robust educational efforts are supported by a strong endowment built by generous contributions over many years. Members of the 1892 Associates continue this tradition by leaving a planned gift to the Colonial Society to sustain future efforts. If you are interested in ensuring the Colonial Society's legacy of scholarship and collegiality with an estate gift, please reach out to a member of the Development Committee: Peggy Burke, Toby Hall, Henry Lee, Alan Rogers or contact Anne Grimes Rand at arand@usscm.org.

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We apologize for any omissions or errors in the above lists. Please contact us to note corrections. Thank you.



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