

“THINKING MORE OF THE WINE THAN THE BRINE”

AS WE SUSPECT THAT SOME DO AT NEWPORT RI



CAPE COD: The time must come when this coast will be a place of resort for those New-Englanders who really wish to visit the sea-side. At present it is wholly unknown to the fashionable world, and probably it will never be agreeable to them. If it is merely a ten-pin alley, or a circular railway, or an ocean of mint-julep, that the visitor is in search of, -if he thinks more of the wine than the brine, as I suspect some do at Newport,- I trust that for a long time he will be disappointed here. But this shore will never be more attractive than it is now. Such beaches as are fashionable are here made and unmade in a day, I may almost say, by the sea shifting its sands. Lynn and Nantasket! this bare and bended arm it is that makes the bay in which they lie so snugly. What are springs and waterfalls? Here is the spring of springs, the waterfall of waterfalls. A storm in the fall or winter is the tide to visit it; a light-house or a fisherman's hut the true hotel. A man may stand there and put all America behind him.



1524

March 1: Giovanni da Verrazano (or Verazzano, or Verrazzano) of Firenze may have visited our coast in *La Dauphine* as early as 1508 in the service of French merchants. However, the landfall of this date to this point has stood as the 1st verifiable visit to [RHODE ISLAND](#) waters by a European.



This skipper was in the employ of King Francis I of France and several Italian promoters, and was searching for an all-water way to get past the barrier of savage North America and on west toward the great markets of civilized Cathay ([CHINA](#)).

After his initial landfall at Cape Fear on what is now the North Carolina coast, on about this date, as the 1st French ship to scout this coast, he would proceed northward to the present site of New-York and anchor in the



narrows which are now spanned by the giant bridge bearing his name, and claim the Algonkian *Manah-hatin*

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“Island of the Hills” on behalf of the French king.



From there, according to his own account, he would sail in an easterly direction until in about April he “discovered and Ilande in the forme of a triangle distant from the maine lande three leagues about the bigness of the Isle of Rhodes,”¹ an island which he named Luisa in honor of the Queen Mother of France. This

1. Rhodos, in Greek, means “rose,” and from this we have the Reverend Williams’s comment that “Rhode Island, like the Isle of Rhodes, is an island of roses.”

must have been the island we now know as Block Island, but the Reverend Roger Williams and others would



later mistake this as a reference to [AQUIDNECK ISLAND](#), at which Verrazzano soon came to anchor under the guidance of Wampanoag canoes.² Thus they would reject that indigenous name Aquidneck³ in favor of “Rhode Island” after Verrazzano’s “the Island of Rhodes” and it would be Verrazzano who had (inadvertently, indirectly, as a ricochet) given to our smallest state its name “[RHODE ISLAND](#) and Providence Plantations.” When Verrazzano’s ship would reach the waters off Point Judith, the Wampanoag would paddle out and guided the sailors to a 2d anchorage in Narragansett Bay, at what is now Newport harbor. Their ship would anchor there for a couple of weeks while noting the fertile soil, the woods of oak and walnut, and such game as lynx and deer. There is not now any record of what the Narragansett thought of their strange guests, but we do

2. Giovanni da Verrazano would, on a subsequent voyage, provide protein supplement to New-World cannibals. Later, the Dutch mariner Adriaen Block would rename Luisa Island, which had become Claudia Island, in honor of himself.

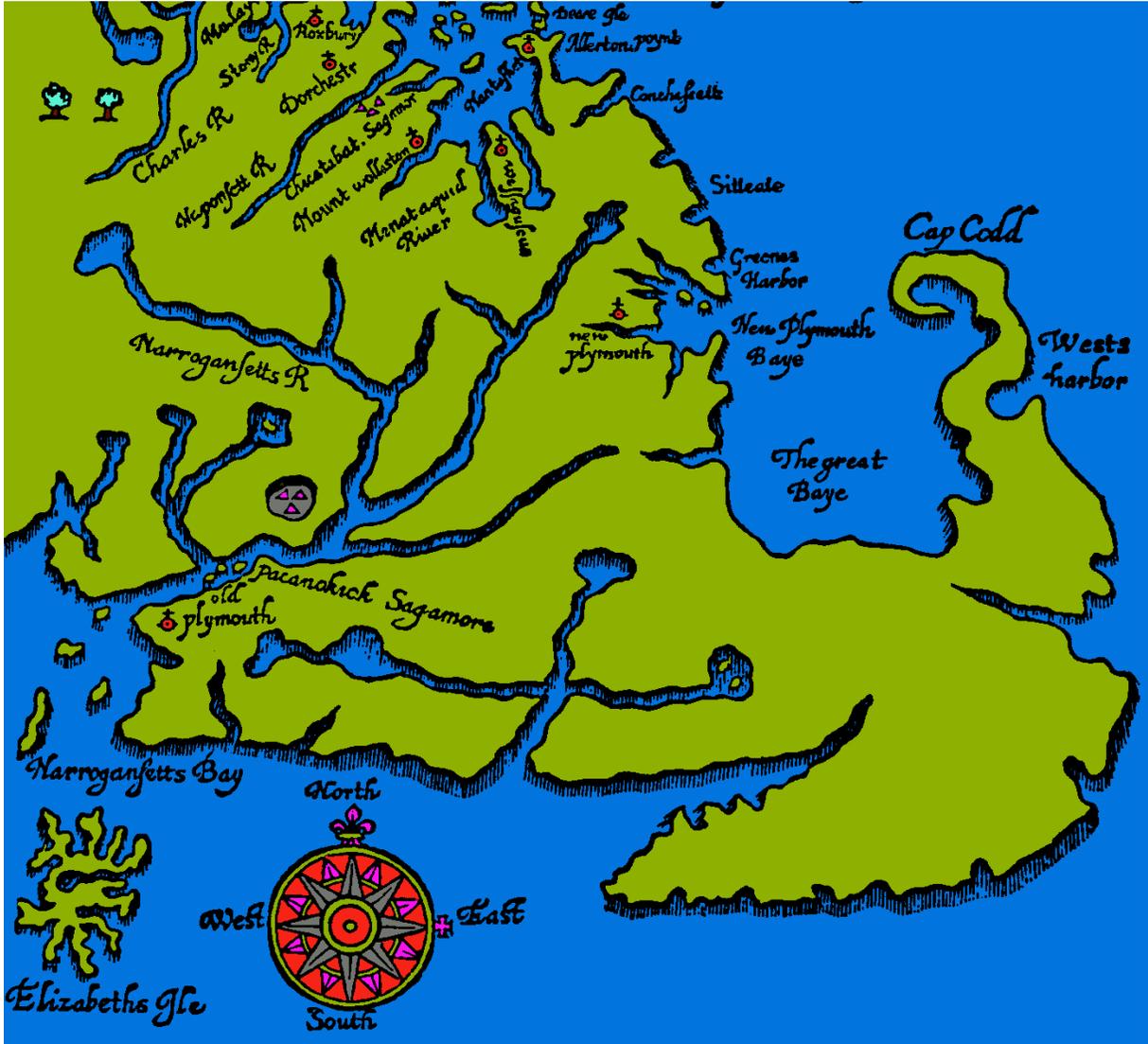
3. In Algonquian, “Aquidnet” means “a place of security or tranquility,” from “aquene” or “aquidne” meaning secure or peaceful, and “et” meaning place.

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happen to have retained a record of what that Florentine navigator thought of them:

These people are the most beautiful and have the most civil customs that we have found on this voyage. They are taller than we are ... the face is clear-cut ... the eyes are black and alert, and their manner is sweet and gentle, very much like the manner of the ancients.



He then may have landed somewhere in this cluster of eight islands now known as the Isles of Shoals.

(When they built a bridge in his honor, they put it between Long Island and Staten Island rather than between any two of the islands in this group off the mouth of the “Merimock” River.)

One of the things to bear in mind, in regard to the fire that Henry Thoreau so carelessly started, is that all this forest growth had come about subsequent to the cessation of the native American practice of constant management by burning. Here, for instance, is what Giovanni da Verrazano had to say about New England as

managed by the native Americans:

We often went five or six leagues [15 to 20 miles] into the interior, and found the country as pleasant as it is possible to conceive, adapted to cultivation of every kind, whether of corn, wine or [olive] oil; there are open plains twenty-five or thirty leagues in extent entirely free of trees ... and of so great fertility, that whatever is sown there will yield an excellent crop. On entering the woods, we observed that they might all be traversed by an army ever so numerous.



[THOREAU'S CARELESS FIRE]

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Early May: Giovanni da Verrazano (or, Verazzano, or, Verrazzano) of Firenzi departed from [NEWPORT](#) harbor in *La Dauphine* to proceed with his agenda for discovering for King Francis I of France a Northwest Passage the great markets of civilized Cathay.



[CHINA](#)

We may hope that he had sense enough to take with him some of the luscious *Prunus maritima* that he had observed growing along the American coast — as a spot of our beach plum jam would have tasted real nice, while these guys were getting frustrated, sailing around in the frosty northern ocean passages:



There are no records of further visits of Europeans to the [RHODE ISLAND](#) region until the charting of the coast by Captain John Smith in 1614.

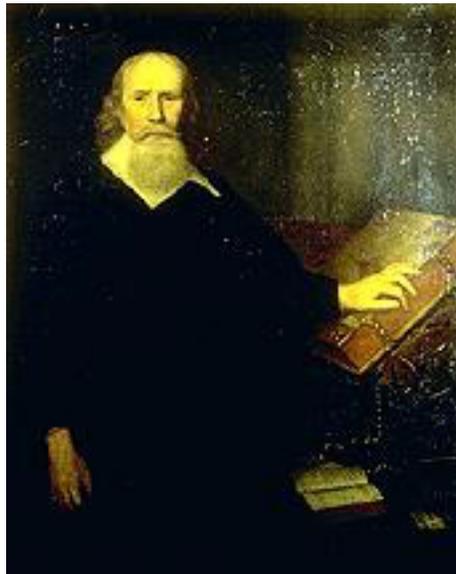
1638

Anne Hutchinson, a male with the family name of Collins, and a male with the family name of Hales, were accused of witchcraft in Aquiday, [RHODE ISLAND](#). We have no record of further action.⁴

8th Day, 8th Month: The name of William Hall was on a list of 59 persons admitted as inhabitants of an island on the coast of [RHODE ISLAND](#) called Aqueedunk.

[AQUIDNECK ISLAND](#)

March 7: Finding the political and religious climate of Boston to be quite as repellent as the situation in England from which he had just departed, John Clarke arranged with a group of Boston citizens to seek out a place at which they might find refuge. They all signed the following compact: "We, whose names are underwritten, do here solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, incorporate ourselves into a Body Politic, and as he shall help, will submit our persons, lives, and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and to all those perfect and most absolute laws of his given us in his Holy Word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby." Their form of governance was to be "a democracy or popular government" respecting individual liberty of conscience, in which no one was "to be accounted a delinquent for doctrine." The magistrate in this new colony would punish only "breaches of the law of God that tend to civil disturbance." They selected an island in Narragansett Bay, known by the Indians as [AQUIDNECK ISLAND](#), but subsequently commonly known among themselves as Rhode Island.



4. "Aquiday" was [AQUIDNECK ISLAND](#), now containing the towns of [PORTSMOUTH](#), Middletown, and [NEWPORT](#).

March 22: Part of the problem was that Mary Dyer, a woman associated with Mistress Anne Hutchinson, had borne a child, stillborn, characterized by Governor John Winthrop as a “monster.” The Reverend John Cotton, repentant, confided to the court his role in the secret burial. When exhumed, the body had seemed to lack a skull. Goody Hawkins, who assisted at the birth, was summoned to provide a description of the child as born. The baby’s “thornback” birth defect was being ascribed by the Puritans to the influence of antinomianism.

The group led by Mistress Hutchinson was expelled by an ecclesiastical court upon a charge of “traducing the ministers,” and she herself was excommunicated and ordered “as a Leper to withdraw yorselwe owt of the Congregation.”

Forasmuch as yow, Mrs. Huchinson, have highly transgressed & offended, & forasmuch as yow have soe many ways troubled the Church wth yor Erors & have drawen away many a poor soule, & have upheld yor Revelations: & forasmuch as yow have made a Lye, &c. Therfor in the name of our Lord Je: Ch: & in the name of the Church I doe not only pronownce yow worthy to be cast owt, but I doe cast yow out & in the name of Ch. I dow deliver you up to Sathan, that yow may learne no more to blaspheme, to seduce & to lye, & I dow account yow from this time forth to be a Hethen & a Publican & soe to be held of all the Bretheren & Sisters, of this Congregation, & of others: thefor I command yow in the name of Ch: Je: & of this Church as a Leper to wthdraw yorselwe owt of the Congregation; that as formerly yow have dispised & contemned the Holy Ordinances of God, & turned yor Backe one them, soe yow may now have no part in them nor benefit by them.

She would take refuge by abandoning Boston for Paumanok Long Island in New York, and a number of people influenced by her heresy would take refuge, initially with the Reverend Roger Williams at **PROVIDENCE** Plantations and then at **PORTSMOUTH** on **AQUIDNECK ISLAND**, an island also known as Rhodes Island.⁵

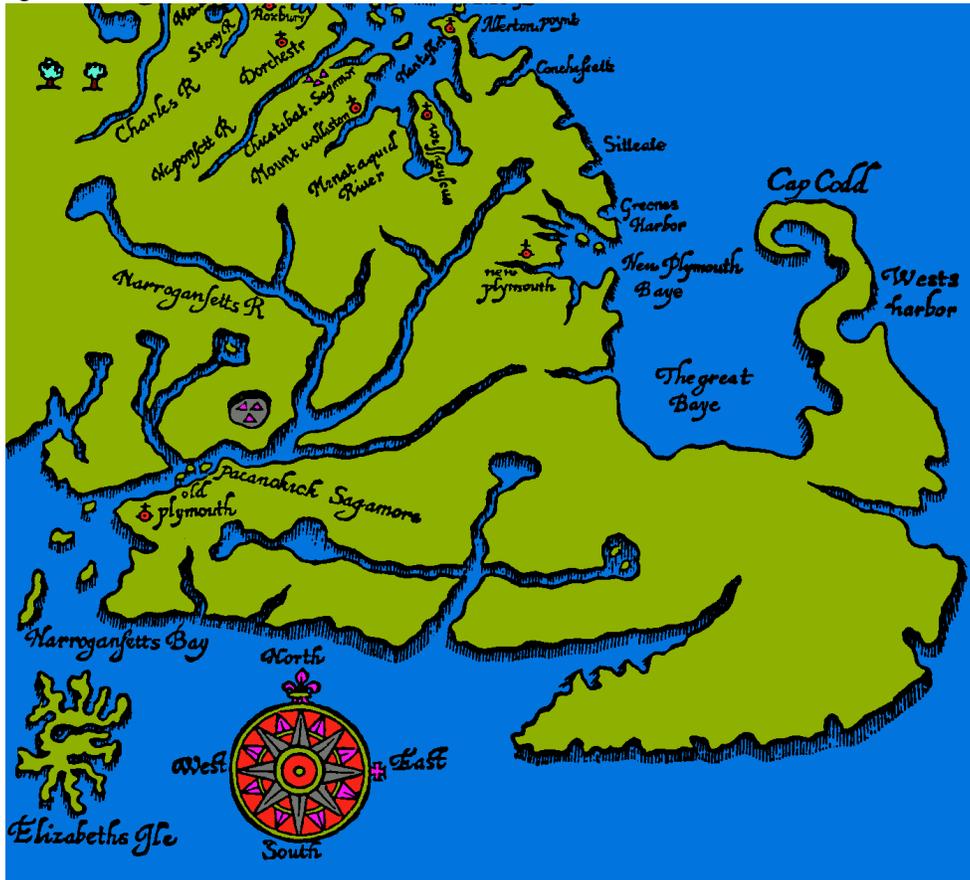


5. So named because mistaken with Block Island, which had originally been compared as similar in coastal outline on the map, or in appearance from the sea, or in some respect or other, to the much larger island of Rhodes, of the Eastern Mediterranean.

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William Dyer and Mary Dyer were of course among those who sought refuge in **RHODE ISLAND** on this Narragansett turf.



Note that at this point the Dyer family had not yet been tainted by **QUAKERISM** — the Reverend Williams, in tolerating them at this point, was not by that fact tolerating Quakers.⁶ It may be that the Reverend’s track record was good, overall, at least for that era, but in fact he didn’t like Quakers in the same way he didn’t like Papists, which in our own day and age would be taken as a sign of religious intolerance rather than as a sign of religious tolerance:

They admit no interpreter but themselves, for the spirit within, they say, gave forth the Scripture, ... and that all they do and say is scripture — Papists and Quakers most horribly and hypocritically trample it under their proud feet.

⁶ In addition this is often overlooked but in fact in the Dyer family, only Mary Dyer and her son Will ever became **QUAKERS**.

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March 24: Dr. John Clarke and his group of white emigrants from Boston made arrangements for settlement at the north end of **AQUIDNECK ISLAND** with the native headmen of the area, and recorded “having bought them off to their full satisfaction.”



A church was gathered, probably early in the year, of which Dr. Clarke became pastor or teaching elder. (He is mentioned in documents dating to this year as “preacher to those of the island,” as “their minister,” and as “elder of the church there.”)



June 1, afternoon: An earthquake centered in the St. Lawrence valley shook Boston and Concord. Governor John Winthrop would record the event in his journal (which would become THE HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND, 1630-1649 when originally published in 1790; Boston MA: Phelps & Farnham, 5 Court Street, 1825, Volume I, page 318),⁷ as follows:

Between three and four in the afternoon, being clear, warm weather, the wind westerly, there was a great earthquake. It came with a noise like a continued thunder, and the rattling of coaches in London, but was presently gone – It shook the ships that lay in the harbor and all the islands – The noise and the shaking continued for four minutes. The earth was unquiet twenty days after.

In Newbury men working in the fields dropped their tools and ran “with greatly terrified lookes, to the next company they could meet with”:



Being this date assembled to treat or consult about the well ordering of the affairs of the towne, about one of the clocke in the afternoone, the sunn shining faire, it pleased God suddenly to raise a vehement earthquake, coming with a shrill clap of thunder, issuing as it supposed out of the east, which shook the earth and the foundations of the house in a very violent manner to our great amazement and wonder, wherefore, taking notice of so great and strange a hand of God's providence, we were desirous of leaving it on record to the view of after ages to the intent that all might take notice of Almighty God and feare his name.

In a calm cove near the new settlement of Pocasset on [AQUIDNECK ISLAND](#) in Narragansett Bay, William Coddington had been working on the mast of his pinnacle when all about him the water became choppiier than



what he had experienced in the English Channel, and he was pitched from the mast into the water. Aftershocks would be felt throughout New England for some time and it would take a report from Boston, that that town also was experiencing the shaking, to persuade locals from the idea that because of some error in their conduct they had been singled out by God for this disaster.

7. For some strange reason, this earthquake was not at the time I checked the list, included on the comprehensive scientific list of known Massachusetts earthquakes. Did our scientists perhaps not know of THE HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND, 1630-1649?



1639

William Hall, an inhabitant of [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), joined with several others to found the town of [PORTSMOUTH](#). William was spelling his name Haule.

In [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), a house was constructed for Friend Nicholas Easton, facing Farewell Street. This was the first dwelling constructed in Newport. This dwelling would burn in 1641 and be replaced, and upon the death of Nicholas Easton in 1676, it and the property on which it stood would be bequeathed to the Newport [FRIENDS](#). This piece of land eventually would be used in 1699 for the Great Meetinghouse of the Friends.

March 20: John Hicks and his young wife Horod relocated from Weymouth MA near Boston to [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), where John had been admitted as an inhabitant. These marital partners would soon split up due to a "difference."

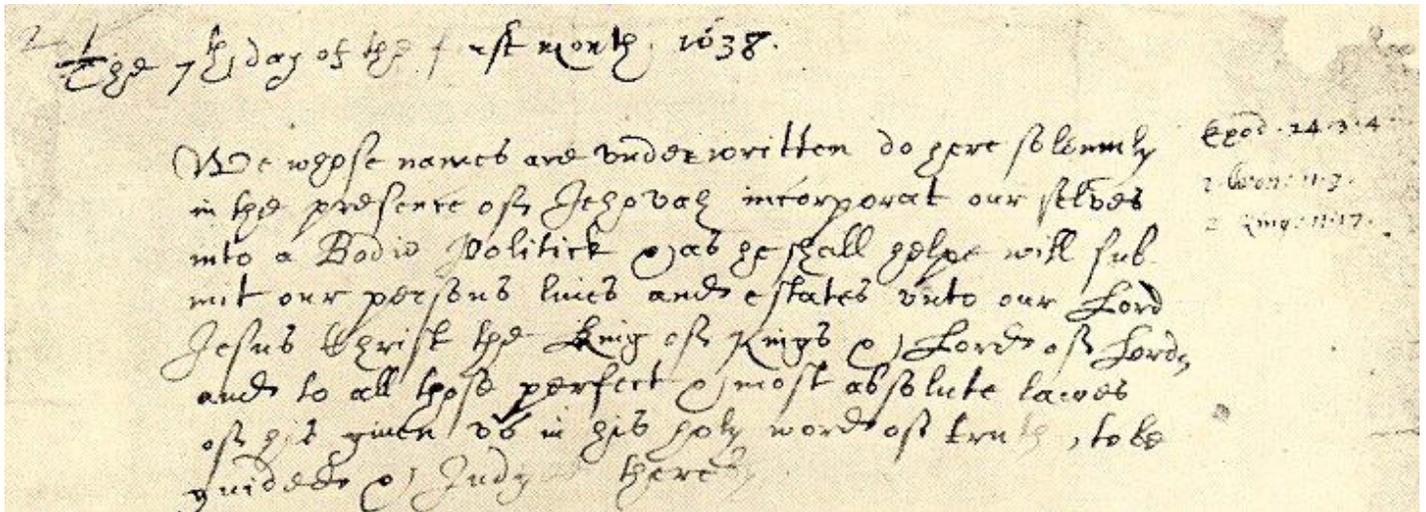
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April 28: After a brief dispute with the other whites occupying the north end of Aquidneck Island, a group under William Coddington obtained permission from the Narragansett to resettle at the southern tip of that



island, founding Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**⁸ A “Portsmouth Compact” was signed by, among others, John Clarke, William Coddington, William Dyer, Nicholas Easton (1593-1675),⁹ John Coggeshall, William Brenton, Henry Bull, Jeremy Clarke, and Thomas Hazard.



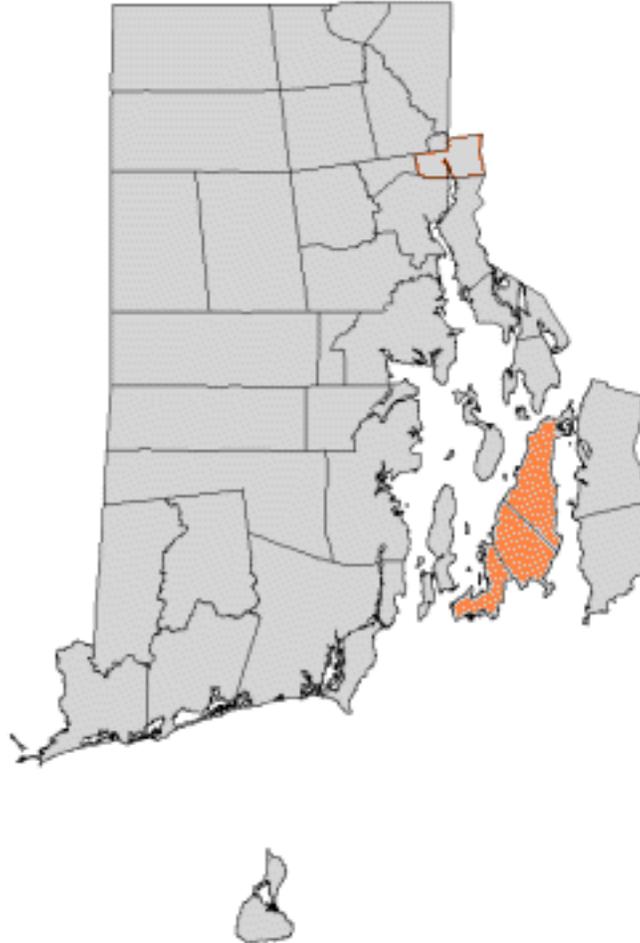
8. In Algonquian, “Aquidnet” means “a place of security or tranquility,” from “aquene” or “aquidne” meaning secure or peaceful, and “et” meaning place.

9. In this year Mr. Easton had been fined five shillings for coming to Puritan meeting without his weapons. He would become a Quaker, and a governor of **RHODE ISLAND**.

Willm Hutchinson.
Samuell Gorton
Samuell Hutchinson
John Wickes
Richarde Maggson.
Thomas Spiser,
~~William Aspinwall~~
~~Willm Hauler~~
John Roome, *R* mark
John Sloffe *I* mark
Thomas Beddar *n* mark
Erasmus Bullocke
Sampson Shotten

The arrival of the group made up of the Hutchinsons and about eighteen of their followers would bring the white population of Aquidneck Island to a total of 93 souls.

Mistress Anne Hutchinson would be living on the island for four years.

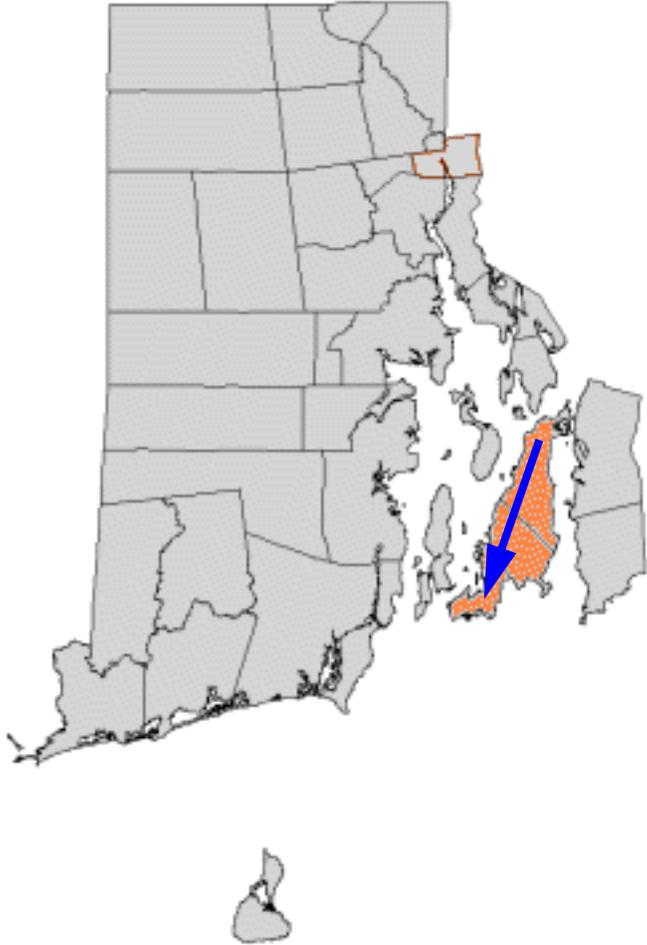


It would be there, in **PORTSMOUTH** (then known as Pocasset) during the late summer of one year, that she would have what according to NOTABLE AMERICAN WOMEN amounted to a “menopausal pregnancy which, according to a modern interpretation of a doctor’s report, was aborted into a hydatidiform mole and expelled with great difficulty.” (She would then also be condemned, like Mary Dyer, as the creator of a monster.)

1640

John Hicks was made a freeman of **NEWPORT**, **RHODE ISLAND**. A son Thomas was born to John Hicks and Horod Long Hicks. (Thomas Hicks would live to be just over 100 years of age, dying at Little Neck on Long Island in 1740.)

On Aquidneck Island, the little family of William Dyer and Mary Dyer relocated from [PORTSMOUTH](#) (then known as *Pocasset*) to Newport.¹⁰



1641

In [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), the dwelling of Friend Nicholas Easton burned. This house would be replaced, and upon the death of Nicholas Easton in 1676, it and the property on which it stood would be bequeathed to the Newport [FRIENDS](#). This piece of land eventually would be used in 1699 for the Great Meetinghouse of the Friends.

10. There's still a very small street just north of the Claybourn/Pell Bridge between Aquidneck Island and Conanicut Island, that used to be called "Dyers Gate" but is now shown on the map as "Dyre Street." As time went on, their farm would be useful in the manufacture of boom-boom torpedoes, their little island offshore would be useful for a major boom-boom fortification — stuff we need.

1643

May 19: Connecticut, Massachusetts, Plymouth, and the short-term New Haven colony allied together as the United Colonies of New England. According to James M. Drake’s KING PHILIP’S WAR: CIVIL WAR IN NEW ENGLAND 1675-1676, page 35, this was “[n]ot merely a military alliance formed by English settlers to protect themselves from Indians,” for one immediately notices the omission of the RHODE ISLAND and Providence Plantations colonies from that list. “[T]he confederation also worked to isolate and even destroy Rhode Island.”

By agreement of the members of this confederation, the only evidence needed for conviction of a runaway slave was “certification by a magistrate.”

Samuel Gorton founded Shawomet, RHODE ISLAND’s fourth settlement. The town would be renamed Warwick RI a few years later in honor of the Earl of Warwick.



During this year or the next, the name of AQUIDNECK ISLAND would be changed to “the Isle of Rhodes, or RHODE ISLAND.”

1644

March: (Another record says that this happened in 1644 or 1645.) In [RHODE ISLAND](#), John Hicks was brought into court and bound for £10. “to keep the peace for beating his wife, Harwood [*sic*] Hicks....” Horod would declare to the court that “there happened a difference between ... John Hickes & myself, & he went away to the Dutch [in Flushing on Paumanok Long Island], carrying with him most of my estate, which had been sent to me by my mother....” He took their children, Hannah Hicks and Thomas Hicks, and possibly a 3d child, with him (this was a father’s unchallengeable and unquestionable right under existing law). Although the court ordered that his estranged wife should have the considerable property given her by her mother, the husband would never return it:

[T]hat he was a man of mean mind & disposition is evident, not only for the treatment of [Horod] in Rhode Island, but his slanderous letter ... after he ran away.... In the matter of property it is of record that he attempted to appropriate to his own use the estate of his third wife, much as he did Horod’s, but was thwarted by the quick action of her children by a former marriage....

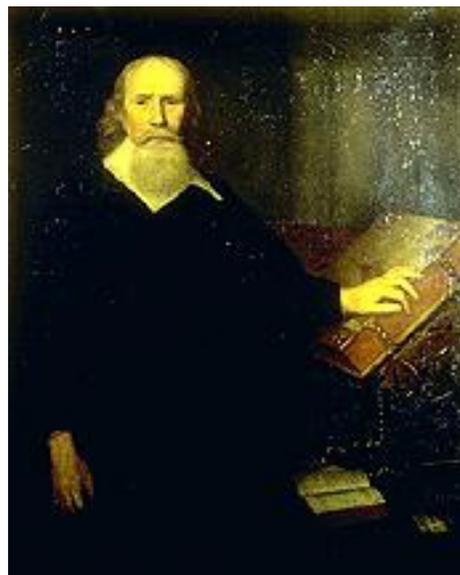
Horod would become a [QUAKER](#). Destitute, she would turn to George Gardiner, who had been Constable in Newport for 1638-1642, was Ensign in 1644, and would be Commissioner in 1662, “for my maintenance.” Horod would share a bed with George for 18 to 20 years and the couple would produce a number of children, Benoni, Henry, George, William, Nicholas, Dorcas, Rebecca, Samuel, and Joseph (at that time in that place, common law marriage was neither illegal nor unusual).

1647

May 19-21: Although the Reverend Roger Williams had brought back from England a royal charter for a united “Providence Plantations and Rhode-Island” colony in 1644, based upon the legitimacy of his actually having obtained permission to settle there from the owners of the land, the native Americans (!), it had taken several years to work out a political alliance of the four previously independent settlements actually involved,



to wit, [PROVIDENCE](#), *Shawowmet* (later known as Warwick RI), Newport, and [PORTSMOUTH](#). On this date the first meeting of the united colony took place in Portsmouth and an anchor was selected as the colonial brand. Dr. John Clarke was assigned to write up a Code of Laws for the new colony, and asked William Dyer to assist him.



The document they would author would declare the freedom of the individual conscience. Dyer would become the Secretary of the Council and then the Attorney General of [RHODE ISLAND](#) and Providence Plantations, and eventually, during Thoreau's lifetime, one of his descendants would become the governor of the state.

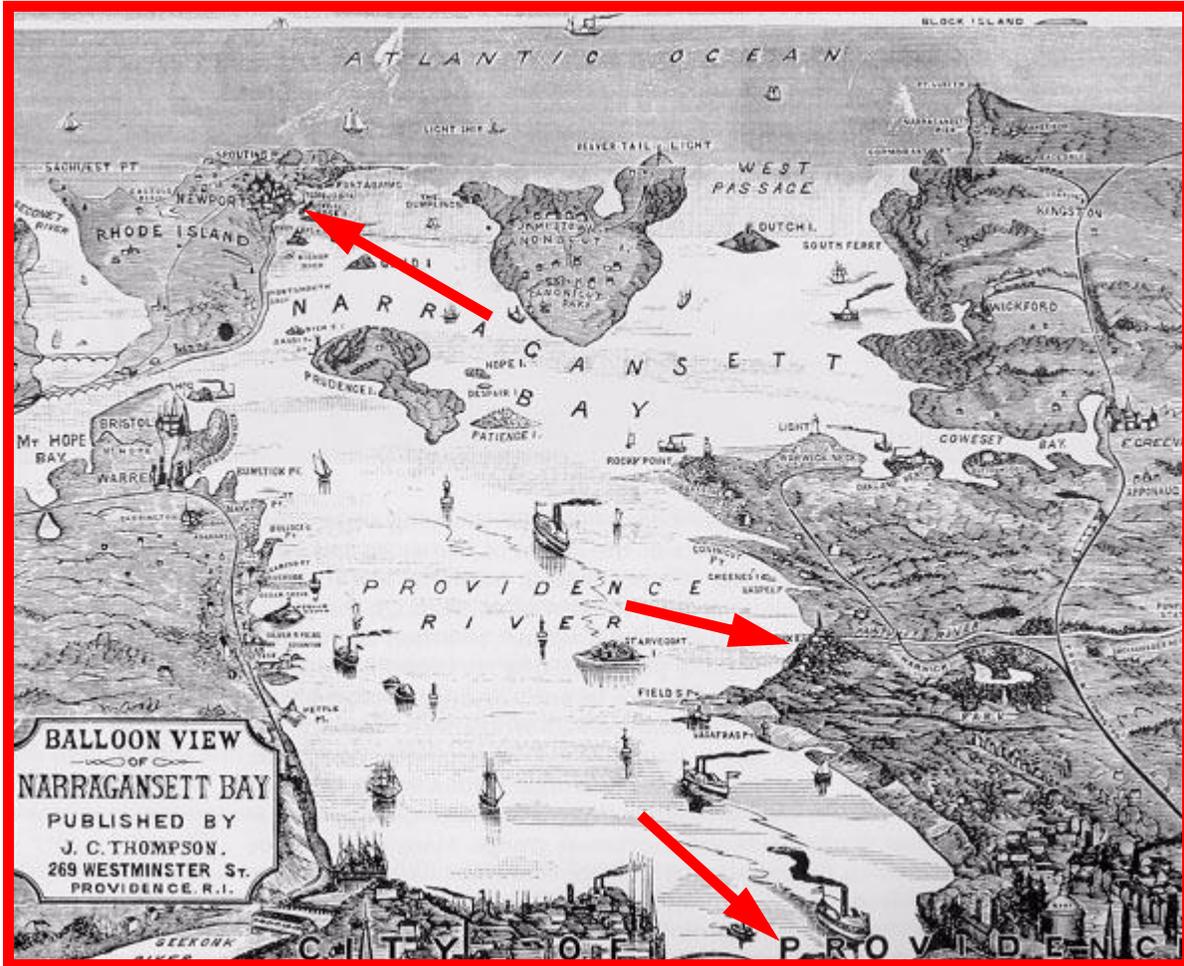
This code of laws they would draft, would conclude as follows:

These are the laws that concern all men, and these are the penalties for the transgressions thereof, which, by common consent, are ratified and established through the whole Colony. And otherwise than this (what is herein forbidden) all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his GOD. AND LET THE LAMBS OF THE MOST HIGH WALK IN THIS COLONY WITHOUT MOLESTATION, IN THE NAME OF JEHOVAH THEIR GOD, FOR EVER AND EVER.

September 30: Mary Coddington was buried at Newport. (We suppose it is probable that she and her husband, Governor William Coddington, had had some more children after arriving in [RHODE ISLAND](#).)

1648

The **RHODE ISLAND** General Assembly made provisions for the colony’s sea captains to engage in privateering against “any enemies of ye Commonwealth of England.” Such privateering commissions were issued to Captain John Underhill, William Dyer, and Edward Hull. The representatives from the towns of **PROVIDENCE** and Warwick RI protested that such an activity was “tending to war” and therefore wrong. If the island towns of Rhode Island such as **NEWPORT** proceeded with such schemes, they announced, “in the name of Providence Plantations,” then they would appeal to England.



January: It may have been in the January of this year, or it may have been in the January of 1649, but 47-year-old Governor William Coddington of Newport, **RHODE ISLAND** returned again to England, taking with him a daughter and residing there for some years. While in England he would marry a third time, with 20-year-old Ann Coddington, with whom he would have William Coddington (2), born in England on January 18, 1651 or 1652.

1649

William Withington took half a share in the vessel *Beginning*, which sailed from [RHODE ISLAND](#) via Barbados to the Guinea coast of Africa, then back via Barbados and Antigua to Boston. What sort of cargo had this vessel conveyed from the Guinea coast to the West Indies islands? In the absence of records, we are obliged to suspect that it had been black slaves.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The rigorous climate of New England, the character of her settlers, and their pronounced political views gave slavery an even slighter basis here than in the Middle colonies. The significance of New England in the African slave-trade does not therefore lie in the fact that she early discountenanced the system of slavery and stopped importation; but rather in the fact that her citizens, being the traders of the New World, early took part in the carrying slave-trade and furnished slaves to the other colonies. An inquiry, therefore, into the efforts of the New England colonies to suppress the slave-trade would fall naturally into two parts: first, and chiefly, an investigation of the efforts to stop the participation of citizens in the carrying slave-trade; secondly, an examination of the efforts made to banish the slave-trade from New England soil.

(Over the following two centuries, about half the American participation in the international slave trade would be sailing out of the harbors of 1st [NEWPORT](#) and then Bristol, Rhode Island — order of magnitude, that's about 1,000 out of about 2,000 middle passages.)

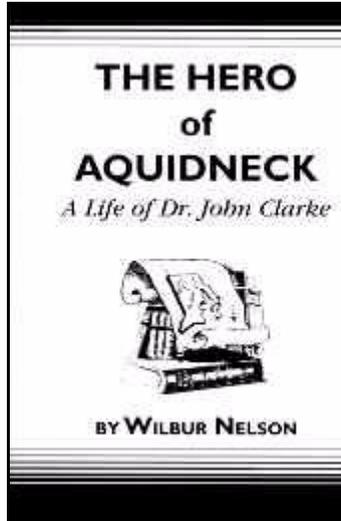
1651

The Dyer family on [AQUIDNECK ISLAND](#) became entangled in a sectarian dispute and sailed to England to get it resolved.

July 19: William Witter, although he lived in Lynn in the Massachusetts Bay colony, was affiliated with the church of Dr. John Clarke in Newport, Rhode Island. He became infirm and his physician pastor visited him, accompanied by a couple of other elders in that church, Obadiah Holmes and John Crandall. On the day after their arrival, the Sabbath, they arranged to hold a Baptist religious service in Witter's home. While Dr. Clarke was preaching, he was confronted by two constables with a warrant:

By virtue hereof, you are required to go to the house of William Witter, and to search from house to house for certain erroneous person, being strangers and them to apprehend, and in safe custody to keep, and to-morrow morning at eight o'clock to bring before me. Robert Bridges.

The Congregationalist authorities in Lynn saw no need for procedural frills, and proceeded without “accuser, witness, jury, law of God, or man.” The three Rhode Islanders were taken under arrest to “the ale-house or ordinary,” and from there to the Congregationalist religious meeting of that day. The next morning, after was a hearing before Mr. Bridges, they would be forwarded to prison at Boston. After a couple of weeks in the Boston lockup, they would be brought before the Court Of Assistants, and Dr. Clarke would be fined £20,



Holmes £30, and Crandall £5. Either they would produce these moneys, the Rhode Island men of religion were informed, or they could expect to “be well whipped.” Elder Clarke would write from prison to the local authorities, on August 14th, seeking an opportunity to confront and reason with them, and that letter would of course go unanswered. Some unknown person would then, however, pay Clarke’s fine of £20 on his behalf — and he would find himself ejected from the lockup as summarily as originally he had been detained.

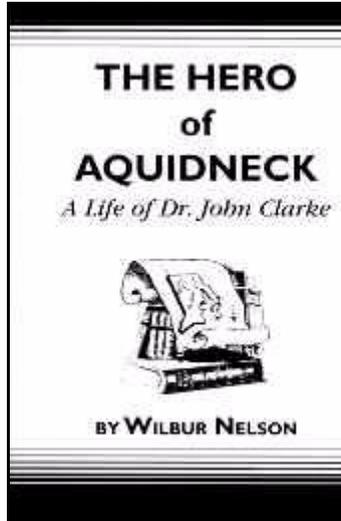


When John Crandall promised that he would appear at the next court, he was released. Obadiah Holmes, however, would be kept in prison until September, at which point, his £30 still not having been paid, he would be brought out and publicly whipped.

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August 14: Dr. John Clarke, Baptist elder from Newport, Rhode Island, wrote from the Boston prison in which he and two other Rhode Island Baptists being held by the local Congregationalist authorities, seeking an opportunity to confront and reason with them. The letter would of course go unanswered. Some unknown person would then, however, pay Elder Clarke's fine of £20 on his behalf— and he would find himself ejected from the Lynn lockup as summarily as originally he had been detained.



Mid-August: Returning to his church in Newport from almost a month of arbitrary imprisonment in Lynn, Elder John Clarke found himself being importuned to go represent [RHODE ISLAND](#) at the English court.



September: At the prison in Boston, since the £30 fine of Obadiah Holmes had not been paid, he was brought onto Boston Common, stripped to the waist, tied to the post, and given 30 lashes with the three-tailed whip. Upon being cut free of the post, he turned to the audience and declared “You have struck me with roses.” Soon afterward he removed to Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).

December 18: On this day, or on the 18th of 6th month according to [QUAKER](#) records, Daniel Gould got married with Wait or Wate Coggeshall (who in all probability was a daughter of John Coggeshall the president of the colony of [RHODE ISLAND](#)).

Daniel, eldest son of Jeremiah and Priscilla Gould, was settled by his father in that part of Newport, Rhode Island, (now called Middletown¹¹), and on that portion of the farm still in the possession of his descendants.¹² He married Wate, daughter of John Coggeshall (first President of the Colony), on the 18th of 6th month, 1651; with whom he lived in much love, to an advanced age. There is no particular date given, when he was convinced of the principles of **FRIENDS**, but unquestionably it was after he came to this country, as the principles of George Fox were not promulgated until 1647; but that he was a sturdy adherent to those doctrines is evident from divers certificates of Friends of several quarterly and monthly meetings, where he visited in the love and service of the Gospel, he being a minister of good standing at home and abroad. By the writings of Daniel Gould and by some sentences that have been handed down from one generation to another, spoken by him on divers occasions, he was a man of ready wit, deep penetration, and sound judgment; and although he served the Friends in divers capacities, both publicly and privately, it doth not appear that he ever entered into any public employ as an officer in outward government, though he did not escape being sought for on that account. The following extract is taken from a pamphlet of his in reference to the sufferings of Marmaduke Stevenson and Wm. Robinson, in Boston, with whom he was at that time. After saying that they came from Salem to Charleston Ferry, he says – "There meets us the constable and a rude company of people with him, and takes us all up (about 10 in number, besides the two banished friends) and after much scoffing and mocking examinations, all of us were led to prison, and God doth know, who is a just rewarder of all, how Harmless, Peaceable, & innocent we came into the town, behaving ourselves in much fear and humility of mind, yet, notwithstanding, being Quakers, to prison we must go, where we remained some days – it may be 3 or 4, or a week; there the Council sent searchers to search us & our Pockets, & took our papers & whatever they pleased, carrying them away, among which was Wm. Robinson's Journal of places he had been. After that our pockets had been picked we remained in Prison till the pleasure of the court was to send for any or all of us, for sometimes they would send for several or all, and sometimes for one alone. For I was once sent for, sifted and tried, being examined about many things. And seeing that they were as a company of Fowlers to draw the Bird into their net, I was sparing of speech; then they called me Dumb Devil that could not speak & some said I was simple and ignorant and had no great harm in me, but that I was beguiled & led away by others that were more subtle. Then I said to them, if you think I am simply beguiled & not willfully in error how have you showed kindness to me? Or where has your love appeared to help me out of the ignorance & delusion you suppose I have fallen into? How have your endeavours appeared to open my understanding – to show me better? Do you think your prison, whips, and base usage are the way to do it? Is that the way, to begin with, to restore any one from the error of his ways? Then some one cried out and said: "he is more knave than fool!" Then I answered again and said – "If I hold my tongue I am a Dumb Devil, a fool & ignorant. If I

11. The towns on Aquidneck Island had not yet divided from each other.

12. Stephen Gould and John Gould.

speaking I am a knave." After this Richard Bellingham the Deputy Governor being full of envy, said to me, "Well, Gould, you shall be severely whipped;" which was afterward done, with 30 stripes upon my naked back, being tyed to the Carriage of a great Gun. And this is my comfort to this day, & I bless the Lord for it, that my sufferings were in great Innocence. There were five others whipped at the same time there. Two men & three women; each having ten stripes - except the two men, fifteen, for no other cause than being Quakers. And after we were whipped we were all led to prison¹³ where our lodgings were with our sore backs upon the boards, where we remained untill after the Execution." This was in the year 1659. Daniel Gould sometimes wrote poetry, of which the following is a specimen, taken from his papers, sent to England to be published.

Concerning Self.

Concerning self, I thus have seen the thing
 Self undenied will self much sorrow bring.
 Then look to self, for self a creeping thief
 Though he promises fair to the end, 'twill be thy grief
 Take not his bait tho' seeming ne'er so fair
 For in this bait is laid a deadly snare.

Look, what thou loves & most inclines unto
 In that he'll come & tempt thee sore to do
 To cross his tempting & thy former lust,
 Stand stiff against him, for deny thou must,
 Then taking up the cross thou'lt see the thing
 That in the end, it will much comfort bring.¹⁴

1652

Obadiah Holmes was ordained to preach the gospel, and took Elder John Clarke's place as pastor of the Baptist church in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#).

At this point the Baptists in [PROVIDENCE](#) were split into two groups, one adhering to what is known as "Six Principles" doctrine and the other to "Five Principles" doctrine:

There were two Baptist churches in Providence, as early as 1652; one of the six, and the other of the five, principle Baptists. This appears from a manuscript diary kept by John Comer, a Baptist preacher, in Newport. The diary is now in the possession of that gentleman's descendants, in Warren. It states that one of the members of the first Baptist church in Newport, "came to Providence, and received imposition of hands from William Wickenden, pastor of a church there, lately separated from the church under Thomas Olney," and that Mr. Wickenden and Gregory Dexter, returned to Newport with him, and that the same ordinance was administered to several others, who in 1656, withdrew from the first church in Newport, and formed a new church, "holding general redemption, and admitting to communion, only those who had submitted to imposition of hands." The

13. The BIBLE which he had with him while in prison is now (1872) in the possession of one of his descendants — Lydia A. Gould, of Newport, Rhode Island.

14. Rebecca Gould Mitchell. THE GOULDS OF RHODE ISLAND (Providence: A. Crawford Greene, Book and Job Printer, Railroad Halls, 1875), pages 8-9

records of the church make Mr. Dexter the successor of Mr. Wickenden, and Thomas Olney, the successor of Mr. Dexter. They also state, that Mr. Olney was born in 1631, and came to Providence in 1654. Now, the records of the town shew, that Thomas Olney, senior, came to Providence about 1638. He was there baptized, with his wife, about 1639. They had a son Thomas, who came with them, a minor, and who was afterwards town clerk, for many years. He is probably the person referred to in the church records. Dr. Styles states, in his manuscript itinerary, that in 1774, he conversed with John Angell, then aged 83, who told him that his mother was daughter of Gregory Dexter, and that Mr. Dexter was the first Baptist elder of the six principle church. There is in the cabinet of the Historical Society, a letter from Governor Jenckes, dated March 19, 1730, which contains some facts as to the succession and religious tenets of the elders of this church. From this, it appears, that one Dr. John Walton, formerly a practising physician in the county, was then preaching to a Baptist church in Providence. He, it seems, was in favor of singing in public worship. The governor was his intimate friend. He says, "as to his singing of psalms, I have heard him say, he would not urge it as a duty, on the church." Dr. Walton expected some allowance by way of contribution, for his services. The governor writes on this point, "Elder Tillinghast taught, that a pastor might receive, by way of contribution, although for his own part, he would take nothing." It seems further, from the same letters, that Dr. Walton opposed the laying on of hands, if "performed to obtain the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost," and that he thought the want of it ought not to be a bar to communion with those who were rightly baptized. Governor Jenckes adds, "at first, in the Baptist churches in this colony, those under laying on of hands continued fellowship with those who were not, until one taught that laying on of hands was a doctrine of devils; then there arose a separation." Here he evidently refers to Mr. Olney. After Mr. Olney's death and after a meeting-house had been built, it is probable, only one meeting was kept up, and one church, under Mr. Tillinghast - that Mr. Jenckes succeeded Mr. Tillinghast, neither of them insisting so strongly on the points of former difference as they would have done, had there been a society of opposite sentiments in the same town with them. After Mr. Jenckes' death, while Dr. Walton was preaching, other differences led them to stir again, the old embers of contention. Mr. James Brown succeeded him.¹⁵

1653

Edward Hull and Samuel Comstock helped fit out the bark *Swallow* as a privateer. The vessel sailed up the Connecticut River, captured the bark of Kempo Sebada, and brought it to [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), as their prize.

15. William Read Staples (1798-1868). ANNALS OF THE TOWN OF PROVIDENCE, FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT, TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT, IN JUNE, 1832. Providence, Rhode Island: Printed by Knowles and Vose, 1843.

1655

February 20: Thomas Gould was born to Wait Coggeshall Gould and Daniel Gould. (It was during this year that the father Daniel Gould and the grandfather Jeremiah Gould, who had come over from England in 1638, were being made freemen of [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#). While in New England the grandfather Jeremiah Gould and his wife Priscilla Grover Gould would have a daughter, but then he would go back to England and would die in his native Devonshire.)

1656

October 24: Daniel Gould (junior) was born to Wait Coggeshall Gould and Daniel Gould. (He would get married with Mary Clark, who probably was the eldest daughter of Walter Clark of [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) despite the fact that the family genealogy makes her the daughter instead of Thomas Clark, and they would produce two sons, Daniel Gould III and Jeremiah Gould).

1657

Early in the year: Mary Dyer and Ann Burden arrived in Boston by ship from England, Mary as a former Bostonian relocated to [RHODE ISLAND](#) who was returning after a trip to England (begun in 1650), and Ann as a Boston widow who was returning home to settle her dead husband's estate. However, it was learned that while in England the two women had been converted to Quakerism.¹⁶ Unexpectedly, instead of a warm homecoming, they were carted off to jail. This would be the year in which:

“Christopher Holder and John Copeland, Quakers, were whipped through town with knotted cords, with all the strength the hangman could command. The prisoners were gagged with a stick in the mouth, to prevent their outcries.”

What had happened with Friend Christopher Holder was that he had caused a disruption by attempting to speak in church in Salem after the Sunday sermon (it was during this year, incidentally, that [QUAKER](#) meetings for worship were beginning locally). A guard there had brought him to the floor and stuffed his glove and handkerchief into Holder's mouth. When a member of the congregation, Samuel Shattuck, got the glove and handkerchief out of Holder's mouth, and resuscitated him, Shattuck was taken to the Boston lockup and had to pay a 20-shilling fine to get released. (Shattuck would become a Quaker and be exiled.) Holder was given 30 lashes and then had to spend the next three days and nights in jail without any food or bedding. All told, he and two other Quaker ministers would be held in this jail for the next three and a half months.

During this year Friend George Fox would be sending out a number of epistles, including one entitled “To Friends, To Dwell in that which Keeps Peace”:



Number CXXXVI, Volume VII, page 132. Dear Friends, - Dwell in that which keeps your peace, and comprehends the deceit, and answers that of God in everyone. And let Friends keep their meetings, and never hearken to tales, nor things without; but

16. In the quite numerous Dyer family, only Mary Dyer and her son William, Jr. (Will) would ever be converts to Quakerism.

keep their peace, and know the life and power, union and fellowship, which stands in God, in and with which ye may stand over the world in the one power, life, and wisdom, and therein be kept to the glory of the Lord God. So, in that which is pure, the Lord God Almighty preserve you!
G.F.



His epistle entitled “To The Prisoners” dates to this year:



Number CXXXVIII, Volume VII, page 133. Friends, - Ye that are the prisoners of the the Lord Jesus Christ in outward bonds, who witness him by whom the world was made, who is the King of saints, and who are his, and come under his dominion and government, ye are not your own; but purchased with his blood, which washes and makes you clean, and justifies, whose bodies are his temple. Though he suffers you to be imprisoned, yet in his power your bodies are kept, and your spirits also; ye standing witnesses for your master, for your king, for your prophet, for your covenant of light, for your wisdom of God, (him by whom all things were made,) for the word and power, by which all things were made and upheld, against the powers of darkness, who are out of the light, out of the truth, who cannot bind, stop, nor limit the unlimited power, which is over it, and comprehends it. They who are born of the world, and in the power which upholds all things, over that, (and the power of the evil one,) have victory, and sing over the false prophet. For the devil was the deceiver, who abode not in the truth; and there is the false prophet, who speaks of his own, and not from the Lord; and there is the beast, that makes the war against the lamb and his saints , who witness the testimony of Jesus, and the word of God. Therefore mind the word of God, ye children of the light, who are in the light, that comes from the word; mind the word of the Lord, which is a hammer, and as a fire, and sharper than a two-edged sword. And ye who are the Lord's, are not your own; but they who are in their own time, see not the time which is in the Father's hand; their time is always, and they do their own works, and not the works of God, which the son of God did.
G.F.



Friend George Fox’s epistle entitled “Know The Praying in the Spirit” also dates to this year:



Friends, - Know the praying in the spirit, and with the understanding; then ye will come to know the sighs and groans than cannot be uttered. For such as have not the spirit that gave forth the scriptures to guide them, are as the Pharisees were, in the long prayers, and in the wrath, and in the doubting, and do not lift up holy hands. This makes a difference between praying in the spirit, and the Pharisees’ long prayers, that devoured widows’ houses. And none owns the light as it is Jesus, but he that owns the light that Christ lighteth him withal. And

none owns the truth, but who owns the light that cometh from Christ, the truth. And none cometh to the Father, but such who owns the light that cometh from Christ, which leads to him. Nor none owns the son, except he owns the light that cometh from him. For all dwelling in the light that comes from Jesus, it leads out of wars, leads out of strife, leads out of the occasion of wars, and leads out of the earth up to God, out of earthly-mindedness to heavenly-mindedness, and bringeth your minds to heaven.

G.F.



His epistle entitled “Dwell in Unity and Love in the Power of God.” also dates to this year:



GF, To Friends, to live in love and unity together, in the power of God. Friends all every where, in the life and power of God live and dwell, and spread the truth abroad. Quench not the spirit, but live in love and unity one with another; that with the wisdom of God ye may all be ordered to God’s glory. And live all in patience one with another, and in the truth, that ye may feel and see to the beginning, before the world and its foundation was, in the faith which gives the victory; that nothing may reign but the life and power amongst you. And live all as the family of God in love, in life, in truth, in power, having your house established atop of all the mountains and hills; that ye may answer that of God in every man, and the word of the Lord ye may witness to go forth among you and be among you. So in this the Lord God Almighty preserve you and keep you. And in the son of God’s power live, for all power in heaven and earth is given him; who is to subdue all the powers of darkness, and to make the kingdoms of the world his kingdom. And none go beyond the measure of the Spirit of God, nor quench it; for where it is quenched it cannot try things. So if any have any thing upon them to speak, in the life of God stand up and speak it, if it be but two or three words, and sit down again; and keep in the life, that ye may answer that of God in every man upon the earth. To you this is the word of the Lord God.

G.F.



His epistle entitled “To Friends Beyond the Sea, That Have Blacks and Indian Slaves” also dates to this year. He did not implore slave-holding Quakers to free their captives, but merely to treat them well. The slaves of Quakers should be allowed to hear the Gospel, so they would know of the equality of all men in the eyes of God. Later, he would find it necessary to salve the fear, among the planter class of the New World islands, that with such appeals the Quakers had been creating a dangerous situation:



Dear Friends, - I was moved to write these things to you in all those plantations. God, that made the world, and all things therein, giveth life and breath to all, and they all have their life and moving, and their being in him, he is the God of the spirits of the flesh, and is no respecter of persons; but “whosoever feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him.” And he hath made all nations of one blood to dwell upon

the face of the earth, and his eyes are over all the works of his hands, and seeth every thing that is done under the whole of heaven; and "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof." And he causeth the rain to fall upon the just and the unjust, and also he causeth the sine to shine upon the just and the unjust; and he commands to "love all men," for Christ loved all, so that he "died for sinners." And this is God's love for the world, in giving his son into the world; that "whosoever believeth in him should not perish." And he doth "enlighten every man that cometh into the world," that they might believe in the son. And the gospel is preached to every creature under heaven; which is the power that giveth liberty and freedom, and is glad tidings to every captivated creature under the whole heavens. And the word of God is in the heart and mouth, to obey and do it, and not for them to ascend or descend for it; and this is the word of faith which was and is preached. For Christ is given for a covenant to the people, and a light to the Gentiles, and to enlighten them, who is the glory of Israel, and God's "salvation to the ends of the earth." And so lye are to have the mind of Christ, and to be merciful, as you heavenly Father is merciful.
G.F.

George Fox

Friend George Fox's epistle entitled "Concerning the Light" also dates to this year:



Friends, - Ye that be turned to the light in it wait, in it meet together, that with it your hearts may be joined together up to Christ, the head, from whence the light doth come; with which ye may see all the world and all the gatherings that are out of the light, which are in the vanities of their minds, and in the rebelliousness of their hearts, and stubbornness of it from the light. But ye believing in the light and receiving it, he receive and come into the covenant with God, and peace with God; and into that which gives the knowledge of his glory and of his image, And this belief giveth the victory over the world, and brings unto God, and into his likeness, and separates you from the world, and its likeness, and image, and its fashion, which or out of the light; and its knowledge, and its wisdom, and its honour, and its fear, and its love, and its rejoicing, which are out of the light in the flesh, and it the iniquity, where the soul is in death. But in the light rejoicing and walking, ye receive the love of God shed abroad into your hearts, which love rejoiceth in the truth, (mark,) in that which the devil abode not in. With that ye know and will know the increase of God, and know God and his law put in your minds, and in your hearts written, where the fear is placed, where the secrets of the Lord are revealed, and the light, which is the truth, comes to be walked in. Here is a joy in the Lord where no flesh glories, In this waiting, (in the light,) the world where there is not end it gives you to see and the power of the world which is to come, ye will come to see and be partakers of. Which power ye receiving (who are in the light,) it brings you to become the sons of God and to be heirs of the world where there is no end, and of the everlasting inheritance which fadeth not away, and the riches which are durable, where no their can come, nor nothing to rust

or canker; for that is out of the light that doth thieve, rust, or canker, ad in the transgression. Therefore, ye saints in the light of the most high God, whose name is dreadful amongst you, ,and his power made manifest in measure, and his glory appearing, walk worthy of the high calling! Keep your dominion, keep you place of rest in the power and strength of the Almighty, and meet together in the love, unity, and peace, and know one another in this love that changes not; which being received, ye walk in that which condemns that which is changeable. This love rejoiceth in the truth, and hath dominion over him that abode not in the truth, but rejoiceth in that which the devil abode not in. And here the spirit is received in which God is worshipped, that Father of spirits, He that believeth here believes in the Lord, and shall never be confounded, for he believes in that which doth confound and condemn those who are out of the light, and gone from the word of God in the heart, and from the power of God, and from the light of the glorious gospel, which is the power of God. The God of the world hath blinded their eyes that abide not in the truth, they are gone from the light which is the truth; and all that are blinded by the god of the world, these are out of the light and out of the truth. Therefore ye being in the light, and to it turned, (the light of the glorious gospel,) the image of God is seen, and the glorious gospel received, Therefore walk in the light as the children of the light, and know the wisdom that is of her children justified; that ye may answer the light in every one (that comes into the world) that hateth it. And keep you habitations, that ye may every one feel you spring in the light which comes from the Lord, and feel your nourishment and refreshment; which waters the plants and causeth them to grow up in the Lord, from whom the pure, living springs come. And here is the water which is the witness in the earth, which doth wash, and here come the spirit to be known, the witness that doth baptize. and the witness the blood , which doth cleanse, which agrees with the witness in heaven. So, he that believe hath the witness in himself. (Mark and take notice.) And so, ye being in the light, every one in particular feed upon the bread of life which comes from above, which nourisheth up to eternal life; wherein as every one grows up, here every one gives glory to the Father, and to the son, and knows the light which is the way, the truth, and the life. Every one of you that are turned to it, ye are in the one way, truth, light, and life, feeding upon the one bread which comes from above; which whosoever doth eat of lives for ever, and shall never die. Let this be read among all Friends everywhere, in this nation and elsewhere, that to the light are turned and in it are kept, that in the unity they may all be kept. And in it God Almighty preserve and keep you, that ye may feel his promises, which are to the seed; and know the seed to which the blessing is, and know the flesh of Christ, that ye may be flesh of his flesh. And friends, live at peace among yourselves, waiting upon the Lord; and the Lord God of life and peace be with you. Let no Friends be discouraged; but walk in the truth and the love of it, and to it bend. G.F.

George Fox

During this year, also, Friends William Brend and John Copeland were on their way from Scituate MA to [RHODE ISLAND](#), on a missionary journey, when intercepted by officials of the Plymouth Colony who demanded that they pledge to be out of the colony within 48 hours. Well, it was one thing for these [QUAKERS](#) to be on their way directly out of the colony, and quite another for government types to come around and make such a demand — the two missionaries instantly scrupled against obedience and would need to be hauled before a judge. The judge would classify their attitude problem, accurately it would seem, as “contemptuous perverseness.” (And, we may add to the historical record as an inference, the response of these Quakers to that judge would likely have been something on the order of “Hey, dude, deal with it!”)

During this year, also, the [QUAKERS](#) were establishing a meeting house at Aquidneck Island in Rhode Island, and William Dyer came up to Boston and obtained his wife’s release upon condition that he not allow [FRIEND](#) Mary Dyer to speak with anyone until they were beyond the frontiers of the Bay Colony. Friend Ann was not allowed to settle her estate, and eventually the captain of the vessel was forced to take her back to England — at his own expense.

At about this period, many married [QUAKERS](#) were beginning to take vows of celibacy, and refrain from sexual intercourse with their spouses. This would go on for like two, three years. There is a suggestion that Friend Mary Dyer, although her husband was not and never would be a Quaker, joined in this movement for some time prior to her execution.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

1658

Spring: Family names such as Lopez, Rivera, Seixas, deToro (Touro), Gomez and Hays began to settle in [NEWPORT](#) on [RHODE ISLAND](#)'s [AQUIDNECK ISLAND](#), and by the time of the American Revolution this population of Sephardic Jews would have grown to a prosperous community of several hundred souls. As international sugar traders from Brazil, the West Indies, Portugal, etc. they chose to maintain their headquarters on the island because it was a thriving peaceful commercial center with a major port.¹⁷ For a long time they would hold *minyanim* in private homes. Their first public venture would be not the construction of a synagogue but the creation of a Jewish cemetery. (Only later, in 1763, would they be constructing the Touro Synagogue of Congregation Jeshuat Israel.)¹⁸

May 11: Friend Horod Long Hicks, “the mother of many children, with a babe sucking at her breast,” accompanied by Mary Stanton, who helped carry the child, walked from Newport to Weymouth MA to protest religious persecution as a Quaker, and as a result, was carried to Boston before Governor Endicott, who sentenced each of the women to be whipped, ten lashes with a three-fold knotted whip, and then held in prison for 14 days.

After the savage, inhumane & bloody execution upon her,
[she] kneeled down & prayed the Lord to forgive....

17. Rabbi Theodore Lewis, M.A.S.T.D., has confidently asserted that these Jews came to Rhode Island “because of the assurance of freedom of religion and liberty of conscience promised by Governor Roger Williams to all who came within its borders.” To make a small point, the man was President of Rhode Island, not Governor, but the big point is to imagine how Rabbi Lewis can look right into people’s minds, people dead for centuries, and detect their true motives. This President Williams with an international reputation for religious openness who attracted the Jews to Rhode Island, I might point out, happens to be the same Reverend Williams who, we know, had pronounced his own wife, Mistress Mary Williams, and his own daughters, to be “unregenerate,” which meant that after Mary had prepared a meal for her family, she needed to take her daughters and be absent from the table while her husband blessed the meal and thanked God, alone. Then this tolerant man would allow his “unregenerate” family to return and break bread together and partake of the meal. (Although this practice would come to the attention of others who would chide the Reverend about it, remonstrances would be to no avail. Go figure.)

What is considerably more likely is that these immigrants had heard of the code of laws that had been enacted in [RHODE ISLAND](#) in 1647, which concluded as follows:

These are the laws that concern all men, and these are the penalties for the transgressions thereof, which, by common consent, are ratified and established through the whole Colony. And otherwise than this (what is herein forbidden) all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his GOD. AND LET THE LAMBS OF THE MOST HIGH WALK IN THIS COLONY WITHOUT MOLESTATION, IN THE NAME OF JEHOVAH THEIR GOD, FOR EVER AND EVER.

However, that code of laws had been written, not by the great Reverend Williams, but by John Clarke with the assistance of William Dyer (Friend Mary Dyer’s husband). Presumably Rabbi Lewis did not grasp that point, because he was supposing the code of laws to have been enacted in 1674, six years after the settlement, rather than as it actually was, in 1647, eleven years before the settlement!

1659

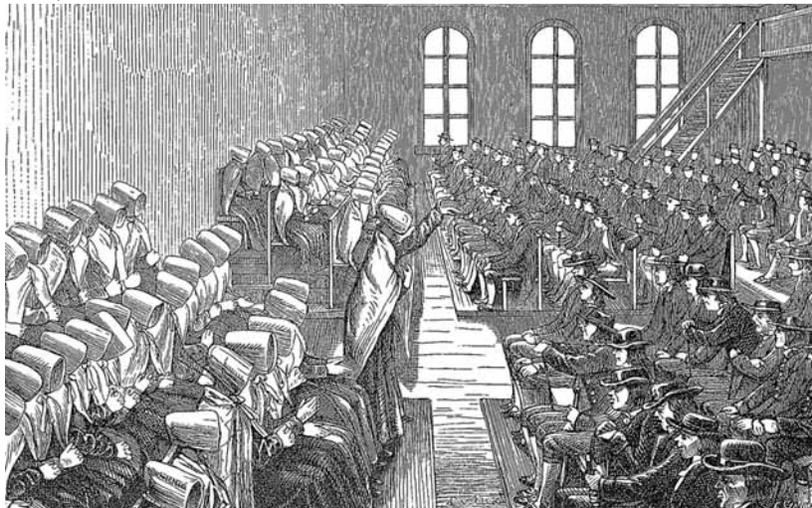
We believe that "Portrait of a Clergyman," painted by Guillian de Ville in this timeframe and now at the

18. Some of the members of this congregation, such as Aaron Lopez, would, like some of their Christian neighbors, even some of the members of the RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, engage in the international slave trade. After their synagogue building, in what had become the bad part of town, had been deconsecrated, the empty and dilapidated structure, under a caretaker who was a QUAKER, would find use occasionally, surreptitiously, for the harboring of escaping slaves as a station on the Underground Railroad. The edifice would be designated a national historical site in 1946.



-When you visit, and are proudly shown the must-see "secret hiding hole" underneath the lectern, be polite, as I was, and do not complicate matters by inquiring whether Newport's Jews and Quakers participated in the international slave trade.

(When you visit the largest Quaker meetinghouse in the world, almost next door to this synagogue — ditto, do not inquire into the sensitive topic of why they avoid mentioning to the white tourists that this structure had for about half a century served as a segregated black dancehall!!)



Redwood Library of [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), must be a depiction of Elder John Clarke.



William Dyer and [FRIEND](#) Mary Dyer had established their new farm in what is now Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).¹⁹ In this year Friend Mary and two other expelled Quaker ministers –Friends Marmaduke Stevenson and William Robinson, who were youths of little more than twenty years of age– would determine to test the barbarous new Boston law requiring death for return after an initial expulsion. Would it be enforceable or, only another idle threat, would it also collapse upon a challenge from those of sufficient faith?

Six [QUAKERS](#) of Salem, keeping faith, prepared “linen wherein to wrap the dead bodies of those who were to suffer.” (These people, you see, were playing hardball.)²⁰

19. There is still a very small street, Dyer’s Gate off 3rd Street just next to the overpass from the Newport Bridge, to mark where they had lived. The island just off Newport that was associated with this farm, Goat Island where the family kept livestock, was then about a hundred times larger than it now is in this era in which this now tiny island has been transformed into a US Navy weapons-development facility.

20. Sewell, William. THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE, AND PROGRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. A NEW EDITION IN TWO VOLUMES. Philadelphia PA: Uriah Hunt, 1832, Volume I, pages 253-5

LETTER TO THE GENERAL COURT AT BOSTON,
AFTER BEING SENTENCED TO DEATH,
27TH OF 8TH MONTH, 1659.

To the General Court in Boston.

Whereas I am by many charged with the guiltiness of my own blood; if you mean in my coming to Boston, I am therein clear, and justified by the Lord, in whose will I came, who will require my blood of you, be sure, who have made a law to take away the lives of the innocent servants of God, if they come among you, who are called by you, cursed Quakers; although I say, and am a living witness for them and the Lord, that he hath blessed them, and sent them unto you; therefore be not found fighters against God, but let my counsel and request be accepted with you, to repeal all such laws, that the Truth and servants of the Lord may have free passage among you, and you be kept from shedding innocent blood, which I know there are many among you would not do, if they knew it so to be; nor can the enemy that stirreth you up thus to destroy his holy seed in any measure countervail the great damage that you will, by thus doing, procure. Therefore seeing the Lord hath not hid it from me, it lieth upon me, in love to your souls, thus to persuade you. I have no self-ends the Lord knoweth; for if my life were freely granted by you, it would not avail me, nor could I expect it of you, so long as I should daily hear or see the sufferings of these people, my dear brethren, and the seed with whom my life is bound up, as I have done these two years: and now it is like to increase, even unto death, for no evil doing, but coming among you. Was ever the like laws heard of among a people that profess Christ come in the flesh? And have such no other weapons but such laws to fight against spiritual wickedness withal, as you call it? Woe is me for you! Of whom take ye counsel? Search with the light of Christ in you, and it will show you of whom, as it hath done me and many more, who have been disobedient and deceived, as now ye are: which light as ye come into, and obeying what is made manifest to you therein, you will not repent that you were kept from shedding blood, though it were by a woman. It is not mine own life I seek, (for I choose rather to suffer with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of Egypt,) but the life of the seed, which I know the Lord hath blessed, and therefore seeks the enemy thus vehemently to destroy the life thereof, as in all ages he ever did. O hearken not unto him, I beseech you, for the seed's sake, which is one and all, and is dear in the sight of God, which they that touch, touch the apple of his eye, and cannot escape his wrath; whereof I having felt, cannot but persuade all men that I have to do withal, especially you who name the name of Christ to depart from such iniquity as shedding blood, even of the saints of the Most High. Therefore let my request have as much acceptance with you, if you be Christians, as Esther's had with Ahasuerus, whose relation is short of that that is between Christians: and my request is the same that hers was: and he said not that he had made a law, and it would be dishonourable for him to revoke it; but when he understood that those people were so prized by her, and so nearly concerned her, as in truth these are to me, you may see what he did for her. Therefore I leave these lines with you, appealing to the faithful and true witness of God, which is one in all consciences, before whom we must all appear; with

whom I shall eternally rest, in everlasting joy and peace, whether you will hear or forbear. With him is my reward, with whom to live is my joy, and to die is my gain, though I had not had your forty-eight hours warning, for the preparation of the death of Mary Dyar.

And know this also, that if through the enmity you shall declare yourselves worse than Ahasuerus, and confirm your law, though it were but by taking away the life of one of us, that the Lord will overthrow both your law and you, by his righteous judgments and plagues poured justly upon you, who now, whilst ye are warned thereof, and tenderly sought unto, may avoid the one, by removing the other. If you neither hear, nor obey the Lord, nor his servants, yet will he send more of his servants among you, so that your end shall be frustrated, that think to restrain them ye call cursed Quakers, from coming among you, by any thing you can do to them. Yea, verily, he hath a seed here among you, for whom we have suffered all this while, and yet suffer; whom the Lord of the harvest will send forth more-more labourers to gather, out of the mouths of devourers of all sorts, into his fold, where he will lead them into fresh pastures, even the paths of righteousness for his name's sake. Oh, let none of you put this good day far from you, which verily in the light of the Lord I see approaching even to many in and about Boston, which is the bitterest and darkest professing place, and so to continue so long as you have done, that ever I heard of. Let the time past, therefore, suffice, for such a profession as brings forth such fruits as these laws are. In love, and in the spirit of meekness, I again beseech you, for I have no enmity to the persons of any; but you shall know, that God will not be mocked; but what ye sew, that shall ye reap from him, that will render to every one according to the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil. Even be it, saith

Mary Dyar.

NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

October 20: In Boston, the young **QUAKER** ministers Marmaduke Stevenson, William Robinson, and Friend Mary Dyer were sentenced to be **HANGED** by the neck until they were dead from the Great Elm (*Ulmus americana*) on Boston Common, on Lecture Day.



Friend Daniel Gould of Newport, **RHODE ISLAND** would accompany Friend Marmaduke and Friend William to their gallows tree, and for doing that he would be tied across a big gun and flogged.

October 27, Lecture Day: It was “Lecture Day” in Boston. The Reverend John Norton fulminated against “diabolical doctrines” such as those of “the cursed sect of the Quakers.” (This would be printed up and distributed at government expense.) A large company of soldiers escorted the three religious prisoners from the jail near what is now Dover Street at Washington Street, onto the Common.²¹

FRIEND Daniel Gould of Newport, **RHODE ISLAND** accompanied Friend Marmaduke and Friend William to their gallows tree, and for doing that would be sentenced to be tied across a big gun and flogged.

FRIEND Mary Dyer was between two guards with her arms and legs bound. She was seen to have covered her face with a handkerchief, loaned to her for this purpose by her former pastor in the Boston church, the Reverend John Wilson. With the drums rolling to drown out the voices of the condemned (they were nevertheless heard briefly, as below), Friends Marmaduke Stevenson and William Robinson were **HANGED** from the limb of a tree on Boston Common. When the corpse of Robinson was cut down, the head hit the ground and the skull broke. Their bodies were cast naked into a hole, and soon were covered over with water. “A Mr. Nichols built a fence about the place to protect them.”²²

A week earlier, in the prison in Boston, Friend Marmaduke had written a brief summation of his life:²³

In the beginning of the year 1655, I was at the plough in the east parts of Yorkshire in Old England, near the place where my outward being was; and, as I walked after the plough, I was filled with the love and presence of the living God, which did ravish my heart when I felt it, for it did increase and abound in me like a living stream, so did the life and love of God run through me like precious ointment giving a pleasant smell, which mad me to stand still. And, as I stood a little still, with my heart and mind stayed upon the Lord, the word of the Lord came to me in a still, small voice, which I did hear perfectly, saying to me in the secret of my heart and conscience, “I have ordained thee a prophet unto the nations,” and, at the hearing of the word of the Lord, I was put to a stand, seeing that I was but a child for such a weighty matter. So, at the time appointed, Barbados was set before me, unto which I was required of the Lord to go and leave my dear and loving wife and tender children; for the Lord said unto me, immediately by His Spirit, that He would be as an husband to my wife and as a father to my children, and they should not want in my absence, for He would provide for them when I was gone. And I believed the Lord would perform what He had spoken, because I was made willing to give up myself to His work and service, to leave all and follow Him, whose presence and life is with me, where I rest in peace and quietness of spirit, with my dear brother [Friend William Robinson] under the shadow of His wings, who hath made us willing to lay down our lives for His name's sake, if unmerciful men be suffered to take them from us. And, if they do, we know we shall have rest and

21. The illustration that one commonly sees, of these three being taken along to the Common with a drummer in front and a small dog cavorting in the foreground, is by William Bell Scott and dates to his own perfervid imagination as of the late date of 1888. Representative Daniel Gould of Newport accompanied Friends Marmaduke Stevenson and William Robinson to encourage them as they were being **HANGED** and for that act of sympathy would be “tied to a big gun” and given thirty lashes in Boston during November 1659.

22. After this execution a military man of highest esteem in the colony, John Hull, whose take on such topics was of course always that of discipline, felt that if ever an enemy deserved to die, then someone who had made themselves an enemy of God especially deserved to be put to death. He wrote in his diary that “the rest of the **QUAKERS** had liberty, if they pleased to use it, to depart the jurisdiction though some of them capitally guilty,” and piously ejaculated into prayer: “The good Lord pardon this timidity of spirit to execute the sentence of God’s Holy Law upon such blasphemous persons.”—One is reminded of the little sermon that was given to the German soldiers used as concentration camp guards, which amounted to “We know this goes against your natural feelings, and we hope you will be able to overcome such weaknesses in yourselves.”

23. Besse. SUFFERINGS, 1753, Volume II, pages 201-2

peace with the Lord for ever in His holy habitation, when they shall have torment night and day.

So, in obedience to the living God, I made preparation to pass to Barbados in the Fourth month [June] 1658. So, after some time that I had been on the said island in the service of God, I heard that New England had made a law to put the servants of the living God to death if they returned after they were sentenced away, which did come near me at that time; and, as I considered the thing and pondered it in my heart, immediately came to word of the Lord unto me, saying, "Thou knowest not but that thou mayst go thither."

*But I kept this word in my heart and did not declare it to any until the time appointed, so, after that, a vessel was made ready for **RHODE ISLAND**, which I passed in. So, after a little time that I had been there, visiting the seed which the Lord had blessed, the word of the Lord came to me saying, "Go to Boston with thy brother William Robinson," and at His command I was obedient and gave up to His will, that so His work and service may be accomplished. for He had said unto me that He had a great work for me to do, which is now come to pass. And, for yielding obedience to and for obeying the voice and command of the everlasting God, which created heaven and earth and the foundations of waters, do I, with my dear brother, suffer outward bonds near unto death.*

And this is given forth to be upon record, that all people may know who hear it, that we came not in our own will but in the will of God.

Given forth by me, whom am know to men by the name of MARMADUKE STEVENSON, but have a new name given me, which the world knows not of, written in the book of life.

It turned out that the plan of the authorities was only to frighten this Quaker woman by the sentence of death and the witnessing of the execution of her fellow ministers. When it came time for her to be "turned off" – as the expression then was– upon the gallows tree, the authorities announced that she had been reprieved. Her bonds were loosed.



One of the Bostonians in the assembly, one John Chamberlain, however, announced then and there that he had been converted into a **QUAKER**, and he was taken back to town and thrown in jail. Shortly afterward, that jail released 17 religious prisoners.

After not being hanged, Friend Mary Dyer once again wrote to the court:²⁴

24. Sewell, William. THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE, AND PROGRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. A NEW EDITION IN TWO VOLUMES. Philadelphia PA: Uriah Hunt, 1832, Volume I, pages 256-7

LETTER TO THE GENERAL COURT AT BOSTON,
AFTER BEING UNEXPECTEDLY REPRIEVED,
28TH OF 8TH MONTH, 1659.

Once more to the general court assembled in Boston, speaks Mary Dyar, even as before. My life is not accepted, neither availeth in comparison of the lives and liberty of the Truth, and servants of living God, for which in the bowels of loved and meekness I sought you: yet, nevertheless, with wicked hands have you put two of them to death, which makes me to feel, that the mercies of the wicked are cruelty. I rather choose to die than to live, as from you, as guilty of their innocent blood: therefore seeing my request is hindered, I leave you to the righteous Judge, and searcher of all hearts, who, with the pure measure of light he hath given to every man to profit withal, will in his due time let you see whose servants you are, and of whom you have taken counsel, which I desire you to search into: but all his counsel hath been slighted, and you would have none of his reproofs. Read your portion, Prov. i. 24 to 32. For verily the night cometh on you apace, wherein no man can work, in which you shall assuredly fall to your own master. In obedience to the Lord, whom I serve with my spirit, and pity to your souls, which you neither know nor pity, I can do no less than once more to warn you, to put away the evil of your doings; and kiss the Son, the light in you, before his wrath be kindled in you; for where it is, nothing without you can help or deliver you out of his hand at all; and if these things be so, then say, there hath been no prophet from the Lord sent amongst you; though we be nothing, yet it be his pleasure, by things that are not, to bring to nought things that are.

When I heard your last order read, it was a disturbance to me, that was so freely offering up my life to him that gave it to me, and sent me hither so to do, which obedience being his own work, he gloriously accompanied with his presence and peace, and love in me, in which I rested from my labour; till by your order and the people, I was so far disturbed, that I could not retain any more of the words thereof, than that I should return to prison, and there remain forty and eight hours, to which I submitted, finding nothing from the Lord to the contrary, that I may know what his pleasure and counsel is concerning me, on whom I wait therefore, for he is my life, and the length of my days; and as I said before, I came at his command, and go at his command.

Mary Dyar.

Famous Last Words:

“What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth.”

– A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787

“The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows.”

—Thoreau’s JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1601	Tycho Brahe	unsolicited comment	<i>“Let me not seem to have lived in vain.”</i>
1618	Sir Walter Raleigh	his wife would embalm his head and keep it near her in a red leather bag	<i>“Strike, man, strike.”</i>
1649	Charles I	the chopper was to wait for a signal that the king had prepared himself	<i>“Stay for the sign.”</i>
1659	Friend Marmaduke Stevenson and Friend William Robinson	unsolicited comments made over the muting roll of a drum intended to prevent such remarks from being heard	<i>Friend Marmaduke: “We suffer not as evil-doers but for conscience’ sake.” Friend William: “I die for Christ.”</i>
1660	Friend Mary Dyer	asked at her execution whether they should pray for her soul	<i>“Nay, first a child; then a young man; then a strong man, before an elder of Christ Jesus.”</i>

November: In the previous month Friend Daniel Gould of Newport, **RHODE ISLAND** had elected to accompany Friends Marmaduke Stevenson and William Robinson to encourage them as they were being **HANGED** as **QUAKERS** in Boston. For that act he was “tied to a big gun” and given thirty stripes.

1660

June 1: Friend Mary Dyer of **NEWPORT**, **RHODE ISLAND** was escorted along a back way about a mile from the the jail near what is now Dover Street at Washington Street to the municipal gallows on Boston Neck, at the edge of town on the path leading to Roxbury and life and freedom,



Friend Mary was once again asked politely, whether she could commit that she would go away and stay away.

Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the will of the Lord, I came, and in his will I abide faithful to the death.

As Friend Mary's body swung on the **GALLOWS** a local wit, Major-General Humphrey Atherton, came up with something to yell out to the rubberneckerers. If the minister was not yet strangled into unconsciousness at that point, we may hope that the marvelous and spontaneous summation this Major-General unintentionally uttered could be the last thing she heard.²⁵

She hangs there as a flag!

25. One wonders whether her husband William Dyer and her five boys William, Jr., Samuel, Henry, Mahershallalhashbaz, and Charles were present on the occasion of this scheduled public ceremony — the record we have of their lives is entirely silent on this score so the presumption unfortunately may need to be that they had absented themselves, deliberately leaving their errant wife and mother to face the Boston gallows entirely alone; I also do not know whether her Quaker son William, Jr. was at this point already convinced, or became a **QUAKER** only later. This is the way, however, that historians today fudge the probability that Friend Mary had in her extremity been deserted not only by her husband but also by her offspring:

A small group of colonists had gathered around the walls of the prison in the vain hope of getting word to the prisoner. Earlier, when she had been found talking with friends gathered around her prison window, she had been moved to a remote part of the prison where none could speak or signal to her. All night the faithful band of friends remained outside the walls. (Page 1 of Robert S. Burgess's *TO TRY THE BLOODY LAW / THE STORY OF MARY DYER* (Burnsville NC: Celso Valley Books, 2000))

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They buried the body near where they hanged her, south of Dover Street on the east of what is now Washington Street. Perhaps it is there still — or perhaps not, for an undiseased fresh female cadaver would have been quite a prize for the “resurrectionists” who regularly exhumed such for sale to local physicians.²⁶

A Boston sheriff at the scene, Edward Wanton, after going home and discussing the events of this day with his mother, became a [QUAKER](#).²⁷

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

26. I have been indignantly informed via email that Friend Mary Dyer was hanged from the Great Elm on Boston Common, because near the Common now there’s a sort of officious monument (but not at the spot where the Great Elm had been located), and the inscription at the base of said monument reads in part: “Witness for Religious Freedom — Hanged on Boston Common 1660 — ‘My life not availeth me in comparison to the Liberty of the Truth.’” QED, this email concluded, the record that she was hanged at the gallows on Boston Neck, and her body discarded there, must be in error.

27. Major-General Atherton would be on his way somewhere on horseback on September 16, 1661, when he would pass by the spot at which Quakers had ordinarily been being cut loose from the cart behind which they had been lashed through the colony, just before being turned out into the wilderness. At this spot his horse was spooked by a cow and Atherton was thrown hard, striking his head. The bloody-minded among the [QUAKERS](#) would note with satisfaction as a punishment by God that the officer’s eyes were out of their sockets, he had brain tissue coming out of his nose and blood dripping out of his ears, and his tongue was protruding from between his teeth. (Watch out, ye blasphemers, God’ll get you!)

Michael Crook <mcrook@IGC.APC.ORG> of the Annapolis Friends Meeting has sent me an email of his oral family history to the effect that “A man named Stanton, I’m forgetting whether it was William or John, was captain of the guard that escorted Mary to the gallows. He’s one of my wife’s ancestors. That day, after the hanging, because of the accepting, compassionate and forgiving demeanor of Mary and other Friends, he said to his mother, ‘Mother, we are persecuting the people of God.’ He became a Friend, was persecuted himself, and eventually moved to Rhode Island, where he married into the Gould family.” This could **not** have been a William Stanton, for the only person of this name on the record would have been much too young during 1660 to have served in such an official capacity, and could **not** have been a John Stanton, for there was such a man attending Harvard College during 1661 but in 1676 this man was a soldier rather than a [QUAKER](#). We know of a John Stanton but his only recorded marriage was to a Mary Clark. If this man had married into the Gould family, he would have married a daughter of Representative Daniel Gould of Newport, the gentleman who had accompanied Stephenson and Robinson to encourage them as they were being hanged and for that act of sympathy had been “tied to a big gun” and rewarded with thirty lashes in Boston during November 1659. The putative daughter might have been a Mary born on 2 March 1653, or a Priscilla born on 20 June 1661, or a Content born on 28 April 1671 or a Wait born on 8 May 1676 — but we know nothing of any of the marriages of any of these Gould daughters. The name the Kouroo database has, for the sheriff who went home and spoke to his mother after the hanging and turned Quaker, is Edward Wanton. We do not have the names of his parents. This Boston sheriff was by trade a ship-carpenter and in 1660 was of an age to have a young child and another on the way, and shortly after this hanging of Mary Dyer removed from Boston to Scituate RI. Later, the three of his sons whom we have track of lived in three towns in [RHODE ISLAND](#), and one of them became a long-term governor of the colony at a time when many of that colony’s governors were Quakers, but we do not know of any connection between the Wanton family and the Gould family. Thus, this proffered family history seems to be entirely unsupported.

1661

FRIEND George Rofe, visiting the New World colonies from England, called for all the **QUAKERS** of New England to assemble for a “genrall meeting” on **AQUIDNECK ISLAND**. This meeting would last four days and it has been said that this was the origin of the tradition of the New England Yearly Meeting of the **RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**.²⁸

1664

July: Elder John Clarke returned from England to **NEWPORT**, **RHODE ISLAND** after an absence of more than a dozen years, to chair a committee to codify the laws of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations and become chief commissioner for determining the colony’s western boundaries. He was elected to the General Assembly. (He would be re-elected year by year until 1669, when he would become the deputy-governor of the colony, and then would be again re-elected to the General Assembly in 1671.)

1665

May 3: The General Assembly of **RHODE ISLAND** sat as the King’s Commissioners in **NEWPORT** to hear about the failed common-law marriage of George Gardiner and Horodia or Herodius (Horod) Long Hicks. George Gardiner testified that “he cannot say that never hee went on purpose before any magistrate to declare themselves, or take such other means ... to declare themselves man & wife.” Friend Robert Stanton of Newport testified, however, that “he knew noe other marridge, but onlye one night being at his house, both of them did say before him & his wife that they did take the other as man & wife” — thus establishing the two witnesses needed for the legal recognition of a common law marriage. George Gardiner and Horod Long Hicks had produced the children Benoni,²⁹ Henry,³⁰ George,³¹ William,³² Nicholas,³³ Dorcas,³⁴ Rebecca,³⁵ Samuel, and Joseph. Horod pled necessity, telling the court that after she had been deserted by Hicks, her estate having been carried away by him, “I was put to great hardship, and straight ... and I being brought up not to labour, and young, knew not what to do to have something to live, having no friend, in which straight I was drawne by George Gardiner to consent to him so fare as I did, for mayntenance....” When the Assembly asked if she would return to George and live with him as “a wife should do,” she allowed that she would not.

28. The oldest yearly meetings in America other than this one are:
 Baltimore (1672)
 Philadelphia (1687)
 New York (1695)
 North Carolina (1698)
 Virginia (1702)
 Ohio (1813)
 Indiana (1821)

The first remaining account we have in our Yearly Meeting Record Book is in the year 1683, which is to say, after 21 years of meetings. Is it possible that these early meetings had gone unrecorded, or have the records merely been lost to the ravages of time?

29. There had been a previous birth, not described on the record. Benoni Gardiner was born before 1645 and died about 1731. He married someone named Mary.

May 5: Mistress Margaret Porter, the wife of the wealthy older man John Porter, a “poor ancienne matron,” petitioned the [RHODE ISLAND](#) General Assembly, sitting at [NEWPORT](#), to force her husband to support her, “he having apparently gone over to Pettyquamscut, leaving her without means of support and dependant children....” (Interestingly, not only John Porter but also Horod Long Hicks had gone over to Pettyquamscut.)

This court had found itself unable to persuade George Gardiner and Horodia or Herodius (Horod) Long Hicks that they should continue to share their common-law marriage. Despite the fact “that she had lived all this time in that abominable lust of fornication, contrary to the general apprehension of her neighbors, she having had by the aforesaid Gardiner, many children ... so that horrible sin of uncleannes in which they had lived for 18 years, under cover of pretended marriage ... shamefully expressed to the publicke view,...” it therefore accepted Horod’s declaration that her conscience compelled her to refuse to acknowledge George Gardiner to be her husband, severely censured the two people for the “extreme sinfulness of their conduct,” fine them £20 each, and enjoined “that the aforesaid Gardiner and Horod are hereby straightly required that henceforth they presume not to so lead so scandalous a life, lest they feel the extremist penalty that either is or shall be provided in such cases.” Soon the Assembly would create a new marriage law requiring formal marriage but allowing that existing common-law marriages should be regarded as good, firm, and authentic — so that none should take advantage of the new law of marriage to abandon husband or wife, and so that children should not be reputed illegitimate. George and Horod would continue in good standing in their respective communities, with George remarrying with Lydia Hallow, daughter of Robert Hallow, and going on to serve several times as a Grand Juror in Newport, and with Horod remarrying with yet a 3rd husband, John Porter, “a very well-to-do inhabitant of [PORTSMOUTH](#)” (he being one of the purchasers of Pettaquamscutt), an older man and married, who would divorce his wife Margaret Porter in order to marry Horod, and would provide each of Horod’s sons with a farm of several hundred acres, and perhaps (the record is not complete) provide also for her daughters.

Soon after this separation, George Gardiner married Lydia Ballou, widow of Robert Ballou. The couple would produce 5 children.

1666

13th day 5th month: According to [QUAKER](#) records, James Gould was born at [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), the 7th child of Friend Daniel Gould and Friend Wait Coggeshall Gould of Newport. (5th month would be August, since April was the 1st month of the year. According to lay records, however, the child was born not on August 13th but on October 13th.)

30. Henry Gardiner was born in about 1645 and died on April 26, 1744. He married 1st a wife named Joan and 2d with Abigail Richmond Remington, the widow of John Remington, and a daughter of Edward and Abigail (Davis) Richmond.
 31. We do not know when George Gardiner was born, but he died during 1724. On February 13, 1670 he got married with Tabitha Tefft, a daughter of John and Mary Barker Tefft.
 32. William Gardiner was born in about 1651 and died in 1711. He married someone named Elizabeth.
 33. Nicholas Gardiner was born in 1654 and died in 1712. He married someone named Hannah.
 34. Dorcas Gardiner was born in about 1656 and got married in about 1675 with John Watson.
 35. We do not know when Rebecca Gardiner was born, but she was presumably the infant “still at the breast” that Horod carried to Boston in 1658. She got married with John Watson, as his 2d wife after his marriage with her sister Dorcas, and John died in 1728.

1667

Swansea (Swanzy) was established, much closer than any English settlement had been to *Metacom's* own village at Mount Hope. The English were hostile to Phillip's agenda to raise herds of pigs (for instance, they had told him to get his pigs the hell off of Pig Island in the Narragansett Bay, where they as well as he were keeping pigs in order to preserve them safe against forest predators); however, as James D. Drake has commented on his page 66, "The Indians in the region were openly angry with their English neighbors, probably because livestock owned by the English were allowed to trespass on native land."³⁶

NARRAGANSETT BAY



"History is better than prophecy. In fact, history 'is' prophecy. And history says that whenever a weak and ignorant people possess a thing which a strong and enlightened people want, it must be yielded up."

- Mark Twain

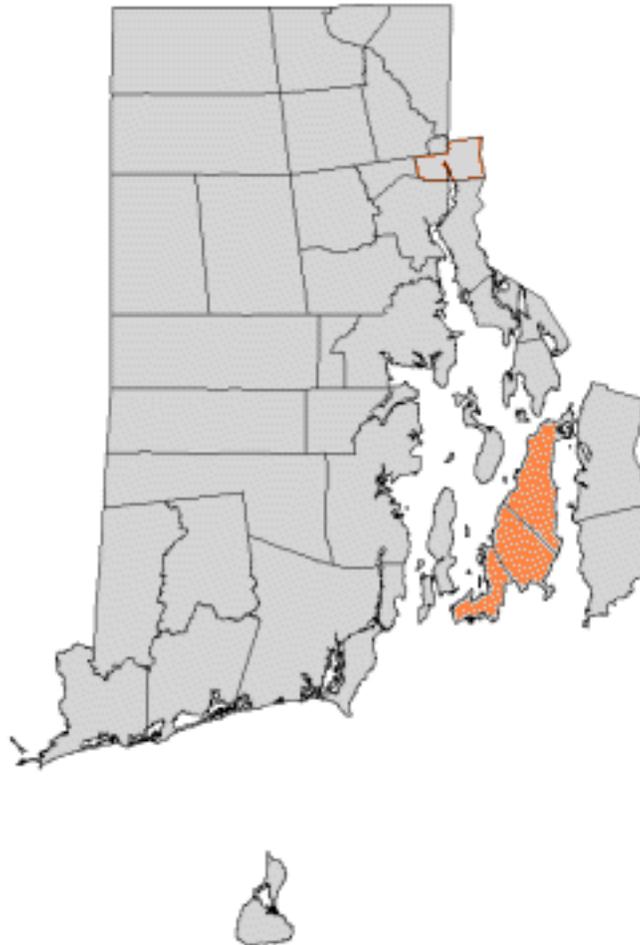
36. Drake bases this guess on the work of Virginia DeJohn Anderson, "King Philip's Herds: Indians, Colonists, and the Problem of Livestock in Early New England" (*William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 51, October 1994).

Friend Nicholas Easton decided that it would be contrary to Quaker principle to mount a “great gun” upon the seawall in **NEWPORT**, **RHODE ISLAND**. — For “a killing Instrument we may neither forme, nor beare” (said by Friend William Ames and others).

It was made illegal for any white male capable of militia service to leave the island of Aquidneck³⁷ without a permit from the white authorities to depart, and similarly, it was made illegal for any native American male older than 16 to remain on the island without a permit from the white authorities to remain. No native might possess any weapon, or be up and about at all at night. (The local Quakers were complicit in these decisions, nor is there any evidence on the record that the island’s Friends had any special relationship with the island’s native population.)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

37. In Algonquian, “Aquidnet” means “a place of security or tranquility,” from “aquene” or “aquidne” meaning secure or peaceful, and “et” meaning place.



1670

A stone structure was erected near [NEWPORT](#) as the base of a windmill which might also function as a fortress in the event of native attack. What remains of this structure has since been fancied to have been the handiwork of "Vikings," and stands in Touro Park off Bellevue Avenue. The land upon which this ruin stands once belonged to Governor Benedict Arnold, [RHODE ISLAND](#)'s first governor under the charter of 1663 and an ancestor of General Benedict Arnold of Revolutionary-era fame and notoriety.

INTERNET WITHOUT COMMENT: THE VOYAGE OF WAVE CLEAVER

What seems definite is that scholars seem agreed that the architecture is typical of “13th century Scandinavian (concepts)” and that comparisons to European structures also point to Portuguese bases (as to the 8 arch build). Otherwise all that seems known is that it is quite old — oldest standing structure on the North American Continent — and no one seems certain as to who built it and why.

Information here (not cited as this was not my main point of interest) does bring certain information that perhaps it had been built by both Portuguese and Scandinavians somewhere in the period of 1480 to 1511, and here is the story that leads to this supposition;

Records seem to show that around 1470 King Alphonso VI of Portugal and King Christian I of Denmark formed a treaty to explore west of Iceland. At this time European ties were much stronger than today and Iceland was a recognized and viable nation in mainland eyes — strong connections to the Vatican, for instance. Portugal was in process of systematic explorations in all directions; towards India is well documented but also sweeping the Atlantic and discovering the offshore islands of the Azores and others. It looks to me that they may have discovered Bermuda as well. Common sense indicates the purpose of this treaty — that Portuguese cartographers were interested in the north Atlantic as they were in all other areas and the most logical course of action was to turn to Scandinavia for intimate knowledge acquired over the years. I am not sure if Iceland was a colony of Denmark at this time but at any rate the Danes surely were as familiar with the northern seas as anyone else.

From what I can gather the terms of the treaty were that the ships and crews of the expedition(s) were to be provided by King Christian I and that Portuguese interests would be overseen by one Joao (“Yorra”) vas Corte Real, apparently a Portuguese nobleman with nautical connections. It might be noted here that the major base of Portuguese explorations was at Sagres, near Gibraltar, the port of which is at Lagos, a few miles away. Just a few miles west of Lagos is Palos, Spain, both places intimately familiar to Christopher Columbus, the former a place of salvation to him after his swim to shore in 1476, the latter his port of departure in 1492. My own mind is intrigued at this remarkable coincidence of geography at this particular date, especially when Columbus himself claimed he had been in the northern seas (“Thule”) in 1477. What appears here is that an unemployed and likely desperate Columbus was in the exact port when an expedition was fitting out for that precise destination.

Anyway, the party eventually did make an exploration with three Danish ships whose pilots were two Germans, Pining and Pothorst and one Norwegian, Johan Scolp. They were successful in passing Iceland and certainly reached Greenland and many historians claim Newfoundland itself. The trip seems to have been successful, for one of the Germans (Pining?) was rewarded with the Governorship of Iceland, the other an influential position in the Frisian Islands and Scolp becoming a noted geographer remarked at least six times in medieval documents. Joao vas Corte Real was rewarded with the Governorship of Terciera in the Azores which was in process then of pioneer settlement, having been recently discovered. It might be noted in context of what follows is that these pioneer settlers were not primarily Portuguese nationals but people hailing from Flanders, then the “netherlands” of Denmark. This must have been part of the Regal Treaty in some way and almost certainly in part personnel, families and crews of his expedition. (Could it be possible that some of them may have been Greenlanders?)

It is true that Joao vas Corte Real’s destination in the New World is indefinite but this is not the end of the story. It seems that Joao vas Corte Real had two sons with exploratory ambitions of their own. In 1498(?) they set out on an expedition in some way a duplicate of their fathers, doubtless to refine or extend the courses. Certainly they were privy to all the navigational material developed by their father. At some point their two ships separated by agreement with Miguel exploring north along Labrador or Greenland and Gaspar exploring south. After a year the ships rejoined at Newfoundland, shared information and then Miguel returned to Portugal with Gaspar remaining and returning to his prior destination or for further explorations. Now, at this rejoinder, Gaspar transmitted two clues as to where he had been (that have survived — certainly detail was more complete for the reports). He said that the natives who lived in that southerly place lived about “— a league inland”, that they had “greenish eyes” (could he have meant, possibly, Greenland type European eyes?), and that they were born white and turned dark and wrinkled in age from exposure to weather. Except for eye color these are characteristics of the Narragansett Indians at about 42° North latitude whom I have identified in my earlier papers so we might be amenable to the suggestion that Gaspar had reached Narragansett Bay.

Well, what happened is that nothing further was ever heard from Gaspar. Evidently he was expected to return to Portugal but he never arrived and little trace of him ever surfaced. I say “little” as we will see that perhaps some sign of him has survived indirectly. A few years later brother Miguel mounted another expedition with the purpose of locating for rescue or Christian burial of the lost Gaspar. This expedition as it happens also disappeared into the mists of the Atlantic and nothing further ever was ever heard of it — in Europe.

But it may be there is documentation on the American side, especially in combination of the suggestion that Gaspar may have reached Narragansett Bay in 1499 or 50. There is a famous and preserved carven stone in a place called Dighton, Massachusetts which has come under intent study over the centuries it has been known. Among the most thorough and comprehensive are Portuguese-Americans, Dr. Manuel da Silva and Professor Edmund Burke Delabarre who translate some of the carvings to say, “Miguel Corte Real, 1511” accompanied with several of the Portuguese “Quinna” (heraldic shields) in close comparisons with other known Portuguese markers in south American and Africa. I have seen the stone both “in situ” and in its present museum close by and agree that Dr. Delabarre’s analysis might well be correct.

Dighton, Massachusetts can only be reached by water through Narragansett Bay with passage close to or immediately past Newport harbor. It is located at about the limit of navigation where the extended branch of the bay called Taunton River narrows and becomes impassable except to small craft.

So with the story, the clues, and the evidence it seems plausible that Portuguese seaman, almost certainly accompanied by Scandinavians, entered Narragansett Bay possibly in 1511, possibly in 1500, and speculatively so early as 1478. Here they were, it seems, and why here and what did they do?

The tower. I have seen this often and thought it through as best I can. It is not a church, people cannot congregate there; it is not a fortification, it is too blind; it is not a windmill, being of incorrect construction and with presence of a fireplace; not a powderhouse either from the same latter reason. So what is it? It is my belief that it was originally roofed with a conical thatch cover and served a purpose as a food cache or storage depot for commodities such as furs, both best kept well above ground.

The fireplace is important. Any open flame in a windmill is dangerous in the extreme and must have been well known almost so long as grain has been milled. Grain dust is explosive with enough power to destroy any structure at which it occurs. This particular fireplace is unusual as it is too shallow in depth to build a fire. It must have been for use of oil lamps and the two flues being placed to reduce soot and smoke inside. Construction of the flues indicates some awareness of prevailing weather pattern as predominate winds in winter are from the west and the flues are marginally efficient only from that direction. The fireplace had at one time a mantle above of massive bulk. If stone, it must have fallen and been removed; if wood, rotted away.

The tower has survived several earthquakes, one of which occurred in my lifetime (I slept the sleep of the just some thirty miles away). For the tower to be still standing shows masonry expertise of the highest water. According to an oil painting by Gilbert Stuart in 1773, it had been entirely covered with mortar or stucco with embossed artificial keystones formed in the material to disguise the actual crude fieldstones.

The floor had been massive — at least a foot and a half thick. Whether there had been an entry through the floor, is now impossible to say but with that thickness would seem unlikely. The entry, then, is the lintelled low opening on the north side. So low that anyone entering there is vulnerable by occupants, but whether this is by design or not is speculative. This opening is just below one of the eave pole openings near the top. It is my conjecture that a simple hoist was hung from that post to aid lift up a ladder to the opening and then inside. A side of mutton, goat or beef or a sack of grain could be so transported. Hard work, but that is the only entry. The sash of this opening is at about floor level.

The window on the SW side is most interesting to me. Its placement defies logic. For symmetry it is well out of place and the lack of windows elsewhere argues that this one had some purpose other than light or ventilation, direct sunlight can enter it only near sunset, and then not directly. It is neither above a pillar nor an arch but placed in an apparent haphazard position with no evident design except accidental and seems to have been part of the original structure as built. Some have speculated that this may have been for purpose of a “lighthouse” since it is diametrically opposed to the fireplace on the other side (almost; the fireplace is directly above a pillar). This could be true but does have some peculiarities. For one thing it is placed in elevation in such a way as to be indiscernible anywhere on land just below or even for some distance out in the harbor. It seems, indeed, to have a very limited arc of visibility. Possibly it might serve a purpose of signalling a ship traveling north offshore that it had passed a headland and could turn into the harbor, but all in all that seems a lot of effort for such limited activity, no sane seaman would sail at night in such shallow waters. (Actually it is quite deep there — over 120 feet — but this is not apparent and is so close to shore that it is dangerous otherwise at night.)

So if it is for a lighthouse it is limited indeed, but I have laid out the arcs and find that a direct line of sight is straight across Pettaquamscutt Rock on the opposite side of the bay — at that locale called “Tower Hill” and where records hint there was a second tower at one time. However, the intervening island called Jamestown RI (Conanicut) has considerable height itself and I have not determined if a line of sight would clear and be visible over there. It is only speculative that so weak a light as oil lamps could be seen at that distance either — it would be only in very clear atmospheric conditions. On the other hand, if there were a station or tower on Jamestown as well, then signalling across the bay would be practical.

Such an interest might be considered by Norse of a thousand years ago, by Portuguese commercial interests 500 years ago and also possibly a restrained British military garrison 300 years ago. I doubt the British endeavor, for they militarily controlled the Bay anyway with ships and the design of the tower is too primitive and purposeless for them at that time, so of these possibilities we are left with Norse and Portuguese/Norse at different times.

I have tried to point out in my papers the intellectual interest in the latitude of 42° North in medieval times when natural phenomena such as that were important, especially towards the north with tropics and the equator itself feared and unknown. Has anyone noticed that Rome and Constantinople are on the same latitude — 42° North? Can it be then imagined that anyone finding himself on the American side of the Atlantic would have at least some incentive to travel that far south, if only to curry favor and support from the Vatican? Narragansett Bay happens to be located only a half degree south of 42° North and may actually extend northward to near 42° North.

There is an interest that also occurs in the log of Christopher Columbus during one of his expeditions of discovery and explorations. For some reason historians record as a grievous error Columbus’ notation of his latitude at 42° North when he actually was at 22° North. There is more to this than meets the eye, for this error is too large and too distorted to be realistic. Log entries are usually inserted daily, or at least at frequent intervals, so that this error would be immediately noticed by being obvious at sight and so compensated with no problem. Yet, I understand that it was queried during Columbus’ lifetime and he insisted it was correct as he wrote it. I am convinced that this episode requires application for some explanation, in view of the possibility that Columbus may have had intimate information concerning the Corte Real voyages at a period in his life when he was a Portuguese seaman and may, indeed, have participated directly or indirectly in those voyages themselves.

Pursuit of these factors might better be done with access to records in Europe, so this is offered to scholars there to pursue it at will. If anyone has access to the original logs or translations of Columbus’ trips, I would dearly love to find and analyze the context of the entry containing the reference to 42° North when his ship was at 22° North. It may well be something more than a simple entry — he may have been trying to tell us something.

1671

June 17: *Metacom* met, as he had agreed, a delegation of five English near the ferry opposite [NEWPORT](#). Although he was unarmed, the forty warriors with him were carrying both bows and muskets.

1672

Friend Daniel Gould of **NEWPORT** became a Representative (at this point the government of the colony of **RHODE ISLAND** had come under control of the **QUAKERS**).

In **NEWPORT**, **RHODE ISLAND**, Katherine Palmer, who had several times been accused of witchcraft, filed a charge of libel against an accuser.



June 13: Friend George Fox had returned from Long Island to Maryland shore, and then had embarked on a longer journey, arriving on this day at Rhode Island (that's merely a moderately sized island in Narragansett Bay, rather than the extensive "Providence Plantations" affiliated with it on the mainland shore which are now referred to collectively as the "State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations"). George Bishop's *NEW ENGLAND JUDGED* says the New England Yearly Meeting which he was visiting on this island had been in existence since 1661.

George Fox

After Friends were gone to their several habitations, we stayed some days upon the island; had meetings in several parts thereof, and good service for the Lord. When we were clear of the island, we returned to Oyster Bay, waiting for a wind to carry us to Rhode Island, which was computed to be about two hundred miles. As soon as the wind served, we set sail. We arrived there on the thirtieth day of the Third month, and were gladly received by Friends. We went to the house of Nicholas Easton, who at that time was governor of the island; where we rested, being very weary with travelling.

On First-day following we had a large meeting, to which came the deputy-governor and several justices, who were mightily affected with the Truth. The week following, the Yearly Meeting for all the Friends of New England and the other colonies adjacent, was held in this island; to which, besides very many Friends who lived in those parts, came John Stubbs from Barbadoes, and James Lancaster and John Cartwright from another way.

This meeting lasted six days, the first four days being general public meetings for worship, to which abundance of other people came. For they having no priest in the island, and so no restriction to any particular way of worship; and both the governor and deputy-governor, with several justices of the peace, daily frequenting the meetings; this so encouraged the people that they flocked in from all parts of the island. Very good service we had amongst them, and Truth had good reception.

I have rarely observed a people, in the state wherein they stood, to hear with more attention, diligence, and affection, than generally they did, during the four days; which was also taken notice of by other Friends. These public meetings over, the men's meeting began, which was large, precious, and weighty. The day following was the women's meeting, which also was large and very solemn.

These two meetings being for ordering the affairs of the Church, many weighty things were opened, and communicated to them, by way of advice, information, and instruction in the services relating thereunto; that all might be kept clean, sweet and savoury amongst them. In these, several men's and women's meetings for other parts were agreed and settled, to take care of the poor, and other affairs of the Church, and to see that all who profess Truth walk according to the glorious gospel of God.

* When this great general meeting was ended, it was somewhat hard for Friends to part; for the glorious power of the Lord, which was over all, and His Blessed Truth and life flowing amongst them, had so knit and united them together, that they spent two days in taking leave one of another, and of the Friends of the island; and then, being mightily filled with the presence and power of the Lord, they went away with joyful hearts to their several habitations, in the several colonies where they lived.

When Friends had taken their leave one of another, we, who travelled amongst them, dispersed ourselves into our several services, as the Lord ordered us. John Burnyeat, John Cartwright, and George Pattison went into the eastern parts of New England, in company with the Friends that came from thence, to visit the particular meetings there; whom John Stubbs and James Lancaster intended to follow awhile after, in the same service; but they were not yet clear of this island. Robert Kidders and I stayed longer upon this island; finding service still here for the Lord, through the great openness and the daily coming in of fresh people from other colonies, for some time after the general meeting; so that we had many large and serviceable meetings amongst them.

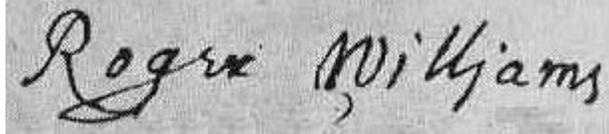
During this time, a marriage was celebrated amongst Friends in this island, and we were present. It was at the house of a Friend who had formerly been governor of the island: and there were present three justices of the peace, with many others not in profession with us. Friends said they had never seen such a solemn assembly on such an occasion, or so weighty a marriage and so comely an order. Thus Truth was set over all. This might serve for an example to others; for there were some present from many other places.

** After this I had a great travail in spirit concerning the Ranters in those parts, who had been rude at a meeting at which I was not present. Wherefore I appointed a meeting amongst them, believing the Lord would give me power over them; which He did, to His praise and glory; blessed be His name for ever! There were at this meeting many Friends, and diverse other people; some of whom were justices of the peace, and officers, who were generally well affected with the Truth. One, who had been a justice twenty years, was convinced, spoke highly of the Truth, and more highly of me than is fit for me to mention or take notice of.*

Then we had a meeting at Providence, which was very large, consisting of many sorts of people. I had a great travail upon my spirit, that it might be preserved quiet, and that Truth might be brought over the people, might gain entrance, and have a place in them; for they were generally above the priest in high notions; and some of them came on purpose to dispute. But the Lord, whom we waited upon, was with us, and His power went over them all; and His blessed Seed was exalted and set above all. The disputers were silent, and the meeting was quiet and ended well; praised be the Lord! The people went away mightily satisfied, much desiring another meeting.

Friend George Fox did not meet the Reverend Roger Williams in Providence, though that local VIP had debated with Friend John Burnyeat during his visit to Newport in 1671. After Fox and his companion, Friend Nicholas Easton, had left Providence and had gone back down the Bay, and had left there as well and was sailing back toward Long Island, the Reverend Williams would row over to Newport, some 30 miles despite his advanced age — but he would miss being able to issue his challenge to a debate with the main man.

The Reverend Williams would attempted to debate instead with Friends William Edmundson, John Stubbs, and John Burnyeat. The debate would not go well, as Friend Henry Nichols would sing persistently and loudly, and Friend Ann Eaton would pray loudly and persistently, attempting to drown out the Reverend Williams's voice.

A photograph of a handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Roger Williams". The ink is dark and the background is a light, textured surface.

After two days of such proceedings, there had been an eclipse of the sun as the debate came to an end.

"Nothing was more common, in those days, than to interpret all meteoric appearances, and other natural phenomena that occurred with less regularity than the rise and set of sun and moon, as so many revelations from a supernatural source. Thus, a blazing spear, a sword of flame, a bow, or a sheaf of arrows seen in the midnight sky, prefigured Indian warfare. Pestilence was known to have been foreboded by a shower of crimson light. We doubt whether any marked event, for good or evil, ever befell New England, from its settlement down to revolutionary times, of which the inhabitants had not been previously warned by some spectacle of its nature. Not seldom, it had been seen by multitudes. Oftener, however, its credibility rested on the faith of some lonely eye-witness, who beheld the wonder through the coloured, magnifying, and distorted medium of his imagination, and shaped it more distinctly in his after-thought. It was, indeed, a majestic idea that the destiny of nations should be revealed, in these awful hieroglyphics, on the cope of heaven. A scroll so wide might not be deemed too expensive for Providence to write a people's doom upon. The belief was a favourite one with our forefathers, as betokening that their infant commonwealth was under a celestial guardianship of peculiar intimacy and strictness."

— Nathaniel Hawthorne, *THE SCARLET LETTER*

The Reverend would then write, and publish in Boston in 1676, what Fox elsewhere would term “Roger Williams’s ‘Book of Lyes,’” a book bearing the amusing title GEORGE FOX DIGGED OUT OF HIS BURROWS (reprinted in PUBLICATIONS OF THE NARRAGANSETT CLUB, Volume V, pages xx-xlv, Providence, 1872). When Fox and Burnyeat would reply to said “slandrous book” in a 65-page pamphlet, A NEW ENGLAND FIRE BRAND QUENCHED, Fox would seem not even to be sure exactly where the Reverend Williams, that famous “apostle of soul liberty,” was flourishing, as in this pamphlet he would refer to the Reverend as “a priest of New England (or some colony thereabouts).”

This place (called Providence) was about thirty miles from Rhode Island; and we went to it by water. The Governor of Rhode Island, and many others, went with me thither; and we had the meeting in a great barn, which was thronged with people, so that I was exceedingly hot, and in a great sweat; but all was well; the glorious power of the Lord shone over all; glory to the great God for ever!

After this we went to Narragansett, about twenty miles from Rhode Island; and the Governor went with us. We had a meeting at a justice’s house, where Friends had never had any before. It was very large, for the country generally came in; and people came also from Connecticut, and other parts round about, amongst whom were four justices of the peace. Most of these people had never heard Friends before; but they were mightily affected with the meeting, and a great desire there is after the Truth amongst them; so that our meeting was of very good service, blessed be the Lord for ever!

The justice at whose house the meeting was, and another justice of that country, invited me to come again; but I was then clear of those parts, and going towards Shelter Island. But John Burnyeat and John Cartwright, being come out of New England into Rhode Island, before I was gone, I laid this place before them; and they felt drawings thither, and went to visit them.

*At another place, I heard some of the magistrates say among themselves that if they had money enough, they would hire me to be their minister. This was where they did not well understand us, and our principles; but when I heard of it, I said, “It is time for me to be gone; for if their eye were so much on me, or on any of us, they would not come to their own Teacher.” For this thing (hiring ministers) had spoiled many, by hindering them from improving their own talents; whereas our labour is to bring every one to his own Teacher **in** himself.*

I went thence towards Shelter Island [so named because Nathaniel Sylvester, sole proprietor of this island at the eastern end of Long Island between Gardiner’s Bay and Little Peconic Bay, had offered shelter to persecuted Friends from New England], having with me Robert Widders, James Lancaster, George Pattison, and John Jay, a planter of Barbadoes.

We went in a sloop; and passing by Point Juda [Judith] and Block Island, we came to Fisher’s Island, where at night we went on shore; but were not able to stay for the mosquitoes which abound there, and are very troublesome. Therefore we went into our sloop again, put off for the shore, and cast anchor; and so lay in our sloop that night.

Next day we went into the Sound, but finding our sloop was not able to live in that water, we returned again, and came to anchor before Fisher’s Island, where we lay in our sloop that night also. There fell abundance of rain, and our sloop being open, we were exceedingly wet.

Next day we passed over the waters called the Two Horse Races, and then by Gardner's Island; after which we passed by the Gull's Island, and so got at length to Shelter Island. Though it was but about twenty-seven leagues from Rhode Island, yet through the difficulty of passage we were three days in reaching it.

The day after, being First-day, we had a meeting there. In the same week I had another among the Indians; at which were their king, his council, and about a hundred Indians more. They sat down like Friends, and heard very attentively while I spoke to them by an interpreter, an Indian that could speak English well. After the meeting they appeared very loving, and confessed that what was said to them was Truth.

Next First-day we had a great meeting on the island, to which came many people who had never heard Friends before. They were very well satisfied with it, and when it was over would not go away till they had spoken with me. Wherefore I went amongst them, and found they were much taken with the Truth; good desires were raised in them, and great love. Blessed be the Lord; His name spreads, and will be great among the nations, and dreadful among the heathen.

While we were in Shelter Island, William Edmundson, who had been labouring in the work of the Lord in Virginia, came to us. From thence he had travelled through the desert-country, through difficulties and many trials, till he came to Roanoke [not little Roanoke Island off the coast, but the extensive mainland adjacent to the Roanoke River], where he met with a tender people. After seven weeks' service in those parts, sailing over to Maryland, and so to New York, he came to Long Island, and so to Shelter Island; where we met with him, and were very glad to hear from him the good service he had had for the Lord, in the several places where he had travelled since he parted from us.

We stayed not long in Shelter Island, but entering our sloop again put to sea for Long Island. We had a very rough passage, for the tide ran so strong for several hours that I have not seen the like; and being against us, we could hardly get forwards, though we had a gale.

We were upon the water all that day and the night following; but found ourselves next day driven back near to Fisher's Island. For there was a great fog, and towards day it was very dark, so that we could not see what way we made. Besides, it rained much in the night, which in our open sloop made us very wet.

Next day a great storm arose, so that we were fain to go over the Sound, and got over with much difficulty. When we left Fisher's Island, we passed by Falkner Island, and came to the main, where we cast anchor till the storm was over.

Then we crossed the Sound, being all very wet; and much difficulty we had to get to land, the wind being strong against us. But blessed be the Lord God of heaven and earth, and of the seas and waters, all was well.

Oh! how darest thou Roger Williams, publish such false lyes to the World, when thou knowest in thy Conscience, that G.F. had never any Writing, or Letter, or Proposals from thee; neither did he ever exchange a word with thee. The Lord God of Heaven knowes it, and the Deputy Governour knowes, that I received none of thy Writings or Papers or Proposals by him. Behold all sober people the foundation of this mans Attempt, the beginning of his work; and since the foundation of thy Book is a notorious lye, the building upon such a foundation of lyes is not like to be otherwise: which lyes thou hast made thy refuge; as throughout thy Book may be evidently seen. For except a man had sold himself to work falsehood, and make lyes; he could not have done more wickedly, and have uttered falser charges that though hast done. But the Lord God which knows them, and sees thy evil design in them, will sweep them away with the besom of Destruction, and clear his people from thy manifest false tongue....

But by this all may see the wickedness, that is in the Bottle of this R.W. by what does flow out of it in his Book, to wit, a malicious spirit against G.F. who was never concerned him by word or writing, much less did G.F. ever do him wrong. And yet he says, G.F. well knew, what Artillery he was furnisht with out of his own bald writings, (as he scoffingly calls them) &c. when never a word of this is true: though he presumes to present it to the King for Truth concerning G.F....

This also is an abominable falsehood, the Lord know it, a groundless untrue imagination of his own; for there was no such Agreement or Consultation. Is this man fit to write of Religion, that lyes? a vain man! What is he, and his designs, that they should require Consultations and Junctos? so let the honest Reader Judge, from whence R.W. had all these lyes, if not from his Father the Devil, who is out of Truth: but with the Truth is both his Father and he Judged.

July 13: The Reverend Roger Williams wrote a letter, from Providence, Rhode Island, challenging Friend George Fox to a debate. The debate was to concern fourteen propositions, seven of them to be debated at Newport and seven at Providence.

July 26: The Reverend Roger Williams's July 13th letter challenging Friend George Fox to a debate reached its destination in Newport, Rhode Island after Friend George had sailed. The English visitors who still remained in Newport, Friends John Stubbs, John Burnyeat, and William Edmundson, eagerly accepted the challenge. The debate in Newport would take place at the Friends meetinghouse over a 3-day period, that in Providence over a single day. (The occasion would not be well-mannered: Friend Henry Nichols would insist upon singing loudly, while Friend Ann Eaton would insist upon praying loudly, struggling to drown out the Reverend Williams's voice.) The Reverend would publish an account of this as THE FOX DIGGED OUT OF HIS BURROWES, and then the Quakers would blast back with A NEW-ENGLAND FIRE-BRAND QUENCHED.

1673

May 12: Mrs. Rebeca Cornell widow of NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND having met with death in a manner considered suspicious, here is the record of the trial for murder on this day of her son Thomas Cornell, who had been the last person to visit her in her room before she was found dead, as preserved in RECORDS OF THE GENERAL COURT OF TRIALS 1671-1704 (Newport Court Book A; October 1673).

As we see, despite the court’s discovery that the deceased had been speaking of suicide and despite an entire absence of evidence that the death had not been a suicide, Thomas Cornell was adjudged guilty of murder, apparently upon the weight of spectral evidence which would not today be considered, and condemned to be

HANGED³⁸

At the Generall Court of Tryalls Held for the Collony at Newport the: 12th of May 1673

- Mr Nicholas Easton Governor
- Mr William Coddington Dept Govern
- Mr Walter Clarke – Asistant
- Mr Daniell Gould – Asistant
- Mr John Easton – Asistant
- Mr William Harris Asistant
- Mr Thomas Harris Asistant
- Mr Thomas ffeild Asistant
- Mr Joshua Coggeshall Asistant
- Mr John Tripp Asistant
- Mr Walter Todd – Asistant
- Mr Job Almy – Asistant
- John Sanford Recorder
- James Rogers Genl Serant
- Mr Peter Easton Genrl Treasurer
- Mr John Easton Genrl Aturney

Gran Jurriors Engaged

- Lt Joseph Torrey foreman
- Mr Robert Stanton
- Mr William Case
- Mr Thomas Clifton
- Mr Thomas Burge
- Mr Gidion Freeborne
- Mr John Clarke
- Lt ffrancis Brayton

38. You will note that some of the officials engaged in this trial, such as Mr. Nicholas Easton the governor of the colony, were members of the RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS. Refer to Jane Fletcher Fiske, GLEANINGS FROM NEWPORT COURT FILES 1659 TO 1783 (Boxford, Massachusetts : Jane Fletcher Fiske, 1998), consisting of 1,182 abstracts of court files concerning Newport people and situations, as well as many people from other locations who appear in the records, and to RHODE ISLAND COURT OF TRIALS 1671-1704 (Boxford, Massachusetts: Jane Fletcher Fiske, 1998).

Mr Phillip Eades
Mr William Hiscox
Mr John Odlin
Mr Henry Lilly

Upon Indictment by the Generall Aturny Mr John Easton in the behalfe of our Soverreigne Lord the King against Thomas Cornell now prissoner ffor that on the Eveninge of the Eight day of ffebruary last in the 25th yeare of his Majties Reigne Anno 1672 the said Thomas did murther his mother Rebecca Cornell or was aydeinge or abettinge thereto. The said Thomas Cornell beinge cald for and brought forth into Court, and his charge Read, and demanded of whether Guilty or Not Guilty – pleads Not Guilty, and Referrs himselfe for Tryall to God and the Cuntry. After all Lawful Liberty granted by the Court as to Exceptions The Jurriors were sollemnly Engaged on the case and sent forth.

Jurriors on the case [listed in margin]

Mr Henry Palmer foreman

Daniell Greenell

James Man

William Allin

John Read

John Spencer

Richard Dunn

John Rogers

Serjt Clement Weaver

John Bliss

John Strainge

John Crandell junr

The Jury Returne their Verdict publickly to him declared. Guilty. Thereupon the Court doe pass this followinge centance to the Prissoner.

Whereas you Thomas Cornell have been in this Court Indicted and charged for murthering your mother Mrs Rebecca Cornell Widow. and you beinge by your peers the Jury found Guilty. Know and to that end prepare your selfe, that you are by this Court Centanced to be Carried from hence to the Com[m]on Goale, and from thence on fryday next which will be the twenty thre day of this instant month May about one of the clock to be carried from the said Goale to the place the Gallowes – and there to be Hanged by the neck untill you are dead dead. The Centance beinge pronounced and to him openly declared The said Thomas Cornell is Remitted to the Generall Serjants Custody safely to be kept till the day of Exicution.

A warrant ordered and granted to seize the Estate of Thomas Cornell and make Returne thereof to this Court.

Ordered that a strict Watch be kept in and about the prisson untill the day of the Execution of Thomas Cornell, and that the said Thomas Cornell shall be manacled and surely fastned to the great chaine – And ordered that James Clarke and James Browne

cunstables in Newport are Authorized and desired to Asist the Generall Serjant in settinge and orderinge the watch for secureinge the said prissoner, which watch are to be Eight in the Night time and four in the day time.

Those following are Testimonys Concerning Thomas Cornell Murdering of his Mother Rebeca Cornell: which was ordered to be Recorded.

Thomas Cornell the son of Rebeca Cornell, being inquired of us the Coroners Inquest, doe declare yt in the eveninge before twas darke, came into the roome and satt downe & discoursed with his Mother Rebeca for ye space of about one houre and a halfe; and then went forth into the next Roome, where he stayd about Threequarters of an houre, then his Wife sent his son Edward into the roome to his Grandmothr to know whether shee would have some milke boyled for her supper; the Child coming in to the roome saw some fire in the roome upon the floore, and the Child came back unto us, and fetcht the candle to see what fire it was, Henry Straite went Presently into the roome, my selfe and the rest followed in A Huddle, Henry Straite coming in saw some fire, and stooped, and with his Hands raked fire upon the floore, supposing it to be and Indian that was Drunke, and Burnt, soe he layd hold of the Arme, my selfe Immediately following, by the light perceived it was my Mother, and Cryed out, Oh Lord it is my Mother.

Taken upon oath this Present 9th Day of February 1672/3

Before me William Baulston Assist. & Coroner.

Henry Straite being Examined upon Oath before the Coroner, Testifies, that he knows nothing how Rebeca Cornell came to Her untimely Death, onely sayth that Edward Cornell being sent in unto his Grand mother to Know what shee would have for Her supper, and comeing into the roome, saw fire in the floore, and came out unto us, and tooke the Candle to see what fire twas, he the sayd Henry rann, the Boy with the Candle followed, and Thomas Cornell, he the sayd Henry comeing into the roome, saw fire upon the floore, he stooped down; and with his hand raked fire that was upon the floore, and tooke hold of an Arme, and spake Indian, supposeing it was an Indian, Drunke and Burnt; Thomas Cornell following, and by the Light deserned & called out, and sayd, Oh Lord it is my Mother.

Taken upon oath the yeare and Day above written.

Before me William Baulston Assist. & Coroner.

Wee the Coroners Inquest for his Majestie being Impanelled, and Engaged this Present 9th Day of ffebruary 1672/3 by Mr William Baulston Assistt and Coroner for his Matie in the Towne of **PORTSMOUTH** in Rhod-Island in the Colony of Rhod-Island and Providence Plantations in New-England, have and by these presents doe declare; That being brought to the place where the Dead Body of Rebeca Cornell was Presented, and Inquiry by us made before the Coroner & Mr Joshua Coggeshall one of the Assistants of the sd Towne, and alsoe Coroner. The Body of the sayd Rebeca we found dead upon the floore, her Clothes very much Burnt by fire, and Her Body very much scorched and burnt by fire, And after dilligent Inquirie and Examination of Wittnesses, wee the sayd Coroners Inquest caused the sayd Body of Rebeca Cornell Widdow to Mr Thomas Cornell of Portsmouth to be stripped of the

Residue of Clothes upon it (unburnt) turned and Handled, and searched to the best of our Judgments and understandings, doe finde and declare, That upon the Evening after the Eight Day of Febvruary 1672/3 the sayd Rebeca being in or about the age of 73 yeares, was brought to her untimely death by an Unhappie Accident of fire as Shee satt in her Rome, the time afore specified.

That this is our Verdict as the Coroners Inquest, wee give under our hands this Present 9th Day of February 1672/3.

William Dyer fforeman

Edward Lay

John Sanford

Thomas Brook

Georg Lawton

Hugh Parsons

John Albro

Peter Talman

John Anthony senr

ffrancis Brayton

Thomas Wood

William Wilbore

John Brigs of the Towne of **PORTSMOUTH** Aged sixty foure yeares or thereabouts, being According to Law Sworne and In[g]aged befor the Councill, Testifieth That on the Twelfth Day of this Instant month ffebruary in the night as this Depont lay in his Bedd, he being in A Dreame of Mrs Rebeca Cornell Deseased, and being betweene Sleepeing and Wakeing, as he thought he felt something heave up the Bedclothes twice, and thought some body had beene coming to bed to hime, where upon he Awaked, and turned himeselfe about in his Bed, and being Turned, he perceived A Light in the roome, like to the Dawning of ye Day, and plainly saw the shape and Apearance of A Woman standing by his Bed side where at he was much Afrighted, and Cryed out, in the name of God what art thou, the Aperation Answered, I am your sister Cornell, and Twice sayd, see how I was Burnt with ffire, and shee plainly Apeered unto hime to be very much burnt about the shoulders, fface, and Head.

Taken before the Deputy Govr and Councill mett the 20th day of ffebruary 1672/3 As Atest John Sanford Secretary.

Mr John Russill of the Towne of Dartmouth in the Colony of New-Plymouth Aged 65 yeares or thereabouts, being According to Law sworne and Engaged before the Councill, Testifieth, that this Deponant, lately haveing some speech with Georg Soule Cunstable of the sayd Towne of Dartmoth. The sayd Soul sayd to this Depont, you being my Anchant ffrind, I have someting to tell you wch I would desire you to be Secret in, and the sayd Soul sayd, he once comeing to Mrs Rebeca Cornells House in Portsmouth, the sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornell sayd to the sayd Soul, that Shee intended in the spring of the yeare, to goe and Dwell with her son Samuell, but shee feared Shee should be made away before that time. And this Relation of the sayd Georg Soules to this Deponant

was since the sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornells Decease.

Taken before the Deputy Govr and Councill mett the 20th day of february 1672/3. As Atest John Sanford Secretary.

We whose names are under subscribed being on the second inquiry after the untimely death, or decease of Mrs Rebeca Cornell of the Towne of **PORTSMOUTH**, desired to make Dilligent search whether any wound might be found on Her. Doe thus Affirme that wee found A Suspitious wound on her in the upper-most part of the Stomake, Wittness our hands ye 20th day of february 1672/3.

Henry Greenland Chyrn

Simon Cooper Chyrn

I doe Atest to ye above Written and declare it to be my Judgment, Wittness my hand the Day & yeare above written John Cranston Depty Govr

The above Premised Henry Greenland & Simon Cooper did both upon their Oaths affirme to the above Premised, Evidence or written, to be truth before John Cranston Depty Govr & Practitioner in Phisick & Chyrurgery

We whose names are hereunto subscribed being by the Depty Govr & major part of the Councill of this his Majesties Colony of Rhod-Island and Providence Plantations, appointed and Empanneled A Coroners Inquest on the Body of Mrs Rebeca Cornell (Widdow to ye deceased Mr Thomas Cornell of **PORTSMOUTH**) who came to an untimely, and uncertaine Death, in the night following the Eight day of this Instant month february, who this Instant Day, for A Second Inquire, was taken out of Her Grave, upon severall Suspitious reasons Rendered to the Govr, Depty Govr, and sayd Councill. And the Corps of the sayd Rebeca, being Dilligently searched by Chyriurgions in our view, and in their search, as under their hands appears, they findeing A Suspitious wound in the Body of the sayd Rebeca Cornell in the uppermost part of her Stomake. And wee alsoe finding that the Body was much Burnt and Scorched by fire wee doe declare, and returne our Verdict to be, That wee Conceive and Judg, to the best of our understandings, that by the aforesayd Suspitious wound, and fire, shee the sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornell came bye her Death. In witness whereof wee have sett or hands ye 20th day of february 1672/3.

John Sanford foremn

Georg Lawton

John Albro

Thomas Wood

Edward Lay

Thomas Brooke

Hugh Persons

Francis Brayton senr

William Wilbore

James Barker

Peter Easton

Joseph Torrey

Weston Clarke
 Samuell Hubbard
 Stephen Mumford
 Edward Greenman
 Phillip Edes
 Caleb Carr
 Daniell Gould
 Henry Bull
 Lawrance Turner
 Thomas Nicolls
 Thomas Dungen
 Thomas Burg

Thomas Cornell senr of **PORTSMOUTH** being Examined concerneing the untimely and uncertaine death of his Mother Rebeca Cornell, wch happened on the 8th of ffebruary 1672/3 in the Evening of the same Day: sayth, he coming in to the House from his Occations: a little after sunsett went to visett his Mother, his son Thomas being then with Her, and satt and discoursed with Her in her roome where shee kept, about one houre and halfe, and then Left her and went to Supper, haveing salt-mackrill for Supper, which his Mother cared not for because shee used to say it made her Dry, and haveing supt, his Wife sent his son Edward to his Mother, to know whether shee would have milke boiled for her supper, or what else shee desired, which might be about Three quarters of one houre, from the time he left her, he being the Last that was with Her; the sayd Edward called, Grandmother, Grandmother, and noebody Answering, and perceaving fire in the roome; came out, and sayd lett me have the Candle to see what fire that is in the other roome, whereupon wee all rann in, in hast, and Henry Straite ran in ffirst, and Rakeing the fire with his Hands, tooke hold of his Mothers Arme, thinkeing it had been A Drunken Indian, and spake Indian to her; at last sayd here is A Drunken Indian Burnt to Death; But the sayd Thomas Cornell, coming in last, perceaved by Her shoose which he saw by the light of the Candle, that it was his Mother, and sayd, Oh Lord, it is my Mother, and tooke up her head in his Armes to see if any life were in Her; findeing her burnt, lyeing along upon the floore with her head towards the fire, her Cloths burnt of on her below and some above, and the Valins of the Bed burnt, and the upper part of the Curtaines where he Judged Shee stood when Shee was on fire; before Shee fell, her Apron & one of her Petty-coats being Cotton and Wooll, and Judged that her Clothes tooke fire from A Cole that might fall from Her Pipe as shee satt Smoaking in Her Chaire, and haveing seene her in that Condition, as above related, sent out and called in some of the Neighbours liveing neare; which is all that he knows of the Death of his Mother abovementioned; not Judging any one were Instrumentall in any Measure to procure her Death.

Taken before us the 21th of ffebruary 1672/3
 Nich Easton Govr
 Jon Cranston Depty Govr

ffrancis Brinley Assistt
 John Easton Assistant
 Joshua Coggeshall Assistant

April ye 10th 1673

Sarah Cornell the Wife of Thomas Cornell of **PORTSMOUTH**, being Examined Concerning the Death of her Mother in Law Rebeca Cornell, sayth, yt ye evening her sayd Mothr was found dead in ye House, about one houre or more, or such a quantity of time; before shee was soe found, her Husband Thomas Cornell was with her to see how shee did, hereing that shee was not well, & tooke A Quill of yarne in his hand to winde, after he came out, he winded halfe a Quill of yarne, & then went to Supper, & one of ye Boies was sent to her sayd Mothr, to know what Shee would have for Supper, upon opening of the dore, ye Great Dogg being in her roome, Leaped out over ye Boy, & ye Boy came out in hast, & desired A Candle to see wt fire yt was in ye roome, whereupon most in the House ran in & found her sayd Mother Rebeca Cornell lyeing dead in the floore, being Burnt, but how it came shee knows not, nor can Imagine, but Lookes at it as A wonderfull thing, & the more in regard, part of her Clothes being Cotton and wooll, ye wooll was burnt & ye Cotton Remained whole, which John Gould, John Spencer, & Job Hawkins afterwards saw, comeing to ye House for yt Purpose: ffrurther sayth, wn Georg Lawton & John Albro, being sent for, went into the roome, they smelt ye scent of the Burning of the Clothes, & none before, & when Henry Straite went in first he thought it had beene an Indian yt lay there Dead.

Taken before us. Nich~ Easton Govr

ffrancis Brinley Assistant

At a meeting of ye Dept Govr Mr ffrancis Brinley, Mr John Easton & Mr Joshua Coggeshall Assistants, Held at Mr Joshua Coggeshalls House in Portsmo ye 22th of Feby 1672/3.

Henry Straite being brought before ye Dept Govr & the sd Assistts & Examined wt he could say and relate concerning the late Deceased Rebeca Cornells death. Answered yt ye night that ye sd Mrs Rebeca Cornell lost her life, he was some part of ye night, at Mr Georg Lawtons & came not to Mr Thomas Cornells (where he Diated & Lodged) untill supper time, & wn he came in, some part of ye supper was upon ye Table, & they were goeing to Supper, & sitting downe to Supper. Mrs Rebeca Cornell, who usially used to be at Supper with us, not being there, this Examine saith he inquired where ye sd Mrs Cornell was, & why shee was not at supper wth them, Mr Thos Cornell Answered, we haveing nothing but mackrill to supper, my Mothr will not eate any, for shee saith it makes her dry in the night. The Examine further saith, yt as soone as they had supped, Tho[m] Cornells wife sd to one of ye boys, by name Edward, goe to yor Grandmother, & ask her whether shee will have any milke for supper; the Ladd going, Emediately returned, and askt for A Candle to see what fire yt was, yt was in his Grandmothrs roome, whereupon they all ran, & this Examine came first to the dore, & into ye roome, & espieing fire on ye floore, he clapt his Hands upon it, and raked away ye fire wth his hands, and then thought it had beene an Indian, & tooke hold on ye Arme, and shakt her, speakeing Indian; whereupon Mr Tho[m] Cornell clapt his hands & cryed out, Oh Lord,

it is my Mother. And this Examinee also saith, yt there was noe fire in the Curtaines, nor about ye Bedsted when he came in, yett ye Curtins & Valliants at ye foote of the Bedsted was burnt. And alsoe saith yt ye Body lay wth the head towards ye Southmost Dore, & ye feete towards ye other Dore, in wch roome we were & ye Back lay towards ye Bedsteadd ye face towards ye Westmost Window, & lay on ye left side; Also the said Examinee saith yt at other times when they have had Mackrill for Supper, ye sd Mrs Rebeca Cornell used to be called, & did use to come & sup with ye rest in Mr Thomas Cornells roome.

Taken upon Oath.

James Moills, being Examined wt he can relate concerneing ye Death of Mrs Rebeca Cornell. Answered that ye night yt ye said Mrs Cornell lost her Life: The Examinee & Hen~ Straite were at Mr Georg Lawtons, in ye evening & came not to Mr Tho[m] Cornells till about seven A Clocke, when they came in, part of ye Supper was upon ye Table, & after Supper, Tho[m] Cornells Wife bidd one of ye Boys, by name Edward, goe to his Grandmothr, and ask her wt shee would have for supper; ye ladd goeing in, came Imediately out & askt for A Candle, saying there was fire in his Granmothers roome, upon which every one there Hastened to see what it was. This Examinee, wn he came into ye Entry, was goeing out of dores to see if there were not fire on ye outside of ye House, but before he gott out, hereing Hen~ Straite say here is A Drunken Indian burnt to Death, he returned & went into ye roome, & there he saw, the sd Mrs Rebeca Cornell lyeing on ye floore, wth fire about Her, from Her Lower parts neare to ye Arme pits and saith, he knew it to be her by her Shoes, & saith, yt ye Curtins & Valants at ye foote of ye Bedd were burnt, yett ye fire about ye Bedstead was out. And alsoe this Examinee saith, yt he haveing being A Servant, as now he is, to ye sd Mr Tho[m] Cornell, hath observed, yt ye sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornell (except not well) did usually be at Meales wth Her son Thomas &c. and wt the Reason was, yt shee was not yt night at Supper wth them, he knows not. This Examinee also saith, yt at other times in ye Evening it was Usiall, & sildome otherwise, yt one or more of ye Children, were in ye roome wth their gran-mother, but knows not ye Reason they, nor any of them were not wth her then. This Examinee also saith, yt he was in ye roome wth Mrs Cornell yt Morneing before her death, and then shee said shee was not well, & at noone goeing in to see her, shee said shee was something better. This Examinee also saith, yt wn he went into ye roome the night ye sd Mrs Cornell deceased, he saw A peece of her Garment, being Cotton and woollen lyeing upon A Brand on the fire. He alsoe saith shee lay on Her Left side.

Taken upon Oath.

Thomas Cornell (the son of Mr Tho[m] Cornell) Aged 18 yeares or thereabouts, being Examined what he can relate Concerneing ye_ Death of his Gran-Mothr Mrs Rebeca Cornell. Answered and sayth, yt ye Evening his Gran-mother dyed, he was in ye roome wth her, & stayd but A Litle while, but went out againe, and did Leave his ffather in the roome wth her, who stayd wth her about an houre, or an houre & an halfs time, & then in A litle time after his comeing out, went to Supper, & after Mother was not at Supper wth them, though at other times shee usiually used, neither was Shee sent for as at other times, ye Reason was, there being Mackrill to Supper, was A dyet Shee did not like because it used,

as Shee sayd, to make her very dry. The Examinee also saith, yt it was formerly usuall for some of them to be in the roome wth their Gran-Mother in the night times, but was not yt night. He alsoe saith, yt wn they went into ye roome, Shee lay on her Left side, wth her Head towards ye fire. And further saith, yt part of ye Curtin & Valants about ye Bedstead was Burnt, but wn they went in, ye fire about the Bedsted was quite out.

Taken upon Oath.

Stephen, Edward, & John Cornell, ye Sons of Mr Tho~ Cornell, being Examined wt they know Concerneing ye Death of their Gran-Mother Mrs Rebeca Cornell. They all being severally Examined, sayd they know not how shee came to Her death, & alsoe said, their ffather was ye Last Person they know of, yt was wth their Gran-Mothr. They further said, that none of them were yt night wth their Gran-Mother, as at other times they use to be.]

Taken before

John Cranston Dept Govr

ffrancis Brinley Assistt

John Easton Assistt

Joshua Coggeshall Assistt

Mary Cornell wife to John Cornell of Plymouth Colony in New-England, Aged 28 yeares or thereabouts, Apeared before mee ye 3d Day March 1672-73 & upon Her sollemn Engagmt, declareth as followeth. That about 3 or 4 yeares past, shee this Depont, being at her Mothr in Laws House Mrs Rebeca Cornell of Portsmth on Rhod-Island, Widdow, & now dead, or Deceast. This Depont saith that her Mother in Law Mrs Rebeca Cornell, haveing beene in Her Orchard, returneing into ye House, tould this Depont, yt shee had beene run[n]ing after Piggs, & said shee being weake, & had noe help, & shee being disregarded, shee thought to have stabd A Pen-knife in her Heart, yt shee had in her hand, & then shee should be ridd of Her Trouble. But it came in her minde, Resist ye Devill who will [illegible] shee sd shee was well satisfied, & further saith not. Taken upon Oath ye [illegible] March 1672/73 before [illegible].

George Soule Aged 34 yeares or thereabouts being Engaged, saith yt he being at Mr Tho~ Cornells House on Rhod-Island ye same day Mathew Allins House was Burned in the Winter, last, and this Deponant speaking wth Mrs Rebeca Cornell, shee said shee would goe live wth her son Samuell ye next spring. This Depont urging her yt shee was better where shee was; shee said yt A differance was arisen between her & her son Thomas, about rent. This depont sayd shee spoke unadvisedly to say shee would remove. Shee Replied: wt doth this tend too. Shee said he would have the Hundred Pound bond out of her hand. And this Deponant saith, shee said shee would goe live wth her son in the spring, if shee was not otherwise disposed of, or made away. and further this depont saith not. Taken this first day of March 1672/3.

This Depont further saith he Judged Mrs Rebeca Cornell to Be in a Passion.

Nich Easton Govr

Richd Smith Assistant

Mary ye wife of Mr John Almy of ye Towne of PORTSMOUTH Aged

Thirty three yeares or thereabouts, being According to Law Engaged & Sworne, Deposeth & Testifieth yt shee hath severall times observed an Undutyfull-ness in Tho~ Cornell towards his Mother Mrs Rebeca Cornell, & saith yt shee hath severall times spoke of it to others. And further saith, yt ye sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornell told this Depont yt shee was much neglected, & yt shee was forced in ye Winter season, in ye cold wether to goe to her Bed unmade, & unwarmed, & was therefore forced to procure some woollin Cloth to wrapp her selfe in, before shee went to her could bedd. And alsoe ye sd Mrs Rebeca Cornell, told this depont, yt if shee could not Eate as all ye foalkes of ye House could, & at their times of Eateing, shee must fast, for there was nothing brought in for Her to Eate; ffurther this Depont testifieth, yt Anthony Shaws wife of **PORTSMOUTH** (since ye aforesayd Tho Cornell was Imprised) told this Depont, yt Tho Cornells Wife coming to ye prison to her Husband, they Desired some time of Privacy, & soe went together into A Private roome, & whilst they were together, ye sd Tho~ Cornell and his Wife had those Expretions each to other, yt if you will keepe my Councell I will keepe yors, & soe they spake each together, & then ye Dore of ye roome in which they were was opened.

Taken before ye Dept Govr & part of ye Genll Councell. ye 11th of Aprill. 1673.

John Sanford, Secretary.

Elizabeth ye wife of Hugh Persons of ye Towne of **PORTSMOUTH**, Aged sixty yeares or thereabouts being According to ye Law Engaged, & sworne, Deposeth, & Testifieth yt shee being with Goodwife Earle, desired to lay forth ye Body of the Deceased Mrs Rebeca Cornell, they on ye Sabath Day towards night, Accordingly layd forth the Body of the sd Deceased, & saith yt then there was noe Apeareance of Blood about ye Corps, but comeing thether on ye Munday there had beene in the roome where ye Corps lay, Thomas Cornell wth Wm. Hall to measure ye Corps for ye makeing A Coffin to interr Her in, & some saying ye corps did purge, this depont went to see whether ye corps did purge or not, & found yt ye corps did not purge, onely saw yt shee had bled fresh Blood at ye Nose; and ffurther saith not.

Taken before ye Dept Govr & part of ye Genrll Councell, the 11th day of Aprill 1673.

John Sanford Secretary

Hugh Persons of ye Towne of **PORTSMOUTH** Aged 60 yeares, or thereabouts, being According to Law Engaged & sworne: Deposeth & Testifieth that yt night Mrs Rebeca Cornell lost Her Life, this Depont comeing to ye House: went in to ye Roome where shee lay, & Mr Coggeshall goeing in before this Depont, Emediately Mr Coggeshall went to ye outward Doore opening to ye Southward, to see whether it were fast bolted. And this depont heard Mr Coggeshall say yt Doore was fast Bolted. And further this Depont saith, yt upon ye hearth there was burnt sinders lay in A traine, & almost covered ye floare in such A manner as if shee had beene drawne thether.

Taken before ye Dept Govr and part of ye Genll Councell the 11th Day of April 1673.

John Sanford Secretary

Joane Coggeshall ye wife of Joshua Coggeshall aged about 38 yeares being Engaged According to Law, affirmeth yt being at the Widdow Cornells House about A yeare & halfe since; as neere as shee can Remember; shee ye sd Cornell Complained to Her, yt Her son Tho Cornell, carryed himselve very unkindely to Her, detaineing Her Rent from Her, and would pay Her none, & was soe High & soe Crose, yt shee durst hardly speake to hime; & yt shee intended to gett men to speake to hime aboute it, & did nominate Wm Baulston, John Easton & Walter Clarke; & further sayd, yt her son Tho~ Cornell told her, Her name did stinke about ye Island, or Country, And shee ye sd Widdow Cornell, desired Her yt shee would not speake of wt shee told Her, for shee should live A sadd life, wth Her sd son, if he should heare of it.

Taken this 14th of Aprill 1673, before us.

John Cranston Dept Govr

Richd Smith, Assist

Francis Brinley Assist.~

John Easton Assist.~

Patience Coggeshall ye Wife of John Coggeshall, aged about 33 years, being Engaged According to Law, afirmeth, yt shee and Her Sister Wait Gould, & her Sister Joan Coggeshall, being with ye Widdow Rebeca Cornell about 2 1/2 yeares since, in Her orchard under a Damzen Tree; shee related to ym ye sad Condition of Life shee lived wth her son Tho~ Cornell, wch shee declared wth much weeping, & sayd, yt he would not keepe her A mayd, though he was Engaged to it, as to find her Diett, & yt her son Thomas & his wife, yt now is, were very cross to her; & this depont asked Her how ye children carryed ymselves towards her, shee replied; how could they carry it kindly to Her wn their ffather was soe cross; & yt shee was afrayd there would be mischief don, Her Daughter in Law was of such a Desperate Spirit, for not long since, sayd shee, shee ran after one of ye Children of his ffirst Wife, wth an Axe, into Her House; but shee prevented Her strikeing ye child; & yt shee did not live wth any of her other children, because shee had made over her Estate to Her Son Thomas; & yt if shee had thought her son Thomas first Wife would have dyed before Her, shee would not have made it over to hime.

Waite Gould being Engaged According to Law, affirmeth to ye truth of ye Premises.

Taken this 14th of Aprill 1673, before us.

John Cranston Dept Govr

Richd Smith, Assist

ffrancis Brinley Assistt.

John Easton Assistt.

Nicholas Wild of Newpt aged 73 yeares or there abouts, being According to Law Engaged, & Deposed, Testifieth yt about a yeare agoe Mrs Rebeca Cornell came to this Deponts House, & there Complained of Her son Thomas Cornell; yt he was [torn] Agreeemt to pay her yearely (as neere as this Depont Remembers Shee sayd) Six pound a yeare, & Diet for A maide Servant, wch shee sayd he refused to pay, & did wth hold it; & further shee sayd, yt he tould Her, if shee would release hime of yt Hundred Pound he was Engaged to pay her, yn he would pay ye six pound A yeare, & A

Maide should have her Diet, as was Promised. ffurther ye sd Mrs Cornell told this Depont, yt her son Told her he must Build, & required ye Hundred pound toward it, but shee sayd shee could not, unless she should wrong her other Children, for shee thought he had Enough; shee alsoe told this depont, yt her son told her shee must pay ye Rates; Shee alsoe sayd, yt shee hath been forced to goe out in ye snow for Wood, & hath falne wth ye Wood under Her, when they have beene in ye House & saw it all, wch shee sayd was such A griefe & Trouble to her, yt shee hath beene afraide of being Provoaked, & hath prayed to ye Lord agat it; & ffurther shee sayd yt Her son Thomas told Her, yt if shee would forgive ye Hundred pound he would yn pay ye Rent, alow Diet for A Maide for Her, & pay ye rates, & this shee Declared, wth great griefe & Trouble of Spirit, wth weepeing Teares.

Taken before ye Dept Govr & part of ye Genll Councill ye 14th of Aprill 1673.

John Sanford Secretary.

Sarah ye wife of Nicholas Wilde Aged 61 yeares or thereabouts, being According to Law Engaged & deposed, testifieth to ye Truth of all yt is above Testified by Her Husband. And further testifieth, yt Mrs Rebeca Cornell told this depont yt Her Son Thomas, one time being Angry wth her, lookt very firce upon Her, & nasht, or sett his Teeth at her, & sayd shee had beene A Cruell Mother to hime. She told hime shee had not beene cruell, but A [torn] & sayd his Carrige & Expressions therein was A great Trouble, or Terror to Her. This depont askt Mrs Cornell how shee was able to beare such Afflictions. Shee answered yt shee should not be Able to beare it, but yt God did support her, & in Her griefe shee had Scriptures come into Her mind yt did much quiet her.

Taken before ye Dept Govr & part of the Genll Councill ye 14th of Aprill 1673.

John Sanford Secretary

The Deposition of Rebeca Woollsey is yt wn shee was last at Rhod-Island with Her Mother Mrs Rebeca Cornell falling in discourse one with Another, the Deponts Mother tould her Daughtour Woollsey that shee looked very poorly and the Depont told her Mother shee had cause soe to doe; her mother did Aske her why; the Depont told her Mother, yt shee had, had the smal pox, and yt shee was very much Afflicted and Troubled in mind, and yt shee was sometimes Perswaded to Drowne her selfe, and sometimes to stabb her selfe. Soe the Deponts Mother told her Daughter that shee must pray to God, and he would helpe Her. The Depont told Her Mother, shee did often call upon God, and he did here her, soe wn the Depont had done with this Discorce, the Deponants Mother told her Daughter that shee had beene divers yeares possest with an evill spirit, and that shee was divers times Perswaded to make away with Her selfe, and yett the Lord was pleased from time to time to preserve her. The Depont told her Mother, that shee would tell her Brother Thomas of it, and her Mother charged her not to tell hime, soe shee did not tell hime: And further sayes not.

ffloshin 10 Aprill 1673 - This Testimony taken before me

Robert Coe Justice of Peace

John Pearce of the Towne of [PORTSMOUTH](#) Aged 41 yeares or thereabouts being According to Law Engaged, Testifieth, that since the Decease of Mrs Rebeca Cornell, this Deponent being at the house of [torn - Wm ?] Wood, there was Thomas Cornell, and his Wife, and Thomas Cornell sayd, that his Mother in her life time had A desire to have A good fire, and further sayd, that he thought God had answered her ends, for now shee had it.

Taken the 7th of May 1673 (in the morneing) before me.

Joshua Coggeshall Assistant.

Liftt Joseph Torrey of Newport being According to Law Engaged, Testifieth, That on ye Day the Corroners Inquest satt upon the Corps of Mrs Rebeca Cornell deceased (on the second inquiry) comeing to the House of Thomas Cornell, and Inquireing whether the outmost dore were shutt, of the sayd Mrs Cornells Roome that night shee Dyed, Mr Thomas Cornell made Answer, that the dore was not Lockt, neither was there ever any Lock upon the Dore, but sayd he, the Dore was fastned with A Barr upon the Latch, and showed this depont in what man[n]er it was.

Taken the 16th of May 1673 in Court As Attests John Sanford Recordr

Mr. Phillip Eds of Newport being According to Law Engaged, Testifieth to the truth of what is above Testified by Liftt Joseph Torrey.

Taken in Court, ye 16th of May 1673. As Attests John Sanford Recordr

I Present and Indict Thomas Cornell of [PORTSMOUTH](#) now Prisoner in his Majties Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Senr. That against the feare of God, the Honour of our Sovereigne Lord the Kinge, and the Law and peace of this Colony, on the Evening of the 8th Day of Febry in the 25th yeare of the Reigne of his Majtie Charles the Second Annoque Domin. 1672. The sayd Thomas Cornell did violently Kill his Mother, Rebeca Cornell, Widdow, or was ayding or Abetting thereto, in the Dwelling House of his sayd Mother in the foresayd towne of Portsmouth, which act of his is Murder, and is against the Honole Crowne and Dignety of his Majesty the Laws and peace of this Colony.

Dated at A Genll Court of Tryalls held ye 12th May 1673

John Easton Genll Aturney.

Passed by leave of ye Court to ye Grand Jury As Attests John Sanford Recor.

Grand Jury returne [blotted] Bill. Petty Jurys returne. Guilty.

Whereas you Thomas Cornell have beene in this Court, Indicted, and Charged for Murdering your Mother Mrs Rebeca Cornell Widdow, and you being by your Peers the Jurry found Guilty, Know, and to that end, prepare your selfe, that you are by this Court sentenced to be carryed from hence to the Common Goale, and from thence on ffryday next which will be the 23th Day of this instant month May, about one of the Clocke, to be carryed from the sayd Goale to the place of Execution, the Gallows, and there to be Hanged by ye neck untill you are Dead Dead.—

1675

In the coming race war in New England, one or two hundred white colonists would be killed and hundreds of outlying pieces of property destroyed from a total white population probably at this point approaching 40,000.³⁹



[The race war which we term King Philip's War was] a war before television, before film, before photography ... even crude wood engravings were rare and printed books an uncommon commodity. When the English and Algonquian peoples of seventeenth-century New England went to war in 1675, they devastated one another. In proportion to population, their short, vicious war inflicted greater casualties than any other war in American history. Yet a single image of the fighting survives: half a dozen tiny, crouching figures shooting at one another along the creases of John Seller's map of New England printed in an English atlas in 1675. It tells us precious little.... [N]ot even Christian Indians loyal to the English were spared; in the fall of 1675 most were removed from their towns and imprisoned on barren islands, where many died of cold or hunger during the long winter. Always brutal and everywhere fierce, King Phil[ilip]'s War, as it came to be called, proved to be not only the most fatal war in all of American history but also one of the most merciless.



39. The total native American population of which they professed to be so fearful, including women and children, probably numbered at this point fewer than 20,000, and a very significant percentage of this native population was Christian or friendly or allied rather than in any way hostile.

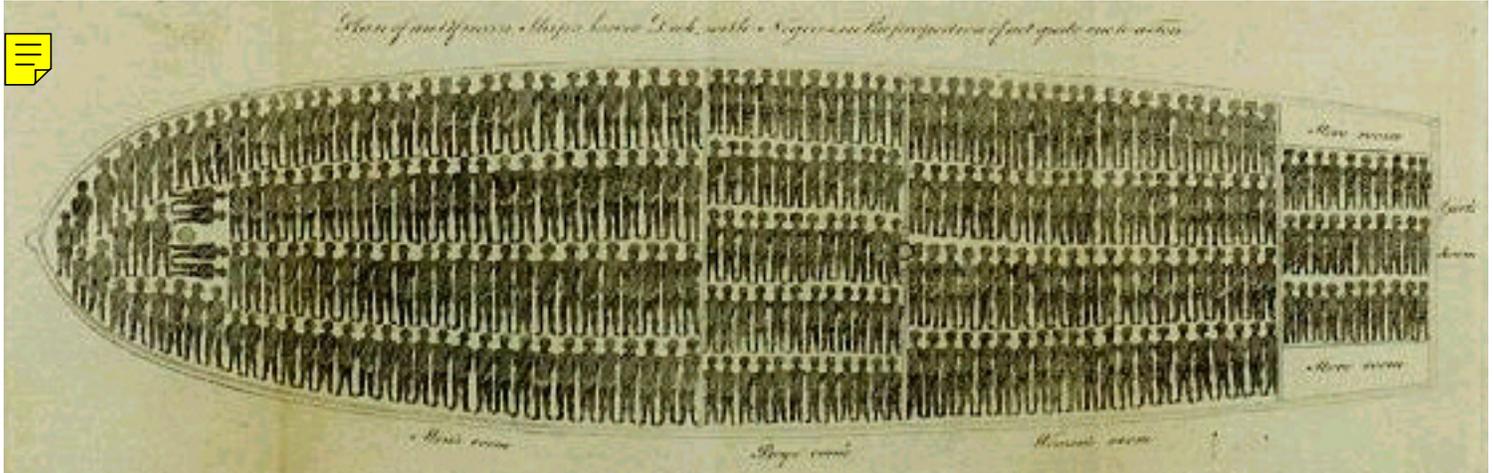
Actually, to speak very coldbloodedly about the matter, the statistics indicate that merely one person out of every 400 would die at best and one person out of every 200 would die at worst, and such statistics compare nicely with today's death rate due to peacetime automotive accidents! (A comparison statistic would be that four children die by having a heavy TV set fall on them in their home –perhaps while they are being thrilled by a videotape of “Jaws”– for every child that dies of a shark attack while swimming at the beach.) Face it, the genocide would turn out to be a really good deal from the standpoint of the white intrusives, despite what has been written about how “disastrous” “King Phillip’s War” had been. In fact, if you believe that such population simplifications can solve problems (I happen not to believe this, myself), then this amounted to minimal losses with maximal gains.

“The Whites, by law of conquest, by justice of civilization, are masters of the American continent, and the best safety of the frontier settlers will be secured by the total annihilation of the few remaining Indians.”

– L. Frank Baum, author of the Oz books



The intrusive culture had reached critical mass and the native culture of the Wampanoag and Narragansett, with their “Welcome, Englishman, Welcome, Englishman,” and with their “What cheer, nehtop,” was at this point doomed to be virtually extinguished. Previously, they had been the white man’s valued allies against the Pequots, but the fact was, the English were white and delightful and these people were red and unenlightened. Uncounted thousands of the red previous allies would be offered outright and then the remnants would become available to be sold into the international slave trade for foreign life slavery for approximately £3 per head after being transported in a vessel somewhat like this one, the *Brooke*:



Or, if young enough and congenial enough, they might avoid all this by being resituated into domestic indentured service to white families, or exiled to tribes farther toward the wilderness of the interior.

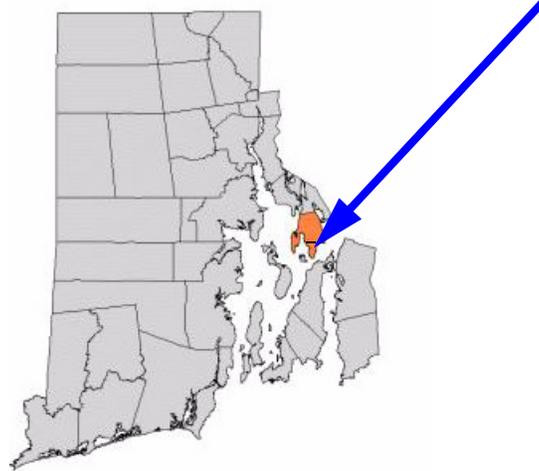
[Below appears the rotting hulk of the slave ship *Jem*, as of the Year of Our Lord 1891 at Fort Adams near Newport on Aquidneck Island:]



NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

By this point in time the promontory known as Mount Hope in the bay of RHODE ISLAND was amounting merely to a little strip of de facto reservation land, approximately two miles wide and six long. The whites of Swansea had even erected “a very substantial fence quite across the great neck,” Bristol Neck, which was virtually preventing land access by the Narragansett to their little peninsula between Narragansett Bay and Mount Hope bay.



AS THE SITUATION WOULD BE REPORTED IN

The Present State of New-England

with respect to the Indian War.

The place where this King *Philip* doth dwell, is on a parcel of Land, called in *Engliffh*, *Mount-Hope*, about twelve Miles long, and judged to be the beft Land in *New England* : And it was about thirty five Miles off of this Place to the Northward, that the firft *Engliffh* that ever came there, Landed ; and by degrees built Houfes, and called the name of the place *New-Plimouth*, (becaufe *Plimouth* in *Old England* was the laft place they were at there).

[hearsay offered by a Merchant of Bofton]

After the coming race war Captain Nathaniel Reynolds, ancestor of the Concord reverend who would officiate at Henry Thoreau's funeral, would be taking possession of this one last little strip, renaming it Bristol



An attempt was made to separate the friendly Christian Indians from the wild savages, and some were brought in to Deer Island in Boston harbor. Others [primarily women and young children, and excluding any males of warrior age] were brought to Concord and entrusted to John Hoar, who built a workshop and stockade for them next to his own house, which is now known as Orchard House. This caused a furor in Concord. Many considered the Christian Indians just spies and informers. The town defenses were in a precarious state [due to the fact that many of the white men were away, fighting in the race war].



As you might imagine, the sachem Metacom's take on the situation differed considerably from the attitude of the English in Plymouth and Boston.



There are no authentic period depictions of this person.

Here I think that the attitude expressed by the amateur historian Reverend Grindall Reynolds of Concord is considerably more accurate and cogent than the attitude expressed by any of the professional historians of this period:

Read Philip's pathetic story recorded in Arnold's history [Arnold's RHODE ISLAND, Volume I, page 394] and you will know how it looked to the conquered. Said he to John Borden of Rhode Island:—

"The English who came to this country were but a handful of people, forlorn, poor, and distressed. My father was then Sachem. He relieved their distresses. He gave them land to build and plant upon. He did all in his power to serve them. Their numbers rapidly increased. My father's counsellors became uneasy and alarmed. They advised him to destroy them before they should become too strong. But my father was also the father of the English. His advice prevailed. It was then concluded to give victuals to the English. Experience had taught that the fears of my father's counsellors were right. By various means they got possessed of a great part of his territory. My elder brother became Sachem. They pretended to suspect him of evil designs. He was seized and confined, and thrown into sickness and died. After I became Sachem they disarmed all my people. They tried them by their own laws, assessed damages which they could not pay, and their land was taken. Thus tract after tract is gone. But a small part of the dominion of my ancestors remains. **I am determined not to live till I have no country.**"

So it is evident that life and death grapple, called King Philip's War, had to come. I am with those who doubt the accepted theory about it. Our fathers excited by natural, and for the most part well founded fears, exaggerated both the capacity and plans of Philip. They believed that he had formed a gigantic Indian Confederacy. This theory rested on slender foundations. The King Philip of the annals is certainly a creature of the imagination. The real Philip had not head enough to plan such a confederacy, nor courage enough to carry it into effect. His commanding influence, if he ever had any, began with the attack on Swanzey and closed with his flight to the Nipmucks. From that moment as a great figure he disappears. Indeed, if we suppose the affair at Swanzey to be the culmination of years of plotting, what further proof of Philip's weakness is needed? There was no preparation whatever for defense. A few hundred hasty levies in forty-eight hours swept his tribe out of existence. There is very slight evidence that he was in command at any of the later undertakings. He certainly fled for a time to the Mohawks. Had not a certain Nemesis brought him back to die on his own hearthstone, and so lent pathos to life's close, he might almost have been forgotten.

Mary McCarthy, writing in 1946, would term Hiroshima “a hole in human history.”

There is such a hole in human history, it would seem, at every point at which an atrocity has been committed by some group which then “won.” For instance, the hole in Concord history which resulted from the racial mass murder on Mount Misery at the watershed of Walden Pond as of the Massachusetts race war in 1675-1676, and the hole in human history which would result from the use of the Christian Dakota as hostages during the race war of 1863.



Writing thirty years after the fact of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Ralph Lapp, who had worked on the A-bomb, would ask “If the memory of things is to deter, where is that memory?” He would add that “Hiroshima has been taken out of the American conscience, eviscerated, extirpated.”

With much of their territory sold or “mortgaged,” the sachems of the Narragansett became embroiled in the conflict that was intensifying between the English of Plymouth Colony and the Wampanoag sachem Metacom of Mount Hope. However, when the United Colonies demanded Wampanoag women and children as hostages,

The following is the manner in which this sad history of hostaging is reflected in Henry Thoreau's A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS:

Daniel Gookin, who, in his Epistle Dedicatory to Robert Boyle, apologizes for presenting his

matter clothed in a wilderness dress,

says that on the breaking out of Philip's war in 1675, there were taken up by the Christian Indians and the English in Marlborough, and sent to Cambridge, seven

Indians belonging to Narragansett, Long Island, and Pequod, who had all been at work about seven weeks with one Mr. Jonathan Tyng, of Dunstable, upon Merrimack River; and, hearing of the war, they reckoned with their master, and getting their wages, conveyed themselves away without his privity, and, being afraid, marched secretly through the woods, designing to go to their own country.

However, they were released soon after. Such were the hired men in those days.

(Bear in mind, in excuse for Henry Thoreau here, that he did not have the objective, unbiased, culture-independent historical materials available to him which we wonderful people have made so freely available today. All he had available were such materials as above, which he was able to cite and pay proper attention to despite their subjective, biased, culturally determined nature.)

At some point during this year, Peter Folger's poem "A Looking Glasse for the Times," of which no printed copy has survived, would comment upon the hostilities.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony enacted a special levy of the towns, to pay for the general race war. There were 49 towns. The tax for "Mendham," for instance, was £16 6s. 2d.

June 11: The women and children of the promontory known as Mount Hope in the bay of **RHODE ISLAND** were taken across the bay for sanctuary in the Narragansett country. Braves started appearing more frequently in the neighborhood of the smaller outlying hamlets. There was a report that the Wampanoag near Swansea (Swanzy) were under arms.



The English, who were of course under arms, were of course greatly alarmed that any other than themselves would be under arms. Even Quaker adherents of the Peace Testimony were preparing for the coming race war:

In 1675, King Philip's War erupted, between native Americans and the English of the United Colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth. A 14-month war of exceptional loss of life, much of it fought on Rhode Island soil....

It is conventional wisdom that the Quaker government participated in the war only with great reluctance and minimal measures. But contradictory evidence modifies this view. While it is clear that large-scale troop mobilisations did not occur ... the Quaker government directed military activities of both an offensive and defensive nature....

At the beginning of the war, in June 1675, the Quaker governor was John Easton, supported by five Quaker assistants and at least four Quaker deputies. All of the men were early and substantial leaders within the Rhode Island meeting. The Newport Monthly Meetings, for example were held at Governor William Coddington's house, where indeed George Fox attended Yearly Meeting in 1672.

The legislative records, noting the "dangerous hurries with the Indians,"⁴⁰ show that the government engaged in mobilising councils of war in the towns, ordering ammunition, mounting "great guns" and transporting Plymouth soldiers.⁴¹ Quakers were specifically commissioned to oversee watches in Rhode Island, to evaluate whether to fund a garrison in Providence, to procure and manage the deployment of four boats, each with five or six men, and to patrol the waters of Narragansett Bay.⁴² The Assembly appointed a major to command the military forces of the colony, thereby centralizing the war power. Governor Coddington signed

40. RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND...Volume 2, page 531

41. Friend Walter Clarke's letter to the magistrates at Providence, 19th day of 9th month, 1675

42. RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND...Volume 2, pages 531-537, passim

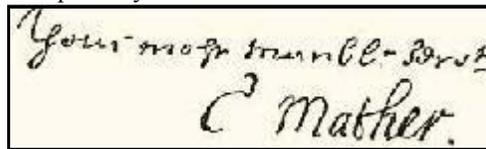
the major's commission "to use your utmost endeavor to kill, expulse, expell, take and destroy all and every the enemies of this his Majesty's Collony."⁴³ [Meredith Baldwin Weddle, "Early Quaker Peace Testimony," in Mullett's NEW LIGHT ON GEORGE FOX, pages 92-93]

October 27: The General Assembly of the colony of [RHODE ISLAND](#) and Providence Plantations met to hear a petition from Captain John Cranston for the "settling" of a "mallicia" that would put the colony "in a Sutable posture of defence." Most of the representatives who were present were [QUAKERS](#). They determined to leave all such decisions of war up to the Newport and [PORTSMOUTH](#) town councils. Anything these councils decided would be deemed "Authentick."

December 19, Sunday: Forces of the United Colonies assaulted a sanctuary which the Narragansett tribespeople had set up in order to avoid turning over their wives and children to the whites as hostages, in the "Great Swamp," a swamp in what is now South Kingstown, [RHODE ISLAND](#). In an attempt to assimilate this battle to the battle which ended the Pequot War, which had occurred in a swamp near Fairfield on July 13, 1637, both of these battles would come to be referred to as "The Great Swamp Fight." This particular slaughter would excite a rather crude piece of doggerel:

'Tis fear'd a thousand Natives young and old,
Went to a place in their opinion cold.

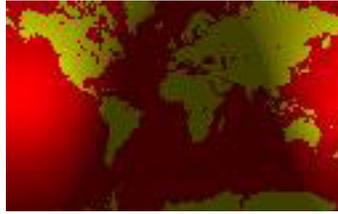
The bloody-minded Reverend Cotton Mather would remember this Great Swamp Fight as the tailgate party at which the Narragansett tribe had been "Berbikew'd," his spelling. (Get a clue: he was a Puritan and the land had been purified. -What could possibly be offensive about ethnic cleansing?)



It had been at 5 AM that the white soldiers had formed up after their night in the cold snow without blankets, and set out toward this Narragansett stronghold. They had arrived at the edge of the Great Swamp, an area around South Kingstown, at about 1 PM. The Massachusetts troops in the lead were fired upon by a small band of native Americans and pursued without waiting for orders. As the natives retreated they came along across the frozen swamp to the entrance of the fort, which was on an island of sorts standing above the swamp, and consisted of a triple palisade of logs twelve feet high. There were small blockhouses at intervals above this palisade. Inside, the main village sheltered about 3,000 men, women, and children. The Massachusetts troops had been enticed to arrive at precisely the strongest section of the palisade where, however, there was a gap for which no gate had yet been built. Across this gap the natives had placed a tree trunk breast height, as a barrier to check any charge, and just above the gap was a blockhouse. Without waiting for the Plymouth and Connecticut companies, the Massachusetts soldiers charged the opening and swarmed over the barrier. Five company commanders were killed in the charge but the troops managed to remain for a period inside the fort before falling back into the swamp. The Massachusetts men, now joined by Plymouth, gathered themselves for a 2d charge. Meanwhile, Major Treat led his Connecticut troops round to the back of the fort where the palisade had not been finished. Here and there the posts were spaced apart and protected only by a tangled mass of limbs and brush. The men charged up a bank under heavy fire and forced their way past the palisade. As they gained a foothold inside, the second charge at the gap also forced an entrance and the battle raged through the Indian village. It was a fight without quarter on either side, and was still raging at sunset when

43. RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND... Volume 2, page 538

Winslow ordered the wooden lodges put to the torch. The flames, whipped by the winds of the driving



snowstorm, spread quickly. Winslow decided that the army had to fall back to the shelter of Smith’s Trading Post in Coccumscosoc (Wickford), where some resupply ships might have arrived. The English gathered their wounded, the worst being placed on horseback, and fell back toward Wickford. It would not be until 2 AM that the leading units would stumble into the town. Some, losing their way, would not get shelter until 7 AM. This three-hour battle was the end of the Narragansett Campaign. The English suffering 20 killed and 200 wounded (80 of whom who later die from their wounds, there being 40 English corpses interred in one common trench in Wickford) and the Narragansett likewise suffered high casualties although about a thousand did escape.

At least one armed white man who was killed while attempting to kill others was a **QUAKER** and an officer:

“The usual interpretation of the actions and inactions of the Rhode Island government has been that its members were inhibited by the pacifist scruples of the Quakers among them. Historians have not cited, nor have I found, evidence upon which to base this belief.... Such reading back of later Quaker understandings of the peace testimony obscures not only other wartime motives but the nature of the peace testimony as it was understood in that particular time and place. Third, in many respects the government activities do not appear to have been constrained. ... There were Quakers who bore arms during the war. Captain Weston Clarke, who was sent to relieve Warwick, Lieutenant Robert Westcott, who was killed in the Great Swamp Fight, and Abraham Mann of Providence, who was wounded are three examples.”

– Meredith Baldwin Weddle, **WALKING IN THE WAY OF PEACE: QUAKER PACIFISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**. England: Oxford UP, 2001, pages 172-173, page 204

(Presumably Friend Robert Westcott, like the Reverend Roger Williams, had taken pains to consult with God and had been listening to the “mind and voice of the most high amongst us,” and had assured himself that **QUAKERS** who were “contrary” to war were simply mistaken as to God’s will! —You must lie in your blood, you “barbarous men of Blood”!)

(Presumably, since Friend Abraham Mann of Providence who was wounded during the Great Swamp Fight was a white man, he was then tenderly cared for by the **QUAKER** caretakers on Aquidneck Island, who tenderly cared for those who had been wounded in the fight, if they were white men!)

While the Narragansett were not completely crushed there can be no question that the Great Swamp Fight was the turning point in the war. If the tribe had been able to join the Wampanoag at full strength in the spring the war would have lasted much longer. The Narragansett would have a few more victories in 1676, would burn Rehoboth and Providence, and in March would ambush Captain Michael Pierce, but for all practical purposes they were out of the war.



In the course of this single race battle with the English, the Narragansett would lose almost 20% of its entire population, and massacre and starvation would soon be killing off most of the remainder. By 1682 fewer than 500 would remain of the original estimated 10,000 souls who had existed as of 1610. After 1682 this remnant would be allowed by the English to settle with the Eastern Niantic on a reservation at Charlestown RI. The Narragansett tribal registry currently list over 2,400 members, most of whom reside in Rhode Island.⁴⁴



44. In Rhode Island especially, after the population disaster of “King Phillip’s War”, many native women would form new households with black men. Rhode Island would be boasting the largest black population in New England and a significant proportion of these blacks would be free, so in many cases this was their best available option. These unions would result in a new category of person, the “mustee,” who was considered to be a native American by himself or herself but not by the “white people” who were *de facto* making all such distinctions. You may therefore run into some hot arguments if you cite these population statistics, from whites who will attempt to insist to you that “it’s all just a bunch of n-----s making pretenses,” quote unquote. (You’ll have to live in Rhode Island for awhile, and argue cases of land title and cases of casino gambling, to get the full flavor of this.)

Most contemporary accounts of this second of the “great swamp fights” have been based upon a couple of letters by the white army’s chaplain, the Reverend Joseph Dudley, and one by Captain James Oliver, commander of the 3d Company of the Massachusetts regiment:



May it please your Honnr Mr Smiths 15, 10, 75

I am comanded by the Generall to give your Honnor account of our proceeding since our last frm Pautuxet in the Sabath evening we advanced the whole body from Mr Carpenters with Intent to surprise Ponham & his Party at about 10 or 12 Miles Distance having information by oue Warwick scouts of his seat but the darkness of ye Night Diffucutly of our Passage & unskillfulness of Pilots we passed the whole night & found ourselves at such Distance yet from ym yt we Diverted & Marched to Mr Smiths, found our sloops from Seaconck arrived since which by ye help of Indian Peter by whom your Honnor had the Information formerly of ye number & resolution of ye Naragansetts, we have burned two of their towns viz; Ahmus who is this summer come down amongst them & ye old Queens quarters consisting of about 150 Many of them large wigwams & seized or slayn 50 Persons in all our prisoners being about 40 Concerning whom the generall prayes your advice concerning their transportation and Disposall all which was performed without any loss save a slight wound by an Arrow in Lieut. Wayman’s face, the whole body of them we find removed into their great swamp at Canonicus his quarters where we hope with the addition of Connecticut, when arrived we hope to coop them up, this day we Intend the removall or spoyle of yr Corn & hope to Morrow a March toward them, our soldiers being very chearful are forward noywithstanding great Difficulty by weather & otherwise, abovsd Peter whom we have found very faithful will Make us believe yt yr are 3000 fighting Men many unarmed Many well fitted with lances we hope by cutting off their forage to force them to a fayre battle In ye Mean time I have only to present the Genralls humble service to your & to beg you Intense prayers for this so great Concern and remayn your

Honnors Humble Servant Jos: Dudley

Goodale nor Moor arrived we fear want of shot

My humble service to Madam Leveret Brother and Sister Hubbard & Dudley

Amongst our Prisonrs & Slayn we find 10 or 12 Wampanoags



Mr Smith's, 21, 10, 1675

May it please your honour

The coming of the Connecticut force to Petaquamscott, and surprisal os six and slaughter of five on Friday night, Saturday we marched towards Petaquamscott, though in snow, and in conjunction about midnight or later, we advanced: Capt. Mosley led the van, after him Massachusetts, and Plimouth and Connecticut in the rear; a tedious march in the snow, without intermission, brought us about two of the clock afternoon, to the entrance of the swamp, by the help of Indian Peter, who dealt faithfully with us; our men, with great courage, entered the swamp about twenty rods; within the cedar swamp we found some hundreds of wigwams, fortified in with a breastwork and flankered, and many small blockhouses up and down, round about; they entertained us with a fierce fight, and many thousand shot, for about an hour, when our men valiantly scaled the fort, beat them thence, and from the blockhouses. In which action we lost Capt. Johnson, Capt. Danforth, and Capt. Gardiner, and their lieutenants disabled, Capt. Marshall also slain; Capt Seely, Capt. Mason, disabled, and many other officers, insomuch that, by a fresh assault and recruit powder from their store, the Indians fell on again, recarried and beat us out of, the fort, but by the great resolution and courage of the General and Major, we reinforced, and very hardly entered the fort again, and fired the wigwams, with many living and dead persons in them, great piles of meat and heaps of corn, the ground not permitting burial of their store, were consumed; the number of their dead, we generally suppose the enemy lost at least two hundred men; Capt. Mosely counted in one corner of the fort sixty four men; Capt. Goram reckoned 150 at least; But, O! Sir, mine heart bleeds to give your honor an account of our lost men, but especially our resolute Captains, as by account inclosed, and yet not so many, but we admire there remained any to return, a captive women, well known to Mr. Smith, informing that there were three thousand five hundred men engaging us and about a mile distant a thousand in reserve, to whom if God had so pleased, we had but been a morsel, after so much disablement: she informeth, that one of their sagamores was slain and their powder spent, causing their retreat, and that they are in a distressed condition for food and houses, that one Joshua Tift, an Englishman, is their encourager and conductor. Philip was seen by one, credilbly informing us, under a strong guard.



After our wounds were dressed, we drew up for a march, not able to abide the field in the storm, and weary, about two of the clock, obtained our quarters, with our dead and wounded, only the General, Ministers, and some other persons of the guard, going to head a small swamp, lost our way, and returned again to the evening quarters, a wonder we were not prey to them, and, after at least thirty miles marching up and down, in the morning, recovered our quarters, and had it not been for the arrival of Goodale next morning, the whole camp had perished; The whole army, especially Connecticut, is much disabled and unwilling to march, with tedious storms, and no lodgings, and frozen and swollen limbs, Major Treat importunate to return to at least Stonington; Our dead and wounded are about two hundred, disabled as many; the want of officers, the consideration whereof the Genreal commends to your honer, forbids any action at present, and we fear whether Connecticut will comply, at last, to any action. We are endeavoring, by good keeping and billeting oue men at several quarters, and, if possible removal of our wounded to Rhode Isalnd, to recover the spirit of our soldiers, and shall be diligent to find and understand the removals on other action of the enemy, if God please to give us advantage against them.

As we compleat the account of dead, now in doing, The Council is of the mind, without recruit of men we shall not be able to engage themain body.

I give your honor hearty thanks
for your kind lines, of which
I am not worthy
I am Sir, your honors
humble servant
Joseph Dudley

Since the writing of these lines, the General and Council have jointly concluded to abide on the place, notwithstanding the desire of Connecticut, only entreat that a supply of 200 may be sent us, with supply of commanders; and, whereas we are forced to garrison our quarters with at least one hundred, three hundred men, upon joint account of colonies, will serve, and no less, to effect the design. This is by order of the council.

Blunderbusses, and hand grenadoes, and armour, if it may, and at least two armourers to mend arms.



Marragansett 26th 11th month 1675

After a tedious march in a bitter cold that followed the Dec. 12th, we hoped our pilot would have led us to Ponham by break of day, but so it came to pass we were misled and so missed a good opportunity. Dec. 13th we came to Mr Smith's, and that day took 35 prisoners. Dec 14th, our General went out with a horse and foot, I with my company was kept to garrison. I sent out 30 of my men to scout abroad, who killed two Indians and brought in 4 prisoners, one of which was beheaded. Our army came home at night, killed 7 and brought in 9 more, young and old. Dec 15th, came in John, a rogue, with pretense of peace, and was dismissed with this errand, that we might speak with Sachems. That evening, he not being gone a quarter of an hour, his company that lay hid behind a hill killed two Salem men within a mile from our quarters, and wounded a third that he is dead. And at a house three miles off where I had 10 men, they killed 2 of them. Instantly, Capt. Mosely, myself and Capt Gardner were sent to fetch in Major Appleton's company that kept 3 miles and a half off, and coming, they lay behind a stone wall and fired on us in sight of the garrison. We killed the captain that killed one of the Salem men, and had his cap on. That night they burned Jerry Bull's house, and killed 17. Dec. 16th came that news. Dec 17th came news that Connecticut forces were at Petasquamscot, and had killed 4 Indians and took 6 prisoners. That day we sold Capt. Davenport 47 Indians, young and old for 80l. in money. Dec 18th we marched to Petaquamscot with all our forces, only a garrison left; that night very stormy; we lay, one thousand, in the open field that long night. In the morning, Dec. 19th, Lord's day, at 5 o'clock we marched. Between 12 and 1 we came up with the enemy, and had a sore fight three hours. We lost, that are now dead, about 68, and had 150 wounded, many of which recovered. That long snowy cold night we had about 18 miles to our quarters, with about 210 dead and wounded. We left 8 dead in the fort. We had but 12 dead when we came to the swamp, besides the 8 we left. Many died by the way, and as soon as they we brought in, so that Dec. 20th we buried in a grave 34, next day 4, next day 2, and none since. Eight died at Rhode Island, 1 at Petaquamscot, 2 lost in the woods and killed Dec. 20, as we heard since; some say two more died. By the best intelligence, we killed 300 fighting men; prisoners we took, say 350, and above 300 women and children. We burnt above 500 houses, left but 9, burnt all their corn, that was in baskets, great store. One signal mercy that night, not to be forgotten, viz. That when we drew off, with so many dead and wounded, they did not pursue us, which the young men would have done, but the sachems would not consent; they had but ten pounds of powder left.



Our General, with about 40, lost our way, and wandered till 7 o'clock in the morning, before we came to our quarters. We thought we were within 2 miles of the enemy again, but God kept us; to him be the glory. We have killed now and then 1 since, and burnt 200 wigwams more; we killed 9 last Tuesday. We fetch in their corn daily and that undoes them. This is, as nearly as I can, a true relation. I read the narrative to my officers in my tent, who all assent to the truth of it. Mohegans and Pequods proved very false, fired into the air, and sent word before they came they would so, but got much plunder, guns and kettles. A great part of what is written was attested by Joshua Teffe, who married an Indian woman, a Wampanoag. He shot 20 times at us in the swamp, was taken at Providence Jan'y 14, brought to us the 16th, executed the 18th . A sad wretch, he never heard a sermon but once these 14 years. His father, going to recall him lost his head and lies unburied.

A list of Major Saml Apleton souldjers yt were slayne & wounded the 19th Decemb. '75, at the Indians fort at Naragansett

In the Company of killed wounded

Major Appleton 4 18

Capt. Mosely 6 9

Capt. Oliver 5 8

Capt. Davenport 4 11

Capt. Johnson 4 8

Capt. Gardiner 7 10

Capt. Prentice 1 3

31 67

Of the officers, Capts. Davenport, Johnson, and Gardiner were killed, and Lieutenants Upham, Savage, Swain, and Ting were wounded.

Of the Connecticut troops 71 were killed.

Capt. Gallup- 10

Capt. Marshall- 14

Capt. Seeley- 20

Capt. Mason- 9

Capt. Watts- 17

1676

In [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), Nicholas Easton died, bequeathing the sum of £20 “in country pay” and his home and the land on which it stood to the Newport [FRIENDS](#) (possibly, some of the adjacent land may also have been acquired by purchase from the widowed Ann Easton). This repurposed structure probably served as the 1st permanent place of worship for the local Quakers (for instance, the 1672 debate between the Reverend Roger Williams and various Quakers in Newport had taken place in a Friends meetinghouse). The piece of land eventually would be used in 1699 for the Great Meetinghouse of the Friends.

Friend Nicholas also left “to the maintenance of the burial yard where his body lyes, one Barrell of pork, to be managed by Christopher Houlder.”

Dutch traders were buying black slaves at 30 florins each in Angola and were selling 15,000 per year in the Americas at 300 to 500 florins each. In this year in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) the public friend William Edmundson became the first Christian of English extraction to categorize the holding of others in slavery as a “sin” (this had been a totalizing declaration which Friend George Fox had always avoided). –For this new totalizing conviction of his, Friend William would be at first shunned, and then excluded, from the fellowship of Friends.



March 31: The Massachusetts Council released *Nepanet* Tom Dublett (Praying Indian, 3d husband of *Kehonosquah* Sarah Doublett) from its Deer Island concentration camp and sent him off into the forest to deliver the following message to *Quinnapin*, a Narragansett leader, and *Weetamoo*, the “squaw sachem” of *Pocasset*, the captors of Mistress Mary Rowlandson:

Intelligence is Come to us that you have some English (especially women and children) in Captivity among you. Wee have therefore sent this messenger offering to redeeme them either for payment in goods or wampum, or by exchange of prisoners.... If you have any among you that can write your Answer to this our messenger, wee desire it in writing, and to that end have sent paper pen and Incke ... provided he [your messenger] Come unarmed and Carry a white flagge upon a staffe vissible to be seene, which wee call a flagg of truce; and is used by civil nations in tyme of warre.

[FRIEND](#) “Low” (Zoar or Zoeth) Howland of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) was killed at *Pocasset*, now Tiverton, near the Aquidneck Island ferry, and his body found in a stream which would come to be known as the Sin and Flesh Brook. (At the end of the race war a native American named Manasses Molasses suspected of having killed this [QUAKER](#) would be sold into slavery.)

April 20: Boston observed a Fast Day or Day of Humiliation.



Six days before his death, Elder John Clarke had been summoned to attend a meeting of the General Assembly of Rhode Island, which had written him that it desired “to have the advice and concurrence of the most judicious inhabitants in the troublous times and straits into which the colony has been brought.” On this day he died, but not so suddenly as to be unable to make out a last will and testament. He left a confession of his Calvinist doctrine “so clear and Scriptural that [it] might stand as the confession of faith of Baptists to-day, after more than two centuries of experience and investigation”; nowadays some refer to him as the “Father of American Baptists.”⁴⁵ His will has created a John Clarke Trust the income from which was to be used “for the relief of the poor or bringing up of children unto learning from time to time forever,” which may have been the genesis of the 1st free school in America and may have been the genesis of the 1st free school in the world. —So that you will know what to say if you want to get your hands on some of his beneficence: bone up on your Calvinist theology, as the document has instructed the three trustees and their successors in perpetuity to favor, in their distribution of the moneys, “those that fear the Lord.”

August 25: Just after the killing of Phillip, the **RHODE ISLAND** government staged a court-martial of native headmen at Newport, charging them with crimes such as treason and murder. The court panel probably included five **QUAKERS**. There was no jury. Quinapin, Sunkeecunasuck, Wenanaquabin, and Wecopeak were found guilty and taken out and shot. There must have been some sort of special circumstances for Manasses Molasses, however (perhaps they weren’t certain of his guilt?), for upon being convicted of killing **FRIEND** “Low” (Zoar or Zoeth) Howland earlier that year at the Sin and Flesh Brook at *Pocasset*, now Tiverton, near the Aquidneck Island ferry, he was sold as a slave.

45. The grave of John Clarke is in the cemetery on Dr. Marcus Wheatland Boulevard across the street from the rear of the Newport Police Station. The church in which he served until his death is now known as the United Baptist Church, John Clarke Memorial — the current edifice on Spring Street dates to 1846. Some of Elder Clark’s words are engraved in stone on the west facade of the Rhode Island state capital in Providence:

That it is much on their hearts (if they may be permitted) to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state may stand and best be maintained, and that among our English subjects, with a full liberty in religious concernments.

Year end: At the end of this year, according to the Reverend William Hubbard's A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS IN *NEW-ENGLAND...*, fewer than 70 Narragansett tribespeople remained of an estimated 4,000-5,000 scattered around the bay of Rhode Island at the start of the race war. Most had been killed, had starved, or had been sold into slavery at a foreign port.

[Below appears the rotting hulk of the slave ship *Jem*, as of the Year of Our Lord 1891 at Fort Adams near Newport on Aquidneck Island.]



1677

NEWPORT, **RHODE ISLAND**, **FRIENDS** recorded that William Allen and Patience Beer were married "at our publick meeting house in Newport." Presumably the building in question was the dwelling house that former governor Nicholas Easton had left to the Friends upon his death in 1676.

Opening of the Jewish Cemetery on Bellevue Avenue in Newport, Rhode Island. The names to be found there include Touro, Hays, Myers, Lopez, Hart, Seixas, and Rivera (the 1712 map of the Town of Newport would identify this cemetery as being located on "Jew Street").

1678

For some reason, a "mans' meeting" of the **QUAKERS** held in this year was held not at the Friends meetinghouse in **NEWPORT**, **RHODE ISLAND** but instead "at the widow Coddingtons" (it had been in the great room of this mansion that Friend George Fox had been greeted).

1683

A few months after his unsuccessful raid on St. Augustine, Captain Thomas Paine showed up in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) bearing apparently forged sailing papers. Although allegedly he was a privateer with a commission from Sir Thomas Lynch, these papers described Lynch as a “Gentleman of the King’s Bed Chamber” rather than as a Gentleman of the King’s Privy Chamber, something that was a dead giveaway. Also, the signature on this proffered document evidently bore little resemblance to Lynch’s known signature.

1687

The pirate ketch *Sparrow* docked in Boston out of Barbados with Boston native Richard Narramore as its master. According to his tale, he had been hired by 18 pirates “at a cost of 40 pieces of eight each, to deliver them at different places” along the East Coast, from New-York to Newfoundland. These former pirates were returning home with their treasure. One had been dropped off at Gardner’s Island at the east end of Long Island with his two chests full of gold or dirty laundry, then Christopher Goff had been dropped off at [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), and two men with small chests had been dropped off at Damaras Cove, and Thomas Scudder had gone to Salem, and John Danson and his hoard had wound up in Boston. John Danson, Thomas Scudder, Christopher Goff, Edward Calley, and Thomas Dunston were collected and brought before the magistrates. In John Danson’s confiscated chest 900 pieces of eight were discovered, and these men made no bones about the fact that they had been pirates — but since the court had no witnesses, they were released to spend their treasures. “Go thou and sin no more.” Christopher Goff would be employed by the Massachusetts General Court to patrol the coast.

The former pirate Captain Thomas Paine owned land in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#).

1688

When a pirate named Peterson and his crew were brought before a court in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) during this year, a jury of their friends and neighbors of course found them not guilty. “What, my neighbor is a pirate? –I simply cannot credit that!”

The former pirate Captain Thomas Paine was residing at [NEWPORT](#), and at about this time he married with Mercy Carr, daughter of Justice Caleb Carr (who would become governor of [RHODE ISLAND](#)). He also served on a grand jury. (This makes one wonder whether he served on the grand jury that refused to indict the pirate Peterson.)

June: The Huguenot merchant Gabriel Bernon, in his flight from the Catholic persecution in France, arrived at Boston in New England with about £5,500. His intention, formed at meetings with other refugees in London, was to sponsor a Huguenot settlement at New Oxford, Massachusetts. The home being built for him there was to do double duty as one of the little community's fortifications. He would remain, himself, in Boston, while the 40 Huguenot refugees who had come over with him went on to build their homes and work their farms. He quickly established himself in trade in Boston, becoming involved in the construction of ships and in the manufacture of nails, as well as in the commodity market for salt and for pine rosin. He set up awash-leather manufactory in New Oxford, to make use of the labors of his fellow Huguenot refugees, and began to supply the Boston and Newport glovers and hatters with fine leathers.⁴⁶ His success in these enterprises would enable him to obtain contracts from the English government for the provision of naval supplies.

1689

In **NEWPORT**, **RHODE ISLAND**, the **QUAKERS** agreed that "the Yearly Men and Womens Meeting which useth to be at William Coddinton's shall be ye first part at ye Meeting House and later part for ye affayers of ye Church to be at Walter Newberry's." The meetinghouse referred to would presumably have been the repurposed residence that had been donated by the governor, Friend Nicholas Easton.



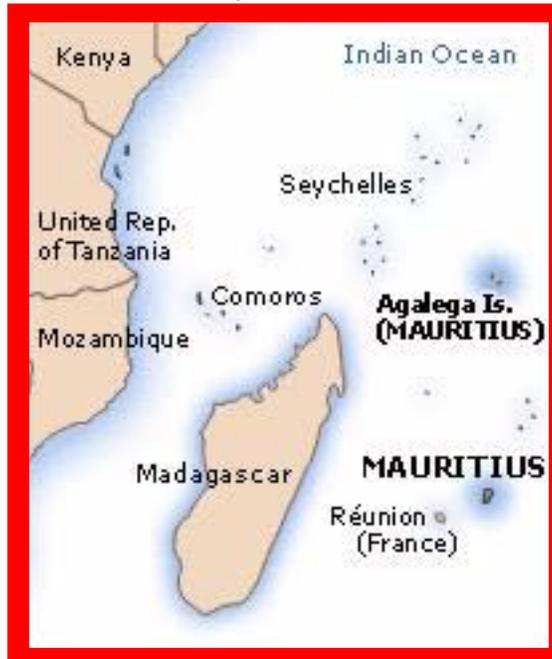
1690

Summer: Three French privateers raided Block Island. Captain Thomas Paine and Captain John Godfrey sailed from **NEWPORT**, **RHODE ISLAND** and fought them off.

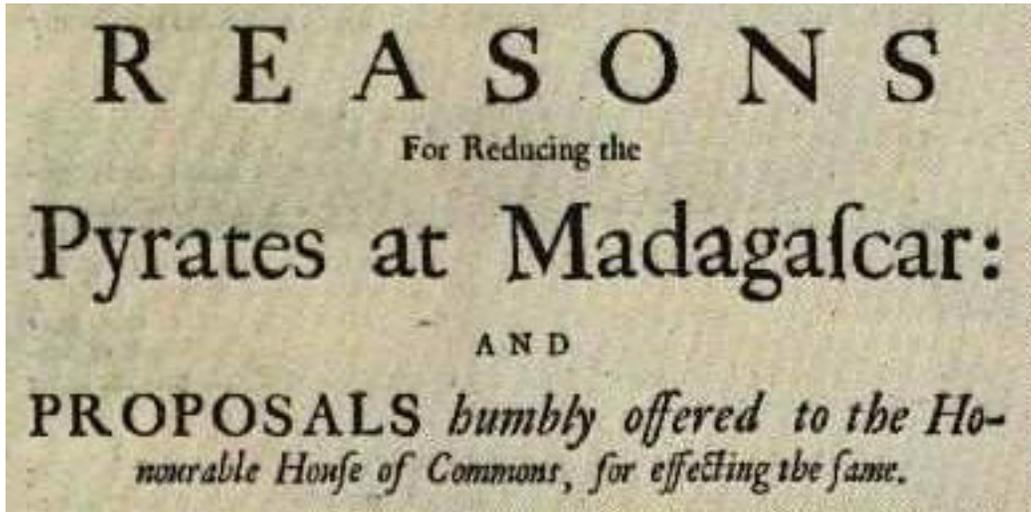
46. René Grignon, partner of Jean Papineau in this *chamoiserie*, was also a silversmith and goldsmith: a silver porringer he would create in 1692 is now at Yale University. Earlier, Grignon had been a member of the Narragansett settlement at East Greenwich RI in **RHODE ISLAND**, which lasted from 1686 to 1691. During 1696-1699 he would be elder of the French church in Boston. After New Oxford would finally be abandoned in 1704, he would become master of a sailing vessel and then settle in Norwich, Connecticut, where he would be a jeweler and merchant until his death in 1715. The church bell from New Oxford would be contributed by him to the church in Norwich.

1691

RHODE ISLAND born Thomas Tew purchased a share in the 70-ton sloop *Amity* from some merchants in Bermuda. Sailing with Captain Tew was another sloop commanded by George Drew. Unable to obtain a privateering commission from the Rhode Island Governor, Tew sailed the *Amity* from **NEWPORT** to Bermuda and was sold, for £300 sterling, a commission “to attack French vessels,” by Governor Benjamin Fletcher there, who considered Captain Tew to be “a very pleasant man who tells wonderful stories.” Tew then sailed to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean to plunder local shipping. They had been fitted out and commissioned to sail with instructions to take the French factory at Garee on the river Gambia in West Africa. On the voyage out, a storm caused Drew’s sloop to spring her mast and the two vessels lost sight of each other. Captain Tew did not think much of raiding a factory with little or no hope of gold. He therefore proposed raiding other ships and his crew unanimously accepted the change in course. They sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and up the east coast of Africa to the Gulf of Aden at the Red Sea. Just as they reached the entrance to the Red Sea they saw a richly laden Arabian vessel full of soldiers, guns, and gold. She was taken without loss and £3,000 sterling was each man’s share. From there they set sail to the island of Madagascar.



There 24 of the crew elected to retire and enjoy a life of ease in that delightful climate.



The rest of the company remained with Captain Tew and he set sail for America. Barely out of port he encountered a ship under command of Captain Mission, a famous pirate from France. Mission had earlier established a pirate haven and colony on Madagascar by the name of "Libertatia." Captain Tew and crew were welcome converts. Madagascar was ideally located and had no government. It is about three times the size of North Carolina. Captain Mission, desiring to strengthen his colony, decided to send a ship to Guinea to seize slave ships. He offered Tew the command of the expedition and gave him a crew of 200 men. After passing the Cape of Good Hope, Captain Tew captured a Dutch East Indianman with 18 guns. He lost one man but got several chests of English Crowns. Nine of the Dutchmen joined his company and the rest were put ashore. Off the coast of Angola, Thomas captured an English vessel with 240 slaves. They were returned to Libertatia after a short voyage around Madagascar, Thomas had the "Amity" refitted and set sail for America. From his New England home port he sent word to his partners in Bermuda to send for their share of the profits from his voyage. Captain Tew's share came to 8000 pounds sterling. Captain Tew applied to Sir William Phips, Governor of Massachusetts, for a new privateering commission, but was refused. However John Easton, Governor of Rhode Island, for 500 pounds sterling issued such a commission. Captain Tew tied up with Frederick Phillips of New York. He backed a new venture and soon the ship *Frederick* was on its way around the Cape and anchored at Libertatia. Captain Tew and Mission each with a ship and 250 men, headed for the Red Sea. Off the coast of Arabia, they came upon a large ship with 1,000 pilgrims, bound for Mecca. They quickly took the ship and put all but 100 teenage girls ashore. They then headed back to Libertatia. The guns from the captured ship were used to help fortify the pirate colony. Not long after that, 5 tall ships from Portugal carrying 50 guns each attacked the pirate haven. Two of the ships were sunk, one was captured, and two escaped. Word of this battle with the pirates spread around Europe and America. Captain Tew was then made Admiral of the Pirate Fleet and at once sought to build up the level of manpower of this pirate Kingdom. First he sailed to his old shipmates on the other side of Madagascar. They said no thanks as they preferred their new way of life. While Thomas was ashore, a violent storm came up and wrecked his ship and all 300 men aboard drowned. Weeks later Mission came looking for Tew and once more the two were united. However the news went from bad to worse. Mission had sent out a 2nd ship, this left him with only a token force with women and children. Natives stormed the pirate fort during the night and Mission barely escaped with 45 men, 2 sloops, and a considerable treasure. They decided to go home. They split the treasure and each took a sloop and headed toward the Cape. Before reaching the Cape, Mission went down in a storm. Thomas Tew made it back to America and for the time being retired in Rhode Island. His men took their share of loot and quietly dispersed. However it did not take long for the men to squander their shares and soon they were soliciting Tew to make another run.



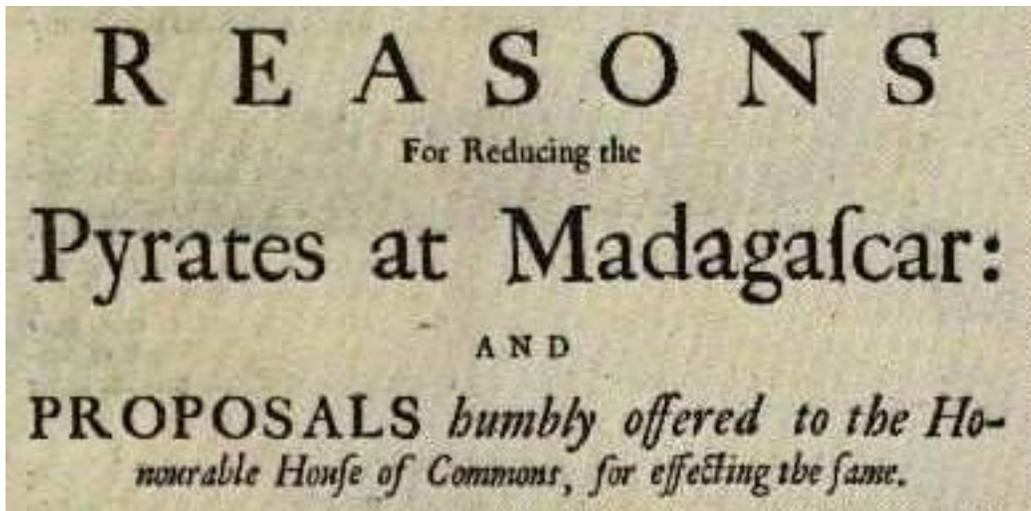
Pilgrim Costumes

1692

Although some remained in [NEWPORT](#), most of the Huguenots who had in 1686 taken to farming in a French-speaking colony in [RHODE ISLAND](#) had by this point departed. In France they had been largely of the merchant class, and they had passed on mostly to New-York and Boston. Among the Huguenots who had remained in Rhode Island was the Jamain family of Newport, headed by Etienne (Stephen) Jamain.

1694

Spring: Captain Thomas Tew and the 70-ton sloop *Amity* were back home at [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) with “100,000 pounds sterling worth of ivory, gold, silver, and jewels,” and each of his sixty privateers “with 1,200 pounds apiece,” enough to retire on comfortably. Tew deposited his treasure, some suspect at Sakonnet Point or Patience Island, and recruited a new crew to return to Madagascar, an island known in those days as “Pirates Kingdom.”



September/October: One of the deadliest of Caribbean hurricanes hit off Barbados.



The pirate Thomas Tew was staffing his sloop *Amity* for another voyage. Meanwhile, John or Joseph Bankes of **NEWPORT**, **RHODE ISLAND** was preparing the bark *Portsmouth Adventure* and William Mayes of Newport was preparing the brigantine *Pearl* and Captain Thomas Wake of Boston had brought his bark *Susanna* to Newport to join with them. Captain Want, also a Rhode Islander, would bring the brigantine *Dolphin* to join them. They were convinced that at their destination “the mony was as plenty as stones, & sand,” and that since the people there were Infidels who had no knowledge of God’s Truth, “it was no sin to kill them.”⁴⁷

1695

In **RHODE ISLAND**, Governor Caleb Carr died, leaving land in **NEWPORT** and a share in Gould Island to his daughter and her husband, the former pirate Captain Thomas Paine.

English officials were not only criticizing **RHODE ISLAND** for failing to observe the customs laws, but also for serving as an actual base for pirates. The Earl of Bellomont financed an expedition by Captain William Kidd against pirates “from New England, Rode Island, New York, and other parts in America.”

47. These guys really understood Christianity, didn’t they?

February: A New-York friend, Colonel Robert Livingston,⁴⁸ schemed to set Captain William Kidd up as a privateerman in the Indian Ocean.



Kidd would sail his sloop *Antigua* to London to join Livingston. In London, Livingston would introduce Kidd to Richard Coote, the Earl of Bellomont who had the ear of the king, and as a member of Parliament had maneuvered to get himself named governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. (Later, he would be named governor also of the New York colony.) What Kidd really wanted for himself was a commission in the Royal Navy, but Bellomont and Livingston would throw their support behind a plan to make of Kidd a privateer, with the booty to be divided among the principals. Bellomont persuaded King William to grant a royal commission — with the king as a “silent partner” since he was to receive a share of whatever loot Kidd collected from pirates he captured (shades of Enron). Under this privateering contract (a sort of officially sanctioned piracy) Kidd would sail out in command of the *Adventure Galley* from Plymouth, England to attack and loot French shipping.

William Rex, WILLIAM THE THIRD, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

To our trusty and well beloved Capt. ROBERT KIDD, commander of the ship the *Adventure galley*, or to any other, the commander of the same for the time being,

Greeting:

Whereas we are informed, that Capt. Thomas Too, John Ireland, Capt. Thomas Wake, and Capt. William Maze or Mace, and other subjects, natives or inhabitants of New-York, and elsewhere, in our plantations in America, have associated themselves with divers others, wicked and ill-disposed persons, and do, against the law of nations, commit many and great piracies, robberies and depredations on the seas upon the parts of America, and in other parts, to the great hindrance and discouragement of trade and navigation, and to the great danger and hurt of our loving subjects, our allies, and all others, navigating the seas upon their lawful occasions.

Now KNOW YE, that we being desirous to prevent the aforesaid mischiefs, and as much as in us lies, to bring the said pirates, free-booters and sea-rovers to justice, have thought fit, and do hereby give and grant to the said Robert Kidd, (to whom our commissioners for exercising the office of Lord High Admiral of England, have granted a commission as a private man-of-war,

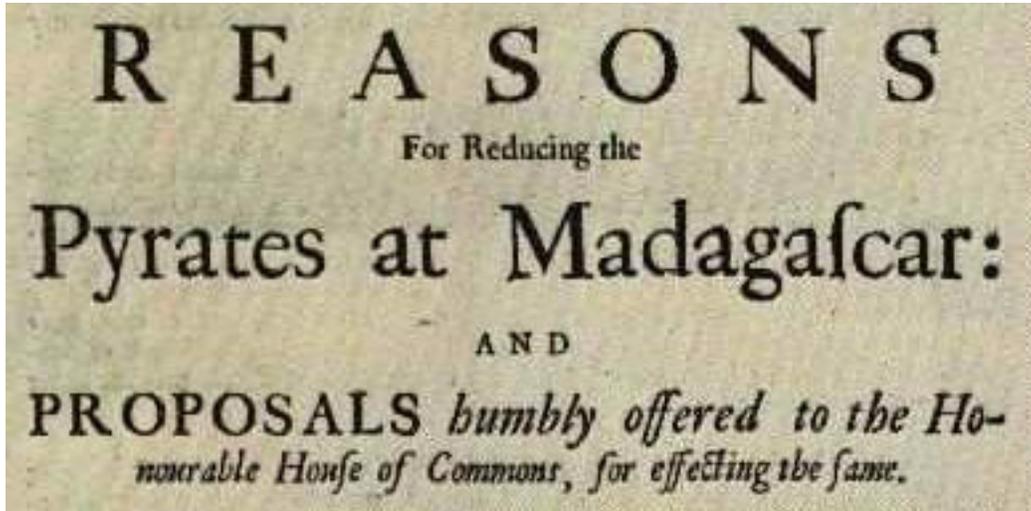
48. Although an English political figure and entrepreneur, Livingston happened to be engaged in illegal trade with England's enemy, the French.

bearing date the 11th day of December, 1695,) and unto the commander of the said ship for the time being, and unto the officers, mariners, and others which shall be under your command, full power and authority to apprehend, seize, and take into your custody as well the said Capt. Thomas Too, John Ireland, Capt. Thomas Wake, and Capt. Wm. Maze or Mace, as all such pirates, free-booters, and sea-rovers, being either our subjects, or of other nations associated with them, which you shall meet with upon the seas or coasts of America, or upon any other seas or coasts, with all their ships and vessels, and all such merchandizes, money, goods, and wares as shall be found on board, or with them, in case they shall willingly yield themselves; but if they will not yield without fighting, then you are by force to compel them to yield. And we also require you to bring, or cause to be brought, such pirates, free-booters, or sea-rovers, as you shall seize, to a legal trial, to the end they may be proceeded against according to the law in such cases. And we do hereby command all our officers, ministers, and other our loving subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting to you in the premises. And we do hereby enjoin you to keep an exact journal of your proceedings in execution of the premises, and set down the names of such pirates, and of their officers and company, and the names of such ships and vessels as you shall by virtue of these presents take and seize, and the quantities of arms, ammunition, provision, and lading of such ships, and the true value of the same, as near as you judge. And we do hereby strictly charge and command you, as you will answer the contrary at your peril, that you do not, in any manner, offend or molest our friends or allies, their ships or subjects, by colour or pretence of these presents, or the authority thereby granted.

In witness whereof, we have caused our great seal of England to be affixed to these presents.

Given at our court in Kensington, the 26th day of January, 1695, in the 7th year of our reign.

More than likely, during the recent war he had been a successful privateersman, and as such had acquired the friendship of Governor Benjamin Fletcher, Mr. Nicolls, and Livingston. In any case, it had been Livingston who had recommended him to the crown “as a bold and honest man to suppress the prevailing piracies in the American seas.” Other sleeping backers were the Earl of Romney, Master General of the Kings Ordinance, the Earl of Orford, 1st Lord of the Admiralty, Sir John Somers, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Secretary of State. Should Kidd fail to accede to their plan, they hinted, his sloop *Antigua* might be seized. Captain Kidd’s first stop would be New-York, possibly to visit his wife and child, and while there he would loan equipment from his *Adventure Galley* to help in the building of Trinity Church in Lower Manhattan (which would open in 1698 under a royal grant),⁴⁹ and from there he would go on to Madeira, to Madagascar, and to the Red Sea.



In the Red Sea he would capture several vessels, finally capturing a large prize, the 400-ton *Quedah Merchant*, to sail back to the West Indies. He would leave his prize there in the care of of a man named Bolton while going in a sloop to Long Island sound. While in the sound he sent a man named Emmet to consult with the Earl of Bellermont (the Earl had been transferred from the government in New-York to the government in Boston) and negotiate terms of reconciliation. The Governor of the Bay Colony would send false assurances that he would be fairly treated.

Captain Henry Every/John Avery/Long Ben/Bridgman (whatever his name was) arrived at Johanna Island off Madagascar with the man-of-war *Fancy*. He would join up with the five pirate ships that had sailed from Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), the sloop *Amity*, the bark *Portsmouth Adventure*, the brigantine *Pearl*, the bark *Susanna*, and the brigantine *Dolphin*.

49. To this day, Pew No. 16 bears the inscription: “Captain William Kidd, Commander Adventure Galley.”

1696

The brigantine *Seaflower*, which had been exporting native American slaves to the Bahamas, was brought from Africa with a cargo of 47 black slaves and stopped off in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) with 19 of them as yet unpurchased, and after being able to dispose of 14 of them locally, marched the remaining 5 overland to Boston to turn them over to the owners of the vessel.

Meanwhile, in Pennsylvania, Friends Cadwalader Morgan and William Southeby were persuading the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the [RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#) to advise Quakers to “be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more negroes.”

“That Friends be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more negroes.” Bettle, “Notices of Negro Slavery,” in Penn. Hist. Soc. Mem. (1864), I. 383.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: One of the first American protests against the slave-trade came from certain German Friends, in 1688, at a Weekly Meeting held in Germantown, Pennsylvania. “These are the reasons,” wrote “Garret henderich, derick up de graeff, Francis daniell Pastorius, and Abraham up Den graef,” “why we are against the traffick of men-body, as followeth: Is there any that would be done or handled at this manner?... Now, tho they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men like as we will be done ourselves; making no difference of what generation, descent or colour they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike?”⁵⁰ This little leaven helped slowly to work a revolution in the attitude of this great sect toward slavery and the slave-trade. The Yearly Meeting at first postponed the matter, “It having so General a Relation to many other Parts.”⁵¹ Eventually, however, in 1696, the Yearly Meeting advised “That Friends be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more Negroes.”⁵² This advice was repeated in stronger terms for a quarter-century,⁵³ and by that time Sandiford, Benezet, Lay, and Woolman had begun their crusade. In 1754 the Friends took a step farther and made the purchase of slaves a matter of discipline.⁵⁴ Four years later the Yearly Meeting expressed itself clearly as “against every branch of this practice,” and declared that if “any professing with us should persist to vindicate it, and be concerned in importing, selling or purchasing slaves, the respective Monthly Meetings to which they belong should manifest their disunion with such persons.”⁵⁵ Further, manumission was recommended, and in 1776 made compulsory.⁵⁶ The effect of this attitude of the Friends was early manifested in the legislation of all the colonies where the sect was influential, and particularly in Pennsylvania.

50. From fac-simile copy, published at Germantown in 1880. Cf. Whittier’s poem, “Pennsylvania Hall” (POETICAL WORKS, Riverside ed., III. 62); and Proud, HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA (1797), I. 219.

51. From fac-simile copy, published at Germantown in 1880.

52. Bettle, NOTICES OF NEGRO SLAVERY, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM. (1864), I. 383.

53. Cf. Bettle, NOTICES OF NEGRO SLAVERY, PASSIM.

54. Janney, HISTORY OF THE FRIENDS, III. 315-7.

55. HISTORY OF THE FRIENDS, III. 317.

56. Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 395.

One of the first duty acts (1710) laid a restrictive duty of 40s. on slaves, and was eventually disallowed.⁵⁷ In 1712 William Southeby petitioned the Assembly totally to abolish slavery. This the Assembly naturally refused to attempt; but the same year, in response to another petition "signed by many hands," they passed an "Act to prevent the Importation of Negroes and Indians,"⁵⁸ – the first enactment of its kind in America. This act was inspired largely by the general fear of insurrection which succeeded the "Negro-plot" of 1712 in New York. It declared: "Whereas, divers Plots and Insurrections have frequently happened, not only in the Islands but on the Main Land of *America*, by Negroes, which have been carried on so far that several of the inhabitants have been barbarously Murdered, an Instance whereof we have lately had in our Neighboring Colony of *New York*,"⁵⁹ etc. It then proceeded to lay a prohibitive duty of £20 on all slaves imported. These acts were quickly disposed of in England. Three duty acts affecting Negroes, including the prohibitory act, were in 1713 disallowed, and it was directed that "the Dep^{ty} Gov^r Council and Assembly of Pensilvania, be & they are hereby Strictly Enjoyed & required not to permit the said Laws ... to be from henceforward put in Execution."⁶⁰ The Assembly repealed these laws, but in 1715 passed another laying a duty of £5, which was also eventually disallowed.⁶¹ Other acts, the provisions of which are not clear, were passed in 1720 and 1722,⁶² and in 1725-1726 the duty on Negroes was raised to the restrictive figure of £10.⁶³ This duty, for some reason not apparent, was lowered to £2 in 1729,⁶⁴ but restored again in 1761.⁶⁵ A struggle occurred over this last measure, the Friends petitioning for it, and the Philadelphia merchants against it, declaring that "We, the subscribers, ever desirous to extend the Trade of this Province, have seen, for some time past, the many inconveniencys the Inhabitants have suffer'd for want of Labourers and artificers, ... have for some time encouraged the importation of Negroes;" they prayed therefore at least for a delay in passing the measure.⁶⁶ The law, nevertheless, after much debate and altercation with the governor, finally passed. These repeated acts nearly stopped the trade, and the manumission or sale of Negroes by the Friends decreased the number of slaves in the province. The rising spirit of independence enabled the colony, in 1773, to restore the prohibitive duty of £20 and make it perpetual.⁶⁷ After the Revolution unpaid duties on slaves were collected and the slaves

57. PENN. COL. REC. (1852), II. 530; Bettie, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 415.

58. LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, COLLECTED, etc., 1714, page 165; Bettie, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 387.

59. See preamble of the act.

60. The Pennsylvanians did not allow their laws to reach England until long after they were passed: PENN. ARCHIVES, I. 161-2; COL. REC., II. 572-3. These acts were disallowed Feb. 20, 1713. Another duty act was passed in 1712, supplementary to the Act of 1710 (COL. REC., II. 553). The contents are unknown.

61. ACTS AND LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1715, page 270; Chalmers, OPINIONS, II. 118. Before the disallowance was known, the act had been continued by the Act of 1718: Carey and Bioren, LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1700-1802, I. 118; PENN. COL. REC., III. 38.

62. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 165; PENN. COL. REC., III. 171; Bettie, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 389, note.

63. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 214; Bettie, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 388. Possibly there were two acts this year.

64. LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA (ed. 1742), page 354, ch. 287. Possibly some change in the currency made this change appear greater than it was.

65. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 371; ACTS OF ASSEMBLY (ed. 1782), page 149; Dallas, LAWS, I. 406, ch. 379. This act was renewed in 1768: Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 451; PENN. COL. REC., IX. 472, 637, 641.

66. PENN. COL. REC., VIII. 576.

67. A large petition called for this bill. Much altercation ensued with the governor: Dallas, LAWS, I. 671, ch. 692; PENN. COL. REC., X. 77; Bettie, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 388-9.

registered,⁶⁸ and in 1780 an “Act for the gradual Abolition of Slavery” was passed.⁶⁹ As there were probably at no time before the war more than 11,000 slaves in Pennsylvania,⁷⁰ the task thus accomplished was not so formidable as in many other States. As it was, participation in the slave-trade outside the colony was not prohibited until 1788.⁷¹

It seems probable that in the original Swedish settlements along the Delaware slavery was prohibited.⁷² This measure had, however, little practical effect; for as soon as the Dutch got control the slave-trade was opened, although, as it appears, to no large extent. After the fall of the Dutch Delaware came into English hands. Not until 1775 do we find any legislation on the slave-trade. In that year the colony attempted to prohibit the importation of slaves, but the governor vetoed the bill.⁷³ Finally, in 1776 by the Constitution, and in 1787 by law, importation and exportation were both prohibited.⁷⁴

January 26: Captain William Kidd received a commission from King William III of England to take his privateer vessel, the *Adventure Galley*, out from New-York to capture the notorious **RHODE ISLAND** pirates Thomas Tew, William Mayes, and Thomas Wake:

William the Third, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our trusty and well beloved – Capt. Robert Kidd, commander of the Adventure Galley with a crew of 80 men and mounting 30 guns.

Greeting: whereas we are informed, that Capt. Thomas Too, John Ireland, Capt. Thomas Wake, and Capt. William Maze or Mace, and other subjects, natives or inhabitants of New-York, and elsewhere, in our plantations in America, have associated themselves with diverse others, wicked and ill-disposed persons, and do, against the law of nations, commit many and great piracies, robberies and depredations on the seas upon the parts of America, and in other parts, to the great hindrance and discouragement of trade and navigation, and to the great danger and hurt of our loving subjects, our allies, and all others, navigating the seas upon their lawful occasions.

Now know ye, that we being desirous to prevent the aforesaid mischief's, and as much as in us lies, to bring the said pirates, freebooters and sea-rovers to justice, have thought fit, and do hereby give and grant to the said Robert Kidd, to whom our commissioners for exercising the office of Lord High Admiral of England, have granted a commission as a private man-of-war, bearing date the 11th day of December, 1695, and unto the commander of the said ship for the time being, and unto the officers, mariners, and others which shall be under your command, full power and authority to apprehend, seize, and take

68. Dallas, LAWS, I. 782, ch. 810.

69. LAWS, I. 838, ch. 881.

70. There exist but few estimates of the number of slaves in this colony: –

In 1721, 2,500-5,000. DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, V. 604.

In 1754, 11,000. Bancroft, HIST. OF UNITED STATES (1883), II. 391.

In 1760, very few. Burnaby, TRAVELS THROUGH N. AMER. (2d ed.), page 81.

In 1775, 2,000. PENN. ARCHIVES, IV 597.

71. Dallas, LAWS, II. 586.

72. Cf. ARGONAUTICA GUSTAVIANA, pages 21-3; DEL. HIST. SOC. PAPERS, III. 10; HAZARD'S REGISTER, IV. 221, §§ 23, 24; HAZARD'S ANNALS, page 372; Armstrong, RECORD OF UPLAND COURT, pages 29-30, and notes.

73. Force, AMERICAN ARCHIVES, 4th Ser., II. 128-9.

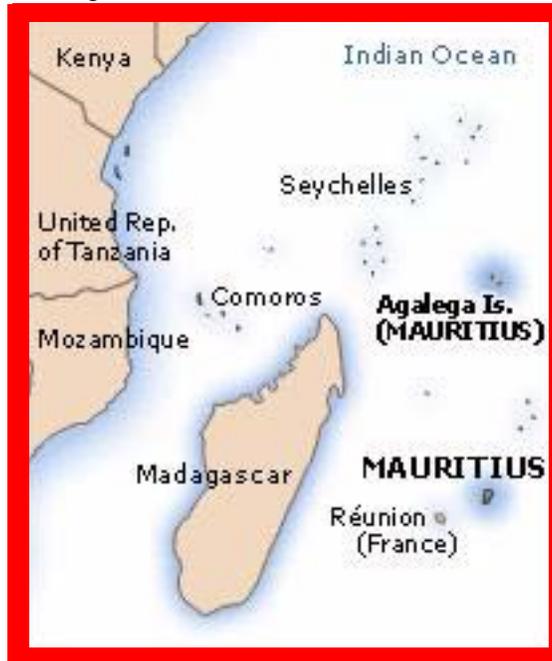
74. AMERICAN ARCHIVES, 5th Ser., I. 1178; LAWS OF DELAWARE, 1797 (Newcastle ed.), page 884, ch. 145 b.

into your custody as well the said Capt. Thomas Too, John Ireland, Capt. Thomas Wake and Capt. Win. Maze or Mace, as all such pirates, free-booters, and searovers, being either our subjects, or of other nations associated with them, which you shall meet with upon the seas or coasts, with all their ships and vessels, and all such merchandises, money, goods, and wares as shall be found on board, or with them, in case they shall willingly yield themselves; but if they will not yield without fighting, then you are by force to compel them to yield. And we also require you to bring, or cause to be brought, such pirates, freebooters, or sea-rovers, as you shall seize, to a legal trial, to the end they may be proceeded against according to the law in such cases. And we do hereby command all our officers, ministers, and other of our loving subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting to you in the premises. And we do hereby enjoin you to keep an exact journal of your proceedings in execution of the premises, and set down the names of such pirates, and of their officers and company, and the names of such ships and vessels as you shall by virtue of these presents take and seize, and the quantities of arms, ammunition, provision, and lading of such ships, and the true value of the same, as near as you can judge. In witness whereof, we have caused our great seal of England to be affixed to these presents. Given at our court in Kensington, the 26th day of January, 1695, in the 7th year of our reign.

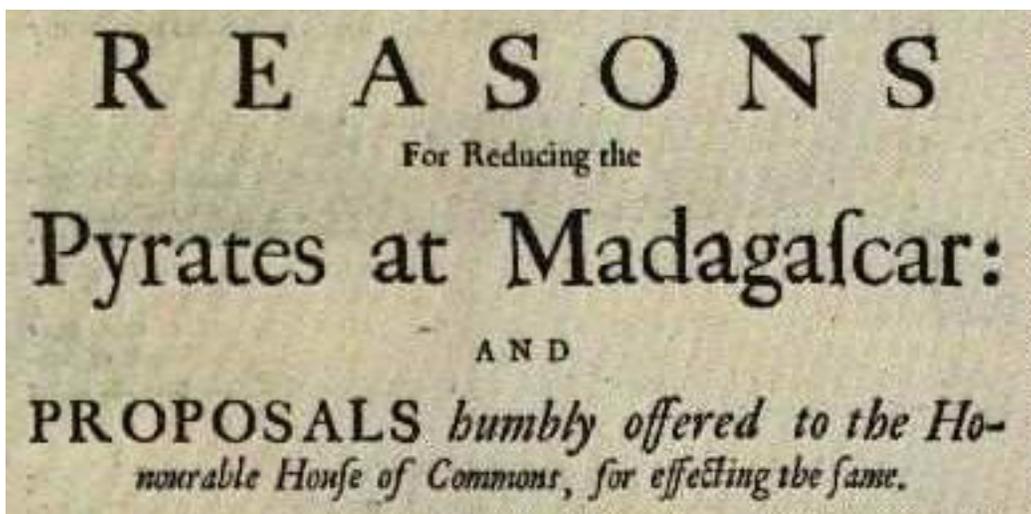
NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

After several months of no success, Captain William Kidd would take on new crewmembers and sail again. By the time they reached Madagascar they had been able to loot several ships, but not enough to pay the salaries the crew was demanding.



When Captain Kidd refused his gunner William Moore's demand that they attack any ship they came upon, Moore attempted mutiny and was killed by Kidd (he hit him on the head with a wooden bucket). When they reached Madagascar, 90 members of this 150-man crew deserted.



Three years later, upon his return, he would find he faced charges of piracy for the manner in which he had been interpreting this permission, and of murder for the killing of the mutineer. He would deposit some of his loot with the owner of Gardiners Island, which is at the eastern tip of Paumanok Long Island. Since British law required that all accused of piracy receive their trials in England, Kidd would be transported there. He would be found guilty of piracy and murder, and would **HANG** on May 23, 1701. The only portion of his loot ever to be recovered would be that portion which had been listed on the witnessed manifest at Gardiners Island. Some assert that the bulk of his loot is still under the sands of Campobello Island, which is just across the Canadian boundary. Others assert, on the basis of some cryptic remarks that Kidd made just before the

noose choked off his breath, that the loot is buried somewhere near Old Saybrook, in Connecticut.

**1697**

Gabriel Bernon relocated permanently from Boston to [RHODE ISLAND](#). While in Massachusetts, he had been a member of the French Church in Boston, but in [NEWPORT](#), where he initially settled, he joined the Trinity Church, which was Episcopal, which is to say, part of the Church of England.

**THERE IS A PORTRAIT OF HIM
AT THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN
IN PROVIDENCE BUT I DON'T
HAVE AN IMAGE OF IT.**

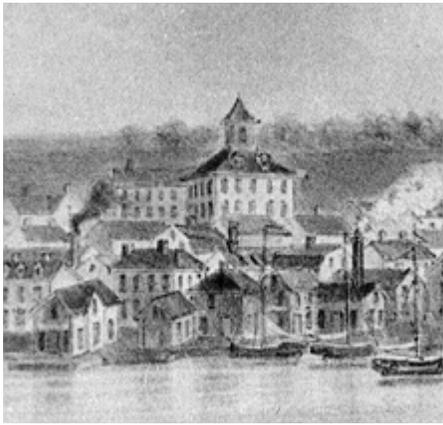
1698

April: The accused local pirate William Downs escaped from the [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) jail when the Under Sheriff let him out to “ease himself.” (Usually, in Newport, if a trial was not expected to clear the local citizen who had been accused of piracy, the prisoner would receive the advantage of a wonderfully negligent sheriff and jailer. No sheriff or under sheriff would ever be charged with negligence for having allowed a local-boy pirate type to escape from custody.)

December: When the *Nassau* had arrived at New-York and Newport, **RHODE ISLAND** from Madagascar, Captain Edward Coats had found that the £700 in silver he had given to Governor Fletcher was useless as Fletcher had been recalled in disgrace to England. In this month Colonel Baynard of New-York testified before the London Board of Trade that despite this setback, Captain Coats had gotten his treasure ashore, for “pieces of Arabian gold are common in New-York and Rhode Island, after the arrival there of pirate Captain Coats from the Red Sea.”

1699

The completion of the Great Meetinghouse of the **FRIENDS** at **NEWPORT**, **RHODE ISLAND** on the land donated in 1676 by Friend Nicholas Easton made this the largest structure of any kind in the colonies between Boston and New-York. They set the new building back from the existing house that they had inherited from Friend Nicholas Easton, on Farewell Street. One thousand worshippers could be seated.⁷⁵



RHODE ISLAND had become the only New England colony to make extensive use of black slaves both for labor and as a commodity in trade. The major international slave trade markets in the American colonies were located (now hear this) at Newport and at Bristol. This factoid has been so heavily papered over by the revisionist-history industry that we don’t now have any idea where they had positioned their slave barracoons. At least a few of the slave importers (now hear this) and at least a few of the privateers were Quakers.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The rigorous climate of New England, the character of her settlers, and their pronounced political views gave slavery an even slighter basis here than in the Middle colonies. The significance of New England in the African slave-trade does not therefore lie in the fact that she early discountenanced the system of slavery and stopped importation; but rather in the fact that her citizens, being the traders of the New World, early took part in the carrying slave-trade and furnished slaves to the other colonies. An inquiry, therefore, into the efforts of the New England colonies to suppress the slave-trade would fall naturally into two parts: first, and

75. Although this view of the meetinghouse is from a lithograph made in 1865, it dates to approximately 1740 since the lithograph was based upon an over-mantle oil painting that is at the Newport Historical Society. The image depicts the meetinghouse still in its original square configuration, and still with its steeple. Notice that after there weren’t enough Quakers in Rhode Island anymore, to justify such a large structure, it would be repurposed in 1905 as a black amusement center, hosting dances and that sort of thing — but that after it had been restored as a Quaker meetinghouse for purposes of the Newport tourist industry and carriage trade, no mention would be made in the tourist literature that the structure had also served as a black dancehall! –Gee, I wonder why it might be that the irony of it all so escapes people...

chiefly, an investigation of the efforts to stop the participation of citizens in the carrying slave-trade; secondly, an examination of the efforts made to banish the slave-trade from New England soil.

The completion of the Great Meetinghouse of the [FRIENDS](#) at [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) on the land donated in 1676 by Friend Nicholas Easton made this the largest structure of any kind in the colonies between Boston and New-York. They set the new building back from the existing house that they had inherited from Friend Nicholas Easton, on Farewell Street. One thousand worshippers could be seated.⁷⁶



The former pirate Captain Thomas Paine of [RHODE ISLAND](#) was involved with Captain William Kidd and with James Gillam, who sailed up the West Passage of the Narragansett Bay and anchored off his farm at the north end of Conanicut Island. They sent a boat and Captain Paine went aboard. He accepted some sums intended for the support of Mrs. Kidd in Boston.



76. Although this view of the meetinghouse is from a lithograph made in 1865, it dates to approximately 1740 since the lithograph was based upon an over-mantle oil painting that is at the Newport Historical Society. The image depicts the meetinghouse still in its original square configuration, and still with its steeple. Notice that after there weren't enough Quakers in Rhode Island anymore, to justify such a large structure, it would be repurposed in 1905 as a black amusement center, hosting dances and that sort of thing — but that after it had been restored as a Quaker meetinghouse for purposes of the Newport tourist industry and carriage trade, no mention would be made in the tourist literature that the structure had also served as a black dancehall! —Gee, I wonder why it might be that the irony of it all so escapes people...

The former pirate Captain Thomas Paine became one of the founding funders of the Anglican church, Trinity Church, in Newport.

During the late 17th Century, **RHODE ISLAND** had been more or less a safe haven for pirates, who brought in a lot of hard currency and were quite a support for the local economy. “When I was at Rhode Island, there was one Palmer a Pyrat who was out on Bail, for they cannot be persuaded to keep a Pyrat there in Gaol: they love em too well.” However, during the century to follow, Rhode Island would be developing its own extensive merchant fleet, at risk from the pirates, and in consequence, this benevolent indifference to piracy would gradually be changing in the direction of hostility. In the 17th Century, a retired pirate had married a Governor’s daughter and come to live next door to the Governor’s mansion; in the 18th, some pirates would actually be arrested and not allowed to walk out of unlocked jail cells. The government of Rhode Island would begin to put pressure on the local venturesome seamen, at least by 1714, to accept commissions and become “privateers” rather than pirates, and pledge to attack only French and Spanish vessels, and leave the English vessels alone. Some pirates would be hanged in Newport in 1723 (unprecedented), in 1738, and in 1760.

March 18: Joe Brodish had sailed under Captain Thomas Gulleck as boatswain aboard the 350-ton, 22-gun merchant ship *Adventure*, but when the ship appeared off the coast of Connecticut on this day, at Block Island and Gardiners Island, Gulleck was not to be seen and Brodish was in charge. The *Adventure* then sailed for the Caribbean and when it would return would attempt to deposit its gains at John Gardner’s “Pirate Bank.” A storm would prevent the crew of the *Adventure* from landing there, and the ship would go on to Newport where two of the men would be arrested while attempting to purchase a sloop. Brodish purchased a sloop from a passing fisherman and transferred some of his treasure from the *Adventure* to the sloop. Then the two vessels sailed to Montauk Point, where the *Adventure* sank in a raging sea, taking much treasure to the bottom. The crew manage to swim ashore, and later took the sloop and the remaining treasure on to Maine. Brodish and a one-eyed man named Tee Wetherly would be arrested in Boston, and nine other members also would be detained in various parts of **RHODE ISLAND** and Massachusetts during April, with about £300 pounds sterling in their possession. Each crewman of the *Adventure* was said to have received 1,500 pieces of eight as his share. Some £3,000, with jewels, belonging to Brodish, would be seized by authorities at the home of Henry Pierson, Nassau Island, New York. Brodish and Wetherly would spend a couple of months in jail, and then on June 25, 1699 jailkeeper Caleb Ray would allege that they had escaped. Governor Bellmont suspected that this jailkeeper, who was a cousin or uncle of Brodish, had let the men go. Bellomont offered a reward of 200 pieces of eight for the capture of Brodish and 100 for the capture of Thee Wetherly. A bounty hunter named Essacambuit caught up with the duo in Saco, Maine. They escaped twice from this bounty hunter but each time were recaptured, and upon their arrival in Boston Governor Bellmont had them shipped to England, where they would be **HUNG**.

March 28: George Cutler was tried for piracy before the Court of General Tryalls at Newport, **RHODE ISLAND** and guess what, no one showed up to claim the cash and goods and levy charges against him. Questioned as to how he had come into all that money, Cutler avowed that he picked it up in various places, included being willed some of it by a resident of Madagascar. Wink wink, nudge nudge. The jury of his peers then acquitted. A few months later, as one of the wealthy men of the town, Cutler would join with Captain Thomas Paine and others in signing a petition for the assignment of an Anglican minister to Newport — thus becoming, along with the wealthy Huguenot merchant Gabriel Bernon, a founder of Trinity Church (Huguenots and pirates, assimilating with a vengeance).

1700

Three **RHODE ISLAND** vessels sailed from **NEWPORT** to Africa, and then to Barbados with cargos of slaves.

August 17: [FRIEND](#) Daniel Gould reported on the death watch of an infant in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#):

In an assemblage of people, sitting together in silence, in a house by the corpse of a dead infant ready for Burial & being a silence, comes in the High mosier (a papist Preacher,) and sett [sic] it may a minute or two, but silence in an assemblage being a strange thing unto him, he soon spoke to y^e purpose & saying, "here is silence; and though in silence many have a good meditation yet meditation edifies not the people." "There must be Doctrine of spirit to edify y^e church" as if meditation was not profitable for Doctrine, ffor [sic] without meditation man runs a great hazard in his Doctrine of words, confusedly along, as indeed did he at that very time. Solomon saith "a fools mouth is his own destruction, and his lips a snare to soulls" Pro. 18. 7. But the Psalmist saith - "I will meditate of all thy works and talk of y^e doings" Psa. 77-12. So here is meditation before talking.

1702

William Clark commented that in this year “every man in **NEWPORT** is either a pirate or privateer man.”

RHODE ISLAND

William Mayes received a license to sell strong drink in Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**. When his estate would be inventoried upon his death shortly afterward, nothing would appear to remain of any pirate treasure trove accumulated by his brigantine *Pearl*.

The petition of 1699 by, among others, former pirate Captain Thomas Paine, for an Anglican church in Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**, was successful, and Trinity Church was founded.⁷⁷

1703

February: A Jew died in Boston. Because the tenets of Judaism were understood to require burial within 24 hours, the corpse was dispatched posthaste (or, one might say, postchaise) to Bristol, and then conveyed by ferry to the Jewish cemetery at Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**.

1st 4th mo.: The records of the **RHODE-ISLAND** quarterly meeting of the **RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS** indicate that by June 4th construction had begun in **PROVIDENCE** on a meetinghouse for the Friends, on a house lot near the dwelling of Eleazer Arnold:

As to what relates to Providence meeting-house, some of the Friends appointed having been there, and it seems, could not fully resolve what the last quarterly meeting requested, by reason of the land given to set a meeting-house on was so nigh the common road, so that the subscribers desired that it might be exchanged for some higher up; it might be so this meeting might judge it convenient, that those Friends that the meeting appointed before, be yet continued to make a further progress in the premises, answerable to the meeting’s request, and make return of what they do therein, at the next monthly men’s meeting at Portsmouth, on Rhode-Island, if may, without too much difficulty, or at furtherest, at the next men’s meeting at

77. Episcopal worship had begun in **RHODE ISLAND** in 1635 with the arrival in what is now Cumberland of the Reverend William Blaxton (or Blackstone), an Anglican priest. He had preached regularly to native Americans and to white settlers beneath the “Catholic Oak” in Lonsdale but had created no church edifices. He had simply ridden his white bull from settlement to settlement, preaching and administering the sacraments. This first edifice, in Newport, would be followed in 1707 by St. Paul’s of Narragansett, in 1720 by St. Michael’s of Bristol, and in 1722 by King’s Church, which is now St. John’s Cathedral, in Providence. The American Revolution would bring hard times to the four Rhode Island parishes of the Church of England. In Wickford and **PROVIDENCE**, when the congregations would seek to remove prayers for the king and royal family from their services, Rector Samuel Fayerweather and the Reverend John Graves would deconsecrate the church buildings. The Wickford church building would become a barracks for Continental soldiers who were watching the British in occupied Newport. In 1778, British warships would bombard and burn St. Michael’s in Bristol by mistake, because they had been informed that the town’s Congregational Church was being used as a store for gunpowder. After the Revolution, with the Loyalists departed, Trinity Church in Newport would be occupied for awhile by a Baptist congregation. On November 18, 1790, the Reverend William Smith of Trinity Church in Newport and the Reverend Moses Badger of St. John’s in Providence would meet in Newport to unite their various churches under the Reverend Samuel Seabury, D.D., Episcopal Bishop of Connecticut.

Newport, about 21st 5th mo., so that one of these meetings, in behalf of the quarterly meeting, may act and transact, as near as may be, to what the precedent quarterly meeting hath proposed in the premises, which monthly meeting, we also desire, to acquaint the next quarterly meeting what they do in the premises.

...

Inasmuch as the monthly men's meeting of Rhode-Island at Portsmouth, the 27th of the 2d mo. 1703, did encourage, upon their request, the Providence Friends getting their meeting house proposed to be built near Eleazer Arnold's, the major part collecting thereto being willing, the which matter is also approved by this meeting, understanding also, that it is generally agreed on amongst themselves, and now that the Rhode-Island monthly meeting takes notice and encourages the subscription in behalf and until the next quarterly meeting, &c.

1704

Palsgrave Williams became a freeman of [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#). He and his wife Damaris Carr Williams, a *Mayflower* descendant who was related to the [RHODE ISLAND](#) pirate Thomas Paine, had a son, also named Palsgrave Williams.

1705

The Great Meetinghouse of the [FRIENDS](#) in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) was enlarged "for the conveniency of the women's meeting."

1706

The Quakers of Newport, Rhode Island "proposed that the old Meeting House may be better put in order for a stable toward the winter, and also proposed that money may be procured toward finishing the New Meeting House of Newport."

June: When a French privateer captured a [RHODE ISLAND](#) sloop off Block Island, the governor of the colony sent Captain John Wanton with two sloops "against Her Majesty's enemies" and they recaptured the prize vessel and overcame the privateer and brought both ships into Newport.

1707

Spring: In [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), a slaveholder's wife was murdered and one of the family's negroes threw himself into the bay "by reason he would not be taken alive." Two weeks later, when the body was recovered, it was dismembered in Newport. The General Assembly ordered the head, arms, legs, and torso "hung up in some public place, near to town, to public view ... that it may, if it please God, be something of a terror to others."

1708

By this point the dwelling house that had been donated to the [FRIENDS](#) of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) by the former governor, Friend Nicholas Easton, that had functioned until the erection of the Great Meetinghouse nearby in 1699 as their 1st permanent place of worship and had been frequented by Friend George Fox, had been for several years in service as a stable.

The population of [RHODE ISLAND](#) at this point, its first census, was 7,181. Of the 426 black people in the colony, 220 were in [NEWPORT](#) (folks there would become so worried that the local black population was too numerous, that they would put a special tax on every new black slave imported!⁷⁸)

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In 1652 Rhode Island passed a law designed to prohibit life slavery in the colony. It declared that "Whereas, there is a common course practised amongst English men to buy negers, to that end they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventing of such practices among us, let it be ordered, that no blacke mankind or white being forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assignes longer than ten yeares, or untill they come to bee twentie four yeares of age, if they bee taken in under fourteen, from the time of their cominge within the liberties of this Collonie. And at the end or terme of ten yeares to sett them free, as the manner is with the English servants. And that man that will not let them goe free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to that end that they may bee enslaved to others for a long time, hee or they shall forfeit to the Collonie forty pounds."⁷⁹

This law was for a time enforced,⁸⁰ but by the beginning of the eighteenth century it had either been repealed or become a dead letter; for the Act of 1708 recognized perpetual slavery, and laid an impost of £3 on Negroes imported.⁸¹ This duty was really a tax on the transport trade, and produced a steady income for twenty years.⁸² From the year 1700 on, the citizens of this State

78. Notice, if you please: this fact of prior taxation to interfere with the addition of new slaves, motivated not by any desire to purge the earth of the iniquity of the international slave trade but by a simple, self-serving fear of large numbers of black people, or a distaste for blackness (a "Negrophobia"), offers an interesting new perspective on the later banning of the international slave trade. Said banning **may or may not** have been motivated by the fine motivations that would be being offered in self-justification!

79. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, I. 240.

80. Cf. letter written in 1681: NEW ENGLAND REGISTER, XXXI. 75-6. Cf. also Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, I. 240.

81. The text of this act is lost (COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 34; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 31). The Acts of Rhode Island were not well preserved, the first being published in Boston in 1719. Perhaps other whole acts are lost.

82. E.g., it was expended to pave the streets of Newport, to build bridges, etc.: RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 191-3, 225.

engaged more and more in the carrying trade, until Rhode Island became the greatest slave-trader in America. Although she did not import many slaves for her own use, she became the clearing-house for the trade of other colonies. Governor Cranston, as early as 1708, reported that between 1698 and 1708 one hundred and three vessels were built in the State, all of which were trading to the West Indies and the Southern colonies.⁸³ They took out lumber and brought back molasses, in most cases making a slave voyage in between. From this, the trade grew. Samuel Hopkins, about 1770, was shocked at the state of the trade: more than thirty distilleries were running in the colony, and one hundred and fifty vessels were in the slave-trade.⁸⁴ "Rhode Island," said he, "has been more deeply interested in the slave-trade, and has enslaved more Africans than any other colony in New England." Later, in 1787, he wrote: "The inhabitants of Rhode Island, especially those of Newport, have had by far the greater share in this traffic, of all these United States. This trade in human species has been the first wheel of commerce in Newport, on which every other movement in business has chiefly depended. That town has been built up, and flourished in times past, at the expense of the blood, the liberty, and happiness of the poor Africans; and the inhabitants have lived on this, and by it have gotten most of their wealth and riches."⁸⁵

The Act of 1708 was poorly enforced. The "good intentions" of its framers "were wholly frustrated" by the clandestine "hiding and conveying said negroes out of the town [Newport] into the country, where they lie concealed."⁸⁶ The act was accordingly strengthened by the Acts of 1712 and 1715, and made to apply to importations by land as well as by sea.⁸⁷ The Act of 1715, however, favored the trade by admitting African Negroes free of duty. The chaotic state of Rhode Island did not allow England often to review her legislation; but as soon as the Act of 1712 came to notice it was disallowed, and accordingly repealed in 1732.⁸⁸ Whether the Act of 1715 remained, or whether any other duty act was passed, is not clear.

While the foreign trade was flourishing, the influence of the Friends and of other causes eventually led to a movement against slavery as a local institution. Abolition societies multiplied, and in 1770 an abolition bill was ordered by the Assembly, but it was never passed.⁸⁹ Four years later the city of Providence resolved that "as personal liberty is an essential part of the natural rights of mankind," the importation of slaves and the system of slavery should cease in the colony.⁹⁰ This movement finally resulted, in 1774, in an act "prohibiting the importation of Negroes into this Colony," - a law which curiously illustrated the attitude of Rhode Island toward the slave-trade. The preamble of the act declared: "Whereas, the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which, that of personal

83. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 55-60.

84. Patten, REMINISCENCES OF SAMUEL HOPKINS (1843), page 80.

85. Hopkins, WORKS (1854), II. 615.

86. Preamble of the Act of 1712.

87. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 131-5, 138, 143, 191-3.

88. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 471.

89. Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 304, 321, 337. For a probable copy of the bill, see NARRAGANSETT HISTORICAL REGISTER, II. 299.

90. A man dying intestate left slaves, who became thus the property of the city; they were freed, and the town made the above resolve, May 17, 1774, in town meeting: Staples, ANNALS OF PROVIDENCE (1843), page 236.

freedom must be considered as the greatest; as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; – Therefore,” etc. The statute then proceeded to enact “that for the future, no negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free....” The logical ending of such an act would have been a clause prohibiting the participation of Rhode Island citizens in the slave-trade. Not only was such a clause omitted, but the following was inserted instead: “Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave brought from the coast of Africa, into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this colony, and which negro or mulatto slave could not be disposed of in the West Indies, but shall be brought into this colony. Provided, that the owner of such negro or mulatto slave give bond ... that such negro or mulatto slave shall be exported out of the colony, within one year from the date of such bond; if such negro or mulatto be alive, and in a condition to be removed.”⁹¹ In 1779 an act to prevent the sale of slaves out of the State was passed,⁹² and in 1784, an act gradually to abolish slavery.⁹³ Not until 1787 did an act pass to forbid participation in the slave-trade. This law laid a penalty of £100 for every slave transported and £1000 for every vessel so engaged.⁹⁴

1710

By this point the old dwelling house on Farewell Street in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), that [FRIEND](#) Nicholas Easton had donated, that had initially been used as a place of worship, that had been the meetinghouse used by Friend George Fox but which then had been put into service as a stable, was by this point entirely gone — for in this year Samuel Easton was petitioning the Quakers for permission to build a shop “where the old meeting house stood.”

91. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VII. 251-2.

92. BARTLETT’S INDEX, page 329; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 444; RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VIII. 618.

93. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, X. 7-8; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 506.

94. BARTLETT’S INDEX, page 333; NARRAGANSETT HISTORICAL REGISTER, II. 298-9. The number of slaves in Rhode Island has been estimated as follows: —

In 1708, 426. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 59.

In 1730, 1,648. RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS, No. 19, pt. 2, page 99.

In 1749, 3,077. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 281.

In 1756, 4,697. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 281.

In 1774, 3,761. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VII. 253.

1711

Nathaniel Brown was granted land to establish a shipyard on Webosset Neck (now downtown PROVIDENCE), and in this year the 1st ship was constructed.

RHODE ISLAND



Initially, the sort of ship to be constructed in this new shipyard would be the small sloop of shallow draft — the sort of vessel needed to transport local cargoes down to Newport for loading there onto ocean-going craft.

The RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS in Pennsylvania agreed with the righteousness of, and agreed to implement, the petition “against the traffic of menbody” with which they had been being struggling since 1688.⁹⁵

“... the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, on a representation from the Quarterly Meeting of Chester, that the buying and encouraging the importation of negroes was still practised by some of the members of the society, again repeated and enforced the observance of the advice issued in 1696, and further directed all merchants and factors to write to their correspondents and discourage their sending any more negroes.” Bettle, “Notices of Negro Slavery,” in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM. (1864), I. 386.

Two of the original four signers were still alive⁹⁶ and as far as the people of Pennsylvania were concerned, the days of international slave trade and of slave trading in general were over. Done done done. Been there done that got the T-shirt!

1712

This year's map of [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) identified the Jewish cemetery as being on "Jew Street."

Abraham Redwood, the father, arrived on the North American continent. We don't know whether he initially settled his family in Newport, in Salem, or somewhere between these two towns. However, we know that [FRIEND](#) Abraham Redwood, the son, would grow up in Newport on [RHODE ISLAND](#)'s Aquidneck Island. As a young man may well have gotten his education in Philadelphia. Following the death of his father and his older siblings, he would come into immense wealth as the owner of the sugar plantation "Cassada Garden" in Antigua and its large population of slaves.

John Wanton (1672-1740), who had been born into a [QUAKER](#) family but had rebelled and become a colonel in the militia, in this year repented of his rebellion. He would become active, and would minister, in the Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) monthly meeting of the [RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#):

This John Wanton had been a valiant colonel:
 But now he has ceased from carnal wars and is employed
 in Christ's service against the devil and his works.

February 27: At Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) the General Assembly laid a duty upon the import of negro slaves. (Several decades later, His Majesty the King of England would order them to repeal this duty on the import of negro slaves into the colony — and they would obediently render this revenue act of theirs null and void.)

95. Unfortunately, the [QUAKERS](#) of [RHODE ISLAND](#) would not initially be in accord with this new sentiment against the traffic in menbody. Below appears the rotting hulk of the slave ship *Jem*, as of the Year of Our Lord 1891 at Fort Adams near Newport on Aquidneck Island:



96. Refer to the poem "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim" by Friend John Greenleaf Whittier about one of the four original signers of this petition, Francis Daniel Pastorius: "The world forgets, but the wise angels know."

1713

On Nantucket Island, [FRIEND](#) Tabitha Trott Frost incautiously married again, to a Dr. Joseph Brown, despite the fact that her previous husband, a privateer, had been considered lost at sea for only a few years. The absent husband, John Frost, would turn up shortly, leading to a charge of bigamy against the wife. She would be disowned by the Nantucket monthly meeting, and would move with her new husband the doctor to Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#). This would be the first disownment ever, in the Nantucket meeting. Tabitha's mother, who was an elder in the meeting, would in shame no longer seat herself in the special bench for the elders.

1714

By the end of Queen Anne's War, the government of [RHODE ISLAND](#) was firmly committed to the eradication of piracy.

1716

The [QUAKER](#) meetinghouse on Nantucket Island, erected in 1711, was expanded at this point so that it would seat the more than 300 [FRIENDS](#) who desired to take part in silent worship. At this point some Quakers of the Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) community were engaging in the "triangular trade," involving as one of its legs the bulk manufacture of rum and as another of its legs the international slave trade,⁹⁷ and some black slaves were present on Nantucket, where at least one Quaker, Friend Stephen Hussey, was a slaveholder. During this year an Englishman, Friend John Farmer, was making a missionary tour of the colonies attempting to persuade us that chattel slavery was "not in agreement with Truth." Winning the support of

97. Below appears the rotting hulk of the slave ship *Jem*, as of the Year of Our Lord 1891 at Fort Adams near Newport on Aquidneck Island:



NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

Friend Priscilla Starbuck Coleman, Friend John was able to persuade the monthly meeting on the island into a minute depicting enslavement as immoral. It was “not agreeable to Truth for Friends to purchase slaves and keep them for a term of life.”⁹⁸ This declaration made the Nantucket monthly meeting the 1st group of Friends anywhere in the world to disavow human enslavement, but it would seem that the island’s Quakers would fall back somewhat from their commitment to racial fairness, for some sixteen years, while Friend John’s success on the island would not be matched by any great success on the mainland of the American colonies — in fact, in the Philadelphia meeting, he would be put under dealing (visited by an official committee and struggled with), and he would, eventually, be publicly disowned by the Friends. Furthermore, the Friends in England would honor the American disownment, so that Friend John would come to be regarded as troublesome on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

Flushing **QUAKERS** who would speak out against slavery would include Friend Horseman Mullenix and Friend Matthew Franklin, who would come with another antislavery Friend John, an American one, Friend John Woolman (not yet born), when he would travel on Paumanok Long Island and visit their monthly meeting to speak against slavery.



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

26th of 1st month (that would be March, in the non-Quaker calendar): Daniel Gould died in his home in Newport, **RHODE ISLAND** at an age of about 90. His body would be buried in the Friends Burying Ground near the Great Meeting House.

1717

The **NEWPORT**, **RHODE ISLAND** monthly meeting of the **RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS** expressed concern over the importing and keeping of slaves from the West Indies and elsewhere.

98. Refer to Friend Henry J. Cadbury’s JOHN FARMER’S FIRST AMERICAN JOURNEY, published in Worcester in 1944.

September 5: An "Act of Grace" was proclaimed, under which pirates could come in from the seas and not be prosecuted. One of the seamen who "came in" during this amnesty was the Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) pirate Captain Palsgrave Williams. Other pirates fled from their base in the Bahamas to Madagascar.

A List of such Pirates as Surrenderd themselves at Providence to Captain Vincent Pearse Commander of His Majesty's Ship Phenix and accepted of his Majesties most Gracious Pardon and had Certificates from the said Commander to carry them to some Government

Note those that are marked with a cross X before their names are gone out Pirating againe.

Packer ADAMS	Thomas LAMB	Richard TAYLOR
Arthur ALLEN	John ALLEN	Martin TOWNSEND
James COATES	Martin CARRILL	[x]Michael SWEMSTONE
Jno DALRIMPLE	Thomas CLIES	Samuel RICHARDSON
Benjamin HORNOGOLD	Jno HIPPERSON	Robert BROWN
Josiah BURGESS	Jno CHARLTON	Henry CHICK
Francis LESLEY	Francis CHARNOCK	Robert HUNTER
Thomas NICHOLS	[x]David MERREDITH	James MOODEY
Palsgrave WILLIAMS	[x]Edward NORLAND	Richard KAINE
John LEWIS	[x]James GOODSIR	Thomas BIRDSELL
Richard NOWLAND	Dennis McCARTHY	Robert DRYBRO
John MARTIN	Rowland HARBIN	[x]Daniel CARMAN
William CONNER	George GATER	[x]John DUNKIN
Thomas GRAHAME	George MANN	George FEVERSHAM
Thomas TERRILL	Richard RICHARDS	John BARKER
John EALLING	Anthony JACOBS	Thomas CODD
Robert WISHART	Nabel CLARKE	William ROBERTS
James GATRICKS	Henry HAWKINS	John WATERS
Edward STACEY	Daniel WHITE	William AUSTIN
John TENNET	Edward SAVORY	Francis ROPER
John HUNT	Peter MARSHALL	Griffith WILLIAMS
John PEARSE	[x]Archibald MURRY	Edward GORMAN
James BRYAN	Daniel HILL	John CLARKE
Henry BERRY	William SAVOY	[x]Richard BISHOP

1718

8th of 5th month: The widowed Wait Coggeshall Gould died at the age of 84 years. Her body would be buried by the side of her husband in the Friends Burying Ground near the Great Meeting House of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).

1719

Captain Benjamin Norton sailed from [PROVIDENCE](#) to the West Indies. John Menzies, then New England's Royal Secretary of the Admiralty, wrote that "Norton's vessel by observation is more suited for piracy than trade." Norton joined notorious pirate chief Bartholomew Roberts AKA "Black Bart" in the West Indies, and together they raided shipping.⁹⁹



The owner of Norton's ship, Joseph Whipple, would later become Deputy Governor of [RHODE ISLAND](#). Both Whipple and Norton, wrote Admiral Menzies, "carried off rich cargo, with other traders of Newport, in sloops to Providence ... yet when I went to the Governor of Rhode Island, he would not give up the goods."

1720

Fall: Captain Benjamin Norton of Newport and Joseph Whipple of [PROVIDENCE](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) fitted out a brigantine for trade with the West Indies.

99. This Welsh pirate from Pembrokeshire, ranging in a 2-year freebooting career from the African coast to South America and from the West Indies to Newfoundland, had seized more than 400 ships. "Black Bart" had been a teetotalter, drinking nothing but tea, had ordered his musicians to play hymns on a Sunday, and had sported a great diamond cross he had looted from a Portuguese man-of-war. His personal pennant had him attired in his fighting costume made entirely of red silk, holding in his right hand a flaming sword and in his left an hourglass, standing atop the severed heads of residents of the islands of Barbados (ABH="A Barbadian's Head") and Martinique (AMH="A Marinican's Head"):



1721

A Huguenot, Gabriel Bernon, settled at [PROVIDENCE](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) after trying out Boston and then Newport. He would help a bunch of wealthy retired pirates there found Trinity Church.

**THERE IS A PORTRAIT OF HIM
AT THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN
IN PROVIDENCE BUT I DON'T
HAVE AN IMAGE OF IT.**

August 1: Captain Benjamin Norton of Newport visited Governor John Cranston. He was a successful pirate, yes, and [RHODE ISLAND](#) was becoming hostile to pirates, yes, but he was also a Rhode Islander –he was one of our own –and money is money.¹⁰⁰

1722

March 30: A report from [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#):

There has been lately a surprizing Appearance been seen at Narraganset, which is the Occasion of much Discourse here, and is variously represented; but for the Substance of it, it is a matter of Fact beyond Dispute, it having been seen by Abundance of People, and one Night about 20 Persons at the same time, who came together for that Purpose. The Truth as near as we can gather from the Relations of several Persons, is as follows: This last Winter there was a Woman died at Narraganset of the Small Pox, and since she was buried there has happened upon her Grave chiefly, in various other Places, a bright Light as the appearance of Fire. This Appearance commonly begins about 9 or 10 of the Clock at Night, and sometimes as soon as it is dark. It Appears variously as to Time, Place, Shape and Magnitude but commonly on or above the Grave, and sometimes about and upon the Barn and Trees adjacent; sometimes in several Parts, but commonly in one entire Body. The first Appearance is commonly small, but increases to a great Bigness and Brightness so that in a dark Night They can see the Grass and Barque of the trees very plainly; and when it is at its Heighth they can see Sparks fly from the Appearance like Sparks of Fire, and the likeness of a Person in the midst wrapt in a Sheet with its Arms folded. This Appearance moves with incredible Swiftness sometimes the Distance of Half a Mile from one Place to another in the Twinkling of an eye. It commonly appears every Night, and continues till Break of Day. A Woman in the Neighbourhood says

100. *Pecunia non olet.*

she has seen it every Night for these six Weeks past.

1723

Spring: Two pirate vessels that had been capturing ships off the Atlantic coast were intercepted when they mistakenly attempted to attack the HMS *Greyhound* under Captain Peter Solgard, supposing this to be just another merchant vessel. 36 of the pirates, including Edward Law and Charles Harris, were taken to Newport to be tried. In a 2-day trial, 26 of the 36 were sentenced to hang (2 were recommended for royal pardon and 8 were acquitted). Although 3 of the condemned 26 managed an escape from the jail, they were recaptured. For the very first time in [RHODE ISLAND](#), a conviction was obtained in a case of piracy and the condemned pirates were [HANGED](#). When the 26 men were hanged, on Gravelly Point below the highwater mark, their pirate “Blew Flag” was nailed to their scaffold. This pirate flag was described as depicting on its blue background “an Anatomy with an Hour-Glass in one hand and a dart in the heart with 3 drops of Blood proceeding from it, in the other” (an “Anatomy” was not exactly a depiction of a human skeleton, but filled approximately the same iconic function).



(It is a lot easier to hang strangers, than it is to hang one’s friends and neighbors! Despite the fact that Newport had been for like generations a pirate community, or at least a community in cahoots with pirates –a community with its hands deep in the pockets of pirates– only one of these 26 [HANGED](#) men, 28-year-old William Blades, had been a [RHODE ISLAND](#) native.)¹⁰¹

101. There is a great similarity between this Rhode Island hanging of 26 pirates and a hanging of seven pirates that had occurred in 1718 on New Providence Island in the Bahamas. That hanging of seven had once and for all destroyed piracy as based on islands in the Caribbean. This hanging of twenty-six would once and for all destroy piracy as based in the Narragansett Bay of New England.

October: The indentured apprentice Benjamin Franklin, beginning a lifetime of free thinking and of thinly disguised or quite blatant opportunism, walked away from his obligations to his brother in Boston, moving to the city where brothers love one another, called Philadelphia. (In this year he also abandoned his vegetarian principles.)

Thus it was that in the pages of the New England Courant there appeared the following famous advertisement:

James Franklin, printer in Queen's Street, wants a likely lad for an apprentice.



Along the way, the ship stopped off in Newport, RHODE ISLAND and picked up more passengers, some of whom were QUAKERS who would proffer to young Ben some gratis but valuable counsel.

Ben Franklin's "Autobiography"

At Newport we took in a number of passengers for New York, among which were two young women, companions, and a grave, sensible, matron-like Quaker woman, with her attendants. I had shown an obliging readiness to do her some little services, which impress'd her I suppose with a degree of good will toward me; therefore, when she saw a daily growing familiarity between me and the two young women, which they appear'd to encourage, she took me aside, and said: "Young man, I am concern'd for thee, as thou has no friend with thee, and seems not to know much of the world, or of the snares youth is expos'd to; depend upon it, those are very bad women; I can see it in all their actions; and if thee art not upon thy guard, they will draw thee into some danger; they are strangers to thee, and I advise thee, in a friendly concern for thy welfare, to have no acquaintance with them." As I seem'd at first not to think so ill of them as she did, she mentioned some things she had observ'd and heard that had escap'd my notice, but now convinc'd me she was right. I thank'd her for her kind advice, and promis'd to follow it. When we arriv'd at New York, they told me where they liv'd, and invited me to come and see them; but I avoided it, and it was well I did; for the next day the captain miss'd a silver spoon and some other things, that had been taken out of his cabbins, and, knowing that these were a couple of strumpets, he got a warrant to search their lodgings, found the stolen goods, and had the thieves punish'd. So, tho' we had escap'd a sunken rock, which we scrap'd upon in the passage, I thought this escape of rather more importance to me.

Since Ben was only dealing with women during this period of his life for the purposes known as health and hygiene (otherwise known as purposes of venery), he confessed, of course this was the sort of advice he was prepared to pay attention to. Just use them, Ben, don't let them use you!

In Philadelphia he obtaining remunerative employment in a Mr. Keimer's printing-office, after encountering

some local **QUAKERS** whom, he noticed, also behaved considerably toward him:

Ben Franklin’s “Autobiography”

Then I walked up the street, gazing about till near the market-house I met a boy with bread. I had made many a meal on bread, and, inquiring where he got it, I went immediately to the baker’s he directed me to, in Second-street, and ask’d for bisket, intending such as we had in Boston; but they, it seems, were not made in Philadelphia. Then I asked for a three-penny loaf, and was told they had none such. So not considering or knowing the difference of money, and the greater cheapness nor the names of his bread, I made him give me three-penny worth of any sort. He gave me, accordingly, three great puffy rolls. I was surpriz’d at the quantity, but took it, and, having no room in my pockets, walk’d off with a roll under each arm, and eating the other. Thus I went up Market-street as far as Fourth-street, passing by the door of Mr. Read, my future wife’s father; when she, standing at the door, saw me, and thought I made, as I certainly did, a most awkward, ridiculous appearance. Then I turned and went down Chestnut-street and part of Walnut-street, eating my roll all the way, and, corning round, found myself again at Market-street wharf, near the boat I came in, to which I went for a draught of the river water; and, being filled with one of my rolls, gave the other two to a woman and her child that came down the river in the boat with us, and were waiting to go farther.

Thus refreshed, I walked again up the street, which by this time had many clean-dressed people in it, who were all walking the same way. I joined them, and thereby was led into the great meeting-house of the Quakers near the market. I sat down among them, and, after looking round awhile and hearing nothing said, being very drowsy thro’ labor and want of rest the preceding night, I fell fast asleep, and continued so till the meeting broke up, when one was kind enough to rouse me. This was, therefore, the first house I was in, or slept in, in Philadelphia.

Walking down again toward the river, and, looking in the faces of people, I met a young Quaker man, whose countenance I lik’d, and, accosting him, requested he would tell me where a stranger could get lodging. We were then near the sign of the Three Mariners. “Here,” says he, “is one place that entertains strangers, but it is not a reputable house; if thee wilt walk with me, I’ll show thee a better.” He brought me to the Crooked Billet in Water-street. Here I got a dinner; and, while I was eating it, several sly questions were asked me, as it seemed to be suspected from my youth and appearance, that I might be some runaway.

Yeah, Quaker, don’t try to out-sly young Ben the runaway, you’re playing that game with an expert here!

1724

May 10: George Wanton was born in Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**.

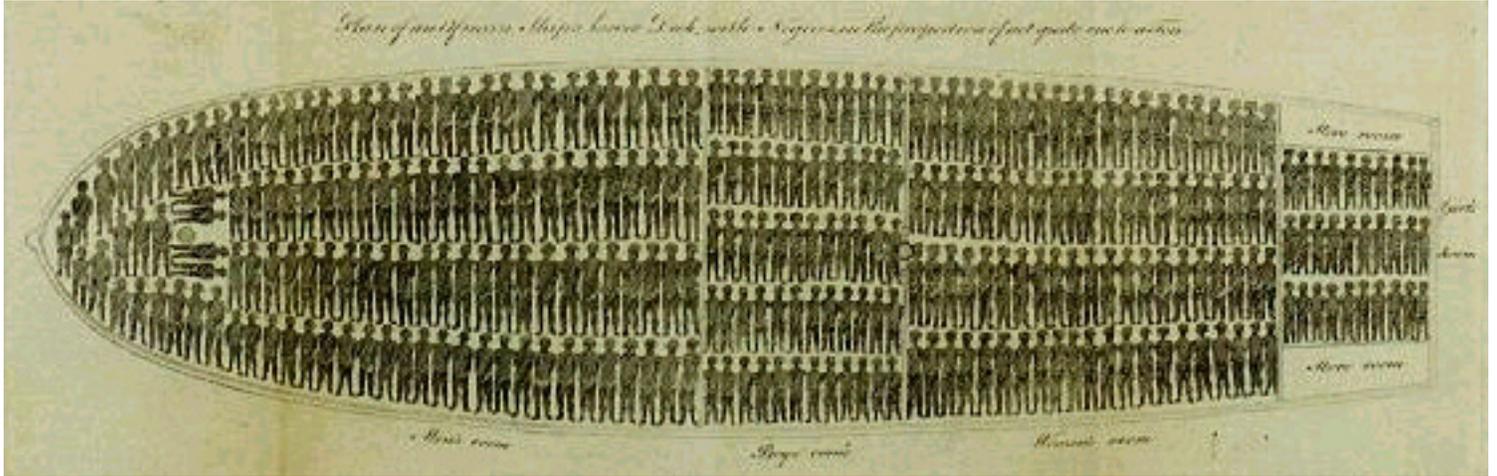
1725

John Comer relieved his redemption anxieties by having himself re-baptized, and was admitted to the Baptist church in Boston. He was invited to teach school at Swanzy in the Bay Colony, and moved there. He began preaching there, only to find himself becoming involved in a doctrinal dispute with elders of the congregation. He extricated himself from this situation by accepting an invitation to preach at Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**.

NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

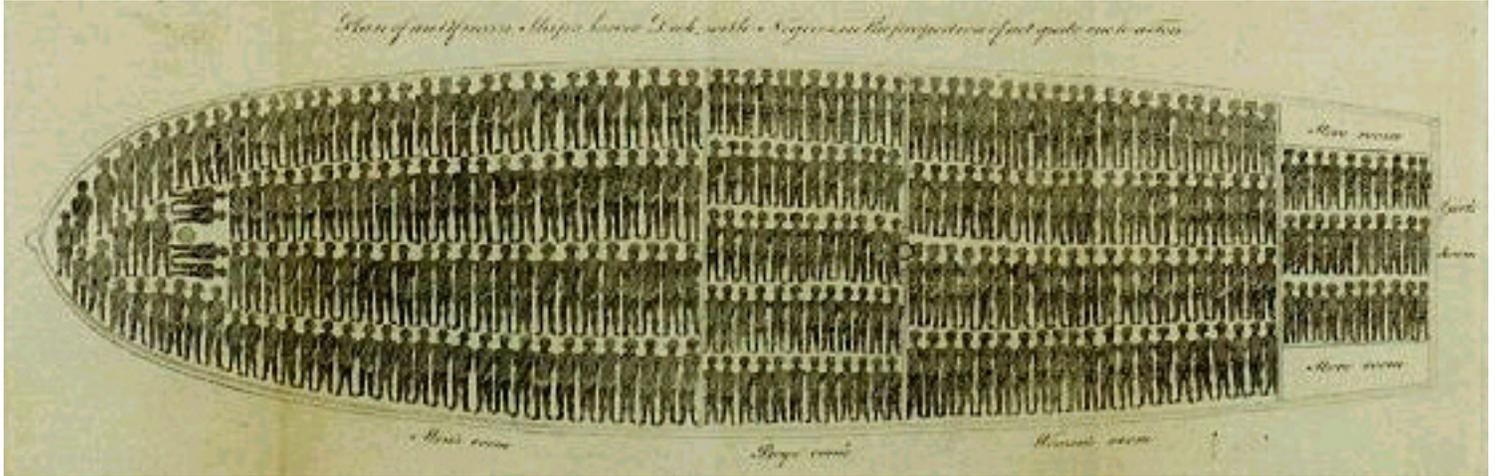
January 7: Captain James Hester sailed his vessel from [RHODE ISLAND](#) toward Africa. He was up to no good.



September 30: Captain James Hester brought his negrero, which had just been on a trip to the Guinea coast of Africa for slaves, into the safe harbor of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).



December 28: Captain Thurston sailed from Newport, RHODE ISLAND toward Guinea. He was up to no good.

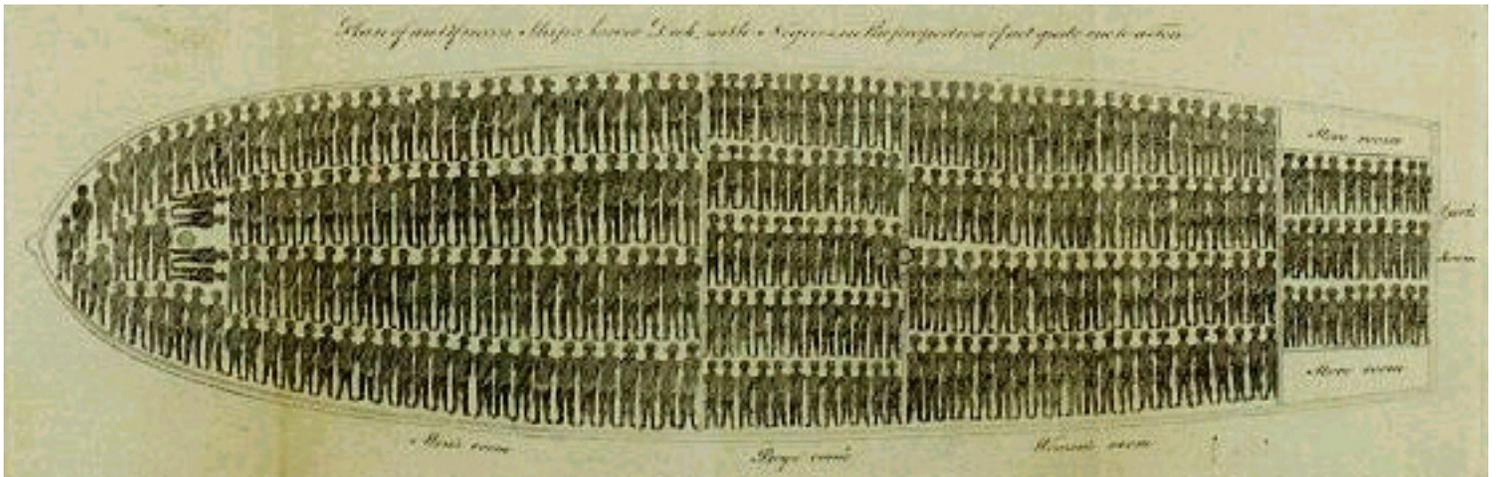


1726

John Comer and Mrs. Sarah Rogers of Newport, RHODE ISLAND were married. He was ordained as a Baptist minister by William Peckom and Samuel Maxwell. In his diary, he declared the articles of his faith. Also, he prepared a listing of the other churches and pastors in Newport. Also, he described a murder, a suicide, and a remarkable rainbow of this year.



In RHODE ISLAND harbors alone, during this year alone, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, two negeros were being fitted out for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109 –as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos– then a total of something more than 200 souls would have been being transported over the dread Middle Passage during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone.



NEWPORT RI

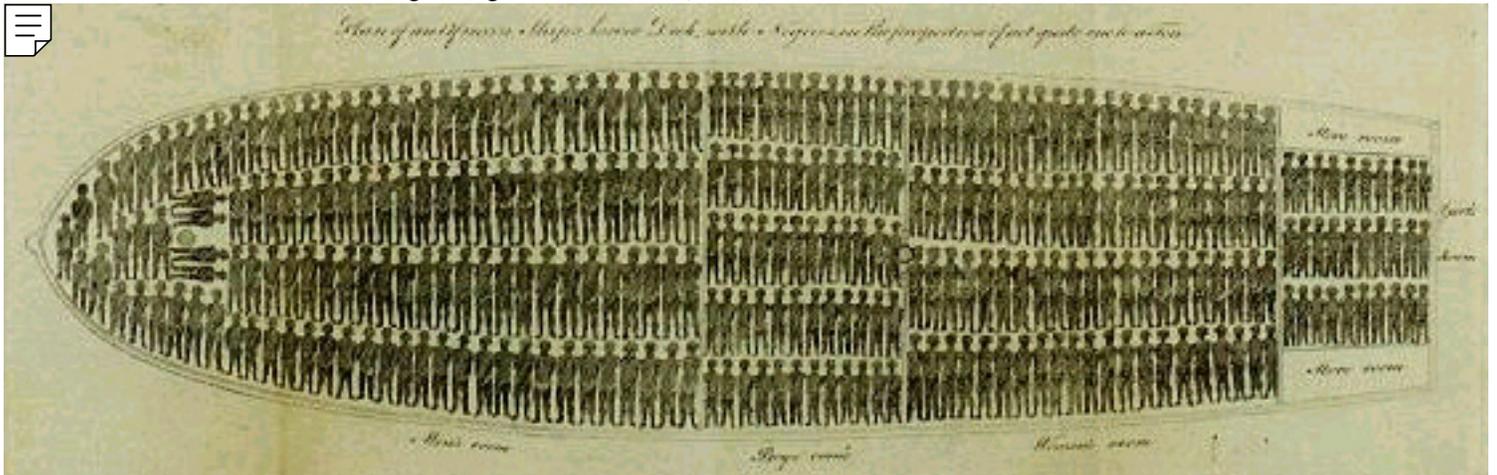
NEWPORT RI

Mid-September: George Berkeley of the Church of England embarked for America, where he would land at Newport in the **RHODE ISLAND** colony as the mainland port most convenient to the island of Bermuda, attempting to induce the course of empire westward to wend its weary way to that Shakespearean isle. On arrival he would purchase farmland near Newport and build “Whitehall,” named grandiloquently after the English palace.¹⁰² The shoreline about a mile from the house, had a cleft in the rocks which would become his retreat for writing and reflection. Either while aboard ship on his way here, or at this Whitehall hideaway, the peripatetic coal-tar philosopher/theologian penned his famous poem “On the Prospects of Planting Arts and Learning in America.” A great university in Bermuda he would not succeed in founding, nor would he make it across the isthmus of Panama or around the Horn to Berkeley in California, which anyway didn’t exist yet, but while here in Rhode Island, marking time until into the year 1731, waiting for royally promised funds, waiting for his ship to come in, he would help to form a philosophical (which is to say, scientific) society at Newport¹⁰³ and would preach regularly in the old wooden Trinity Church that had been established by, among others, the former pirate Captain Thomas Paine.



Westward the course of empire takes its way;
 The first four acts already past,
 A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
 Time’s noblest offspring is the last.

December: Captain George Scott sailed out of the harbor of Newport, **RHODE ISLAND** — off to collect another human cargo along the African coast, tra-la.



102. You can visit this building to see a portrait of the personage. You can visit only from July 1 to Labor Day; the stricture is that the structure is presently being utilized by the National “Help, I’ve descended and can’t get up!” Society of the Colonial Dames.

103. Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**’s Redwood Library at 50 Bellevue Avenue, the oldest library building in continuous use in the USA, would be a legacy of this Philosophical Society.

1729

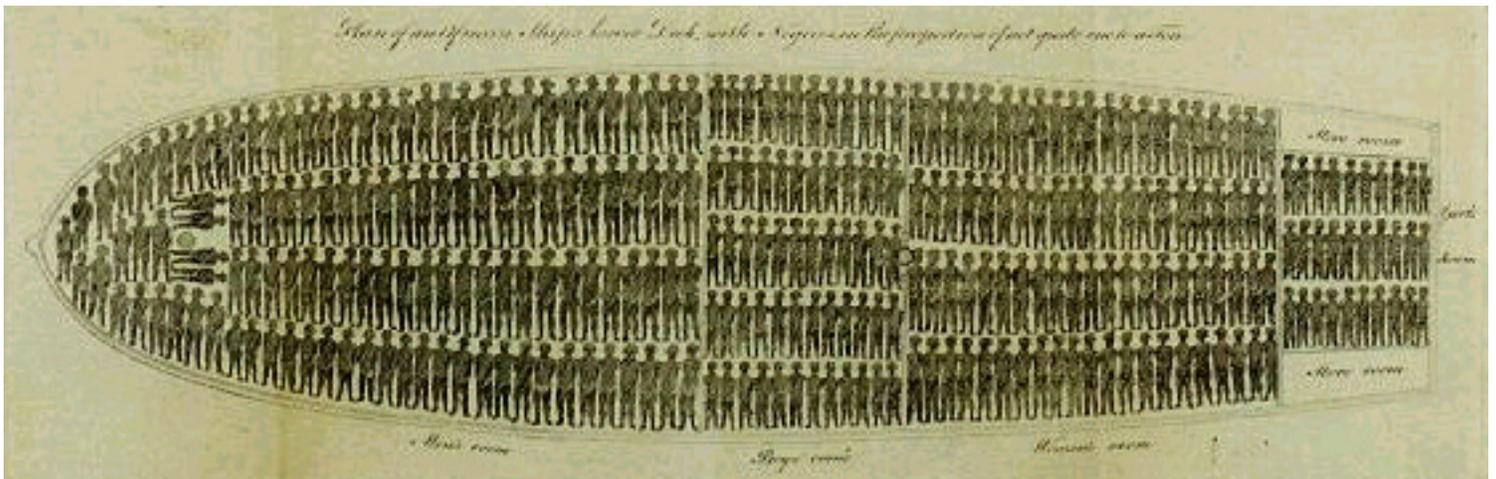
The Great Meetinghouse of the Friends in Newport, Rhode Island was again enlarged.

In his diary, the Reverend John Comer of Newport, Rhode Island indicated that he had been visited by Bishop George Berkeley. He also provided an account of the experience of Captain Robert Gardner, who while on a voyage to Antigua had been led by a dream to rescue some shipwrecked sailors.

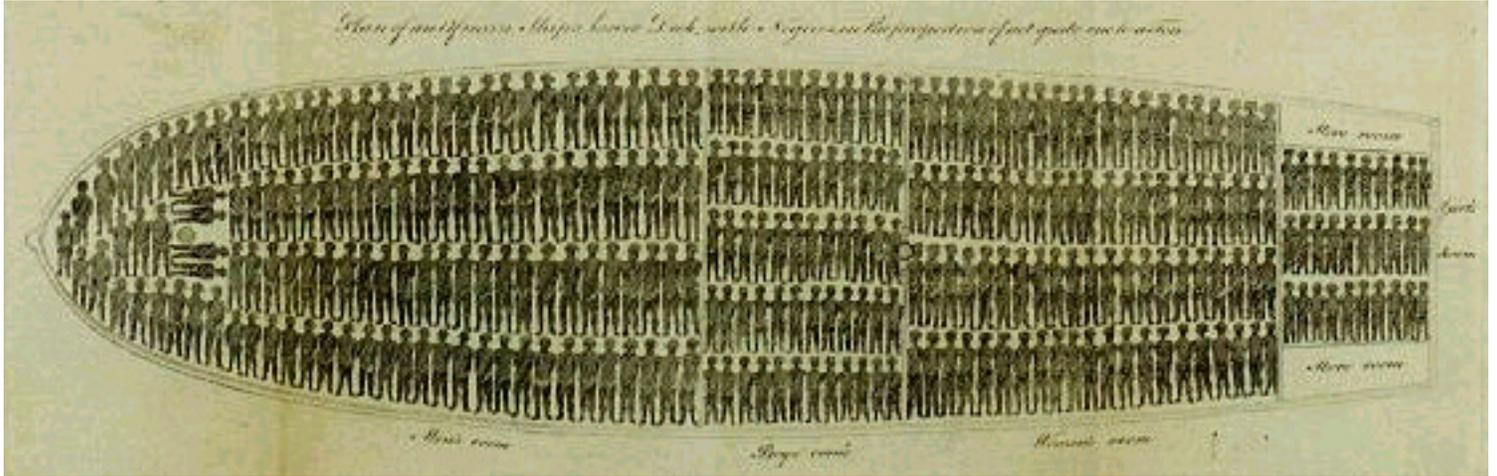
March: At Newport, RHODE ISLAND, there was an appearance of the aurora borealis.

March: In PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND, the Reverend Joseph O'Hara was jailed for having broken into his church after being expelled from it by his former congregation.

July: Captain George Scott arrived in the harbor of Newport, RHODE ISLAND with yet another cargo of human flesh fresh from the African coast.



October: Captain George Scott sailed out of the harbor of Newport, **RHODE ISLAND** — off to collect another human cargo along the African coast, tra-la.



1730

June 1: Captain George Scott, just turned 24 years of age, set out in his *Little George* for a Middle Passage across the Atlantic Ocean. Crammed beneath the decks of his sloop was a cargo of 35 black men and 61 black women and black children, on their way to Newport, Rhode Island and to a market for human flesh.

English society placed a high value on appropriate conduct. For instance, on this day at the Tyburn **GALLOWS** outside London, John Doyle and John Young were paying a price for their crimes as highwaymen.¹⁰⁴

When once men have plunged themselves so far into sensual pleasures as to lose all sense of any other delight than that arises from the gratification of the senses, there is no great cause of wonder if they addict themselves to illegal methods of gaining wherewith to purchase such enjoyments; since the want of virtue easily draws on the loss of all other principles, nor can it be hoped from a man who has delivered himself over to the dominion of these vices that he should stop short at the lawful means of obtaining money by which alone he can be enabled to possess them.

Common women are usually the first bane of those unhappy persons who forfeit their lives to the Law as the just punishment of their offences; these women, I say, are so far from having the least concern whether their paramours run any unhappy courses to obtain the sums necessary to supply their mutual extravagance, that on the contrary they are ever ready, by oblique hints and insinuations, to put them upon such dangerous exploits which as they are sure to reap the fruits of, so sometimes when they grow weary of them, they find it an easy method to get rid of them and at the same time put money in their own pockets. Yet so blind are these unhappy wretches, that

104. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERIES, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward

although such things fall out yearly, yet they are never to be warned, but run into the snare with as much readiness as if they were going unto the possession of certain and lasting happiness. But to come to the adventures of the unhappy person whose life we are going to relate. John Doyle was born in the town of Carrough, in Ireland, and of very honest parents who gave him as good education as could be expected in that country, instructing him in writing and accounts, and made some progress in Latin. When he was fit for a trade, his friends agreed to put him out, and not thinking they should find a master good enough for him in a country place, they sent him to Dublin, and bound him to a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler in St. Thomas's Street, whom he faithfully served seven years, and his master gave him a good character. Being out of his time, his master prevailed with him to work journey-work for him, which he did for nine months; but having got acquainted by that time with some of the town ladies and pretending to his friends that he was in hopes of better business, his friends remitted him fifty pounds to help him forward.

He lived well while that money lasted, but when it was almost spent, he knew not what to turn himself to, for working did not agree with him. He took a resolution to come to England, and on the 19th of April, 1715, he came over in a packet-boat. Having no more money left than three pounds ten shillings, and not seeing which way he could get a further supply unless he went to work, which he could not endure, he resolved to rob on the highway; and to fit him for it, he bought a pair of pistols at West Chester which cost him forty shillings. He continued in that city till the Chester coach was to go for London. At four miles distant from the town he attacked it, and robbed four passengers that were in it of fourteen pounds, six shillings and ninepence, two silver watches and a mourning ring, which was the first attempt of that kind that ever he made in his life; then he went off a by-way undiscovered.

Having got a pretty good booty, he travelled across the country to Shrewsbury, and having stayed there about two days, he happened to meet a man that had been formerly a collector on the road, who had a horse to sell. He bought the horse for seven guineas, though indeed it was worth twenty, as it proved afterwards; no man soever was master of a better bred horse for the highway. He was not willing to stay long at Shrewsbury, so he went from thence and going along the country, met two ladies in a small chaise, with only one servant and a pair of horses. He robbed them of a purse with twenty-nine half guineas, nine shillings in silver and twopence brass, and two gold watches. The servant who rode by had a case of pistols which he took from him, and then made off undiscovered. His horse at that time was much better acquainted with coming up to a coach door than he was. Sometime afterwards he passed across the country, and came to Newbury, in Berkshire, where he remained for about fourteen days, during which time he was very reserved and kept no company. But growing weary, he departed from that place the same morning that the Newbury coach was to set out for London: and when it was about five miles distant from the town of Newbury, he came up to the coach door, and making a ceremony, as became a man of business, demanded their all, which they very readily consented to deliver, which proved to be about twenty-nine pounds in money, a silver watch, a plain wedding ring, a tortoiseshell snuff box, and a very good whip.

There was also a family ring which a gentleman begged very hard for, whereupon by his earnest application he gave it back, and the man assured him he would never appear against him. He was a man of honour, for he happened to meet him some time after at the Rummer and Horseshoe in Drury Lane, where he treated Doyle handsomely, and showed him the ring, and withal declared that he would not be his enemy on any account whatsoever.

Doyle being at this time a young beginner, thought what he got for the preceding time to be very well, and in a few days after this arrived at Windsor, where he stayed one night, and there being a gentleman's family bound for London, that lay that night at the Mermaid Inn in the town, he changed his lodging and removed to the inn; and having stayed there that night, he minded where they put their valuable baggage up. The next morning he paid his reckoning and came away, and got about four miles out of the town before them; then coming up and making the usual ceremony, he demanded their money, watches and rings. The gentleman in the coach pulled out a blunderbuss, but Doyle soon quelled him by clapping a pistol to his nose, telling him that if he stirred hand or foot he was a dead man. Then he made him give his blunderbuss first, then his money which was fifty guineas, fifteen shillings in silver, and five-pence in brass, a woman's gold watch and a pocket book in which were seven bank-notes, which the gentleman said he took that day in order to pay his servants' wages. After this he made the best of his way to London and got into James's Street, Westminster, where he drank a pint of wine, and then crossed over to Lambeth, and put up his horse at the Red Lion Inn, and stayed there that night.

The next morning he came to the Coach and Horses in Old Palace Yard, Westminster, where he dined, and about seven at night departed from thence and went to the Phoenix gaming-house in the Haymarket, to which place, he said, he believed a great many owe their ruin. He remained some time at the Phoenix, and seeing them gaming hard, he had a mind to have a touch at it; when coming into the ring he took the box in his turn, and in about thirty minutes lost thirty-seven pounds, which broke him. But having some watches about him, he went immediately to the Three Bowls in Market Lane, St. James, and pawned a gold watch for sixteen guineas; and returning back to the Phoenix went to gaming a second time, and in less than an hour recovered his money and forty-three pounds more. And seeing an acquaintance there he took him to the Cardigan's Head tavern, Charing Cross, and made merry. That night he lay at the White Bear in Piccadilly, and stayed there until the next evening, after which, having paid his reckoning, he went to Lambeth to his landlord who had his horse in his care, and remained there that night. The next morning he went away having discharged the house.

Having then a pretty sum of money about him, he had an inclination to see the country of Kent, and accordingly went that day to Greenwich, and put up his horse while he went to see the Hospital; and having baited the horse he parted from thence, and going over Blackheath, he happened to meet a gentleman, who proved to be Sir Gregory Page. Doyle took what money he had about him, which was about seventy guineas in a green purse, a watch, two gold seals and eighteen pence in silver. That night he rode away to Maidstone, and from thence to Canterbury.

In a few days he returned to London, and was for a long time silent, even for about six months, and never robbed or made an

attempt to rob any man, but kept his horse in a very good order, and commonly went in an afternoon to Hampstead, sometimes to Richmond, or to Hackney. In short, he knew all the roads about London in less than six months as well as any man in England. His money beginning now to grow short, not having turned out so long, and the keeping his horse on the other hand being costly, he resolved that his horse should pay for his own keeping, and turned out one evening and robbed a Jew of seventy-five pounds, and of his and his lady's watches, a gold box and some silver, and returned to town undiscovered. The next day Doyle went Brentford way, and coming to Turnham Green stayed some time at the Pack Horse, where he saw two Quakers on horseback. He rode gently after them till they got to Hounslow Heath, where he secured what money they had, which was something above a hundred pounds. They begged hard for some money back, when he gave them a guinea, taking from them their spurs and whips, and at some distance threw them away. Those two men, as he found some days after by the papers, were two meal factors that were going to High Wycombe market in Buckinghamshire, to buy either wheat or flour.

This last being a pretty good booty, he had a mind afterwards to go for Ireland and accordingly set out for his journey thither. He took shipping at King's Road near Bristol, on board a small vessel bound to Waterford, where he arrived and stayed at the Eagle in Waterford three days, and from thence went directly to Dublin. Doyle was not long in Dublin before he became acquainted with his wife, whom he courted for some time and was extravagant in spending his money on her. He also soon got acquainted with one N. B., a man now alive, and they turned out together. None was able to stand against them, for they had everything that came in their way, and in plain terms, there was not a man that carried money about him, within eight miles of Dublin, but if they met him they were sure to get what he had. Being grown so wicked Doyle was at length taken for a robber and committed to Newgate, then kept by one Mr. Hawkins, who used him so barbarously that he wished himself out of his hands. Accordingly he got his irons off and broke out of the gaol. Hawkins knowing all the bums¹⁰⁵ in Dublin, sent them up and down the city to take him, but to no purpose. However, they rooted him fairly out of that neighbourhood.

Then he returned to Waterford, where he appointed his wife and friend should meet him, which they did; and in about four hours after he came there he found them out, and there being a ship bound for Bristol, he sent them on board, agreed with the captain and went himself on board the same night. They hoisted their sails and got down to the Passage near Waterford, but the wind proving contrary, they were obliged to return back, and then concluded it was determined for Doyle to be taken; which he had been had he kept on board, but he luckily got on shore, when it was agreed to go to Cork. There they met with an honest cock of a landlord, and he kept himself very private, making the poor man believe that his companion and he were two that were raising men for the Chevalier's¹⁰⁶ service, and that their keeping so private proceeded from a fear of being discovered. The poor man had then a double regard for them, he being a lover in his heart

105. i.e., bailiffs, informers and spies.

106. The Pretender, whose name was only to be mentioned with baited breath.

of —. Doyle then sent his wife to seek for a ship; but Hawkins having pursued him from Dublin, happened to see her, and dogged her to the ship where she went on board, sending officers to search, for he was sure he should find him there. He was mistaken, but they took his poor wife up to see if they could make her discover where he was, and ordered a strong guard to bring her to Cork gaol. A boat was provided to bring her on shore, but she telling the men some plausible stories that her husband was not the man they represented him to be, one of the watermen having stripped off his clothes in order to row, and there being a great many honest fellows in the boat, they assisted her in putting on waterman's clothes, which as soon as done, she fairly got away from them, and came and acquainted Doyle that Hawkins was in town, and how she had been in danger. They then concluded on leaving Cork, hired horses that night, and came to a place called Mallow, within ten miles of Cork. The next day they travelled to Limerick, where Doyle bought a horse, bridle, etc., and went towards Galloway, and in all his journey round about got but two prizes, which did not amount to above fifteen pounds.

Sometime after, his wife was transported, which gave him a great deal of concern, and he could not be in any way content without her. So getting some money together he went to Virginia, and having arrived there soon met with her, having had intelligence where to enquire for her. The first house he came into was one William Dalton's, who had some days before bought the late noted James Dalton,¹⁰⁷ who was then his servant, whom he very often used to send along with Doyle in his boat to put him on board a ship. Then he thought it his best way to buy his wife's liberty, which he did, paying fifteen pounds for it.

He had then a considerable deal of money about him, and removed from that part of the country where she was known and went to New York. Being arrived there he soon got acquainted with some of his countrymen, with whom he had used to go a-hunting and to the horse races; so he spent some time in seeing the country. By chance he came to hear of a namesake of his, that lived in an island a little distant from New York, and being willing to see any of his name, he sent for him, and according to Doyle's request, he wrote to him that he would come the next day, which he did, and proved to be his uncle. The old man was overjoyed to see Doyle, and carried him home with him, where he stayed a long time, and spent a great deal of money.

His uncle was very much affronted at Doyle's ill-treatment of the natives, whom he severely beat, insomuch that the whole place was afraid of him, and all intended to join and take the Law of him. Soon after he departed from New York and went to Boston, where he remained some time, and at length he resolved within himself to settle and work at his trade, thinking it better to do so than to spend all his money, and be obliged to return to England or Ireland without a penny in his pocket. He did so, and having agreed with a master he went to work, and was very saving and frugal.

He remained with that man till by his wife's industry he had got, including what was his own, about two hundred pounds English money. Then he advised his wife to go for Ireland in the first ship that was bound that way, laying all her money out to

107. See page 533.

twenty pounds, and shipped the goods which he had brought on board for her account. She then went to Ireland and Doyle for England, promising to go over to her as soon as he could get some money, for he had then an inclination to leave off his old trade of collecting.

Being arrived at London, he met with a certain person with whom he joined, and as he himself terms it, never had man a braver companion, for let him push at what he would, his new companion never flinched one inch. They turned out about London for some time, and got a great deal of money, for nothing hardly missed them. They used a long time the roads about Hounslow, Hampstead, and places adjacent, until the papers began to describe them, on which they went into Essex, and robbed several graziers, farmers and others. Then they went to Bishop's Stortford, in Hertfordshire, where they robbed one man in particular who had his money tied up under his arm in a great purse. Doyle says that he had some intelligence from a friend that the man had money about him, he made him strip in buff, and then found out where he lodged it, and took it, but he did not use him in any way ill, for he says it was the man's business to conceal it, as much as his to discover it.

Doyle and his partner hearing of a certain fair which was to be held a few days after, they resolved to go to it, and coming there took notice who took most money. In the evening they took their horses, and about three miles distant from the town there was a green, over which the people were obliged to come from the fair. There came a great many graziers and farmers, whom they robbed of upwards of eight hundred pounds. At this time Doyle had in money and valuable things, such as diamonds, rings, watches, to the amount of about sixteen hundred pounds. His partner had also a great deal of money, but not so much as Doyle, by reason that he (D) had got some very often which he had no right to have a share of.

Doyle went again for Ireland, and carried all his money with him, and having a great many poor relations, distributed part of it amongst them; some he lent, which he could never get again, and in a little his money grew short, having frequented horse races and all public places. However, before all was spent he returned to England. Following his old course of life, he happened into several broils, with which a little money and a few friends he got over. In a short space of time he became acquainted with Benjamin Wileman. They two, with another person concerned with them, committed several robberies. At length they were discovered, apprehended and committed to Newgate. Wileman, it seems, had an itching to become an evidence against Doyle and W. G. But Doyle made himself an evidence, being really, as he said, for his own preservation and not for the sake of any reward.

Doyle's wife being for a second time transported, he went with her in the same ship, and having arrived in Virginia, slaved there some time, until he began to grow weary of the place. But as he was always too indulgent to her, he bought her her liberty, and shipped her and himself on board the first ship that came to England, when in seven weeks time they arrived in the Downs. Soon after they came up to England, but were not long in town before his wife was taken up for returning from transportation, and committed to Newgate, where she remained until the sessions following, and being brought upon her trial, pleaded guilty. When they came to pass sentence upon her, she produced his

Majesty's most gracious pardon, and was admitted to bail to plead the same, and thereupon discharged. Doyle, a short time after, went to the West of England, where he slaved some time, following his old way of life; and associating himself with a certain companion, got a considerable sum of money, and came to Marlborough. And having continued some time in that neighbourhood, they usually kept the markets, where they commonly cleared five pounds a day. Going from Marlborough they came to Hungerford, and put up their horses at the George Inn; and having ordered something for dinner, saw some graziers on the road, but one of them being an old sportsman, and a brother tradesman of Doyle's formerly, he knew the said Doyle immediately, by the description given of him, and very honestly came to him, and told him that he had a charge of money about him, and withal begged that he would not hurt him, since he had made so ingenuous a confession, desiring Doyle to make the best of his way to another part of the country, telling him at the same time where he lived in London, and that if he should act honourably by him, he would put a thousand pounds in his pocket in a month's time. According to the grazier's directions, Doyle and his companions departed, but having met, as Doyle phrases it, with a running chase in their cross way, which they had taken for safety, they were obliged to return back into the main road again, and by accident put up at the same inn where the grazier and his companions were that evening. The grazier, as soon as he saw Doyle, came in and drank a bottle with him, and then retired to his companions, without taking any manner of notice of him.

As they came for London, they took everything that came into their net, and in three days time Doyle paid his brother sportsman, the grazier, a visit, who received him handsomely, and appointed him to meet him the next market day at the Greyhound in Smithfield, in order to make good part of his promise to him. Doyle and his companion went to him, put up their horses at the same inn and passed for country farmers. This grazier, who formerly had been one of the same profession being now grown honest and bred a butcher, was then turned salesman in Smithfield, and sold cattle for country graziers, and sent them their money back by their servants who had brought the cattle to town. Having drunk a glass of wine together, they began to talk about business, and the grazier being obliged to go into the market to sell some beasts, desired Doyle and his companion to stay there until he returned. When he came he gave them some little instructions how they should proceed in an affair he had then in view to serve them in, and having taken his advice, they rode out of town; and it being a West Country fair they rode Turnham Green way.

They had not time to drink a pint of wine before the West Country chapman came ajogging along. They took two hundred and forty pounds from him, making (as D. terms it) a much quicker bargain with him than he had done with the butcher at Smithfield. The chapman begged hard for some money to carry him home to his family, and after they had given him two guineas, he said to them that he had often travelled that road with five hundred pounds about him, and never had been stopped. To which Doyle replied, that half the highwaymen who frequented the road were but mere old women, otherwise he would never have had that to brag of, and then parted. Doyle says that the honest man at Smithfield had poundage of him as well as from the grazier, so

that he acted in a double capacity. That night they came to London, and having put up their horses, put on other clothes and went to Smithfield, where not finding the butcher at home, they write a note and left it for an appointment to meet him at the Horn Tavern in Fleet Street, where they had not stayed long before he came. After taking a cheerful glass they talked the story over, and out of the booty Doyle gave turn fifty guineas, after which the butcher promised to be his friend upon a better affair. After paying the reckoning they parted and appointed to meet the next market day at Smithfield. They went at the time appointed, and having drank a morning glass, stepped into the market and stayed some time. Their brother sportsman being very busy, he made excuse to Doyle and his companion, telling them there was nothing to be done in their way till the evening, desiring them to be patient. They remained in and about Smithfield till then, and market being entirely over, their friend came up to the place appointed, and showed them a man on horseback to whom he had just paid fifty pounds. Doyle and his companion immediately called for their horses, took leave of their friend, and kept in sight of the countryman until he was out of town. And when he was got near the Adam and Eve, at Kensington, they came up to him, and made a ceremony, as became men of their profession. He was very unwilling to part from his money, making an attempt to ride away, but they soon overtook him, and after some dispute took every penny that he received in Smithfield, and for his residing gave him back only a crown to bear his charges home. In his memoirs Doyle makes this observation, that they always robbed between sun and sun, so that the persons robbed might make the county pay them that money back if they thought fit to sue them for it.¹⁰⁸ Next morning Doyle and his companion came to the place appointed, and not meeting with their brother sportsman sent for him, where they drank together, and talked as usual about business, paying him poundage out of what money they had collected on his information (for they usually dealt with him as a custom-house officer does by an informer); after which they parted for that time, and did not meet for a month after. Afterwards they went up and down Hertfordshire, but got scarce money enough to bear their expenses; but where there were small gettings they lived the more frugally, for Doyle observed that if the country did not bear their expenses wherever he travelled, he thought it very hard, and that if he failed of gaming one day, he commonly got as much the next as he could well destroy. Hitherto we have kept very close to those memoirs which Mr. Doyle left behind him, which I did with this view, that my readers might have some idea of what these people think of themselves. I shall now bring you to the conclusion of his story, by informing you that finding himself beset at the several lodgings which he kept by way of precaution, he for some days behaved himself with much circumspection; but happening to forget his pistols, he was seized, coming out of an inn in Drury Lane, and though he made as much resistance as he was able, yet they forced him unto a coach and conveyed him to Newgate. It is hard to say what expectations he entertained after he was once apprehended,

108. Passengers robbed on the highway between sunrise and sunset, could sue the county for the amount of their loss, it being the duty of the officials to keep the roads safe.

but it is reasonable to believe that he had strong hopes of life, notwithstanding his pleading guilty at his trial, for he dissembled until the time of the coming down of a death warrant, and then declared he was a Roman Catholic, and not a member of the Church of England, as he had hitherto pretended.

He seemed to be a tolerably good-natured man, but excessively vicious at the same time that he was extravagantly fond of the woman he called his wife. He took no little pleasure in the relations of those adventures which happened to him in his exploits on the highway, and expressed himself with much seeming satisfaction, because as he said, he had never been guilty of beating or using passengers ill, much less of wounding or attempting to murder them. In general terms, he pretended to much penitence, but whether it was that he could not get over the natural vivacity of his own temper, or that the principles of the Church of Rome, as is too common a case, proved a strong opiate in his conscience, however it was, I say, Doyle did not seem to have any true contrition for his great and manifold offences. On the contrary, he appeared with some levity, even when on the very point of death.

He went to execution in a mourning coach; all the way he read with much seeming attention in a little Popish manual, which had been given him by one of his friends. At the tree he spoke a little to the people, told them that his wife had been a very good wife to him, let her character in other respects be what it would. Then he declared he had left behind him memoirs of his life and conduct, to which he had nothing to add there, and from which I have taken verbatim a great part of what I have related. And then, having nothing more to offer to the world, he submitted to death on the first of June, 1730, but in what year of his age I cannot say.

However, before I make an end of what relates to Mr. Doyle, it would be proper to acquaint the public that the vanity of his wife extended so far as to make a pompous funeral for him at St. Sepulchre's church, whereat she, as chief mourner assisted, and was led by a gentleman whom the world suspected to be of her husband's employment.



I have more than once remarked in the course of these memoirs that of all crimes, cruelty makes men the most generally hated, and that from this reasonable cause, that they seem to have taken up an aversion to their own kind. This was remarkably the case of the unhappy man of whom we are now speaking.

He was, it seems, the son of very honest and industrious parents, his father being a gardener at Kensington. From him he received as good an education as it was in his power to give him, and was treated with all the indulgence that could be expected from a tender parent; and it seems that after five years' stay at

NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

school, he was qualified for any business whatsoever. So after consulting his own inclinations he was put out apprentice to a coach-maker in Long Acre, where he stayed not long; but finding all work disagreeable to him, he therefore resolved to be gone, let the consequence be what it would. When this resolve was once

The IDLE 'PRENTICE Executed at Tyburn.



Proverbs CHAP. I. Verſ. 27, 28.
When fear cometh, as discipline, and their
deſtruction cometh as a whirlwind, when
deſtreſs cometh upon them, then they ſhall
call upon God, but he will not anſwer.

taken, it was but a very short time before it was put into execution. Living now at large, and not knowing how to gain money enough to support himself, and therefore being in very great straits, he complied with the solicitations of some hackney-coachmen, who advised him to learn their trade. They took some pains to instruct him, employed him often, and in about six months time he became perfect master of his business, and drove for Mr. Blunt, in Piccadilly. His behaviour here was so honest that Mr. Blunt gave him a good character, and he thereby obtained the place of a gentleman's coachmen. In a short time he saved money and began to have some relish for an honest life; and continuing industriously to hoard up what he received either in wages or vales [tips] at last by these methods he drew together a very considerable sum of money.

And then it came into his head to settle himself in an honest way of life, in which design his father gave him all the

encouragement that was in his power, telling him in order to do it, he should marry an honest, virtuous woman. Whereupon, with the advice and consent of his parents, he married a young woman of a reputable family from Kentish Town, who, as to fortune, brought him a pretty little addition to his own savings, so that altogether he had, according to his own account, a very pretty competency wherewith to begin the world.

For some time after his marriage he indulged himself in living without employment, but finding such a course wasted his little stock very fast, he began to apply his thoughts to the consideration of what course was the most likely to get his bread in. After beating his brains for some little time on this subject he at last resolved on keeping a public-house; which agreeing very well with his father's and relations' notions, he thereupon immediately took the King's Arms, in Red Lion Street, where for some time he continued to have very good business. In all, he remained there about five years, and might in that time have got a very pretty sum of money if he had not been so unhappy as to grow proud, as soon as he had anything in his pocket. It was not long, therefore, before he gave way to his own roving disposition, going over to Ireland, where he remained for a considerable space, living by his wits as he expresses it, or, in the language of honest people, by defrauding others.

But Ireland is a country where such sort of people are not likely to support themselves long; money is far from being plentiful, and though the common people are credulous in their nature, yet tradesmen and the folks of middling ranks are as suspicious as any nation in the world. The county of West Meath was the place where he had fixed his residence for the greatest part of the time he continued in the island, but at last it grew too hot for him. The inhabitants became sensible of his way of living, and gave him such disturbance that he found himself under an indispensable necessity of quitting that place as soon as possibly he could; and so having picked up as much money as would pay for his passage, he came over again into England, out of humour with rambling while he felt the uneasiness it had brought upon him, but ready to take it up again as soon as ever his circumstances were made a little easy, which in his present condition was not likely to happen in haste.

His friends received him very coldly, his parents had it not in their power to do more for him. In a word, the countenance of the world frowned upon him, and everybody treated him with that disdain and contempt which his foolish behaviour deserved. However, instead of reclaiming him, this forced him upon worse courses. His wife, it seems, either died in his absence, or was dead before he went abroad, and soon after his return he contracted an acquaintance with a woman, who was at that time cook in the family of a certain bishop; her he courted and a short time after, married. She brought him not only some ready money, but also goods to a pretty large value. Young being not a bit mended by his misfortunes, squandered away the first in a very short time, and turned the last into ready money. However, these supplies were of not very long continuance, and with much importunity his friends, in order, if it were possible, to keep him honest, got him in a small place in the Revenue, and he was put in as one of the officers to survey candles. In this post he continued for about a twelvemonth, and then relapsing into his former idle and profligate courses, he was quickly suspected and thereby put to his shifts again, though his wife at that

time was in place, and helped him very frequently with money. This, it seems, was too servile a course for a man of Mr. Young's spirit to take, so that he picked up as much as bought him a pair of pistols, and then went upon the highway, to which it seems the foolish pride of not being dependant upon his wife did at that time not a little contribute. In his first adventure in this new employment, he got fifteen guineas, but being in a very great apprehension of a pursuit, his fears engaged him to fly down to Bristol, in order, if it were possible, to avoid them. After staying there some considerable time, he began at last to take heart, and to fancy he might be forgotten. Upon these hopes he resolved with himself to come up towards London again; and taking advantage of a person travelling with him to Uxbridge, he made use of every method in his power to insinuate himself into his fellow traveller's good graces. This he effected, insomuch that at High Wycombe, in Buckinghamshire, as Young himself told the story, he prevailed on him to lend him three half-crowns to defray his expenses, pretending that he had some friend or relation hard by who would repay him. But unfortunately for the man, he had talked too freely of a sum of money which he pretended to have about him. It thereupon raised an inclination in Young to strip him and rob him of this supposed great prize; for which purpose he attacked him in a lone place, and not only threatened him with shooting him, but as he pretended, by his hand shaking, was as good as his word, and actually wounded him in such a manner as he in all probability at that time took to be mortal; but taking advantage of the condition in which the poor man was, he made the best of his way off, and was so lucky as to escape for the present, although that crime brought him afterwards to his execution.

When he had considered a little the nature of the fact which he had committed, it appeared even to himself of so black and barbarous a nature that he resolved to fly to the West of England, in order to remain there for some time. But from this he was deterred by looking into a newspaper and finding himself advertised there; the man whom he had shot being also said to be dead, this put him into such a consternation that he returned directly to London, and going to a place hard by where his wife lived, he sent for her, and told her that he was threatened with an unfortunate affair which might be of the greatest ill-consequence to him if he should be discovered. She seemed to be extremely moved at his misfortunes, and gave him what money she could spare, which was not a little, insomuch that Young at last began to suspect she made bold now and then to borrow of her mistress; but if she did, that was a practice he could forgive her. At last he proposed taking a lodging for himself at Horsely Down,¹⁰⁹ as a place the likeliest for him to be concealed in. There his wife continued to supply him, until one Sunday morning she came in a great hurry and brought with her a pretty handsome parcel of guineas. Young could not help suspecting she did not come very honestly by them. However, if he had the money he troubled not his head much which way he came by it, and he had so good a knack of wheedling her that he got twenty pounds out of her that Sunday.

A very few days after, intelligence was got of his retreat, and

109. This district, at the Dockhead end of Tooley Street, was at that time a sort of No Man's Land, where horses were grazed and a few poverty-stricken wretches lived in sheds and holes in the ground.

the man whom he had robbed and shot made so indefatigable a search after him, that he was taken up and committed to the New Gaol, and his wife, a very little time after, was committed to Newgate for breaking open her lady's escrutoire, and robbing her of a hundred guineas. This was what Young said himself and I repeat it because I have his memoirs before me. Yet in respect to truth, I shall be obliged to say something of another nature in its due place; but to go on with our narration according to the time in which facts happened.

A *Habeas Corpus* was directed to the sheriff of Surrey, whereupon Young was brought to Newgate, and at the next sessions of the Old Bailey was indicted for the aforesaid robbery, which was committed in the county of Middlesex. The charge against him was for assaulting Thomas Stinton, in a field or open place near the Highway, and taking from him a mare of the value of seven pounds, a bridle value one shilling and sixpence, a saddle value twelve shillings, three broad-pieces of gold and nine shillings in silver, at the same time putting the said Thomas Stinton in fear of his life.

Upon this indictment the prosecutor deposed that meeting with the prisoner about seven miles on this side of Bristol, and being glad of each other's company, they continued and lodged together till they came to Oxford; where the prisoner complaining that he was short of money, the prosecutor lent him a crown out of his pocket, and at Loudwater, the place where they lodged next night, he lent him half a crown more. The next morning they came for London, and being a little on this side of Uxbridge, Young said he had a friend in Hounslow who would advance him the money which he had borrowed from the prosecutor, and thereupon desired Mr. Stinton to go with him thither, to which he agreed; and Young thereupon persuaded him to go by a nearer way, and under that pretence after making him leap hedges and ditches, at last brought him to a place by the river side, where on a sudden he knocked him off his horse, and that with such force that he made the blood gush out of his nose and mouth.

As soon as Young perceived that the prosecutor had recovered his senses a little, he demanded his money, to which Mr. Stinton replied, *Is this the manner in which you treat your friend? You see, I have not strength to give you anything.* Whereupon Young took from him his pocket-book and money. And Mr. Stinton earnestly entreating that he would give him somewhat to bear his expenses home, in answer thereto Young said, *Ay, I'll give you what shall carry you home straight,* and then shot him in the neck, and pushing him down into the ditch, said, *Lie there.* Some time after with much ado, Mr. Stinton crawled out and got to a house, but saw no more of the prisoner, or of either of their mares.

George Hartwell deposed that he helped both the prisoner and the prosecutor to the inn where they lay at Oxford. Sarah Howard deposed that she kept the inn or house where they lodged at Loudwater the night before the robbery was committed. And all the witnesses, as well as the prosecutor being positive to the person of the prisoner, the charge seemed to be as fully proved as it was possible for a thing of that nature to admit.

The prisoner in his defence did not pretend to deny the fact, but as much as he was able endeavoured to extenuate it. He said, that for his part he did not know anything of the mare; that the going off the pistol was merely accidental; that he did, indeed, take the money, and therefore, did not expect any other than to

suffer death, but that it would be a great satisfaction to him, even in his last moments, that he neither had or ever intended to commit any murder. But those words in the prosecutor's evidence, *I'll give you something to carry you home, and Lie there* (that is in the ditch) being mentioned in summing up the evidence to the jury, Young, with great warmth and many asseverations, denied that he made use of them. The jury, after a very short consideration, being full satisfied with the evidence which had been offered, found him guilty.

The very same day his wife was indicted for the robbery of her mistress, when the fact was charged upon her thus: that she on a Sunday, conveyed Young secretly upstairs in her mistress's house, where she passed for a single woman; that he took an opportunity to break open a closet and to steal from thence ninety guineas, and ten pounds in silver; a satin petticoat value thirty shillings, and an orange crepe petticoat were also carried off; and she asking leave of her lady to go out in the afternoon, took that opportunity to go quite away, not being heard of for a long time. Upon her husband being apprehended for the fact for which he died, somebody remembered her and the story of her robbing her mistress, caused her thereupon to be apprehended. Not being able to prove her marriage at the time of her trial, she was convicted, and ordered for transportation. This was a very different story from that which Young told in his relations of his wife's adventure, but when it came to be mentioned to that unhappy man and pressed upon him, though he could not be brought to acknowledge it, yet he never denied it; which the Ordinary says, was a method of proceeding he took up, because unwilling to confess the truth, and afraid when so near death to tell a lie.

When under sentence of death, this unfortunate person began to have a true sense of his own miserable condition; he was very far from denying the crime for which he suffered, although he still continued to deny some of the circumstances of it. The judgment which had been pronounced upon him, he acknowledged to be very just and reasonable, and was so far from being either angry or affrighted at the death he was to die that on the contrary he said it was the only thing that gave his thoughts ease. To say truth, the force of religion was never more visible in any man than it was in this unfortunate malefactor. He was sensible of his repentance being both forced and late, which made him attend to the duties thereof with an extraordinary fervour and application. He said that the thoughts of his dissolution had no other effect upon him than to quicken his diligence in imploring God for pardon. To all those who visited him either from their knowledge of him in former circumstances, or, as too many do, from the curiosity of observing how he would behave under those melancholy circumstances in which he then was, he discoursed of nothing but death, eternity, and future judgment. The gravity of his temper and the serious turn of his thoughts was never interrupted in any respect throughout the whole space of time in which he lay under condemnation; on the contrary, he every day appeared to have more and more improved from his meditations and almost continual devotions, appearing frequently when at chapel wrapped up as it were in ecstasy at the thoughts of heaven and future felicity, humbling himself, however, for the numberless sins he had committed, and omitting nothing which could serve to show the greatness of his sorrow and the sincerity of his contrition.

The day he was to die, the unfortunate old man his father, then upwards of seventy years of age, came to visit him, and saw him haltered as he went out to execution. Words are too feeble to express that impetuosity of grief which overwhelmed both the miserable father and the dying son. However, the old man, bedewing him with a flood of tears, exhorted him not to let go on his hopes in Christ, even in that miserable conjuncture; but that he should remember the mercy of God was over all his works, and in an especial manner was promised to those who were penitent for their sins, which Christ had especially confirmed in sealing the pardon of the repenting thief, even upon the cross.

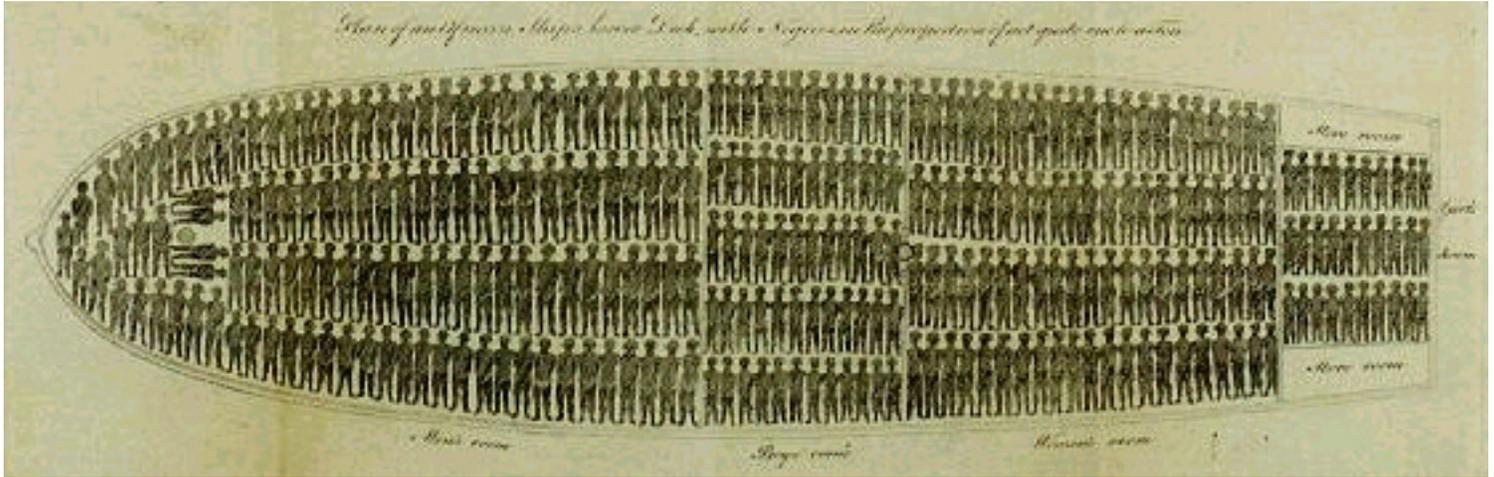
At the place of execution he appeared scarce without any appearance of terror, much less of obstinacy or contempt of death. Being asked what he did with the pocket-book which he took from Mr. Stinton, and which contained in it things of very great use to him, Young replied ingeniously that he had burnt it, for which he was heartily sorry, but that he did not look into or make himself acquainted with its contents. Just before the cart drew away, he arose and spoke to the people, and said, *The love of idleness, being too much addicted to company, and a too greedy love of strong liquors has brought me to this unhappy end. The Law intends my death for an example unto others; let it be so, let my follies prevent others from falling into the like, and let the shame which you see me suffer, deter all of you from the commission of such sins as may bring you to the like fatal end. My sentence is just, but pray, ye good people, for my soul, that though I die ignominiously here, I may not perish everlastingly.*

He was executed the first of June, 1730, being at the time about thirty-nine years of age.

NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

June 6 before dawn: Captain George Scott was 100 leagues from the coast of Africa on his way to the harbor of Newport, five days out on the Middle Passage with yet another cargo of human flesh packed into his sloop *Little George* — when all of a sudden black men began to pour out from beneath the decks.



The slaves emerging on deck in the predawn darkness found a watch crew of three, killed them, and threw their bodies overboard. The other crew members, four men and a boy, were below, sheltered behind the after hatch. These survivors set to work to fabricate for themselves pipe bombs which they planned to throw among the slaves, but while they were at this work one of the devices blew up, severely burning the man who was holding it. The slaves loaded a carriage gun and fired it into the hatchway, and began to sail the ship back toward the African shore. The crewmembers bored holes in the ship's bottom and let in about three feet of seawater. There was a negotiation, and the cargo agreed that if the crew would not scuttle the sloop, they would depart as soon as they were able to reach shore. Eventually the ship grounded several leagues up the Sierra Leone River and the Africans waded ashore. The surviving crewmembers managed to get the ship's boat lowered on the other side of the grounded sloop, and rowed downstream to the safety of a vessel from Montserrat, British West Indies.

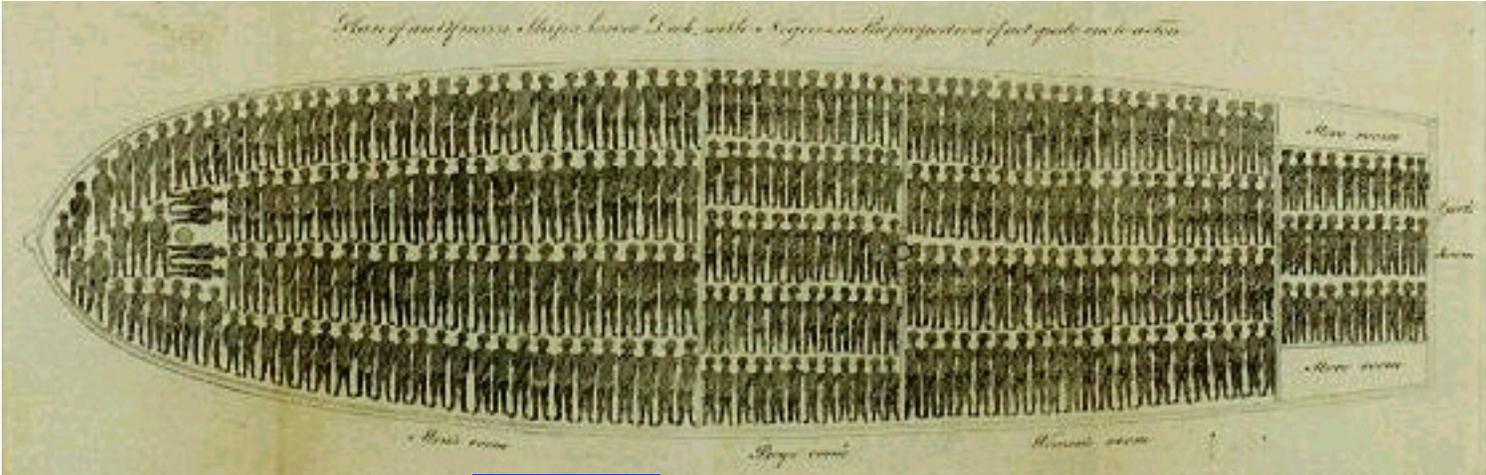
On April 29, 1731 a Boston gazette would report this uprising: “We hear from Rhode Island that Captain George Scott of that place, who sometime since went from thence to Guinea, and was returning with a cargo of Negroes, they rose upon the said commander and company, and barbarously murdered three of his men, the said captain and the rest of his company made their escape, tho tis said they are all since dead except the captain and a boy; The Negroes we are informed were afterwards taken and made slaves by those other nation.”

(This negrero captain, undaunted, would each year for the following five years sail out of Newport for the coast of Africa to collect more human raw material.)



1731

In RHODE ISLAND harbors alone, during this year alone, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 4 negreros were being fitted out for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109 –as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos– then a total of something like 436 souls would have been being transported over the dreadful Middle Passage during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone.



Captain George Scott of RHODE ISLAND was returning from Guinea with a cargo of slaves when they rose up killing three of the crewmembers. Soon all the white crewmembers would die, except the captain and the ship's boy.

SERVILE INSURRECTION

NEWPORT RI**NEWPORT RI**

Aaron Lopez was born in Portugal. A Marrano,¹¹⁰ he would live in Lisbon under the Christian name Duarte Lopez, and would be able to acknowledge his Jewish name only after he emigrated to the relative security of [NEWPORT](#) in [RHODE ISLAND](#).



As an adult, he would participate in the international slave trade, which is to say, he would make money out of the misery of other human beings.

The Reverend John Comer, a Baptist minister of [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), visited New-York, and at the request of the disgraced Reverend Henry Loveall, preached at Piscataqua. Giving up his church in Newport, the Reverend Comer moved to Rehoboth in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

110. Marrano = a Spanish or Portuguese Jew of the late Middle Ages who converted to Christianity, especially one forcibly converted but adhering secretly to Judaism.

The Reverend John Callender of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), a classy white man, placed on display standard racial, cultural and class presumptions in regard to the Narragansett tribespeople, in his AN HISTORICAL DISCOURSE, ON THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND:

After the war, they [the Narragansett tribespeople] were soon reduced to the condition of the laboring poor, without property, hewers of wood and drawers of water; and there is no more reason to expect religion should, by human means, thrive among such people, than among the lazy and abandoned poor in London. The few that have lived much together, on Ninigret's lands, have had several offers of the gospel, as the Narragansetts had before; and at present the Congregational minister at Westerly [the Reverend Joseph Park] is a missionary to them, and encouraged by an exhibition from the Scotch Society for propagating Christian knowledge... The strange destruction of this people now since the wars ceased, and within memory, is very remarkable. Their insuperable aversion to English industry, and way of life, the alteration from the Indian method of living, their laziness, and their universal love of strong drink, have swept them away in a wonderful manner. So that there are now above twenty English to one Indian in the Colony.

October 6: The *Charming Susannah*, under Captain James Collingwood of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), departed for an unspecified part of Africa, where it would purchase and load itself with about 91 African slaves. Its 1st and principal port of disembarkation for this Middle Passage cargo would be Barbados, where it would begin to disembark 74 African slaves on August 23, 1739 (from the Slave Trade Voyage database of Eltis et al, based on Coughtry, pages 241-85 and CO 28/25).

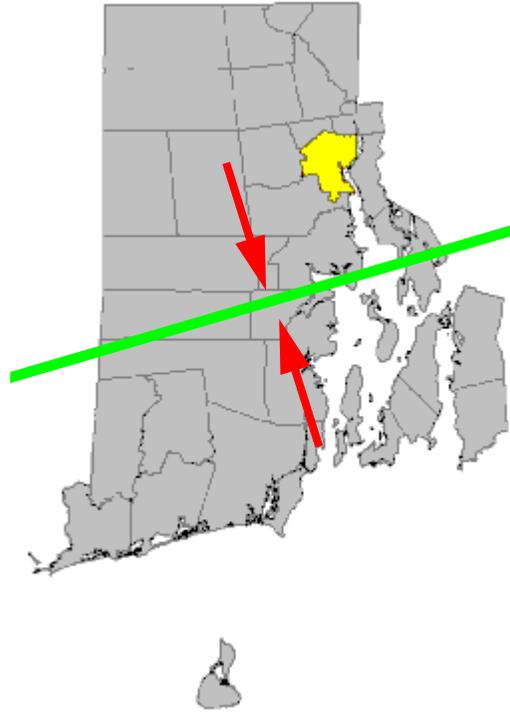
1739

September 1: During King George's War, otherwise known as the War of the Austrian Succession, against the Spanish, Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) initially sent out the privateer vessels *Virgin Queen*, *Revenge*, and *Charming Betty* and then fitted out five more vessels as privateers and sent them out against Spanish shipping. (On this day the *Revenge* sailed from Newport.) It seems that in 1741 and 1742 there would be five such privateers in operation out of Newport, while in 1743 there would be ten and in 1744 eleven. Rhode Island was probably more active in privateering than any other colony along the American seaboard, since in 1744 when Rhode Island had 11 privateers at sea, Massachusetts had 7, New York 7, and Pennsylvania 8. (Other names of Rhode Island privateering vessels were *Fame*, *Victory*, *St. Andrew*, *Cason*, *Pollux*, *King George*, *Queen of Hungary*, *Duke of Marlborough*, *Prince Charles of Lorraine*, *Success*, *Defiance*, and *Reprisal*.)

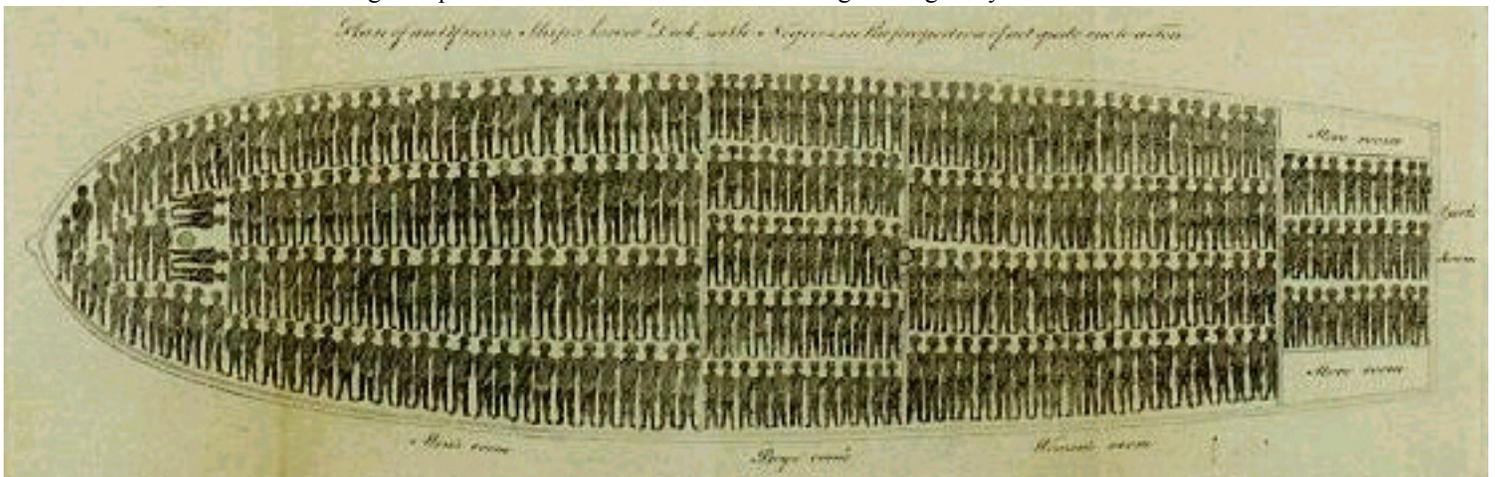
August 23: The *Charming Susannah*, under Captain James Collingwood of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), begin to disembark 74 slaves from an unspecified part of Africa at Barbados after a Middle Passage (from the Slave Trade Voyage database of Eltis et al, based on Coughtry, pages 241-85 and CO 28/25).

1740

During this decade a partisan struggle in the Rhode Island colony would pit the merchants and farmers of Newport and South County (the “Rhode Island” of “Rhode Island and Providence Plantations”), led by Samuel Ward, against the merchants and farmers of the environs of Providence (the “Providence Plantations” of “Rhode Island and Providence Plantations”), who would come to be led by Friend Stephen Hopkins.



In RHODE ISLAND harbors alone, during this year alone, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 7 negreros were being fitted out for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109 –as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos– then a total of more than 760 souls would have been being transported over the dreadful Middle Passage during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone.



In this year of King George’s War, five privateer vessels were attacking the shipping of the Spanish enemies of the British crown out of Newport, RHODE ISLAND.

5 day 5 mo: The [QUAKER](#) meeting in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) recorded in its table of deaths that “John Wanton Governour of the Colony of Rhode Island Aged 68 years and Departed this Life the 5th Day of the 5th mo. 1740 being the 7th Day of the week, and he was carried to the meeting Houfe & after Meeting was Buried in Coddington’s Burying places – — [after this has been added in some blank space underneath in a different hand and ink, as if there had been some lingering doubt that needed to be put to rest: “for many years he was a valuable public friend”]

1741

June 5: The sloop *Revenge*, owned by Commander Benjamin Norton and John Freebody of Newport, again sailed from Newport as a privateer.

Here is the number of such [RHODE ISLAND](#) privateer vessels at sea against Spanish shipping, by year:

1741	5
1742	5
1743	10
1744	11
1745	13-15

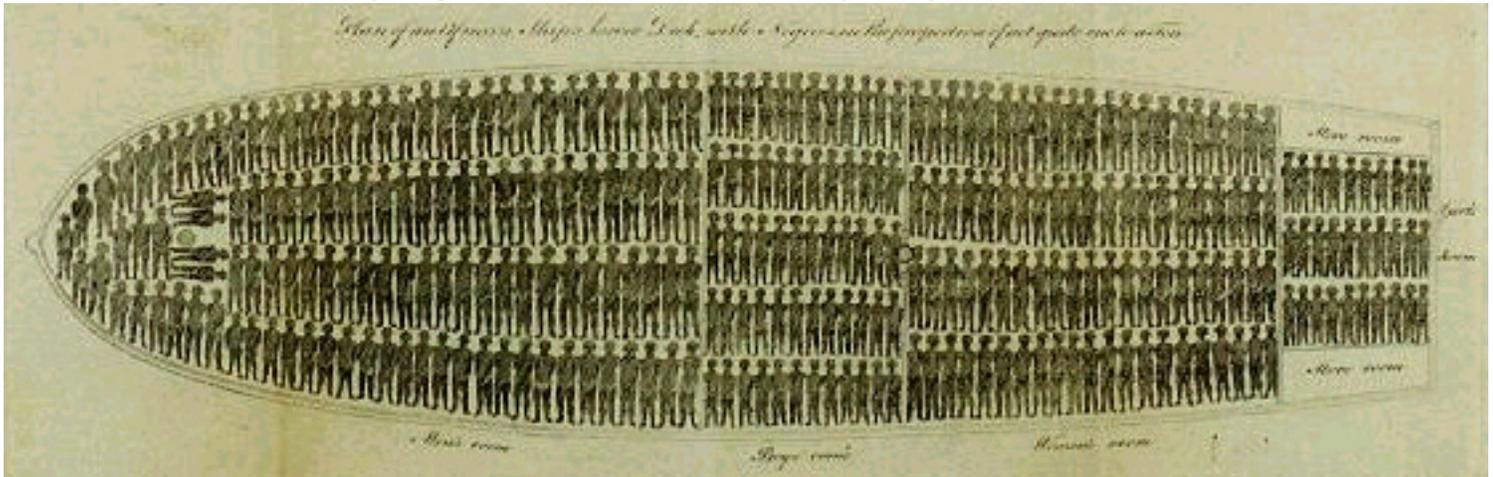
“In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace.”
 — Thomas Jefferson, 1812

“If privateering had not been already well established in the British Empire when [RHODE ISLAND](#) first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.”
 — Alexander Boyd Hawes, page 65¹¹¹

111. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

1742

In **RHODE ISLAND** harbors alone, during this year alone, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 8 negreros were being fitted out for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109 –as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos– then a total of more than 870 souls would have been being transported over the dreadful Middle Passage during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone.



In this year of King George’s War, five privateer vessels were in operation against Spanish shipping out of Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**:

1741	5
1742	5
1743	10
1744	11
1745	13-15

“In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace.”

– Thomas Jefferson, 1812

“If privateering had not been **RHODE ISLAND** first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

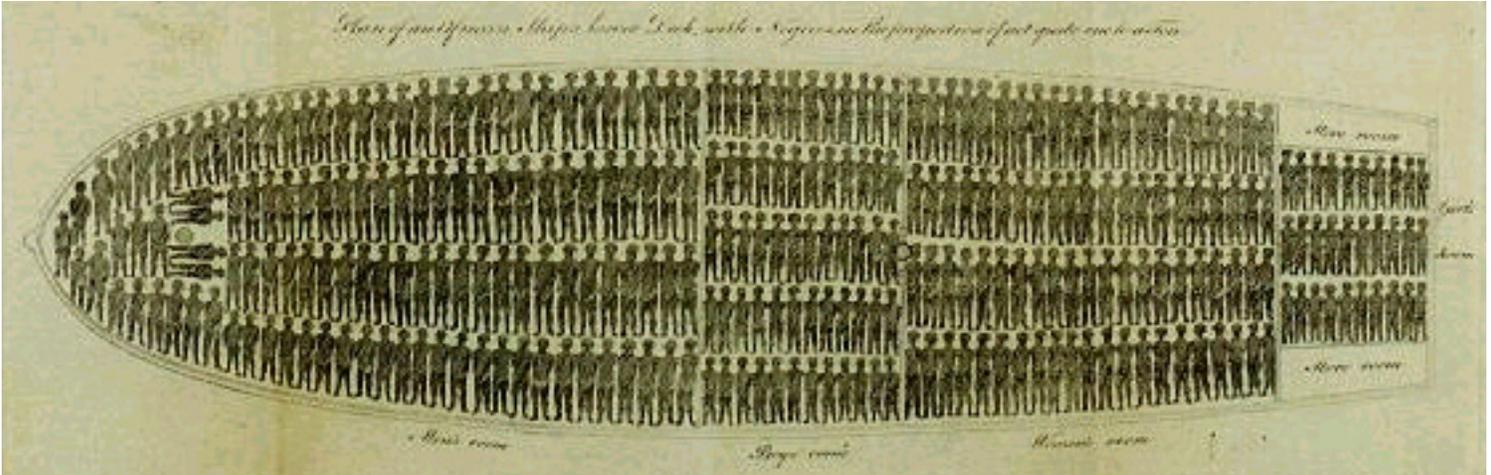
– Alexander Boyd Hawes, page 65¹¹²

112. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

August 7 (July 27th old style, 27th day of 5th month Quaker style): Nathanael Greene was born in Potowomut, [RHODE ISLAND](#). His mother was Mary Motte Greene and his father Nathanael Greene was a prosperous farmer and ironmaster, and a public Friend (Quaker preacher). (Note that General Nathanael Greene was unrelated to the other Greene from Rhode Island to achieve fame during the Revolution, Colonel Christopher Greene.) From boyhood, Nathanael would work at his father's mills and forge, making primarily anchors. From his childhood forward, he would walk with a noticeable limp. He would make miniature anchors and other toys for sale in Newport, and use part of the proceeds to purchase books. He would become self-educated under the guidance of the grammarian Lindley Murray, a young lawyer working for John Jay's law firm in New-York, and of Ezra Stiles, who would become president of Yale College. He was a birthright Quaker member of the East Greenwich Monthly Meeting. After observing a military parade in Connecticut he would become an avid peruser of military works — something which would be of significant concern for the Peace Testimony of his meeting of the [RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#).

1743

In [RHODE ISLAND](#) harbors alone, during this year alone, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 5 negeros were being fitted out for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109 –as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos– then a total of something like 545 souls would have been being transported over the dreadful Middle Passage during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone.



Of course, the international trade in new slaves was not being exclusively monopolized by slavers operating out of tiny [RHODE ISLAND](#). In Nürnberg in this year, Homann Hereditors issued its very nice hand-colored engraved map of *GUINEA PROPIA, NEC NON NIGRITIAE VEL TERRAE NIGRORUM MAXIMA PARS* . . . indicating just which sections of the African coast were being patronized by the English negeros, the Dutch negeros, the French negeros, and the Danish negeros:



In this year of King George's War, ten privateer vessels were in operation against Spanish shipping out of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#):

1741	5
1742	5
1743	10
1744	11
1745	13-15

"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

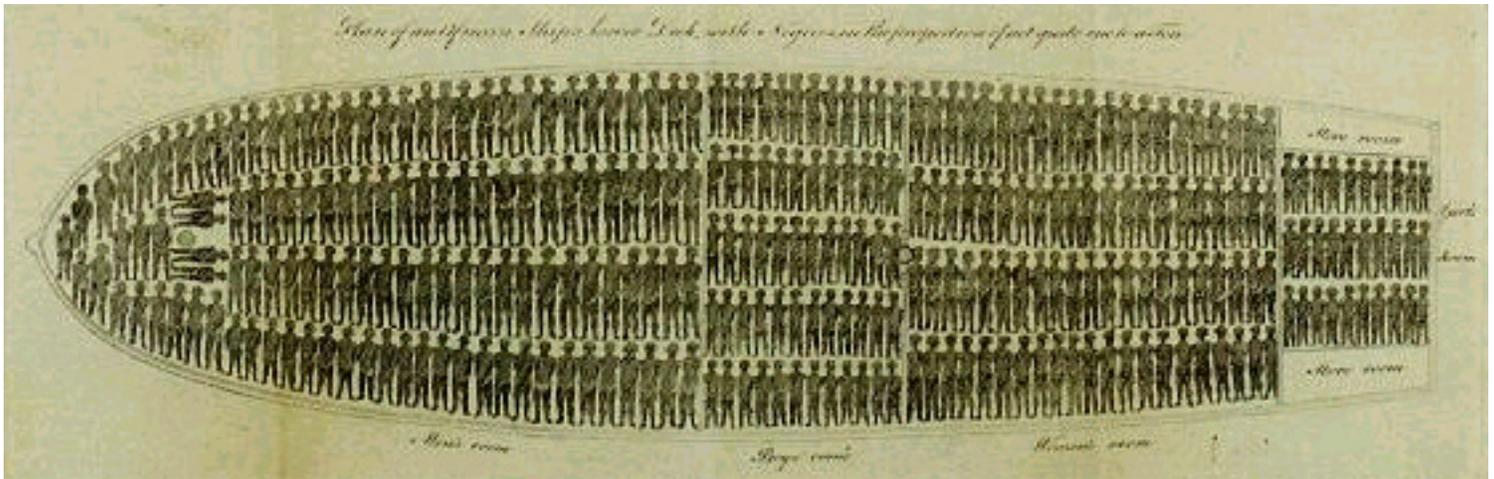
- Thomas Jefferson, 1812

"If privateering had not been already well established in the British Empire when RHODE ISLAND first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

- Alexander Boyd Hawes, page 65¹¹³

1744

In RHODE ISLAND harbors alone, during this year alone, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, two negeros were being fitted out for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109 -as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos- then a total of something more than 200 souls would have been being transported over the dreadful Middle Passage during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone.



"When one is happy in forgetfulness, facts get forgotten."

- Robert Pen Warren, 1961
THE LEGACY OF THE CIVIL WAR

113. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

At the beginning of King George's War between Britain and France, eleven privateer vessels were in operation against Spanish shipping out of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) and the number was still increasing, while by way of contrast, at this point Massachusetts had seven commissioned privateers at sea, New York seven, and Pennsylvania eight. For example, in this year Captain Simeon Potter of Bristol sailed out from Newport in his sloop *Prince Charles of Lorraine* with a commission as a privateer against the vessels of France and Spain, but instead raided a Jesuit mission at the mouth of the Oyapoc River of Guiana, torching a Catholic school there, capturing its priest, looting its silver and vestments, and pillaging houses of the settlement. In privateering, which amounted to a sanctioned form of high-seas piracy, Rogue Island always led the way!

"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

— Thomas Jefferson, 1812

"If privateering had not been already well established in the British Empire when [RHODE ISLAND](#) first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

— Alexander Boyd Hawes, page 65¹¹⁴

114. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

The New England Yearly Meeting of the [RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#) advised against the further importing of slaves.¹¹⁵

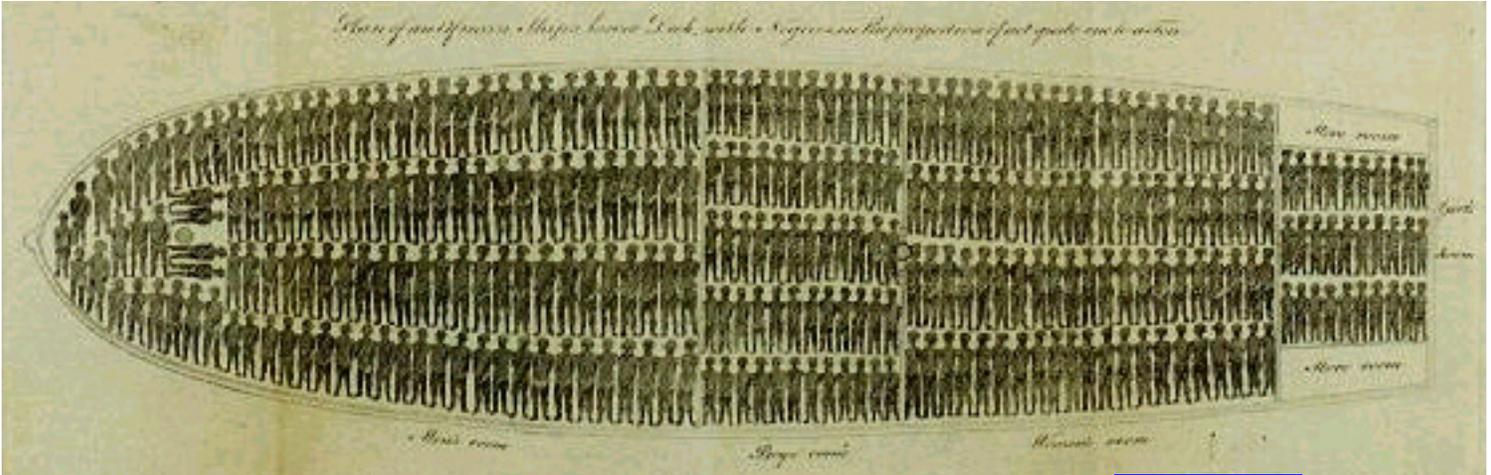


115. Below appears the rotting hulk of the slave ship *Jem*, as of the Year of Our Lord 1891 at Fort Adams near Newport on Aquidneck Island:



1745

In [RHODE ISLAND](#) harbors alone, during this year alone, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, a couple of negreros were being fitted out in this year for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109—as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos— then a total of more than 200 souls would have been being transported over the dreadful Middle Passage during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone.



By this point in King George’s War, at least 13 to 15 privateer vessels out of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) were upon the seas, seeking the Spanish enemies of the crown and their shipping:

1741	5
1742	5
1743	10
1744	11
1745	13-15

“In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace.”

— Thomas Jefferson, 1812

“If privateering had not been already well established in the British Empire when [RHODE ISLAND](#) first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

— Alexander Boyd Hawes, page 65¹¹⁶

116. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

Christmas Eve: A [RHODE ISLAND](#), Godfrey Malbone, had constructed and fitted out two privateers, the *Duke of Cumberland* and the *Prince of Wales*, each with a crew of 130.¹¹⁷ Having a horoscope cast for him, Malbone learned that the stars said he would capture valuable prizes and make lots of money **if** he sailed on the lucky date, Christmas Eve. In the teeth of a building nor'easter, he ordered his two ships to set sail out of [NEWPORT](#) harbor. Some couple of hundred of Newport wives would be widowed, as the two ships he sent out into the storm this day would never be heard of again.

"In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace."

— Thomas Jefferson, 1812

"If privateering had not been already well established in the British Empire when [RHODE ISLAND](#) first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

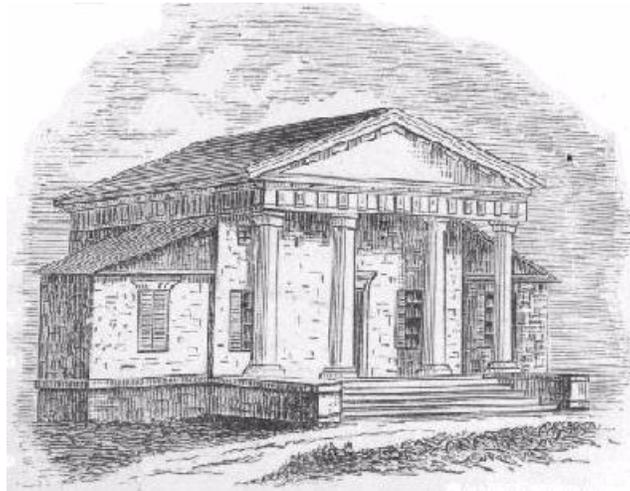
— Alexander Boyd Hawes, page 65¹¹⁸

1746

Captains John Dennis and Robert Morris, privateers out of [RHODE ISLAND](#), captured a French vessel near Cape Tiburon and brought it to Newport, where its black crewmembers were sold into slavery in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New York. This brought a protest from the Governor of Cuba, that these particular black seamen had in Cuba been not slaves but free men. Learning of this, the Rhode Island General Assembly voted that an apology be tendered, and that the black sailors be purchased from their purchasers—who were to be fully reimbursed—and the seamen set free and allowed to depart at will. Of course, no consideration was given to the paying of back wages for services rendered, but a message was sent to Cuba: this adventure into the international slave trade had been a mere inadvertent error (RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORDS, V. 170, 176-7; Dawson's Historical Magazine, XVIII. 98).

117. Privateers required very large crews, since each ship they would capture would need to be given an adequate crew, in order to sail it back to a safe port to sell it for profit

118. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. *OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND*. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999



1747

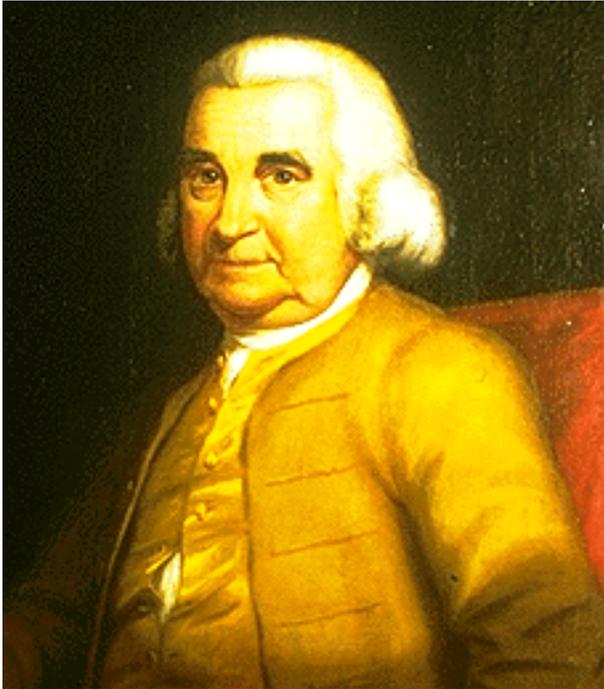
There were a number of donations of books and a number of cash contributions to the Redwood Library that was being formed in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#). A number of the Jews of the local synagogue would contribute, including Aaron Lopez.



(Presumably this contribution would come somewhat later than the establishment of the library, since it is said that Aaron, then known as Duarte, would still be in Lisbon until 1750.)

The largest initial contribution would be from a [QUAKER](#) slaveholder and philanthropist, Friend Abraham Redwood, who donated £500 sterling for the purchase of “a collection of useful Books suitable for a Publick

Library.” The library would therefore be named in Friend Abraham’s honor:



So, if we pose for ourselves the question, whether the expensive books that provided the basis for the Redwood Library had the sweat of unpaid labor on their pages, the answer would not be “No, for the donation of the Jewish slavetrader Lopez came somewhat later,” but would instead be “Yes, because the donation of the Quaker slaveholder Redwood was wealth extracted from the sweat of unpaid labor.”¹¹⁹

The Great Meetinghouse of the Friends on Aquidneck Island of Rhode Island, seating a thousand worshippers, was at this point enlarged to include a second-floor youth gallery seating an additional 500. A moveable wooden divider was created, so that the meeting could be separated on occasions into a men’s meeting and a women’s meeting.¹²⁰



This was the year of arrival of the reformer, Friend John Woolman, who generated a crowd so large that no building could contain them, so that meetings would be held at the waterfront ropewalk of Joseph Marshall. Woolman spoke of the relationship between greed and exploitation, and warned wives not to expect their husbands to provide them with luxuries since this might drive their husbands into immoral compromises in business. (From the context in which this occurred, and from the reaction of his audience, it is clear that Friend Woolman’s injunctions against cruelty were aimed at the abuse of fellow humans, rather than at the abuse of whales.)

119. In case you haven’t noticed, in the American popular mind **QUAKERISM** has been closely associated with antislavery righteousness, while the Jewish faith has been, at least in some circles, closely associated with enslavement iniquity. –It is, therefore, worth paying attention to information that complicates such popular perceptions.

120. This view of the meetinghouse dates to 1850, after it had been several times expanded.

1748

Jacob Rodriguez Rivera, of a Marrano¹²¹ family of Seville, Spain, arrived in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) from Curacao to introduce the manufacture of spermaceti candles. His daughter Sarah Rivera would marry with his nephew Aaron Lopez and his son Jacob Rivera would build a grand mansion on the Parade (today the site is 8 Washington Square). Jacob Rodriguez Rivera would be second only to his son-in-law in the commercial, religious, and social life of Newport’s Jewish community.

Beginning at about this point, Henry Marchant of Martha’s Vineyard would have been attending school in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).

February: The first of [RHODE ISLAND](#)’s privateering expeditions to sail from [PROVIDENCE](#) rather than from Newport.

According to Edgar S. Maclay’s A HISTORY OF AMERICAN PRIVATEERS, 1899, it was the success of American privateers in the destruction of England’s overseas commerce that “struck the mortal blows to British supremacy in America,” not the famous land battles such as those at Saratoga and Yorktown, because these depredations caused the interest of the powerful British mercantile class to end the hostilities to be in conflict with the interest of the government of King George III to continue the hostilities. Here, therefore, is the number of Rhode Island privateer vessels, by year (compared with number of Rhode Island vessels taken by the French during England’s period of hostilities with that nation):

	RHODE ISLAND PRIVATEERS	RI VESSELS TAKEN BY FRENCH
1741	5	
1742	5	
1743	10	
1744	11	
1745	13-15	
1753	1	
1754	0	
1755	1	
1756	5	5
1757	10	5
1758	16	11

121. Marrano = a Spanish or Portuguese Jew of the late Middle Ages who converted to Christianity, especially one forcibly converted but adhering secretly to Judaism.

	RHODE ISLAND PRIVATEERS	RI VESSELS TAKEN BY FRENCH
1759	2	5
1760	8	0
1761	3	14
1762	22	11
1763	?	1
1776	57	
1777	17	
1778	17	
1779	39	
1780	13	
1781	9	
1782	26	
1783	17	

“In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace.”

– Thomas Jefferson, 1812

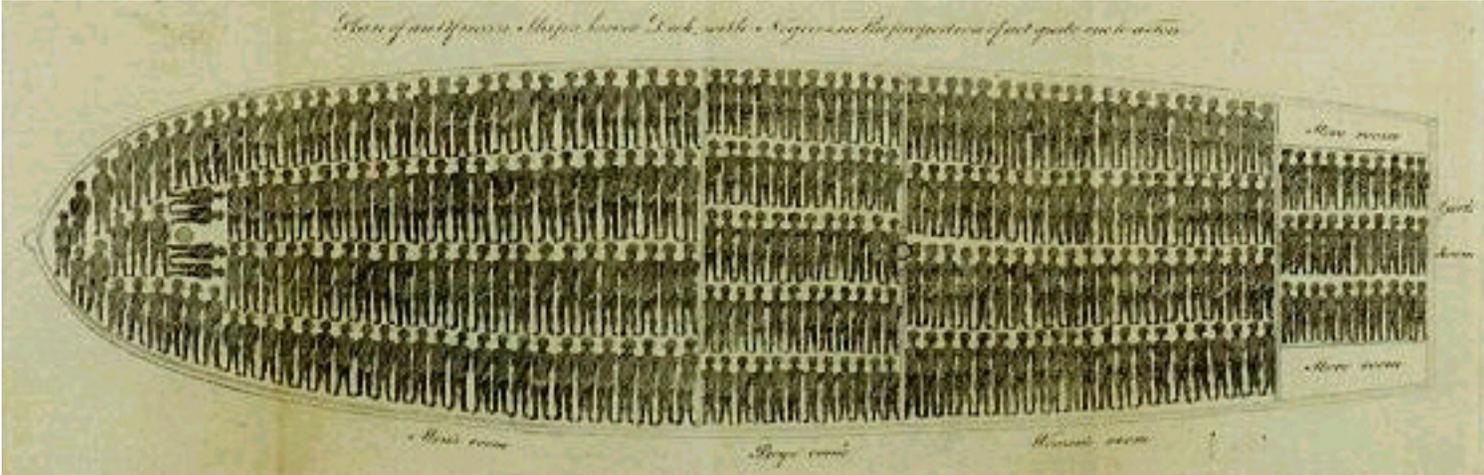
“If privateering had not been already well established in the British Empire when **RHODE ISLAND** first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

– Alexander Boyd Hawes, page 65¹²²

122. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

1750

A **QUAKER** in Newport, one of the two major slave importing centers of the USA, was put under dealing by the elders of his monthly meeting of the **RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**, on account of his firm's continuing to engage in the international slave trade.¹²³



Aaron Lopez, who would be known as the “Merchant Prince” of early American commerce, and his family, at this point arrived in Newport from Lisbon, Portugal, where as a Marrano¹²⁴ he had been being required to use the Christian name “Don Duarte Lopez.”

123. So, exactly **who, by name**, was this interesting Friend? We know that Friend Abraham Redwood needed to be dealt with by the elders of his meeting, on account of his refusal to give up the ownership of beaucoup black slaves on his sugar plantation in Antigua but I have not heard that this Friend Abraham was engaged in any trade other than the sugar trade — so presumably this **QUAKER** slavetrader of unspecified name was some **other** Newport Quaker. Below, for your interest, appears the rotting hulk of the slave ship *Jem*, as of the Year of Our Lord 1891 at Fort Adams near Newport on Aquidneck Island:



124. Marrano = a Spanish or Portuguese Jew of the late Middle Ages who converted to Christianity, especially one forcibly converted but adhering secretly to Judaism.

(Probably, the family came to the port of New-York first and then went on up to [RHODE ISLAND](#).)



The father of the family immediately underwent ritual circumcision. Within twenty years he would own or have interests in nearly a hundred sailing vessels. Aaron and his nephew Moses would wholly own 27 square-rigged vessels, including whale-ships — although they would lose nearly all of these during the Revolutionary War. Like the aforementioned Newport [QUAKER](#), he would be heavily involved in the international slave trade. He would be one of the original founders of and contributors to Touro Synagogue.

1752

May: The negrero *Abigail* was fitted out by Captain Freedman, carrying the appropriate numbers of pistols and swords, the appropriate number of kegs of gunpowder, and (with the greatest difficulty, the demand for this commodity being so great among the numerous negrero vessels) 9,000 gallons of rum, along with other trade commodities. A large supply of hand and foot irons went along for the ride, in order properly to confine the vessel's human cargo of 56 black slaves during its return passage. The crew consisted of two leading seamen and six ordinary sailors. This voyage to West Africa would consume 3 1/2 months.



It would bring Aaron Lopez, Moses Levy, and Jacob Franks, the vessel's owners, a net profit of \$6,621.

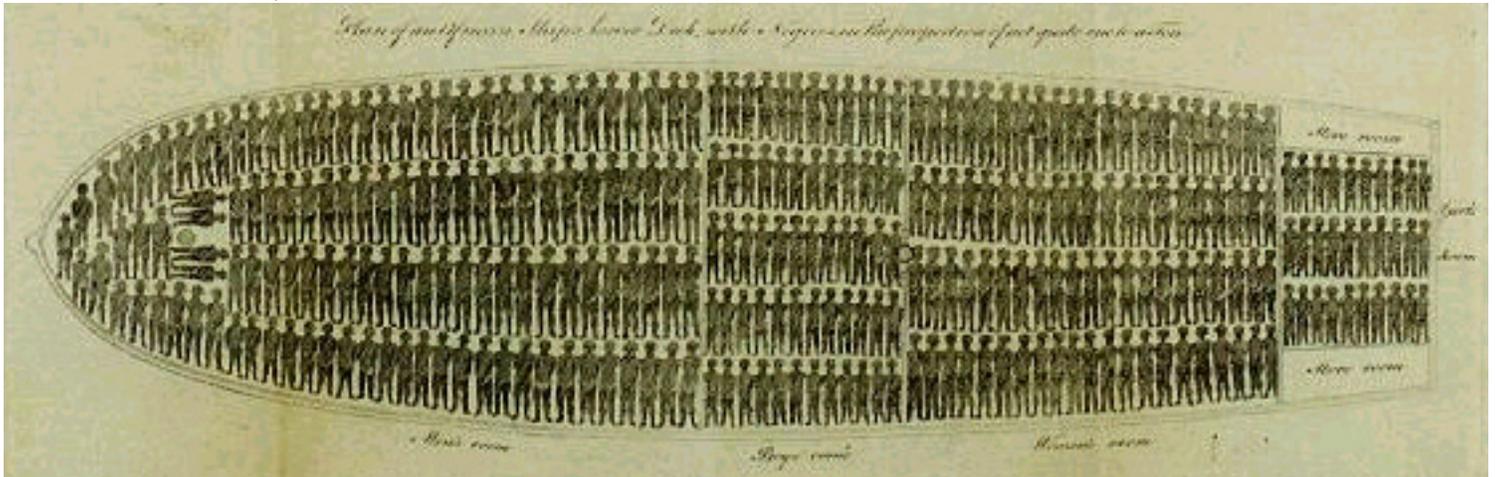


Here are some of the other negreros of which we have record:

- The *La Fortuna* transported approximately 217 slaves on each trip. The owner cleared not less than \$41,438 from such a trip.
- The *Crown* owned by Isaac Levy and Nathan Simpson
- The *Nassau* owned by Moses Levy

- The *Four Sisters* owned by Moses Levy
- The *Anne & Eliza* owned by Justus Bosch and John Abrams
- The *Prudent Betty* owned by Henry Cruger and Jacob Phoenix
- The *Hester* owned by Mordecai Gomez and David Gomez
- The *Elizabeth* owned by Mordecai Gomez and David Gomez
- The *Antigua* owned by Nathan Marston and Abram Lyell
- The *Betsy* owned by William DeWoolf
- The *Polly* owned by James DeWoolf
- The *White Horse* owned by Jan de Sweevts
- The *Expedition* owned by John Rosevelt and Jacob Rosevelt
- The *Charlotte* owned by Moses Levy, Samuel Levy, and Jacob Franks
- The *Caracoa* owned by Moses Levy and Samuel Levy
- Coastal slave-runners: the *La Fortuna*, the *Hannah*, the *Sally*, and the *Venue*
- The *Sanderson*, trading to Africa and the West Indies (AMERICAN HISTORICAL RECORD, I. 315-9, 338-42)

(In **RHODE ISLAND** harbors alone, during this year alone, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 14 vessels were being fitted out for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109 –as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos– then a total of more than 1,500 souls would have been being transported over the dreadful Middle Passage during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone.)¹²⁵



W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Vessels from Massachusetts,¹²⁶ Rhode Island,¹²⁷ Connecticut,¹²⁸ and, to a less extent, from New Hampshire,¹²⁹ were early and largely engaged in the carrying slave-trade. "We know," said Thomas Pemberton in 1795, "that a large trade to Guinea was carried on for many years by the citizens of Massachusetts Colony, who were the proprietors of the vessels and their cargoes, out and home. Some of the slaves purchased in Guinea, and I suppose the greatest part of them, were sold in the West Indies."¹³⁰ Dr. John Eliot asserted that "it made a considerable branch of our commerce.... It declined very little till the Revolution."¹³¹ Yet the trade of this colony was said not to equal that of Rhode Island. Newport was the mart for slaves offered for sale in the North, and a point of reshipment for all slaves. It was principally this trade that raised Newport to her commercial importance in the eighteenth century.¹³² Connecticut, too, was an important slave-trader, sending large numbers of horses and other commodities to the

West Indies in exchange for slaves, and selling the slaves in other colonies.

This trade formed a perfect circle. Owners of slavers carried slaves to South Carolina, and brought home naval stores for their ship-building; or to the West Indies, and brought home molasses; or to other colonies, and brought home hogsheads. The molasses was made into the highly prized New England rum, and shipped in these hogsheads to Africa for more slaves.¹³³ Thus, the rum-distilling industry indicates to some extent the activity of New England in the slave-trade. In May, 1752, one Captain Freeman found so many slavers fitting out that, in spite of the large importations of molasses, he could get no rum for his vessel.¹³⁴ In Newport alone twenty-two stills were at one time running continuously;¹³⁵ and Massachusetts annually distilled 15,000 hogsheads of molasses into this "chief manufacture."¹³⁶

Turning now to restrictive measures, we must first note the measures of the slave-consuming colonies which tended to limit the trade. These measures, however, came comparatively late, were enforced with varying degrees of efficiency, and did not seriously affect the slave-trade before the Revolution. The moral sentiment of New England put some check upon the trade. Although in earlier times the most respectable people took ventures in slave-trading voyages, yet there gradually arose a moral sentiment which tended to make the business somewhat disreputable.¹³⁷ In the line, however, of definite legal enactments to stop New England citizens from carrying slaves from Africa to any place in the world, there were, before the Revolution, none. Indeed, not until the years 1787-1788 was slave-trading in itself an indictable offence in any New England

125. Clearly, there's a terminology problem here. In an effort to resolve this terminology issue, at the Republican National Convention in New York City in August 2004 –at which the Republican Party would for four days make an effort to strip from its face its mask of hostility to the plight of the downtrodden and reveal its true countenance of benevolent conservatism and concern—these people would be sensitively referred to by a Hoosier Republican running for the US Senate as "involuntary immigrants."

So, perhaps, this is a good point at which to insert a story about involuntary immigrants that has been passed on to us by Ram Varmha, a retired IBM engineer whose father had briefly served as Maharaja after the independence of Cochin. He relates the story as narrated to him by his paternal grandmother who lived in Thripoonithura, Cochin: "When my grandmother (born 1882) was a young girl she would go with the elder ladies of the family to the Pazhayannur Devi Temple in Fort Cochin, next to the Cochin Lantha Palace built by the Dutch (Landers = Lantha), which was an early establishment of the Cochin royal family before the administration moved to Thripoonithura. My grandmother often told us that in the basement of the Lantha Palace, in a confined area, a family of Africans had been kept locked up, as in a zoo! By my Grandmother's time all the Africans had died. But, some of the elder ladies had narrated the story to her of 'Kappiries' (Africans) kept in captivity there. It seems visitors would give them fruits and bananas. They were well cared for but always kept in confinement. My grandmother did not know all the details but according to her, 'many' years earlier, a ship having broken its mast drifted into the old Cochin harbor. When the locals climbed aboard, they found a crewless ship, but in the hold there were some chained 'Kappiries' still alive; others having perished. The locals did not know what to do with them. Not understanding their language and finding the Africans in chains, the locals thought that these were dangerous to set free. So they herded the poor Africans into the basement of the Cochin Fort, and held them in captivity, for many, many years! I have no idea when the initial incident happened, but I presume it took place in the late 1700s or early 1800s. This points to the possibility that it was, in fact, a slave ship carrying human cargo from East Africa to either the USA or the West Indies. An amazing and rather bizarre story. Incidentally, this is not an 'old woman's tale'! Its quite reliable. My grandmother would identify some of the older ladies who had actually seen the surviving Kappiries."

126. Cf. Weeden, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND, II. 449-72; G.H. Moore, SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS; Charles Deane, CONNECTION OF MASSACHUSETTS WITH SLAVERY.

127. Cf. AMERICAN HISTORICAL RECORD, I. 311, 338.

128. Cf. W.C. Fowler, LOCAL LAW IN MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT, etc., pages 122-6.

129. W.C. Fowler, LOCAL LAW IN MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT, etc., page 124.

130. Deane, LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS RELATING TO SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS, in MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLL., 5th Ser., III. 392.

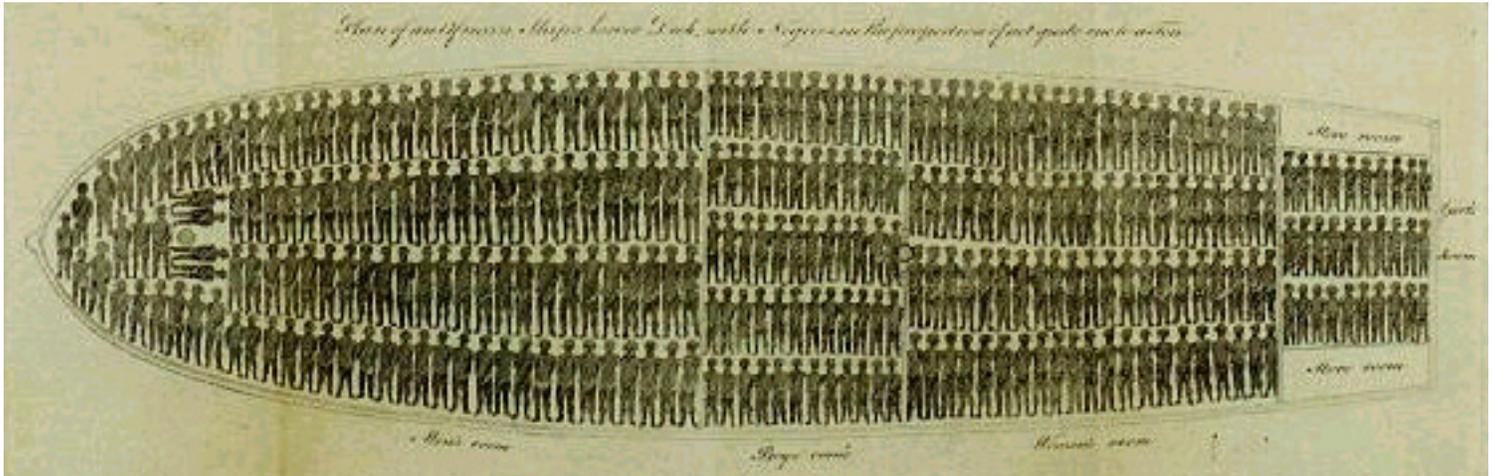
131. Deane, LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS RELATING TO SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS, in MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLL., 5th Ser., III. 382.

132. Weeden, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND, II. 454.

State.

1754

In Rhode Island harbors during this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 16 vessels were being fitted out for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109—as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos— then a total of 1,744 souls were transported during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone. For instance, on June 19, 1754, the sailing orders were issued for the schooner *Sierra Leone* under Captain David Lindsay, and on January 8, 1755, an unidentified ship would leave the coast of Africa under Captain Buffam.



The Jews of Newport appealed for financial assistance to the London Sephardim, in the construction of a synagogue in which they might worship, but the Treasurer (gabay) of that group, Moses de Jacob Franco, was able to respond at first only by sending them his blessings. (Five years later, Jacob Rodrigues Rivera and two Ashkenazim, Moses Levy and Isaac Hart, would purchase a small parcel of land for £1500 Rhode Island currency, and the Jews of New-York would be able to contribute £150, and there would be some money arriving from the Sephardic communities of Jamaica, Curaçao, Surinam, and London, so, finally, in 1763, the synagogue of K.K. Yeshuat Israel, the Holy Congregation of the Salvation of Israel, would be dedicated.)

133. A typical voyage is that of the brigantine “Sanderson” of Newport. She was fitted out in March, 1752, and carried, beside the captain, two mates and six men, and a cargo of 8,220 gallons of rum, together with “African” iron, flour, pots, tar, sugar, and provisions, shackles, shirts, and water. Proceeding to Africa, the captain after some difficulty sold his cargo for slaves, and in April, 1753, he is expected in Barbadoes, as the consignees write. They also state that slaves are selling at £33 to £56 per head in lots. After a stormy and dangerous voyage, Captain Lindsay arrived, June 17, 1753, with fifty-six slaves, “all in helth & fatt.” He also had 40 oz. of gold dust, and 8 or 9 cwt. of pepper. The net proceeds of the sale of all this was £1,324 3d. The captain then took on board 55 hhd. of molasses and 3 hhd. 27 bbl. of sugar, amounting to £911 77s. 2½d., received bills on Liverpool for the balance, and returned in safety to Rhode Island. He had done so well that he was immediately given a new ship and sent to Africa again. AMERICAN HISTORICAL RECORD, I. 315-9, 338-42.

134. AMERICAN HISTORICAL RECORD, I. 316.

135. AMERICAN HISTORICAL RECORD, I. 317.

136. AMERICAN HISTORICAL RECORD, I. 344; cf. Weeden, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND, II. 459.

137. Cf. NEW ENGLAND REGISTER, XXXI. 75-6, letter of John Saffin *et al.* to Welstead. Cf. also Sewall, PROTEST, etc.

1755

John Green's Map of the Most Inhabited Part of New England was based largely upon the previously published map by Dr. William Douglass. Dr. Douglass (1700-1752) had been a Scottish physician practicing in Boston who had studied in Edinburgh, Leyden, and Paris. Here are two details from his earlier map:





(In the lower right corner of this new 1855 offering we are offered the First Comers at Plymouth — being met on the shore by an Indian holding a pole with a liberty cap atop it!)

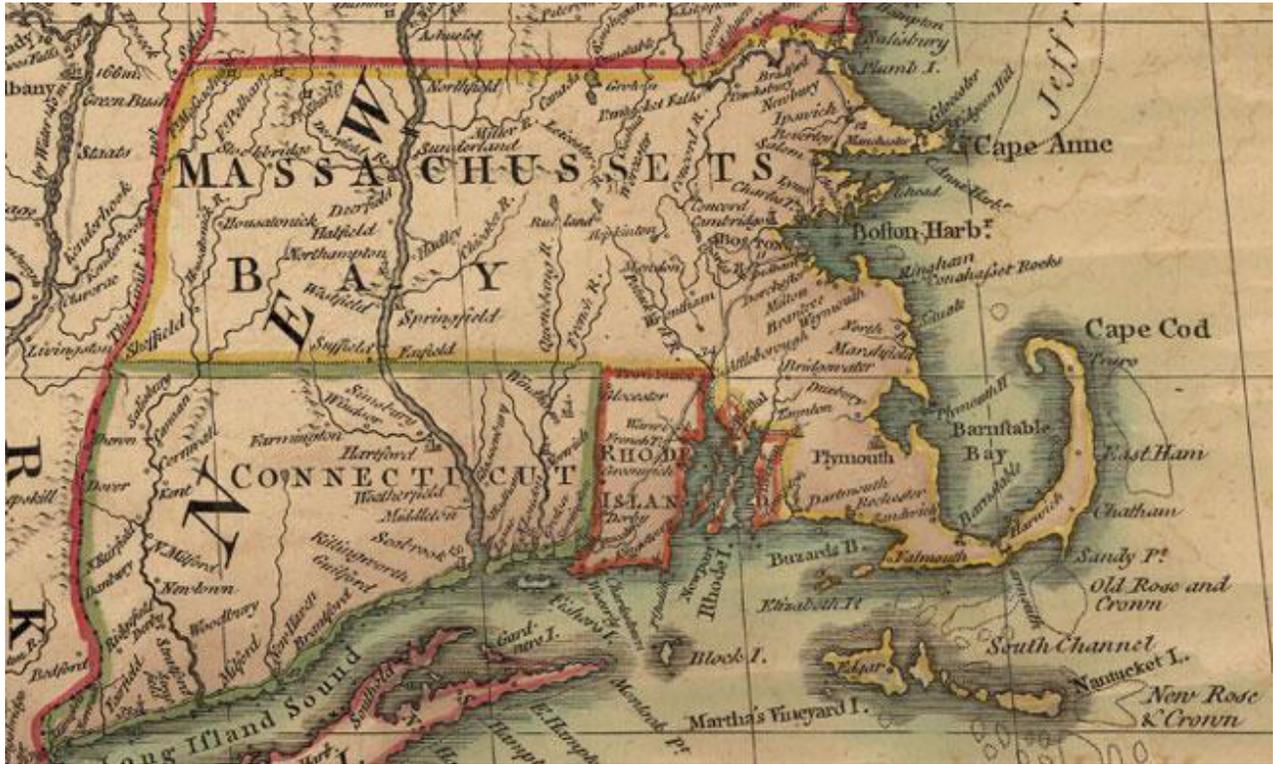
Also in this year, a map by Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville:

NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI



Also in this year, a map by Thomas Kitchin:



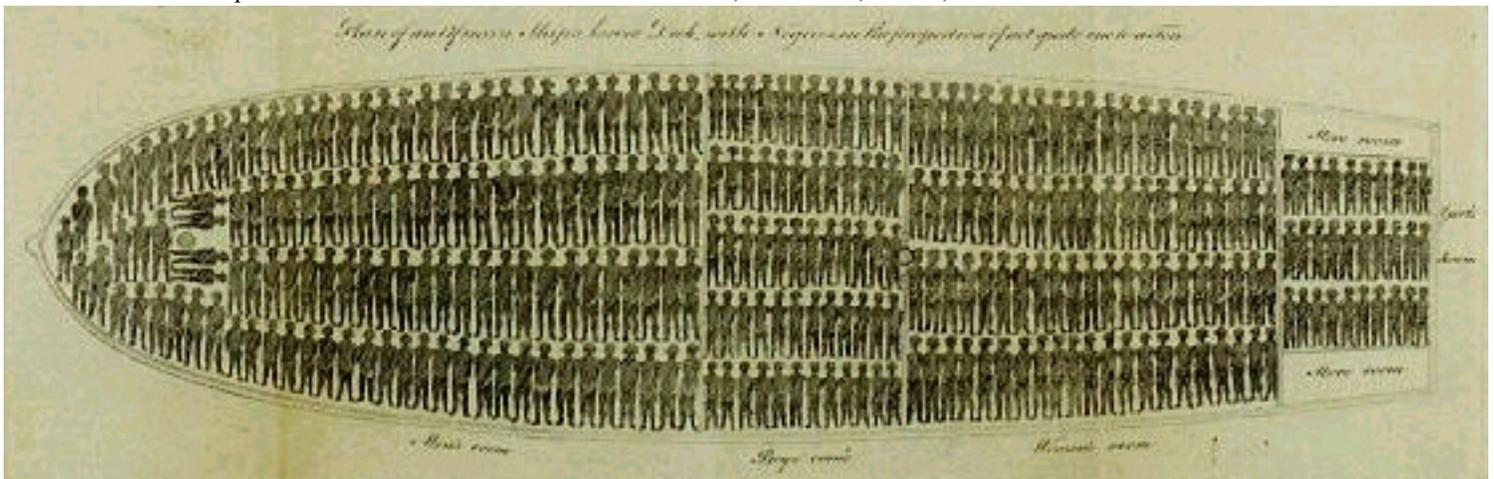
October 22: Ezra Stiles was called to Newport and on this day ordained as the pastor of the Second Congregational Church.



1756

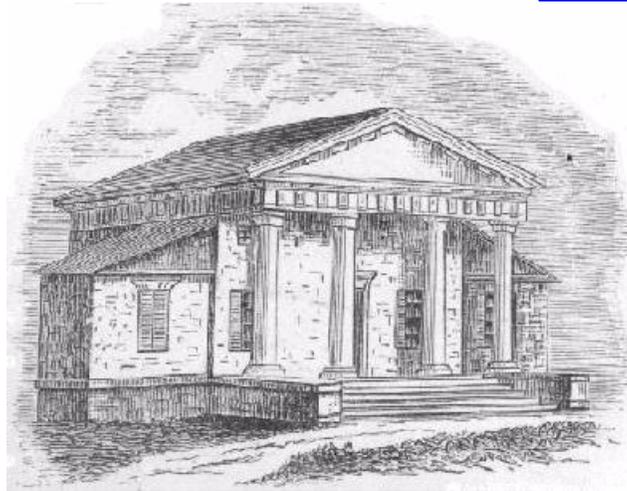
In this year a census was taken in Rhode Island. The document bears the title “Whites & Blacks & Arms & Ammunition, 1756.”

In Rhode Island harbors during this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 11 vessels were being fitted out for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109 –as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos– then a total of more than 1,150 souls were transported during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone. For instance, on April 4, 1756, the *Hawke* of Captain Owen Morris was captured. On June 19, 1756, the *Marigold* of Captain William Taylor was captured. On June 29, 1756, Captain Caleb Godfrey’s sloop *Hare* began selling a cargo of slaves in Charleston SC. During this year the Rhode Island brigantine *Wydah* carried a slave cargo of 80 souls and the sloop *Young Bachelor* a cargo of 140 souls. According to a preserved letter from William Pinnegar to Vernon, other Rhode Island slaver captains with him at Anamaboe were John James, Hammond, Clarke, and Rodman.



NEWPORT RI**NEWPORT RI**

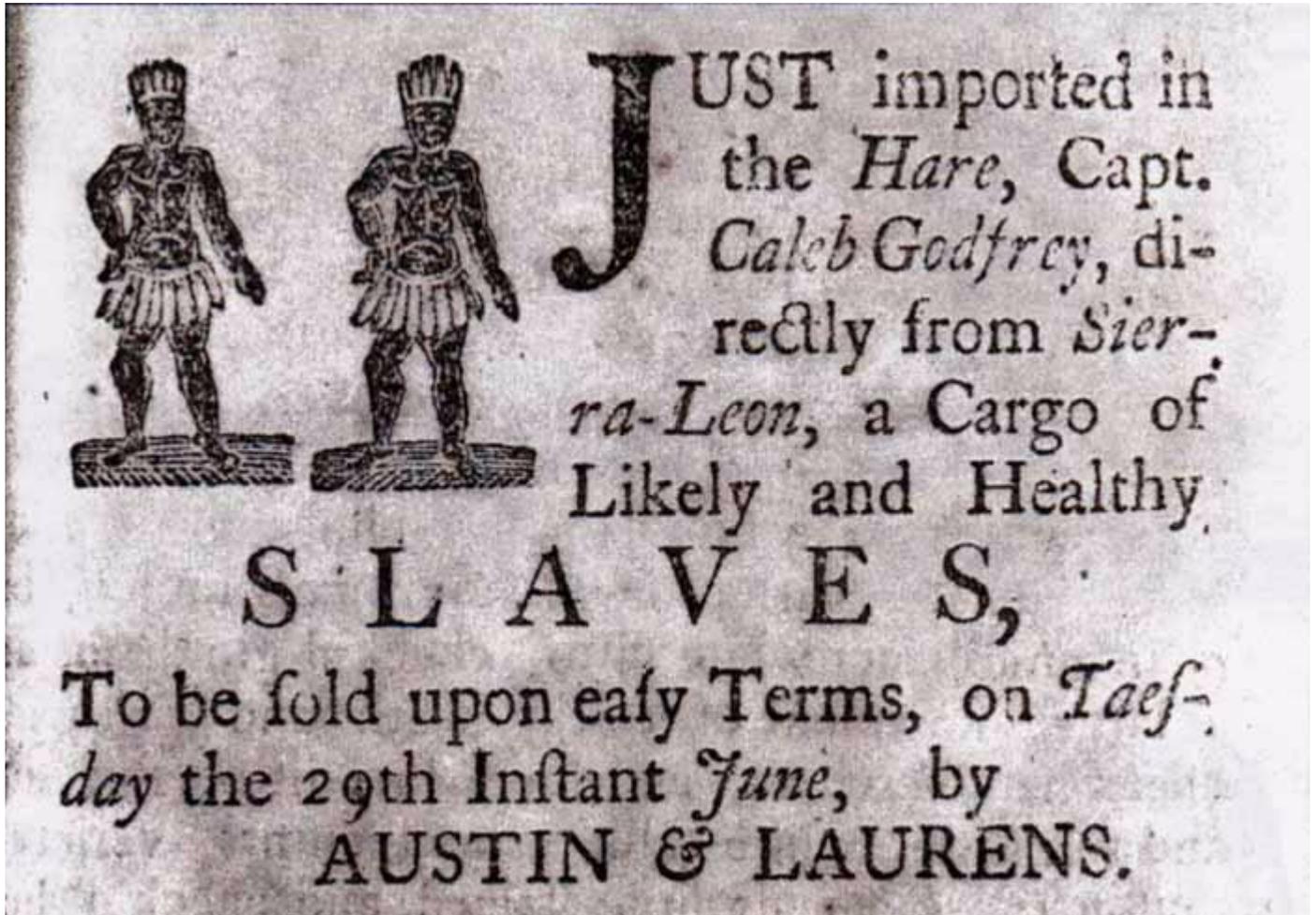
The Reverend Ezra Stiles became librarian of the Redwood Library of [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#).



The beginning of the end, for bundling:

The Indians, who had this method of courtship when the English arrived among them, are the most chaste set of people in the world.... Bundling takes place only in the cold seasons of the year – the sofa in summer is more dangerous than the bed in winter. About 1756, Boston, Salem, Newport, and New York, resolving to be more polite than their ancestors, forbade their daughters bundling on the bed with any young men whatever, and introduced a sofa to render courtship more palatable and Turkish. In 1776 a clergyman from one of the polite towns went into the country, and preached against the unchristian custom of young men and maidens lying together on a bed.... [and received as response from the country people that] “experience has told us that city folks send more children into the country without fathers or mothers than are born among us. Therefore you see a sofa is more dangerous than a bed.”

June 29: "Just imported in the *Hare*, Capt. *Caleb Godfrey*, directly from *Sierra-Leon*, a Cargo of Likely and Healthy SLAVES, To be sold upon easy Terms on *Tuesday* the 29th Instant *June*, by AUSTIN & [Henry] LAURENS." Which is to say (among other things that might be said) that Priscilla was for sale:



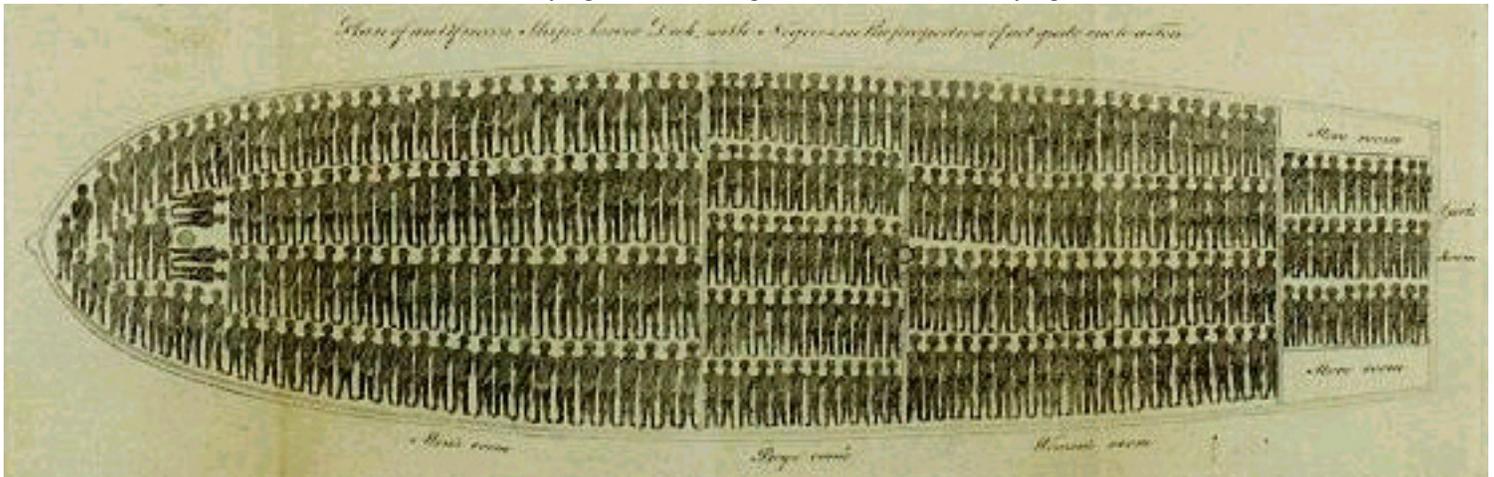
Priscilla was a 10-year-old who had been brought on the negrero *Hare* as part of its international slave trade to Charleston, South Carolina. She had been purchased by Captain Caleb Godfrey in the vicinity of the mouth of the Sierra-Leone River on the coast of Africa near Freetown, or perhaps as far north as the Rio Pongo region in what is now the Republic of Guinea, sometime earlier this year (the ship had put to sea on April 9th with a cargo of 84 slaves and had cast anchor on June 17th at the notorious "Sullivans Island" depot with 68 slaves remaining alive, and remaining healthy enough to be put on the auction block).

The negrero *Hare* was the property of Samuel and William Vernon of Newport. Negroes from the Sierra-Leone, a region in which rice was cultivated, were particularly desired in South Carolina because rice was one of its prime plantation cash crops. Such Rhode Island vessels which conveyed new slaves to Charleston commonly conveyed their proceeds back to Rhode Island in the form of bulk rice.

Priscilla and another girl, and three boys, would be purchased by Elias Ball for his Comingtee plantation near Charleston. It would be he who would assign to her the name "Priscilla." As a plantation slave she would marry with a "Jeffrey" and, before dying in 1811 at an age of approximately 65, create a new generation of ten enslaved children.

1757

In [RHODE ISLAND](#) harbors during this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 8 vessels were being fitted out for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109—as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos— then a total of 872 souls were transported during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone. Examples from this year include the Rhode Island sloop *Dolphin*,¹³⁸ carrying a cargo of 80 slaves, the sloop *Gambia*, carrying a cargo of 140, the schooner *Sierra-Leone*, carrying 70, the snow *Two Brothers*, carrying 150, and a brig of unknown name, carrying 70.



A Quaker clerk turned over the blank volume in which the Friends Monthly Meeting of South Kingstown had been keeping since 1740 a record of its white births, white deaths, white marriages, and white removals, and upside down and backward in the back, began something very different from all that white stuff. What was begun upside down and backward at the end of the volume was — a record of the manumissions of the black slaves of these white [RHODE ISLAND](#) Quakers. We learn that the 1st local [QUAKER](#) to manumit a slave was Friend Richard Smith of Groton, Connecticut, who in this year manumitted an 18-year-old named Jane. Friend Richard explained that the “Negrow Girl” in question had been become the property of his wife, Friend Abigail Gardner Smith, by the will of her father Stephen Gardner, “in Order to be a Slave all her Days According to the common Cuftom of Slavery.” The document is so totally eloquent in its lengthy expression of antislavery sentiments that I will copy it all here:

I Richard Smith of Groton¹³⁹ in the County of New London and Colony of Connecticut upon Confideration and Knowing it Required of me I have written this in Order to Shew the reafon and make it manifest to mankind why that I Difcharge & Sett free my Negrow Girl named Jane at Eighteen Years of Age Daughter of Sarah which is now in Slavery with her Other Children among the Heirs of Stephen Gardnor of Norwich Deceafed this Girl Jane was Given to my Wife Abigail¹⁴⁰ by her Father Stephen Gardnor by will in order to be a Slave all her Days According to the common Cuftom of Slavery. But the falling into my hand by my Wife and the Lord by his free Goodnefs having Given me a clear Sight of the Cruelty of makeing a Slave of one that was by Nature as free as my Own Children and no ways by any Evil She had Committed brought

138. Thomas Robinson was part owner of the negrero *Dolphin*. He was a [QUAKER](#) in good standing, of Newport.

139. Friend Richard Smith of Groton deceased 28 of 8 mo 1800 “in the 96th year of his age.”

140. Friend Abigail Smith of Groton deceased 15 of 6 mo 1799.

her Self into Bondage and Slavery and therefore can no ways be Gilty of Slavery, and to argue because her Mother was made a Slave being by force and Violence brought Out of her Own Land against her mind and Will and Deprived of What She had there & made a Slave of her Should be a Sufficent Reafon that her posterity Should be oprest in bondage with Slavery. I see no Justice for it nor mercy in so Doing but Vi^olent Opprefsing the Inocent without Cause For this thing of Servants it hath pleased God to Sett before me in a Clear manner the case of Servants and Especially the Unreasonablenefs of thefe matters and miftrefses who profefs to be the followers of Christ how they will buy & Sell and be pertakers in making marchandize in Great Babylon of the Slaves that in the bodys of men and womon and of thefe Strangers as Indians & Negrows that are taken Out of their Own Country

[page]

Country or taken in War one among a nother and Sent out which when brought here [word marked out] in Sed of being Released

are Sold into Slavery all there Days and their Pofterity after them they being never so Innoferent in Ronging of any and thefe mafters and miftrefses that buy them or other ways by their parents have them, all this while profefs them selves to be the followers of Christ or Chriftians and yet how they will plead the Reafonables of Keeping them in Slavery and their pofterity after them But when they have pleaded all they can and used the beft arguments they have, it is Only to have there work done with eafe & they to be great and to be Lord over there fellow Creatures, Because they have power & authority to opprefs the helples by a Cuftomary Law of the Nations to keep them in Bondage under Slavery, Quite Renounfing and Rejecting and Hating to obey the Law & command of there great Lord and Mafter Christ as they call him who charge them saying Therefore all things whatfoever Ye would that man fhould do to You do ye even so to them for this if the Law and the prophets said Our Great Lord Matt. 7 & 12. Now if it fhould be afked of any of thefe mafters or miftrefses if they in like Mannor with these Children fhould be carried away unto any Strange People in the world and be fold into Slavery whether they would be willing to serve a strange nation in Slavery & their Children after them and be Deprived of what they Injoyed in there own Country (for this is the Case) I fuppofe there anfwer would be no nor any of our Children upon any acc^t: no not if it were in a Christian Land as they call this well then how can any of them plead the Reafonables of Keeping of any of them in Slavery with there Pofterity and would set[^]them free in a Reafonable Time as they themfelves with their Children would be willing to be done by according to Chrifts words above mentioned for by Nature all nations are free one from the other and the apoftle Saith God is no Refpecter of perfons, the apoftle Likewife Saith that God hath made of one Blood all Nations of men to Dwell on all the face of the Earth Acts 17 & 26

So

[new page]

So that by Nature & blood wee are no better in Gods Sight than they and it is plain that Chrift taught a Doctrine that was to Releive Opprefsed and to Unbind heavy Burdens and let the Innoferent prifoner go free, and hath commanded us to love our Enemy, and to entertain Stranger, & not to opprefs them in Bondage with Slavery and said, he came not to Defstroy mens Lives but to save them Luke 9 & 56 So that the way that brings them into Slavery is forbidden by Chrift for by war violence & stealth and tradeing in them is the way by which they are first Ordered to go into Slavery, and they that buy them or other ways have them and keep them in Slavery as they do there Beafst, for to do there Labour & not to Releive them and set them free, are partakers of the same evil, Therefore I Leave this as a faithfull Teftimony in the fear of the living God against all such wicked proceedings, and upon true Confideration of what is above written I hereby Declare that now at this Time that my Negrow Girl Jane hath arrived to Eighteen Years of Age that fhe Shall now go out Free from Bondage and Slavery as free as if she had been free born and that my Heirs Executors or Administrators fhall have no power over her to make a Slave of Her or her poffterity no more than if she had been [word lined out] free born, for I freely give her her freedom now at the arrival of the afores^d age which is now fullfilled in this prefent Year 1757 as witnefs my hand

Richard Smith

Some time after I had written this Discharge I had it in Confideration which way was proper to make it manifest & secure and it appeared to me very proper to lay it before Friends at the preparative meeting, as buifinefs to the Monthly Meeting, to see if the Monthly Meeting would think proper that it might be put on Record or would forward Untill I might Know what might be done by Friends on this acc^t for this thing hath had weight on my mind ever since this

Girl

[new page]

Girl was put into my hands to prove me in this part of Self Denial whether I would be faithfull or not [flourish] Now my Friends to tell you plainly some Years before this my Intent was to have bought some negrow Slaves for to have done my work to have saved hireing of help But when I was about buying them I was forbidden by the same power that now caufes me to set this Girl at Liberty for the matter was set before me in a Clear manner more Clear than what mortal man Could have done, and Therefore I believe it is not write for me to Think or hide in a thing of so great Concernment as to give my Confent to do to others Contrary to what we our selves would be willing to be done unto our selves if we were in Slavery as many of them are at this dayh & under such mafters and miftrefses too as would be willing to be called Chrifts true followers and make a large profefsion of some

*of his Truths but if we truly Confider God will have
no part kept back for he call for Juftice and mercy
and his Soul Loathes the Oppressing of the Inocent
and poor & helpless and such as have none to help
and will afsuredly avenge their caufe in Righeoufnefs
These things I have found on my mind to lay before
Friends as a matter worth due [word lined out] Confideration
and so lay it before this meeting as Buifinefs [flourish]
Richard Smith [flourish]*

We note that the 1st draft of the Declaration of Independence, in taking the King of England to task for having insisted on the continuation of the international slave trade (“He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, capturing and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur a miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce.”¹⁴¹), may be better understood by referring back to the debate in this year over banning the importation of slaves into Virginia. In this year, the question of a ban on the further importation of new slaves did come before the House of Burgesses, and it was not a debate over benevolence or over human rights. The primary sponsors of such a ban were the large planters of the Northern Neck region of Virginia, including the family of Richard Henry Lee, while the main opposition to it came primarily from smaller planters closer to the frontier, many of them affiliated with the John Robinson faction. Not long after this debate began, the legislators abandoned the possibility of a total ban and the discussion turned toward imposing a 10% tariff or head tax on newly imported Africans as a means of raising revenue to defray Virginia’s expenses for the Seven Years’ War. We do have some evidence that this situation in Virginia was then discussed with the British government, for after Francis Fauquier would become governor of Virginia, the topic would come up in his correspondence with the Board of Trade. Fauquier would on June 2, 1760 mention that this proposal had been made by some “old settlers who have bred large quantities of slaves and who would make a monopoly of them by a duty which they hoped would amount to a prohibition.” In council on December 10, 1770, King George III would direct them not to thus interfere with the importation of new slaves from Africa — but this was not cruelty offsetting a colonial benevolence, for in this debate, the first consideration had been the business of making money, the second consideration had been the business of making money, and the third consideration had been the business of making money.

1758

It was in about this year that Isaac Touro came to Newport, Rhode Island from Amsterdam, Holland.

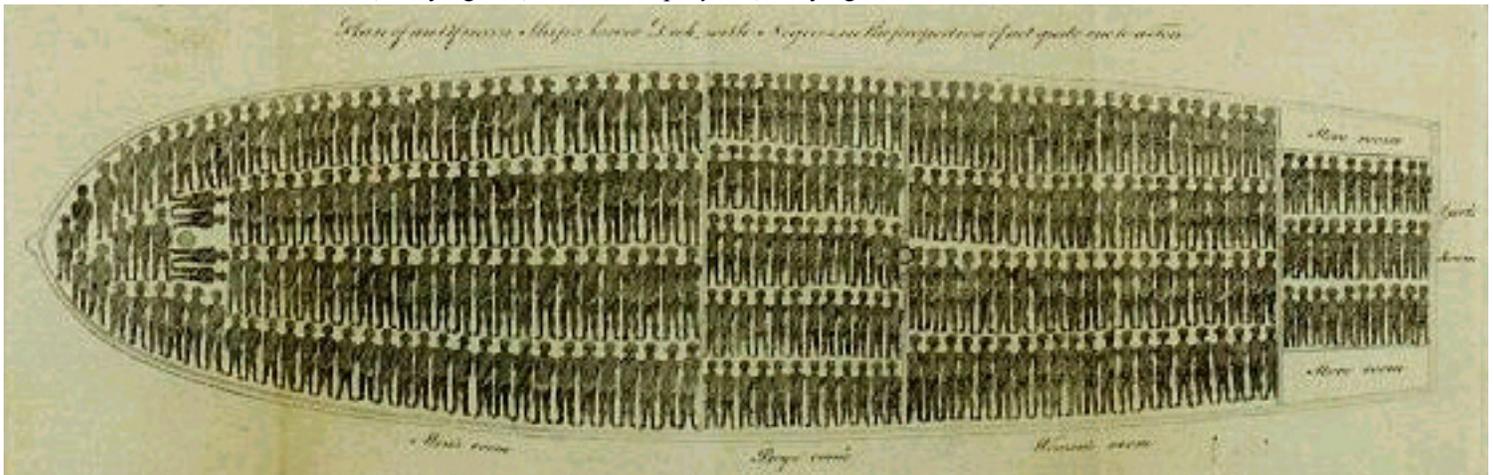
141. Although the sentences in question are confidently asserted to have been authored by Jefferson, and confidently asserted to have been stricken from the draft by others, I know of no evidence to support any such speculation.

In about this year the Reverend Ezra Stiles prepared a map of Newport, Rhode Island which is now at the Redwood Library.



This map indicates that there were substantial buildings on Farewell Street, Marlborough Street, and Tanner Street surrounding the Friends' meetinghouse. A sampling of the accounts of the Proprietors of Easton's Point indicates that the Quakers were benefitting from making the grounds available for use.

In **RHODE ISLAND** harbors during this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 6 vessels were being fitted out for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109—as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos— then a total of 636 souls were transported during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone. Examples from this year include the Rhode Island sloop *Dolphin*,¹⁴² carrying a cargo of 145 slaves, the sloop *Dove*, carrying a cargo of 110, the brig *Prince George*, carrying 170, the snow *Venus*, carrying 150, and the sloop *Wydah*, carrying 60.



In this year, in Pennsylvania, at Yearly Meeting, **FRIENDS** were deciding that if “any professing with us should persist to vindicate it, and be concerned in importing, selling or purchasing slaves, the respective Monthly Meetings to which they belong should manifest their disunion with such persons.”

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: One of the first American protests against the slave-trade came from certain German Friends, in 1688, at a Weekly Meeting held in Germantown, Pennsylvania. “These are the reasons,” wrote “Garret henderich, derick up de

142. Thomas Robinson was part owner of the negrero *Dolphin*. He was a **QUAKER** in good standing, of Newport. Nobody was looking the other way, it was simply that it hadn't occurred to anyone that buying and selling human beings was wrong.

graeff, Francis daniell Pastorius, and Abraham up Den graeff," "why we are against the traffick of men-body, as followeth: Is there any that would be done or handled at this manner?... Now, tho they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men like as we will be done ourselves; making no difference of what generation, descent or colour they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike?"¹⁴³ This little leaven helped slowly to work a revolution in the attitude of this great sect toward slavery and the slave-trade. The Yearly Meeting at first postponed the matter, "It having so General a Relation to many other Parts."¹⁴⁴ Eventually, however, in 1696, the Yearly Meeting advised "That Friends be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more Negroes."¹⁴⁵ This advice was repeated in stronger terms for a quarter-century,¹⁴⁶ and by that time Sandiford, Benezet, Lay, and Woolman had begun their crusade. In 1754 the Friends took a step farther and made the purchase of slaves a matter of discipline.¹⁴⁷ Four years later the Yearly Meeting expressed itself clearly as "against every branch of this practice," and declared that if "any professing with us should persist to vindicate it, and be concerned in importing, selling or purchasing slaves, the respective Monthly Meetings to which they belong should manifest their disunion with such persons."¹⁴⁸ Further, manumission was recommended, and in 1776 made compulsory.¹⁴⁹ The effect of this attitude of the Friends was early manifested in the legislation of all the colonies where the sect was influential, and particularly in Pennsylvania.

One of the first duty acts (1710) laid a restrictive duty of 40s. on slaves, and was eventually disallowed.¹⁵⁰ In 1712 William Southeby petitioned the Assembly totally to abolish slavery. This the Assembly naturally refused to attempt; but the same year, in response to another petition "signed by many hands," they passed an "Act to prevent the Importation of Negroes and Indians,"¹⁵¹ — the first enactment of its kind in America. This act was inspired largely by the general fear of insurrection which succeeded the "Negro-plot" of 1712 in New York. It declared: "Whereas, divers Plots and Insurrections have frequently happened, not only in the Islands but on the Main Land of *America*, by Negroes, which have been carried on so far that several of the inhabitants have been barbarously Murthered, an Instance whereof we have lately had in our Neighboring Colony of *New York*,"¹⁵² etc. It then proceeded to lay a prohibitive duty of £20 on all slaves imported. These acts were quickly disposed of in England. Three duty acts affecting Negroes, including the prohibitory act, were in 1713 disallowed, and it was directed that "the Dep^y Gov^r Council and Assembly of Pensilvania, be &

143. From fac-simile copy, published at Germantown in 1880. Cf. Whittier's poem, "Pennsylvania Hall" (POETICAL WORKS, Riverside ed., III. 62); and Proud, HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA (1797), I. 219.

144. From fac-simile copy, published at Germantown in 1880.

145. Bettle, NOTICES OF NEGRO SLAVERY, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM. (1864), I. 383.

146. Cf. Bettle, NOTICES OF NEGRO SLAVERY, PASSIM.

147. Janney, HISTORY OF THE FRIENDS, III. 315-7.

148. HISTORY OF THE FRIENDS, III. 317.

149. Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 395.

150. PENN. COL. REC. (1852), II. 530; Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 415.

151. LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, COLLECTED, etc., 1714, page 165; Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 387.

152. See preamble of the act.

they are hereby Strictly Enjoyed & required not to permit the said Laws ... to be from henceforward put in Execution."¹⁵³ The Assembly repealed these laws, but in 1715 passed another laying a duty of £5, which was also eventually disallowed.¹⁵⁴ Other acts, the provisions of which are not clear, were passed in 1720 and 1722,¹⁵⁵ and in 1725-1726 the duty on Negroes was raised to the restrictive figure of £10.¹⁵⁶ This duty, for some reason not apparent, was lowered to £2 in 1729,¹⁵⁷ but restored again in 1761.¹⁵⁸ A struggle occurred over this last measure, the Friends petitioning for it, and the Philadelphia merchants against it, declaring that "We, the subscribers, ever desirous to extend the Trade of this Province, have seen, for some time past, the many inconveniencys the Inhabitants have suffer'd for want of Labourers and artificers, ... have for some time encouraged the importation of Negroes;" they prayed therefore at least for a delay in passing the measure.¹⁵⁹ The law, nevertheless, after much debate and altercation with the governor, finally passed. These repeated acts nearly stopped the trade, and the manumission or sale of Negroes by the Friends decreased the number of slaves in the province. The rising spirit of independence enabled the colony, in 1773, to restore the prohibitive duty of £20 and make it perpetual.¹⁶⁰ After the Revolution unpaid duties on slaves were collected and the slaves registered,¹⁶¹ and in 1780 an "Act for the gradual Abolition of Slavery" was passed.¹⁶² As there were probably at no time before the war more than 11,000 slaves in Pennsylvania,¹⁶³ the task thus accomplished was not so formidable as in many other States. As it was, participation in the slave-trade outside the colony was not prohibited until 1788.¹⁶⁴ It seems probable that in the original Swedish settlements along the Delaware slavery was prohibited.¹⁶⁵ This measure had, however, little practical effect; for as soon as the Dutch got control the slave-trade was opened, although, as it appears, to no large extent. After the fall of the Dutch Delaware came into English hands. Not until 1775 do we find any legislation on the slave-trade. In that year the colony attempted to prohibit the

153. The Pennsylvanians did not allow their laws to reach England until long after they were passed: PENN. ARCHIVES, I. 161-2; COL. REC., II. 572-3. These acts were disallowed Feb. 20, 1713. Another duty act was passed in 1712, supplementary to the Act of 1710 (COL. REC., II. 553). The contents are unknown.

154. ACTS AND LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1715, page 270; Chalmers, OPINIONS, II. 118. Before the disallowance was known, the act had been continued by the Act of 1718: Carey and Bioren, LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1700-1802, I. 118; PENN. COL. REC., III. 38.

155. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 165; PENN. COL. REC., III. 171; Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 389, note.

156. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 214; Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 388. Possibly there were two acts this year.

157. LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA (ed. 1742), page 354, ch. 287. Possibly some change in the currency made this change appear greater than it was.

158. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 371; ACTS OF ASSEMBLY (ed. 1782), page 149; Dallas, LAWS, I. 406, ch. 379. This act was renewed in 1768: Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 451; PENN. COL. REC., IX. 472, 637, 641.

159. PENN. COL. REC., VIII. 576.

160. A large petition called for this bill. Much altercation ensued with the governor: Dallas, LAWS, I. 671, ch. 692; PENN. COL. REC., X. 77; Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 388-9.

161. Dallas, LAWS, I. 782, ch. 810.

162. LAWS, I. 838, ch. 881.

163. There exist but few estimates of the number of slaves in this colony: —

In 1721, 2,500-5,000. DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, V. 604.

In 1754, 11,000. Bancroft, HIST. OF UNITED STATES (1883), II. 391.

In 1760, very few. Burnaby, TRAVELS THROUGH N. AMER. (2d ed.), page 81.

In 1775, 2,000. PENN. ARCHIVES, IV 597.

164. Dallas, LAWS, II. 586.

165. Cf. ARGONAUTICA GUSTAVIANA, pages 21-3; DEL. HIST. SOC. PAPERS, III. 10; HAZARD'S REGISTER, IV. 221, §§ 23, 24; HAZARD'S ANNALS, page 372; Armstrong, RECORD OF UPLAND COURT, pages 29-30, and notes.

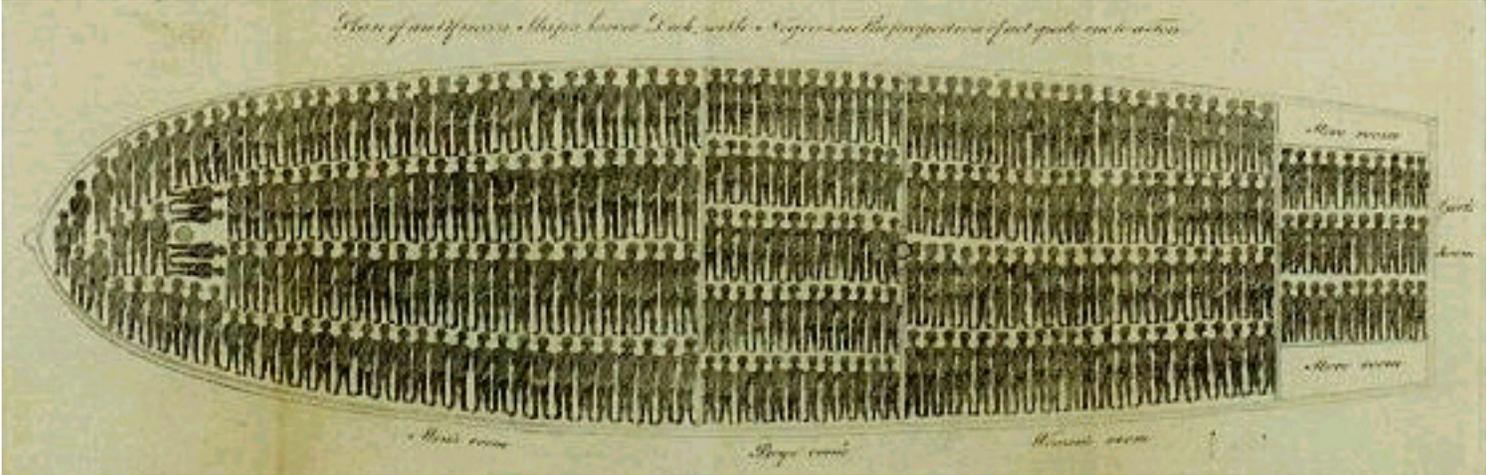
importation of slaves, but the governor vetoed the bill.¹⁶⁶
Finally, in 1776 by the Constitution, and in 1787 by law,
importation and exportation were both prohibited.¹⁶⁷

166. Force, AMERICAN ARCHIVES, 4th Ser., II. 128-9.

167. AMERICAN ARCHIVES, 5th Ser., I. 1178; LAWS OF DELAWARE, 1797 (Newcastle ed.), page 884, ch. 145 b.

1759

In RHODE ISLAND harbors during this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 7 vessels were being fitted out for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109 –as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos– then a total of 763 souls were transported during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone. Examples from this year include the Rhode Island sloop *Abigail*, carrying a cargo of 40 slaves, the brig *Charming Betty*, carrying a cargo of 117, the sloop *Dolphin*,¹⁶⁸ carrying 145, the snow *Industry*, carrying 150, the brig *Marygold*, carrying 135, the sloop *Three Friends*, carrying 78, and the snow *Two Brothers*, carrying 150.



168. Thomas Robinson was part owner of the negrero *Dolphin*. He was a QUAKER in good standing, of Newport. (How could he have been in good standing? –Well, he was.)

This is what was going on for the [QUAKER](#) opponent of slavery, Friend John Woolman:



1758, 1759

[Visit to the Quarterly Meetings in Chester County – Joins Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough in a Visit to such as kept Slaves there – Some Observations on the Conduct which those should maintain who speak in Meetings for Discipline – More Visits to such as kept Slaves, and to Friends near Salem – Account of the Yearly Meeting in the Year 1759, and of the increasing Concern in Divers Provinces to Labour against Buying and Keeping Slaves – The Yearly Meeting Epistle – Thoughts on the Small-pox spreading, and on Inoculation.](#)

ELEVENTH of Eleventh Month, 1758. – This day I set out for Concord; the Quarterly Meeting heretofore held there was now, by reason of a great increase of members, divided into two by the agreement of Friends at our last Yearly Meeting. Here I met with our beloved friends Samuel Spavold and Mary Kirby from England, and with Joseph White from Bucks County; the latter had taken leave of his family in order to go on a religious visit to Friends in England, and, through divine goodness, we were favoured with a strengthening opportunity together. After this meeting I joined with my friends, Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough, in visiting Friends who had slaves. At night we had a family meeting at William Trimble's, many young people being there; and it was a precious, reviving opportunity. Next morning we had a comfortable sitting with a sick neighbour, and thence to the burial of the corpse of a Friend at Uwchland Meeting, at which were many people, and it was a time of divine

favour, after which we visited some who had slaves. In the evening we had a family meeting at a Friend's house, where the channel of the gospel love was opened, and my mind was comforted after a hard day's labour. The next day we were at Goshen Monthly Meeting, and on the 18th attended the Quarterly Meeting at London Grove, it being first held at that place. Here we met again with all the before-mentioned Friends, and had some edifying meetings.

Near the conclusion of the meeting for business, Friends were incited to constancy in supporting the testimony of truth, and reminded of the necessity which the disciples of Christ are under to attend principally to His business as He is pleased to open it to us, and to be particularly careful to have our minds redeemed from the love of wealth, and our outward affairs in as little room as may be, that no temporal concerns may entangle our affections, or hinder us from diligently following the dictates of truth in labouring to promote the pure spirit of meekness and heavenly-mindedness amongst the children of men in these days of calamity and distress, wherein God is visiting our land with His just judgments.

Each of these Quarterly Meetings was large and sat near eight hours. I had occasion to consider that it is a weighty thing to speak much in large meetings for business, for except our minds are rightly prepared, and we clearly understand the case we speak to, instead of forwarding we hinder business, and make more labour for those on whom the burden of the work is laid. If selfish views or a partial spirit have any room in our minds, we are unfit for the Lord's work; if we have a clear prospect of the business, and proper weight on our minds to speak, we should avoid useless apologies and repetitions. Where people are gathered from far, and adjourning a meeting of business is attended with great difficulty, it behoves all to be cautious how they detain a meeting, especially when they have sat six or seven hours, and have a great distance to ride home. After this meeting I rode home.

In the beginning of the twelfth month I joined in company with my friends John Sykes and Daniel Stanton, in visiting such as had slaves. Some whose hearts were rightly exercised about them appeared to be glad of our visit, but in some places our way was more difficult. I often saw the necessity of keeping down to that root from whence our concern proceeded, and have cause in reverent thankfulness humbly to bow down before the Lord, who was near to me, and preserved my mind in calmness under some sharp conflicts, and begat a spirit of sympathy and tenderness in me towards some who were grievously entangled by the spirit of this world.

First Month, 1759. — Having found my mind drawn to visit some of the more active members in our Society at Philadelphia, who had slaves, I met my friend John Churchman there by agreement, and we continued about a week in the city. We visited some that were sick, and some widows and their families, and the other part of our time was mostly employed in visiting such as had slaves. It was a time of deep exercise, but, looking often to the Lord for His assistance, He in unspeakable kindness favoured us with the influence of that Spirit which crucifies to the greatness and splendour of this world, and enabled us to go through some heavy labours, in which we found peace.

Twenty-fourth of Third Month, 1759. — After attending our general Spring Meeting at Philadelphia I again joined with John

Churchman on a visit to some who had slaves in Philadelphia, and with thankfulness to our Heavenly Father I may say that divine love and a true sympathizing tenderness of heart prevailed at times in this service.

Having at times perceived a shyness in some Friends of considerable note towards me, I found an engagement in gospel love to pay a visit to one of them; and as I dwelt under the exercise, I felt a resignedness in my mind to go and tell him privately that I had a desire to have an opportunity with him alone; to this proposal he readily agreed, and then, in the fear of the Lord, things relating to that shyness were searched to the bottom, and we had a large conference, which, I believe was of use to both of us, and I am thankful that way was opened for it.

Fourteenth of Sixth Month. – Having felt drawings in my mind to visit Friends about Salem, and having the approbation of our Monthly Meeting, I attended their Quarterly Meeting, and was out seven days, and attended seven meetings; in some of them I was chiefly silent; in others, through the baptizing power of truth, my heart was enlarged in heavenly love, and I found a near fellowship with the brethren and sisters, in the manifold trials attending their Christian progress through this world.

Seventh Month. – I have found an increasing concern on my mind to visit some active members in our Society who have slaves, and having no opportunity of the company of such as were named in the minutes of the Yearly Meeting, I went alone to their houses, and, in the fear of the Lord, acquainted them with the exercise I was under; and thus, sometimes by a few words, I found myself discharged from a heavy burden. After this, our friend John Churchman coming into our province with a view to be at some meetings, and to join again in the visit to those who had slaves, I bore him company in the said visit to some active members, and found inward satisfaction.

At our Yearly Meeting this year, we had some weighty seasons, in which the power of truth was largely extended, to the strengthening of the honest-minded. As the epistles which were to be sent to the Yearly Meetings on this continent were read, I observed that in most of them, both this year and the last, it was recommended to Friends to labour against buying and keeping slaves, and in some of them the subject was closely treated upon. As this practice hath long been a heavy exercise to me, and I have often waded through mortifying labours on that account, and at times in some meetings have been almost alone therein, I was humbly bowed in thankfulness in observing the increasing concern in our religious society, and seeing how the Lord was raising up and qualifying servants for His work, not only in this respect, but for promoting the cause of truth in general.

This meeting continued near a week. For several days, in the fore part of it, my mind was drawn into a deep inward stillness, and being at times covered with the spirit of supplication, my heart was secretly poured out before the Lord. Near the conclusion of the meeting for business, way opened in the pure flowings of divine love for me to express what lay upon me, which, as it then arose in my mind, was first to show how deep answers to deep in the hearts of the sincere and upright; though, in their different growths, they may not all have attained to the same clearness in some points relating to our testimony. And I was then led to mention the integrity and constancy of many

martyrs who gave their lives for the testimony of Jesus, and yet, in some points they held doctrines distinguishable from some which we hold, that, in all ages, where people were faithful to the light and understanding which the Most High afforded them, they found acceptance with Him, and though there may be different ways of thinking amongst us in some particulars, yet, if we mutually keep to that spirit and power which crucifies to the world, which teaches us to be content with things really needful, and to avoid all superfluities, and give up our hearts to fear and serve the Lord, true unity may still be preserved amongst us; that, if those who were at times under sufferings on account of some scruples of conscience kept low and humble, and in their conduct in life manifested a spirit of true charity, it would be more likely to reach the witness in others, and be of more service in the Church, than if their sufferings were attended with a contrary spirit and conduct. In this exercise I was drawn into a sympathizing tenderness with the sheep of Christ, however distinguished one from another in this world, and the like disposition appeared to spread over others in the meeting. Great is the goodness of the Lord towards His poor creatures.

An epistle went forth from this Yearly Meeting which I think good to give a place in this Journal. It is as follows: -

From the Yearly Meeting, held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, from the 22nd day of the Ninth Month to the 28th of the same, inclusive, 1759.

TO THE QUARTERLY AND MONTHLY MEETINGS OF FRIENDS BELONGING TO THE SAID YEARLY MEETING: -

DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS AND BRETHREN, - In an awful sense of the wisdom and goodness of the Lord our God, whose tender mercies have been continued to us in this land, we affectionately salute you, with sincere and fervent desires that we may reverently regard the dispensations of His providence, and improve under them.

The empires and kingdoms of the earth are subject to His almighty power. He is the God of the spirits of all flesh, and deals with His people agreeably to that wisdom, the depth whereof is to us unsearchable. We in these provinces may say, He hath, as a gracious and tender parent, dealt bountifully with us, even from the days of our fathers. It was He who strengthened them to labour through the difficulties attending the improvement of a wilderness, and made way for them in the hearts of the natives, so that by them they were comforted in times of want and distress. It was by the gracious influences of His Holy Spirit that they were disposed to work righteousness, and walk uprightly towards each other and towards the natives; in life and conversation to manifest the excellency of the principles and doctrines of the Christian religion, whereby they retain their esteem and friendship. Whilst they were labouring for the necessaries of life, many of them were fervently engaged to promote pity and virtue in the earth, and to educate their children in the fear of the Lord.

If we carefully consider the peaceable measures pursued in the first settlement of land, and that freedom from the desolations of wars which for a long time we

enjoyed, we shall find ourselves under strong obligations to the Almighty, who, when the earth is so generally polluted with wickedness, gives us a being in a part so signally favoured with tranquillity and plenty, and in which the glad tidings of the gospel of Christ are so freely published, that we may justly say with the Psalmist, "What shall we render unto the Lord for all His benefits?"

Our own real good and the good of our posterity in some measure depends on the part we act, and it nearly concerns us to try our foundations impartially. Such are the different rewards of the just and unjust in a future state, that to attend diligently to the dictates of the spirit of Christ, to devote ourselves to His service, and to engage fervently in His cause, during our short stay in this world, is a choice well becoming a free, intelligent creature. We shall thus clearly see and consider that the dealings of God with mankind, in a national capacity, as recorded in Holy Writ, do sufficiently evidence the truth of that saying, "It is righteousness which exalteth a nation"; and though He doth not at all times suddenly execute His judgments on a sinful people in this life, yet we see in many instances that when "men follow lying vanities they forsake their own mercies"; and as a proud, selfish spirit prevails and spreads among a people, so partial judgment, oppression, discord, envy, and confusions increase, and provinces and kingdoms are made to drink the cup of adversity as a reward of their own doing. Thus the inspired prophet, reasoning with the degenerated Jews, saith, "Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backsliding shall reprove thee; know, therefore, that it is an evil thing and bitter that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and that My fear is not in thee, saith the Lord God of Hosts" (JEREMIAH 2:19).

The God of our fathers, who hath bestowed on us many benefits, furnished a table for us in the wilderness, and made the deserts and solitary places to rejoice. He doth now mercifully call upon us to serve Him more faithfully. We may truly say with the Prophet, "It is His voice which crieth to the city, and men of wisdom see His name. They regard the rod, and Him who hath appointed it." People who look chiefly at things outward, too little consider the original cause of the present troubles; but they who fear the Lord and think often upon His name, see and feel that a wrong spirit is spreading amongst the inhabitants of our country; that the hearts of many are waxed fat, and their ears dull of hearing; that the Most High, in His visitations to us, instead of calling, lifteth up His voice and crieth: He crieth to our country, and His voice waxeth louder and louder. In former wars between the English and other nations, since the settlement of our provinces, the calamities attending them have fallen chiefly on other places, but now of late they have reached to our borders; many of our fellow-subjects have suffered on and near our frontiers, some have been slain in battle, some killed in their houses, and some in

their fields, some wounded and left in great misery, and others separated from their wives and little children, who have been carried captives among the Indians.

We have seen men and women who have been witnesses of these scenes of sorrow, and, being reduced to want, have come to our houses asking relief. It is not long since many young men in one of these provinces were drafted, in order to be taken as soldiers; some were at that time in great distress, and had occasion to consider that their lives had been too little conformable to the purity and spirituality of that religion which we profess, and found themselves too little acquainted with that inward humility, in which true fortitude to endure hardness for the truth's sake is experienced. Many parents were concerned for their children, and in that time of trial were led to consider that their care to get outward treasure for them had been greater than their care for their settlement in that religion which crucifieth to the world, and enableth to bear testimony to the peaceable government of the Messiah. These troubles are removed, and for a time we are released from them.

Let us not forget that "The Most High hath His way in the deep, in clouds, and in thick darkness"; that it is His voice which crieth to the city and to the country, and oh that these loud and awakening cries may have a proper effect upon us, that heavier chastisement may not become necessary! For though things, as to the outward, may for a short time afford a pleasing prospect, yet, while a selfish spirit, that is not subject to the cross of Christ, continueth to spread and prevail, there can be no long continuance in outward peace and tranquillity. If we desire an inheritance incorruptible, and to be at rest in that state of peace and happiness which ever continues; if we desire in this life to dwell under the favour and protection of that Almighty Being whose habitation is in holiness, whose ways are all equal, and whose anger is now kindled because of our backslidings, — let us then awfully regard these beginnings of His sore judgments, and with abasement and humiliation turn to Him whom we have offended.

Contending with one equal in strength is an uneasy exercise; but if the Lord is become our enemy, if we persist in contending with Him who is omnipotent, our overthrow will be unavoidable.

Do we feel an affectionate regard to posterity? and are we employed to promote their happiness? Do our minds, in things outward, look beyond our own dissolution? and are we contriving for the prosperity of our children after us? Let us then, like wise builders, lay the foundation deep, and by our constant uniform regard to an inward piety and virtue let them see that we really value it. Let us labour in the fear of the Lord that their innocent minds, while young and tender, may be preserved from corruptions; that as they advance in age they may rightly understand their true interest, may consider the uncertainty of temporal things, and, above all, have their hope and confidence firmly settled in

the blessing of that Almighty Being who inhabits eternity and preserves and supports the world.

In all our cares about worldly treasures, let us steadily bear in mind that riches possessed by children who do not truly serve God, are likely to prove snares that may more grievously entangle them in that spirit of selfishness and exaltation which stands in opposition to real peace and happiness, and renders those who submit to the influence of it enemies to the cause of Christ.

To keep a watchful eye towards real objects of charity, to visit the poor in their lonesome dwelling-places, to comfort those who, through the dispensations of divine Providence, are in strait and painful circumstances in this life, and steadily to endeavour to honour God with our substance, from a real sense of the love of Christ influencing our minds, is more likely to bring a blessing to our children, and will afford more satisfaction to a Christian favoured with plenty, than an earnest desire to collect much wealth to leave behind us; for, "here we have no continuing city"; may we therefore diligently "seek one that is to come, whose builder and maker is God."

"Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things, and do them, and the God of peace shall be with you."

(Signed by appointment, and on behalf of said meeting.)

Twenty-eighth of Eleventh Month. - This day I attended the Quarterly Meeting in Bucks County. In the meeting of ministers and elders my heart was enlarged in the love of Jesus Christ, and the favour of the Most High was extended to us in that and the ensuing meeting.

I had conversation at my lodging with my beloved friend Samuel Eastburn, who expressed a concern to join in a visit to some Friends in that county who had negroes, and as I had felt a drawing in my mind to the said work, I came home and put things in order. On the 11th of Twelfth Month I went over the river, and on the next day was at Buckingham Meeting, where, through the descendings of heavenly dew, my mind was comforted and drawn into a near unity with the flock of Jesus Christ.

Entering upon this business appeared weighty, and before I left home my mind was often sad, under which exercise I felt at times the Holy Spirit which helps our infirmities, and through which my prayers were at times put up to God in private that He would be pleased to purge me from all selfishness, that I might be strengthened to discharge my duty faithfully, how hard soever to the natural part. We proceeded on the visit in a weighty frame of spirit, and went to the houses of the most active members who had negroes throughout the county. Through the goodness of the Lord my mind was preserved in resignation in times of trial, and though the work was hard to nature, yet, through the strength of that love which is stronger than death, tenderness of heart was often felt amongst us in our visits, and we parted from several families with greater satisfaction than we expected.

We visited Joseph White's family, he being in England; we had

also a family sitting at the house of an elder who bore us company, and were at Makefield on a First-day: at all which times my heart was truly thankful to the Lord who was graciously pleased to renew His loving-kindness to us, His poor servants, uniting us together in His work.

In the winter of this year, the smallpox being in our town, and many being inoculated, of whom a few died, some things were opened in my mind, which I wrote as follows: –

The more fully our lives are conformable to the will of God, the better it is for us; I have looked on the smallpox as a messenger from the Almighty, to be an assistant in the cause of virtue, and to incite us to consider whether we employ our time only in such things as are consistent with perfect wisdom and goodness. Building houses suitable to dwell in, for ourselves and our creatures; preparing clothing suitable for the climate and season, and food convenient, are all duties incumbent on us. And under these general heads are many branches of business in which we may venture health and life, as necessity may require.

This disease being in a house, and my business calling me to go near it, incites me to consider whether this is a real indispensable duty; whether it is not in conformity to some custom which would be better laid aside, or whether it does not proceed from too eager a pursuit after some outward treasure. If the business before me springs not from a clear understanding and a regard to that use of things which perfect wisdom approves, to be brought to a sense of it and stopped in my pursuit is a kindness, for when I proceed to business without some evidence of duty, I have found by experience that it tends to weakness. If I am so situated that there appears no probability of missing the infection, it tends to make me think whether my manner of life in things outward has nothing in it which may unfit my body to receive this messenger in a way the most favourable to me. Do I use food and drink in no other sort and in no other degree than was designed by Him who gave these creatures for our sustenance? Do I never abuse my body by inordinate labour, striving to accomplish some end which I have unwisely proposed? Do I use action enough in some useful employ, or do I sit too much idle while some persons who labour to support me have too great a share of it? If in any of these things I am deficient, to be incited to consider it is a favour to me. Employment is necessary in social life, and this infection, which often proves mortal, incites me to think whether these social acts of mine are real duties. If I go on a visit to the widows and fatherless, do I go purely on a principle of charity, free from any selfish views? If I go to a religious meeting it puts me on thinking whether I go in sincerity and in a clear sense of duty, or whether it is not partly in conformity to custom, or partly from a sensible delight which my animal spirits feel in the company of other people, and whether to support my reputation as a religious man has no share in it.

Do affairs relating to civil society call me near this infection? If I go, it is at the hazard of my health and life, and it becomes me to think seriously whether love to truth and righteousness is the motive of my attending; whether the manner of proceeding is altogether equitable, or whether aught of narrowness, party interest, respect to outward dignities, names, or distinctions among men, do not stain the beauty of those assemblies, and render it doubtful; in point of duty, whether a disciple of Christ ought to attend as a member united to the

body or not. Whenever there are blemishes which for a series of time remain such, that which is a means of stirring us up to look attentively on these blemishes, and to labour according to our capacities to have health and soundness restored in our country, we may justly account a kindness from our gracious Father, who appointed that means.

The care of a wise and good man for his only son is inferior to the regard of the great Parent of the universe for His creatures. He hath the command of all the powers and operations in nature, and "doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men." Chastisement is intended for instruction, and instruction being received by gentle chastisement, greater calamities are prevented. By an earthquake hundreds of houses are sometimes shaken down in a few minutes, multitudes of people perish suddenly, and many more, being crushed and bruised in the ruins of the buildings, pine away and die in great misery.

By the breaking in of enraged merciless armies, flourishing countries have been laid waste, great numbers of people have perished in a short time, and many more have been pressed with poverty and grief. By the pestilence, people have died so fast in a city, that, through fear, grief, and confusion, those in health have found great difficulty in burying the dead, even without coffins. By famine, great numbers of people in some places have been brought to the utmost distress, and have pined away from want of the necessaries of life. Thus, when the kind invitations and gentle chastisements of a gracious God have not been attended to, his sore judgments have at times been poured out upon people.

While some rules approved in civil society and conformable to human policy, so called, are distinguishable from the purity of truth and righteousness, - while many professing the truth are declining from that ardent love and heavenly-mindedness which was amongst the primitive followers of Jesus Christ, it is time for us to attend diligently to the intent of every chastisement, and to consider the most deep and inward design of them.

The Most High doth not often speak with an outward voice to our outward ears, but, if we humbly meditate on His perfections, consider that He is perfect wisdom and goodness, and that to afflict His creatures to no purpose would be utterly averse to His nature, we shall hear and understand His language both in His gentle and more heavy chastisements, and shall take heed that we do not, in the wisdom of this world, endeavour to escape His hand by means too powerful for us.

Had he endowed men with understanding to prevent this disease (the smallpox) by means which had never proved hurtful nor mortal, such a discovery might be considered as the period of chastisement by this distemper, where that knowledge extended.¹⁶⁹ But as life and health are His gifts, and are not to be disposed of in our own wills, to take upon us by inoculation when in health a disorder of which some die, requires great clearness of knowledge that it is our duty to do

169. Whatever may be thought of these scruples of John Woolman in regard to inoculation, his objections can scarcely be considered valid against vaccination, which, since his time, has so greatly mitigated the disease. He almost seems to have anticipated some such preventive.

so.



March 21: The Marrano Jews who had settled at [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), wherever they had come from (perhaps Holland, perhaps New-York, more likely than not Curacao in the West Indies), had been on Aquidneck Island at this point for more than a century but had only for about five years been attempting to create for themselves a synagogue. The delay may have been due to the fact that a Marrano (I am instructed that, in Spanish, this means “pig,” and is thus a record of abusive treatment) is a Jew who has pretended to convert to Christianity, and is “passing,” in the manner in which a person with a black or red ancestor, if their skin is light enough, may “pass” as white and thus avoid certain life difficulties.

However, on this day they again circulated a letter asking for contributions, this time citing that it was toward the procurement of proper facilities for educational purposes. The Jews of New-York would in response be able to contribute £150, and there would be some money arriving from the Sephardic communities of Jamaica, Curaçao, Surinam, and London, so, finally, in 1763, the synagogue of K.K. Yeshuat Israel, the Holy Congregation of the Salvation of Israel, would be dedicated.

This was also the year during which Isaac Touro arrived in from Amsterdam via the West Indies at the age of 20, already trained in Holland for the Jewish ministry. He would reside at 42 Division Street. It would be he who would provide, from memory, for the construction of the Touro Synagogue, elements of the design of the Sephardic Synagogue which had been built in 1675 in Amsterdam. The design of the structure was to render it appropriate not only for worship, but also for the education of the young in the traditions of the group. It is an open question whether the function of ceremonial worship or the function of appropriate education was intended at this point to be primary, and whether at first this young man Touro performed functions primarily as a rabbi, for all, or primarily as a teacher, for the young males.

June 30: Colonel John Prideaux and Sir William Johnson left Fort Oswego by boat to prepare the invasion of Fort Niagara.

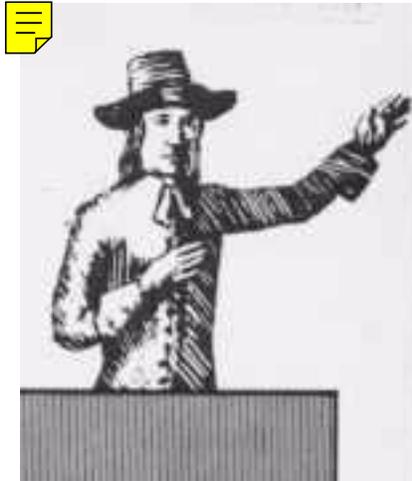
The Marrano¹⁷⁰ Jacob Rodrigues Rivera, and two Ashkenazi Jews, Moses Levy and Isaac Hart, of Newport, purchased a small parcel of land for £1500 in Rhode Island currency, on what was then Griffin Street, from Ebenezer Allen of Sandwich, Massachusetts.

170. Marrano = a Spanish or Portuguese Jew of the late Middle Ages who converted to Christianity, especially one forcibly converted but adhering secretly to Judaism.

1760

In Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), some sailors were [HANGED](#) for having been guilty of a mutiny at sea.

Some of the [QUAKER](#) group in Newport, including some of the elders and some of the ministers, were, however little superior in morality to such condemned persons, for they were not only slavemasters but also were still entangled in the international slave trade. Friend John Woolman wrote that he and his companions “in bowedness of spirit went to the Yearly Meeting at Newport, where I understood that a large number of slaves were imported from Africa and then on sale by a member of our Society.... At this time I had a feeling of the condition of Habakkuk as thus expressed: ‘When I heard, my belly trembled, my lips quivered, my appetite failed, and I grew outwardly weak. I trembled in myself that I might rest in the day of trouble.’ I had many cogitations and was sorely distressed.” Habakkuk 3:16 is of course a graphic description of the wrath of God; the verse concluding with “I sigh for the day of distress to dawn over my assailants.”



Friend John engaged in a successful effort to read in Yearly Meeting session a petition to the [RHODE ISLAND](#) legislature to discourage the importation of slaves. Apparently he got through this with his customary delicate, compassionate, and forceful persuasion. Having been able to read the petition aloud in the hearing of Friends, he “felt easy to leave the essay amongst Friends, for them to proceed on it as they believed best.”

Then, however, the Yearly Meeting took up the question of lotteries, and Friend John evidently was not able to maintain his temperance. He reports that “The matter was zealously handled by some on both sides.... And in the heat of zeal, I once made reply to what an ancient Friend said, which when I sat down I saw that my words were not enough seasoned with charity, and after this I spake no more on the subject. ...Some time after ... I, remaining uneasy with the manner of my speaking ... could not see my way clear to conceal my uneasiness, but was concerned that I might say nothing to weaken the cause in which I had laboured. And then after some close exercise and hearty repentance for that I had not attended closely to the safe guide, I stood up and ... acquainted Friends that though I dare not go from what I had said as to the matter, yet I was uneasy with the manner of my speaking, as believing milder language would have been better. As this was uttered in some degree of creaturely abasement, it appeared to have a good savor amongst us, after a warm debate.” Woolman had managed to rein in his anger and distress during his careful and skillful management of his antislavery petition, using the emotional energy to power his compassion, discernment, and charity toward the slaveholders themselves, but then during the discussion of lotteries his anger had slipped out. Following the general Meeting, however Woolman was able to meet with a number of slaveholding ministers, elders, overseers, and others, and was able to report that “My exercise was heavy and I was deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, who was pleased to favour with the seasoning virtue of Truth, which wrought a tenderness amongst us, and the subject was mutually handled in a calm and peaceable spirit.”

Visit, in Company with Samuel Eastburn, to Long Island, Rhode Island, Boston, etc. – Remarks on the Slave-Trade at Newport; also on Lotteries – Some Observations on the Island of Nantucket.

FOURTH Month, 1760. – Having for some time past felt a sympathy in my mind with Friends eastward, I opened my concern in our Monthly Meeting, and, obtaining a certificate, set forward on the 17th of this month, in company with my beloved friend Samuel Eastburn. We had meetings at Woodbridge, Rahway, and Plainfield, and were at their Monthly Meeting of ministers and elders in Rahway. We laboured under some discouragement, but through the invisible power of truth our visit was made reviving to the lowly-minded, with whom I felt a near unity of spirit, being much reduced in my mind. We passed on and visited most of the meetings on Long Island. It was my concern from day to day, to say neither more nor less than what the Spirit of truth opened in me, being jealous over myself lest I should say anything to make my testimony look agreeable to that mind in people which is not in pure obedience to the cross of Christ.

The spring of the ministry was often low, and through the subjecting power of truth we were kept low with it; from place to place they whose hearts were truly concerned for the cause of Christ appeared to be comforted in our labours, and though it was in general a time of abasement of the creature, yet, through His goodness who is a helper of the poor, we had some truly edifying seasons both in meetings and in families where we tarried. Sometimes we found strength to labour earnestly with the unfaithful, especially with those whose station in families or in the Society was such that their example had a powerful tendency to open the way for others to go aside from the purity and soundness of the blessed truth.

At Jericho, on Long Island, I wrote home as follows: –

24th of the Fourth Month, 1760.

DEARLY BELOVED WIFE, – We are favoured with health; have been at sundry meetings in East Jersey and on this island. My mind hath been much in an inward, watchful frame since I left thee, greatly desiring that our proceedings may be singly in the will of our Heavenly Father.

As the present appearance of things is not joyous, I have been much shut up from outward cheerfulness, remembering that promise, "Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord"; as this from day to day has been revived in my memory, I have considered that His internal presence in our minds is a delight of all others the most pure, and that the honest-hearted not only delight in this, but in the effect of it upon them. He regards the helpless and distressed, and reveals His love to His children under affliction, who delight in beholding His benevolence, and in feeling divine charity moving in them. Of this I may speak a little, for, though since I left you I have often an engaging love and affection towards thee and my daughter and friends about home, and going out at this time, when sickness is so great amongst you, is a trial upon me; yet I often remember there are many widows and fatherless, many who have poor tutors, many who have evil examples before them, and many whose minds are in

captivity; for whose sake my heart is at times moved with compassion, so that I feel my mind resigned to leave you for a season, to exercise that gift which the Lord hath bestowed on me, which though small compared with some, yet in this I rejoice that I feel love unfeigned towards my fellow-creatures. I recommend you to the Almighty, who, I trust, cares for you, and under a sense of His heavenly love remain,
Thy loving husband, J. W.

We crossed from the east end of Long Island to New London, about thirty miles, in a large open boat; while we were out, the wind rising high, the waves several times beat over us, so that to me it appeared dangerous, but my mind was at that time turned to Him who made and governs the deep, and my life was resigned to Him; as He was mercifully pleased to preserve us, I had fresh occasion to consider every day as a day lent to me, and felt a renewed engagement to devote my time, and all I had, to Him who gave it.

We had five meetings in Narraganset, and went thence to Newport on Rhode Island. Our gracious Father preserved us in an humble dependence on Him through deep exercises that were mortifying to the creaturely will. In several families in the country where we lodged, I felt an engagement on my mind to have a conference with them in private, concerning their slaves; and through divine aid I was favoured to give up thereto. Though in this concern I differ from many whose service in travelling is, I believe, greater than mine, yet I do not think hardly of them for omitting it; I do not repine at having so unpleasant a task assigned me, but look with awfulness to Him who appoints to His servants their respective employments, and is good to all who serve Him sincerely.

We got to Newport in the evening, and on the next day visited two sick persons, with whom we had comfortable sittings, and in the afternoon attended the burial of a Friend. The next day we were at meetings at Newport, in the forenoon and afternoon; the spring of the ministry was opened, and strength was given to declare the Word of Life to the people.

The day following we went on our journey, but the great number of slaves in these parts, and the continuance of that trade from thence to Guinea, made a deep impression on me, and my cries were often put up to my Heavenly Father in secret, that He would enable me to discharge my duty faithfully in such way as He might be pleased to point out to me.

We took Swansea, Freetown, and Taunton in our way to Boston, where also we had a meeting; our exercise was deep, and the love of truth prevailed, for which I bless the Lord. We went eastward about eighty miles beyond Boston, taking meetings, and were in a good degree preserved in an humble dependence on that arm which drew us out; and though we had some hard labour with the disobedient, by laying things home and close to such as were stout against the truth, yet through the goodness of God we had at times to partake of heavenly comfort with those who were meek, and were often favoured to part with Friends in the nearness of true gospel fellowship. We returned to Boston and had another comfortable opportunity with Friends there, and thence rode back a day's journey eastward of Boston. Our guide being a heavy man, and the weather hot, my companion and I expressed our freedom to go on without him, to which he consented, and we respectfully

took our leave of him; this we did as believing the journey would have been hard to him and his horse.

In visiting the meetings in those parts we were measurably baptized into a feeling of the state of the Society, and in bowedness of spirit went to the Yearly Meeting at Newport, where we met with John Storer from England, Elizabeth Shipley, Ann Gaunt, Hannah Foster, and Mercy Redman, from our parts, all ministers of the gospel, of whose company I was glad. Understanding that a large number of slaves had been imported from Africa into that town, and were then on sale by a member of our Society, my appetite failed, and I grew outwardly weak, and had a feeling of the condition of Habakkuk, as thus expressed: "When I heard, my belly trembled, my lips quivered, I trembled in myself, that I might rest in the day of trouble." I had many cogitations, and was sorely distressed. I was desirous that Friends might petition the Legislature to use their endeavours to discourage the future importation of slaves, for I saw that this trade was a great evil, and tended to multiply troubles, and to bring distresses on the people for whose welfare my heart was deeply concerned. But I perceived several difficulties in regard to petitioning, and such was the exercise of my mind that I thought of endeavouring to get an opportunity to speak a few words in the House of Assembly then sitting in town.

This exercise came upon me in the afternoon on the second day of the Yearly Meeting, and on going to bed I got no sleep till my mind was wholly resigned thereto. In the morning I inquired of a Friend how long the Assembly was likely to continue sitting, who told me it was expected to be prorogued that day or the next. As I was desirous to attend the business of the meeting, and perceived the Assembly was likely to separate before the business was over, after considerable exercise, humbly seeking to the Lord for instruction, my mind settled to attend on the business of the meeting; on the last day of which I had prepared a short essay of a petition to be presented to the Legislature, if way opened. And being informed that there were some appointed by that Yearly Meeting to speak with those in authority on cases relating to the Society, I opened my mind to several of them, and showed them the essay I had made, and afterwards I opened the case in the meeting for business, in substance as follows: —

I have been under a concern for some time on account of the great number of slaves which are imported into this colony. I am aware that it is a tender point to speak to, but apprehend I am not clear in the sight of Heaven without doing so. I have prepared an essay of a petition to be presented to the Legislature, if way open; and what I have to propose to this meeting is that some Friends may be named to withdraw and look over it, and report whether they believe it suitable to be read in the meeting. If they should think well of reading it, it will remain for the meeting to consider whether to take any further notice of it, as a meeting, or not.

After a short conference some Friends went out, and, looking over it, expressed their willingness to have it read, which being done, many expressed their unity with the proposal, and some signified that to have the subjects of the petition enlarged upon, and signed out of meeting by such as were free, would be more suitable than to do it there. Though I expected at first that if it was done it would be in that way, yet such

was the exercise of my mind that to move it in the hearing of Friends when assembled appeared to me as a duty, for my heart yearned towards the inhabitants of these parts, believing that by this trade there had been an increase of inquietude amongst them, and way had been made for the spreading of a spirit opposite to that meekness and humility which is a sure resting-place for the soul; and that the continuance of this trade would not only render their healing more difficult, but would increase their malady.

Having proceeded thus far, I felt easy to leave the essay amongst Friends, for them to proceed in it as they believed best. And now an exercise revived in my mind in relation to lotteries, which were common in those parts. I had mentioned the subject in a former sitting of this meeting, when arguments were used in favour of Friends being held excused who were only concerned in such lotteries as were agreeable to law. And now, on moving it again, it was opposed as before; but the hearts of some solid Friends appeared to be united to discourage the practice amongst their members, and the matter was zealously handled by some on both sides. In this debate it appeared very clear to me that the spirit of lotteries was a spirit of selfishness, which tended to confuse and darken the understanding, and that pleading for it in our meetings, which were set apart for the Lord's work, was not right. In the heat of zeal, I made reply to what an ancient Friend said, and when I sat down I saw that my words were not enough seasoned with charity. After this I spoke no more on the subject. At length a minute was made, a copy of which was to be sent to their several Quarterly Meetings, inciting Friends to labour to discourage the practice amongst all professing with us.

Some time after this minute was made I remained uneasy with the manner of my speaking to the ancient Friend, and could not see my way clear to conceal my uneasiness, though I was concerned that I might say nothing to weaken the cause in which I had laboured. After some close exercise and hearty repentance for not having attended closely to the safe guide, I stood up, and, reciting the passage, acquainted Friends that though I durst not go from what I had said as to the matter, yet I was uneasy with the manner of my speaking, believing milder language would have been better. As this was uttered in some degree of creaturely abasement after a warm debate, it appeared to have a good savour amongst us.

The Yearly Meeting being now over, there yet remained on my mind a secret though heavy exercise, in regard to some leading active members about Newport, who were in the practice of keeping slaves. This I mentioned to two ancient Friends who came out of the country, and proposed to them, if way opened, to have some conversation with those members. One of them and I, having consulted one of the most noted elders who had slaves, he, in a respectful manner, encouraged me to proceed to clear myself of what lay upon me. Near the beginning of the Yearly Meeting, I had had a private conference with this said elder and his wife concerning their slaves, so that the way seemed clear to me to advise with him about the manner of proceeding.

I told him I was free to have a conference with them all together in a private house; or, if he thought they would take it unkind to be asked to come together, and to be spoken with in the hearing of one another, I was free to spend some time amongst them, and to visit them all in their own houses. He expressed

his liking to the first proposal, not doubting their willingness to come together; and, as I proposed a visit to only ministers, elders, and overseers, he named some others whom he desired might also be present. A careful messenger being wanted to acquaint them in a proper manner, he offered to go to all their houses, to open the matter to them, – and did so. About the eighth hour the next morning we met in the meeting-house chamber, the last-mentioned country Friend, my companion, and John Storer being with us. After a short time of retirement, I acquainted them with the steps I had taken in procuring that meeting, and opened the concern I was under, and we then proceeded to a free conference upon the subject. My exercise was heavy, and I was deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, who was pleased to favour with the seasoning virtue of truth, which wrought a tenderness amongst us; and the subject was mutually handled in a calm and peaceable spirit. At length, feeling my mind released from the burden which I had been under, I took my leave of them in a good degree of satisfaction; and by the tenderness they manifested in regard to the practice, and the concern several of them expressed in relation to the manner of disposing of their negroes after their decease, I believed that a good exercise was spreading amongst them: and I am humbly thankful to God, who supported my mind and preserved me in a good degree of resignation through these trials.

Thou who sometimes travellest in the work of the ministry, and art made very welcome by thy friends, seest many tokens of their satisfaction in having thee for their guest. It is good for thee to dwell deep, that thou mayest feel and understand the spirits of people. If we believe truth points towards a conference on some subjects in a private way, it is needful for us to take heed that their kindness, their freedom and affability, do not hinder us from the Lord's work. I have experienced that, in the midst of kindness and smooth conduct, to speak close and home to them who entertain us, on points that relate to outward interest, is hard labour. Sometimes, when I have felt truth lead towards it, I have found myself disqualified by a superficial friendship; and as the sense thereof hath abased me and my cries have been to the Lord, so I have been humbled and made content to appear weak, or as a fool for His sake; and thus a door hath been opened to enter upon it. To attempt to do the Lord's work in our own way, and to speak of that which is the burden of the Word in a way easy to the natural part, doth not reach the bottom of the disorder. To see the failings of our friends, and think hard of them, without opening that which we ought to open, and still carry a face of friendship, tends to undermine the foundation of true unity. The office of a minister of Christ is weighty, and they who now go forth as watchmen have need to be steadily on their guard against the snares of prosperity and an outside friendship.

After the Yearly Meeting we were at meetings at Newtown, Cushnet, Long Plain, Rochester, and Dartmouth. From thence we sailed for Nantucket, in company with Ann Gaunt, Mercy Redman, and several other Friends. The wind being slack we only reached Tarpawling Cove the first day; where, going on shore, we found room in a public-house, and beds for a few of us, – the rest slept on the floor. We went on board again about break of day, and though the wind was small, we were favoured to come within about four miles of Nantucket; and then about ten of us got into our boat and rowed to the harbour before dark; a large boat went

off and brought in the rest of the passengers about midnight. The next day but one was their Yearly Meeting, which held four days, the last of which was their Monthly Meeting for business. We had a labourious time amongst them; our minds were closely exercised, and I believe it was a time of great searching of heart. The longer I was on the island the more I became sensible that there was a considerable number of valuable Friends there, though an evil spirit, tending to strife, had been at work amongst them. I was cautious of making any visits except as my mind was particularly drawn to them; and in that way we had some sittings in Friends' houses, where the heavenly wing was at times spread over us, to our mutual comfort. My beloved companion had very acceptable service on this island.

When meeting was over, we all agreed to sail the next day if the weather was suitable and we were well; and being called up the latter part of the night, about fifty of us went on board a vessel; but, the wind changing, the seamen thought best to stay in the harbour till it altered, so we returned on shore. Feeling clear as to any further visits, I spent my time in my chamber, chiefly alone; and after some hours, my heart being filled with the spirit of supplication, my prayers and tears were poured out before my Heavenly Father for His help and instruction in the manifold difficulties which attended me in life. While I was waiting upon the Lord, there came a messenger from the women Friends who lodged at another house, desiring to confer with us about appointing a meeting, which to me appeared weighty, as we had been at so many before; but after a short conference, and advising with some elderly Friends, a meeting was appointed, in which the Friend who first moved it, and who had been much shut up before, was largely opened in the love of the gospel. The next morning about break of day going again on board the vessel, we reached Falmouth on the Main before night, where our horses being brought, we proceeded towards Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. Being two days in going to Nantucket, and having been there once before, I observed many shoals in their bay, which make sailing more dangerous, especially in stormy nights; also, that a great shoal which encloses their harbour prevents the entrance of sloops except when the tide is up. Waiting without for the rising of the tide is sometimes hazardous in storms, and by waiting within they sometimes miss a fair wind. I took notice that there was on that small island a great number of inhabitants, and the soil not very fertile, the timber being so gone that for vessels, fences, and firewood, they depend chiefly on buying from the Main, for the cost whereof, with most of their other expenses, they depend principally upon the whale fishery.¹⁷¹

I also encouraged the young women to continue their neat, decent way of attending themselves on the affairs of the house; showing, as the way opened, that where people were truly humble,

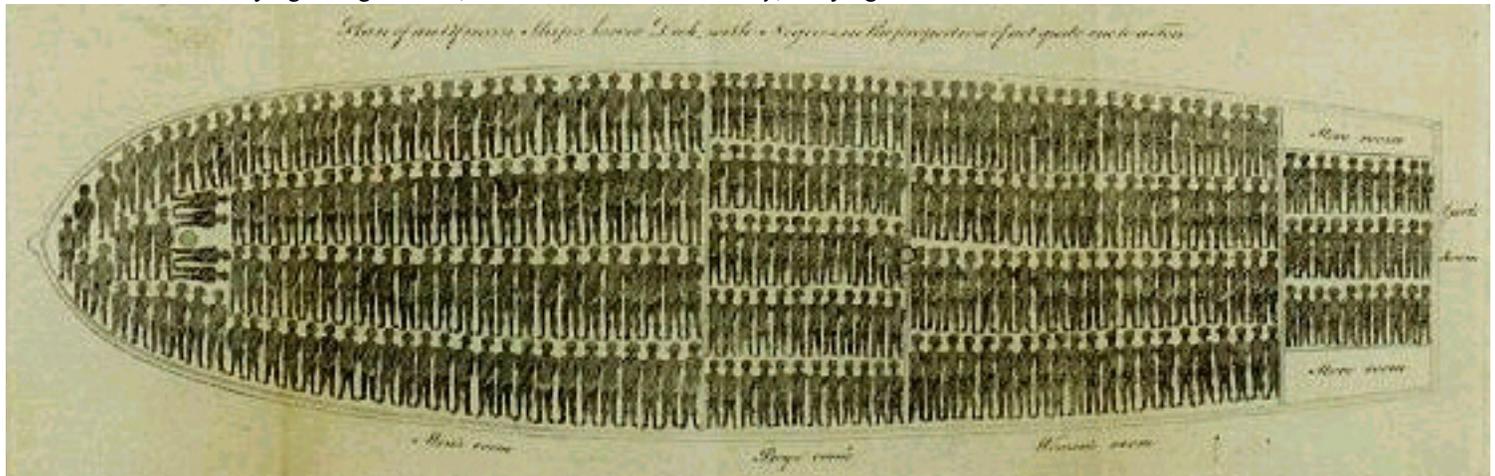
171. I considered that as towns grew larger, and lands near navigable waters were more cleared, it would require more labour to get timber and wood. I understood that the whales, being much hunted and sometimes wounded and not killed, grow more shy and difficult to come at. I considered that the formation of the earth, the seas, the islands, bays, and rivers, the motions of the winds and great waters, which cause bars and shoals in particular places, were all the works of Him who is perfect wisdom and goodness; and as people attend to His heavenly instruction, and put their trust in Him, He provides for them in all parts where he gives them a being; and as in this visit to these people I felt a strong desire for their firm establishment on the sure foundation, besides what was said more publicly, I was concerned to speak with the women Friends in their Monthly Meeting of business, many being present, and in the fresh spring of pure love to open before them the advantage, both inwardly and outwardly, of attending singly to the pure guidance of the Holy Spirit, and therein to educate their children in true humility and the disuse of all superfluities. I reminded them of the difficulties their husbands and sons were frequently exposed to at sea, and that the more plain and simple their way of living was the less need there would be of running great hazards to support them.

used themselves to business, and were content with a plain way of life, they had ever had more true peace and calmness of mind than they who, aspiring to greatness and outward show, have grasped hard for an income to support themselves therein. And as I observed they had so few or no slaves, I had to encourage them to be content without them, making mention of the numerous troubles and vexations which frequently attended the minds of the people who depend on slaves to do their labour. We attended the Quarterly Meeting at Sandwich, in company with Ann Gaunt and Mercy Redman, which was preceded by a Monthly Meeting, and in the whole held three days. We were in various ways exercised amongst them, in gospel love, according to the several gifts bestowed on us, and were at times overshadowed with the virtue of truth, to the comfort of the sincere and stirring up of the negligent. Here we parted with Ann and Mercy, and went to Rhode Island, taking one meeting in our way, which was a satisfactory time. Reaching Newport the evening before their Quarterly Meeting, we attended it, and after that had a meeting with our young people, separated from those of other societies. We went through much labour in this town; and now, in taking leave of it, though I felt close inward exercise to the last, I found inward peace, and was in some degree comforted in a belief that a good number remain in that place who retain a sense of truth, and that there are some young people attentive to the voice of the Heavenly Shepherd. The last meeting, in which Friends from the several parts of the quarter came together, was a select meeting, and through the renewed manifestation of the Father's love the hearts of the sincere were united together.¹⁷² From Newport we went to Greenwich, Shanticut, and Warwick, and were helped to labour amongst Friends in the love of our gracious Redeemer. Afterwards, accompanied by our friend John Casey from Newport, we rode through Connecticut to Oblong, visited the meetings in those parts, and thence proceeded to the Quarterly Meeting at Ryewoods. Through the gracious extendings of divine help, we had some seasoning opportunities in those places. We also visited Friends at New York and Flushing, and thence to Rahway. Here our roads parting, I took leave of my beloved companion and true yokemate Samuel Eastburn, and reached home the 10th of Eighth Month, where I found my family well. For the favours and protection of the Lord, both inward and outward, extended to me in this journey, my heart is humbled in grateful acknowledgments, and I find renewed desires to dwell and walk in resignedness before Him.

172. The poverty of spirit and inward weakness, with which I was much tried the fore part of this journey, has of late appeared to me a dispensation of kindness. Appointing meetings never appeared more weighty to me, and I was led into a deep search whether in all things my mind was resigned to the will of God; often querying with myself what should be the cause of such inward poverty, and greatly desiring that no secret reserve in my heart might hinder my access to the divine fountain. In these humbling times I was made watchful, and excited to attend to the secret movings of the heavenly principle in my mind, which prepared the way to some duties, that, in more easy and prosperous times as to the outward, I believe I should have been in danger of omitting.



In **RHODE ISLAND** harbors during this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, 3 vessels were being fitted out for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109—as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos—then a total of 327 souls were transported during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone. Examples of negreros being fitted out in Rhode Island for departure this year to engage in the international slave trade include the brig *Abigail*, carrying a cargo of 125 slaves, the sloop *Industry*, carrying a cargo of 104, and the schooner *Little Polly*, carrying 100.



Departure is different from arrival, of course, across the Middle Passage, and during this year the schooner *Little Becky* would be arriving in the harbor of Newport with a cargo of 96—or, making no assumptions, what remained of an original cargo of 96—and although we do not know the name of the vessel or the number of human beings in its cargo, the vessel of Captain Carpenter also would be arriving in the harbor of Newport with slaves from the coast of Africa.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In the individual efforts of the various colonies to suppress the African slave-trade there may be traced certain general movements. First, from 1638 to 1664, there was a tendency to take a high moral stand against the traffic. This is illustrated in the laws of New England, in the plans for the settlement of Delaware and, later, that of Georgia, and in the protest of the German Friends. The second period, from about 1664 to 1760, has no general unity, but is marked by statutes

laying duties varying in design from encouragement to absolute prohibition, by some cases of moral opposition, and by the slow but steady growth of a spirit unfavorable to the long continuance of the trade. The last colonial period, from about 1760 to 1787, is one of pronounced effort to regulate, limit, or totally prohibit the traffic. Beside these general movements, there are many waves of legislation, easily distinguishable, which rolled over several or all of the colonies at various times, such as the series of high duties following the Assiento, and the acts inspired by various Negro "plots."

Notwithstanding this, the laws of the colonies before 1774 had no national unity, the peculiar circumstances of each colony determining its legislation. With the outbreak of the Revolution came unison in action with regard to the slave-trade, as with regard to other matters, which may justly be called national. It was, of course, a critical period, — a period when, in the rapid upheaval of a few years, the complicated and diverse forces of decades meet, combine, act, and react, until the resultant seems almost the work of chance. In the settlement of the fate of slavery and the slave-trade, however, the real crisis came in the calm that succeeded the storm, in that day when, in the opinion of most men, the question seemed already settled. And indeed it needed an exceptionally clear and discerning mind, in 1787, to deny that slavery and the slave-trade in the United States of America were doomed to early annihilation. It seemed certainly a legitimate deduction from the history of the preceding century to conclude that, as the system had risen, flourished, and fallen in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, and as South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland were apparently following in the same legislative path, the next generation would in all probability witness the last throes of the system on our soil.

To be sure, the problem had its uncertain quantities. The motives of the law-makers in South Carolina and Pennsylvania were dangerously different; the century of industrial expansion was slowly dawning and awakening that vast economic revolution in which American slavery was to play so prominent and fatal a rôle; and, finally, there were already in the South faint signs of a changing moral attitude toward slavery, which would no longer regard the system as a temporary makeshift, but rather as a permanent though perhaps unfortunate necessity. With regard to the slave-trade, however, there appeared to be substantial unity of opinion; and there were, in 1787, few things to indicate that a cargo of five hundred African slaves would openly be landed in Georgia in 1860.

Naphtali Hart Myers donated a candelabrum that eventually would be used as one of a set of almost-matching four hanging in the Touro Synagogue of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).

The 2d meetinghouse of Aquidneck Island was built. It would be used for [QUAKER](#) worship until 1792. The burial grounds contains thousands of unmarked graves, of orthodox Friends who regarded the use of grave stones as a part of the idolatry which they had totally eschewed. (This burial ground does have, however, a few markers, placed by Hicksites and Gurneyite Quakers, who were known among the orthodox as "Heretical Friends.")

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

February: At Cape Coast Road on the coast of Africa, Captain Peter James's *Little Becky* was being loaded with 96 Gold Coast slaves, purchased to be retailed by Peleg Thurston of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).¹⁷³

Early June: His consignment of 96 new slaves from the Gold Coast having arrived safe and sound aboard the *Little Becky*, Peleg Thurston proceeded to retail them from his wharf in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#). This was being advertised as far away as Boston. It must have been quite a sight.

July 3: The Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) gazette The Mercury announced the arrival of Captain Carpenter with a cargo of slaves from the coast of Africa.

Silas Lee was born in Concord, brother of Samuel Lee and the Reverend Joseph Lee, sons of the physician Joseph Lee.

1761

January 19: In Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) the death of King George II and the accession of King George III were proclaimed.



June 23: According to The Mercury of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), there was a consignment of slaves “just imported from Africa” at the wharf of Captain Samuel Holmes — just waiting for good white families in good colonial homes to realize how very much they would benefit from their services.

173. An African record indicates somewhat more slaves than this, and the difference may reflect a number of privileged slaves taken along to assist in the management and care of the cargo slaves. (Although today we can afford to have rather simplified notions of the condition, slavery was in its reality a complex institution which involved a number of levels.)

1762

August 22: Ann Franklin became the 1st woman editor of an American newspaper, The Mercury of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).

"The modern man's daily prayer is reading the daily newspaper."

— G.W.F. Hegel

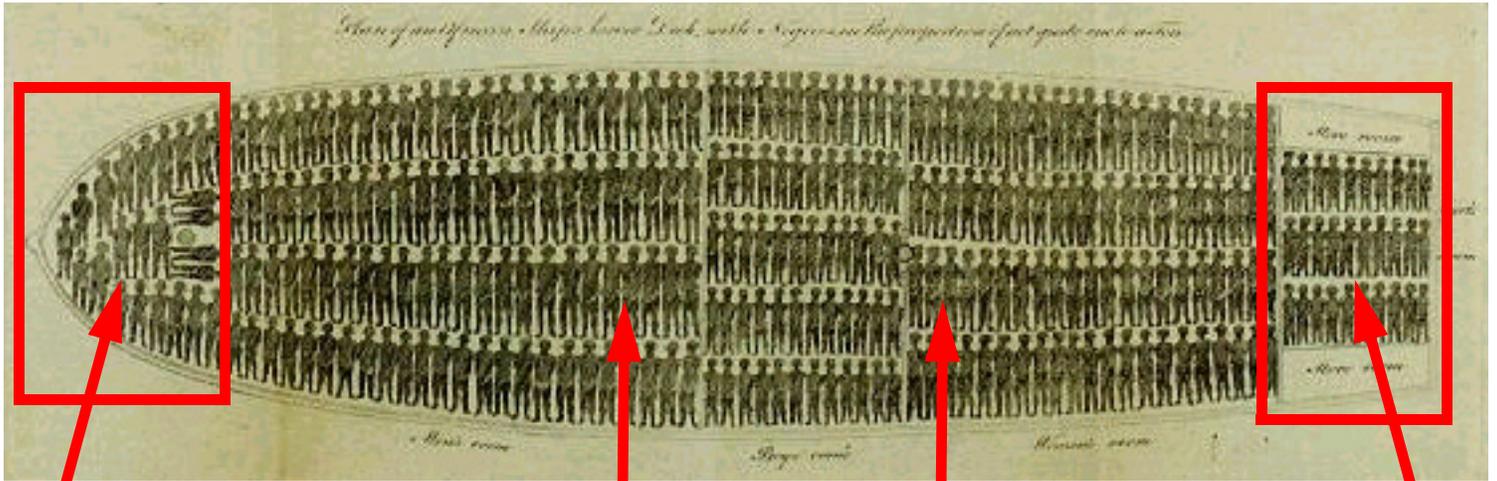
1763

June 16: According to The Mercury of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), the brig *Royal Charlotte* was in port with a consignment of slaves from the Gold Coast of Africa, men, women, boys, and girls currently being offered for sale to the discerning customer:¹⁷⁴

On Thursday last arriv'd from the Coast of AFRICA, the Brig *Royal Charlotte*, with a Parcel of extremely fine, healthy, well-limb'd Gold Coast SLAVES. Men, Women, Boys, and Girls. Gentlemen in Town and Country have now an Opportunity to furnish themselves with such as will suit them. Those that want, are desired to apply very speedily, or they will lose the Advantage of supplying themselves. They are to be seen on board the Vessel at Taylor's Wharf.

Apply to Thomas Teekle Taylor Samuel and William Vernon.
N.B. Those that remain on Hand will be shipt off very soon.

174. I bet you've looked at this idealized master plan for the benevolent negrero ship a thousand times and never realized what it had to tell you about gender segregation aboard such a vessel!



Boys, stored coincidentally near the crew's sleeping quarters.

Men Women
(kept carefully separate)

Girls, stored coincidentally near the officers' sleeping quarters.

July: The Reverend James Manning arrived in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) with a plan for a “liberal and



A Man with a Plan

“catholic” institution of higher education: Rhode Island College. Rhode Island’s leading citizens had previously heard a similar plan presented by the Congregationalist Reverend Ezra Stiles. He, assisted by the attorney



William Ellery, Jr., drew up a charter based on the Reverend Manning’s draft and this was presented to the General Assembly. This charter’s “catholic” plan was to divide the Corporation’s power about equally among Baptists (who would make up a majority of the Trustees) and Presbyterians, while allowing a few seats to Quakers and Anglicans (no actual Roman Catholics or Jews or, Heaven forbid, Moslems or Buddhists or Hindus need apply). (Long afterward, this would be regarded as the genesis of Brown University.)

Interestingly, although no provision whatever was being made for any Jewish involvement in higher education, it was at the Jacob Rivera mansion on the Parade in Newport, then being used as the residence of Deputy Governor John Gardiner, that the meeting was held in which the plan was announced to interested citizens.

September 19: The brig *Royal Charlotte* departed from the port of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) with some portion of its consignment of enslaved men, women, boys, and girls from the Gold Coast of Africa, still not as yet disposed of to the discerning final consumer. The destination of the vessel was the upper James River.

December 2, Chanukah: Dedication of the 1st synagogue in New England, the Touro Synagogue of congregation K.K. Yeshuat Israel, the Holy Congregation of the Salvation of Israel, in Newport, RHODE ISLAND (this congregation had actually been in existence on Aquidneck Island since 1658).¹⁷⁵



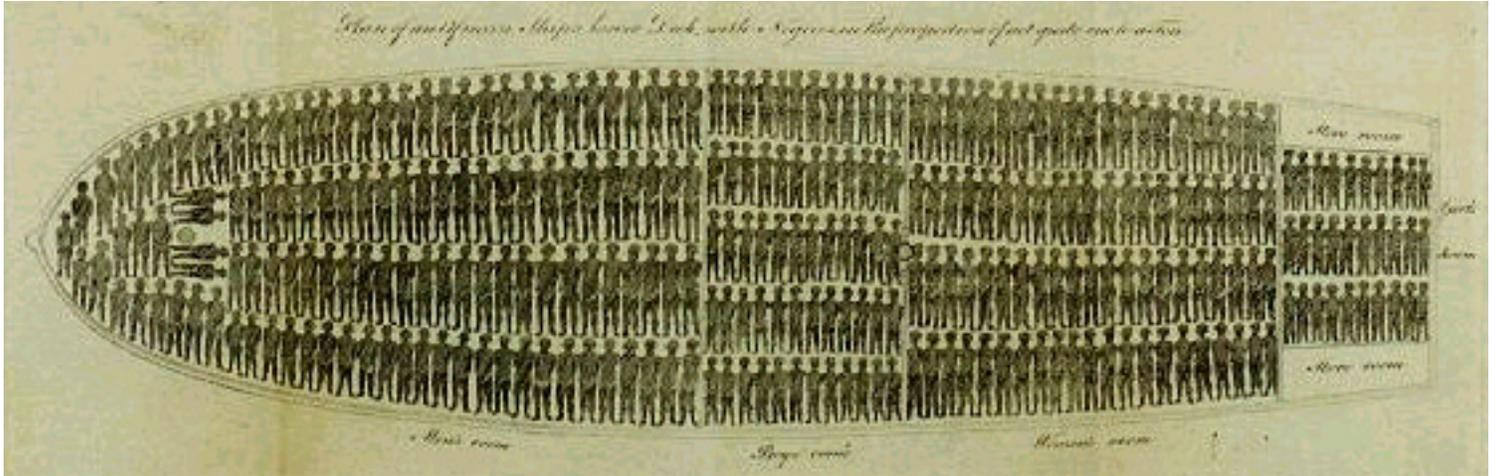
The Reverend Ezra Stiles noticed that the only furniture in the place was the wainscoting, but that this was adequate seating since there were only about eighty in the congregation. Presumably by “wainscoting” the Congregational reverend was referring to the wooden bench structures built into the walls.



(Some of the Jews of this synagogue, like some of their Christian neighbors such as the QUAKERS, next door up the hill, engaged in the international slave trade. In general, in RHODE ISLAND harbors as a whole during this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 17-20 vessels were being fitted out for the coast of Africa. For instance, Captain Ferguson arrived on that coast some time before September. If an average cargo of slaves was 109 –as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos– then a total of more than 1,850 souls were transported during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone. Examples from this year include the Rhode Island snow *Adventure* carrying a cargo of 150 slaves, the brig *Diamond* carrying

175. It would not, until a much later timeframe, be referred to as the Touro Synagogue. After their synagogue building, in what had become the bad part of town, had been deconsecrated, the dilapidated empty structure, under a caretaker who was a QUAKER, would perhaps find use occasionally, surreptitiously, as free temporary accommodations for escaping slaves as a station on the Underground Railroad (the word “perhaps” is used because no evidence whatever has ever been produced and, most likely, this has been pious wishful thinking). The edifice would be designated a national historical site in 1946. —When you visit, and are proudly shown the must-see secret hiding hole underneath the lectern, try to be discrete and polite and do not complicate matters (Boo!) by inquiring about participation in the international slave trade.

a cargo of 120, the schooner *Kitty* carrying 70, the schooner *Little Sally* carrying 60, the sloop *Salisbury* carrying 90, the sloop *Three Friends* carrying 78, the sloop *Wydah* carrying 60, a schooner of unknown name carrying 120, a schooner of unknown name carrying 72, a schooner of unknown name carrying 90, and a schooner of unknown name carrying 90.)



Isaac Touro (“de Toro”) was officiating as Cantor.

He would be the first *rabbi*. It had been he, presumably, who had provided, from memory, the design of the Portuguese Sephardic Synagogue of Amsterdam. The structure had been faced so that the congregation as it turned toward the Aron Kodesh would be turning toward Mizrah. The main floor was for men and the gallery for women.

1764

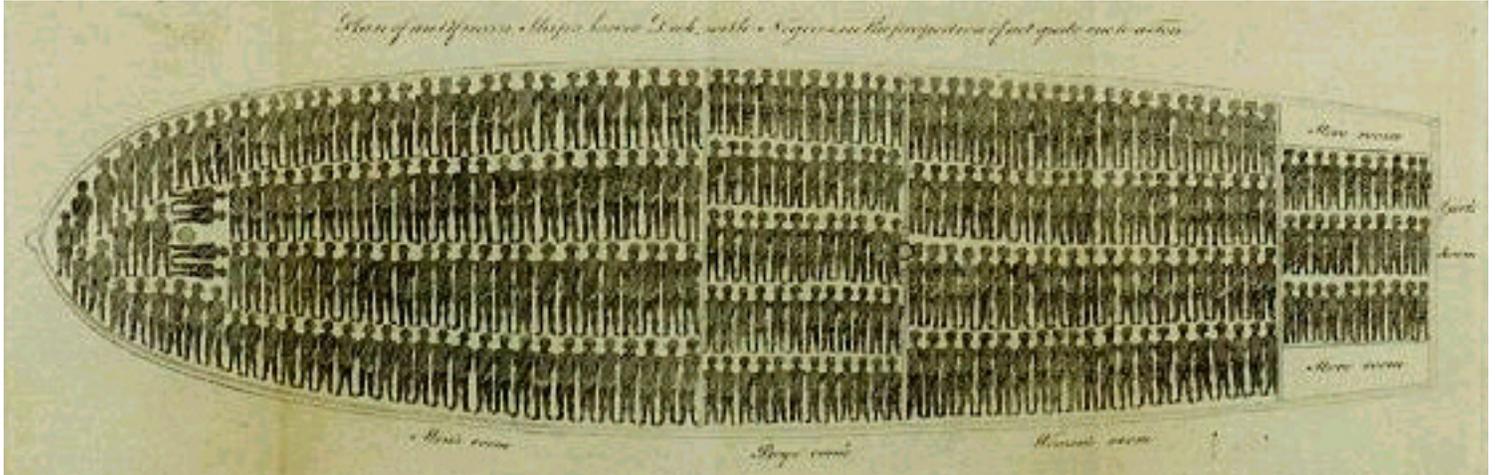
Aaron Lopez, President (Parnas) of The Holy Congregation Dispersed Ones of Israel (Kahal Kodesh Nephutsay Israel) appealed for funds with which the congregation might pay off the mortgage and interest due for the building of their synagogue in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).



The structure had been created out of red brick imported from England.

Summer: Captain Esek Hopkins, who would become the 1st Commodore of the US Navy, on behalf of the firm of Nicholas Brown and Company of [PROVIDENCE](#), was fitting out the square-rigged brigantine *Sally* at [NEWPORT](#) for a slaving voyage to the Guinea coast of Africa. Enormous profits were being anticipated, for if a big cargo of a couple of hundred healthy young human beings could be delivered from the slave castles on the coast of Africa, where they could be obtained on the cheap in exchange for [RHODE ISLAND](#) rum, to the sugar plantations of the West Indies, the profit for a single voyage might run up toward several hundred thousand pounds.

In general, in **RHODE ISLAND** harbors alone during this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 20 vessels were being fitted out for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109—as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos—then a total of 2,180 souls were transported during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone. Examples from this year include the Rhode Island brig *Betsey* carrying a cargo of 120 slaves, the *Friendship* carrying a cargo of 180, the brig *Osprey* carrying 100, and the *Polly* carrying 160.



July: When they found the activities of Lieutenant Hill’s schooner *HMS St. John* to be giving “offense,” two of the magistrates of Newport had Fort St. George fire its cannon at it.

RHODE ISLAND

July 6: A preserved gazette advertisement tells us that the sloop *Elizabeth* had just arrived at the port of Newport on Aquidneck Island in the colony of **RHODE ISLAND** and Providence Plantations, from the coast of *Africa*, bearing a number of healthy Negro boys and girls, who would be offered for sale by John Miller at his house or store:

Newport, July 6, 1764.
 Just imported in the Sloop *Elizabeth*,
 from *Africa*, and to be sold, by
John Miller,
 At his House, or Store ;
A Number of healthy
 Negro Boys and Girls,
 Likewise to be sold,—*Tillock's* and *Hip-*
pen's Snuff, by the Cask or Dozen.

Likewise available to be sold at the house or store of John Miller was a consignment of snuff.

The Middle Passage of this vessel, from the coast of Africa to the coast of America, had required 55 days.

(Was there any difference between selling boys and girls, and selling snuff? Well, yes, there was, there was for instance the issue of the health, which is to say, the varying quality, of boys and girls, an issue which seems not to arise in the case of the snuff, and there was the issue of quantity of sale, in that the snuff was to be wholesaled either by the cask or by the dozen whereas human beings would of course be vended individually.)

September: At Newport on Aquidneck Island occurred the first meeting of the new governing body for the proposed new [RHODE ISLAND](#) institution of higher education. Among the 24 officials was Governor Stephen Hopkins, later to become a signer of the Declaration of Independence, who was named as the institution's first chancellor, his political opponent Samuel Ward, who would serve several terms as the state governor, and Nicholas Brown (grandfather of the Nicholas Brown after whom Brown University eventually would be named). The Reverend James Manning, the originator of the idea, was settling in as pastor of a new Baptist church in Warren, and opening a Latin school there.



Since there is a story floating around to the effect that Rhode Island College was founded “by an assorted group of Revivalist Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Anglicans,” I will mention that not only was the first college president and sole instructor a Baptist minister, but also, later on, when one of his successors as college president would come to be suspected of not believing in each and every tenet of the Baptist faith — the man would be driven out.

1765

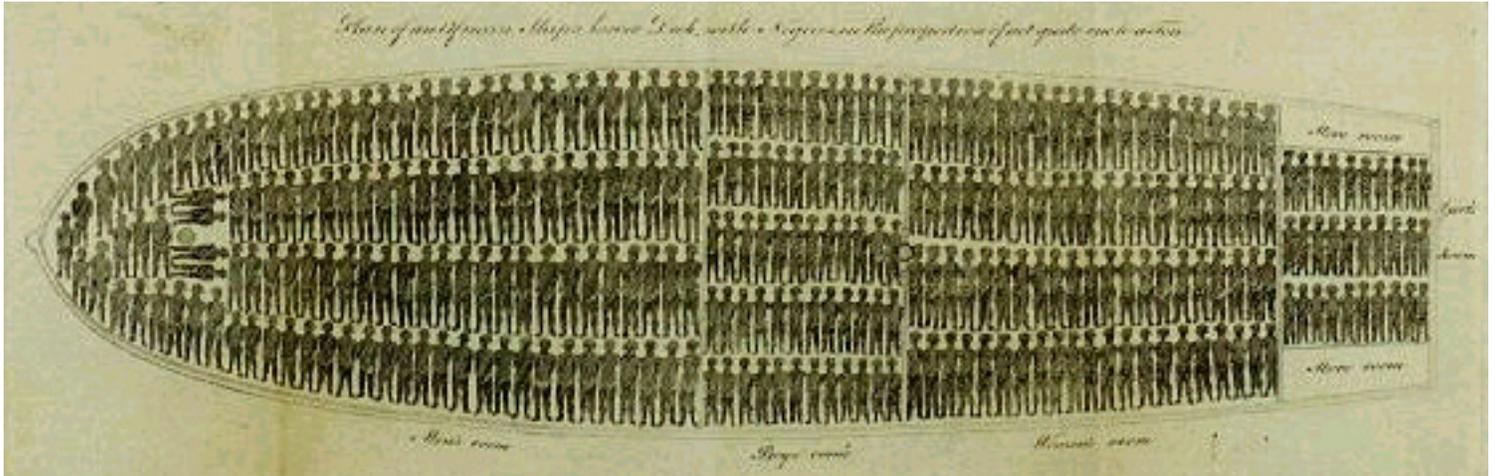
Naphtali Hart Myers had in 1760 donated a candelabrum that was being used in the Touro Synagogue of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#). In this year Abraham Rodriguez Mendez donated two more, more or less like it, and Samuel Judah of New-York donated a Ner Tamid or Eternal Light, a wick lamp filled with oil.¹⁷⁶

176. Electricity would come to Newport in 1882, and someone would soon insert a little low-wattage bulb into this Eternal Light so they wouldn't need to clean it and keep an eye on its oil level and continually trim its wick. We believe that the bulb in this lamp now is still the original bulb, not burned out even after it has glowed without interruption for quite a bit more than a century — low voltage can account for part of this longevity, and then, this bulb's filament has never been shocked by the electromagnetic pulses that we induce when we snap wall switches off and on.

NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

In [RHODE ISLAND](#) harbors during this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 19 vessels were fitted out for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109—as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos—then a total of more than 2,000 souls were being transported during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone. Examples from this year include the Rhode Island ship *King George*, carrying a cargo of 200 slaves, the brig *Othello*,¹⁷⁷ carrying a cargo of 56, and a brig of unknown name carrying 100.



In addition, three vessels brought in slaves, evidently for sale in Newport. They were the sloop *Hope* (I hope they don't sell me to some nasty white man!), captained by Nathaniel Mumford, the sloop *Three Friends*, captained by Captain Toman, and the sloop *Fanny*, captained by Owen Morris.

(We know that during September of this year, Captain Scofield was reported as having his ship in the vicinity of Cape Mount.)

Meanwhile, someone who had once upon a time been brought over on a Rhode Island ship, at the age of 36, after an African boyhood followed by almost 30 years as an American slave, Venture Smith managed to complete enough of the £85 series of payments to his free black friend, by earning money on outside jobs and by selling produce he grew, so that Colonel Oliver Smith agreed to "eat" the remaining balance and settle for £71 2s. He relocated from Stonington, Connecticut to *Paumanok* Long Island, New York. He would make his living on Long Island primarily by chopping and cording wood, transporting some of this wood to [RHODE ISLAND](#) (his ax is said to have been a large one, weighing nine pounds, appropriately sized for such a large man).

Being 36 years old, I left Colonel Smith. My wife and children were yet in bondage. I spent [my next four years on Long Island,] working for various people. In [these] years, what wood I cut amounted to several thousand cords, and the money which I earned I laid up carefully. I bought nothing which I did not absolutely want. Expensive gatherings of my mates I shunned, and all kinds of luxuries I was a stranger to.

May: The HMS *Maidstone* came into Newport harbor and for several weeks took seamen off of arriving vessels to impress into the royal navy.

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

177. *Othello*, what a strange name for a negrero vessel during an era in which, in presentations of Shakespeare's play, the title role was of necessity being performed by an American white man wearing dark body makeup! —Obviously, some Shakespeare nut in Rhode Island had a considerable sense of humor! —What's next, the brigantine *Gen. Nat Turner*?

Early June: When an unsuspecting brig came into Newport harbor after its voyage to Africa, it was boarded from the HMS *Maidstone* and its entire crew was impressed into the royal navy. There was a public protest that evening, in which **RHODE ISLAND** citizens dragged one of the *Maidstone*'s boats up onto the town common and burned it.

September: In **RHODE ISLAND** occurred the second annual meeting of the new board of governors for their institution of higher education. As expected, the Reverend James Manning became the institution's first president, and the Latin school he was setting up in his parsonage in Warren would become the first home of Rhode Island College.



Professor Manning was to teach languages, and in addition was to teach all the "other Branches of Learning." The mountain labored, and brought forth a mouse: a 14-year-old named William Rogers, of Newport, would for the first nine months of its existence be this new school's sole pupil.

1766

FRIEND Abraham Redwood had another, smaller summer house built on his estate on the shore of Narragansett Bay in **PORTSMOUTH**. This is the building that would be moved to Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**, in 1917.

August 25: An earthquake table lists the quake on this day in Newport, Rhode Island as "1766AUG25 41.50 71.30 4 RI NEWPORT."

1767

Henry Marchant was admitted to the bar and commenced law practice in Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**.

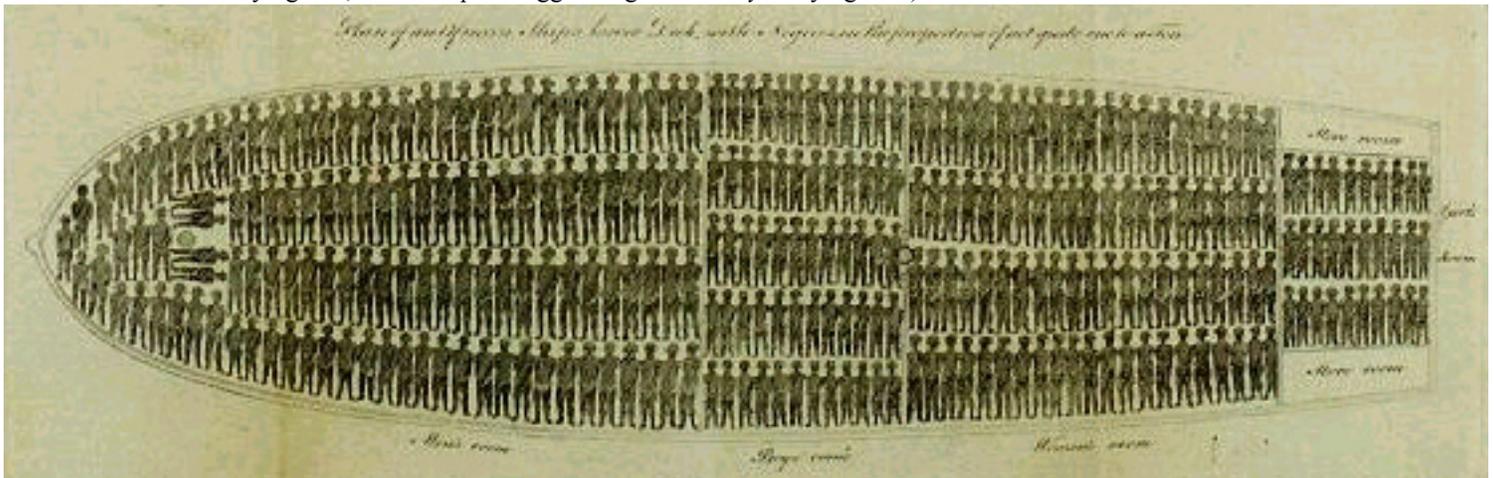
The following declaration was made to the Narragansett monthly meeting of the **RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**, by a **RHODE ISLAND** farmer who had become involved in an altercation:

A man came to me in my field and tho' I desired him to keep off, yet [he] made an attempt to beat or abuse me. To prevent which

I suddenly and with too much warmth pushed him from me with the rake I was leaning on, which act of mine as it did not manifest to that Christian patience and example in suffering trials becoming my profession I thereby freely condemn it and desire that I may be enabled for the future to suffer patiently any abuse or whatever else I may be tried with and also desire Friends to continue their watchful care over me.

November 29: Abraham Pereira Mendez wrote from Charleston, where he had journeyed to better control his cargo of human beings, to the international slavetrader Aaron Lopez at Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#): “These Negroes, which Captain Abraham All delivered to me, were in such poor condition due to the poor transportation, that I was forced to sell 8 boys and girls for a mere 27, 2 other for 45 and two women each for 35.”

Presumably the damaged-goods-sale amounts mentioned for the slaves are in pounds sterling. Boys and girls aren't worth much if they aren't in perfect condition — as anyone who deals in human flesh can tell you. (During this year, in [RHODE ISLAND](#) harbors, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some dozen vessels were being fitted out for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109 — as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos— then a total of more than 1,300 souls were being transported in Rhode Island bottoms alone. Examples from this year include the Rhode Island brig *Benjamin* carrying a cargo of 115 slaves, the ship *Black Prince* carrying a cargo of 190, the sloop *Isabella* carrying 100, the brig *Polly* carrying 130, the ship *Polly* carrying 180, the snow *Polly* carrying 100, the brig *Royal Charlotte* carrying 105, and the square-rigged brigantine *Sally* carrying 120.)



December 21: Phillis Wheatley's poetry first appeared in print, in the Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), *Mercury*. Her contribution was “On Messrs. Hussey and Coffin.”

The town of Acton voted to encourage local manufacture over the purchase of British goods.

As early as the 21st of December, 1767, the town [of Acton] voted to “comply with the proposals, by the town of Boston, relating to the encouraging of manufactures among ourselves, and not purchasing of superfluities from abroad.” On the 5th of March, 1770, the town entered into a covenant not to purchase nor use foreign merchandise, nor tea.

The state of public affairs was again brought before the town on the 21st of December, 1772, and referred to a committee, consisting of Capt. Daniel Fletcher, Francis Faulkner, Deacon Jonathan Hosmer, Deacon John Brooks, Josiah Hayward, Ephraim

Hapgood, Captain Samuel Hayward, Simon Tuttle, and Daniel Brooks. Their report was made on the 18th of the following month, and expresses the general sentiments of the people in this vicinity.

At this time the town had no representative in the General Court, and a vote was passed recommending to the representatives of the people, that they use every constitutional measure in their power to obtain a redress of all their grievances.¹⁷⁸

178. Lemuel Shattuck. A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;.... Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA : John Stacy, 1835

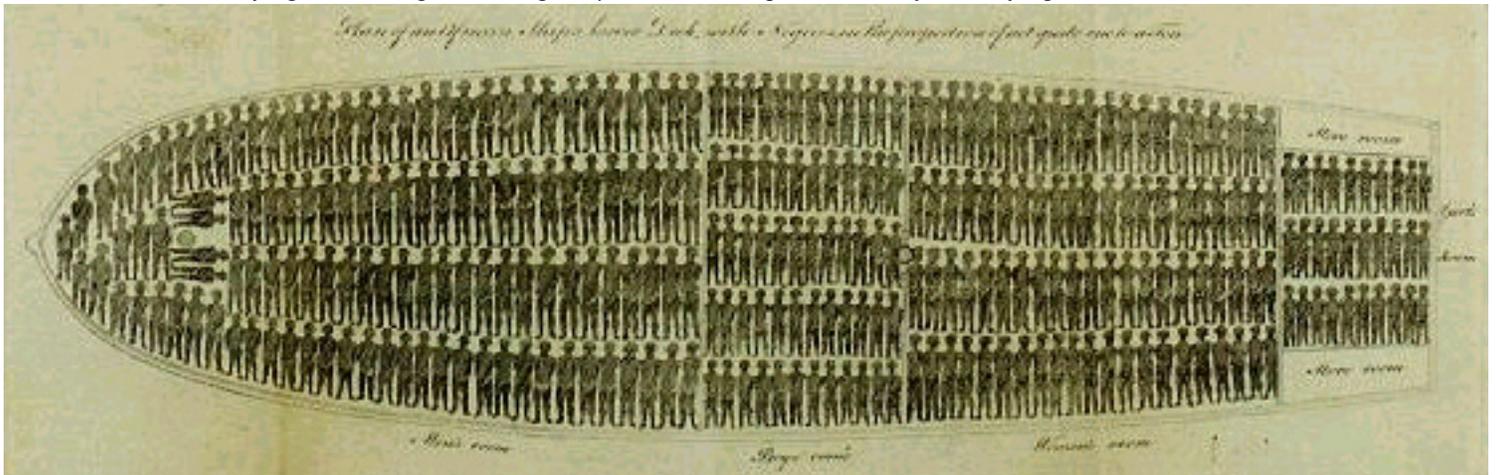
(On or about November 11, 1837 Henry David Thoreau would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

1768

One member of the Jewish congregation in Newport, Aaron Lopez, owned some 30 oceangoing vessels and more than 100 coastal schooners. He had the honor of occupying the special raised President’s Seat at the side of the Touro Synagogue, separate from the other worshipers inside a railing. He and his family involved themselves heavily in the molasses, rum and slave trade.¹⁷⁹ The other major American hub of their trading ring was in Charleston, South Carolina.



In RHODE ISLAND harbors in this year, it is estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 18 vessels were being fitted out for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109—as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos—then a total of well over 1,950 souls were being transported in Rhode Island bottoms alone. Examples from this year include the Rhode Island brig *Hannah*, carrying a cargo of 165 slaves, the ship *King George*, carrying a cargo of 230, the sloop *Patty*, carrying 130, the brig *Polly*, carrying 154, and again the brig *Polly*, on another trip in the same year carrying 130.



Captain John Wilson, of General Gage’s 59th regiment in Boston, attempted to incite **SERVILE INSURRECTION** among some 300 black slaves in that metropolis by assuring them that the military had seized the port in an attempt to secure their freedom and that if they would fight for their freedom in conjunction with the military, “they would be able to drive the Liberty Boys to the devil.”

179. We immediately recollect that in the BIBLE, this man’s namesake had led people out of slavery.

1769

Judah Jacobs of London, England provided a wall clock for the Touro Synagogue of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#). (Or did this happen in 1767? The brass works of this clock still keep time, more or less. Here's a question: does a clock in a structure that is used for worship and for education primarily pertain to the structure's worship function, or to its educational function? — Is my guess correct, that such a clock would have been helpful to keep class times, rather than having a function in assistance to worship?) Jacob Pollock donated a central candelabrum with twelve branches for twelve candles. An interesting detail is that the four heads to be seen around its stem appear to represent monks. (It is unlikely that whoever originally fabricated this piece would have been aware, that it would wind up as the central lighting fixture of a synagogue. The structure now has electric lighting of sorts — but its candelabra have not been altered.)

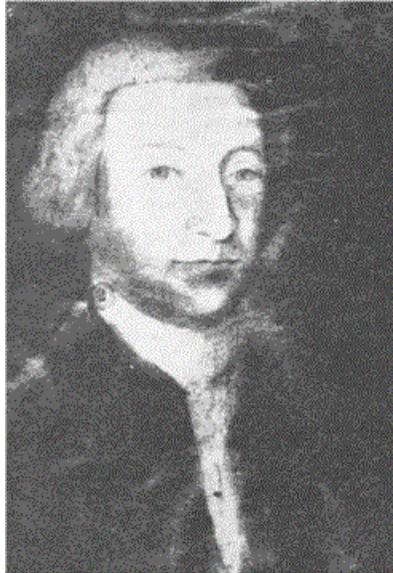
Moses Michael Hays and his wife Rachel relocated from New-York to Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#). Hays was the son of Judah Hays, one of the early Sephardic Jews to arrive in the New World via Holland. He would be one of the first to introduce Masonry (King David's Lodge) to Rhode Island and later Massachusetts. The Hays family would also be one of the original benefactors of Newport's Touro Synagogue. Because of the British occupation during the Revolution, the family would remove first to Kingston, Jamaica and then to Boston, where it would be joined by his widowed sister Reyna Touro and her young children Abraham, Judah, and Rebecca. This extended family of Hays and Touro would reside in the North end of Boston on fashionable Middle Street (now Hanover). Judah Touro would be born in Newport while the Battle of Bunker Hill was raging. Touro's father, Isaac, died when he was eight and his Uncle Moses Michael Hays in Boston raised him. Hays raised his children, nephews and niece as practicing Jews even though they were the only Jewish family in all of Boston at the time. The Hays' Boston home also included close associations with Thomas Paine, Paul Revere, and future abolitionist leader Samuel J. May. Judah Touro would relocate from Boston to New Orleans in 1801 to seek his fortune.

June 12: Captain Gordon's brig *Victory* arrived in [RHODE ISLAND](#), direct from the coast of Africa.¹⁸⁰

180. After 1774, this would be illegal. To be legal, after 1774 a Rhode Island vessel engaged in the international slave trade would need to dispose of all its cargo of new African slaves in the West Indies and along the American coastline and be entirely clear of that business, before coming to anchor in its home port.

1770

In 1760 Naphtali Hart Myers had donated a candelabrum that was being used in the Touro Synagogue of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#). In 1765 Abraham Rodriguez Mendez had donated two more, more or less like it. At this point the international slavetrader and commodity trader Aaron Lopez, the President of the synagogue, donated a fourth candelabrum inscribed with his own name, making up an almost matching set of four.¹⁸¹



(According to Arnold’s HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND published in 1859, Volume II, pages 304, 321, and 337, during this year the legislature of Rhode Island considered, but rejected, a bill to prohibit importation of slaves. Since such a bill would have substantially damaged the business activities of Aaron Lopez, it seems at least remotely possible that this fourth candelabrum was donated to the synagogue as a way of petitioning the Deity that the bill in the colonial legislature be defeated, or in expression of gratitude for the defeat of the bill. I interrogated the tour guide as to what would cause a person to donate something inscribed with his own name, to be placed on public view in a public place, and she responded that she simply couldn’t speculate as to motives. –Actually, what I was doing was causing her to focus in on the inscribed name “Aaron Lopez,” because I wanted to find out whether she would take advantage of an opportunity like that to segue into some remarks about the international slave trade. It was my little good-cop interrogation trick — I wanting to see

181. Where did the money come from, with which to purchase this nice inscribed candelabrum? Was it blood money? In this year, it is estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, [RHODE ISLAND](#) fitted out 16 negreros for the coast of the continent of Africa to obtain fresh bodies for the international slave trade. Do I have information that any one of these 16 slave ships belonged to or was being fitted out by Aaron Lopez of Newport? I do not. It is very likely that not all 16 of these bottoms were owned by or were being fitted out by Rhode Island Jews. It is rather more than possible, that some of these 16 were owned by or were being fitted out by Rhode Island Quakers. We can estimate roughly that at least 1,700 black Africans were taken over the ocean on the dreaded Middle Passage in this year by these vessels.

what she would say and what she wouldn't.



She didn't seize this opportunity — which adequately answered the actual question I had been refraining from asking. —She and I agreed, however, that such a circumstance is quite different from the usual sort of inscription, in which something given as a memorial to a deceased loved one is inscribed with “in memory of,” followed by a name.)

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In 1652 Rhode Island passed a law designed to prohibit life slavery in the colony. It declared that “Whereas, there is a common course practised amongst English men to buy negers, to that end they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventinge of such practices among us, let it be ordered, that no blacke mankind or white being forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assignnes longer than ten yeares, or untill they come to bee twentie four yeares of age, if they bee taken in under fourteen, from the time of their cominge within the liberties of this Collonie. And at the end or terme of ten yeares to sett them free, as the manner is with the English servants. And that man that will not let them goe free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to that end that they may bee enslaved to others for a long time, hee or they shall forfeit to the Collonie forty pounds.”¹⁸²

This law was for a time enforced,¹⁸³ but by the beginning of the eighteenth century it had either been repealed or become a dead letter; for the Act of 1708 recognized perpetual slavery, and laid an impost of £3 on Negroes imported.¹⁸⁴ This duty was really a tax on the transport trade, and produced a steady income for

182. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, I. 240.

183. Cf. letter written in 1681: NEW ENGLAND REGISTER, XXXI. 75-6. Cf. also Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, I. 240.

184. The text of this act is lost (COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 34; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 31). The Acts of Rhode Island were not well preserved, the first being published in Boston in 1719. Perhaps other whole acts are lost.

twenty years.¹⁸⁵ From the year 1700 on, the citizens of this State engaged more and more in the carrying trade, until Rhode Island became the greatest slave-trader in America. Although she did not import many slaves for her own use, she became the clearing-house for the trade of other colonies. Governor Cranston, as early as 1708, reported that between 1698 and 1708 one hundred and three vessels were built in the State, all of which were trading to the West Indies and the Southern colonies.¹⁸⁶ They took out lumber and brought back molasses, in most cases making a slave voyage in between. From this, the trade grew. Samuel Hopkins, about 1770, was shocked at the state of the trade: more than thirty distilleries were running in the colony, and one hundred and fifty vessels were in the slave-trade.¹⁸⁷ "Rhode Island," said he, "has been more deeply interested in the slave-trade, and has enslaved more Africans than any other colony in New England." Later, in 1787, he wrote: "The inhabitants of Rhode Island, especially those of Newport, have had by far the greater share in this traffic, of all these United States. This trade in human species has been the first wheel of commerce in Newport, on which every other movement in business has chiefly depended. That town has been built up, and flourished in times past, at the expense of the blood, the liberty, and happiness of the poor Africans; and the inhabitants have lived on this, and by it have gotten most of their wealth and riches."¹⁸⁸

The Act of 1708 was poorly enforced. The "good intentions" of its framers "were wholly frustrated" by the clandestine "hiding and conveying said negroes out of the town [Newport] into the country, where they lie concealed."¹⁸⁹ The act was accordingly strengthened by the Acts of 1712 and 1715, and made to apply to importations by land as well as by sea.¹⁹⁰ The Act of 1715, however, favored the trade by admitting African Negroes free of duty. The chaotic state of Rhode Island did not allow England often to review her legislation; but as soon as the Act of 1712 came to notice it was disallowed, and accordingly repealed in 1732.¹⁹¹ Whether the Act of 1715 remained, or whether any other duty act was passed, is not clear.

While the foreign trade was flourishing, the influence of the Friends and of other causes eventually led to a movement against slavery as a local institution. Abolition societies multiplied, and in 1770 an abolition bill was ordered by the Assembly, but it was never passed.¹⁹² Four years later the city of Providence resolved that "as personal liberty is an essential part of the natural rights of mankind," the importation of slaves and the system of slavery should cease in the colony.¹⁹³ This movement finally resulted, in 1774, in an act "prohibiting the importation of Negroes into this Colony," — a law which curiously illustrated the attitude of Rhode Island toward the

185. E.g., it was expended to pave the streets of Newport, to build bridges, etc.: RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 191-3, 225.

186. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 55-60.

187. Patten, REMINISCENCES OF SAMUEL HOPKINS (1843), page 80.

188. Hopkins, WORKS (1854), II. 615.

189. Preamble of the Act of 1712.

190. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 131-5, 138, 143, 191-3.

191. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 471.

192. Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 304, 321, 337. For a probable copy of the bill, see NARRAGANSETT HISTORICAL REGISTER, II. 299.

193. A man dying intestate left slaves, who became thus the property of the city; they were freed, and the town made the above resolve, May 17, 1774, in town meeting: Staples, ANNALS OF PROVIDENCE (1843), page 236.

slave-trade. The preamble of the act declared: "Whereas, the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which, that of personal freedom must be considered as the greatest; as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; — Therefore," etc. The statute then proceeded to enact "that for the future, no negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free...." The logical ending of such an act would have been a clause prohibiting the participation of Rhode Island citizens in the slave-trade. Not only was such a clause omitted, but the following was inserted instead: "Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave brought from the coast of Africa, into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this colony, and which negro or mulatto slave could not be disposed of in the West Indies, but shall be brought into this colony. Provided, that the owner of such negro or mulatto slave give bond ... that such negro or mulatto slave shall be exported out of the colony, within one year from the date of such bond; if such negro or mulatto be alive, and in a condition to be removed."¹⁹⁴

In 1779 an act to prevent the sale of slaves out of the State was passed,¹⁹⁵ and in 1784, an act gradually to abolish slavery.¹⁹⁶ Not until 1787 did an act pass to forbid participation in the slave-trade. This law laid a penalty of £100 for every slave transported and £1000 for every vessel so engaged.¹⁹⁷

194. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VII. 251-2.

195. BARTLETT'S INDEX, page 329; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 444; RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VIII. 618.

196. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, X. 7-8; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 506.

197. BARTLETT'S INDEX, page 333; NARRAGANSETT HISTORICAL REGISTER, II. 298-9. The number of slaves in Rhode Island has been estimated as follows: —

In 1708, 426. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 59.

In 1730, 1,648. RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS, No. 19, pt. 2, page 99.

In 1749, 3,077. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 281.

In 1756, 4,697. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 281.

In 1774, 3,761. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VII. 253.

February: The town and county of Warren having subscribed a total of £4,200 toward the erection of a college building, the [RHODE ISLAND](#) College Corporation settled on [PROVIDENCE](#), rather than upon Warren or Newport, as the permanent home of their Baptist institution of higher education, and during the course of this year the building now known as University Hall would be erected by the contractor, Nicholas Brown & Company, in part by the use of slave labor. The pastor of the First Baptist Church of Providence desired to retire from the duties of his office, and that church invited President Manning to preach provisionally for them. Therefore the Reverend James Manning relocated from Warren to preach provisionally at Providence's 1st



Baptist Church as well as to continue to lead his Latin School. (During this year the Reverend was manumitting his only black slave. His Warren Latin School, which would soon eventuate as the Providence "University Grammar-School," and is now known as Brown University, now admits black Americans as students: as I write this, a case is pending in regard to three white male students, accused of manhandling a black female student in front of a dorm while informing her that "You're just a quota." The black female student had, it would appear, attracted their ire because allegedly she had neglected to hold the door open for another student who was entering the dorm — these three white male students had embraced, it would seem, an open door policy of their own.)

April: The Reverend Samuel Hopkins became the minister of the 1st Congregational Church at Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).

June 20: Jonathan Nichols paid the Quakers £12 "for a lot in ye meeting house field" and Ruth Goddard paid them £58 for "her half of part of ye meeting house field." Clearly, they renting out the grounds of their Great Meetinghouse in Newport, Rhode Island.

July 3: [MOSES BROWN](#) alleged, in a report to the British government, that damages reported to the properties of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) Tories during three days of rioting in 1765 over the Stamp Act had been greatly exaggerated. The colony shouldn't be required, therefore, to pay the reparations that had been demanded:



Moses was, then and in the years after, a true believer. He always felt compelled to act from a morally righteous position, to the point that he would bend the facts if they didn't agree.

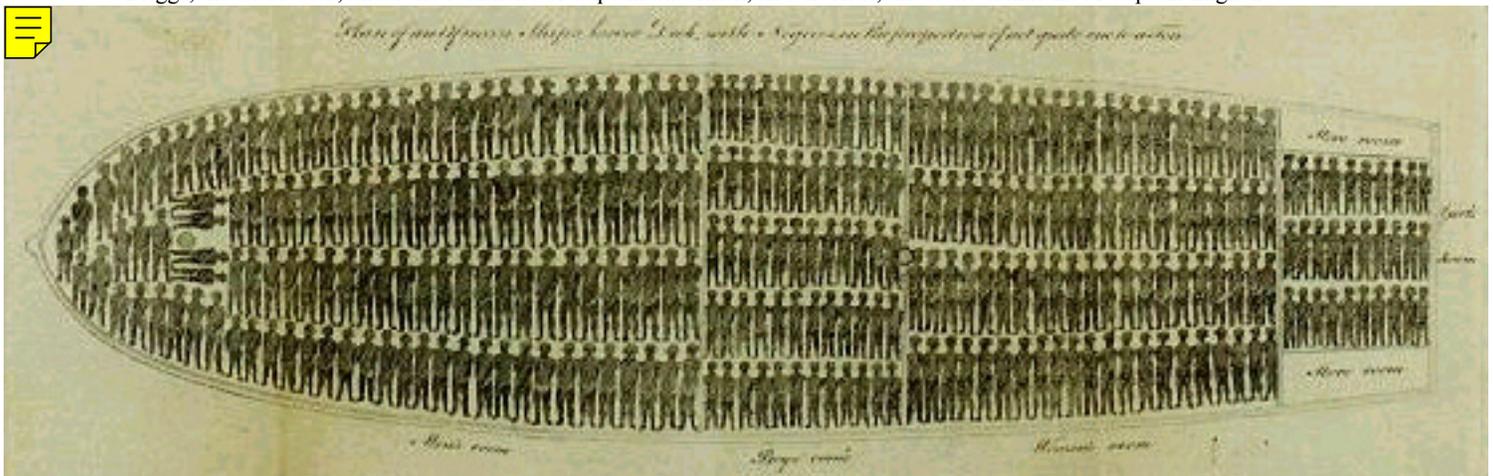
November 19: Benjamin James paid the Quakers £8 for rental of "a house lot by ye meeting house," the Great Meetinghouse in Newport, Rhode Island.

1772

A building was constructed on Meeting Street in Providence, Rhode Island that would be known as Shakespeares Head. This building would serve as a meeting place for the local Anti-Slavery Society and would house an abolitionist print shop.¹⁹⁸

June 8: In Narragansett Bay, the HMS *Gaspee* gave chase to Captain Lindsey’s sloop *Hannah* as it sailed from Newport toward Providence. Captain Lindsey deliberately sailed across the shoals off Namquitt Point, which he understood that with the tide on the ebb, he would be able to clear but the *Gaspee* would not. As hoped, the British revenue vessel ran hard aground.

198. In this year, it is reported by Alexander Boyd Hawes, Aaron Lopez of Newport, Rhode Island owned or was loading the following ships to sail from Rhode Island for the coast of the continent of Africa to obtain fresh bodies for the international slave trade: the *Royal Charlotte*, under the command of Captain Benjamin Wright, the *Cleopatra*, under the command of Captain Briggs, the *Charlotte*, under the command of Captain Shearman, and the *Ann*, under the command of Captain English.



June 9-10: A troop of men from Rhode Island led by Abraham Whipple burned the British 8-gun revenue cutter *Gaspee* — which had run aground off Namquit Point south of Providence.¹⁹⁹ John Brown or his slave Aaron Briggs shot and wounded Lieutenant William Dudingston (1740-1817), the ship's captain. Arnold states in his account of the destruction of the *Gaspee* that this skipper “had practiced every arrogance upon vessels in the bay, detaining them often without a colorable pretext, stopping even market boats, and in some cases plundering people on shore.” Despite the offer of a huge reward for information, there would of course be no local people arrested.

Although the taking of the *Gaspee* has been held to be the first assault by the American colonists against the crown, actually this was much the same sort of thing as the Newport locals having fired a cannon at the *St. John* in July 1764,²⁰⁰ having seized and burned a boat of the *Maidstone* in May 1765,²⁰¹ and having scuttled the British armed revenue sloop *Liberty* in 1769.²⁰²



All the hostilities against naval vessels bearing the king's colors occurred because of specific problems the specific vessels had been creating, and nothing in the action taken in June 1772 makes it differ remarkably from these previous resistances.

Karl W. Doerflinger, an illustrator of East Providence, has recently created an over-the-gun-cabinet-in-the-living-room version of the burning of the *Gaspee*:



199. Arnold's HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, page 309.
 200. Arnold's HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, page 252.
 201. Arnold's HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, page 255.
 202. Arnold's HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, page 297.

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October: Soon after the torching of the HMS *Gaspee*, the Rhode Island General Assembly directed the gunner of Fort George to fire royal salutes on the birthdays of the King and of the Queen, and in the days of the King's accession and coronation.



1773

February 5: In [PROVIDENCE](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), Anna Brown, wife of [MOSES BROWN](#), who had collapsed some five months earlier, died.

In [NEWPORT](#), Captain Pollipus Hammond died shortly before midnight. This 72-year-old's eyes were closed by his friend, the Reverend Ezra Stiles. The gravestone of this negro skipper still stands for our edification in the Common Burying Ground:



“Here lieth the body of the ingenious Capt. Pollipus Hammond who died February 5, 1773. The hoary head is a crown of glory if it be found in the way of righteousness.”

(His friend the Reverend Stiles, pastor of the 2d Congregational Church on Clarke Street in Newport, had invested in a slave trading voyage in 1756 that had returned him a 10-year-old boy. The Reverend would not free his slave until becoming president of Yale College in 1777. Noting that Hammond had disengaged himself from the international slave trade during his mid-50s, this slaveholding Reverend reassured himself with the conceit that had his dead friend “his Life to live over again, he would not choose to spend it in buying and selling the human species.”)

8th day of 4th month: During this year the Reverend Samuel Hopkins of the 1st Congregational Church in Newport and President Ezra Stiles of Yale College were urging that freed Africans be resettled in West Africa. The [RHODE ISLAND](#) Quarterly Meeting of the [RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#) issued a query:

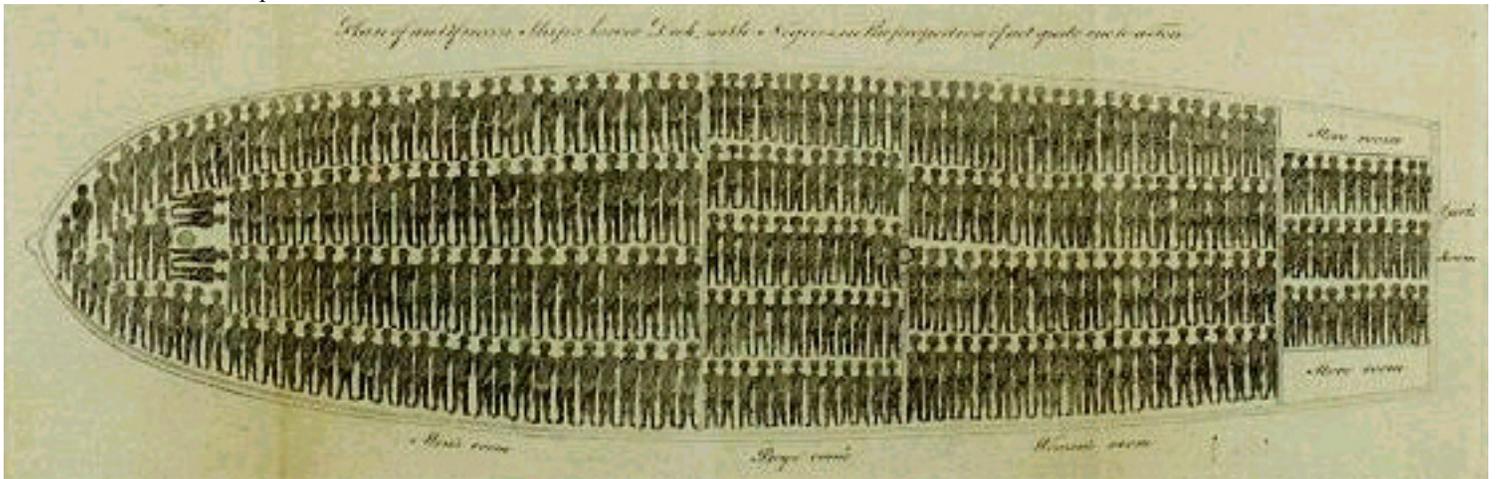
Are friends clear of Importing, Buying or any way purchasing disposing or holding of Mankind as Slaves, And are all those who have been held in a State of Slavery discharged therefrom.

June 29: The monthly preparatory meeting of the [RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#) at Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) recorded that it was continuing to labor with the consciences of members “who still have slaves.” No progress would be recorded in this during the remainder of the year. However, a committee was collecting the “names of those who still hold slaves” in order to “report same to each Monthly Meeting in New England,” and “Visitors” were delegated to make official visits of remonstrance to each such household.

Pentecost: Rabbi Isaac Karigal, a visitor from Hebron, Palestine, delivered a sermon in the Touro Synagogue that was then printed in Newport. This is to our knowledge the first instance of a sermon delivered in a synagogue in America being printed.

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

November 27: Captain William Moore dispatched a piece of exceedingly good news to Aaron Lopez & Company of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) about his brigantine *Ann*: “I wish to advise you that your ship ‘Ann’ docked here night before last with 112 slaves, consisting of 35 men, 16 large youths, 21 small boys, 29 women, 2 grown girls, 9 small girls, and I assure you this is such a one rum-cargo [distilled spirits from the distilleries along the shore of Narragansett Bay in exchange for black slaves at one or another port along the west coast of Africa] which I have not yet encountered, among the entire group there may be five to which one could take exception.”²⁰³



1774

The descendants of the native Americans who had been enslaved after “King Phillip’s War” were manumitted in Connecticut and [RHODE ISLAND](#).²⁰⁴

203. In this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, 17 ships sailed from Rhode Island for the coast of the continent of Africa to obtain fresh bodies for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109—as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos—then a total of more than 1,850 souls were being transported in [RHODE ISLAND](#) bottoms alone. In this year, Hawes reports, Aaron Lopez of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) owned or loaded the following ships to sail from Rhode Island for the coast of the continent of Africa to obtain fresh bodies for the international slave trade: the *Charlotte*, under the command of Captain Shearman, the *Active*, under the command of Captain Taggart.

Hawes indicates that the brigantine *Ann* in this year on this voyage carried only 104 slaves as its cargo from Africa, but that must be from its previous round trip. (The 112 indicated in the letter above are booked by Hawes for the year 1774.)

The Connecticut and **RHODE ISLAND** colonies prohibited further importation of slaves. When New Jersey's assembly, however, proposed a prohibitive duty, its Council refused to go along.²⁰⁵

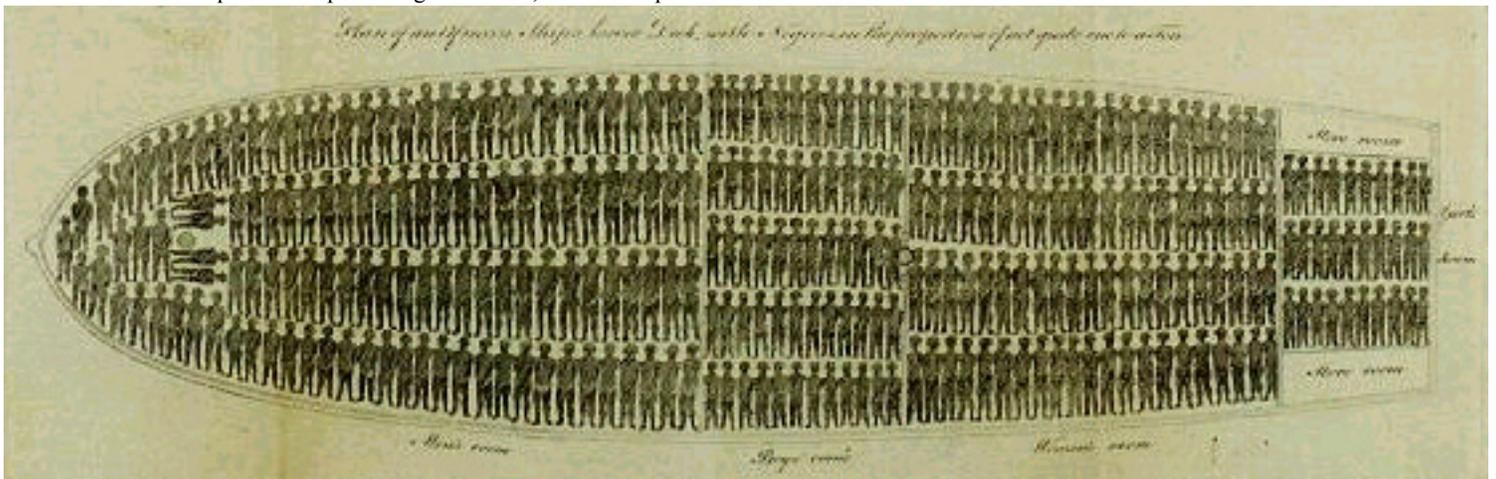
"A Bill for laying a Duty on Indian, Negroe and Molatto Slaves, imported into this Colony." Passed the Assembly, and was rejected by the Council as "plainly" intending "an intire Prohibition," etc. N.J. ARCHIVES, 1st Series, VI. 222.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Connecticut, in common with the other colonies of this section, had a trade for many years with the West Indian slave markets; and though this trade was much smaller than that of the neighboring colonies, yet many of her citizens were engaged in it. A map of Middletown at the time of the Revolution gives, among one hundred families, three slave captains and "three notables" designated as "slave-dealers."²⁰⁶ The actual importation was small,²⁰⁷ and almost entirely unrestricted before the Revolution, save by a few light, general duty acts. In 1774 the further importation of slaves was prohibited, because "the increase of slaves in this Colony is injurious to the poor and inconvenient." The law prohibited importation under any pretext by a penalty of £100 per slave.²⁰⁸ This was re-enacted in 1784, and provisions were made for the abolition of slavery.²⁰⁹ In 1788 participation in the trade was forbidden, and the penalty placed at £50 for each slave and £500 for each ship engaged.²¹⁰

204. As of the Year of our Lord 1781, freedom would come to visit the descendants of the native Americans who had been enslaved in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as well. Work gangs of these race slaves had been utilized throughout New England to construct much of that attractive, mossy old stone walls, field fencing which today we fancy to have been constructed through the dedicated labor of "our" stereotypically sturdy and industrious –because white– Yankee-farmer forebears.

205. In this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, 24 ships sailed from **RHODE ISLAND** for the coast of the continent of Africa to obtain fresh bodies for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109 –as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos– then a total of more than 2,600 souls were being transported in Rhode Island bottoms alone. This, in fact, was nearly a record, as it was exceeded only in the year 1772 when 28 such Rhode Island vessels had been engaging in the triangular trade.

Examples would be the **RHODE ISLAND** brig *Othello*, which in this year is known to have transported a cargo of 52 souls, and Aaron Lopez of Newport's brigantine *Ann*, which transported 112.



To be quite legal, after 1774 a Rhode Island vessel engaged in the international slave trade would need to dispose of all its cargo of new African slaves in the West Indies and along the American coastline, and be entirely clear of that business before coming to anchor in its home port. (However, until 1820, there would be no real need to be quite legal or to be entirely clear of that business before sailing into a Rhode Island port, as through the manipulations of John Brown of Providence and President Thomas Jefferson, the US Customs House in beautiful downtown Bristol would remain safely under the control of a DeWolf relative who had significant investments in the illicit trade.)

206. Fowler, LOCAL LAW, etc., page 124.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In 1652 Rhode Island passed a law designed to prohibit life slavery in the colony. It declared that "Whereas, there is a common course practised amongst English men to buy negers, to that end they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventinge of such practices among us, let it be ordered, that no blacke mankind or white being forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assignnes longer than ten yeares, or untill they come to bee twentie four yeares of age, if they bee taken in under fourteen, from the time of their cominge within the liberties of this Collonie. And at the end or terme of ten yeares to sett them free, as the manner is with the English servants. And that man that will not let them goe free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to that end that they may bee enslaved to others for a long time, hee or they shall forfeit to the Collonie forty pounds."²¹¹

This law was for a time enforced,²¹² but by the beginning of the eighteenth century it had either been repealed or become a dead letter; for the Act of 1708 recognized perpetual slavery, and laid an impost of £3 on Negroes imported.²¹³ This duty was really a tax on the transport trade, and produced a steady income for twenty years.²¹⁴ From the year 1700 on, the citizens of this State engaged more and more in the carrying trade, until Rhode Island became the greatest slave-trader in America. Although she did not import many slaves for her own use, she became the clearing-house for the trade of other colonies. Governor Cranston, as early as 1708, reported that between 1698 and 1708 one hundred and three vessels were built in the State, all of which were trading to the West Indies and the Southern colonies.²¹⁵ They took out lumber and brought back molasses, in most cases making a slave voyage in between. From this, the trade grew. Samuel Hopkins, about 1770, was shocked at the state of the trade: more than thirty distilleries were running in the colony, and one hundred and fifty vessels were in the slave-trade.²¹⁶ "Rhode Island," said he, "has been more deeply interested in the slave-trade, and has enslaved more Africans than any other colony in New England." Later, in 1787, he wrote: "The inhabitants of Rhode Island, especially those of Newport, have had by far the greater share in this traffic, of all these

207. The number of slaves in Connecticut has been estimated as follows: —

In 1680, 30. CONNECTICUT COLONIAL RECORD, III. 298.

In 1730, 700. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 259.

In 1756, 3,636. Fowler, LOCAL LAW, etc., page 140.

In 1762, 4,590. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 260.

In 1774, 6,562. Fowler, LOCAL LAW, etc., page 140.

In 1782, 6,281. Fowler, LOCAL LAW, etc., page 140.

In 1800, 5,281. Fowler, LOCAL LAW, etc., page 141.

208. CONNECTICUT COLONIAL RECORD, XIV 329. Fowler (pages 125-6) says that the law was passed in 1769, as does Sanford (page 252). I find no proof of this. There was in Connecticut the same Biblical legislation on the trade as in Massachusetts. Cf. LAWS OF CONNECTICUT (repr. 1865), page 9; also COLONIAL RECORD, I. 77. For general duty acts, see COLONIAL RECORD, V 405; VIII. 22; IX. 283; XIII. 72, 125.

209. ACTS AND LAWS OF CONNECTICUT (ed. 1784), pages 233-4.

210. ACTS AND LAWS OF CONNECTICUT (ed. 1784), pages 368, 369, 388.

211. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, I. 240.

212. Cf. letter written in 1681: NEW ENGLAND REGISTER, XXXI. 75-6. Cf. also Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, I. 240.

213. The text of this act is lost (COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 34; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 31). The Acts of Rhode Island were not well preserved, the first being published in Boston in 1719. Perhaps other whole acts are lost.

214. E. g., it was expended to pave the streets of Newport, to build bridges, etc.: RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 191-3, 225.

215. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 55-60.

216. Patten, REMINISCENCES OF SAMUEL HOPKINS (1843), page 80.

United States. This trade in human species has been the first wheel of commerce in Newport, on which every other movement in business has chiefly depended. That town has been built up, and flourished in times past, at the expense of the blood, the liberty, and happiness of the poor Africans; and the inhabitants have lived on this, and by it have gotten most of their wealth and riches."²¹⁷

The Act of 1708 was poorly enforced. The "good intentions" of its framers "were wholly frustrated" by the clandestine "hiding and conveying said negroes out of the town [Newport] into the country, where they lie concealed."²¹⁸ The act was accordingly strengthened by the Acts of 1712 and 1715, and made to apply to importations by land as well as by sea.²¹⁹ The Act of 1715, however, favored the trade by admitting African Negroes free of duty. The chaotic state of Rhode Island did not allow England often to review her legislation; but as soon as the Act of 1712 came to notice it was disallowed, and accordingly repealed in 1732.²²⁰ Whether the Act of 1715 remained, or whether any other duty act was passed, is not clear.

While the foreign trade was flourishing, the influence of the Friends and of other causes eventually led to a movement against slavery as a local institution. Abolition societies multiplied, and in 1770 an abolition bill was ordered by the Assembly, but it was never passed.²²¹ Four years later the city of Providence resolved that "as personal liberty is an essential part of the natural rights of mankind," the importation of slaves and the system of slavery should cease in the colony.²²² This movement finally resulted, in 1774, in an act "prohibiting the importation of Negroes into this Colony," – a law which curiously illustrated the attitude of Rhode Island toward the slave-trade. The preamble of the act declared: "Whereas, the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which, that of personal freedom must be considered as the greatest; as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; – Therefore," etc. The statute then proceeded to enact "that for the future, no negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free...." The logical ending of such an act would have been a clause prohibiting the participation of Rhode Island citizens in the slave-trade. Not only was such a clause omitted, but the following was inserted instead: "Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave brought from the coast of Africa, into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this colony, and which negro or mulatto slave could not be disposed of in the West Indies, but shall be brought into this colony. Provided, that the owner of such negro or mulatto slave give bond ... that such

217. Hopkins, WORKS (1854), II. 615.

218. Preamble of the Act of 1712.

219. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 131-5, 138, 143, 191-3.

220. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 471.

221. Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 304, 321, 337. For a probable copy of the bill, see NARRAGANSETT HISTORICAL REGISTER, II. 299.

222. A man dying intestate left slaves, who became thus the property of the city; they were freed, and the town made the above resolve, May 17, 1774, in town meeting: Staples, ANNALS OF PROVIDENCE (1843), page 236.

negro or mulatto slave shall be exported out of the colony, within one year from the date of such bond; if such negro or mulatto be alive, and in a condition to be removed."²²³

In 1779 an act to prevent the sale of slaves out of the State was passed,²²⁴ and in 1784, an act gradually to abolish slavery.²²⁵ Not until 1787 did an act pass to forbid participation in the slave-trade. This law laid a penalty of £100 for every slave transported and £1000 for every vessel so engaged.²²⁶

February 11: Joseph Holloway sold Charles, a Negro man, to Aaron Lopez, international slavetrader.

February 14: Aaron Lopez, international slavetrader, transferred Charles, a Negro man whom he had three days earlier purchased from Joseph Holloway, to Captain Daniel Holloway, Mariner.²²⁷

April 27, Wednesday: John Brown was setting sail in Newport harbor to take his *Diana* up to [PROVIDENCE](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), along with two freighters containing 300 barrels of flour, when he was hailed by the *Rose*, Captain James Wallace. The *Diana* was boarded and he was transferred to the *Swan*, where the British shut him up in the ship's brig.

In Boston, the British military officers had offered that anyone who turned in their private firearms would be allowed through the picket lines to escape the hardship of the siege. More than 2,000 muskets, rifles, and pistols were being turned in at Faneuil Hall.

April 28, Thursday: [MOSES BROWN](#) and Joseph Brown rode from Providence to Roxbury, near Boston. In the following week Joseph would travel from there west to Concord, to bring his brother John Brown's situation to the attention of the influential American insurgents who were centering there, while Moses would attempt to persuade the British military officers in the port to release their prize prisoner. Meanwhile, Governor Wanton of [RHODE ISLAND](#) wrote Captain James Wallace, urging John's release. The British captain, however, was recording in his diary that the sloops he had seized in the Newport harbor were filled with cargo "bound to Providence for the rebel army" — clearly, he intended that not only that contraband but also the vessels themselves were going to be forfeit, and that he was going to treat his captive as in rebellion against the monarch, and that this privateering booty was going to make his personal fortune.

May 1, Sunday: The Newport *Mercury* reported the arrest of John Brown:

Mr. Brown was sent off in one of the Packets, to be carried to Admiral Graves, at Boston, without having a single reason given for his being thus violently seized and carried out of this colony, contrary to all law,

223. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VII. 251-2.

224. BARTLETT'S INDEX, page 329; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 444; RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VIII. 618.

225. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, X. 7-8; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 506.

226. BARTLETT'S INDEX, page 333; NARRAGANSETT HISTORICAL REGISTER, II. 298-9. The number of slaves in Rhode Island has been estimated as follows: —

In 1708, 426. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 59.

In 1730, 1,648. RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS, No. 19, pt. 2, page 99.

In 1749, 3,077. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 281.

In 1756, 4,697. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 281.

In 1774, 3,761. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VII. 253.

227. We notice, of course, that in this year [RHODE ISLAND](#) was forbidding the further importation of slaves. There's nothing out of order here: import is not export, so the exportation of slaves could, get a clue, remain perfectly legal.

equity and justice.

RHODE ISLAND

At Boston, **MOSES BROWN** was attempting to obtain his brother's release:



When Moses attempted to enter Boston on Monday, no arrangements had yet been made for passage into town. But Moses was pragmatic by nature and simply ignored what must have seemed an intractable impasse. he first located the officers in charge of the rebel army, explained his business, and obtained a permit to pass through the lines. At dusk, leading his horse by the reins, Moses ventured into the no-man's-land between the opposing forces on the Neck. Before him stood elaborate earthworks, burnished brass cannon, and scowling, red-coated sentries. Stepping toward the British position, he "sent in some of my letters and got the promise of return from some of the officers," as he recalled the episode in a letter years later. As the minutes passed, darkness fell on the Neck, and Moses realized he could no longer wait for an answer. He saw an officer decked out in gold braid and approached him from behind. It was a rash step, Moses recounted. "When he turned and saw me near he was so angry that he gave me such a blast as I never had or heard before." But Moses answered with an exercise of Quaker principles that seems borrowed from the annals of some Oriental martial discipline. "I stood and felt in a humble state of mind and as soon as he had left room for a word I replied to him in such a manner and with information of my message that he came down in mind as low as he was high before and in a very kind and gentle manner offered and did take a message." This was certainly an unusual adaptation of Quaker orthodoxy, but also a deliberate one. As Moses put it to Nicholas a week later, "I have seldom seen a patient, humble mind more needed nor more useful and as in proportion I have found this to be my state way was made for success." Indeed, moments after calming the officer he had startled at the fortified gate, Moses was escorted to a meeting with General Gage, becoming "the first man that entered Boston after the Lexington battle." ... In fact, Gage was being less than candid with Moses. The general had already decided to release John Brown, and wrote that day in a reply to Governor Wanton that "I don't ... see any reason for his detention." But he didn't mention that to Moses just yet, apparently hoping to use John's arrest as leverage to guarantee his cooperation. Instead, Gage scheduled another meeting for the next morning and dispatched a guard as an escort. Moses rode through the iron gates of Province House that night feeling optimistic for his brother's release, and for his peace plan as well.

May 4, Wednesday: The good news was out, in **RHODE ISLAND**, that the brothers **MOSES BROWN** and Joseph Brown were back from Massachusetts, and that somehow they had managed to bring the captured leading citizen John Brown home with them. The Reverend Ezra Stiles registered the news in his diary as "A humbling stroke for the Tories!"

June: [FRIEND](#) [MOSES BROWN](#) and the recently disowned Quaker governor Stephen Hopkins took the language of their proposed slave-trade bill to the assembly in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#): “Whereas the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties ... as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; Therefore, be it enacted ... that for the future, no Negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free.”²²⁸

“An Act prohibiting the importation of Negroes into this Colony.”

“Whereas, the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which, that of personal freedom must be considered as the greatest; as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; –

“Therefore, be it enacted ... that for the future, no negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free, so far as respects personal freedom, and the enjoyment of private property, in the same manner as the native Indians.”

“Provided that the slaves of settlers and travellers be excepted.

“Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave brought from the coast of Africa, into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this colony, and which negro or mulatto slave could not be disposed of in the West Indies, but shall be brought into this colony.

“Provided, that the owner of such negro or mulatto slave give bond to the general treasurer of the said colony, within ten days after such arrival in the sum of £100, lawful money, for each and every such negro or mulatto slave so brought in, that such negro or mulatto slave shall be exported out of the colony, within one year from the date of such bond; if such negro or mulatto be alive, and in a condition to be removed.”

“Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave that may be on board any vessel belonging to this colony, now at sea, in her present voyage.” Heavy penalties are laid for bringing in Negroes in order to free them. COLONIAL RECORDS, VII. 251-3.

[1784, February: “It is voted and resolved, that the whole of the clause contained in an act of this Assembly, passed at June session, A.D. 1774, permitting slaves brought from the coast of Africa into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this (then colony, now) state, and who could not be disposed of in the West Indies, &c., be, and the same is, hereby repealed.” COLONIAL RECORDS, X. 8.]

228. The bill would, of course, be gutted. Its practical import would be nil.

Governor Stephen Hopkins’s biographer William Eaton Foster would in 1883 totally misconstrue this, perpetrating any number of blunders. In his “Appendix U” to STEPHEN HOPKINS, A RHODE ISLAND STATESMAN, entitled “Stephen Hopkins’s Connection with the Society of Friends,” on page 247, he would misrepresent Hopkins as the sole author of this legislation, misrepresent the enactment of the legislation as effective when in actuality it changed nothing, misrepresent the Religious Society of Friends as a group that had “membership” when in fact in this century there was never any such a thing as a membership list, misrepresent the Quaker process of disownment as a cancellation of membership (which it most decidedly never was), pretend there to be an equivalence between societal policymaking (freeing other white people’s black slaves at these other people’s expense) and personal estate planning (freeing one’s own black slaves at one’s own expense) when in fact there was never any such equivalence, and pretend that simply because the governor continued to call himself a Friend after his disownment, he could not have been struggling to free himself from religious influence in the sphere of political decisionmaking.

Stephen Hopkins was in 1774 the author of the humane act of legislation by which the enslaving of negroes for the future was prohibited in Rhode Island. In 1772, however, a strong pressure had been brought to bear on him to set at liberty one of his own slaves. He did not accede to this demand. Subsequent efforts, continued from month to month, appear to have been equally unavailing. Final action was taken by the Society of Friends, March 25, 1773, when his membership was cancelled. What may have been the ground for Stephen Hopkins’s refusal is not easy to determine. It was apparently not a disapproval of emancipation, as is seen by his action elsewhere. Nor can it be set down to a desire to break with the Friends, for he still continued to call himself a Friend.

This is almost, but not quite, as egregious as a lecture I went to in April 2007 at the Moses Brown School, offered by a Quaker genealogist who suggested that Hopkins’s heart had been in the right place because 1.) allegedly at one time in his earlier life he had manumitted one of his slaves (providing no evidence whatever that this assertion was accurate, over and above offering no argument whatever that this actually demonstrated Hopkins’s good-guy status), because 2.) allegedly Hopkins was refusing to manumit only one slave, who was a woman named Hannah (according to the census of 1774, he owned six), and refused freedom to her only because this would not have served the needs of her two small children (offering no evidence whatever that the number was singular rather than plural, or that the person was female, or that the name this genealogist assigned was accurate, or that said children actually existed), and because 3.) in Hopkins’s will his slaves were to be set free upon his death (offering no evidence whatever that this will mentioning the liberation of an indefinite but plural number of slaves was effectively implemented, when we know very well that in the process known as probate no mere statement of intention could have manumitted a slave unless and until all creditors to the estate had previously been paid off, and paid off in full).

1775

During the American Revolution there were some Americans who considered it necessary to guard the shoreline of the mainland, and Nantucket Island, against seizure of property by British foraging parties based on Aquidneck Island in [NARRAGANSETT BAY](#). We don’t know how effective this fighting was in protecting American property from the British, but Quakers of course refused to contribute to the cost of such protection, and therefore there were 496 cases of seizure of the goods of peace-testimony Quakers in [RHODE ISLAND](#) by local revolutionary authorities. In 1778 the property thus distrained from members of New England Yearly Meeting by local American authorities amounted to £2,473, while in 1779 the total distraint rose to £3,453. For instance, here are some of the revolutionary seizures made of property of ancestors of [QUAKER](#) families of [PROVIDENCE](#) monthly meeting:

- In 1775, local revolutionary authorities seized a dictionary belonging to Friend Thomas Lapham, Jr. of [SMITHFIELD](#).
- In 1775, local revolutionary authorities seized 5 pairs of women's shoes belonging to Friend Paul Green of East Greenwich RI.
- In 1776, local revolutionary authorities would seize the fire tongs of Friend Stephen Hoxsie of South Kingstown, as he was the guardian of John Foster but John had not mustered during an alarm.
- Between 1777 and 1782, local revolutionary authorities would seize 7 cows, 5 heifers, and 2 table cloths belonging to Friend Simeon Perry of South Kingstown.
- In 1777, local revolutionary authorities would seize a mare worth £30 belonging to Friend John Foster of South Kingstown.
- In 1777, local revolutionary authorities would seize 3 felt hats belonging to Friend John Carey of East Greenwich RI.
- In 1780, local revolutionary authorities would seize a silver porringer belonging to Friend Isaac Lawton of [PORTSMOUTH](#).
- Between 1780 and 1782, local revolutionary authorities would seize 29 boxes of spermaceti candles, 20 yards of white linen sheeting, 14 yards of kersey, 16 sides of sole leather, a 3-year-old heifer, and 2 stacks of hay belonging to Friend [MOSES BROWN](#) of [PROVIDENCE](#).
- In 1781, local revolutionary authorities would seize 9 sheep and 2 steers belonging to Friend Amos Collins of South Kingstown.
- In 1781, local revolutionary authorities would seize 2 ox chains and an ax belonging to Friend George Kinyan of Rhode Island, because he had not been appearing at militia trainings.

NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

In addition to property seizures, in three cases a Quaker man who refused to participate in militia activities would be jailed. One of these men was Friend David Anthony of East Greenwich RI. In each case the Friends would conduct an investigation to determine whether the person had acted in the spirit and manner of Friends, and if he had, would go to the General Assembly at [PROVIDENCE](#) to petition the “tender consciences” of the lawgivers for his freedom.

Not all [RHODE ISLAND](#) Quakers refused to participate in the civil unrest of the period, but those who did participate in any way were always rigorously and promptly disowned. Between 1775 and 1784, the New England Yearly Meeting of the [RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#) would disown a total of 147 Quakers who had become involved in one way or another with the civil disruption. Among those disowned was, upon his own request, Major General Nathanael Greene. (Less tolerance, in fact, was shown for those who deviated from the Peace Testimony than for those Friends who continued to hold slaves.)



The more devout and more racially unmixed of the Narragansett of [RHODE ISLAND](#) went to the West in two moves, the first in 1775 to found Brothertown, New York and the second between 1783 and 1785 to join those already there, leaving their “monigs”²²⁹ behind to survive as best they might. (They would move again in the 1830s for similar reasons, and that community of Christian New Englanders would finally come to abide at Brothertown, Wisconsin.)²³⁰ The Reverent Timothy Dwight felt that “we” ought to “do good to this miserable people,” the Native Americans, and he held up the Stockbridge Indians of Massachusetts and the Brothertown Indians of the vicinity of Paris in New York State as emblems for imitation. He believed that the complexions of Indians and Negroes would “turn white” as their dispositions improved. However, he felt it was also quite important that dark people never be treated **too** well.²³¹

The black population wherever it prevails instead of increasing the strength of this country only increases its weakness. Every black man in time of war would need a white man to watch him.

In the Reverend Samuel Peters’s A GENERAL HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT there appeared the following material dealing with an earlier shift in social convention, which at this point had come to its completion with the general abandonment of the practice that had been known as “bundling”:

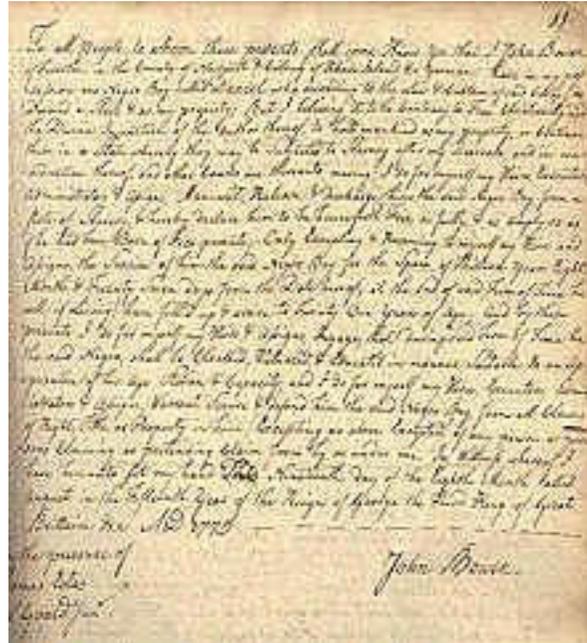
The Indians, who had this method of courtship when the English arrived among them, are the most chaste set of people in the world.... Bundling takes place only in the cold seasons of the year – the sofa in summer is more dangerous than the bed in winter. About 1756, Boston, Salem, Newport, and New York, resolving to be more polite than their ancestors, forbade their daughters bundling on the bed with any young men whatever, and introduced a sofa to render courtship more palatable and Turkish. In 1776 a clergyman from one of the polite towns went into the country, and preached against the unchristian custom of young men and maidens lying together on a bed.... [and received as response from the country people that] “experience has told us that city folks send more children into the country without fathers or mothers than are born among us. Therefore you see a sofa is more dangerous than a bed.”

229. Note well that this local term “monig” is not a pleasant one. Whether employed by a red person or by a white person, it is not only racist but also derogatory and offensive (it is a truncation of the description “more nigger than Indian”). It is a term used here in [RHODE ISLAND](#) by racist Native Americans to describe other Native Americans with whom they do not wish to be associated, and by racist whites to describe people whom they consider to be “putting on as Indians when they ain’t nothin’ but a bunch of niggers with attitude.” The only appropriate use for such a term is as here, in the graphic depiction of the nastiness of the nasty attitude of anyone nasty enough to employ it.

230. The saga of those Christian pureblood Narragansett who moved toward the West is well beyond the scope of this database, but you could consult Thomas Commuck’s SKETCH OF THE BROTHERTOWN INDIANS in the COLLECTIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN IV:291-298.

231. Hey, Rev, wait ’till it gets so dark you can’t see ’em ’less they are grinning at you! Scary, huh?

In **RHODE ISLAND**, Nicholas Cooke was in charge. At this point in this roguish colony’s trajectory, one person of every fourteen was a slave, the highest %age in New England. Yet manumissions were occurring (here’s one from Newport for which I don’t yet have a plain-text transcription):



25th, 4th Month: “The women **FRIENDS** inform that Damaris Fowler of Jamestown being left in possession of a Negro, but is informed that as her husband left no will the property is not hers but her childrens and desires the advice of Friends, on consideration of which we appoint John Hadwen and Gould Marsh to enquire into said matter and make return to our next Monthly Meeting.”

30th, 5th Month: At the previous monthly meeting of the Jamestown **FRIENDS**, a committee had been appointed to make a recommendation as to the standing of a slave belonging to the estate of a deceased man. Could the widow, Friend Damaris Fowler, manumit this slave? The committee had established that in accordance with “widow’s thirds” dower rights, “She hath no right to but one third of said Negro, for which (she) presented a bill of manumission to this Meeting which is ordered to be recorded on Friends Records.” The other 2/3ds of this person were (was?) the property of the widow Fowler’s children (who presumably were not treated of because they were not **QUAKERS**?).

Also, “The Preparative Meeting of **PORTSMOUTH** informs this Meeting [the **RHODE ISLAND** Monthly Meeting held in Newport on Aquidneck Island] that P. Jonothan [sic] Brownell hath taken the place of a Captain in the Military and enlisted in for that service. And it appearing to this Meeting that he hath been laboured with on that account but still persists therein, wherefore for the Clearing of Truth and our Christian Testimony we do disown him to be any longer a member of our Society and order that a copy of this Minute be read at the close of a First Day Meeting at Portsmouth between this and our next monthly meeting. Jacob Mott, Jr. is directed to read said Minute and to report back to our next Monthly Meeting.”

30th, 9th Month: “The Committee appointed to treat with those that claim slaves as their property inform that Elisabeth Thurston (widow of Edward Thurston) was possessed of some and refused to liberate them, which after being considered is directed to be sent to the Meeting of Women **FRIENDS**.”

RHODE ISLAND

10th Month: In order to travel from island to island in Narragansett Bay, permission was needed from the military, permission which it was exceedingly difficult to obtain. The various [QUAKER](#) meetings were almost totally isolated from one another. In this month the [FRIENDS](#) of Jamestown on Conanicut Island left that island. Only later would the Friends on Aquidneck Island learn of this departure, and learn also that since their departure the meetinghouse on that island had “suffered considerably from them [the British soldiers], in which condition it still remains.”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

20th, 11th Month: The [QUAKER](#) women’s meeting at the [RHODE ISLAND](#) Monthly Meeting [held in Newport on Aquidneck Island] collected £4 1/2 because “The Overseers of the Poor have acquainted us that as the usual supplys [*sic*] of the Treasury are stopped by the general distress, it is necessary that some others should be provided, as the wants of the poor of the Society are great.”

1776

The Reverend Samuel Hopkins’s A DIALOGUE CONCERNING THE SLAVERY OF THE AFRICANS, SHOWING IT TO BE THE DUTY AND INTEREST OF THE AMERICAN STATES TO EMANCIPATE ALL THEIR AFRICAN SLAVES. The Calvinist minister of the 1st Congregational Church at Newport, Rhode Island, a white guy, had manumitted his one black slave, and hoped for a future of benevolence, in which as a consequence of the Revolution, the practice of human enslavement in America would be discontinued, and the black people would go back to Africa where they belonged, because America should only be for us white people. Fair’s fair, so if we fail to condemn slavery here, then “The Africans have a good right to make slaves of us and our children.... And the Turks have a good right to all all the Christian slaves they have among them; and to make as many more slaves of us and our children, as shall be in their power.”

Discretion being the better part of valor, while Aquidneck Island was occupied by the British military, the Reverend would abandon his 1st Congregational Church there and preach instead at Newburyport in Massachusetts and at Canterbury and Stamford in Connecticut (he would not return to Newport until 1780).

This reverend’s training school for black missionaries to Africa would fall apart due to the disruption of the revolutionary fighting.

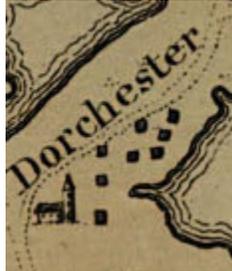
During Winter 1775/1776, acting on behalf of the Rhode Island legislature, militia General William West had been ferreting out loyalists. For the duration of the American Revolution, Newport sent its Loyalists, including Joseph Wanton (son of the deposed royal governor) and Thomas Vernon (the Comte de Rochambeau would use Vernon House, on Clarke Street in Newport, as his headquarters), to rusticate for the duration pleasantly and harmlessly in [GLOUCESTER](#) on the farm of Stephen Keach.



Stone-Ender in Chepachet

February 14: The slave poet Phillis Wheatley wrote from [PROVIDENCE](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) to her friend Obour Tanner, a slave in [NEWPORT](#), the topic of discussion evidently being the British occupation: "I doubt not that your present situation is extremely unhappy. Even I a mere spectator am in anxious suspense concerning the fortunes of this unnatural civil contest."

In Massachusetts, people were trying to kill each other at Dorchester Neck.



The Council of Massachusetts appointed Captain Eleazer Brooks of Lincoln a Colonel of the 3d regiment.

Thomas Paine revised his pamphlet COMMON SENSE to include an appendix responding to a [QUAKER](#) non-violence pamphlet:

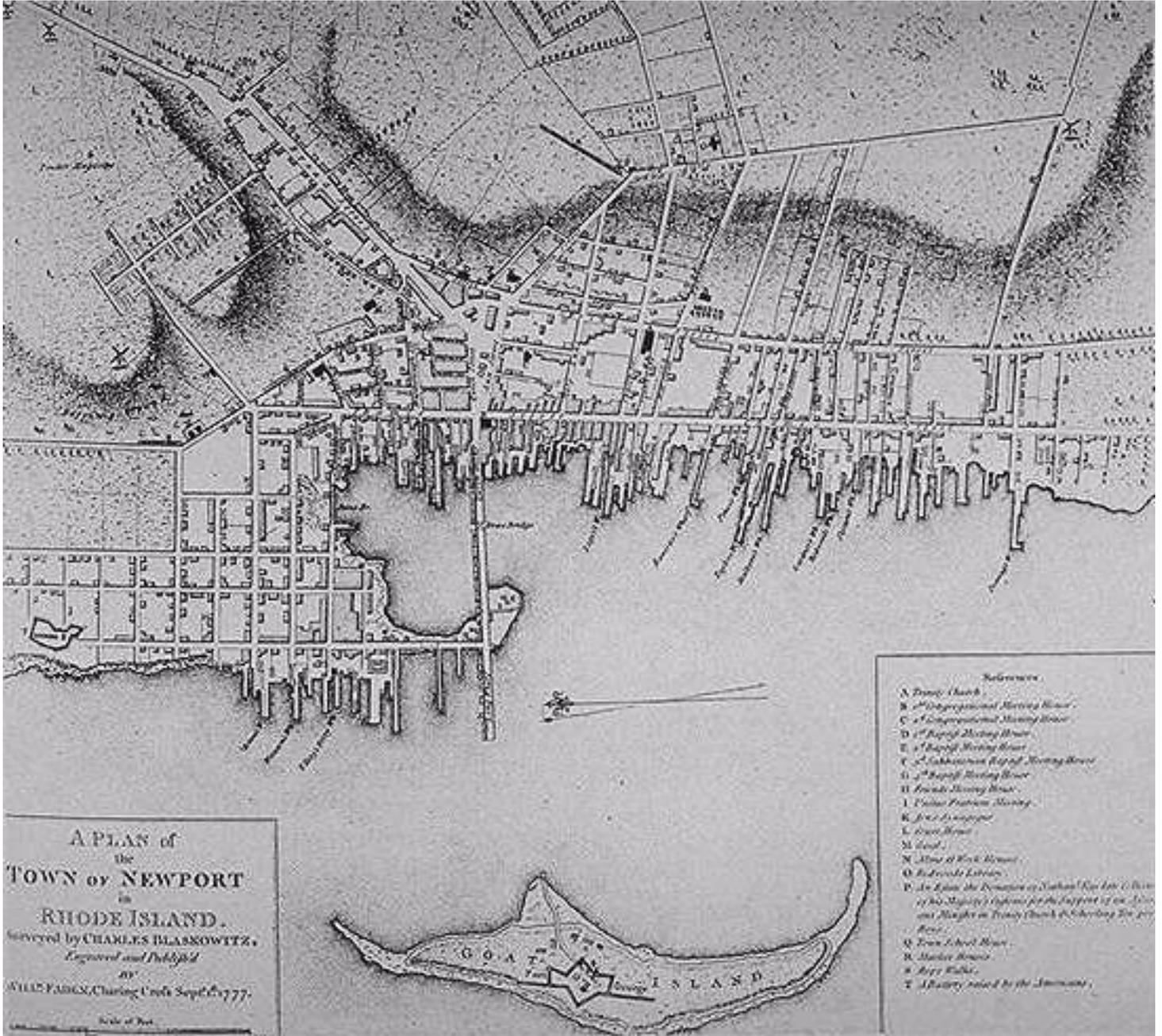
To the Representatives of the Religious Society of the People called Quakers, or to so many of them as were concerned in publishing the late piece, entitled "THE ANCIENT TESTIMONY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS RENEWED, WITH RESPECT TO THE KING AND GOVERNMENT, AND TOUCHING THE COMMOTIONS NOW PREVAILING IN THESE AND OTHER PARTS OF AMERICA ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE IN GENERAL."

Basically his argument, insofar as it was coherent and intelligible, amounted to the attitude that any Friendly witness to non-violence was hypocrisy, in that it pretended to be a religious position entirely separate from politics while, by urging nonresponsiveness to governmental violence, amounting to a sponsorship of the political status quo, it was actually religion dabbling all of its toes in the political mainstream.

Such a crowdpleaser of an argument would sell 500,000 copies.

March: Fearful that the guns of the British warships anchored off Newport were aiming in directly at his Second Congregational Church, the Reverend Ezra Stiles went to reside in Dighton MA. While tending congregations in Taunton and in [PROVIDENCE](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) he would periodically travel back to Newport for a sermon.





11th, 3rd Month: The Philadelphia Meeting of the [RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#) wrote to the Newport Meeting for Sufferings that “We are desirous as they are near and in your power to repeat assistance to them, as it is wanting, that they may be the particular objects of your care.”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

March 25: Governor Samuel Ward of [RHODE ISLAND](#) died of the small pox in Philadelphia just three months prior to the Declaration of Independence, which would have included his signature. Attending him at his deathbed was his slave Cudgoe, whom he had purchased in 1768. His place at the Continental Congress would be taken by William Ellery of Newport. His remains would be interred in the graveyard of the 1st Baptist Church in Philadelphia (in 1860 they would patriotically be relocated to the Common Burial Ground in Newport).



In regard both to the Reverend William Ellery Channing and to the poet Ellery Channing of our time period in Massachusetts, bear in mind, as everyone else did during this period, that this name was a most famous name, for regardless of whoever gets credit for creating the Declaration of Independence, a William Ellery (1727-1820) later cosigned it on behalf of [RHODE ISLAND](#):

New Hampshire: *Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton*

Massachusetts: *John Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry*

Rhode Island: *Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery*

Connecticut: *Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott*

New York: *William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris*

New Jersey: *Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark*

Pennsylvania: *Robert Morris, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross*

Delaware: *Caesar Rodney, George Read, Thomas McKean*

Maryland: *Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton*

Virginia: *George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin*

Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton
North Carolina: *William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn*
South Carolina: *Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton*
Georgia: *Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton*

26th, 3rd Month: The Constitution of South Carolina.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

“The Preparative Meeting of Newport inform that Job Townsend, 2nd hath appeared in train band under arms, whereupon we appoint James Wanton and John Gould to labor with Townsend and endeavour to bring him to a sense of his misconduct and report to next Monthly Meeting.”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

April 4: Off Block Island, Commander in Chief of the Fleet of the United Colonies Esek Hopkins’s ships captured the schooner *Hawk* of the British fleet that had based itself in Newport harbor.

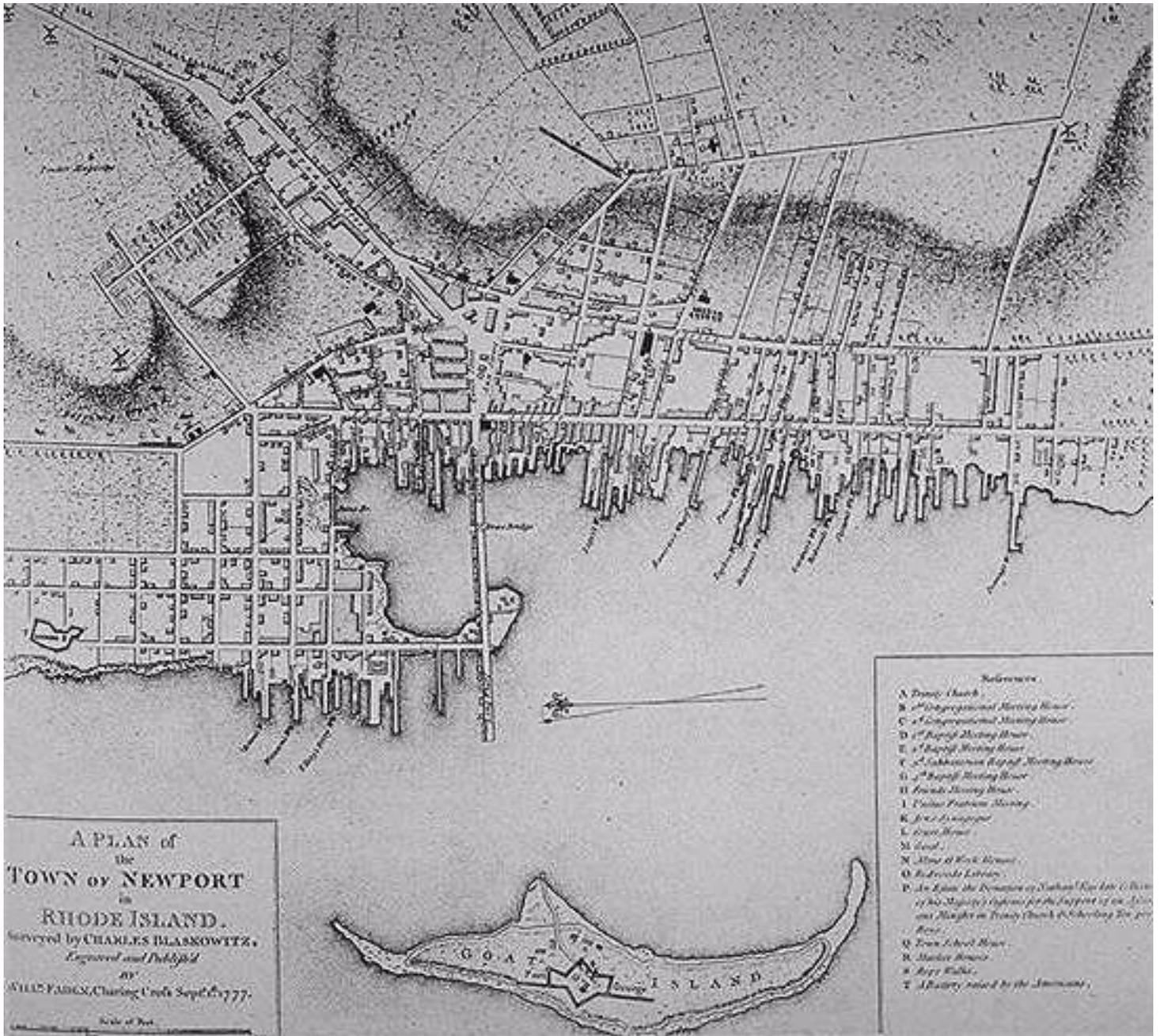
April 6: About 1:00 in the morning Andrew Doria sighted HMS *Glasgow*, a 20-gun sloop carrying dispatches from Newport to Charleston. The American fleet engaged the enemy ship for an hour and a half before it turned back toward the safety of Newport harbor in [RHODE ISLAND](#). After the break of day the American ships needed to give up their chase.

10th, 4th Month: The Newport Meeting for Sufferings of the [RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#) reported that “Newport remains in very poor circumstances, as well as several towns to the Eastward, and we think the difficulties of the inhabitants of [RHODE ISLAND](#) [Aquidneck Island] are increasing.” To this point, donations had been made to 330 local [QUAKER](#) families consisting of a total of 1,267 persons.

NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

May 4, Monday: The **RHODE ISLAND** General Assembly made it the first of the English colonies in America to renounce allegiance to King George III. In December the British navy would occupy Newport and all of Aquidneck Island, where they would remain until they would voluntarily shift their base of operations toward the south in October 1779.²³²



232. In Algonquian, “Aquidnet” means “a place of security or tranquility,” from “aquene” or “aquidne” meaning secure or peaceful, and “et” meaning place.

Fearful that the guns of the warships anchored nearby had been aiming in directly at his Second Congregational Church, the Reverend Ezra Stiles had in March gone to live in Dighton MA. Aquidneck never would recover its commercial prosperity after this occupation, as too many of the state's commercial operatives had already shifted their headquarters to [PROVIDENCE](#).



April 12, 1776	North Carolina Instructions
April 22, 1776	Cumberland County, Virginia Instructions to Provincial Convention or Assembly
April 23, 1776	Charleston, South Carolina, Judge Drayton's charge to the Grand Jury
April 23, 1776	Charlotte County, Virginia Instructions to Provincial Convention or Assembly
April 24, 1776	James City County, Virginia Instructions to Provincial Convention or Assembly
May 4, 1776	RHODE ISLAND Act repealing another securing allegiance
May 6, 1776	Georgetown, South Carolina presentment to the Grand Jury
May 13?, 1776	Buckingham County, Virginia Instructions to Provincial Convention or Assembly
May 13?, 1776	Declaration of Chelmsford MA
May 15, 1776	Virginia Instructions
May 20, 1776	Cheraws District, South Carolina presentment to the Grand Jury
May 20, 1776	Declaration of Plymouth, Massachusetts
May 20, 1776	Declaration of Watertown MA
May 20, 1776	Declaration of Brookline, Massachusetts
May 21, 1776	Declaration of Lynn MA
May 22, 1776	Declaration of Rowley MA
May 23, 1776	Declaration of Plympton, Massachusetts
May 23, 1776	Declaration of Billerica MA
May 23, 1776	Declaration of Boston, Massachusetts
May 27, 1776	Declaration of Dedham MA
May 27, 1776	Declaration of Malden MA
May 29, 1776	Declaration of the New-York Mechanics in Union
May 31, 1776	Declaration of Brunswick, Massachusetts
May 31, 1776	Declaration of Newburyport MA
May 31, 1776	Declaration of Newbury MA
(undated) 1776	Declaration of Stockbridge, Massachusetts
(undated) 1776	Declaration of Pittsfield, Massachusetts
June 3, 1776	Declaration of Taunton, Massachusetts
June 4, 1776	Declaration of Scituate MA
June 5, 1776	Declaration of Wrentham MA
June 6, 1776	Declaration of Hanover, Massachusetts
June 7, 1776	Declaration of Tyringham, Massachusetts
June 7, 1776	Declaration of Alford, Massachusetts
June 7, 1776	Declaration of Norwich, Massachusetts
June 8, 1776	Pennsylvania Instructions to Assembly
June 10, 1776	Declaration of Ipswich, Massachusetts
June 10, 1776	Declaration of the Associators, 1st Battalion (militia) of Chester County PA
June 10, 1776	Declaration of the Associators of Colonel Crawford's Battalion, Lancaster County PA
(undated) 1776	Declaration of the Associators, Elk Battalion Militia of Chester County, Pennsylvania
June 10?, 1776	Declaration of Associators, 4th Battalion (militia), City and Liberties of Philadelphia

June 10?, 1776	Declaration of Associators, 5th Battalion (militia), City and Liberties of Philadelphia
June 12, 1776	Declaration of Salem, Massachusetts
June 12, 1776	Declaration of Andover, Massachusetts
June 13, 1776	Declaration of Beverly, Massachusetts
June 13, 1776	Declaration of Amherst, Massachusetts
June 14, 1776	Connecticut Instructions
June 14, 1776	Declaration of Acton MA
June 14, 1776	Declaration of Hubbardston, Massachusetts
June 14, 21, 1776	Declaration of Topsfield, Massachusetts
June 15, 1776	New Hampshire Instructions
June 15, 1776	Delaware Instructions
June 17, 1776	Declaration of Palmer, Massachusetts
June 17, 1776	Declaration of Bedford MA
June 17, 1776	Declaration of Murraysfield, Massachusetts
June 17, 1776	Declaration of Marblehead MA
June 17, 1776	Declaration of Boxford, Massachusetts
June 17, 1776	Frederick County, Maryland Instructions to Provincial Convention or Assembly
June 18, 1776	Declaration of Weston MA
June 18, 1776	Declaration of Leverett, Massachusetts
June 18, 1776	Declaration of Danvers, Massachusetts
June 19, 1776	Declaration of Gageborough, Massachusetts
June 20, 1776	Declaration of Natick, Massachusetts
June 20, 1776	Declaration of Bradford, Massachusetts
June 21, 1776	Declaration of Southampton, Massachusetts
June 22, 1776	New Jersey Instructions
June 22, 1776	Anne Arundel County, Maryland Instructions to Provincial Convention or Assembly
(undated) 1776	Charles County, Maryland Instructions to Provincial Convention or Assembly
(undated) 1776	Talbot County, Maryland Instructions to Provincial Convention or Assembly
June 24, 1776	Declaration of the Town of King's District, New York
June 24, 1776	Pennsylvania Instructions to Provincial Congress
June 24, 1776	Declaration of Spencer-Town [Albany], New York
June 24, 1776	Declaration of Gloucester, Massachusetts
June 24, 1776	Declaration of Williamstown, Massachusetts
June 25, 1776	Declaration of Northbridge, Massachusetts
June 25, 1776	Declaration of Haverhill, Massachusetts
June 27, 1776	Declaration of Sturbridge, Massachusetts
June 28, 1776	Maryland Instructions
June 28, 1776	Declaration of Ashburnham, Massachusetts
June 29, 1776	Preamble, Virginia constitution
June 30, 1776	Declaration of Hanover, Massachusetts

July 1, 1776	Declaration of Amesbury MA
July 1, 1776	Declaration of Fitchburg, Massachusetts
July 1, 1776	Declaration of Ashby, Massachusetts
July 1, 1776	Declaration of Greenwich, Massachusetts
July 2, 1776	Preamble, New Jersey constitution
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Bellingham, Massachusetts
July 4, 1776	Declaration of Winchendon, Massachusetts
(undated) 1776	Declaration of Eastham MA
July 6, 1776	Maryland's "A Declaration"

28th, 5th Month: The committee appointed by the Preparative Meeting of Newport to deal with Friend Job Townsend, 2nd having reported no success in dealing with him as an armed member of the local revolutionary militia, the **QUAKERS** disowned him "to be any longer a member of our Society."

RHODE ISLAND

June: Several of Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**'s most prominent Jews were among the 76 men asked by the Rhode Island General Assembly to sign a declaration of loyalty to the American colonies. The writing included the phrase, "upon the true faith of a Christian." In a letter and public testimony at the Newport State House (now known as the Old Colony House), Moses Michael Hays (1739-1805), a Sephardic Jew, the son of Judah Hays who had owned the 16-gun privateer *Duke of Cumberland* in 1760, objected to the phrase, instead suggesting that he be allowed to affirm his belief in the Revolution as a just cause. After much wrangling, with the offensive phrase omitted, Hays was able to affirm his loyalty on the dotted line at what is now referred to as the Old Colony House — one of the oldest existing government buildings in America.



29th, 10th Month: At the Preparative Meeting of **PORTSMOUTH**, "One of the visitors from **NEWPORT** informed that Benjamin Stanton had been on a cruise in a private vessel of war which being directly contrary to the peaceable principle we profess, we do disown him."

RHODE ISLAND

11th, 11th Month: The Meeting for Sufferings of the [RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#) brought £60 worth of firewood to Aquidneck Island to relieve the sufferings of winter.

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

The Constitution of Maryland.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

Winter 1775/1776: The British pulled down the wooden meeting house of the 2nd Church in North Square, Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) for fuel (later this congregation would unite with the New Brick).

They weren't so warm that winter in the environs of Boston, either:

In the winter of 1775, and 1776, the town [Concord] carried to Cambridge, for the use of the [American] Army, 210 cords of wood, 5 tons of hay, and some other articles for which it paid 150 pounds.²³³

233. [LEMUEL SHATTUCK](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA : John Stacy, 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 Henry David Thoreau would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

December 7: A flotilla of British ships hove over the horizon, and came to anchor in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#). From this point until May 27, 1782, to speak of the matter poetically, “the seat of Muses” in [PROVIDENCE](#) would be transformed into “the habitation of Mars.” College studies were suspended indefinitely, and the new edifice (the one now called University Hall) was occupied by the soldiers initially for barracks and then for a hospital.

People were trying to kill each other at Tappan, New York.

Captain Simon Forrester (?-1817), having recently come ashore after his sloop *Rover* blew up a British ship sailing between Bristol, England and Guinea resulting in the deaths of 25 of its 28-man crew, on this day married a daughter of Daniel Hathorne, grandfather of Nathaniel Hawthorne.²³⁴

THE SCARLET LETTER: In the second storey of the Custom-House there is a large room, in which the brick-work and naked rafters have never been covered with panelling and plaster. The edifice - originally projected on a scale adapted to the old commercial enterprise of the port, and with an idea of subsequent prosperity destined never to be realized - contains far more space than its occupants know what to do with. This airy hall, therefore, over the Collector's apartments, remains unfinished to this day, and, in spite of the aged cobwebs that festoon its dusky beams, appears still to await the labour of the carpenter and mason. At one end of the room, in a recess, were a number of barrels piled one upon another, containing bundles of official documents. Large quantities of similar rubbish lay lumbering the floor. It was sorrowful to think how many days, and weeks, and months, and years of toil had been wasted on these musty papers, which were now only an encumbrance on earth, and were hidden away in this forgotten corner, never more to be glanced at by human eyes. But then, what reams of other manuscripts -filled, not with the dulness of official formalities, but with the thought of inventive brains and the rich effusion of deep hearts- had gone equally to oblivion; and that, moreover, without serving a purpose in their day, as these heaped-up papers had, and -saddest of all- without purchasing for their writers the comfortable livelihood which the clerks of the Custom-House had gained by these worthless scratchings of the pen. Yet not altogether worthless, perhaps, as materials of local history. Here, no doubt, statistics of the former commerce of Salem might be discovered, and memorials of her princely merchants -old King Derby -old Billy Gray -old Simon Forrester -and many another magnate in his day, whose powdered head, however, was scarcely in the tomb before his mountain pile of wealth began to dwindle. The founders of the greater part of the families which now compose the aristocracy of Salem might here be traced, from the petty and obscure beginnings of their traffic, at periods generally much posterior to the Revolution, upward to what their children look upon as long-established rank.

234. Captain Simon Forrester's businessman son Simon Forrester, Jr. (1776-1851) would eventually be supposed to be the richest man in Salem — and hence this note in Hawthorne's writing.

NEWPORT RI

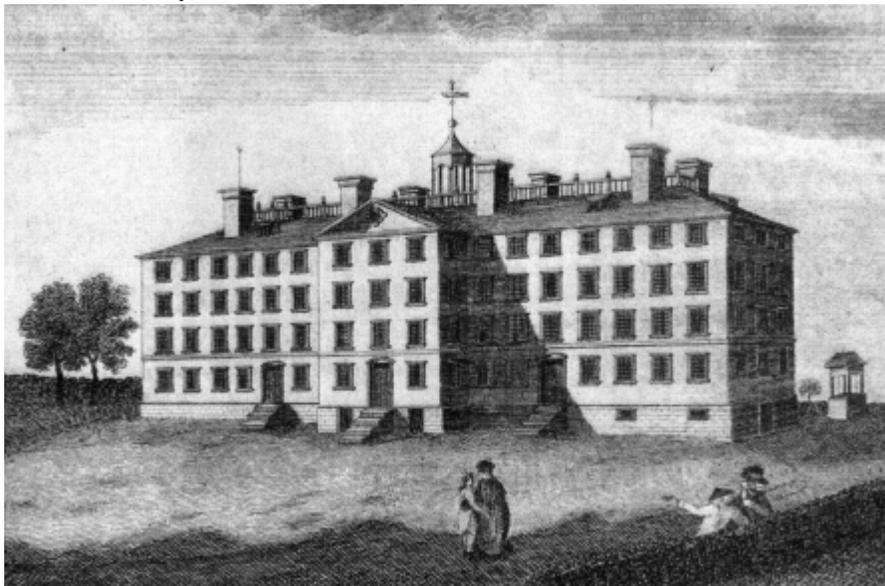
NEWPORT RI

December 8: A British Army under General Clinton took possession of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).

During the British occupation of Aquidneck Island a number of Rhode Island slaves would seek refuge there. A Newport Loyalist and a British officer would record in their diaries five separate such occasions, during which a total of 19 men, women, and children of color made their way by boat from the southern Rhode Island mainland to the freedom of British-occupied Newport.



December 10: The British troop encampments on [AQUIDNECK ISLAND](#) were within clear sight from atop College Hill, which meant that there was an ever-present danger to young colonial men of impressment. President James Manning of [RHODE ISLAND](#) College placed a notice in the [PROVIDENCE](#) Gazette explaining that the building which had been constructed had for the time being been commandeered as a barracks for revolutionary soldiers.



The college which eventually would become Brown University would actually not reopen for its students until May 27, 1782.

This is to inform all the Students, that their Attendance on College Orders is hereby difpenfed with,

until the End of the next Spring Vacation ; and that they are at Liberty to return Home, or profecute their Studies elfewhere, as they think proper : And that thofe who pay as particular Attention to their Studies as thefe confufed Times will admit, fhall then be confidered in the fame Light and Standing as if they had given the ufual Attendance here. In Witnefs whereof, I fubfcribe

James Manning, Prefident.

Providence, December 10.

Since most of the colonials were abandoning **NEWPORT** during this timeframe, we may presume that this was about the time at which the family of Friend Abraham Redwood also departed from there, to reside for a short period in North **PROVIDENCE** before purchasing a farm in Mendon MA, and the family of Aaron Lopez departed from there, to reside first in **PROVIDENCE** and then in Leicester, Massachusetts.

31st, 12th Month: At the Preparative Meeting of **PORTSMOUTH**, the men's meeting for business recorded "*As our Meeting hath at this time a number of soldiers in it renders it inconvenient to proceed to business. Therefore this Meeting is adjourned to the breaking of the meeting for worship at Newport next Fifth day.*" Meanwhile the women's meeting for business recorded "*as the intercourse between this island and the main is obstructed by the arrival of the British Army here, the business respecting ... is refer'd...*"

RHODE ISLAND

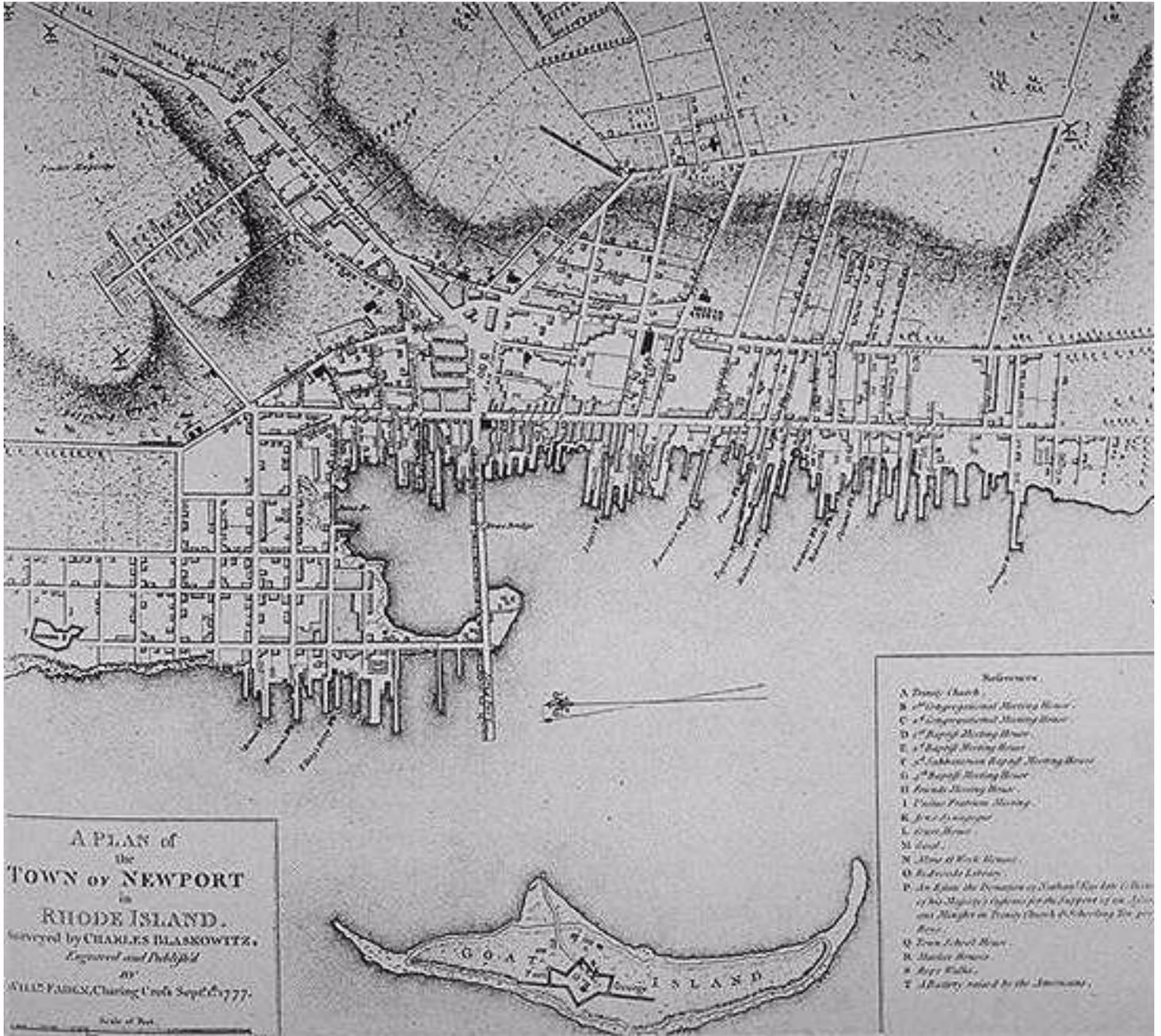
1777

During this year a British officer was making a plan of the **NARRAGANSETT BAY** (see next screen).

NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

In London, an engraved plan of Newport, Rhode Island was being published by William Faden (1750?-1836) according to a survey made by Charles Blaskowitz.



With the British occupying Aquidneck Island, the Jamestown, **RHODE ISLAND** meetinghouse of the **QUAKERS** was commandeered for use as a military hospital. (The graves of seven soldiers are still nearby.)

2nd, 1st Month: On Aquidneck Island itself, in Narragansett Bay, while it was occupied by the British army and navy, the men of the local **FRIENDS** attempted to maintain their peaceableness:²³⁵

The address of the people called Quakers on Rhode Island in Monthly Meeting assembled the 2nd day of the 1st mo. 1777 -

May it please the General,
 We the King's peaceable and loyal subjects being deeply affected with the unhappy commotions which now prevail around us, on which reflecting we are desirous that thou through the blessing of Divine Providence may be instrumental in Restoring peace and tranquillity to this at present distressed Country – Believing that thy intentions are to conduct toward such who have not deviated from their Allegiance to the King in a leniant & tender manner – we are desirous to inform thee that we as a Society Concerned since the Commencement of the present unhappy commotions to bear our Christian Testimony against any violations thereof in any of our Members and have publickly manifested our disunity with such as have appeared openly in taking up arms.

With thankful hearts we adore that most merciful hand which preserved us in that Critical time of thy landing so that no human blood was shed and that through thy distinguished Lenity the Inhabitants have been favoured beyond what might have been Expected. Encouraged thereby we ask the protection of our persons & properties & indulgence in the enjoyment of our Religious Liberties with desires for thy well doing here and happyness hereafter we are thy sinceer [sic] Friends

[SIGNATURES OF 38 MALE FRIENDS]

We whose names are hereafter inserted not being present at the Meeting aforesaid, do manifest our Unity with this address by subscribing same.

[SIGNATURES OF 27 MORE MALE FRIENDS]

During this month, the local **QUAKER** Meeting for Sufferings recorded there to be abroad in the general American population a “*hope of the military*” according to which, by for a period giving free reign to “*lusts of men in general,*” it would be possible to “*shut up, separate, and destroy that union and fellowship which once subsisted between the inhabitants of the two countries*” — England and America. Meetings were urged to cope with such a false expectation of the efficacy of bloodshed by continuing “*to manifest to the world that there is one universal parent over all, that his obedient children have no parties to support, their desire being to promote the one peaceable kingdom of Christ...*”

RHODE ISLAND

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

6th, 1st Month: The Meeting for Sufferings of the **RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS** delivered another £60 worth of firewood to Aquidneck Island to relieve the winter suffering of **FRIENDS** there. They recorded: “*This Meeting taking under consideration that the place for holding the next Quarterly Meeting is as it stands appointed at Newport, and by intelligence that we have received from a friend who lately came from **RHODE ISLAND** [Aquidneck Island] we understand that provisions are scarce there, therefore and for other reasons we think it best that said meeting be held at Swanzey.*” (As it turned out, it was not even possible to obtain permission from the fighters for Friends to venture from the mainland onto the island to fetch the **QUAKER** records of previous meetings: “*It is therefore the opinion of this Meeting that notwithstanding the want of our records and the absence of our Friends on the island, the meeting [at Swanzey] should still be held as planned.*”)

235. Friends considered the revolution to be a “civil war” in which there was no reason whatever to choose sides. In return, both sides considered them disloyal.

1st, 2nd Month: “John G. Wanton and Robert Taylor of Newport have signed a declaration called the Test Act, which being contrary to the peaceable principles we profess, therefore for the clearing of our Christian testimony we do disown them.”²³⁶

RHODE ISLAND

25th, 3rd Month: The Meeting at Newport recorded: “Answers to the queries were read approved and which are to be sent with an account to the Quarterly Meeting if opportunity offers to send them, which prospect at present appears so discouraging that we do not appoint any FRIENDS to attend it.”

RHODE ISLAND

29th, 4th Month: The Meeting at Newport recorded: “The business refer’d for some months past is now refer’d until we may have communications with our FRIENDS on the main.”

RHODE ISLAND

24th, 6th Month: The Meeting at Newport recorded: “There not appearing at present any probability of attending the ensuing Quarterly Meeting by representatives nor of sending an account is the reason that the ancient custom is at present omitted.” The residents of Point Estates, owned by the RHODE ISLAND Monthly Meeting, were pleading poverty and “deficient in paying their rents,” and a committee was appointed to labor with them.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

29th, 7th Month: The Meeting at Newport recorded: “Our FRIENDS Aaron Lankester and David Sands signifying to this Meeting their desire to get off the island [they were visitors from New York Yearly Meeting] we appoint Gould Marsh, Thomas Robinson and Isaac Lawton to assist them in getting a permit from the Commanding Officer of the Island.”

RHODE ISLAND

26th, 8th Month: The minutes of the women’s meeting of the Aquidneck Island FRIENDS record that they had been alerted by the men’s meeting “that Hannah Borden, Anne Proud, and Ruth Goddard are indebted for Quit Rents for a considerable amount, we therefore appoint Amy Thurston and Mary Marsh to treat with said persons and make report to our next monthly meeting.”

RHODE ISLAND

30th, 9th Month: The visiting committee of the women’s meeting of the Aquidneck Island FRIENDS reported that the reason why the female residents of Point Estates had fallen behind on their rents was “the general calamity by which the price of the necessities of life are so greatly enhanced, that it is with difficulty that they can supply their own daily necessities.” The property of the QUAKERS was being seized (“destrained”) both by the British soldiers and by the American soldiers, because of their refusal to take sides in the warfare. The accumulated totals of these destraints had come to amount to some £2,473. Indeed, attendance at meeting for worship was falling off because some FRIENDS had become so straited that their clothing was no longer fit for them to appear in public.

RHODE ISLAND

236. Subscription to this Test Act, since it involved the provision of a substitute soldier or the making of an adequate payment for the obtaining of such a substitute soldier, was held to constitute personal participation in conflict and therefore was in violation of the peaceable principles of the RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

1778

May 25, Sunday: A British force of 500 men, including Hessian troops, marched through Warren and down the main street of Bristol, Rhode Island (now known as Hope Street), setting fire to many buildings and taking several citizens as prisoners to Newport. Most of the houses burnt were the barracks of American troops or homes of prominent “rebels.” (Bristol now boasts the oldest continuous 4th-of-July celebration in America. First staged in 1785, it was begun by Bristolians who had taken part in the revolution.)

After the failure of the American drive to recapture Newport, Rhode Island, Jemimah Wilkinson, who had become known as “The Universal Friend,” and some of her associates, obtained General John Sullivan’s permission and the British commander’s permission to pass through the military lines and pay a visit to England. It has been suspected that her agenda was to pay an evangelical visit to King George III.



This agenda would fail of accomplishment, but she would succeed in winning over Judge William Potter of South Kingstown, Rhode Island. He would in 1780 create a sanctuary for her and her little group of admirers on his estate at Little Rest (the village of Kingston).

Universal Friend would be going on preaching trips escorted by her father. Eventually her father would be replaced at her side, first by Judge Potter and then by her cadre of women friends. Her caravan –usually 12, riding two by two behind her spirited horse with her seated on a stunning white leather and blue velvet saddle– would find its way to Philadelphia and Worchester in Pennsylvania. Meetinghouses would be established, initially in South Kingston RI at the home of Judge Potter and then also in New Milford CT.²³⁷

The town of Acton was keeping tabs on how much the revolution was costing them:

4 men	Rhode Island	2¼ months	May and June	at £6=£24
4 men	Northern Army	4 months	Aug. to Dec.	at £24=£96
4 men	Northern Army	1½ months	Oct. and Nov.	at £9=£36
4 men	Cambridge	5 months	Nov. to April	at £12=£48
6 men	Cambridge	3 months	April to July	at £7¼=£43½

A full estimate of the services cannot be made. This town had the honor of furnishing several officers during the revolutionary war. Lieutenant Colonel Francis Faulkner and

237. We are tempted to disrespect such a person as a mere self-deluded religious poseur — but in all fairness, if we do so there are any number of posturing males, cut from the same broadcloth, even today on the tube, whom we should also “diss.”

Captain Simon Hunt were in the battle at White Plains, and at other times were also engaged in actual service. The constitution was adopted by more than two thirds of the votes of the town.²³⁸

July 7: The French fleet from Toulon came to anchor at the mouth of the Delaware River, where they found that they had missed the British forces under Lord Howe, which had already gone to refuge at New-York. When the French commander would be informed, truly or falsely, that ships of this size could not pass over the bar into that harbor, he ordered his fleet to sail on to Aquidneck Island, and attempt in conjunction with the Revolutionary general John Sullivan and hopefully some 10,000 Rhode Islanders to capture the English force of nearly 6,000 soldiers at Newport.

July 29: The French fleet came to anchor opposite Newport, Rhode Island. The plan was for General John Sullivan to bring his revolutionary militiamen onto the island under the protection of the French naval artillery. The French ships would then advance up the channel and set marines ashore at the docks to assist in subduing the town. However, the militia didn't show up in time to fulfil this plan.

August 20: The French fleet put into Newport harbor of the Narragansett Bay.

August 21: Fearful that the English ships would return to the attack, the French fleet sailed from the Newport harbor of the Narragansett Bay to Boston, in order to make necessary storm repairs there.

25th, 8th Month: The siege of Aquidneck Island. The Quaker meeting at [PORTSMOUTH](#) recorded: "The communication between us and [FRIENDS](#) at Newport being obstructed this meeting is adjourned to the 9th day of next month at the breaking up of the Meeting for Worship at Portsmouth."²³⁹

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

August 29: In [RHODE ISLAND](#), people were trying to kill each other at a place on Aquidneck Island variously known as Quaker Hill and as Butts Hill, near [PORTSMOUTH](#). During this struggle, now grandly known as "The Battle of Rhode Island," the local black unit was opposing Hessian mercenary troops. The *marquis de Lafayette* would describe the general engagement of this day as the "best fought action of the war."

238. Lemuel Shattuck. A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;.... Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA : John Stacy, 1835

(On or about November 11, 1837 Henry David Thoreau would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

239. As part of the defensive work in preparation for battle, the British forces on the island in this year sank 13 of their older ships across the mouth of the harbor. One of these appears to have been, actually, what remained of a proud ship that Captain Cook had used during his explorations, *Endeavour* (renamed *Lord Sandwich*, and in its last days used as a prison hulk containing captured American rebels). Coincidentally, also finding its way to the bottom of the harbor here would be Captain Cook's *Resolution*, renamed in its later existence *La Liberte*.

29th, 8th Month: Although the “Battle of Rhode Island” was taking place on the “Quaker Hill” of Aquidneck Island, it is interesting to note that this event so significant to other Rhode Islanders would go entirely unmentioned in any local **QUAKER** meeting minutes. What would be mentioned about this day, however, would be the sad fact that during the build-up for this “Battle of Rhode Island,” a Tory home near Bristol, **RHODE ISLAND** had had to be abandoned — and later Friend Sarah Trask, wife of Ebenezer Trask, was found to have in her possession some objects from that home. When Friend Sarah would prove to be unwilling to express contrition for her conduct she would be disowned by her **FRIENDS** meeting.

(Battles we could put up with –they having nothing to do with us– but theft was a no-no.)

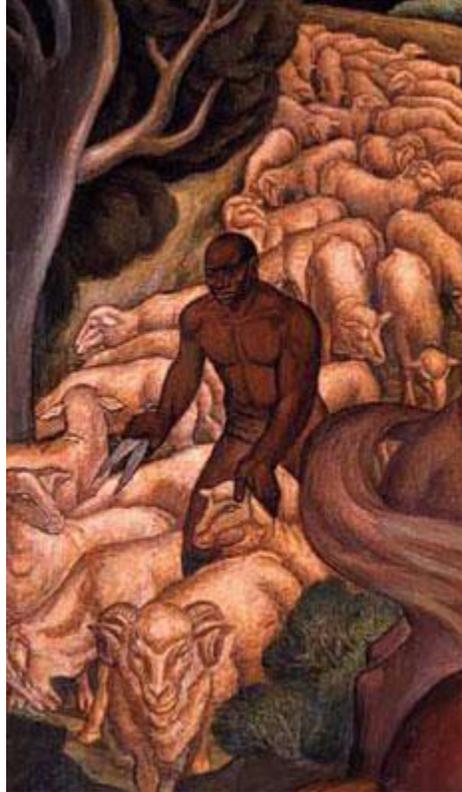
14th, 9th Month: A **QUAKER** committee from Providence, **RHODE ISLAND** had visited Aquidneck Island **FRIENDS**, and reported that they had found Friends on the eastern part of the island “*generally in health, though stript of almost all their remaining livestock, and had at Middletown divers of their houses burnt, as we were informed by the British party, Friends houses were much throng’d by the Americans, who were very numerous on the Island, their hay and cornfields were wasting fast, horses and oxen being loose among the corn and indeed it was a wasting time amongst them, as to their outward estates. Yet to our comfort, we found Friends according to our observation quiet and pretty well resigned in their minds and our visit amongst them appear’d to be to their satisfaction and it was a time of sympathy and refreshment to us, to find them in so good a frame under their difficult situation. We assembled Friends after their Meeting and made particular enquiry whether there were any under necessitous circumstances and visited a number of families, found one Friend with a large family under present want being turn’d out of his house and stript of most of his property to whom we gave 24 pounds to enable him to purchase a cow from the Main. We saw no way to visit Friends at Newport but were informed that they were generally well about the 8th of last month but that bread was very scarce there.*”

1779

22nd, 7th Month: The **RHODE ISLAND** [Aquidneck Island] Monthly Meeting recorded that it had “*Received a Bill of exchange for one hundred pounds sterling drawn in favor of Thomas Robinson upon John Wright, Joseph Delaplane and Walter Franklin in New York, it being a charitable donation from our **FRIENDS** in England, to be applied towards the support of such Friends as are reduced to necessitous circumstances within the verge of this Monthly Meeting.*”

October: British forces began to be evacuated from [NEWPORT](#). Bon voyage! They took with them almost all of the Newport town records previous to December 6, 1779, in a ship which would soon be sunk in the East River off New-York. When these records would be recovered from the wreck after three years of submersion, they would generally prove not to be salvageable.

For example, we know that during this month the legislature of [RHODE ISLAND](#) was enacting “An Act prohibiting slaves being sold out of the state, against their consent,” but the title only of this bill having been located (COLONIAL RECORDS, VIII. 618; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 449), we lack the details of this restriction on the slave trade.²⁴⁰



According to the “Book of Negroes” (an enumeration of the 3,000 black Americans who would sail with the British from New-York harbor in 1783 when that city was evacuated after the revolution had succeeded), when the British evacuated Newport at this point, departing with them as free persons were 24 African-American men and women who had been slaves in Rhode Island.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In 1652 Rhode Island passed a law designed to prohibit life slavery in the colony. It declared that “Whereas, there is a common course practised amongst English men to buy negers, to that end they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventinge of such practices among us, let it be ordered, that no blacke mankind or white being forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assignnes longer than ten yeares, or untill they come to bee twentie four yeares of age, if they bee taken in under fourteen, from the time of their cominge within the liberties of this Collonie. And at the end or terme of ten yeares to sett them free, as the manner is with the English servants. And that man that will not let them goe free, or shall sell them away

240. We do have, however, a comparison piece of legislation that dates to this very same year, if not to the same month, an enactment of the legislature of Vermont entitled “An Act for securing the general privileges of the people,” etc., that abolished slavery inside the state (VERMONT STATE PAPERS 1779-1786, page 287).

elsewhere, to that end that they may be enslaved to others for a long time, hee or they shall forfeit to the Collonie forty pounds."²⁴¹

This law was for a time enforced,²⁴² but by the beginning of the eighteenth century it had either been repealed or become a dead letter; for the Act of 1708 recognized perpetual slavery, and laid an impost of £3 on Negroes imported.²⁴³ This duty was really a tax on the transport trade, and produced a steady income for twenty years.²⁴⁴ From the year 1700 on, the citizens of this State engaged more and more in the carrying trade, until Rhode Island became the greatest slave-trader in America. Although she did not import many slaves for her own use, she became the clearing-house for the trade of other colonies. Governor Cranston, as early as 1708, reported that between 1698 and 1708 one hundred and three vessels were built in the State, all of which were trading to the West Indies and the Southern colonies.²⁴⁵ They took out lumber and brought back molasses, in most cases making a slave voyage in between. From this, the trade grew. Samuel Hopkins, about 1770, was shocked at the state of the trade: more than thirty distilleries were running in the colony, and one hundred and fifty vessels were in the slave-trade.²⁴⁶ "Rhode Island," said he, "has been more deeply interested in the slave-trade, and has enslaved more Africans than any other colony in New England." Later, in 1787, he wrote: "The inhabitants of Rhode Island, especially those of Newport, have had by far the greater share in this traffic, of all these United States. This trade in human species has been the first wheel of commerce in Newport, on which every other movement in business has chiefly depended. That town has been built up, and flourished in times past, at the expense of the blood, the liberty, and happiness of the poor Africans; and the inhabitants have lived on this, and by it have gotten most of their wealth and riches."²⁴⁷

The Act of 1708 was poorly enforced. The "good intentions" of its framers "were wholly frustrated" by the clandestine "hiding and conveying said negroes out of the town [Newport] into the country, where they lie concealed."²⁴⁸ The act was accordingly strengthened by the Acts of 1712 and 1715, and made to apply to importations by land as well as by sea.²⁴⁹ The Act of 1715, however, favored the trade by admitting African Negroes free of duty. The chaotic state of Rhode Island did not allow England often to review her legislation; but as soon as the Act of 1712 came to notice it was disallowed, and accordingly repealed in 1732.²⁵⁰ Whether the Act of 1715 remained, or whether any other duty act was passed, is not clear.

While the foreign trade was flourishing, the influence of the Friends and of other causes eventually led to a movement against slavery as a local institution. Abolition societies multiplied,

241. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, I. 240.

242. Cf. letter written in 1681: NEW ENGLAND REGISTER, XXXI. 75-6. Cf. also Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, I. 240.

243. The text of this act is lost (COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 34; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 31). The Acts of Rhode Island were not well preserved, the first being published in Boston in 1719. Perhaps other whole acts are lost.

244. E.g., it was expended to pave the streets of Newport, to build bridges, etc.: RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 191-3, 225.

245. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 55-60.

246. Patten, REMINISCENCES OF SAMUEL HOPKINS (1843), page 80.

247. Hopkins, WORKS (1854), II. 615.

248. Preamble of the Act of 1712.

249. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 131-5, 138, 143, 191-3.

250. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 471.

and in 1770 an abolition bill was ordered by the Assembly, but it was never passed.²⁵¹ Four years later the city of Providence resolved that "as personal liberty is an essential part of the natural rights of mankind," the importation of slaves and the system of slavery should cease in the colony.²⁵² This movement finally resulted, in 1774, in an act "prohibiting the importation of Negroes into this Colony," – a law which curiously illustrated the attitude of Rhode Island toward the slave-trade. The preamble of the act declared: "Whereas, the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which, that of personal freedom must be considered as the greatest; as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; – Therefore," etc. The statute then proceeded to enact "that for the future, no negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free...." The logical ending of such an act would have been a clause prohibiting the participation of Rhode Island citizens in the slave-trade. Not only was such a clause omitted, but the following was inserted instead: "Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave brought from the coast of Africa, into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this colony, and which negro or mulatto slave could not be disposed of in the West Indies, but shall be brought into this colony. Provided, that the owner of such negro or mulatto slave give bond ... that such negro or mulatto slave shall be exported out of the colony, within one year from the date of such bond; if such negro or mulatto be alive, and in a condition to be removed."²⁵³ In 1779 an act to prevent the sale of slaves out of the State was passed,²⁵⁴ and in 1784, an act gradually to abolish slavery.²⁵⁵ Not until 1787 did an act pass to forbid participation in the slave-trade. This law laid a penalty of £100 for every slave transported and £1000 for every vessel so engaged.²⁵⁶

November 1: It was reported that "the English had evacuated Newport, Rhodeisland [*sic*] last Tuesday; after blowing up the Court-house, Granary, Light-house, & their Fortification on Tomminy hill." A state convention met in Concord again, October 6th, and continued in session seven days. Colonel Cuming [John Cuming] and Captain David Brown were delegates from Concord. A revised edition of the state price-current, several new spirited

251. Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 304, 321, 337. For a probable copy of the bill, see NARRAGANSETT HISTORICAL REGISTER, II. 299.

252. A man dying intestate left slaves, who became thus the property of the city; they were freed, and the town made the above resolve, May 17, 1774, in town meeting: Staples, ANNALS OF PROVIDENCE (1843), page 236.

253. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VII. 251-2.

254. BARTLETT'S INDEX, page 329; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 444; RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VIII. 618.

255. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, X. 7-8; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 506.

256. BARTLETT'S INDEX, page 333; NARRAGANSETT HISTORICAL REGISTER, II. 298-9. The number of slaves in Rhode Island has been estimated as follows: –

In 1708, 426. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 59.

In 1730, 1,648. RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS, No. 19, pt. 2, page 99.

In 1749, 3,077. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 281.

In 1756, 4,697. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 281.

In 1774, 3,761. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VII. 253.

resolutions, relating to trade, currency, etc., and an address to the people, were adopted and published. County, town, and district meetings were recommended to carry these resolutions into effect. They were laid before the town [Concord], November 1st, and a committee of fourteen chosen, to fix the prices of such articles as were not therein enumerated. They reported, the next week, "that, as the regulations agreed upon by the late convention had been broken over by the inhabitants of Boston and many other places, they thought it not proper to proceed in the business assigned them, but to postpone the matter." Thus ended the proceedings relating to this difficult subject. It was indeed a fruitless attempt to enforce a system of uniform prices of merchandise, while the currency was constantly depreciating in value. And it is believed, that the attempts just noticed were means to increase private property, more than to promote the public good.²⁵⁷

1780

In 1776, when Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) had come under the occupation of the British military, the Reverend Samuel Hopkins had gone to preach at Newburyport, Massachusetts and at Canterbury and Stamford, Connecticut. At this point he returned to his 1st Congregational Church in Newport.

Moses Michael Hays removed from Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) to Boston. He would be one of the founders of the Massachusetts Fire and Marine Insurance Company, which eventually would become Bank of Boston.

15th day 1st month: Friend William Robinfon of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) manumitted his previously enslaved Negro man named Ifrael.

April 7: William Ellery Channing (the first, famous William Ellery Channing, the Reverend, not the poet ne'er-do-well with whom Henry David Thoreau would associate in Concord) was born in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).

June: The town of Bedford [BEDFORD](#) sent eight revolutionary fighters to Rhode Island for three months, to help oppose the British there:

In June previous, seven men, John Johnson, Rufus Johnson, Nathan Merrill, Jonas Bacon, Cambridge Moore, Jonas Duren, Cesar Prescott, had been hired [by Bedford [BEDFORD](#)] to go to the North River, six months for a bounty of 120 bushels of corn each; and eight men, Joshua Holt, John Webber, Ebenezer Hardy, Amos Bemis, Jonathan Wilson, Andrew Hall, Isaac Simonds, and Israel

257. Lemuel Shattuck. A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;.... Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA : John Stacy, 1835
 (On or about November 11, 1837 Henry David Thoreau would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

Mead Blood, were hired for three months to Rhode Island for 90 bushels of corn each.²⁵⁸

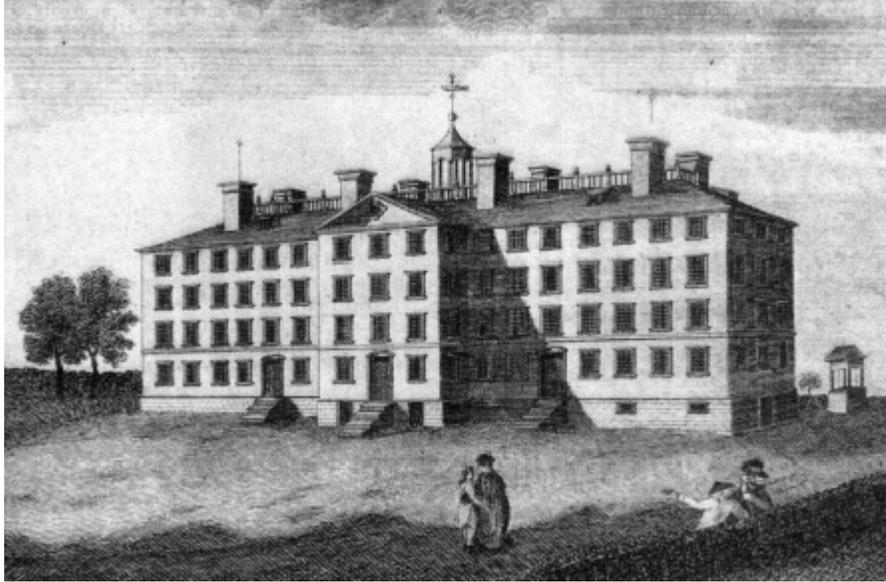
258. Lemuel Shattuck. A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;.... Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA : John Stacy, 1835
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NEWPORT RI

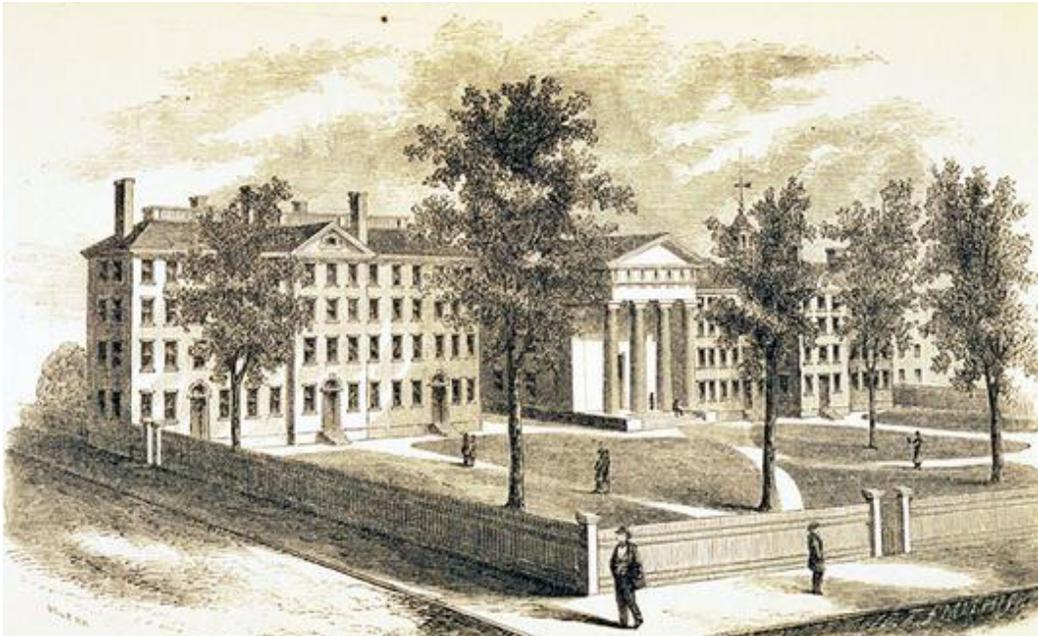
NEWPORT RI

A French army began to disembark at Newport on Aquidneck Island.

At about this point in time the College Edifice erected atop College Hill in Providence, Rhode Island (now the original building of Brown University) had been evacuated by the revolutionary soldiers who had been using it as a barracks, and it was being converted into a hospital for French soldiers encamped along Camp Street.



Later on this building would be added to. Here it is at an interim stage, in 1864, after Hope College on the right had been constructed during 1821-1823 and after Manning Hall, in the center, had been constructed in 1834:



The original College Edifice of 1770, now known as University Hall, is on the left in the 20th-Century

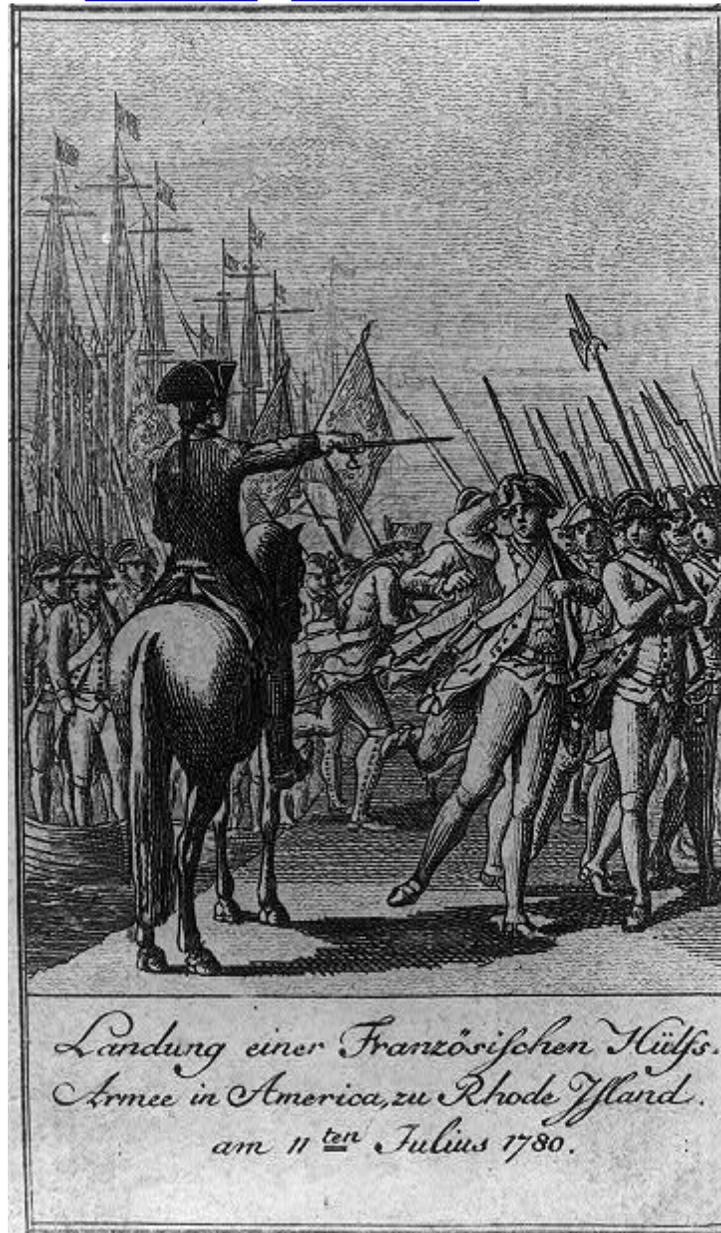
NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

postcard image below:



July 11: Here is an illustration of the disembarkation of French troops on this day either at Newport on Aquidneck Island or at PROVIDENCE in RHODE ISLAND :



31st, 10th Month: The British army had been evacuated, Aquidneck Island had come to be occupied by French soldiers: “A part of the Meeting House at Newport having at some time past been occupied by the French Army, we appoint James Mitchell, James Chase, Isaac Lawton, and Jacob Mott to use their endeavours to have it released.”

RHODE ISLAND
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

27th, 11th Month: A disownment by the Newport meeting: “Whereas James Marsh, who some time past came off from **RHODE ISLAND** [Aquidneck Island] and by his own account had never been deprived of a right of membership which he held by Birth among **FRIENDS**, has since he came among us [among the Friends of **SMITHFIELD**] maintained a life and conversation in many respects inconsistent with our religious testimony, particularly in hiring a man or men to go into the war in his stead and although he could not deny but that he thought it incompatible with the Christian profession under which he had past, yet after being laboured with for his restoration, he gave no encouragement in making Friends satisfaction....”

Between 1775 and 1780: The **FRIENDS** of Aquidneck Island, **RHODE ISLAND** had recorded 22 manumissions of black slaves between 1775 and 1780, while disowning during that period 14 members of the Society who after being visited and labored with had refused to sign manumission documents. At the end of this process the comment was made that there was “hardly a Friend” who continued as a slaveholder. We do know of one name: Friend Ann Bower was still holding slaves.

1781

RHODE ISLAND privateering during the Revolutionary War:

1776	57
1777	17
1778	17
1779	39
1780	13
1781	9
1782	26
1783	17

“In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace.”

– Thomas Jefferson, 1812

“If privateering had not been already well established in the British Empire when **RHODE ISLAND** first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

– Alexander Boyd Hawes, page 65²⁵⁹

During a visit by General George Washington to Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), a town meeting was held in the Touro Synagogue.



259. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

March 6: According to the journal of Friend Thomas B. Hazard or Hafsard or Hasard of Kingstown, [RHODE ISLAND](#),²⁶⁰ “General Washington went to Newport this day. The town was illuminated.” Presumably Washington and his escort of 20 soldiers had arrived over the old Pequot trail out of Connecticut and had crossed over to Newport on the ferry.

People were trying to kill each other at Wetzell’s or Whitsall’s Mills and at Wiboo Swamp in South Carolina. (I wish they’d learn to stop doing that.)

In England, Erasmus Darwin and the widowed Elizabeth Pole were wed. She was wealthy, so during this month they would move from Lichfield to her grand home, Radburn Hall near Derby.



This of course meant that Dr. Darwin would no longer be able to attend the monthly meetings of the Lunar Society at the Soho House in Birmingham — that his future contacts with these friends would be through correspondence.



260. He was a blacksmith and sometimes rode to Quaker meeting with his wife on the same horse — and sometimes she would fall off but “not hurt herself much.” He was called “Nailer Tom” because of the nails he trimmed from scrap iron, and in order to distinguish him from a relative known as “College Tom,” from another relative known as “Shepherd Tom,” and from his own son who —because he had fits— was known as “Pistol-Head Tom.”

May 16: We find on page 341 of volume 19 of the Providence, [RHODE ISLAND](#) records of title transfers, that our good ol' buddy Efek Hopkins was on this day up to selling a girl to her own mother, a resident of Newport, "*for and in Confideration of the Sum of One Hundred Good Silver Spanish Milled Dollars to Me in Hand already paid*" (kindly don't ask me to explain how something like this can go down, here or anywhere). Isn't it interesting that the age of this girl isn't specified, nor are we told how it came about that the child

of a free woman was being treated as a slave?

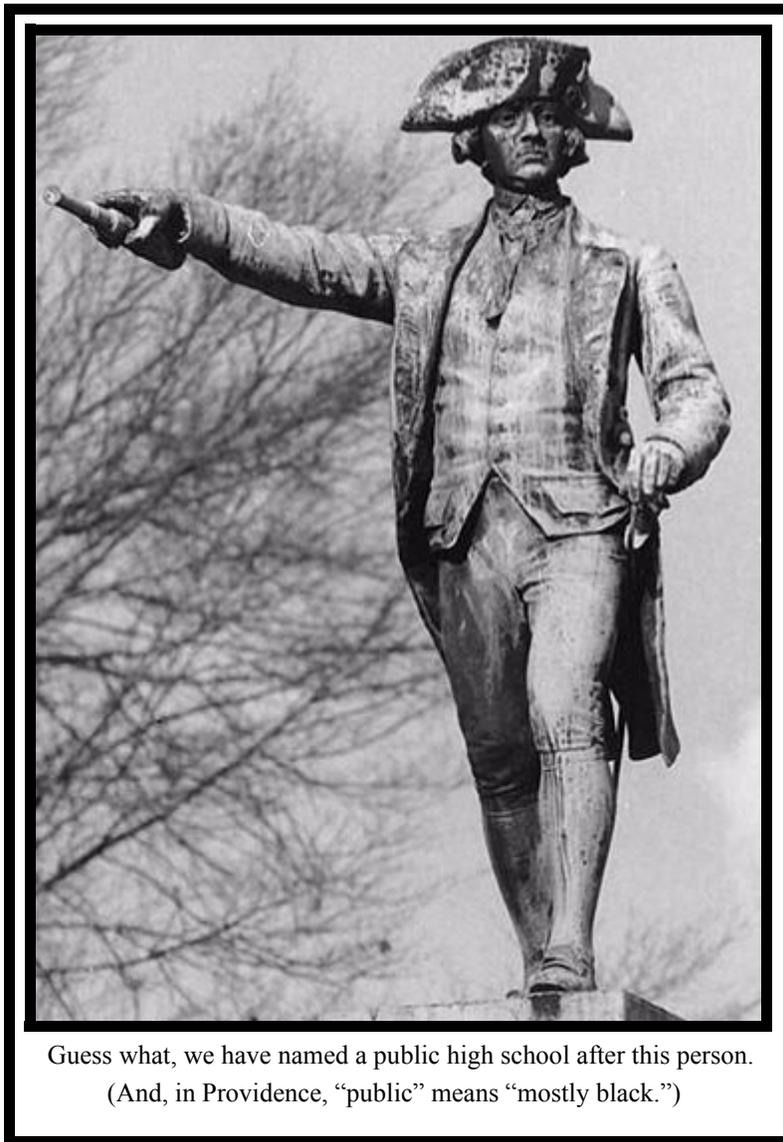
Know all Men by these Presents That I Ezek Hopkins of North Providence, in the County of Providence in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, for and in Consideration of the Sum of One Hundred Good Silver Spanish Milled Dollars to Me in Hand already paid by Flora Wanton a Free Negro Woman of Newport in the County of Newport, in the State of Rhode Island &c. aforesaid, which said Flora Wanton is Mother of a Certain Negro Servant Girl called Peggy, now belonging to Me the said Ezek Hopkins, the Receipt of which said Sum of Money I hereby acknowledge. Have Demised Released and Forever Quitclaimed and by these Presents Do remise Release and forever Quitclaim All the Right Title, Interest Property Claim and Demand whatever which I ever had now have, or can have of, in and to the said Servant Negro Girl called Peggy, to her Mother, the said Flora Wanton, in order that the the [sic] said Peggy may be made Free, and for this Purpose I hereby Bargain and Sell all my said Right and Title to the said Negro Girl to her said Mother the said Flora so that neither I, my Heirs Executors Administrators or any other person claiming from by or under Me, or their or either of them shall have any Claim whatever to the Service of the said Peggy from and After the Date of these Presents but shall and will be therefrom forever barred and excluded by these Presents. And I covenant That [sic] I will Warrant to the said Flora Wanton to defend against the Lawful Claims of all persons claiming any Right or Title to the Services of said Negro Girl Peggy in Consequence of any Conveyance heretofore made.
Witness my Hand and Seal this Sixteenth Day of May A.D. 1781.

Signed Sealed and Delivered in Presence of us
Timothy Burden.....
Josiah Harris.....

Ezek Hopkins

The Foregoing is a True Copy. Recorded this 16th Day of May A.D. 1781
Witness Theodore Foster Town Clerk -

SLAVERY



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: In Massachusetts, there was the 1st official state celebration as recognized under resolve of a legislature. At Newport in [RHODE ISLAND](#), the American militia hosted at a celebration dinner for General Rochambeau’s officers.



August 12: General Rochambeau broke camp at Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), and set out to join General Washington in White Plains, New York.

20th, 8th Month: “The [FRIENDS](#) appointed to treat with Artemis Fish reported that he still continues under his former embarrassment. It is therefore referred to our next Monthly Meeting.”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

31st, 8th Month: A committee of **FRIENDS** visited Governor William Greene to ask that the **QUAKER** meetinghouse in Newport, **RHODE ISLAND** be cleared of soldiers. The governor addressed a letter to the French officer in charge, and gave it to the Quakers to deliver. When the committee would deliver this letter, they would be courteously received and the meetinghouse would within a few days be cleared of troops.

30 1 day of 12 M 1781 (December 30, Sunday, 1781): Stephen Wanton Gould was born as a birthright Friend, the 1st son of Friend James Gould and Friend Hannah Wanton Gould. He would write on his 25th birthday:

30 3 day of 12 M 1806 / With the day compleats the 25 year of my Age²⁶¹

James, his father, seems to have followed the tailor’s trade in part due to being quite lame. His shop was near the Parade, which is the present-day Washington Square of Newport. Hannah, his mother, was a daughter of Stephen Wanton and had grown up in one of the grand families of Rhode Island, a family that had obtained at least part of its fortune by investment in the international slave trade. He would grow up in the **QUAKER** community near the Point on Aquidneck Island, and get married with Friend Hannah Rodman, daughter of Friend Clark Rodman and Friend Abigail Rodman, in 1808, and this couple would produce two offspring, Caleb who would die in infancy and John Stanton Gould who would get married with Mary Ashby and settle in Hudson, New York.

This is the only known image of Friend Stephen:



1782

RHODE ISLAND privateering during the Revolutionary War:

261. Friend Stephen crafted the books he used for his journals, himself, by taking plain paper and stitching it together down the middle, and then folding the papers over on the stitch line. All entries from his journal in the Kouroo Contexture were prepared by Rosalind Cobb Wiggins. “Posie,” as she is called, earned an MA in Black Studies in Education following a 25-year career as a portrait and ecclesiastical sculptor. After teaching at Washtenaw Community College in Ypsilanti, Michigan, and at **MOSES BROWN** School in Providence, Rhode Island, she retired to work as the curator of the New England Yearly Meeting Archives, archives which are now kept at the Rhode Island Historical Society on Hope Street in Providence, Rhode Island. Since then she has published works about Friends and African Americans in 18th- and 19th-Century New England. Her article “Paul and Stephen, Unlikely Friends” appeared in Quaker History, Volume 90 Number 1, for Spring 2001.

1776	57
1777	17
1778	17
1779	39
1780	13
1781	9
1782	26
1783	17

“In the United States, every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in time of war with a commercial nation ... to distress and harass the enemy and compel him to peace.”

— Thomas Jefferson, 1812

“If privateering had not been already well established in the British Empire when **RHODE ISLAND** first took to the sea, Rhode Islanders would have had to invent it. It suited them well.

— Alexander Boyd Hawes, page 65²⁶²

May 27: Aaron Lopez was in a carriage, returning to Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**, and stopped off at Scott’s Pond in **SMITHFIELD** to let his horse drink. The horse bolted into deep water, the carriage overturned, and the rich man drowned.²⁶³

On this day the course of instruction at the College of **RHODE ISLAND** atop College Hill in **PROVIDENCE** was resuming after the wartime hiatus. Long live peace!

262. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

263. To get some idea of just how easily one might become entangled in apparatus and unable to extricate oneself underwater from the wreckage of this sort of conveyance, you might take a close look at John Brown’s “chariot” — which is stored behind the John Brown mansion in Providence, Rhode Island.

1783

The “Meeting for Sufferings” committee of the New England Yearly Meeting of the [RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#), with Friend [MOSES BROWN](#) acting as clerk of that committee, noted that £134 was lying around in their education kitty and decided to bite the bullet and create a Yearly Meeting School. They considered [PROVIDENCE](#), [PORTSMOUTH](#), and East Greenwich in [RHODE ISLAND](#), and Lynn in Massachusetts, and settled on Portsmouth because they were offered the use of a room in the local Friends meetinghouse together with the rental income from a number of house lots that Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting owned in [NEWPORT](#). Friend Isaac Lawton there could be the schoolmaster at an annual salary of £75, and local families were volunteering to provide room and board for as many as 30 young scholars.



John Brown of Providence, [RHODE ISLAND](#) provided half the funds for a “compleat Philosophical Apparatus and Library” of science at Brown University — clearly they were able to take a “philosophical” *pecunia-non-olet* attitude, at the time, toward the fact that such moneys arose at least in part from the international vending of human beings, both between Africa and America (the international trade in new slaves) and from region to

region along the American coast (local resale of used slaves).



Here is an example of the local resale of used slaves mentioned above (something that we seldom take into consideration when thinking about these issues), a local resale practice that would be allowed to continue unimpeded even after the “international slave trade” and its dread Middle Passage had been benevolently interdicted. In this year, a white widow of Warren, RHODE ISLAND, Roby Luther Whitting, was having difficulties with her slave lad Fantee. She had leased her property to Edward Jones of Providence on May 22, 1782 to be used for a period of one year, but Jones had been dissatisfied with Fantee’s labor and also dissatisfied with Fantee’s general attitude. In a letter to the widow on January 17, 1783 he asked to be paid damages, alleging that the boy had been guilty of “every vice under the sun,” vices unspecified. In this situation, Fantee escaped, was recaptured and imprisoned, and was then returned in disgrace in irons to the widow in Warren. The slavemistress, at her wit’s end, on February 6, 1783 entrusted her black, “about Eighteen or Twenty Years Old a Healthy Active Lad,” to Isaac Gorham of the Patty to be sold in the West Indies, to be taught a lesson he wouldn’t forget by being gradually worked to death in the cane fields. (On the voyage thither, Captain Gorham’s sloop would be intercepted by a British warship and lucky Fantee would find himself confiscated as contraband.)



“It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could want such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed slavery, is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God.”

– Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?, 1976, page 141

RHODE ISLAND privateering during the Revolutionary War:

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— Thomas Jefferson, 1812

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— Alexander Boyd Hawes, page 65²⁶⁴

19th, 3rd Month: "Preparative Meeting of **PORTSMOUTH** informed that Weston Hicks [a member of the **RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**] appeared at a public Town Meeting and there advised the people not to let any refugee Tory or anyone that had been friendly to the British Army while they were in **RHODE ISLAND** [on Aquidneck Island] have any vote or be chosen into any office in the Town [**PORTSMOUTH**, **RHODE ISLAND**], which appearing to us to create strife and animosity and being inconsistent with our religious principles and very unbecoming to a professor thereof, whereupon a committee was appointed to labour with him and bring him to a sense of his misconduct, and for his neglect of attendance of our religious meetings."

264. Hawes, Alexander Boyd. OFF SOUNDINGS: ASPECTS OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND. Chevy Chase MD: Posterity Press, 1999

1784

April 29: The Reverend Samuel Hopkins wrote from Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) to [FRIEND](#) [MOSES BROWN](#) in Providence about the prospects of their abolitionist efforts:

I have dared publicly to declare that this town [Newport] is the most guilty, respecting the trade, of any on the [North American] continent, as it has been, in a great measure, built up by the blood of the poor Africans.... This has greatly displeased a number [of the local white people], and I fear the most are far from a disposition to repent, especially they who have the greatest share of the guilt.... This gives me a gloomy prospect of our future circumstances!

I don't have a date for this, but will insert it arbitrarily at this point. When the Reverend wrote a polemic against the international slave trade, at first the Newport Herald would agree to print his new tract — but then the editor would change his mind.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The Declaration of Independence showed a significant drift of public opinion from the firm stand taken in the "Association" resolutions. The clique of political philosophers to which Jefferson belonged never imagined the continued existence of the country with slavery. It is well known that the first draft of the Declaration contained a severe arraignment of Great Britain as the real promoter of slavery and the slave-trade in America. In it the king was charged with waging "cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of *infidel* powers, is the warfare of the *Christian* king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where *men* should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the *liberties* of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the *lives* of another."²⁶⁵

To this radical and not strictly truthful statement, even the large influence of the Virginia leaders could not gain the assent of the delegates in Congress. The afflatus of 1774 was rapidly subsiding, and changing economic conditions had already led many to look forward to a day when the slave-trade could successfully be reopened. More important than this, the nation as a whole was even less inclined now than in 1774 to denounce the slave-trade uncompromisingly. Jefferson himself says that this clause "was struck out in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation

265. Jefferson, WORKS (Washington, 1853-4), I. 23-4. On the Declaration as an anti-slavery document, cf. Elliot, DEBATES (1861), I. 89.

of slaves, and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue it. Our northern brethren also, I believe," said he, "felt a little tender under those censures; for though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others."²⁶⁶

As the war slowly dragged itself to a close, it became increasingly evident that a firm moral stand against slavery and the slave-trade was not a probability. The reaction which naturally follows a period of prolonged and exhausting strife for high political principles now set in. The economic forces of the country, which had suffered most, sought to recover and rearrange themselves; and all the selfish motives that impelled a bankrupt nation to seek to gain its daily bread did not long hesitate to demand a reopening of the profitable African slave-trade. This demand was especially urgent from the fact that the slaves, by pillage, flight, and actual fighting, had become so reduced in numbers during the war that an urgent demand for more laborers was felt in the South.

Nevertheless, the revival of the trade was naturally a matter of some difficulty, as the West India circuit had been cut off, leaving no resort except to contraband traffic and the direct African trade. The English slave-trade after the peace "returned to its former state," and was by 1784 sending 20,000 slaves annually to the West Indies.²⁶⁷ Just how large the trade to the continent was at this time there are few means of ascertaining; it is certain that there was a general reopening of the trade in the Carolinas and Georgia, and that the New England traders participated in it. This traffic undoubtedly reached considerable proportions; and through the direct African trade and the illicit West India trade many thousands of Negroes came into the United States during the years 1783-1787.²⁶⁸

Meantime there was slowly arising a significant divergence of opinion on the subject. Probably the whole country still regarded both slavery and the slave-trade as temporary; but the Middle States expected to see the abolition of both within a generation, while the South scarcely thought it probable to prohibit even the slave-trade in that short time. Such a difference might, in all probability, have been satisfactorily adjusted, if both parties had recognized the real gravity of the matter. As it was, both regarded it as a problem of secondary importance, to be solved after many other more pressing ones had been disposed of. The anti-slavery men had seen slavery die in their own communities, and expected it to die the same way in others, with as little active effort on their own part. The Southern planters, born and reared in a slave system, thought that some day the system might change, and possibly disappear; but active effort to this end on their part was ever farthest from their thoughts. Here, then, began that fatal policy toward slavery and the slave-trade that characterized the nation for three-quarters of a century, the policy of *laissez-faire*, *laissez-passer*.

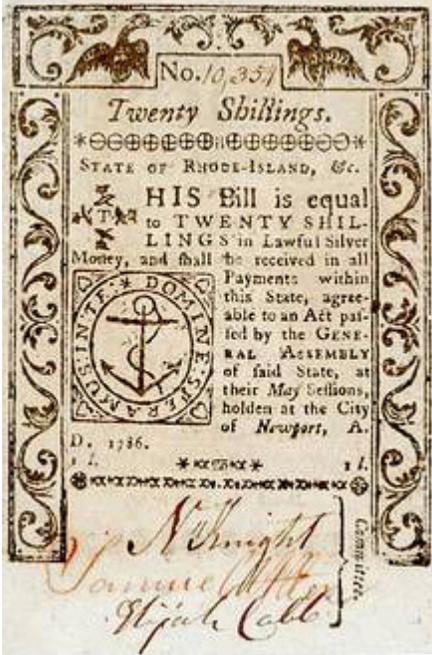
266. Jefferson, WORKS (Washington, 1853-4), I. 19.

267. Clarkson, IMPOLICY OF THE SLAVE-TRADE, pages 25-6; REPORT OF THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL, etc. (London, 1789).

268. Witness the many high duty acts on slaves, and the revenue derived therefrom. Massachusetts had sixty distilleries running in 1783. Cf. Sheffield, OBSERVATIONS ON AMERICAN COMMERCE, page 267.

1786

John Collins was elected governor of Rhode Island; and would hold that office until 1789. Farmers were burning their grain, dumping their milk, and leaving their apples to rot in the orchards in an inconsequential farm strike directed against Providence and Newport merchants who would no longer accept a paper currency that had become essentially worthless. This was a 20-shilling note of Rhode Island currency in circulation at the time:



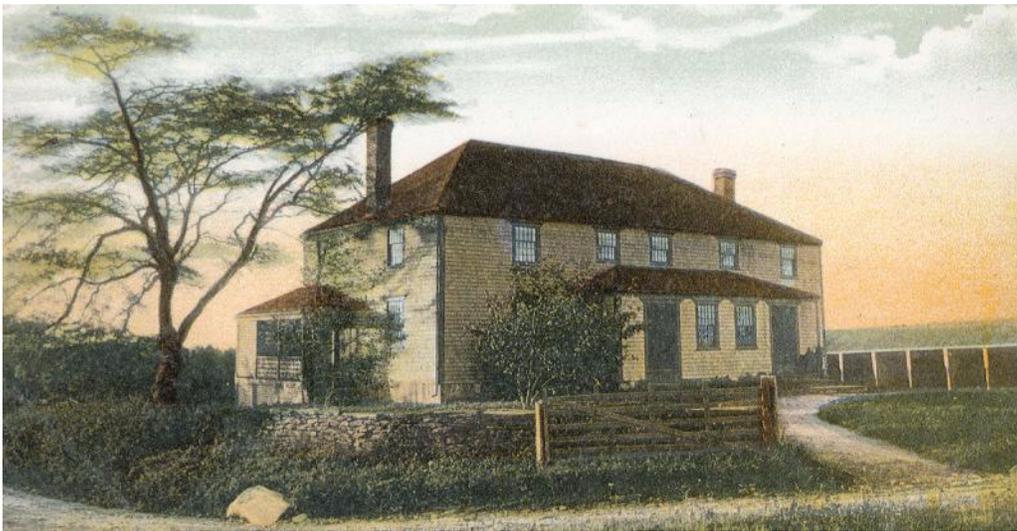
May: The parishioners of the Second Congregational Church in Newport, **RHODE ISLAND** selected a new pastor, a full decade after their pastor, the Reverend Ezra Stiles, had left for Dighton, **PROVIDENCE**, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and Yale College in New Haven, Connecticut.

1788

The New England Yearly Meeting boarding school that Friend **MOSES BROWN** had established in **PORTSMOUTH**, **RHODE ISLAND** in 1784 at this point was discontinued due to cash flow problems (although the rents from Point Estates in Newport had been promised as tuition, due to the general economic distress in New England during this year the renters there had fallen behind in their monthly payments).²⁶⁹

MOSES BROWN SCHOOL
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

269. After a hiatus of two decades, in 1808, Friend Moses would revive this school board, and after more than another decade of planning, the school would begin anew in 1819, this time atop College Hill in Providence.



If you have seen allegations concerning anti-Semitic remarks supposedly made by George Washington and Benjamin Franklin at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, warning all Americans against the insidious influence of the Jews, please take into consideration that the primary authoritative source at present for the proceedings, Max Farrand (ed.) RECORDS OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION, rev. ed., 4 volumes (New Haven and London, 1966, 1987) makes no reference to such anti-Semitic remarks by either Washington or Franklin. Washington's tolerant attitude toward Jews is evidenced by a letter he would write to the leader of the Touro Synagogue of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) on August 17, 1790, in which he would say that the government of the US "gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance," and requires only that those who live under the protection of the government "demean [which is to say, conduct] themselves as good citizens" (Edwin Gaustad, A RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF AMERICA [NY, 1966], page 125). (Since this congregation of Jews was, among other things, investing in the international slave trade, here the definition of what constituted demeaning oneself as a good citizen was a quite lax one, involving merely the generation of profits.) As for Franklin's attitude toward American Jews in 1787, in this very next year he contributed to a fund to help pay off the debt of the Jewish Congregation Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia. The "text" of Franklin's alleged remarks originated in a magazine Liberation on February 3, 1934 and then began to be reprinted by any number of Nazi and anti-Semitic groups. Charles A. Beard, in the Jewish Frontier for March 1935, demonstrated this to have been a fabrication. The matter was further investigated by Julian P. Boyd, in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXI (1937), 233-234, and he concurred that the text was an entire fabrication. For a more recent treatment, refer to Claude-Anne Lopez's "Franklin, Hitler, Mussolini, and the Internet" as part of her MY LIFE WITH BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (Yale UP, 2000, pages 3-16).

March 8: Abraham Redwood died on the island of Aquidneck. His body would be buried in the Coggeshall family plot on Coggeshall Avenue in Newport, next door to the stables of the Preservation Society. In the latter stages of his life, Friend Abraham had been labored with unsuccessfully by his fellow [QUAKERS](#), to persuade him to renounce his reliance upon human slavery.²⁷⁰ The will of this Quaker slavemaster and philanthropist provided £500 to be used toward the establishment of a Friends' School and £500 to be used toward the establishment of a college in [RHODE ISLAND](#), provided that said college would be located in his home town of Newport. Did his money have blood on it? No, the wonderful thing about money (like the wonderful thing about a dirty little boy) is that it's washable.

[MOSES BROWN SCHOOL](#)

Winter: [FRIENDS](#) [MOSES BROWN](#) and Samuel Emlin (a traveling public Friend visiting from Philadelphia) went to the Providence, [RHODE ISLAND](#) home of the premier slavetrader, Cyprian Sterry, were invited to enter, and had there an extended conversation with that businessman. Some 6 negro vessels were leaving the Narragansett Bay during that season bound for the shores of Africa, and in the harbor at Newport, Sterry was in the process of fitting out one of these six. The Quakers warned Sterry that if he violated the new law about the engagement of Rhode Islanders in the international slave trade, they would see to it that he was prosecuted. Sterry took refuge in the standard lie — he was sending, he averred, his ship to Africa after ivory and gold rather than, Heaven forbid, after black slaves.

270. Eventually the [RHODE ISLAND](#) Monthly Meeting of the [RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#) disowned him — but their record, now at the Rhode Island Historical Society, neglects to state the reason why this action was taken.

1789

February 20, Friday: At the meetinghouse of the **RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS** at the corner of Towne and Meeting Streets in **PROVIDENCE**, **RHODE ISLAND**, the Providence Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade came into being and selected its first officers. David Howell (January 1, 1747-July 21, 1824) would be president, Friend **MOSES BROWN** would be treasurer, and Friend Thomas Arnold would be recording secretary. Also involved in the creation of this Society were the Reverend Samuel Hopkins, minister of the 1st Congregational Church at Newport, Friend William Rotch, prominent merchant of New Bedford, etc. The new society would function as a sort of non-official "District Attorney," or "Special Prosecutor," dedicated to bringing before the bar of justice any violators of the ban that had been enacted by the General Assembly in 1787 against taking part in the international slave trade.



MOSES BROWN

According to Mack Thompson's *MOSES BROWN, RELUCTANT REFORMER* (Chapel Hill NC: U of North Carolina P, 1962, pages 195-6):

He already had a plan, drawn up in 1786, modeled after similar organizations in America and England. There were many people in the state eager to emulate their friends in New-York and Philadelphia. Meetings were held in Providence during January 1789, and on February 20, in the Friends' meetinghouse, the Providence Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was officially organized with ex-Congressman David Howell as president, Thomas Arnold, merchant and Friend, as secretary, and Moses Brown as treasurer.²⁷¹ Samuel Hopkins sent his congratulations but objected to the title given the society as being "too confined. It should, at least, be extended to the whole state. And I think it ought not to be confined to the Abolition of the Slave Trade. It ought to promote the freedom of those now in slavery, and to assist those who are free, as far as may be, to the enjoyment of the privileges of freemen, and the comforts of life...."²⁷²

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Meantime, in spite of the prohibitory State laws, the African slave-trade to the United States continued to flourish. It was notorious that New England traders carried on a large traffic.²⁷³ Members stated on the floor of the House that "it was much to be regretted that the severe and pointed statute against the slave trade had been so little regarded. In defiance of its forbiddance and its penalties, it was well known that citizens and vessels of the United States were still engaged in that traffic.... In various parts of the

271. See the announcements in the *United States Chronicle*, February 5, 12, 19, 26, 1789

272. The Reverend Samuel Hopkins to Friend **MOSES BROWN**, March 7, 1789, *MOSES BROWN PAPERS* (John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Volume VI, page 57)

273. Cf. Fowler, *LOCAL LAW IN MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT*, etc., page 126.

nation, outfits were made for slave-voyages, without secrecy, shame, or apprehension... Countenanced by their fellow-citizens at home, who were as ready to buy as they themselves were to collect and to bring to market, they approached our Southern harbors and inlets, and clandestinely disembarked the sooty offspring of the Eastern, upon the ill fated soil of the Western hemisphere. In this way, it had been computed that, during the last twelve months, twenty thousand enslaved negroes had been transported from Guinea, and, by smuggling, added to the plantation stock of Georgia and South Carolina. So little respect seems to have been paid to the existing prohibitory statute, that it may almost be considered as disregarded by common consent."²⁷⁴

These voyages were generally made under the flag of a foreign nation, and often the vessel was sold in a foreign port to escape confiscation. South Carolina's own Congressman confessed that although the State had prohibited the trade since 1788, she "was unable to enforce" her laws. "With navigable rivers running into the heart of it," said he, "it was impossible, with our means, to prevent our Eastern brethren, who, in some parts of the Union, in defiance of the authority of the General Government, have been engaged in this trade, from introducing them into the country. The law was completely evaded, and, for the last year or two [1802-3], Africans were introduced into the country in numbers little short, I believe, of what they would have been had the trade been a legal one."²⁷⁵ The same tale undoubtedly might have been told of Georgia.

1790

The United States Government issued its first patent, to Samuel Hopkins of Vermont (apparently not the same person as the Reverend Samuel Hopkins of the 1st Congregational Church at Newport, Rhode Island), for a process to make potash and pearl ash.

At some point during the first part of this year, President George Washington paid another visit to Newport, Rhode Island and its synagogue. He sat with the synagogue's President (Parnas) in the place of honor on the raised platform at the side, inside a rail and separate from the congregation. While there, a Jewish inventor named Jacob Isaacs presented the President with a bottle of water which he represented to be drinking water converted by a special secret process from sea water. Sampling this bottle of water, the President expressed himself highly satisfied with the result.²⁷⁶

274. Speech of S.L. Mitchell of New York, Feb. 14, 1804: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 8th Congress, 1st Session, page 1000. Cf. also speech of Bedinger: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, pages 997-8.

275. Speech of Lowndes in the House, Feb. 14, 1804: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 8th Congress, 1st Session, page 992. Cf. Stanton's speech later: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress, 2d Session, page 240.

May 24-29: During this year, the 1st US national census would be reporting 68,824 people in **RHODE ISLAND**.

The governing figures in the state had been defying the instructions of the nascent federal government and instead of staging a representative convention of delegates had conducted a democratic popular referendum on the new US constitutional document. Since this referendum had been boycotted by the Federalists, it had defeated the constitution by a vote of 2,708 over 237. Finally, however, in mid-January 1790, the requisite convention of delegates had been called together, and an initial inconclusive convention had been held in South Kingstown on March 1-6, and a second convention of delegates was staged in Newport on May 24-29, and a ratification tally of 34 votes over 32 votes was obtained when Providence threatened to secede from the state and unite itself either with Connecticut or with Massachusetts — and, finally, on May 29th, by the slimmest of margins, two votes, Rhode Island became the 13th of the original 13 states to ratify the Constitution:



Might it be said that, in holding out in this way against a new federal union between slaveholding colonies and nonslaveholding colonies, these Rhode Island **QUAKERS** were anticipating the civil war which would destroy so many American lives three or four human generations into the future? (By way of radical contrast, the people in the other American colonies were in effect saying to them, “Hey, don’t let a little thing like human slavery bother you so much!”) Well, you could say that if you believe that Rhode Islanders are by their very nature pure of heart. However, some historians have alleged that the issue can be better understood by observing the Watergate rule, “follow the money” — Rhode Island, they suggest, had needed to uphold state sovereignty in order for its paper money to retain value.

RATIFICATIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

December 8, 1787	Delaware	YES= 30	NO= 0
December 12, 1787	Pennsylvania	YES= 46	NO= 23

276. The first record of anyone trying a desalting process is actually to be found in Pentateuch. When Moses and the people of Israel came upon the waters of Marah, which were bitter, “the Lord shewed him a tree, which when he had cast unto the waters, the waters were made sweet.” The earliest interest in desalination processes arose from the danger of dying of thirst on the open sea. The US would become involved in 1791 when a technical report would be presented by President George Washington’s Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, describing the results of a simple distillation process. Jefferson as head of the Board of Arts would call in a panel of chemists to test the submitted device and, when it could not be made to function as expected, he would deny the application for patent. Later, when desalination of small quantities of water would become feasible, information on the procedure to be followed would be printed on the back of all the papers on board American vessels so that a source of fresh water might be obtained in an emergency. Then, in a later timeframe, conversion units would begin to be manufactured so that steam ships would not need to fill cargo bays with casks of fresh water with which to refill their boilers.

December 18, 1787	New Jersey	YES= 38	NO= 0
January 2, 1788	Georgia	YES= 26	NO= 0
January 8, 1788	Connecticut	YES=128	NO= 40
February 6, 1788	Massachusetts	YES=187	NO=168
April 28, 1788	Maryland	YES= 63	NO= 11
May 23, 1788	South Carolina	YES=149	NO= 73
June 21, 1788	New Hampshire	YES= 57	NO= 47
June 25, 1788	Virginia	YES= 89	NO= 79
July 26, 1788	New York	YES= 30	NO= 27

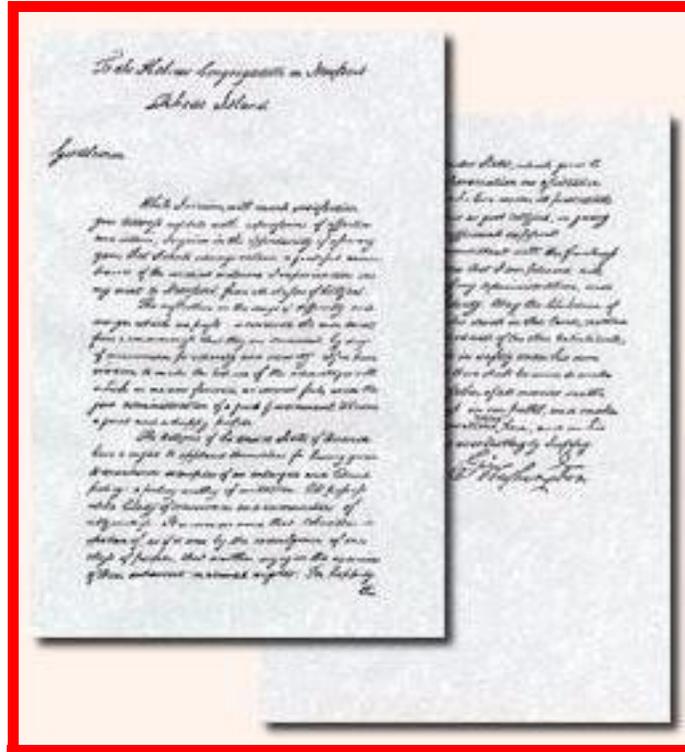
JOINING LATER IN ADHERENCE TO THE US CONSTITUTION: 12 & 13

November 21, 1789	North Carolina	YES=194	NO= 77
May 29, 1790	Rhode Island	YES= 34	NO= 32

READ THE FULL TEXT

June 14: The federal Congress created the **RHODE ISLAND** custom districts of **PROVIDENCE** and Newport. These two districts handled all ship traffic connecting with nine Rhode Island ports, in the Providence district, Providence and Pawtuxet, and, in the Newport district, Newport, North Kingstown, East Greenwich, Westerly, Bristol, Warren, and Barrington.

August 17: President George Washington had received a communication from Moses Seixas, warden (*shamash*) of the Touro Synagogue which he had visited in 1781, in Newport, Rhode Island, rejoicing in the religious liberty afforded by the United States.²⁷⁷ In reply the president sent the famous letter “To the Hebrew Congregation in Newport, R.I.” which since has been taken as the classical expression of religious liberty in America. In this response Washington politely observed “*For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance requires only that they who live under its protection should demean [which is to say, conduct] themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support*” (Edwin Gaustad, *A RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF AMERICA*. NY, 1966, page 125 — this letter is preserved at the B’nai B’rith Building in Washington DC).



Note: If you have seen allegations concerning anti-Semitic remarks supposedly made by this politician general and by the politician printer Benjamin Franklin at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, warning all Americans against the insidious influence of the Jews, please take into consideration that the primary authoritative source at present for the proceedings at this convention, Max Farrand (ed.) *RECORDS OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION* (Revised Edition, 4 volumes, New Haven and London, 1966; 1987) makes no reference to any such remarks by either individual. As for Franklin’s attitude toward American Jews in 1787, in the very next year he contributed to a fund to help pay off the debt of the Jewish Congregation Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia. The “text” of Franklin’s alleged remarks originated in a magazine *Liberation* on February 3, 1934 and then began to be reprinted by any number of Nazi and anti-Semitic groups. Charles A. Beard, in the *Jewish Frontier* for March 1935, demonstrated that this had to have been a fabrication. The matter was further investigated by Julian P. Boyd in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, *LXI* (1937), 233-234, who has concurred that the text was an entire fabrication.

277. It was Moses Seixas who officiated at the Covenant of Circumcision (B’rith Milah), removing the foreskin of the male infant.

1792

The Moses Levy and Moses Seixas families lived together in a mansion at 29 Touro Street, near the Touro Synagogue. Moses Levy, a merchant and trader of New-York and Newport, was one of several Ashkenazi families in the town at that time. Moses Seixas was Cashier of the Bank of Rhode Island. He was also a founding member of the nation's oldest Jewish Masonic Lodge, King David in Newport, and Grand Master of the Masonic Order of Rhode Island. In this year Moses Levy died, willing his interest in the mansion at 29 Touro Street to Moses Seixas.

1793

June: Friend Elias Hicks of Long Island visited the monthly meeting of the **RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS** on Nantucket Island.²⁷⁸

This was part of **FRIEND** Elias's 14th ministry journey. That summer he was traveling with the young James Mott, Jr., future bridegroom of the newborn Lucretia Coffin.



On this long journey, he had gone from the Jericho meetinghouse on *Paumanok* Long Island (still extant, pictured above) across the sound to Port Chester meeting, up the Connecticut shore to Stamford meeting, on up the shore to Stonington meeting, into **RHODE ISLAND** to the Westerly meeting, up to the meetings in and around Providence and Taunton, back down and round through the Newport meeting and the New Bedford MA meeting to the Falmouth meeting, and at this point out to the meeting on Nantucket Island. He would continue back up across Cape Cod to the Sandwich meeting and on up along the South Shore to the Scituate meeting, and on to the Boston area and the Salem meeting, and north to the Newburyport MA and Hampton and Dover NH meetings, and on to the Portland ME meeting, and beyond that crossing the “great river Kennebeck” twice and reaching to the Fairfield and Winthrop meetings, and then the Pittsfield NH meeting, and then back down into Massachusetts and to Boston, visiting again some meetings already preached at and attending New England Yearly Meeting, and then striking west presumably through Concord, over to the

278. Other famous-name visitors to Nantucket Island: John Easton, former **RHODE ISLAND** deputy governor, Metacom, sachem of the Wampanoag, Frederick Douglass, and Henry Thoreau.

North Adams meeting in the north-west corner of Massachusetts, and up through Vermont to the Sharon, Hanover, and Vergennes meetings, and up across Lake Champlain to the Grand Isle meeting, and then back down through Vergennes again to the meetings in Saratoga and Albany and Hudson NY, and then back home to Jericho by way of the Brooklyn meeting of New-York. Total mileage they would put on their horses during this traveling season: 2,283 miles. During this absence his child Sarah would be born, and the two traveling ministers by November had spoken at about 123 meetings.

It was at some point during this year that Friend Elias's young orphaned relative, Edward Hicks who had been taken into the Quaker household of David and Elizabeth Lewis Twining, having reached the age of 13, was being put out as an apprentice to the Tomlinson brothers, coachmakers in Attleborough.

1794

FRIEND **MOSES BROWN** and **FRIEND** Samuel Rodman presented to President George Washington and Vice-President John Adams a memorial in opposition to the international slave trade. The federal Congress passed an act prohibiting the trans-Atlantic trade. (When officials of the **NEWPORT** customs district would begin to enforce this law in the subsidiary port of Bristol, this would interfere with the nefarious activities of **RHODE ISLAND** slavetraders James DeWolf and Shearjashub Bourne. The slavetraders would lobby the government for the establishment of Bristol as a separate customs district and no longer subject to these out-of-control officials of the Newport customs district — who were actually daring to enforce this new law.)

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Of the twenty years from 1787 to 1807 it can only be said that they were, on the whole, a period of disappointment so far as the suppression of the slave-trade was concerned. Fear, interest, and philanthropy united for a time in an effort which bade fair to suppress the trade; then the real weakness of the constitutional compromise appeared, and the interests of the few overcame the fears and the humanity of the many.



The DeWolf Crest

1795

August: John Brown of [PROVIDENCE](#) conspired with Captain Peleg Wood of Newport to inject another [RHODE ISLAND](#) negrero vessel into the international slave trade.

1796

August 30: Henry Marchant died in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).

Late in the year: Captain Peleg Wood brought John Brown's negrero *Hope* back to [RHODE ISLAND](#) after a successful voyage in which he had brought a cargo of newly enslaved human beings from the coast of Africa to the barracoons of Havana, Cuba. A new law had just forbidden Rhode Islanders from any participation in the international slave trade, and Captain Wood's son was overheard to comment that Newport slavetraders were eagerly awaiting the outcome of this "experiment ... to try the strength of the law."

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Meantime, in spite of the prohibitory State laws, the African slave-trade to the United States continued to flourish. It was notorious that New England traders carried on a large traffic.²⁷⁹ Members stated on the floor of the House that "it was much to be regretted that the severe and pointed statute against the slave trade had been so little regarded. In defiance of its forbiddance and its penalties, it was well known that citizens and vessels of the United States were still engaged in that traffic.... In various parts of the nation, outfits were made for slave-voyages, without secrecy, shame, or apprehension.... Countenanced by their fellow-citizens at home, who were as ready to buy as they themselves were to collect and to bring to market, they approached our Southern harbors and inlets, and clandestinely disembarked the sooty offspring of the Eastern, upon the ill fated soil of the Western hemisphere. In this way, it had been computed that, during the last twelve months, twenty thousand enslaved negroes had been transported from Guinea, and, by smuggling, added to the plantation stock of Georgia and South Carolina. So little respect seems to have been paid to the existing prohibitory statute, that it may almost be considered as disregarded by common consent."²⁸⁰

These voyages were generally made under the flag of a foreign nation, and often the vessel was sold in a foreign port to escape confiscation. South Carolina's own Congressman confessed that although the State had prohibited the trade since 1788, she "was unable to enforce" her laws. "With navigable rivers running into the heart of it," said he, "it was impossible, with our means, to prevent our Eastern brethren, who, in some parts of the Union, in defiance of the authority of the General Government, have been engaged in this trade, from introducing them into the

279. Cf. Fowler, *LOCAL LAW IN MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT*, etc., page 126.

280. Speech of S.L. Mitchell of New York, Feb. 14, 1804: *ANNALS OF CONGRESS*, 8th Congress, 1st Session, page 1000. Cf. also speech of Bedinger: *ANNALS OF CONGRESS*, pages 997-8.

country. The law was completely evaded, and, for the last year or two [1802-3], Africans were introduced into the country in numbers little short, I believe, of what they would have been had the trade been a legal one."²⁸¹ The same tale undoubtedly might have been told of Georgia.

1797

Richard Henry Dana, Sr. was sent to school in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).

281. Speech of Lowndes in the House, Feb. 14, 1804: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 8th Congress,, 1st Session, page 992. Cf. Stanton's speech later: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress, 2d Session, page 240.

1799

The *General Greene*, having seen service in the West Indies, sailed back into its home port of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), bringing with it the yellow fever. Aboard this vessel in this year, Midshipman Oliver Hazard Perry survived two bouts of the yellow fever. During this year there would be another outbreak of the



yellow fever in Philadelphia — and Dr. Benjamin Rush would be forming the medical opinion that this disease was not contagious. Various methods and places of separating out foreigners and infected beings had been devised in 1793 in Philadelphia, and then with each annual recurrence. Temporary hospitals and treatments facilities had been thrown up. Places of isolating both the sick and new arrivals had been established. No ships arriving from the tropics had been being allowed into the port of Philadelphia without the examination of passengers by appointed physicians and the quarantining of any suspected of illness. Calls from all quarters for a isolation facility had led by this year to the design and construction of “The Lazaretto” eight miles to the south. This new structure was designed by physicians, public health officials, and government agencies to serve as the point of arrival for all ships, passengers, and immigrants. It included docks, grounds, dormitories, a hospital, and treatment facilities to handle hundreds of arriving passengers at a time. All passengers were

detained at least temporarily, those suspected of infection were quarantined, and those determined to be ill were treated in accordance with the limited understanding available at the time. The thousands who died from infections would be buried on site. The Lazaretto as it was completed in this year included a building that resembled very much Independence Hall in Philadelphia. It included a compound of additional buildings and facilities that could handle the immigration or expulsion of all new arrivals in the port. (The Lazaretto would operate quietly and efficiently as Philadelphia's version of Ellis Island from this point until the end of the 19th Century. In the early 20th Century the facility would become the headquarters of the Philadelphia Sea Plane Base — one of the first sea plane facilities in the United States. Later in the 20th Century the compound would also be used as popular marina. The Lazaretto is on the Delaware River just a few miles south of Philadelphia International Airport.)

**AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
BILIOUS YELLOW FEVER,
AS IT
APPEARED IN PHILADELPHIA,
IN THE YEAR 1799
BY BENJAMIN RUSH**

The diseases which succeeded the fever of 1798, in November and December, were highly inflammatory. A catarrh was nearly universal. Several cases of sore throat, and one of erysipelas, came under my care in the month of November. The weather in December was extremely cold. It was equally so in the beginning of January, 1799, accompanied with several falls of snow. About the middle of the month, the weather moderated so much, so as to open the navigation of the Delaware. I met with two cases of malignant colic in the latter part of this month, and one of yellow fever. The last was Swen Warner. Dr. Physick, who attended him with me, informed me that he had, nearly at the same time, attended two other persons with the same disease. The weather was very cold, and bilious pleurisies were common, during the later part of the month of February. March was equally cold. The newspapers contained accounts of the winter having been uncommonly severe in Canada, and in several European countries. The first two weeks in April were still cold. The Delaware, which had been frozen a second time during the winter, was crossed near its origin, on the ice, on the 15th day of this month. The diseases, though fewer than in the winter, were bilious and inflammatory. During this month, I was called to a case of yellow fever, which yielded to copious bleeding, and other depleting medicines. May was colder than is usual in that month, but very healthy. In the first week of June, several cases of highly bilious fever came under my care. In one of them, all the usual symptoms of the highest grade of that fever occurred. On the 13th of the month, Dr. Physick informed me, that he had lost a patient with that disease. On the 23d of the same month, Joseph Ashmead, a young merchant, died of it. Several other cases of the disease occurred between the 20th and 29th days of the month, in different parts of the city. About this time, I was informed that the inhabitants of Keys's-alley had predicted a return of the yellow fever, from the trees before their doors emitting a

smell, exactly the same which they perceived just before the breaking out of that disease in 1793.

In July, the city was alarmed, by Dr. Griffiths, with an account of several cases of the fever in Penn-street, near the water. The strictness with which the quarantine law had been executed, for a while rendered this account incredible with many people and exposed the doctor to a good deal of obloquy. At length a vessel was discovered, that had arrived from one of the West-India islands on the 14th of May, and one day before the quarantine law was put into operation, from which the disease was said to be derived. Upon investigating the state of this vessel, it appeared that she had arrived with a healthy crew, and that no person had been sick on board of her during her voyage.

In the latter part of July and in the beginning of August, the disease gradually disappeared from every part of the city. This circumstance deserves attention, as it shows the disease did not spread by contagion.

About this time we were informed by the news-papers, that dogs, geese, and other poultry, also that wild pigeons were sickly in many parts of the country, and that fish on the Susquehannah, and oysters in the Delaware bay, were so unpleasant that the inhabitants declined eating them. At the same time, flies were found dead in great numbers, in the unhealthy parts of the city. The weather was dry in August and September. There was no second crop of grass. The gardens yielded a scanty supply of vegetables, and of an inferior size and quality. Cherries were smaller than usual, and pear and apple-trees dropped their fruits prematurely, in large quantities. The peaches, which arrived at maturity, were small and ill tasted. The grain was in general abundant, and of a good quality. A fly, of an unusual kind, covered the potatoe fields, and devoured in some instances, the leaves of the potatoe. This fly has lately been used with success in our country, instead of the fly imported from Spain. It is equal to it in every respect. Like the Spanish fly, it sometimes induces strangury.

About the middle of August the disease revived, and appeared in different parts of the city. A publication from the academy of medicine, in which they declared the seeds of the disease to spread from the atmosphere only, produced a sudden flight of the inhabitants. In no year, since the prevalence of the fever, was the desertion of the city so general.

I shall now add a short account to the symptoms and treatment of this epidemic.

The arterial system was in most cases active. I met with a tense pulse in a patient after the appearance of the black vomiting. Delirium was less frequent in adults than in former years. In children there was a great determination of the disease to the brain.

I observed no new symptoms in the stomach and bowels. One of the worst cases of the fever which I saw was accompanied with colic. A girl of Thomas Shortall, who recovered, discharged nine worms during her fever. It appeared in Mr. Thomas Roane, one of my pupils, in the form of a dysentery.

A stiffness, such as follows death, occurred in several patients in the city hospital before death.

Miss Shortall had an eruption of pimples on her breast, such as I have described in the short account I gave of the yellow fever of 1762 in this city, in my account of the disease of 1793.

The blood exhibited its usual appearances in the yellow fever. It was seldom sizy till toward the close of the disease.

The tongue was generally whitish. Sometimes it was of a red colour, and had a polished appearance. I saw no case of a black tongue; and but few that were yellow before the seventh day of the disease.

The type of this disease was nearly the same as described in 1797. It now and then appeared in the form of a quartan, in which state it generally proved fatal. It appeared with rheumatic pains in one of my patients. It blended itself with gout and small-pox. Its union with the latter disease was evident in two patients in the city hospital, in each of whom the stools were such as were discharged in the most malignant state of the fever. The remedies for this fever were bleeding, vomits, purges, sweats, and a salivation and blisters.

There were few cases that did not indicate bleeding. It was performed, when proper, in the usual way, and with its usual good effects. It was indicated as much when the disease appeared in the bowels as in the blood-vessels. Mr. Roane, in whom it was accompanied with symptoms of dysentery, lost nearly 200 ounces of blood by twenty-two bleedings.

Purges of calomel and jalap, also castor oil, salts, and injections were prescribed with their usual advantages.

In those cases where the system was prostrated below the point of re-action, I began the cure by sweating. Blankets, with hot bricks wetted with vinegar, and the hot bath, as mentioned formerly, when practicable, were used for this purpose. The latter produced, in a boy of 14 years of age, who came into the city hospital without a pulse, and with a cold skin, in a few hours, a general warmth and an active pulse. The determination of the disease to the pores was evinced in one of my patients, by her sweating under the use of the above-mentioned remedies, for the first time in her life. A moisture upon her skin had never before been induced, she informed me, even by the warmest day in summer.

The advantages of a salivation were as great as in former years. From the efficacy of bleeding, purges, emetics, and sweating, I had the pleasure of seeing many recoveries before the mercury had time to affect the mouth. In no one case did I rest the cure exclusively upon any one of these remedies. The more numerous the outlets were to convey off superfluous fluids and excitement from the body, the more safe and certain were the recoveries. A vein, the gall-bladder, the bowels, the pores, and the salivary glands were all opened, in succession, in part, or together, according to circumstances, so as to give the disease every possible chance of passing out of the body without injuring or destroying any of its vital parts.

Blisters were applied with advantage. The vomiting and sickness which attend this fever were relieved in many instances, by a blister to the stomach.

In those cases in which the fever was protracted to the chronic state, bark, wine, laudanum, and aether produced the most salutary effects. I think I saw life recalled, in several cases in which it appeared to be departing, by frequent and liberal doses of the last of those medicines. The bark was given, with safety and advantage. after the seventh day, when the fever assumed the form of an intermittent.

The following symptoms were generally favourable, viz. a bleeding from the mouth and gums, and a disposition to weep,

when spoken to in any stage of the fever.

A hoarseness and sore throat indicated a fatal issue of the disease, as it did in 1798. Dr. Physick remarked, that all those persons who sighed after waking suddenly, before they were able to speak, died.

The recurrence of a redness of the eyes, after it had disappeared, or of but one eye, was generally followed by death. I saw but one recovery with a red face.

I saw several persons, a few hours before death, in whom the countenance, tongue, voice, and pulse were perfectly natural. They complained of no pain, and discovered no distress nor solicitude of mind. Their danger was only to be known by the circumstances which had preceded this apparently healthy and tranquil state of the system. They had all passed through extreme suffering, and some of them had puked black matter.

The success of the mode of practice I have described was the same as in former years, in private families; but in the city hospital, which was again placed under the care of Dr. Physick and myself, there was a very different issue to it, from causes that are too obvious to be mentioned.

There were two opinions given to the public upon the subject of the origin of this fever; the one by the academy of medicine, the other by the college of physicians. The former declared it to be generated in the city, from putrid domestic exhalations, because they saw it only in their vicinity, and discovered no channel by which it could have been derived from a foreign country; the latter asserted it to be "imported, because it had been imported in former years."

1800

Since services were no long being held at the Touro Synagogue, at this point the sacred scrolls were being kept safe in the home of Moses Seixas, the synagogue's warden (*shamash*). However, at about this point Judah Touro, one of the rabbi's sons, moved back from Boston to [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#).

February 23: The federal Congress created a separate new customs house at Bristol, [RHODE ISLAND](#). This might not sound at all remarkable, but there is background information that makes it remarkable indeed, in connecting the establishment of this new federal customs house in Bristol **with the continuation of the trans-Atlantic trade in new slaves**. Here (within a blue box, on a following screen) is this background:

1789

July 31: The federal Congress created the United States Custom Service, as a new branch of the Treasury Department.

Subsequent to July 31: The federal Congress enacted a supplementary Customs Act, creating 59 custom districts in 11 states. In this act, no provision whatever was made for **RHODE ISLAND** simply because it had not yet ratified the Constitution of the United States — and thus had not yet become become a State of the Union.

1790

June 14: The federal Congress created the **RHODE ISLAND** custom districts of **PROVIDENCE** and Newport. These two districts handled all ship traffic connecting with nine Rhode Island ports, in the Providence district, Providence and Pawtuxet, and, in the Newport district, Newport, North Kingstown, East Greenwich, Westerly, Bristol, Warren, and Barrington.

1794

FRIEND **MOSES BROWN** and **FRIEND** Samuel Rodman presented to President George Washington and Vice-President John Adams a memorial in opposition to the international slave trade. The federal Congress passed an act prohibiting the trans-Atlantic trade. (When officials of the Newport customs district would begin to enforce this law in the subsidiary port of Bristol, this would interfere with the nefarious activities of **RHODE ISLAND** slavetraders James DeWolf and Shearjashub Bourne. The slavetraders would lobby the government for the establishment of Bristol as a separate customs district and no longer subject to these out-of-control officials of the Newport customs district — who were actually daring to enforce this new law.)

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Of the twenty years from 1787 to 1807 it can only be said that they were, on the whole, a period of disappointment so far as the suppression of the slave-trade was concerned. Fear, interest, and philanthropy united for a time in an effort which bade fair to suppress the trade; then the real weakness of the constitutional compromise appeared, and the interests of the few overcame the fears and the humanity of the many.



The DeWolf Crest

1799

The **RHODE ISLAND** brigantine *Orange* (or is this a typographic error in regard to a voyage in 1779?) brought a cargo of 120 new slaves from the coast of Africa. John Brown of **PROVIDENCE**, a former slavetrader and still a strong defender of the absolute righteousness of the international slave trade, was elected to the US House of Representatives. He would sponsor legislation to create a separate Customs House in Bristol, in facilitation of the international slave trade that was still being conducted through that port by James DeWolf and Shearjashub Bourne.



The DeWolf Crest

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Meantime, in spite of the prohibitory State laws, the African slave-trade to the United States continued to flourish. It was notorious that New England traders carried on a large traffic.¹ Members stated on the floor of the House that "it was much to be regretted that the severe and pointed statute against the slave trade had been so little regarded. In defiance of its forbiddance and its penalties, it was well known that citizens and vessels of the United States were still engaged in that traffic.... In various parts of the nation, outfits were made for slave-voyages, without secrecy, shame, or apprehension.... Countenanced by their fellow-citizens at home, who were as ready to buy as they themselves were to collect and to bring to market, they approached our Southern harbors and inlets, and clandestinely disembarked the sooty offspring of the Eastern, upon the ill fated soil of the Western hemisphere. In this way, it had been computed that, during the last twelve months, twenty thousand enslaved negroes had been transported from Guinea, and, by smuggling, added to the plantation stock of Georgia and South Carolina. So little respect seems to have been paid to the existing prohibitory statute, that it may almost be considered as disregarded by common consent."²

These voyages were generally made under the flag of a foreign nation, and often the vessel was sold in a foreign

1. Cf. Fowler, LOCAL LAW IN MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT, etc., page 126.

Taking into account this history that lies hidden behind the Act of February 23, 1800, it is interesting what would happen **next**. Next, Jonathan Russell would be appointed as 1st US customs collector at the new Bristol, **RHODE ISLAND** customs house, and Russell would continue to enforce the law against the international slave trade in the manner in which it had been being enforced while the Newport customs house was still running the show. Because of this, the DeWolf family would need to circulate a petition for his removal, and conduct a lobbying campaign in Washington DC. The result would be that in February 1804, President Thomas Jefferson would fire Jonathan Russell, replacing him with a more cooperative official, a brother-in-law of James DeWolf who had a major investment in the international slave trade. This man, Charles Collins, would serve as collector at the new Bristol customs house, **and ignore the law at presidential behest and succor the international slave trade at presidential behest, until 1820:**

1804

February: President Thomas Jefferson fired Jonathan Russell, the 1st US customs collector at Bristol, **RHODE ISLAND**—an official who had made himself offensive by constantly interfering with the international slave trade in strict application and implementation of official US federal law and policy— and replaced him with a more cooperative official, a brother-in-law of James DeWolf who had a major investment in the illicit trade — a man who could be counted on to sneak around defying and nullifying the federal law against the importation of generations of fresh slaves from Africa into the United States of America.



The DeWolf Crest

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1803

December 20: In a move that more than doubled the land surface of the nation, the United States of America paid France approximately \$20 per square mile to extinguish its claim to approximately 1,000,000 square miles of “Louisiana.”

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

Samuel Hopkins died in [NEWPORT](#). Though he had begun as a slaveholder, he had been the 1st of the Congregational ministers of New England to renounce human enslavement. He was a sponsor of the law of 1774 which had interdicted the importation of negro slaves into [RHODE ISLAND](#), and of the law of 1784 which had declared that all children of slaves born in Rhode Island after the following March should be born free.

Christmas: James de Wolf of Bristol gave his wife a pair of slaves as her Christmas present. “I went shopping in this boutique in Africa and brought you home a little something, Darling.”²⁸²

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282. Clearly, there’s a terminology problem here. In an effort to resolve this terminology issue, at the Republican National Convention in New York City in August 2004 –at which the Republican Party would for four days make an effort to strip from its face its mask of hostility to the plight of the downtrodden and reveal its true countenance of benevolent conservatism and concern– these people would be sensitively referred to by a Hoosier Republican running for the US Senate as “involuntary immigrants.”

So, perhaps, this is a good point at which to insert a story about involuntary immigrants that has been passed on to us by Ram Varmha, a retired IBM engineer whose father had briefly served as Maharaja after the independence of Cochin. He relates the story as narrated to him by his paternal grandmother who lived in Thripoonithura, Cochin: “When my grandmother (born 1882) was a young girl she would go with the elder ladies of the family to the Pazhayannur Devi Temple in Fort Cochin, next to the Cochin Lantha Palace built by the Dutch (Landers = Lantha), which was an early establishment of the Cochin royal family before the administration moved to Thripoonithura. My grandmother often told us that in the basement of the Lantha Palace, in a confined area, a family of Africans had been kept locked up, as in a zoo! By my Grandmother’s time all the Africans had died. But, some of the elder ladies had narrated the story to her of ‘Kappiries’ (Africans) kept in captivity there. It seems visitors would give them fruits and bananas. They were well cared for but always kept in confinement. My grandmother did not know all the details but according to her, ‘many’ years earlier, a ship having broken its mast drifted into the old Cochin harbor. When the locals climbed aboard, they found a crewless ship, but in the hold there were some chained ‘Kappiries’ still alive; others having perished. The locals did not know what to do with them. Not understanding their language and finding the Africans in chains, the locals thought that these were dangerous to set free. So they herded the poor Africans into the basement of the Cochin Fort, and held them in captivity, for many, many years! I have no idea when the initial incident happened, but I presume it took place in the late 1700s or early 1800s. This points to the possibility that it was, in fact, a slave ship carrying human cargo from East Africa to either the USA or the West Indies. An amazing and rather bizarre story. Incidentally, this is not an ‘old woman’s tale’! Its quite reliable. My grandmother would identify some of the older ladies who had actually seen the surviving Kappiries.”

many.



The DeWolf Carriage

In Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), by this point Friend Stephen Wanton Gould, age 22, had reached a firm decision to “go to journey work” repairing timepieces, for his livelihood. Having just completed one apprenticeship which had been for seven years (we don’t know the nature of this), he apprenticed himself anew, to learn watch repair from Friend David Williams. While his brothers would be going into trade and traveling, he himself would be staying home and devoting himself to mundane activity — this in order to avoid any personal involvement at all in any slavery-related economic activity. He wrote in his journal of the religious anguish of his mind:

*23 of 12 m 1803 / Much discouragement is my lot of late, the lukewarmness & indifference of divers of my Brethren has affected my mind
 Oh Lord God Almighty look down in mercy upon us, that we faint not by the way. Remember us Oh thou that Inhabitest the Heavens above & rulest all things it is under a sense of our weakkness & infirmity that we call upon they name, & beg that thou would condesend afresh to animate our hearts with Thy holy presence & thereby be enabled to press forward in those important things which thou hast allotted us to perform.*

27 of 12 Mo [December] 1803 / I know not what to insert except

that I am weak & unfaithful



1804

July 24: The wife of Asa Martin, in Rehoboth, **RHODE ISLAND**, had **HANGED** herself on Sunday night. "She was deranged."

In Newport, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

24 of 7 Mo 1804 / Last first day [first day, Sunday] the 22d of the M our dear friend Nathan Hun appointed the afternoon Meeting at 5 O'clock, that the inhabitation of the Town might have an opportunity to whom a general invitation was given; I believe it was a time wherein the cause of truth gained ground among the people present. he was favor'd to declare the Truth for the space of an hour & a quarter in a very living & powerful manner. — many people were much wrought upon by its powerful efficacy in their Minds, being tendered and contrited. It was a tune which I hope may never be erased from the minds of any that were there. — Joshua Bradley a Baptist Minister, being informed of the Meeting, he said, he would come & at the conclusion of his own gave his hearers information of ours, & requested them to come as he wished too, & should hold no evening meeting on that Account — He accordingly attended, sat very attentively the whole time, & when the meeting broke up, went in the high seat where Nathan was, took him by the hand, & said he had gained the hearts of many that evening & thought he might by staying longer in the Town do much good, for you see says he the solemnity there is in this Meeting. I have a Meeting house which is at your service, my doors are open to you at any time. he asked him where he lodged & said he must see him again that evening. whether he went on or not I dont know, but the next Morning called on him & gave him letters to his friends in Connecticut to open the way for him to have meetings among them where Nathan was going — Nathan went over the ferry on second day morning in company Sam Rodman Rowland Hazard & David Williams.— At the aforesaid Meeting the English French & Spanish Consuls

were present, & many people of note in the Town - I have not heard of any that were dissatisfied but of many that confessed themselves highly gratified at the opportunity & I hope many of the prejudices which were held against friends will be removed - I must acknowledge for myself, tho' I have attended many great & Momenteous meetings, yet never did I attend one that I felt the importance of so much as this. & to my great thankfulness I am given to believe that it begun & ended well to the Glory of God

October 29, Monday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

2 day 29 of 10 M 1804 / Yesterday attended Meeting. - In the forenoon D Buffum dilivered an instructing testimony founded on these Words "Go work in my Vineyard & whatsoever is right I will give thee" I think it a favored day, particularly in the afternoon, when my mind was brought into Silent, deep, & serious meditation, on account of the low state of society, how many there are who have been religiously concerned, & seen better times, but now are fast declining as the Spirit of true religion, & become as it were dupes to the world. - My mind was deeply affected on behalf of these, with desires that they might be stirred up to a more lively Zeal for the promotion of Religion in themselves & others. -But more particularly was my feelings awakened for myself, feeling but little Authority to say or do much for that cause which I wished might be promoted. I became truly desirous to dig down deeper into my mind that I might discover the reason of my weakness - & find watchfulness & faithfulness is my great Lack Spent the evening agreeably with D. Buffum -

By virtue of the following Militia warrant (if there be any virtue in it) Was this day 29 of Month taken from me. steel watchchains 2 Gilt Seals & 2 Buckle Brushes, worth about 3 Dollars, by James Chappel Constable. -

Warrant

NEWPORT State of **RHODE ISLAND** & **PROVIDENCE** Plantations

[seal]

To the town sergant or either of the constables in the County of Newport

Whereas Stephen Gould of Newport in the County of Newport, private in the Company of Infantry in said Newport, Comanded, commanded by Charles C Dunham, in the Regiment of Militia, In said County Comanded by Joseph Boss Junr Coln Comodant

Was duly notified to appear at the Company's parade, in said Newport on the 19th day of Sept 1804 with such arms & Equipments as the Acts of Congress & of the Honble General Assembly of the aforesaid State are required. - And Where as Contrary to the Law in this Case made and provided the said Stephen did not appear at said time & place, & hath therefore forfeited the Sum of \$1.50 Cents to the use Directed by Law.- all which will appear by the List of Delinquents, & Warrant of the Captain returned to the undersigned Justice of the peace for the Town of Newport

afforesaid, Dated the 29th day of Sept. 1804. Therefore in the Name of the said State you are hereby Comanded forwith of the Goods & Chattels of the Said Stephen Gould within your precinct to Levy by Distress & sale shall thereof, the sum of \$1.50 Cents with 25 Cents for this Writ & also Your Lawful Fees for the Services hereof. & for Want of such Goods and Chattels you are required to take the Boody of the said Stephen Gould & him safely Commit to the Goal in said Newport, where the keeper thereof shall safely keep him till he pay the sums afforesaid, with Legal Fees & costs, or shall be otherwise Discharged by Law Hereof Fail not: but True return make of your Doings thereon, to the undesigned Justice of the peace within Twenty Days from the Date hereof.

Given under my hand & seal at Newport afforesaid the 9 day of October 1804 & of Independance the twenty Ninth.

Rob't Taylor Justice of the Peace

Thus this state which formerly was the most attentative to conciencious people of all on the Continent have now Degenerated into the rigor, while that of Boston & several others have come out of their Old Spirit of persecution & do not so much as call on friends to appear at their Militia Musters,- The suffering of mine has been but very small compared with their of old times. This is the first time I have been called upon since my Apprenticeship & I believe was careful to take as near the worth of the fine as possible.

1805

According to Jay Coughtry's THE NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE: RHODE ISLAND AND THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, 1700-1807, [RHODE ISLAND](#) merchants participated in the African slave trade over more than three human generations, from 1725 to 1807.

(What follows in this paragraph is a synopsis from Coughtry's study, with minor editing for compression and clarity.) Allowing for yearly fluctuations during our wilderness warfare with France and the eight years of our struggle for independence from England and our period of commercial stagnation that followed 1783, the trend had been, Coughtry establishes, toward intensification of this peculiar trade. The number of slaving voyages from Rhode Island ports had increased throughout the 18th Century and reached its high point, at 50 voyages, during this Year of Our Lord 1805. During that span of 75 years we now know of 934 vessels had left Rhode Island ports for the Guinea coast of Africa and had carried away an estimated 106,544 slaves (this is only what

NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

we are able now to count).²⁸³



From an international perspective, Coughtry acknowledges, these figures would make Rhode Island only a “minor” carrier comparable to such nations as Holland and Denmark, rather than hitting the big time with such slave-trading enterprises as Portugal and Great Britain, for by way of radical contrast, from 1701 to 1810 Great Britain purchased approximately 2,500,000 human beings. A typical slave ship of Nantes or Liverpool in harbor must have dwarfed one of these little Rhode Island brigs. Rhode Island’s profit was more in the export of distilled spirits for use in the purchase of slaves than in the transport of the slaves themselves. Rhode Island merchants monopolized the trade in spirits along the West African littoral and their vessels were known as “rum-men” to distinguish them from European vessels that commonly offered mixed cargoes of cloth, guns, iron bars, and assorted trinkets. Along with a few other items such as gold and cowrie shells, the product of our rum distilleries became an indispensable local currency wherever slaves were bought and sold. Both the quantity and significance of rum on the Upper Guinea and Gold Coasts increased until it became, like gold and cloth, one of the few indispensable commodities bartered there. Our economical double- and triple-distilled “Guinea Proof” rum in oversized “Guinea” hogsheads drove most West Indian rum, and European gin, French brandy, and liquor out of the trade. Rhode Islanders exploited a volume market for drunkenness that West Indian interlopers had failed to satisfy. Originally seen as an economical substitute for higher priced spirits such as French brandy, this potent rum maintained and strengthened its hold on the African palate even after its cost surpassed its competition. African drinkers demanded it. Local demand for slave labor in our little colony was never great because of the scarcity of local land for use in slave plantations, and Rhode Island slavers were soon rerouting the majority of their cargoes to markets more to the south, where higher prices could be obtained. The business had assumed its classic three-point “triangular trade” configuration almost

283. For this and other such maps: <http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery/search.html>

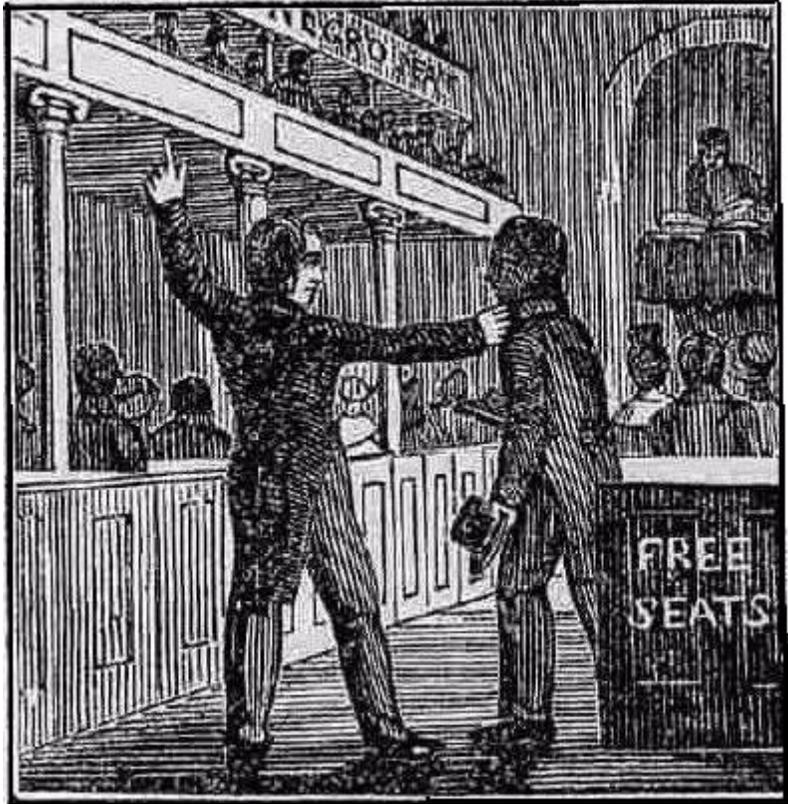
from the outset, with a second leg known as the “middle passage” probably added to the itinerary by or during the 1730s. Most of these so-called “middle passage” voyages were to the Caribbean, where human cargo could be exchanged for specie, bills, and return cargoes of sugar or molasses for use in the distilling of more rum. The trade began as Rhode Island’s focus turned toward the sea and ended when it turned toward the factory. Governor Ward, writing to the Board of Trade in 1740, calculated that investment in the shipping sector been negligible until the turn of the century. Prior to 1700, he explained, “necessity [had] engag[ed] the Inhabitants to employ the whole of their time and care to agriculture.” The principal concerns of the small farmers and religious dissidents who populated the colony during this period have been tersely but aptly described by Carl Bridenbaugh as “fat mutton and liberty of conscience.” There was a limit, however, to the population that could be supported on the thirty square miles of farmable surface in this colony which John Brown would describe as “scarcely anything but a line of seacoast.” Governor Samuel Cranston would write about a process had barely begun by 1708: “The land on said Island being all taken up and improved in small farms, so that the farmers, as their families increase are compelled to put or place their children to trades or callings, but their [children’s] inclinations being mostly to navigation, the greater part betake themselves to that employment. So that such as are industrious and thrifty ... get a small stock beforehand, improve it in getting a part of a vessel as many of the tradesmen in the town of [NEWPORT](#) also doth for the benefit of their children that are bred to navigation.” In Cranston’s day the local merchant fleet consisted of 27 sloops and a couple of brigs, only four or five of which had been in existence twenty years earlier. Throughout the 18th Century, the market share of of the American trade in African slaves by Rhode Island merchants would be 60%-90%. Despite a late start in the 1720s, they had soon surpassed Massachusetts as the chief colonial carrier, and by 1770 they controlled some 70 percent of the trade. From 1725 to 1807, what has been called the “American slave trade” might better be termed the “Rhode Island slave trade.” After the Revolution there were no serious American competitors. Even at the height of Massachusetts’ involvement, the slave trade was only an insignificant figure in its commercial statistics. Only in Rhode Island does the triangular trade appear in anything like the role described in our textbooks of American history. In no other colony or state did the international slave trade play as significant a role in the total economy. In both relative and absolute terms, then, Rhode Island was the leading American carrier of African slaves.

1806

Moses Lopez published, in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), a lunar calendar which he had calculated. (A copy of this calendar is preserved at the Touro Synagogue.)

1807

The Great Meetinghouse of the FRIENDS in NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND was enlarged to accommodate the New England Yearly Meeting. The renewed structure featured a spacious gallery above, which was intended for the use of persons of color (as it would turn out, this gallery would ordinarily be quite empty, except that during the week of the Yearly Meeting it would be packed with white people).



April 25: In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal of having recently encountered a former school classmate, hardened, who “had just come on shore from a Slave Voige to the Coast of Africa”:

7 day [Saturday] 25 of 4 M [April 1807] / My mind still under lively impressions & tho' they lead me in the line of the Cross as to the natural part, desire to endure all with patience, if I can but insure to myself the presence of the Lord which is my delight to feel, but Oh my weakness. I'm afraid of falling. Help [?] me Oh Lord. keep me in the hollow of they all preserving hand. This forenoon H Almy called at the shop & after a little pleasant conversation, he appeared inclin'd to sit still, & I willing to join him therein. So after a pause which was attended with a good degree of solemnity, Holder was concerned to make a few remarks on the excellency of a pious life, & the wretched disconsolate State of such who have lived to old age without having conform'd to the dictates of truth, being favor'd from time to time with the visitations of Gods love in their hearts, & now when on the graves edge to look back on their past omissions & commissions thro' time not to feel the enlivening

hope of peace & rest in the life to come, observing "The child shall die an hundred years old, but the Sinner, being an hundred years old shall perish" he concluded by observing "that tho' our trials might be Severe & our disappointments hard to bear, yet by faithful obedience we may experience a way to be made where no way may appear & hard things rendered easy & bitter things sweet." The above remarks appear'd to reach the heart of poor old G.W who was present with us, so that after Holder left us he appeared quite contrite even unto weeping. This afternoon a young man whose initials are J.S called in with whom I had a little conversation, & tho' it did not turn naturally on religious Subjects yet it was very pleasant. I believe him to be a young man who has retained a good degree of innocence, thro' a considerable exposure to the vices of the world We Sometimes meet with Some who, tho' they are not in membership with us, yet feel pleasant, & our hearts become drawn into nearness with each other As I believe was reciprocally the case between us. I could but contrast the difference between him & some of my other old School fellows, who in their Younger days were in a pretty good state of innocence, but since they have come to man's estate have run into the various wickednesses of the present day. My mind was not a little affected not long since at meeting a young man with whom I formerly went to School, & then was an innocent lad. he had just come on shore from a Slave Voige to the Coast of Africa, his countenance bespoke a mind exactly suited for the purpose he had been about, he looked so hardened that I could scarcely endure to look at him, & so affected my feelings that I have frequently reflected on his situation with painful sensations many times since

("There, but for the grace of God, go I!")

September 21, Monday: Captain Paul Cuffe and his *Alpha* arrived at Philadelphia.

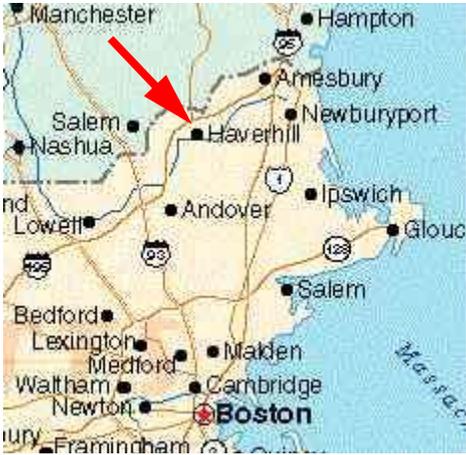
In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

2 day 21 of 9 M 1807 / Several things have conspired this day to any my tranquility, perhaps its best I should be stired up to look around me, & see if all things be right, & I am persuaded they are not - but I really wish people would attend to their own private concerns without dabling with others, & judging of the propriety or impropriety of conduct they know nothing about, nor need not know any thing about - but such is human nature, it must be busy about something, & it is the increasing wish of my heart, that I may be busy about the right thing - I have not felt the old nature raised, but rather my spirit grievously depressed

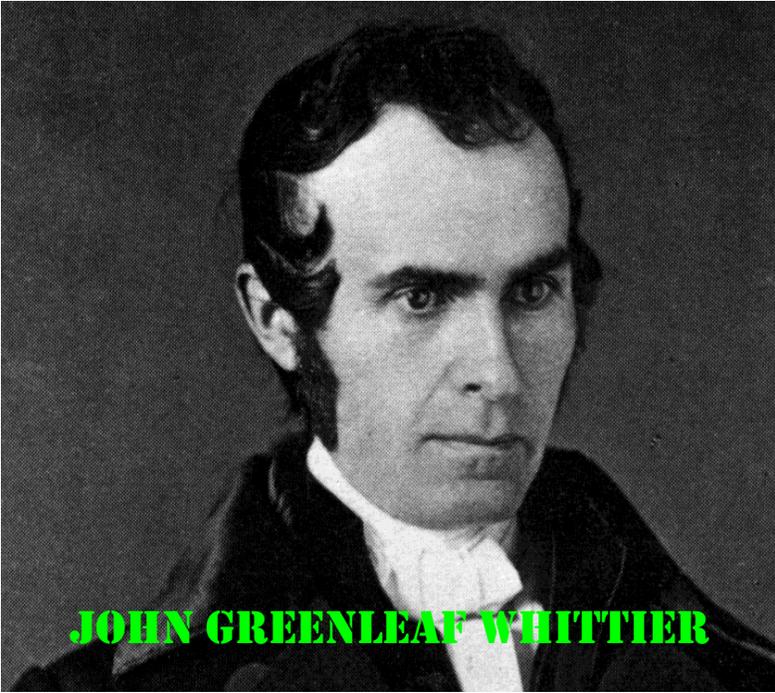
December 17, Thursday: In Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day 17 of 12 M 1807 / It was a silent meeting, & to me a close searching season but I trust not the worst of times - Just now heard my brother James had arrived in NewYork after a passage of 29 days from Liverpool In the eveng walked out to D Buffums to wait on my H & sister A [?] home -

John Greenleaf Whittier was born to a **QUAKER** family of Huguenot ancestry (John and Abigail Hussey Whittier) living in an old hand-hewn oak cabin near Haverhill north of Boston. He was their 2d child, the 1st having been Mary, born in the previous year.



This was one family that would not be claiming, like some, to be blond-haired and blue-eyed and hereditarily privileged and to have come over in the *Mayflower*.²⁸⁴



284. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow had been born on February 27th of that year in the Massachusetts town of Portland (Portland not yet having been assigned to Maine), to parents who did claim such distinction. According to the American Methodist Monthly, Volume II, page 229, John Greenleaf Whittier was descended from a religious refugee named Foullevert who had fled from Brittagne in the early states of the persecution by the French government. John Greenleaf Whittier was distantly related to Benjamin Franklin, Friend Lucretia Mott, Octavius Brooks Frothingham, and Henry Adams.

When Friend John would belatedly enroll at the Haverhill Academy, he would need to support himself by odd jobs and by crafting slippers for other students at \$0.²⁵ per pair. Due to poor health, as well as to lack of financial backing and to being quite a bit older than the other students, he would be quite unable to proceed from the academy to college.

I was born on the 17th of December, 1807, in the easterly part of Haverhill, Mass., in the house built by my first American ancestor, two hundred years ago. My father was a farmer, in moderate circumstances,—a man of good natural ability, and sound judgment. For a great many years he was one of the Selectmen of the town, and was often called upon to act as arbitrator in matters at issue between neighbors. My mother was Abigail Hussey, of Rollinsford, N.H. A bachelor uncle and a maiden aunt, both of whom I remember with much affection, lived in the family. The farm was not a very profitable one; it was burdened with debt and we had no spare money; but with strict economy we lived comfortably and respectably. Both my parents were members of the Society of Friends. I had a brother and two sisters. Our home was somewhat lonely, half hidden in oak woods, with no house in sight, and we had few companions of our age, and few occasions of recreation. Our school was only for twelve weeks in a year,—in the depth of winter, and half a mile distant. At an early age I was set at work on the farm, and doing errands for my mother, who, in addition to her ordinary house duties, was busy in spinning and weaving the linen and woolen cloth needed in the family. On First-days. father and mother, and sometimes one of the children, rode down to the Friends' Meeting-house in Amesbury, eight miles distant. I think I rather enjoyed staying at home and wandering in the woods, or climbing Job's hill, which rose abruptly from the brook which rippled down at the foot of our garden. From the top of the hill I could see the blue outline of the Deerfield mountains in New Hampshire, and the solitary peak of Agamenticus on the coast of Maine. A curving line of morning mist marked the course of the Merrimac, and Great Pond, or Kenoza, stretched away from the foot of the hill towards the village of Haverhill hidden from sight by intervening hills and woods, but which sent to us the sound of its two church bells. We had only about twenty volumes of books, most of them the journals of pioneer ministers in our society. Our only annual was an almanac. I was early fond of reading, and now and then heard of a book of biography or travel, and walked miles to borrow it. When I was fourteen years old my first school-master, Joshua Coffin, the able, eccentric historian of Newbury, brought with him to our house a volume of Burns' poems, from which he read, greatly to my delight. I begged him to leave the book with me; and set myself at once to the task of mastering the glossary of the Scottish dialect at its close. This was about the first poetry I had ever read, (with the exception of that of the Bible, of which I had been a close student,) and it had a lasting influence upon me I began to make rhymes myself, and to imagine stories and adventures. In fact I lived a sort of dual life, and in a world of fancy, as well as in the world of plain matter-of-fact about me.

1808

This was the year of the formation of the African Benevolent Society of [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), and also the African Society for Mutual Relief of New-York. It was at about this point that, in North Kingstown, Cato Pearce, who had almost reached the age of 18 at which his master Joshua Pearce might have been permitted to prepare manumission papers under the state's gradual emancipation procedures, felt that instead he needed to run away from his master's farm. Venturing to the city of [PROVIDENCE](#), he obtained employment from a Captain Bailey on board the schooner *Four Brothers*.

Bailey's vessel was bound for Wilmington, North Carolina with a return voyage to Boston, but when suddenly the first mate "fell ill," they needed to put in to shore at Wickford, Rhode Island.

We got into Wickford on a Sunday; and at the very time my master happened to be out a fishing. He knew it was the vessel I went in, and came on board and took me on shore. He took all my wages, and gave me a floggin'.

This "falling ill" aboard the *Four Brothers* off Wickford would have been, of course, no coincidence. The white master Joshua Pearce must have, by making inquiries at the docks in Providence, learned what ship had hired his man Cato. He would have passed a message via another ship captain—white men sticking together—and Captain Bailey would have had his first mate feign this sudden illness that caused the putting ashore exactly where the white master was waiting. Cato Pearce would of course receive, instead of freedom, a flogging.



Plus, his master was of course entitled to seize all his wages.

February 3, Thursday: Friend **MOSES BROWN**'s family was inoculated against the "kine pox."

In Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould was agonizing about his upcoming trip to Providence to attend the **QUAKER** Quarterly Meeting there — the big city being all of 30 miles distant while he never in his 27 years had been farther from his home than to East Greenwich and to Swansea, "the distances of which is only computed 25 miles."

2nd day [Monday] 1 of 2nd M 1808 / Debating in my mind whether to go to Providence to Attend our Qrt Meeting. I want to go but dont see how to leave my buisness - really it seemes as if my way was never more hedged about with incumberances

3rd day 2 of 2 M / Still in suspence about Providence, whenever my mind has been turn'd that way there has been a thick cloud, but whether the cloud is owing to the Situation of things there or at home I am hardly able to determine - The prospect however has brightened this evening & I am induced to think if it is a good time in the morning that I shall go -

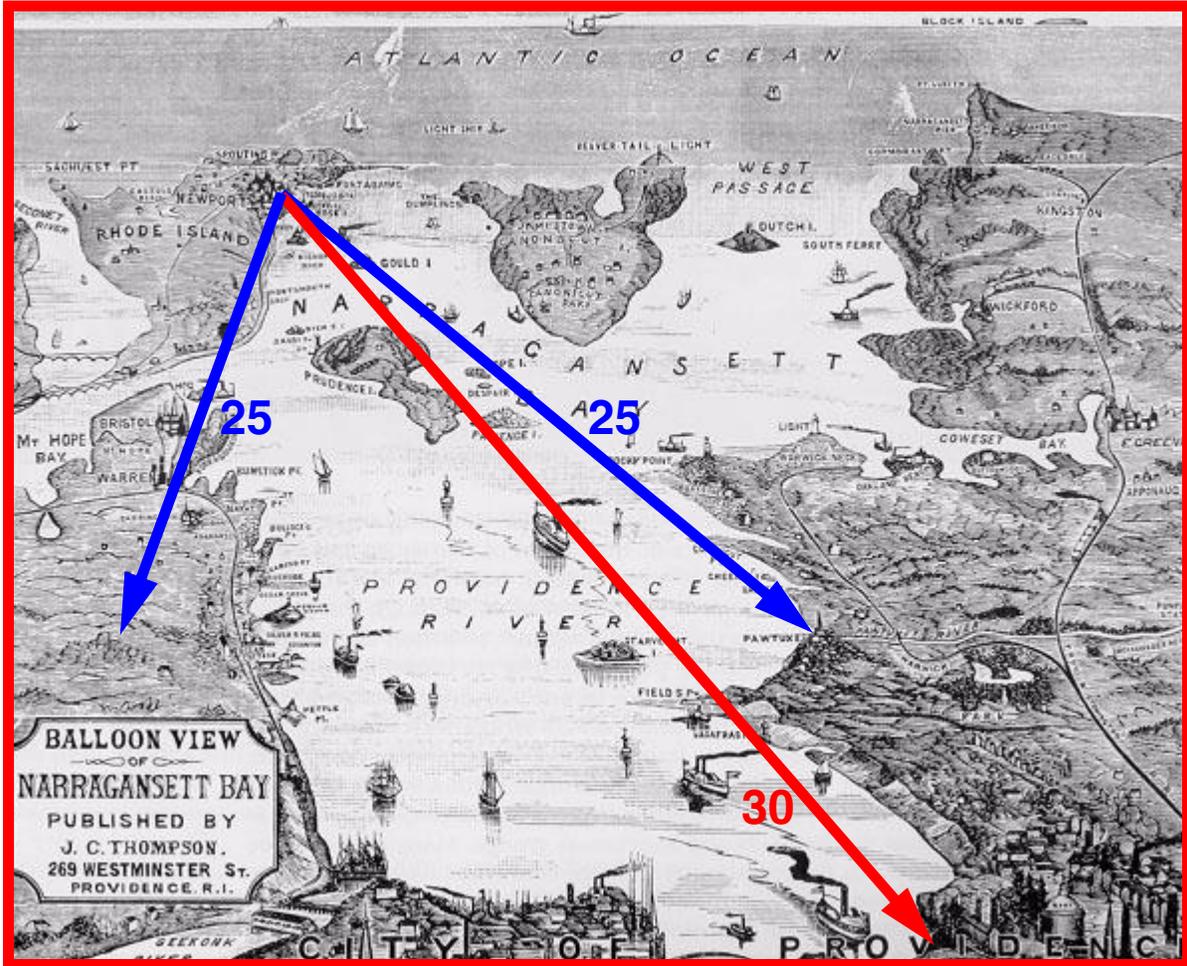
4th day / This morning a little past 10 OClock went on board the packet in company with J Earle, J Rodman, E Rodman & M Buffum & after a pleasant passage arrived in Providence about sunset & was very affectionatly received by our kind friends O & D[?] Brown. J E, J R & myself lodged there & the young women at Wm Almys. I had the satisfaction of being in company with Richard Jordan, & Rowland Greene, the evening passed pleasantly & instructingly----

5day Before meeting went to Wm Almys where I had the allmost exquisit satisfaction of seeing my endeared friends Micajah Collins & Matthew Purinton - At meeting my mind was quieted in an unusual manner soon after I took my seat, & a very humbling season ensued, being favor'd with the renewal of the day spring from on high, & my soul was bowed with thankfulness to the Lord that I was there, & did not give way to the Mountains of discouragement that presented in view before I left home, which sometimes were so gloomy that I began to think there was no way to escape sudden destruction Soon after the meeting was settled James Greene stood up & expressed a few words to good satisfaction, on the necessity of our individually witnessing the resurrection unto life, then Holden Almy on the great privileges & usefulness of Silent waiting - then Micajah Collins in a very weighty manner addressed & encoraged the young people of our own Society to take up their daily cross & follow Christ, observing that he believed if the "Cross could be dressed up in something pretty to our fanciful immagination it would be much more readily embraced than it is by many" - Then Richard Jordan appear'd in a very edifying testimony endeavoring to stir up our minds to more life & dwelt considerable time on the very watering seasons experienced in the Meetings of our invaluable prediccursors. The life & power was so great that even those that came as disturbers were many times smiten by it, & convinced of the truth, but now it was very often quite the reverse we are but poor dry & barran things our meetings allmost void of the Power of divine life - much more he said which was very cordial to my mind - then James Greene appear'd in a short supplication & the meeting ended - There was but little buisness in the last & it ended about 8 OClock. I took dinner at O Browns & after dinner went to Wm Almys to spend a little time with Micajah Collins & thereat took tea -returned to OBs in the evening &

wrote a little to Mary Collins at Salem from whom I receiv'd one in the morning --

6th day / Breakfasted at OB's with whom I lodged again then went to Wm Almys to have a little more time with my dear friend Micajah after setting with him a while he felt his mind drawn to the meeting house, a committee from the meeting for suffering was then sitting to revise our discipline - I walked to the meeting house with him - then took a turn among my brother watchmakers in that place, bought several necessary Articles & went to the Wharf where the Packet lies & found one hoisting sail & J Earle on board, so leaving my friends very abruptly & very unexpectedly stept on board at 20 Minutes past eleven, & arrived in Newport at about 15 minutes past two O'clock making the passage a little less than three hours - My first visit at Providence has been exceedingly sweet, being favord with much agreeable company & a very favor'd time in my mind. I desire to be truly thankful, & believe I am, even bowed in spirit for being again favor'd to experience ny inward strength renewed - This was the first time I was ever at Providence or so far from home, the extent of my journeying being only to East Greenwich & Swansey the distances of which is only computed 25 miles & Providence 30 - When I arrived in town immediately called at C R's & gave them information that - J & E had gone to Patucket & would be at home tomorrow - when I came home found all my little buisness & concerns in as good as order as I left them which is also cause of humble thankfulness, & encoragement I believe my journey was right - Spent the eveng with my precious H & gave her as interesting an account of the meeting & my visit as I was

capable of



7th day / Busily at Trade with my mind often turn'd towards my late very favord visit -

April 5, Tuesday: In Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould talked religion with the Reverend Gibson, the local Baptist minister, and considered afterward that he as a **QUAKER** had had the better side of the conversation:

3rd day [Tuesday] 5 of 4 M [April 1808] / Pretty much as Yesterday as to the State of my mind & no occurrence as to the concerns of the day worth inserting, except that it just occurs, that I had a Pleasant interview with Gibson the Baptist Minister of this town, I have no doubt but he is a religious minded man but holds several eronious doctrines, particularly that the scriptures are the the only rule of faith & practice, however from his own confession of his religious experience he contradicted himself several times in the corse of conversation

(One wonders, actually, whether the Reverend would have been able to concur with this assessment of the encounter.)

July 2, Saturday: In Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), Friend Stephen Wanton Gould again talked religion with a Baptist minister (as he had in April, although it would appear not with the same reverend), and again (as he had in April) he considered afterward that he as a [QUAKER](#) had had the better side of the conversation:

7th day [Saturday] 2nd of 7th M [July 1808] / Much as usual as to the state of my mind, in the morning fell in with a Baptist minister & had a little conversation respecting the Scriptures & particularly on the subject of their being the only rule of faith & practice - had time permitted I think I should have lost no ground & as it was I believe he found himself pinched worse than he expected - Uncle & Aunt Stanton sail'd for NYork this morning early - In the eveng at Aunt M Goulds the at R T, & waited on my H home -

(Again one wonders whether the Baptist reverend would have been able to concur with this assessment of the encounter.)

August 11, Thursday: In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould and Friend Hannah Rodman entered the condition of marital bliss:

5th day 11th of 8 M 1808 / This day commences a new & All important Era of my life. I was married to my beloved friend Hannah Rodman Daughter of Clarke & Abigail Rodman of this Town -In the morning under the full weight of the matter I went up to her fathers & weighted on her to meeting, & had not learnt untill I saw him come into meeting that our Valued friend John Casey had taken the pains to come from Greenwich partly to attend our marriage -but more particularly to relieve his mind of a concern he has felt to pay a visit to the Inhabitation of this his native place, as he Said where he first drew the breath of life naturally & spiritually - - Soon after I took my seat I was favord to feel the precious arising of divine life in my mind & anticipated a favord meeting, feeling a precious Solemnity spread over the gathering, & was not [the next six lines have an X through them] disappointed for the solemnity continued & Dear J Casey was very livingly engaged in public testimony - reciting in a very feeling manner the visitations of his youth & his allmost unpresedented obstinacy, & finally his preservation from the jaws of destruction, & exerted all present to close in with the calls of divine providence, while they were favord with them, & told us had he been faithful from the first of his visitations it might have renderd him much more useful in the church, & have brought up far greater peace in his own mind, avoiding many bitter days & exercising nights which he hath passed thro' to attain what spiritual strength he has he endeavord to comfort those that had begun the work for Truth & to arouse those that continued in their sins rejecting those precious visitations - & concluded in a very feeling address to the offspring of Friends in this place that we endeavor to support with dignity the several christian testimonys which we as a Society bear to the world - After the testimony & a Suitable pause ensuing, the overseer (O W) who set next me gave me a whisper to proceed (which is a practice I like better than for one of them to get up & speak to the young couples) We stood up according to order & both spoke handsomely & I believe were heard to the remotest part of the house, we being inhabitants & having a large circle of acquaintances & at present blessed with friends - The meeting was very large, however that was a circumstance which was much less embarrassing than I expected -

At dinner we had the following guests, the men Overseers were Obadiah Williams & Rouse Taylor & the women Elizabeth Hosier & Mary Williams - My father & Mother & Aunt Mary Wanton - & brother Isaac - John Casey. Lewis L Clarke, Peter Lawton, Brother David Rodman & Wife who formd an agreeable circle - J Casey left us at 3 OClock intending to be at Wickford by night. In the corse of the Afternoon we had much interesting conversation both on Civil & religious subjects, & I know not when I have ever heard the subject of Friends voting in town Meetings more interestingly & usefully discussed Our friends O Williams & R Taylor disoraged the practice & O display'd much eloquence & ingenuity also Solidity on the Subject & I believe has compleatly convinced some that were present of the justness of his remarks -At tea we had the Same company as at dinner with the exception of Brother Isaac & the Addition of David Williams who came after dinner & spent the afternoon - After tea the company retired except Rouse Taylor who spent the eveng - Sarah Earle also came in the evening - Thus ended the day of all the most important that has yet taken place in my life, & I can say it has been a pleasant one both inwardly & outwardly, for in the outward from the rising of the Sun to the setting of the same I could not find a cloud in the Sky & the eveng equally serene & clear except rather more heat than was pleasant - And Oh! Saith my Soul may the day be an emblem of the day of lour lives, may calmness & serenity ,ark our footsteps & may our lives be devoted to the Honors of him who created us for a purpose of his own Glory. I feel (while penning this) my mind humbled within me under a sense of my human frailty & very great incapacity of myself to discharge the dutys that will or have devolved upon me I desire I pray that I may be a good husband to my dear Wife, feeling fully confident that she will be to me a very usefull helpMeet, & desires are no less begotten on her behalf that she may be supported to bear with christian patience & fotitude the trials & besetments that may assail us in passing thro' time to that state where they all cease, & the weary traveller finds a permanent rest - I allso feel thankfulness of heart that we were favord to speak in the several meetings particularly the last with so much propriety & strength & that my dear H was supported under it considering her weak state of health --

1809

December 1, Friday: Economic competition being decidedly mean-spirited and un-American, Robert Fulton, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, and Colonel John C. Stevens of Hoboken agreed to a compromise. Fulton and Livingston were to be assigned a steamboat monopoly on all New York State waters, the run to New Brunswick, New Jersey, plus all steam navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers while Colonel Stevens was to be assigned a monopoly on Chesapeake Bay, all steam navigation of the Connecticut, Delaware, Santee, and Savannah Rivers, plus the run along Paumanok Long Island Sound between New-York and Providence, Rhode Island. The division being arranged, they could proceed to soak their customers to the maximum extent feasible.

In Newport, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

6th day [Friday] 1st of 12th Mo [December] 1809// Perhaps I have

*a little more Life than yesterday - Sister E spent the eveng
with us & staid all night*

1810

January 1: In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*2nd day [Monday] 1st Mo [January] 1st 1810// The Gun has fired
which announces the setting sun - The first day of the new Year
has so far gone & what now have I to say? What account can I
give ? - Why I think I may say it has been a day of some feeling
& perhaps I have felt the precious life to circulate in my mind
with a degree of sweetness. Oh saith my Soul at this time may
the coming year, be a year of increased devotion & Watchfulness,
for we know not how soon the thread of life is to be cut, & we
hastened to eternity, therefore the more Watchful we are to have
our lamps lighted & well trimed the better chance we Stand of
entering with the bride groom into the bride Chamber.²⁸⁵*



285. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1807-1812: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 7 Folder 10 for May 1, 1809-June 30, 1812; also on microfilm, see Series 7

NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

January 7, Sunday: The Rogerenes, followers of this English religious reformer John Rogers (1648-1721), advocate of nonresistance to evil,²⁸⁶ had settled in Connecticut, at the towns of New London, Groton, and



Ledyard. There they were being molested by the authorities due to their unwillingness to take part in state violence by the serving in any militia or by the paying of any military fines for failure to serve in such militia. For instance, in this year 1810 one Alexander Rogers of Waterford CT, in his 83rd year, published a tract entitled “Petition to My Fellow Countrymen” pointing out that he was being forced to “suffer for conscience’s sake, in defense of the gospel of Christ; on the account of my son, who is under age, in that it is against my conscience to send him into the train-band.”²⁸⁷

In Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**, **FRIEND** Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

1st day [Sunday] 1st Mo [January] 7th day// At meeting forenoon & Afternoon, both silent, It has been a day of feeling, yea, sweetness, tho' in meetings I was more barran than out of them - Sister E took care of the little boy while my dear H went to meeting this Afternoon -by invitation I took tea with Aunt P Gould & regretted that my H could not go too. -

February 15, Thursday: In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day [Thursday] 15 of 2 Mo [February 15, 1810]// Our dear brother Philip Dunham was at meeting also Paul Cuffe, the latter Dined with us - dear Philip was much favor'd. I think I never heard a more living & baptizing supplication from any person, &

²⁸⁶ Not the same John Rogers as the BIBLE translator who was born circa 1500 and was burned on February 14, 1554 in **SMITHFIELD** near London, nor the same John Rogers as the citizen of Pembroke who was murdered by “poor Julian” on September 12, 1732.

²⁸⁷ To study this religious reformer John Rogers’s faith and practice, since he had unwisely listened to the teaching of Jesus “Resist not evil” and had come to believe in the insane principle, upon which no life can be founded, of refusing to offer resistance to evil, you cannot consult the encyclopedia, but you can see J.R. Bolles and A.B. Williams’s THE ROGERENES (Boston MA: Stanhope Press, 1904).



“Rogerenes,” former Seventh Day Baptists who followed John Rogers of Newport, combined Baptist and Quaker principles with a belief in miraculous healing and attracted adherents in both Rhode Island and Connecticut, usually from among well-to-do rather than poor settlers.

at the funeral of Joseph Wilbours Wife this Afternoon his testimony was living & Powerfull

March 24, Saturday: David Melville of Newport, Rhode Island patented a "Lamp, Gas."

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

7th day [Saturday] 24 of 3 Mo// Father R dined with us & I dont know but it is the first time. - The mind in a dull frame as to religious sensibility, but I trust a little has been experienced-

May 26: According to the journal of Friend Stephen Wanton Gould, there was some nasty stuff going down in Newport, Rhode Island — but then better judgment prevailed at least for the moment:

7th day [Saturday] 26th of 5th M [May] 1810// Strange to tell, the Widow Olaphant this day presented a petition to the Court now Setting in this Town for liberty to Send a black Woman to Carolina to be Sold. The black woman is a person of More, far More principal than her self, & I will hazard the opinion, is much more eligible for heaven & happiness, she has served her mistress faithfully her whole life & is a professor, & (I believe in measure) a possessor of religion, & now to even desire to Send her from her native land to be Sold into the hands of people as bad as herself & away from all acquaintance to drag out her existance in an augmented suffering servitude, is horable to think of - but exulting to the cause of humanity, & the shame & confusion of cruel tyrant Slave-holders be it said, that that the poor unprincipled Wicked Woman was frustrated in her design (at least for the present) & will doubtless be so at the next Court - by the exercions of Sam'l Vinson, Benj Hadwen, Green Burrows, Wm Langley & a few others the petition was postponed untill the next term

June 11: In Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

2nd day [Monday, June 11, 1810]// Easter breakfasted with us Thos Watson John Fry, Philip Dunham, Jos Scott & Abby Anthony dined with us - Wm Almy, Easter Newhall Edward Cobb John Smith & Betsy Parrish took tea & Easter & Edward Cobb lodged with us Our Meetings today have been preciously favord with the overshadowing Wing of Divine goodness - And as to my own particular I may humbly & thankfully acknowledge that my stoney heart was removed & an heart of flesh vouchsafed - In the morning Jas Green opened the meeting in a few words which savord well E Thornton follow'd him in a long, excellent lively & well adapted discourse -- In the Afternoon Richard Jordan & Willet Hicks arrived from N York & attended Meeting Richard opened the meeting in a long & powerful testimony & during the course of the setting many excellent pertinent & feeling remarks were made

by divers friends Viz Rowland Green, John Shoemaker, Thos Titus, Willet Hicks, [MOSES BROWN](#), D Buffum, Cyrus Beady, Paul Cuff & Several others. This is the first time that ever a man of colour delivered his opinion in our Yearly Meeting & I guess in any in the World. Meeting adjourn'd till 4 O'clock tomorrow Afternoon

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

September 21, Sunday: In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

6th day [Friday] 21 of 9 Mo [September 21, 1810] // At about half past 2 O'clock this Afternoon I went to the Baptist Meeting house of which John B Gibson is Minister & was vaccinated in my left Arm by Dr. Fansher who is employed by the Town to innoculate the inhabitants -

In the eveng brother David set with us - But I must not forget to insert that in the Afternoon I had a very precious visit at the Shop from our friend & Brother Paul Cuffee which did indeed seems as a brook of refreshment by the Way -

November 25, Sunday: Captain Paul Cuffe began his 1st voyage from Westport MA to Freeport, Sierra Leone in his 69-ton *Traveller*.

In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

1st day [Sunday] 25th of 11 Mo [November 25, 1810] // We breakfasted at Jonathans & then came home & prepared for meeting - At Meeting D Buffum broke Silence which has not been broken for many weeks before, he spake lively to the necessity of a religious life - Between meetings my dear father came up to see us & mentioned that he felt much fatigued with the walk, but thought that he felt as it was very pleasant, as perhaps it might noon [soon?] Snow & he should not come again very soon if ever - Our Afternoon meeting was silent, after which I visited the Work & Alms Houses -
Set most of the evening at home -

1811

July 28, Sunday: In [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

1st day [Sunday] 28 of 7 Mo [July 28, 1811] // Our Meetings were silent. In the Afternoon it was a pretty good time to me - for which I desire to be thankful. - We took tea at my fathers. -



In London, Friend Paul Cuffe was staying at the home of Friend William Allen on Plough Court (not the same person as the William Allen of Concord, Massachusetts) and wrote in his journal:

In the Evening my friend Allen Called his famely together and We Ware Comforted and I believe I may say the presence of the precious Comforter Was felt to be Near.

1812

The National Light and Heat Company was founded. The first coal-gas street lighting would begin two years later.

David Melville was in this year lighting his home in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), and the street itself, and his factory in Pawtucket, by means of coal gas. This was attracting considerable attention.

May 18, Thursday: Friend Paul Cuffe was in New-York while on his way back from Washington DC to Westport MA. He wrote in his diary that

On my Return Called to see Dr. Ross, a man that Resided 7 years in Jamaica in which time he Saw most horrible abomination inflicted on the Slaves being jibetted, Launched on a Plank Down a Steep Place Whiped Hanged Burnt and racked. Lord have Mercy I Pray Thee.

During this stop-over in the big city, Friend Paul went with Friend Thomas Eddy for a visit to the African School. There was a street encounter:

P.S. I was traveling in the Street With my Guide he kindly introduced me to two Methodist preachers Who accosted me thus, "Do you understand English?" I answered them "There Was a Part

I did not understand (Viz) that of one Brother professor making merchandize of and holding in Bondage their Brother professor, this part I Should be glad they Would Clear up to me."

These white preachers, in the big city for a convention of their fellows, of course made no response to a person of color's street insolence. Friend Paul was sufficiently disturbed by the encounter, however, that that evening he wrote the incident up as a letter. On the following day he would go to the convention of Methodists and make his protest heard, and later he would pay a call on the Methodist Bishop, the Reverend Asbury, in a further effort to discuss the pros and cons of human enslavement.

In Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*5th day [Thursday] 18 of 6th M 1812// Our Meeting was very large. Anne Greene was concern'd in supplication, then Micajah Collins in an acceptable testimony, then David Sands in a very extensive & powerful testimony
In the last (Preparative) David had a few close remarks on the subject of Rainess [?]
At 5 O'clock a meeting was appointed for the people of colour, many attended but not all of them by a very considerable - D Sands was by far the greatet laborer amongst them, Anne Willis Hannah Dennis & James Hazard had small testinnies to bear. -*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



April 21-24: Rosalind C. Wiggins has pointed out that while Friend Paul Cuffe's vessel was impounded by the US Coast Guard on Aquidneck Island, he lodged at the home of Stephen Wanton Gould and Hannah Gould in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) and that this amounted to a social gesture in the society of that day that was bold even for [QUAKERS](#): "White people who could afford servants considered African-Americans to be the lowest sort of domestic, scarcely educable and more like the docile creatures in their barns. People of Color could be lodged in the stable and fed in the kitchen, but not Paul in Stephen and Hannah's home." I do not find evidence, however, within Friend Stephen's journal itself, that Friend Paul lodged at the Gould home for more than one evening, or that he slept in some supposedly available area inside the home itself rather than in an outbuilding, and so I wonder whether Friend Rosalind actually had independent evidence of that lodging — or whether she was here merely drawing an unsupported speculative inference. (Within my own conceptual frame of reference, I rather doubt that there would have been available a "decent" space within the tiny home to put up a white adult male overnight, let alone putting up an adult male of color, unless he were to doze fully clothed sitting up before the fire in the front room.)

3rd day [Tuesday] 21 of 4 Mo [April 21] 1812// Paul Cuffee has arriv'd from Africa & has passed considerable time in my Shop this Afternoon but such was the State of his mind at present in consequence of difficulty at the Custom house about his Vessel that he could not into into a detail of the progress & Success of the object of his voyage.

4th day [Wednesday] 22 of 4 Mo [April 22, 1812]// Paul Cuffe took tea & set the eveng & is to lodge with us - he has related many interesting particulars of his voyage.

5th day [Thursday] 23 of 4 Mo [April 23, 1812]// Our meeting was rather small & to me a very dull season - the last (preparative) was also Dull but the whole of the Queries were answer'd to pretty good satisfaction. -

6th day [Friday] 24 of 4 Mo [April 24, 1812]// Paul Cuffee is in town endeavoring to effect measures to enable him to get to Washington & labor there for the release of his Vessel & Cargo. he is procuring letters of recommendation, & other documents that may be of service to him in explaining the nature of his voyage to Africa & the minds of the people seem to be very open to render him all necessary assistance

December 6: According to the journal of **FRIEND** Thomas “Nailer Tom” Hafsard or Hasard or Hazard of Kingstown, **RHODE ISLAND**, also known as “Nailer Tom,”²⁸⁸ “The British Ship Macedonia, a prize to the U.S. Frigate United States got into Newport” on this day.

1813

March 18: David Melville of Newport, Rhode Island patented an apparatus for making coal gas.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day [Thursday] 18 of 3 M / Our Meeting Was small RR said a few Words in the last - three certificates were asked for Vizt Joseph Sisson his son Joseph & Solomon B Bess is to proceed in marriage engagements

1814

November 10, Thursday: William J. Brown was born into a free black family in Providence, **RHODE ISLAND**. His grandfather Cudge had worked as a teamster for **FRIEND** **MOSES BROWN** before being manumitted by Moses on November 10, 1773. His father was a sailor who had previously worked on Moses’s farm, and his mother was the daughter of a black slave and a Narragansett woman. William would become a sailor, a shoe repairman, a Baptist minister, and a leader in Providence’s black community. Here are some entries from his autobiography:

PAGES 5-11: My father’s name was Noah Brown; his father was Cudge Brown and his mother Phillis Brown. Grandfather Brown was born in Africa, and belonged to a firm (named Brown Brothers) consisting of four, named respectively, Joseph, John, Nicholas and Moses Brown. They held slaves together, each brother selecting out such as they wished for house service; the rest of the slaves to perform out-door labor. I am not positive, but believe my grandfather was brought from Africa in the firm’s

288. He was called “Nailer Tom” because his trade was the cutting of nails from scrap iron, and in order to distinguish him from a relative known as “College Tom,” from another relative known as “Shepherd Tom,” and from his own son who –because he had fits– was known as “Pistol-Head Tom.”

vessel. He had two or three brothers. One was named Thomas, and the other Sharp or Sharper Brown, and they worked for Moses Brown. My grandfather was occupied as a teamster, doing the team work for two farms, the one on which Mr. Brown lived, and the other to the northward towards Swan Point Road.

PAGES 32-35: My grandfather was married to Phillis, November 20th, 1768, and they went to keeping house, living in one towards the north end of Olney street, owned by Mr. Brown, where he kept his teams. Newport, his oldest son, was born April 22d, 1769. Rhoda, his oldest daughter, was born September 27th, 1776, and Noah, my father, was born September 20th, 1781. James was born November 17th, 1788....

My father married Alice Greene; her maiden name was Alice Prophet. She was a widow, having lost her husband, Uriah Greene, several years previous to her second marriage. They were married in Cranston, R. I., the 25th of December, 1805, and commenced keeping house in that town, but being engaged in a seafaring life, he removed to Providence, and rented a house of Dr. Pardon Bowen, situated on Wells street. During his residence in Cranston, he had a son born, July 10th, 1810, and named him Joseph George Washington Brown. My sister, Mary Alice, was born September 1811, in this city. My brother George was born September 23d, 1817. After residing in Dr. Pardon Bowen's house five years, we were obliged to move, as Mr. Bowen wished to make a strawberry bed in the garden where the house was located. My father hired a house called the Red Lion, near the junction of South Main and Power streets, on the north side, the place where the Amateur Dramatic Hall now stands. My brother Henry was born there in 1820....

My mother, as I stated, was a widow when she was married to my father. I never had any knowledge respecting her first husband's relations. My mother's relations were the Prophets, who belonged to the Narragansett tribe, and resided in Cranston. My grandmother's father was a man of note and one of the chiefs, and called, Grandfather Jeffery. Whether he was a prophet by name or by title I know not. He had two daughters, but whether he had any sons I know not, but think he had none. One of grandfather Jeffery's daughters married a white man, preferring civilized to savage life. The other daughter, my grandmother, purchased a colored man and married him, by whom she had five children, one son and four daughters, John, Phebe, Mary, Alice, and Eunice. Her father being very much displeased with her management, gave his effects to the first, who married the white man, and the fourth generation are living in the city at present, and moving in upper circles. After some years his anger abated towards his daughter's husband and he rendered some aid to the family....

Pages 40-51: The house which my father rented [was] located in the south part of the town, near the water. It was a gambrel roofed house, painted with plain boards like clapboards, and painted red.... On the west side was a door and two windows, one over the other, and two doors on the north side, one leading into the cellar, the other into the back yard, with two windows the same as in front. The inside of the house was arranged as follow: two rooms on the first floor, the largest used for a kitchen, the other for a sitting room or bed room. Adjoining us on the east was a sailor boarding house kept by Mr. James Axum. From our east window could be seen a fine garden filled with

various kind of vegetables belonging to Mr. Axum. There were two rooms upstairs arranged the same as below, having access by a stair-way in a small entry three feet by six, on the north side of the west room. When we first moved in we occupied the upper rooms, until the family below could vacate their rooms, which was some six months after we moved in. Two rooms was considered quite a genteel tenement in these days for a family of six, especially if they were colored, the prevailing opinion being that they had no business with a larger house than one or two rooms. The family occupying the lower floor of our house were considered the upper crust of the colored population, Mr. Thomas Reed by name, by trade a barber, and kept a fashionable shaving saloon....

He was responsible for the rent to Mr. Tillinghast and other heirs, to whom it belonged. It was forty dollars per year. There being more room than he needed or could afford to pay for, he rented the upper part for fifteen dollars per year; which reduced his rent to twenty-five dollars. The landlords received their rents quarterly. Every one knew, in those days that a man having a family of six could not pay the rent of four rooms, unless he robbed or went on the highway to get a living....

(We can see in the above the reality that lay behind Frederick Douglass's observation that in certain respects people of color in the antebellum northern society had moved from being the slaves of individuals to becoming "slaves of the community.")

In Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), [FRIEND](#) Stephen Wanton Gould wrote something in his journal that has not been completely decipherable:

5 day 10th of 11 M / Omitted Meeting & went down The Neck to attend in surveying a peace of Land at the request of an old acquaintance who is involved in a Law Suit pending in the Court [?] is setting - I understood there were two appearances in the ministry at Meeting [?] they were edifying to [?]

1815

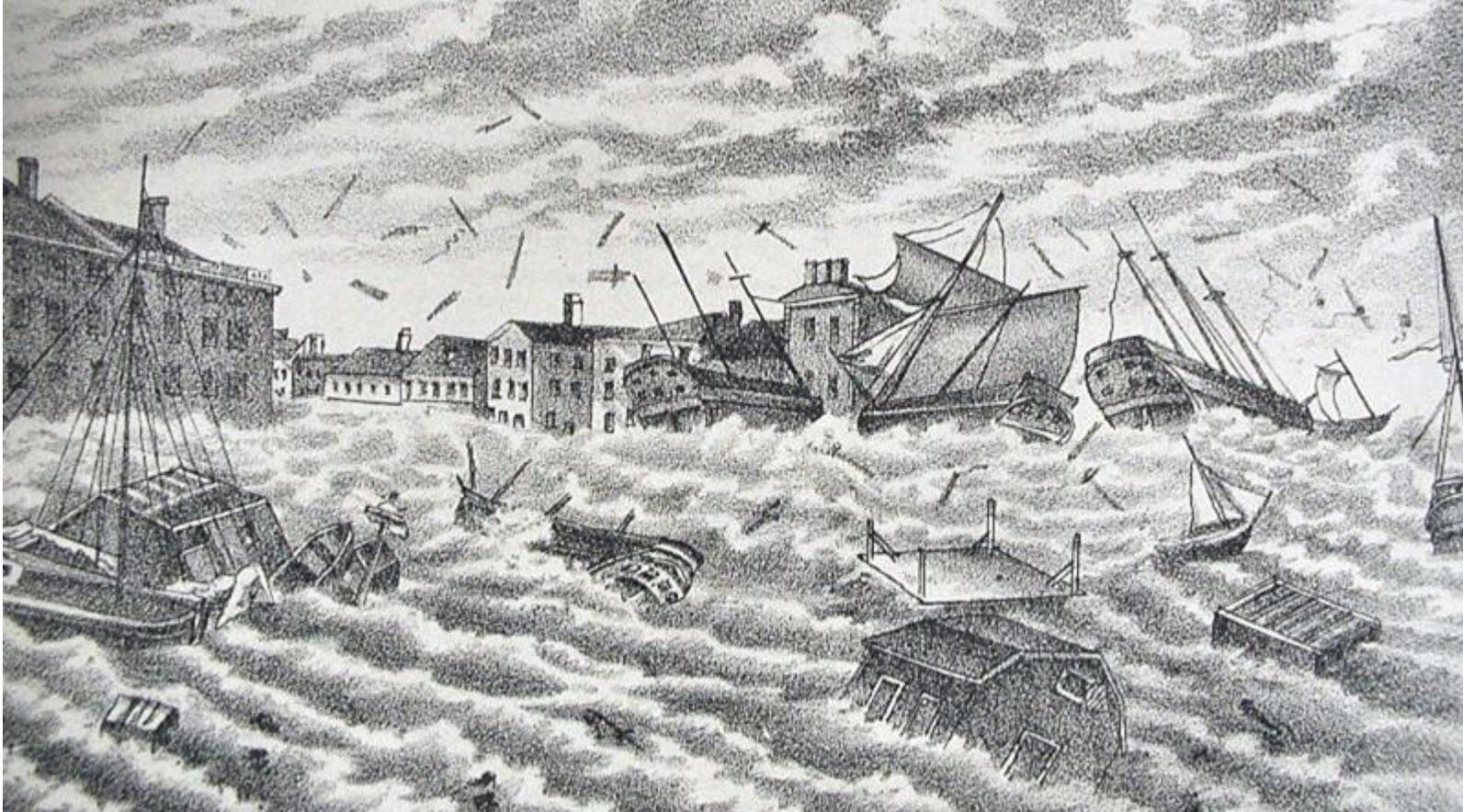
June 11, Sunday: In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould noted in his journal an entirely silent session of the Friends Yearly Meeting:

1st day Our Meeting this forenoon was large as usual & much favor'd our fr Edw Stabler of Alexandria was much favor'd in a long & excellent communication - I think I never saw the people more attentive & Still in the Yard - In the Afternoon a larger concourse of people assembled than in the Morning, but to the great disappointment of the multitude there was not a single offering in the course of the Afternoon & it is the first silent Yearly Meeting I ever recollect & I believe is the only instance that has occurd in my Life - considering there was no preaching the people were as still as could be expected - between meetings our fr John Heald & his companion James Boulton arrived & took Quarters with us. -In addition to our usual family we had at tea Ezra Collins, Jonathon Chase & two Long Island young friends also Nancy Brown -

NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

September 23, Saturday: During the 18th Century there had been some 15 violent storms sweeping across New England, but none of them approached the fury of the hurricane that hit the southern New England coastline at 9AM on this day, known as the “Great September Gale of 1815.” The eye of the hurricane came ashore at Old Lyme in Connecticut and the greatest destruction was done along the path of the storm’s “eastern quarter,” such as in Providence.



A large trunk of the public papers of former [RHODE ISLAND](#) governor Stephen Hopkins were swept out of the house in which they were stored, and lost (Hopkins’s house, which now stands adjacent to Benefit Street, at that time stood adjacent to what is now Main Street, within reach of the waters). By noon the storm had passed up into the wildernesses of the north and was breaking up, but the high winds had stalled the ebbing of the high tide, and then over these high waters came rushing the additional waters driven by the storm, pushing up Narragansett Bay and concentrating at the docks of Providence. First there had been the fury of the wind and then came the fury of the water:

Wind:

The vessels there were driven from their moorings in the stream and fastenings at the wharves, with terrible impetuosity, toward the great bridge that connected the two parts of the town. The gigantic structure was swept away without giving a moment’s check to the vessel’s progress, and they passed to the head of the basin, not halting until they were high up on the bank....

Water:

Stores, dwelling houses, were seen to reel and totter for a few moments, and then plunge into the deluge. A moment later their fragments were blended with the wrecks of vessels, some of which were on their sides, that passed with great rapidity and irresistible impetuosity on the current to the head of the cove, to join the wrecks already on the land.

Some 500 buildings were destroyed in this city. The Indiaman *Ganges* was forced all the way up Westminster Street to Eddy Street, where its bowsprit pierced the 3rd story of the city's Market House.²⁸⁹



In Providence, [RHODE ISLAND](#), Friend [MOSES BROWN](#) would be making a detailed tabulation of the various trees that had toppled in his yard. The salt spray was carried from the ocean 40 or 50 miles inland. Apples and other fruit were blown off the trees, the corn was injured, and fences and trees were prostrated. In

²⁸⁹ Some 4-foot-long metal tubes jammed into the marshy soil and sediment layers at Succotash Marsh in East Matunuck, [RHODE ISLAND](#) (at the west side of the ocean entrance of the Narragansett Bay) by Tom Webb of the Geological Sciences Department of Brown University, have revealed that there has been a series of overwash fans created by storm tidal surges, indicating that seven category-three hurricanes have struck Narragansett lowlands in about the past millennium. The 1st such overwash fan that has been revealed dated to the period 1295-1407CE, the 2nd to the period of roughly the first half of the 15th Century, the 3rd to approximately 1520CE (give or take a few decades), and the 4th to the historic storm of the 14th and 15th of August, 1635. The 5th such overwash fan obviously dates specifically to this historic storm of September 23, 1815.

particular the original apple tree near Woburn MA of the Loammi Baldwin apple got knocked over:



At the time Captain Paul Cuffe's ship was fortunately out of harm's way in New-York and Philadelphia.

In Newport, Stephen Wanton Gould recorded in his journal that:

7th day 23 of 9 M / This forenoon we had the most severe Gale that Newport ever experienced - it commenced before day break to Rain Thunder & lighten, continued to increase gradually till a little before 9 OC when it suddenly increased & the tide rose with surprising velocity such as was never seen before - The wind & tide making such devastation of Vessels houses Stores & even lives as appalled all Skill to save. The destruction of houses was chiefly on the Long Wharf & on the Point - Andrew Allens wife, three children & a girl that lived with them were all in the house when it went off into the cove & they were all drowned - Over the Beach John Irish in attempting to save his boat was drowned - & two men who lived with Godfrey Hazard in trying to save their Sheep were also drowned. - Shocking was the Scene I have no powers to describe it, tho' at a more lesure Moment I intend to attempt a more full description Our cellar was full of Water, but we lost nothing of consequence. - We were humbly thankful it was no worse

Many boats were destroyed at Boston wharves:



I recollect being engaged near my father's saw-mill handling lumber with my brothers [Adin Ballou was 12 years old] when the stock of boards around us, piled up to season, began to be caught away by the rising wind and blown about strangely. We endeavored to pick them up and replace them for a while, but found ourselves borne along and almost lifted from the ground in spite of our utmost exertions. We were soon in danger of limb and life from the flying rubbish and lumber, and betook ourselves to a place of safety at the substantial farmhouse, which was built heavily and strong enough to resist the stoutest storm. The wind increasing, buildings began to be unroofed, smaller structures were moved out of place or completely demolished, apple and forest trees were upturned by the roots, and even the stoutest dwellings creaked and trembled before the mighty gusts that seemed to threaten destruction to everything that happened to be in their way.

The tempest, which began about 7 o'clock in the morning, reached its height at noon, when it was little else than a hurricane. Multitudes of people were filled with terror and consternation. I confess that I was, and hastening to my chamber, obtained what relief and composure I could from the unseen world by earnest supplication. I gained something of trust and calmness, but hardly enough to overcome all my fearful apprehensions, for there seemed to be no place of refuge from impending danger and my faith was not of the surest type.

When the storm subsided, the inhabitants of southern New England looked with amazement on the devastations it had caused. Inland the noblest timber lots were covered with prostrate trees and upturned earth, the finest orchards were laid waste, rail-fences, wood, and lumber were scattered far and wide, roads were rendered impassable by accumulated debris, and incalculable damage had been done to buildings on every hand, many of the lighter ones being wholly destroyed. In seaport towns and along the shore, still greater havoc, if possible had been wrought. The ocean rolled in upon the coast its mountainous waves, which, in thickly settled localities, inundated the wharves, streets, and exposed places of business, filled the cellars and lower stories of dwellings and warehouses near the water line, causing the occupants to flee for their lives, and destroying immense amounts of property that chanced to be within reach. The wind drove before it all sorts of sea-craft, even the largest vessels, sinking some, wrecking others, and landing many high on the beach, far away from tide-water. The remains of sloops and schooners, gradually dismantled and abandoned, appeared on the sand banks and along the coast for years, victims of the Storm-King's insatiate power. Such was the "great gale" of 1815, the like whereof has never been seen by New Englanders since the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock.

Many of the trees on the Boston Common were blown down.

When, in A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS, Henry Thoreau would argue for the liberty to travel unnecessarily on the Sabbath, he was arguing against one of the pet projects of the very most prominent citizen of his town, Squire Samuel Hoar. For a story had it that when the great hurricane of 1815 had devastated the woodlands around [CONCORD](#), one old farmer exclaimed:

I wish the wind'd come on Sunday! -Sam Hoar would've stopped it.

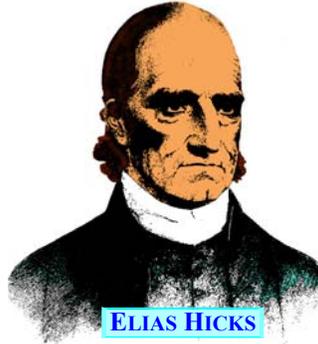
A WEEK: History has remembered thee; especially that meek and humble petition of thy old planters, like the wailing of the Lord's own people, "To the gentlemen, the selectmen" of Concord, praying to be erected into a separate parish. We can hardly credit that so plaintive a psalm resounded but little more than a century ago along these Babylonish waters. "In the extreme difficult seasons of heat and cold," said they, "we were ready to say of the Sabbath, Behold what a weariness is it." - "Gentlemen, if our seeking to draw off proceed from any disaffection to our present Reverend Pastor, or the Christian Society with whom we have taken such sweet counsel together, and walked unto the house of God in company, then hear us not this day, but we greatly desire, if God please, to be eased of our burden on the Sabbath, the travel and fatigue thereof, that the word of God may be nigh to us, near to our houses and in our hearts, that we and our little ones may serve the Lord. We hope that God, who stirred up the spirit of Cyrus to set forward temple work, has stirred us up to ask, and will stir you up to grant, the prayer of our petition; so shall your humble petitioners ever pray, as in duty bound -" And so the temple work went forward here to a happy conclusion. Yonder in Carlisle the building of the temple was many wearisome years delayed, not that there was wanting of Shittim wood, or the gold of Ophir, but a site therefor convenient to all the worshippers; whether on "Buttrick's Plain," or rather on "Poplar Hill."

Many of the local historians of [CONCORD](#), and many Thoreauvian scholars, have made this sort of connection. It is the sort of connection in which they deal, between one prominent citizen of Concord MA with prominent attitudes and another prominent citizen of Concord MA with prominent attitudes. It is, I might say, an easy association. But how many such historians and scholars know that when Thoreau would grow up in Concord in the following generation, and would take such attitudes, he was seconding the attitudes of the great Quaker preacher, Elias Hicks? For Hicks had pronounced in opposition to the so-called Blue Laws, laws which for instance entitled the Quakers of Philadelphia to stretch chains across the public street during their First Day silent worship in order to prevent the noise of the passage of carriages. For Hicks, First Day was just another day, of no greater or lesser holiness than any other weekday. He would come in from the fields, change his clothing, put on his gloves, and go off to Meeting for Worship on First Day just as he would come in from the

fields, change his clothing, put on his gloves, and go off to Meeting for Worship on Fourth Day (Wednesday). But this was not merely a matter of preference for Friend Elias, any more than it was a matter of preference for Squire Hoar: it was a principle. Blue laws were laws, and laws were enacted by governments, and therefore such laws were infringements upon religion, sponsored by the state apparatus which should be allowed have no connection whatever with religion. In this direction lay a great danger, sponsored by the Squires of this world who would like nothing better than to be able to legislate the religious convictions of other people. Thus, when the Governor of New York issued a Thanksgiving Proclamation, Friend Elias was greatly alarmed, that he

*“has
by recommending a religious act
united the civil and ecclesiastical authorities,
and broken the line of partition between them,
so wisely established
by our enlightened Constitution,
which in the most positive terms
forbids
any alliance between church and state,
and is the only barrier
for the support of our liberty and independence.*

*For if that is broken down
all is lost
and we become the vassals of priestcraft,
and designing men,
who are reaching after power
by subtle contrivance
to domineer over the consciences
of their fellow citizens.”*

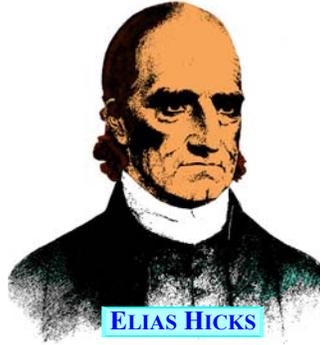


ELIAS HICKS

The terminology and the cadence was not Thoreauvian, but Thoreau's attitudes as proclaimed in A WEEK would be identical with this.

1816

March 2, Saturday: Friend Elias Hicks the traveling [QUAKER](#) minister arrived in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#). Friend Stephen Wanton Gould was lonesome for his wife and child, who were visiting in nearby [PORTSMOUTH](#):



7th day [Saturday] 2nd of 3rd M [March 1816] / Elias Hicks & his companion Isaac Hicks arrived in Town the Afternoon. – What a poor lonely creature man is ? without a Wife ! Tho' I get along comfortably & Sister Ruth came down & swept out the rooms &c for me this afternoon, yet I begin very much to miss my dear H & little John – should have gone to Portsmouth after them this Afternoon had it not been very Rainy

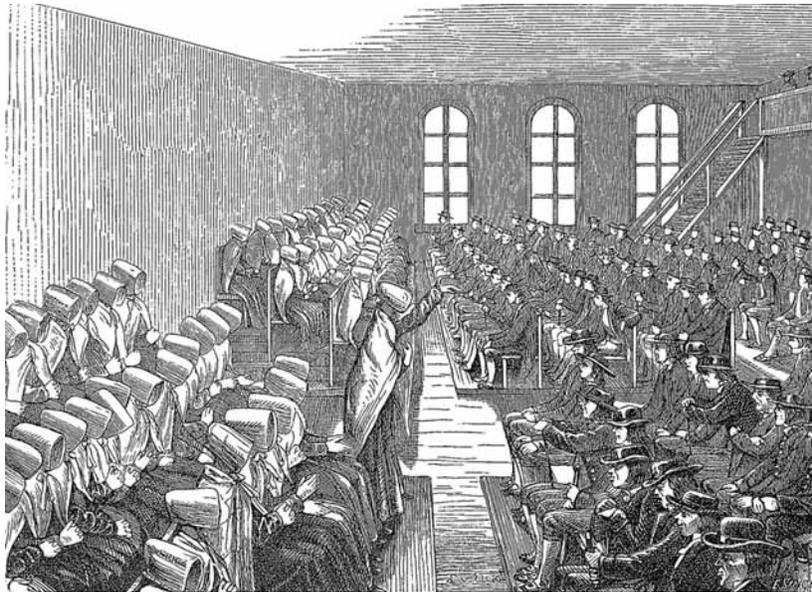


March 3, Sunday: Spain had protested against the fitting out in US ports of vessels that were to sail under the flags of her revolted South American provinces, and to assist Texas and Mexico, which also had rebelled. The US Congress therefore passed an act forbidding the fitting out within the jurisdiction of the United States of any vessel to cruise against any power with which the United States was at peace. A fine of \$10,000 and imprisonment not to exceed 10 years were to be the penalties for engaging to fit out any such vessel.

Friend Elias Hicks was present at the [QUAKER](#) worship in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), and expounded for some couple of hours:

1st day [Sunday] 3rd of 3rd M [March 1816] / Rose this Morning very Early & rode to [PORTSMOUTH](#) to bring my H & John to Town reached Uncle Thurstons while they were eating breakfast & return'd with them before Meeting time. – At Meeting we had Elias Hicks – soon After I took my seat my mind became engaged earnestly to be centered on the true minister without dependance on any outward instrument & while I was thus engaged & had in good measure succeeded in getting my mind fixed Abigail

Robinsons rose & expressed her concern that we might so fix our minds on Jesus Christ who was ever ready to help all who call upon him As to render our meetings proffitable, tho' the instruments might have nothing to communicate this she did in short but very neat & feeling testimony which I have no doubt reached the witness in many minds - Then Elias was engaged in a testimony about two hours long wherein he advanced Many Truths with a good Share of Gospel Authority, & some Ideas which I considered speculative one of which I very much Doubt which is that the Slave Trade has been productive of more evil in the world than War - My opinion is that War has been productive of more Evil by far than the Slave Trade - At the close of the Meeting it was requested that general information be given to the inhabitants of the Town of his being here but as meeting held till nearly two OClock & Our Meeting beginning at 3 OClock, but little information was spread & the gathering was but very little larger than in the morning -Elias was not very extensive in communication; his chief concern was towards those who were desirous to find Peace, but were unable to in consequence of the many hindrances that were in the way these he pointed to the right & sure way & addressed the Youth most excellently - what he said in the Afternoon was in my opinion without exception, & I desire not to be found to rigidly in the seat of judgement with respect to what he said in the forenoon, but I must say many things that he did say were to my understanding doubtful - he is a great Doctrinal preacher & I have no doubt is highly favor'd & has done much good in the World, Yet however has carried some points to far. - L Clarke & Br J Rodman set the evening with us. -



15th day of 10th month; October 15, Tuesday: Friend Michael Wainer, a Newstockbridge nephew of Friend Stephen Wanton Gould of Newport, Rhode Island, wrote to his uncle about the failure of his crop due to the unusual weather, and of his desire in consequence to pull up stakes and try again as a farmer in the region of the Ohio River. Help, such as a loan of \$200, would be appreciated.

Newstockbridge 10th mo 15 Day 1816
Der uncle I take this oppotunity to in form you that we are all

ingoyng good helth at this present time and hoping that those few lines will find you and your famaley well.

and I wish you would assist in Selling and Curlecing of my property for I want to by me a farm in Ohio next Sumer the Land thair is from 2 to 4 Dollers per Acer the Land is good heare but thay ask from \$10 to 15 per Acer and it is vary frostey heare So that great meney of the people is Seling out and going on to the Ohio.

the frost here has Cut of all our Corn and thaire is bin frost here every month this year but not to hav aney afect untill a bout 4 weeks a go then it killed all the Corn peretatoes Beens +c gradeel of the Corn was yust in the milk. and on to the Ohio thaire is graite Cropes of Corn it is a bout 300 miles from here but Whaire I want to go is 400 miles I want to get sum money this winter to be redy after wheat harvest to Start for Ohio If Joseph Auker Dont Cum up I Shall Cum Down this winter and if he is Cuming I wish you would lend me 200 Dollers for I Can git Land of ther Staite by paying 1/8 this is the Way that the people general Does is to pay 1/8 Don and take a Bond for a Deed and then thay will hav a plase to go to when thay move thaire famalaye

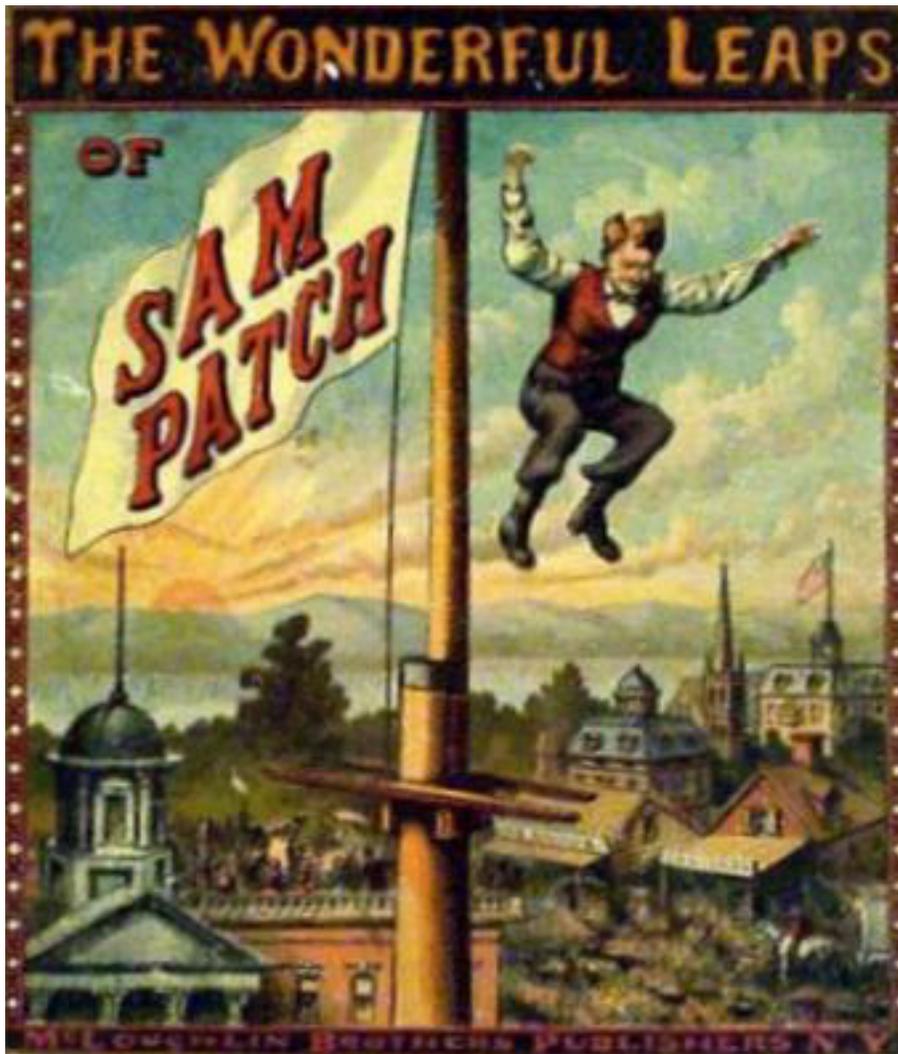
I wish you Would write to me what my Land will fetch and what you think is best for me I Lik farming and I think I Could Do well if I had a farm of my owne and if you will be So kind as to write to me whether Joseph Auker is a Cumin or knot I would be Glad etc from Yoar well wishing Coasin

Michael Wainer

If the pleases to write to me in Newstockbridge Madison County Peterborough post office

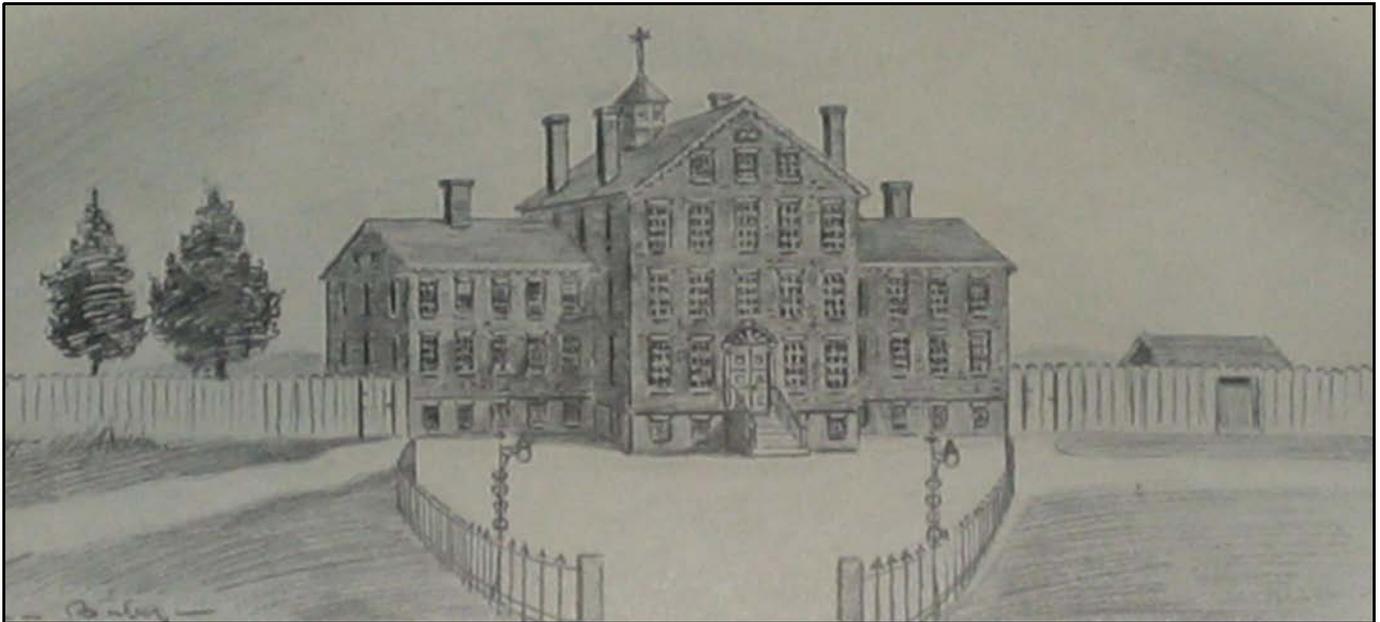
1817

In [RHODE ISLAND](#), Nehemiah R. Knight was in charge. The *Firefly*, the first steamboat to run a regular commercial service on [NARRAGANSETT BAY](#), carried President James Monroe and his party from [NEWPORT](#) to [PROVIDENCE](#). (In 1825 the *Washington*, a 131-foot steamship, would begin the serious steamship competition on the bay, leading to the development of more and more advanced ships.) At this point the teenager Sam Patch was making dramatic leaps off the roof of a 4-story building into the aerated churning water below the big falls in beautiful downtown Pawtucket, so it is perfectly possible (if now unknown to us) that the President of the United States was escorted to the site to view the children at labor inside the factories and to witness such a blazing amazing feat of derring-do.



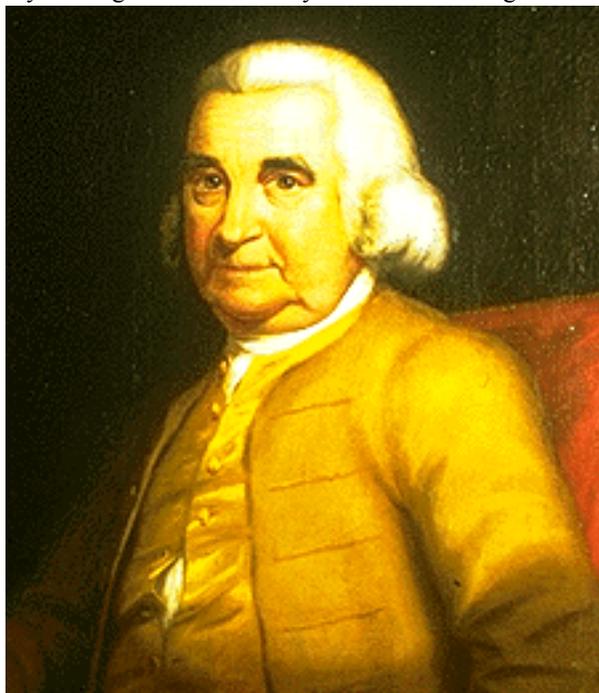
Things were not so rosy, at the building site on the farm of [MOSES BROWN](#) where the Quakers were erecting their Yearly Meeting School. The estimate that \$16,000 would be needed for this project had proved to be way low. The exterior of the building was complete, except for glazing, and there had been some interior finishing work done. Early in the year, it became apparent that an additional \$7,000 would be needed to finish the building scheme. [FRIENDS](#) William Almy and Obadiah Brown were able to pledge \$3,500 and by the end of the year the full amount would be obtained, so that construction would be able to resume during the

following building season. This sketch would be made during the process of construction:



This sketch was added to the face of a clock made by John Bailey, in the building's sitting-room

Is this the original portrait of Friend Abraham Redwood painted during his lifetime by Samuel King, or is it the copy painted in this year long after his death by Charles Bird King?



8mth 16, Saturday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

7th day 16th 8m 1817 / This Afternoon took Chaise & with My H &

John rode to [PORTSMOUTH](#), lodged with my aged Cousin Elizabeth Chase whom I love & feel a tender concern for – FIRST DAY morning are breakfast these & before meeting stoped at Uncle Peter Lawtons – At Meeting David Buffum preached in a very lively manner. He is on his way to Salem Quarterly Meeting We dined at Uncle Peters & spent the Afternoon & Set out to come home but it began to rain & thunder before we got far, which induced us to turn back so we lodged there, & early this Morning (2nd Day) we rode home. – This has been a pleasant visit to us all. – my mind has however been much affected with divers considerations –particularly with the necessity of our living in love & becomeing wean'd from the World, & the love & cares of it, as we advance in life. Some instances that I am acquainted with has much affected my mind of those who are, as with one foot in the grave & the other on its Brink, being too too much fastened to earth & its perplexing cares, where there is no necessity for it. This excites in my mind a lively concern, yea an anxious desire that as I grow older, I may be more & more concern'd to live in the life of Religion. –

From Westport MA, Paul Cuffe wrote of failing health to his “Estem’d friend Stephen Gould”:

I am in a low State of health, as thou Proposed of a physician from theare I think now to except of thy offer If thee can make it Conveanant to Come with him thy Company would be very agreable. For further information inquire of Captain Philipps. I am thy ashured friend. Paul Cuffe.

The letter would be sent by way of one of his coastwise vessels to the Gould watch-repair shop near Long Wharf in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) and presumably would be delivered by a member of the all-black crew. Captain Phillipps was Cuffe’s son-in-law. When this letter would arrive, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould would make a record that:

The foregoing rec’d from my friend Paul Cuffe was probably the last time he ever set pen to Paper. I went to Westport to see him and carried Doctor Hazard with me, but medical aids was in vain. He died in about two Weeks Afterwards.

Stephen, 36 years of age, would hasten to Westport, a day’s journey by horseback away, taking with him a Dr. Hazard of Newport, and would spend a night there in Westport while these two [QUAKERS](#), white and non-white, had comforting discussions. The sick man would die two weeks later at the age of 59.

8mth 23, Saturday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould, 36 years of age, had hastened from Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) to Westport, a day’s journey by horseback, taking with him a Dr. Hazard, and would spend the night there while the two [QUAKERS](#), Stephen and Paul, white and non-white, would have comforting discussions. The sick man would die two weeks later at the age of 59.

7th day 23rd of 8 M / In consequence of a letter which I rec’d from my friend Paul Cuffee dated 16th inst – I set our early this morning with Doctor Hazard for Westport. we stoped at Thos Barkers to see Stephen Huntington who is very weak & low, after eating some breakfast with them we persued our journey & stoped at the four corners to sate our horse, then went on & reached Pauls house about 3 OClock where we found him very low & so much weakened by his complaint that articulation had become difficult – when I went into the room, I told him I had come to see him, & by his request brought Dr Hazard with me he replied “It is too late” but after a little conversation he agreed to take some medicine which appeared to set well on his stomach – Dr Handy

the attending Physician soon came & after they had consulted together a course of medicine was agreed on. The family gave us some dinner & some tea & being Full of lodgers we went to a neighbors of theirs (Daniel Tripp) to sleep where we found comfortable accommodations - we rose early in the Morning & went to Pauls to breakfast & found him no worse & on the whole some favorable symptoms I found in the course of the forenoon that he was a little revived in streangth & could communicate a little more freely but much speaking in his situation was improper I therefore requested him to spare conversation on my account but told him if there was any special buisness that he wanted me to do for him that I would write to any of his friends respecting it - he told me there was & gave me to understand what it was of which I made a minute to communicate to Wm Rotch Jr -He told me he had made a Will to his mind & that those had agree'd to execute it in whom he had confidence. - While sitting by him I observed to him that We both knew that consolation was not to be derived from many words, but if favor'd with a degree of that feeling which has no fellow it was sufficient & that I trusted while sitting by his bed side I had been thus favor'd & was thankful in the evidence that things were well with him, let the event of the present illness turn as it Might, either to live or die. I observed that I had seldom set by any one in Similar circumstances, where there seemed to be more peace, but on account of his low condition of body I had not expressed it before, & that I was particularly comforted in observing the very affectionate attention of his family & solicitude to do everything that could be done for his comfort, & to prolong his days, particularly his neice & two daughters who were very affectionate & assiduous in their attentions - he replied "It is very sweet."- before I left him I told him that if nothing happened to me & he continued in his present state I thought I should come to see him again before long - he replied "How glad I shall be to see thee if I am living" After dinner we took an affectionate leave of him & his family & set off for home we stoped at Thos Barkers again & ate some supper & the Dr went into the room to Stephen who is very low & apparantly near the final change - we then Set out for home & reached it about 10 OClock in the evening. our journey was protracted in consequence of the horse's being nearly worn down. - I should have been glad to have gone to Westport Meeting, but could not, as we were anxous to get home. - I am glad I went & have no doubt the visit will be memorable as long as I live, as well as to Paul & his family - if nothing more it has been a fresh evidence to my mind that the colour of the skin does not effect a man in the kingdom of heaven

September 7, Sunday: In Westport MA, Paul Cuffe died.

In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*1st day 7 of 9th M 1817 / Our Meeting this forenoon was large & to me a good one - Our frd David Buffum was very lively in testimony on the subject of FAITH & father Rodman was short to the same effect
Silent in the Afternoon & to me a Season of favor
Sister Ruth took tea with us -*

September 8, Monday: At the Westport MA meetinghouse of the Religious Society of Friends, a silent worship funeral service was held for Paul Cuffe after the manner of Friends. (His and his wife's graves at the meetinghouse he had helped to construct are a hundred feet from the graves of the white Quakers of the Friends Cemetery, near the gray stone wall that borders the corner of the churchyard, entirely isolated. Later on, Friends' histories would prevaricate. Does any of this surprise you?)²⁹⁰

In Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), [FRIEND](#) Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

2nd day 8 of 9 M / Heard this morning of the Decease of PAUL CUFFEE he left time Yesterday Morning & is to be interr'd this afternoon, to meet at 2 OC at Westport Meeting house this news has affected my mind, for tho' his complexion was darker than mine, I can emphatically say "I loved him" & his loss is great to our Society & the community at large - had time permitted I should have tryed to have got to his funeral, but it was rather to short for me to get there with convenience & I regret it, as in the event of his decease, I have, for several weeks felt an inclination to be at the performance of the last solemn duties, but alass, it is otherwise & disappointments is the lot of Mortals & to which we must submit. -

September 9, Tuesday: In Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), [FRIEND](#) Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

3rd day 9 of 9 M / I have yesterday & today spent considerable time in reading Rhode Island Monthly Meetings Records from 1707/ 8 to 1739²⁹¹ - in which my mind has been led to reflect much on the Ancient Standard bearers, to behold their Godly care & jealousy in the honor of Truth & the promotion of its cause in this part of the VineYard has affected my mind at Several different times almost to tears - & deeply humbling it was to see the departure of some, with whom they had to bestow "labor reiterated labor" - & now & then to find an ancient Standard in the church leaving time & bequeathing a few Pounds in their Wills to the Moy [Monthly] Meeting as a testimony of their love for friends Truth. - Alass but few in This day are concerned in that Way. -

September 10, Wednesday: Paul Cuffe's brother John Cuffe wrote to his sister Freelove Cuffe in New-York:

Here is some accounts of the dueings of our dear and much beloved brother Captain Paul Cuffe the 27th of the 8th month of 1817. Between the hours of 8 and 9 in the morning then he took a fond leave of his family wife and children grandchildren Brothers and sisters and others, shaking hands with all in fellowship and friendship bid all farewell. It was as broken a time as was not even known amongst us and he seamed to long to go with angels

290. I don't presently know of any case anywhere in America, in which a Friends meeting actually had accepted into membership any person who had the slightest taint of non-white ancestry — even if as in this case the petitioner were an adult male. Such requests seem to have been **always everywhere** stonewalled. The best we were capable of was this sort of "just-as-if-they-were-like-us" treatment. (This sheds an interesting light upon the limitations of a descriptor such as "not racist.") Five years later, for instance, when another New Bedford man of color, Nathan Johnson, would apply for membership in this very [QUAKER](#) monthly meeting, he also would be stonewalled. This raises the interesting question of whether even a **well-to-do** person of color will **ever** be more than merely tolerated by the "real," that is, the white, American Quakers.

291. Records for 1676-1707 in Box 10 at Cornell Library Special Collections: Quaker meeting records from [RHODE ISLAND](#), copied by Stephen Wanton Gould from old meeting records.

and with the souls of just men and women in the heavens above to receive the reward of the Righteous [A friend came and evidently asked him about Heaven. Paul replied saying] that my works are gone to judgement afore hand that I due know when he said [the friend] not many days hence you shall see the glory of god. 6 oclock in the evening he said feed my lambs. He said much more but being week and spoke so low I could not understand so as to take the tru meaning and he also asked us all not to hang on unto him but to give up and let him go. I [John Cuffe] had layen very close with many prayers to go and his christ that he might be brought to health again [They all pray together with Paul] the will of the lord be done. He still kept failing from day to day some days took no nourishment at al in nor medesian Except cold water until first morning at 2 oclock in the morning the 7 day of this 9th month 1817 then Brother Cuffe departed this life. This is news that will not soon be forgotten with Soarrow not from the teeth outward but from the heart. I may say that I wept much. He died in the 59th year of his age after three months of sickness. He bore his illness with patience and through the whole and was awake to the last moments. [...] and as he close drew near and said to the nuse that he was But little more than a dade man Let me go Quietly away ofering his hand to his atendance that would have to tend him. So he fell asleep in death and is gone home to glory. He was a loving husband and a tender father and a cind neighbor and a faithful friend. The time appointed and all met together under a great on the second say of the week the second hour in the afternoon and after waiting in great silence testimonies then being born by friends he was borne to the grave and decently buried. A large crowd of people of all societeyes. I do not remember as I have been before at so large a gathering of people at anny funeral before. He was buried at friends burying ground at the fourth meeting house where we meet together. At his death he was 57 and months and 21 days old.

In Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

4th day 10th of 9 M 1817 / Set an hour this evening at Thos Robinsons the old man is feeble & takes but little part in conversation. - the visit however was very interesting being favor'd with precious feelings in conversations with Abigail, & Mary Morton, on various subjects which all of us seemed alive to. I went over to wait on Sister Ruth home, who had set the evening with them. - The little time I passed with them was so pleasant that I regreted that I did not go over early. -

The historian Rosalind Cobb Wiggins struggled with the fact that, once the body of his friend Paul Cuffe had been interred (near, but not in, the local burial ground for white Quakers), Friend Stephen Wanton Gould seemed to fall away from his previous concern for the welfare of American people of color, and the fact that [this personal failure](#) on the part of Friend Stephen has been typical of a falling away by white American [QUAKERS](#) in general. She asked Quakers now, to act to forever cleanse “this stain of evasion” from their otherwise splendid human rights record:



Following Cuffe’s death Stephen seems to only have occasionally spoken out in Meeting about slavery or the slave trade. Only two or three times did he cordially greet black men and women who had known of Paul and his vision. His concerns gradually changed as his responsibilities within his Meeting and the Yearly

Meeting expanded.... Ten years before his own death it was suggested that he and Hannah become Assistant Caretakers, or house parents, at the Yearly Meeting Boarding School (now known as [MOSES BROWN SCHOOL](#)) in [PROVIDENCE](#). They accepted and lived in an apartment in the school building for the next six years before returning to Newport to take charge of family property. The years in Providence involved him even more in Yearly Meeting affairs, and of course with the students at the school, which he enjoyed. Yet, it is surprising that his focus uncoupled so abruptly from the plight of men and women such as Paul Cuffe and turned to the spiritual health of the Society of Friends. An excerpt from the 1830s illustrates his growing conservatism: "3rd day 8th of 6th M, 1830: Today Stephen Wilson & Hannah his wife from Goose Creek in Virginia called at the Institution [the school] – they are Hixites [Hicksites] & Hannah as a Preacher has come here to impose [her views] on Friends. She was formerly ... an old acquaintance of ours.... We treated her civilly but cool & felt grieved that one who had once been esteemed & no doubt in good measure religious should be attached to wrong principles." Three months later he wrote: "In the Street [in Providence] I met Wm Rotch & noded to him, & he to me – but he did not look nor feel to me as Wm Rotch once looked & felt – I deplore his departure from Society but nothing can be done – he must remain as he is." William Rotch Jr. had been a faithful Nantucket Quaker and staunch supporter of Paul Cuffe's.... What made him stand back from those very few Friends who were publicly protesting Slavery, such as Elias Hicks and later the Grimké sisters? There were many Quakers like him who were distraught by slavery and its trade yet they weren't heard in the public arena. ...after Cuffe's death Stephen scarcely mentioned slavery or the Trade, although it was covertly growing. He did note that he approved a letter protesting slavery to Congress by the Providence Abolition Society. Yet in 1838 he also approved a motion by the Yearly Meeting barring abolition societys' use of Friends Meeting houses for their gatherings.... Stephen's was a confined life and once Paul's strong, supportive presence was gone there was little to keep the fires of outrage alive. His life was well insulated even from such occurrences as the Snowtown and Hardscrabble race riots in Providence that erupted in 1826 and 1830 not far from the School. In January 1838 he went to Salem for a Quarterly Meeting and noted with dismay the anti-slavery discussions: "Their heated zeal injuring a good and right cause ... reminded me of the Spirit which I saw among the Hixites [followers of Friend Elias Hicks] in New York in 1827." His social and business contacts were confined to the area within "the walls of Zion," the all-white Quaker Close.... To answer the first question: Why didn't the unusual friendship and Paul's project have more lasting effect among Friends? It seems that Cuffe's untimely death cut off Stephen's emotional support and the visible presence that he needed in order to speak out. The ongoing rigid class differentiation that the two had ignored together closed in on Stephen following Paul's death. He became increasingly preoccupied with Quaker affairs. Concerns for African Americans are scarcely mentioned after Cuffe's death. The reason Cuffe's works have been so little known until now, even among Friends, is that his papers were not kept in the New England Yearly Meeting Archives. However, there were a number of biographers who had found them in the archives of the New Bedford Free Public Library and the Dartmouth Whaling Museum

Library. The authors were not Quakers. Those books were published beginning in the 1970s but even these were not included in the Library of the New England Yearly Meeting Archives. His papers were not fully transcribed and published until 1996; these reveal to Friends who are so familiar with Quaker concepts how Paul led his life in accordance with the precepts of non-violence and seeking "that of God" in all those with whom he came in contact, even in the world of successful merchantmen. Now that the papers are available it is hoped Paul will become known as "a pattern and an example." In this country Friends Meetings remain almost entirely white perhaps because of the lack of historical understanding of the works of such men as Cuffe and because of class divisions that have been bonded to race as though with superglue. Is the only solution in individual self revelation, in individual efforts to reach into all communities, black and white? There is a crying need to remove this stain of evasion from Quakers' splendid human rights record.

November 12: Baha'Ullah (Mirza Husayn Ali), who would found the *Baha'i* faith, was born.

In Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), a [QUAKER](#) died who had, in 1756 at the age of 26, been half owner of a negrero, the sloop *Dolphin*, that was trading slaves to Barbados. A considerable number of the town's black citizens attended this funeral to make manifest their respect for this man –Thomas Robinson– who had for so many years been attempting to atone to them for this error of his youth. Here is the record made by Friend Stephen Wanton Gould:

*4th day [Wednesday] 12th of 11th M [November] 1817 / This Afternoon attended the funeral Of our Ancient friend Thomas Robinson he Died about 3 OC on 2nd day [Monday] morning the 10th inst In the 87 Year of his Age
He has long been a very useful man to the community at large & also in our society - His venreable appearance in his walks in life inspired respect from those who were his enemies, & of those he had many particularly from the zealous & active part which he took in the Abolition of the slave trade & against men concerned in the Slave trade he took a decided & active part so far as they were concerned in that trade, by doing all in his power to relive [relieve] the Suffering of the African race, he was for many Years the strong friend of the Negro a considerable number of whom manifested their respect by attending his funeral He was also a useful & active member of our society as the minutes of the Monthly Meeting for a long number of Years will testify his natural talents were such as renderd his services peculiarly necessary in difficult & intricate cases -
I remember once while I was an apprentice, being at his house on an errand, he particularly noticed me & addressed me in a feeling manner with much good & pertinent advice, which I have many times recur'd to & have no doubt it has been a means of preservation - he was a man of midling height with a quick & penetrating eye, his habit very thin being often reduced with the Ashma [asthma] - I have his appearance as he walked the Street full in my minds eye tho' for a number of Years he has been confind to home by age & infirmity, he wore a old brown Wig, walked slow, & with a measured Step with a cane in his hand. - his house was for Years the principle lodging of most of the*

Public friends who happened here & at the Yearly Meeting no friend in town entertained more than he did, & tho' he has been out of circulation for some years past he continued to do acts of Benevolence as long as he lived both in a pecuniary way & by skilfull advice to such as were in difficult circumstances - I have often seen his venerable countenance Strike an Awe on such as were [pert?] & irreverant both in private companies & some public Assemblies.



1818

January 1: The town of Ipswich dealt with the need of its paupers for an alms-house: "Voted that the Town Treasurer hire 10,500 dollars to purchase a farm for the paupers."

The visitors to the President's home in Washington DC, which had recently been refurbished and painted a glowing white after being burned by the British army in 1814, were referring to it as Washington's "white house" (since back on the plantation in Virginia, where the President resided for the remainder of the year with his slaves, the main plantation house was also known as the White House).

Charles Wilkes received an appointment as a midshipman in the US Navy.



In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day 1 of 1st M 1818 / I have been thankful in beginning the New Year under a precious sense of favor, but have to regret the loss of Meeting. I was in expectation of going but had a little

buisness to attend to which I could not avoid & it took about 20 minutes more than the time & being unwilling to go in late & set the example concluded it was best not to go - My H attended & said Hannah Dennis preached - Our cousins George Gould & Lydia his wife set the Afternoon with us & took tea. - This was a pleasant visit, there is something pleasant & comfortable in brethren's dwelling in harmony Rec'd a Letter from Uncle Stanton²⁹²



Our national birthday, the 4th of July, Saturday: Nathaniel Hawthorne's 14th birthday.

In Paris, the 4th was celebrated by a banquet at the Restaurant Banclin for guests of honor including the former Senator James Brown of Louisiana, the American Minister to Paris, and General Lafayette.

In Washington DC, for \$5 one might purchase a facsimile of the Declaration of Independence that had been created for the occasion by the printer Benjamin O. Tyler.

At the shipyard of Flannigan and Beachem in Fell's Point of Baltimore, the steamship *United States* was launched.

In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal about the patriotic celebration:

7th day 4th of 7 M / This as usual has been a day of noise, but no accident has occurred that I have heard of.-



July 9: In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5 day 9th of 7th M 1818 / I rose by 4 OC this morning took a pleasant Walk to the North Battery & took a Sea bathing, last evening a Brig belonging to Bristol came in & this morning I saw her with all her Canvass Spread to a small but fair breeze &

292. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1815-1823: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 7 Folder 12 for August 24, 1815-September 25, 1823; also on microfilm, see Series 7

favoring tide making her way home. The sight was animating to my feelings. I love commerce & hope she will again rise in this pleasant town. —

Our Meeting was rather small, & I believe not a season of much life. it was silent. —



(We can trust that Friend Stephen knew a hawk from a handsaw and that therefore this “Brig belonging to Bristol” that Friend Stephen was having warm feelings toward **could not have been** one of the DeWolf family’s Bristol-based negeros bound for the proslavery Bristol US Customs Office because in that shed it was still being ignored and evaded that engaging in the international slave trade had been transformed years before, by the US Congress, into a capitol felony.)

December 11: Fort Dumpling, also known as Fort Louis or Fort Brown, in Jamestown RI on Conanicut Island in Narragansett Bay, a round wall about 50 feet in diameter and about 20 feet high, was listed as armed at this point with ten cannon. In all likelihood these were leftovers from the War of 1812. The fortification never had occasion to fire a shot in anger — indeed it is unlikely that it was ever manned. This is how the ruins of this fort impressed people as of 1851:



In Concord, Mrs. Woodward’s store took fire and was extinguished with great difficulty.²⁹³

Provision Against Fire. — The Fire Society was organized May 5, 1794, and holds its annual meetings on the 2d Monday in January. The Presidents have been, Jonathan Fay, Esq., Dr. Joseph Hunt Tilly Merrick, Esq., Dr. Isaac Hurd, Deacon Francis Jarvis, Hon. Samuel Hoar, and Joseph Barrett, Esq. The Engine Company was formed, and the first engine procured, in 1794. A new engine was obtained in 1818.

A Volunteer Engine Company was organized in 1827, who procured by subscription a new engine in 1831.²⁹⁴

293. Although we know that during this year the Concord Fire Society obtained a new fire engine to replace or supplement the one it had had since 1794, we do not know whether that new engine was in place prior to this fire and contributed to its extinguishment, or whether, on the other hand, the fires of this year prompted the purchase of the new equipment.

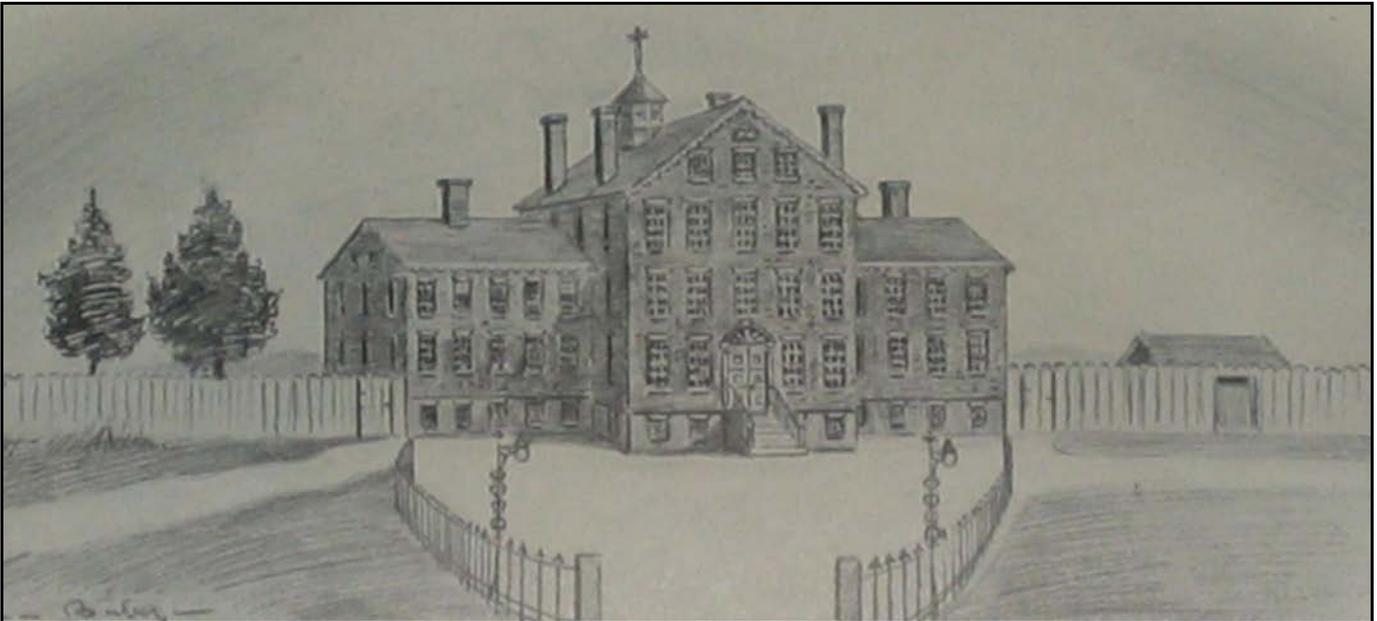
294. Lemuel Shattuck. *A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD*;... Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company;

Concord MA : John Stacy, 1835

(On or about November 11, 1837 Henry David Thoreau would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)

1819

January 1, Friday: With construction complete on the central part of their building (the part between the wings, now referred to as "Middle House") New England Yearly Meeting's boarding school for **QUAKER** youth went into operation in **PROVIDENCE**, **RHODE ISLAND** on the farmland that had been donated in 1814 by **FRIEND** **MOSES BROWN**. (Of course, there would be a Boys School and a Girls School, held distinct not only in reports and catalogues but also by means of gender segregation of classrooms, and gender segregation of walks, and gender segregation of groves and playgrounds and dining areas.)



This sketch was added to the face of a clock made by John Bailey, in the building's sitting-room

Present at that point were the **QUAKER** who had been hired to be a teacher in the boys' department, Friend Benjamin Rodman, two assistant teachers for the girls' department, Friends Mary Mitchell and Dorcas Gardner, Friend Maria Augusta Fuller from Lynn, Massachusetts, age 12, Friend Comfort Allen, age 22, a Quaker young woman from Richmond, New Hampshire, and three Quaker girls from Nantucket, Friends Elizabeth Brayton, age 15, Anna Fitch, age 14, and Hepsabeth Mitchell, age 14. (It has been noted, as an attempt at humor, that at this point, with two superintendents, one teacher, two assistant teachers, and five girl scholars on site, the teacher/student ratio had become exactly the ideal ratio of one on one!)

When the Hicksite/Orthodox split would occur in the **RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**, this school would remain with the Orthodox or Quietist or segregationist branch and would prosper, enrolling on an

average a student body of more than 150 white students during the decade of the 1830s.



During this year, also, Friend Moses would fund the purchase of a lot in Providence on which the colored people might erect a meetinghouse and school:



The colored people called a meeting in 1819 to take measures, to build a meetinghouse, with a basement for a school room. After appointing their Committee to carry out their wishes, they sent a special committee to Mr. **MOSES BROWN**, to inform him of their intentions and see what he would do toward aiding them, knowing he belonged to the Society of Friends and was a very benevolent man, besides some of the members of the committee had been in his service. Mr. Brown, after hearing their statements, highly commended their movement, and said, "I always had it in my heart to help the colored people, whenever I saw they were ready to receive. Now go and select you out a lot, suitable for your purpose, and I will pay for it."

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould of Newport wrote in his journal about the opening of this school (at which eventually he would teach):

6th day 1st of 1st M 1819 / My mind under much depression, particularly from yesterdays occurrences at Portsmouth. — It is a comfortable reflection that the Truth remains to be unchangeable & that those who abide in it have nothing to fear. — I have thought much of the Yearly Meeting School which is opened this day at Providence, the day has been very clear & remarkably mild for the season, may it prove an omen of the future usefulness of the institution to coming generations.²⁹⁵



295. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1815-1823: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 7 Folder 12 for August 24, 1815-September 25, 1823; also on microfilm, see Series 7

1820

At about this time, the American potato and eggplant members of the nightshade family (*Solanacea*) already having gained a widespread acceptance, the tomato (*Lycopersicon esculentum*) member of that family was also beginning to gain acceptability in the USA as a food for civilized people. In [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) Michel Felice Corne again attempted to grow the tomato in his garden – and this time, unlike in his Salem MA garden in 1802, the plant would grow very well and produce a succulent harvest. Soon his neighbors would be planting tomatoes as well! During this decade, several cookbooks would be including tomatoes in recipes. William Cobbett, your ordinary journalist with a penchant for fighting lost battles, having lost the bones of Tom Paine (!), decided to warn against the influence of the potato. Nobody, of course, paid the slightest attention, not because he had lost his hero's bones, nor because over-reliance on a single staple crop can't be an exceedingly risky business proposition — but because you've got to join them you simply can't fight them.

THE NIGHTSHADES (SOLANACEAE)

- potato *Solanum tuberosum*
- tomato *Lycopersicon esculentum*
- — chili peppers
- — eggplant
- — deadly nightshade
- tobacco *Nicotiana tabacum*II221
XII340, 341[EP]
(flower)VII8
(plant)XII341
- — henbane
- — Jimson weed
- — petunia
- — plus some 2,000 other species grouped into 75 genera

January 1, Saturday: The New-York Evening Post published an interesting piece of doggerel about the sad condition of the national economy:

Old "Uncle Sam," in chasing bubbles,
Has jump'd into a peck of troubles,
Troubles, 'tis said, which sorely vex him,
and which 'tis feared will much perplex him.

In Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

7th day 1st of 1st M 1820 / The Year begins with the end of the Week. — May this year prove to me a year of improvement May my

life be renewedly increased in religion. —²⁹⁶



February 1: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

3rd day 1st of 2 M 1820 / Tho' it is very cold this morning the thermometer only at six above 0, I set out [from Newport] in a sleigh with Isaac Mitchell & sister E Rodman for PROVIDENCE. On our arrival at Bristol ferry found several friends in waiting but the Wind so very high that there was no prospect of going over, so we set out to go round over the Stone Bridge, & got to Abraham Barkers to dinner, from thence crossed at Slaid's ferry & reached the hospitable Mansion of our venerable friend MOSES BROWN about 1/2 after 6 OC in eveng who very kindly received us out of the Wind & cold & administered both to the necessities of ourselves & horse, all much fatigued. — here we lodged & found several friends whose company was very agreeable. — After breakfast the next morning we rode to the Yearly Meeting school House,²⁹⁷ spent a little time & from thence to PROVIDENCE & attended the Select Meeting which was small in consequence of the travelling — I was the only member present from our Meeting. I dined at Obadiah Browns & spent the Afternoon & evening at Joseph Anthonys where I also lodged — in the evening we were joined by several RHODE ISLAND friends who crossed at Bristol. —

296. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1815-1823: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 7 Folder 12 for August 24, 1815-September 25, 1823; also on microfilm, see Series 7

297. This new school was on what was then rural land, Friend Moses Brown's farm on Providence Neck northeast of what was then the city of Providence.

February 15: William Ellery died in Newport, Rhode Island while still serving as the Collector for that port. The body would be buried in the Common Burial Ground on Farewell Street.



**IN MEMORY OF WILLIAM ELLERY
BORN DECEMBER 22 1727**

GRADUATED HARVARD COLLEGE 1747

EARLY IN THE CONTEST BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND HER AMERICAN COLONIES, HE LEFT THE PRACTICE OF LAW TO REPRESENT THIS STATE IN CONGRESS

HE WAS AN ACTIVE AND INFLUENTIAL MEMBER OF THAT BODY FOR MANY YEARS AND ONE OF THE SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

HE DIED AFTER AN ILLNESS OF FOUR DAYS FEBRUARY 15 1820 HE WAS IN FULL POSSESSION OF HIS POWERS TO THE CLOSE OF HIS LONG LIFE

RARELY UNFITTED BY DISEASE FOR STUDY, SOCIETY OR OFFICIAL DUTIES

AND WAITING FOR DEATH WITH THE HOPE OF A CHRISTIAN.

1821

January 1, Monday: John James Audubon made himself a new-year's promise that he was gonna paint all of 99 birds in not more than 99 days. He hired some market hunters to bring him dead specimens of various interesting species, stuffing them back up into more or less imaginary naturalistic poses by inserting strong wires inside their flesh. The backgrounds for such naturalistic paintings his student Joseph Mason would add for him, or he would hire others to create for him in bulk.



During this year he and Joseph Mason would go to New Orleans in order to raise funds to continue to travel, and in order to send money back home to his wife Lucy, he would paint on commission and would teach students.

In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

2nd day 1st of 1st M 1821 / News in Town This morning of the Death of James Burrell Senator in Congress from this State — This may be justly considered a great public loss, few so good men go to Congress, he had in this & former Sessions distinguished himself as a friend to the cause of the Abolition of Slavery, & is worthy of double Honor. -²⁹⁸



298. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1815-1823: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 7 Folder 12 for August 24, 1815-September 25, 1823; also on microfilm, see Series 7

1822

In Rhode Island, it was decided to emulate the Connecticut decision of 1818, and so the free black citizens of that state would likewise no longer be allowed to cast ballots:

While most black Rhode Islanders were free after 1807, they remained victims of prejudice and oppression in every sphere of life. They were segregated in the churches, kept out of the public schools, denied employment in the textile mills, and, finally, in 1822, denied the right to vote.

— William McLoughlin, RHODE ISLAND: A HISTORY (NY: Norton, 1978)

Presumably, by this time, America's first gas streetlights had been installed along Pelham Street in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) — assuming that that city is being truthful in its claim that it was the first city in the United States of America to install such gas streetlights.

In his elder years Michele Felice Cornè, who had in 1802 attempted unsuccessfully to grow tomatoes in his garden, relocated from Boston to [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#). He would reside at the southeast corner of what is now Corne Street and Mill Street until his death in 1845. Evidently, in the soil of his Newport garden, he would succeed in growing tomatoes for consumption.



When Moses Lopez, the last Jew in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) moved to New-York, care of the Touro Synagogue was taken over by Nathan H. Gould, a Christian.²⁹⁹ The ownership of the synagogue would devolve on the Shearith Israel Congregation in New-York. Abraham Touro died, bequeathing important sums of money for the maintenance of the abandoned synagogue structure “left to the bats and moles and to the occasional invasion, through its porches and windows, of boys who took pleasure in examining the furniture scattered about,” at which his father had once officiated while there had still been Jews living in the vicinity.

(The synagogue would later benefit also by a much larger bequest for its upkeep, \$10,000, sent by Judah Touro, another son of the former rabbi, who would accumulate a fortune in New Orleans.)

299. I don't know what relation Nathan H. Gould was to Stephen Wanton Gould. The Newport government roster for 1856 would list William C. Thurston, a carpenter who lived at 8 Cross Street, as “Keeper of Jews' Synagogue.”

January 1: Furthering the work of the African Institution, publication of [FRIEND](#) Luke Howard's A WORD TO THE SONS OF AFRICA (London: Printed and sold by W. Phillips).

In Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

3rd day 1st of 1 M 1822 / I enter the New Year with rather better feelings than I closed the old one, — but I am yet poor & weak & under various discouragements³⁰⁰



January 30, Wednesday: In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal that his wife, Friend Hannah Rodman Gould, had offered him an adequate explanation for Quaker quietism, to wit, this world with its web of alluring interests is the abode of Satan, and a place of temptation:

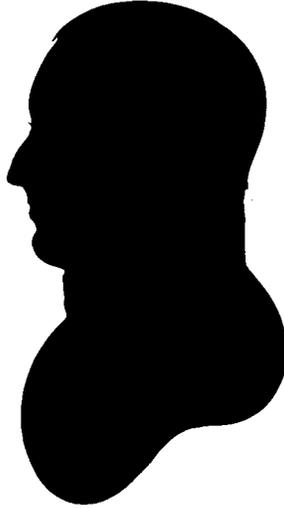
4th day 30th of 1 M / A Difficulty about a Worldly concern between Several individuals having been in agitation, in which my mind has been exercised, & that pretty much since yesterday -- It called fourth this remark from my wife — She observed that "the time had been, when she did not see why the World Should stand first in the the Trio of our potent enemies, as the 'World the Flesh & the Devil', but the longer she lived the more she was confirmed, that it would be out of place anywhere else" — It is indeed the most promonent forerunner, & sets the devil at work in some, in whom it would seem as if more of an overcoming had been experienced but alas some object is turned up, which touches the interest, & Satan steps in & agravates the case, by stirring up evil surmisings, then to detraction, till the breach is sufficiently widened for him to effect his purposes, by laying waste & destroying love & harmony, & introducing that in which his dominion consists, Hatred Strife & every evil thing —

300. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1815-1823: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 7 Folder 12 for August 24, 1815-September 25, 1823; also on microfilm, see Series 7

NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

May his power be averted



1823

January 1: In [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

4th day 1st of 1st M 1823 / Began this Year with a sense of good covering my mind in a precious degree But Oh the Adversary how ready to devour all that is good & a season of conflict ensued, but at last felt a rising above the evil, so that the day closed more comfortably than I expected —³⁰¹

In Maryland, upon the death of the owner of John Thompson, Mrs. Wagar, her slaves had been divided among her children and grandchildren. At the turn of the year, with John having reached approximately 14 years of age, the slaves were taken to their new lives, the lot of John’s family being to fall under the ownership of one George Thomas, a white man of local unsavory reputation:

New Year’s, that sorrowful day for us, at length arrived. Each one weeping while they went round, taking leave of parents or children, for some children and parents were separated, as were also husbands and wives. Our meetings were now broken up, and our separation accomplished.... John Wagar claimed me by promise, as he said my grandmother gave me to him; and, consequently, bade me keep out of sight, when they came for my father’s family. This I did by hiding myself until the rest were all gone. I did this willingly, as I did not want to go to Mr. Thomas. Indeed, I had rather forego the pleasure of being with my parents than live with him. So I remained behind.

I had lived securely upon the old plantation about three months, when one day I was sent on an errand, two or three miles from home. There I met Mr. Thomas, who said to me, “where are you going?” I answered his question, when he said, “You belong to me; come, go home with me.” I told him I wished to return with my errand, but he said “No; go right home to my house, where your father and mother are. Don’t you want to see your mother?” I replied that I did, for I was afraid to answer any other way. This Mr. George Thomas had married my old Mistress’s daughter, and we fell to him in right of his wife. I went home with him with a heavy heart.

When John Wagar heard of this event, he said I belonged to him and should come back; but he could not accomplish his purpose in this, for being left to Mrs. Thomas, he could not hold me. He then tried to buy me, but my new master would not sell me, to him.

Soon after my arrival in the family, Mr. Thomas let me to one of his sons, named Henry, who was a doctor, to attend his horse. This son was unmarried, lived a bachelor, and kept a cook and waiter. The cook belonged neither to him nor his father, but was hired. She was a good looking mulatto, and was married to a right smart, intelligent man, who belonged to the doctor’s uncle. One night, coming home in haste, and wishing to see his wife, he sent me up stairs, to request her to come down. Upon going up, I found she was in a room with the doctor, the door of which was fast. This I thoughtlessly told her husband, who, upon her

301. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1815-1823: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 7 Folder 12 for August 24, 1815-September 25, 1823; Box 8 Folder 13: October 2, 1823-March 6, 1829; also on microfilm, see Series 7

coming down a moment after, upbraided her for it. She denied it, and afterwards told the doctor, but not till I had gone to my mother, sick, up to the old man's plantation.

The doctor was a very intemperate man. As soon as his cook told him her story, he came to his father with the complaint, that I had left him without his consent; upon which his father told him to flog me. He ordered me out to the barn, when I was scarcely able to hold up my head, and had to be led by my brother.

Without saying what he wanted of me, he stripped off my clothes and then whipped me, beating me over the head until I became senseless, and life was nearly extinct. I was carried to my mother's quarters, where I lay five weeks, unable to move without assistance. When I finally recovered, I did not return to him, as he did not wish it, but remained with my mother four years.

My father was a very pious man, never complaining, but bearing every thing patiently, and praying for grace and fortitude to help him to overcome his trials, which he believed would one day be ended. He was a good servant and an affectionate parent. But new trials and sorrows soon broke upon this quiet family.

My sister, whose name I must not mention, as she is now in the North, and like myself, not out of danger, was old Mistress's house maid. She possessed both grace and beauty, and to-day, thank God, is a living monument in his temple. She was given to Mrs. Thomas as her maid, and was much prized, because a gift from her mother; but especially because she knew her to be a virtuous girl.

She had found it impossible to long keep a maid of this stamp, for none could escape the licentious passions of her husband, who was the father of about one-fourth of the slaves on his plantation, by his slave women. Mrs. Thomas strove every way to shield my sister from this monster, but he was determined to accomplish his brutal designs.

One day during his wife's absence on a visit to her friends, being, as he thought, a good opportunity, he tried to force my sister to submit to his wishes. This she defeated by a resistance so obstinate, that he, becoming enraged, ordered two of his men to take her to the barn, where he generally whipped his slaves; there to strip off her clothes and whip her, which was done, until the blood stood in puddles under her feet.

Upon his wife's return, Mr. Thomas told her that my sister had been whipped for neglect of duty. Of this Mrs. Thomas did not complain, as she had no objection to necessary floggings. But similar scenes occurring quite often, our Mistress began to suspect that sister was not in fault, especially as in her presence she never neglected her business, and these complaints only came during her absence. Besides, she knew well her husband's former practices, and at last began to suspect that these and my sister's pretended faults, were in some way connected. Accordingly, she began to question her maid concerning her offences, who, fearing to tell her plainly, knowing it would be certain death to her, answered in low and trembling terms, "I must not tell you, but you may know what it is all for. If I have done anything, Madam, contrary to your wishes, and do not suit you, please sell me, but do not kill me without cause. Old Mistress, your mother, who is dead, and I trust in heaven, took great pains to bring me up a virtuous girl, and I will die before I will depart from her dying counsel, given, as you well know, while we were standing by her dying

bed.”

These words so affected Mrs. Thomas, that she fainted and was carried to her bed, to which she was confined by sickness five or six weeks. Her husband’s conduct still persisted in, finally caused her death, which occurred four years after.

Mistress told sister that she had best get married, and that if she would, she would give her a wedding. Soon after, a very respectable young man, belonging to Mr. Bowman, a wealthy planter, and reputed to be a good master, began to court my sister. This very much pleased Mistress, who wished to hasten the marriage. She determined that her maid should be married, not as slaves usually are, but that with the usual matrimonial ceremonies should be tied the knot to be broken only by death. The Sabbath was appointed for the marriage, which was to take place at the Episcopal Church. I must here state that no slave can be married lawfully, without a line from his or her owner. Mistress and all the family, except the old man, went to church to witness the marriage ceremony, which was to be performed by their minister, parson Reynolds. The master of Josiah, my sister’s destined husband, was also at the wedding, for he thought a great deal of his man.

Mistress returned delighted from the wedding, for she thought she had accomplished a great piece of work. But the whole affair only enraged her unfeeling husband, who, to be revenged upon the maid, proposed to sell her. To this his wife refused consent. Although Mrs. T. had never told him her suspicions, or what my sister had said, yet he suspected the truth, and determined to be revenged. Accordingly, during another absence of Mistress, he again cruelly whipped my sister. A continued repetition of these things finally killed our Mistress, who the doctor said, died of a broken heart.

After the death of this friend, sister ran away, leaving behind her husband and one child, and finally found her way to the North. None of our family ever heard from her afterwards, until I accidentally met her in the streets in Philadelphia. My readers can imagine what a meeting ours must have been. She is again married and in prosperity.

The sovereign state of Alabama took action to dispose of various slaves who had been, in accordance with federal law, confiscated from their owners due to their having been imported illegally. Since this federal law against the international slave trade was of course not for the benefit of black people, but for the benefit of white people, these victims were of course to be forced to work for free by the state until they could be auctioned by the state to the highest bidder, with the net proceeds from such auctions to be sent of course directly into state coffers.

“An Act to carry into effect the laws of the United States prohibiting the slave trade.”

§ 1. “*Be it enacted*, ... That the Governor of this state be ... authorized and required to appoint some suitable person, as the agent of the state, to receive all and every slave or slaves or persons of colour, who may have been brought into this state in violation of the laws of the United States, prohibiting the slave trade: *Provided*, that the authority of the said agent is not to extend to slaves who have been condemned and sold.”

§ 2. The agent must give bonds.

§ 3. “*And be it further enacted*, That the said slaves, when so placed in the possession of the state, as aforesaid, shall be

employed on such public work or works, as shall be deemed by the Governor of most value and utility to the public interest."

§ 4. A part may be hired out to support those employed in public work.

§ 5. "And be it further enacted, That in all cases in which a decree of any court having competent authority, shall be in favor of any or claimant or claimants, the said slaves shall be truly and faithfully, by said agent, delivered to such claimant or claimants: but in case of their condemnation, they shall be sold by such agent for cash to the highest bidder, by giving sixty days notice," etc. ACTS OF THE ASSEMBLY OF ALABAMA, 1822 (Cahawba, 1823), page 62.

October 7, Tuesday: The volunteer firemen of the Pawtucket Engine Company No. 2 (the village of Pawtucket was then a part of the town of Seekonk, Massachusetts, which included the area that would eventually become East Providence, [RHODE ISLAND](#)) "retired in good order after partaking of some excellent brandy and rum presented by Mr. J. Burbank when he was honorably discharged from the Company."

In Newport, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

3rd day 7 of 10 M / This Afternoon we attended the funeral of Mary Lee wife of Robert P Lee. She is a young woman whose loss is much lamented, of an Amiable & innocent life, cut short at the Age of 26 years & married one Year & about ten Months. - early in life she was Baptized in Water, according to the Sabatarian Society, but at her Marriage with R P Lee she was Satisfied to attend Friends Meeting with him. The funeral was conducted according to the order of Friends & her remains were interd in the upper burying place in the Medow Field. -



1824

February 7, Saturday: After arriving home in Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould would write in his journal:

Seventh day Morning we took the Stage & rode [from Providence] to Bristol ferry, from whence I walked to Uncle Saml Thurstons, D B. having his chaise sent for him from the latter place I rode into Town with him & am Thankful to be at home this evening, having to acknowledge, favour & enlargement since my absence. –

The beginning of the “Hardscrabble” rioting in Providence, Rhode Island (mobs of white citizens protected by the police while they destroyed the homes of black citizens: urban gentrification through ethnic cleansing). From the diary of George F. Jencks, a white man of Pawtucket, we learn: “A gang of Ruffins toar down & Destroyed the Negro house on the hill this evening.”

Information that is more to the point, about this racism that would culminate in October with a white mob pretending to have been provoked by unwillingness of some black men to step down into the street off the sidewalk to allow them to pass –provoked to the point of tearing apart some 20 black homes in a district off North Main Street known variously as “Addison’s Hollow” and as “Hardscrabble”– may be obtained from the late-life autobiography of William J. Brown, then a 10-year-old observer.³⁰²

PAGES 50-51: The feeling against the colored people was very bitter. The colored people themselves were ignorant of the cause, unless it could be attributed to our condition, not having the means to raise themselves in the scale of wealth and affluence, consequently those who were evil disposed would offer abuse whenever they saw fit, and there was no chance for resentment or redress. Mobs were also the order of the day, and the poor colored people were the sufferers.

In the northwest part of the city was a place called Addison Hollow, but was nicknamed Hardscrabble. A great many colored people purchased land there, because it was some distance from town, and hence quite cheap. They put up small houses for themselves, and earned their living in various ways. They could be seen almost any time, with their saw-horse, standing, some on the Great Bridge, some on Shingle Bridge, and some on Mill Bridge, waiting for work. As hard coal was not known at that time (except Liverpool coal,) everybody used wood. Some men did jobs of gardening and farming.

A man named Addison built houses, and rented to any one who would give him his price. As he rented cheap, people of bad character hired of him, and these drew a class of bad men and women, so that the good were continually being molested, having no protection. At last disturbances became so common that they raised a mob, and drove many from their houses, then tore them down, took their furniture -what little they had- carried it to Pawtucket, and sold it at auction. This was done late in the fall. One colored man named Christopher Hall, a widower with three or four children, a pious man, bearing a good character, and supported himself and family by sawing wood, had his house torn down by the rougs and stripped of its contents. He drew the roof over the cellar, and lived in it all winter. The people tried in vain to coax him out, and offered him a house to live in. Many went to see the ruins, among them some white ladies, who offered to take his children and bring them up, but he would not let them go. In the spring following he went to Liberia, on the western coast of Africa. Not long after this there was another mob, commenced at the west end of Olney Street. Here

302. For further details you could consult a publication of the time, HARDSCRABBLE CALENDAR: REPORT OF THE TRIALS OF OLIVER CUMMINS, NATHANIEL G. METCALF, GILBERT HINES, AND ARTHUR FARRIER, published in Providence “for the purchaser” during 1824.



Hard Scrabble,

OR MISS PHILISES BOBALITION

O Dear dear what can the de matter be,
 Dear, dear what can de matter be,
 Pomp gone so long from Phillis away ;
 He promise to buy me a damask and leghorn,
 A Plad and a Crape and Silk Tocking to put on,
 And a bunch of fine feather to dress my beaver so gay
 O Dear, dear, &c.

O, O, so peaceable late we lib in Hard Scrabble,
 'Till routed and driven away by the rabble,
 Who 'tack us like furies wid a high-diddle diddle !
 Demolish our dwelling, smash Bearran and Cradle,
 My Gin Jug and Spider, my Potrait and Ladle,
 My Candlestand, Chairs, and poor Pompey's Fiddle.
 O Dear, dear, &c.

O! O! such a time I neber before see,
 De Mohites come wizz! like a flock of mad bumble bee
 Rip open my bed and scatter de fedder !
 Assail us wid Brick Bat, wld Crowbars and Shovels,
 And drove us poor wretches away from our hovels
 To seek shelter out door expose to de wether.
 O Dear, dear, &c.

Pomp and I had juss supt on a clam and eel custard,
 And just topping off wid desert of tase cheese & mustard
 When first salutation widout a forewarning—
 Ebery window was smash in, and, O, goody gui !
 Pomp leap from de table and cry ' Fly Phillis Fly,'
 Or we both shall be mutton'd before morrow morning.
 O Dear, dear, &c.

O, de next morning such condition our village,
 So late de scene of confusion, riot and pillage.
 O! it near broke de heart of my poor aged mother !
 De chimnies and walls were den totting or falling,
 Poor Cato's hut prop't up, and Cezer's lay sprawling,
 And ours' goody gui ! nothing left but de cellar !
 O Dear, dear, &c.

De mud Clay & brick dust lay so thick in Hard Scrabble
 I was 'blige hold up my skirt to prevent it from drabble
 And de fields for a mile was spread wid hen fether ;
 Here lay my new bedtick and dare Pompey's garter
 And my platter and Coffee Cup bury'd in Mortar,
 In miscurious ruin all lay together.
 O Dear, dear, &c.

Pomp has told me of Earthquakes Squall and Tornadoes
 Trenarners, Harrikanes, Gusts and Valeuose,
 Of battle at sea, and battle on shore ;
 Of Turks and of Hottentots, Indians and Moors,
 Of Rygers and Crocodiles Lions and Bores,
 But he neber fyre saw such destruction before.
 O Dear, dear, &c.

Some few weeks arter some were reign for a trial,
 Dare were Peter and Moses and Jim and Abial,
 And some forty or tirty or twenty or so ;
 But de damage 'twas judge was by some shock of nature,
 Mr. Nobody did it ! O what a wile creature,
 So de court find um No Guilty and tell um to go.
 O dear what a Rogue Mr. Nobody.

Mr. Nobody, wretch ! some invisible d-r-l
 De biggest brick block in a moment he level
 See what he did bout tre months ago ;
 He demolish a bilding near four stories high,
 And level the whole in a twink of an eye,
 Pray who did it ! Why Nobody know.
 O dear, dear, &c.

I guess it best now for us brack folks be easy,
 And no longer live lives immoral and lazy,
 But gain honest living by sweat ob our brow ;
 Depend on't de white folk won't den trouble or 'tack us,
 But de good people of Providence will always respec us,
 As they are wont to respec all good people now.
 O dear, dear, &c.

So Miss Boston keep home your lazy black rabble,
 Nor compel them seek shelter again at Hard Scrabble,
 For every maggot should stick to be core ;
 For should they visit us gain they may find it foul wether
 We've plenty of Tar and de ground cover'd wid Fether
 And we've Pitch to pitch you all out of door.
 O dear, dear, &c.

So while Pomp earn a little by honest day labour,
 I'll wash and make soap for some of my neighbour,
 And lib by industry as honest folks do ;
 Pomp throw by your Fiddle & I'll smash de Gin Bottle
 And soon we'll be able to buildup our hovel
 And more steady course we both will pursue.
 O dear, dear, and so fort.

Sold Wholesale and Retail at No. 152, Ann Street—Boston.

were a number of houses built and owned by white men, and rented to any one, white or colored, who wanted to hire one or more rooms, rent payable weekly. Some of these places had bar-rooms, where liquors were dealt out, and places where they sold cakes, pies, doughnuts, etc. These they called cooky stands. In some houses dancing and fiddling was the order of the day. It soon became dangerous for one to pass through there in the day time that did not belong to their gang, or patronize them. Most all sailors who came into port would be introduced into Olney Street by some one who had an interest that way. I remember when a boy, passing up one day to my father's garden, which was on that street, in company with two other boys, looking at the people as we passed along. Some were sitting at the windows, some in their doorway, some singing, some laughing, some gossiping, some had their clay furnaces in front of their houses, cooking, and seeing us looking at them, said "What are you gawking at, you brats?" hurling a large stone at the same time, and we were obliged to run for our lives. This street had a correspondence with all the sailor boarding houses in town, and was sustained by their patronage. Vessels of every description were constantly entering our port, and sailing crafts were seen from the south side of the Great Bridge to India Point. It was the great shipping port of New England in those days, and although the smallest of all the States, Rhode Island was regarded as among the wealthiest, the Quakers occupying a large portion of the State.

1826

Our national birthday, the 4th of July, Tuesday: The newspapers of 1826 abounded with descriptions of solemn odes, processions, orations, toasts, and other such commemoratives of July 4th, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. One reflection of the public conception of the Declaration was Royall Tyler's "Country Song for the Fourth of July," a poem that describes a New England celebration of the Brother Jonathan type, where neighbors gather for food, fun, and festivities. A clear view of just how the political ideals of the Declaration were received by the masses shines through Tyler's rhymed directions for the country dance. Here is how his dance appeared in an 1841 publication (although Tyler, who would die on August 26, 1826 from cancer of the face, could only have composed this in a considerably earlier timeframe).

Squeak the fife and beat the drum,
 Independence day is come!!
 Let the roasting pig be bled,
 Quick twist off the cockerel's head.
 Quickly rub the pewter platter.
 Heap the nutcakes, fried in butter.
 Set the cups, and beaker glass,
 The Pumpkin and the apple sauce.

Send the keg to shop for brandy;
 Maple sugar we have handy,
 Independent, staggering Dick,
 A noggin mix of swingeing thick,
 Sal, put on your russet skirt,
 Jotham, get your **boughten** shirt,
 To-day we dance to tiddle diddle.
 —Here comes Sambo with his fiddle;

Sambo, take a dram of whiskey,
 And play up Yankee doodle frisky.

Moll, come leave your witched tricks,
 And let us have a reel of six;
 Father and mother shall make two;
 Sal, Moll, and I, stand all a-row,
 Sambo, play and dance with quality;
 This is the day of blest equality,

Father and **mother** are but **men**,
 And Sambo — is a citizen.
 Come foot it, Sal, — Moll, figure in.
 And, mother, you dance up to him;
 Now saw fast as e'er you can do
 And father, you cross o'er to Sambo,
 —Thus we dance, and thus we play,
 On glorious Independence Day. —

[2 more verses in like manner]

On this 50th anniversary of our American independence, which at the time we were referring to as our “Jubilee of Freedom” event, on the 22d birthday of Nathaniel Hawthorne, both former President Thomas Jefferson and former President John Adams died.³⁰³ This was taken at the time to constitute a sign of national favor from Heaven, although why death ought to be regarded as a sign of favor remains untheorized — perhaps once again we Americans were “pushing the envelope” of what it is to be a human being. At any rate, this coincidence would become quite the topic for conversation in our American republic.

FAMOUS LAST WORDS: Thomas Jefferson: “Is it the 4th?” —Ah.” John Adams: “Thomas Jefferson still survives” (actually Jefferson had died at 12:50PM and then Adams died at 5:30PM.)

Even before news of Jefferson’s demise had reached Washington DC, Mayor Roger C. Weightman was having his final letter read aloud at that city’s Independence Day national-birthday festivities. The most stirring words in that former president’s missive —his assertion that the mass of mankind had not been born “with saddles on their backs” nor a favored few “booted and spurred” to “ride” them— had of course originated in the speech delivered by the leveler Colonel Richard Rumbold on the scaffold moments before his execution for treason against the English monarchy, at the conclusion of the English Civil War, in the Year of Our Lord 1685.³⁰⁴ Those who noticed that the former President had intentionally or unknowingly been borrowing sentiments did

303. At any rate, this coincidence would become quite the topic for conversation in our American republic. Refer to L. H. Butterfield, "The Jubilee of Independence, July 4, 1826," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXI (1953), pages 135-38; Joseph J. Ellis, Passionate Sage: The Character and Legacy of John Adams (NY, 1993), pages 210-16; Robert P. Hay, "The Glorious Departure of the American Patriarchs: Contemporary Reactions to the Deaths of Jefferson and Adams," Journal of Southern History, XXXV (1969), pages 543-55; Merrill D. Peterson, The Jefferson Image in the American Mind, 1960, pages 3-14.

304. Macaulay’s HISTORY OF ENGLAND, Chapter V; Adair, Douglass. “Rumbold’s Dying Speech, 1685, and Jefferson’s Last Words on Democracy, 1826,” William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, IX (1952): pages 526, 530:

I never could believe that Providence had sent a few men into the world, ready booted and spurred to ride, and millions ready saddled and bridled to be ridden.

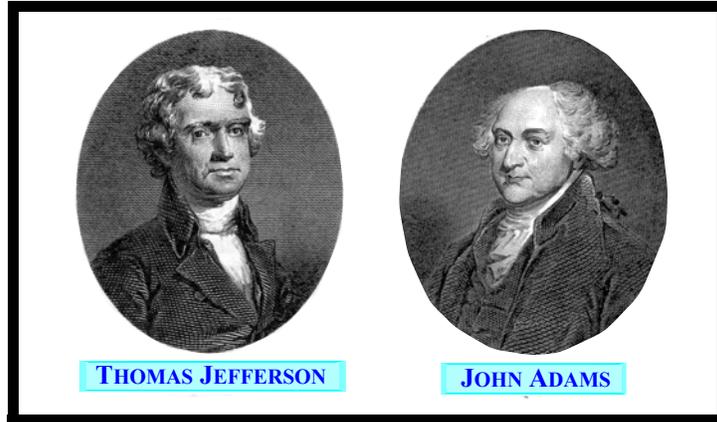
Rumbold was not merely being **HANGED** but being hanged, drawn, and quartered — the penalty for an attempt upon the monarch. This trope about horses, saddles, boots, and spurs was taken at the time to have been originated by Jefferson, in John A. Shaw’s EULOGY, PRONOUNCED AT BRIDGEWATER, MASSACHUSETTS, AUGUST 2D, 1826 and in Henry Potter’s EULOGY, PRONOUNCED IN FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH-CAROLINA, JULY 20TH, 1826 and in John Tyler’s EULOGY, PRONOUNCED AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, JULY 11, 1826 in A SELECTION OF EULOGIES, PRONOUNCED IN THE SEVERAL STATES, IN HONOR OF THOSE ILLUSTRIOUS PATRIOTS AND STATESMEN, JOHN ADAMS AND THOMAS JEFFERSON (Hartford CT: 1826). See also THE LAST LETTER OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS STATESMAN, THOMAS JEFFERSON, ESQ. AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: BEING HIS ANSWER TO AN INVITATION TO JOIN THE CITIZENS OF WASHINGTON IN CELEBRATING THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE: MONTICELLO, JUNE 24, 1826 (Washington DC: 1826).

That 17th-Century incident was not the first one in our history to conform to the dictum “there must be none higher than us though of course there must always be some lower than us,” for in the 14th Century the Reverend John Ball had been **HANGED** for preaching against public toleration of privileged classes:

*“When Adam dalf [dugged] and Eve span,
 Who was then a gentleman?”*

not see fit to record that fact in writing.³⁰⁵

Former president Jefferson’s death at Monticello (“All my wishes and where I hope my days will end — at Monticello.”) would be followed shortly by the auction of his 90 black slaves over 12 years of age—along with his 12 black slaves between 9-12 years of age, his 73 cows of unknown coloration, and his 27 horses also of unknown coloration— for he had been living quite beyond his means, bringing back with him for instance from France no fewer than 86 large crates of civilized goodies. Jefferson did, however, set free his mulatto blood relatives. Jefferson, one might say, in allowing that after a certain number of crosses with white daddys, an infant ought to be considered to be white, had “pushed the envelope” of what it meant to be a human being. Yeah, right.



Stephen Foster, who would compose “Oh, Susanna,” was born on the 4th of July.

Mary Moody Emerson entered into her Almanack a comment that this was the day on which her Country had thrown the gage (thrown down the gauntlet, issued a challenge to a duel of honor):

*tho’ the revolution gave me to slavery of poverty
& ignorance & long orphanship, – yet it gave my*

305. Note that we have here an American author who is establishing his claim to fame upon his being the author of the memorable phrases of our foundational document, and who is attempting incautiously to do so by appropriating phrases originated by someone else. Also, we have here an American public so stupid or so patriotic that it lets him get away with it. Witness John A. Shaw, EULOGY, PRONOUNCED AT BRIDGEWATER, MASSACHUSETTS, AUGUST 2D, 1826 in A Selection of Eulogies, Pronounced in the Several States, in Honor of Those Illustrious Patriots and Statesmen, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson (Hartford, Conn., 1826), 163; Henry Potter, “Eulogy, Pronounced in Fayetteville, North-Carolina, July 20th, 1826,” A Selection of Eulogies...., 130; John Tyler, “Eulogy, Pronounced at Richmond, Virginia, July 11, 1826,” A Selection of Eulogies...., 7-8; National Intelligencer, July 4, 1826; Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot, July 12, 1826; Philadelphia Gazette, July 5, 1826; Commercial Chronicle and Baltimore Advertiser, July 11, 1826; The last letter of the illustrious statesman, Thomas Jefferson, Esq. author of the Declaration of Independence: Being his answer to an invitation to join the citizens of Washington in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of American independence: Monticello, June 24, 1826 (Washington, D.C., 1826).

fellow men liberty



Isabella (Sojourner Truth), who would have been approximately 29 years old, had in this year borne another daughter, whom she had named Sophia, who would need to grow up laboring as an indentured servant, by the husband Thomas to whom she had been assigned by her master who would not admit that he was a husband. She had once again increasing the prosperity of the master race! The remaining slaves of New York State were to be freed one year from this date, and John Dumont had solemnly promised Isabella in some earlier period that he would free her and her husband “a year early” and set them up in a nearby log cabin. So it had come time for the white race to be true to its word. However, since the master had made that commitment to this enslaved woman, she had carelessly chopped off one of her fingers while working for him –so he figured she couldn’t work as productively with only nine fingers as she had with ten, and so –he figured she must still owe him some work. Fair’s fair, right? No freedom, no cabin, not yet, instead work some more for nothing. (But don’t lose heart, as maybe later I’ll be able to keep my solemn promise.)

In New Harmony, Indiana, Robert Dale Owen gave a speech he called his “Declaration of Mental Independence.”

In Providence, [RHODE ISLAND](#), four of those who had participated in the capture of the British armed schooner *Gaspe* during the Revolutionary War rode in a parade.

In Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), Major John Handy read the Declaration of Independence “on the identical spot which he did 50 years ago,” in the presence of Isaac Barker of Middletown, “who was at his side in the same place fifty years before.” Patriotic fun and games! Friend Stephen Wanton Gould protested to his journal:

3rd day 4th of 7th M 1826 / This is what is called Independence Day - & an exceeding troublesome one it is to all sober Minded people - The expence of this day given to the poor or appropriated to public school would school all the poor children in town for some time. - Last night, we were the whole night greatly troubled & kept Awake, by the firing of squibs & crackers, great Bonfire in the middle of the Parade & tar Barrells, with various noises which were kept up all night & consequently kept us & many others awake, to our great discomfiture - in addition to which is the bitter reflection of the discipation & corruption of habits & morals to which our youth are exposed. - & today we have had numerous scenes of drunkenness both among the Aged & Youth, & many act of wickedness -besides the pomp & vain show apparant in all parts of the Town -This evening again we are troubled with noise & tumult & what kind of a night we are to have cannot be told. -

In New-York, 4 gold medals had been ordered to be struck by the Common Council: 3 were for surviving signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the 4th was given to the son of Robert Fulton as a memorial of “genius in the application of steam.”

In a celebration at Lynchburg, Virginia, among the “aged patriots of ’76” were General John Smith and Captain George Blakenmore.

At the South Meeting House of Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas stood on the spot from which he had read the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

The Frederick-Town Herald of Frederick, Maryland announced that it would no longer be publishing the usual round of “generally dull, insipid” dinner toasts, “about which few feel any interest.”

In Salem, North Carolina, the Moravian Male Academy was dedicated.

In Quincy, Massachusetts, Miss Caroline Whitney delivered an address on the occasion of the presentation of a flag to the Quincy Light Infantry.

In Arlington, Virginia, General Washington’s tent, the very same tent that the General had been using at the heights of Dorchester in 1775, was re-erected near the banks of the Potomac River for purposes of celebration.

1827

October 12: Daniel Stedman of South Kingstown, a neighbor of “Nailer Tom” Hazard, recorded in his journal that “a black man by the [name] of Cato Pearce in Evening had a meeting at Wakefield to Mr. Ray Allen’s.” (Ray Allen was a white man, a Baptist, residing in Wakefield/South Kingstown/Peace Dale, Rhode Island.)³⁰⁶ It is known that Cato Pearce preached at evangelical meetings not only in Wakefield but also in Newport and Hopkinton, and on Block Island.

1828

October 1: In Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

4th day 1st 10th M 1828 / Today Joseph S Tillinghast from N Bedford on his way to NYork Hudson &c called & dined with us & took letters for John whom he expects to see next first day. – he went in the Steam Boat Connecticut this Afternoon. –

306. DANIEL STEDMAN’S JOURNAL, introduced and transcribed by Henry Clay Oatley, Jr., ed. by Cherry Fletcher Bamberg (Greenville RI: Rhode Island Genealogical Society, 2003).

There's a sketchy painting above the case that holds the Torah scrolls at the Touro Synagogue in Newport. It is a painting of the short names used, in the Hebrew language, for the Ten Commandments that Moses received from YHWH on Mount Sinai. I don't have any better photo of the crude painting in question, which also depicts three golden crowns, than this one, for your edification,



but here is a modern representation of the Hebrew characters in question. Read them from right to left:



One of the stories that grew up in Newport over the years had to do with those three golden crowns we can see so nicely depicted at the top of that painting. The story was that the synagogue building had been saved from being trashed during the occupation of the town in Revolutionary War years, when so many of the buildings in the abandoned town were being stripped for kindling to keep the occupying British soldiers warm, because the soldiers presumed that this building must have something to do with the King of England.

Another of the stories that grew up was that this painting, since it is, allegedly, “so fine,” must have been by the famous painter Gilbert Stuart, who resided in nearby North Kingstown. However, it is not listed as one of his known works, nor do we know that he ever painted anything even remotely like this.

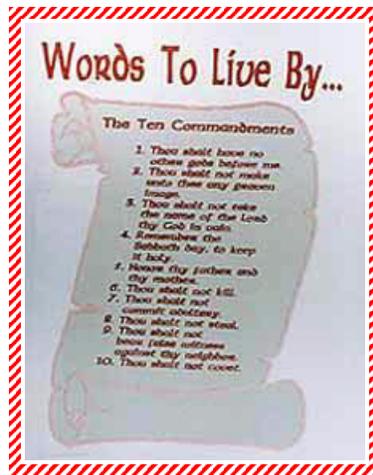
As anyone who reads Hebrew who now visits this Newport tourist trap can look up and plainly see, the character that is shown in this painting as the third letter, in the captions of the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th Commandments in the left column, is not correct! Four of the ten labels have been reduced to nonsense! If that painting had been hanging up there above the case of Torahs while the building was being used for Jewish worship services during the 18th Century, why would it have been that none of the members of this congregation, and none of the honored Jewish visitors to this synagogue, ever informed anyone of this error in the painting, and why would it have been that nobody went and fetched a ladder and some oil paint and

climbed up there and touched over the linguistic error with a few simple dabs? This is what the character does look like Υ (the artist did get the character right when he painted it in the 6th Commandment, at the top of the left column!), and this is what it might have been made to look like with a few more dabs of paint, had anyone known to correct that painting: Υ

Granted, the Marranos³⁰⁷ who created this synagogue had been living a submerged life as pretend Christians³⁰⁸ since the Inquisition in Spain in Portugal, and granted, they had only just gotten back into the process of recovering their cultural roots — but surely some of them must have known enough Hebrew to be able to recite the Ten Commandments! So, why didn't they correct this painting?

We discover in the records of the General Assembly of Rhode Island, that on this date the sum of \$12.⁰⁰ was paid to the clerk for the town of Newport, Benjamin Baker Howland, who was treasurer of the Newport Savings Bank and a local historian and artist, as reimbursement for a painting of the captions in Hebrew of the Ten Commandments.³⁰⁹ Clearly, Mr. Howland had as little actual knowledge of Hebrew as any other deacon of the local 1st Baptist Church. This painting of his had been created as a mere piece of esoterica, only marking this structure as having formerly been in use as a synagogue, and there would be no opportunity to discover and correct its error—since in point of fact, during the decades of the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, there would be no religious services whatever in the structure—since in point of fact, there were no longer any Jews residing in Newport.

Maybe, as a deacon in the 1st Baptist Church, this Howland should have stuck to designing Christian T-shirts for sale to the summer tourists:



So it is clearly false, that the British troops of occupation spared the wood in this building because they saw those three golden crowns and thought of their monarch. The painting in question wouldn't come into

307. Marrano = a Spanish or Portuguese Jew of the late Middle Ages who converted to Christianity, especially one forcibly converted but adhering secretly to Judaism.

308. For instance, for the first twenty or so years of his life, the President of this congregation, Aaron Lopez, had been living in Portugal as a Christian by the name of Duarte Lopez. He had been under such deep cover that he and his wife, who was always called "Anna" in Portugal, had had their wedding ceremony in a Catholic church. It was only after they were safely in Rhode Island that they were able to live openly under their given names Aaron and Abigail.

309. This is a "Mayflower" family and as you might imagine, there have been any number of Benjamin Howlands. A Benjamin Howland (1755-1821), had been a Democratic legislator in Rhode Island legislature, and had from 1804 to 1809, as a Jeffersonian Republican, served as one of the US Senators from Rhode Island. This clerk Benjamin Baker Howland of 1828 was not the son of this Senator Benjamin Howland who died in 1821. He was, instead, the son of Henry Howland and Susan Baker Howland, and had been born in Newport on December 11, 1787. At an early age he had been thrown upon his own resources, and having a taste for drawing and painting, had begun the study of portraiture under Robert Feke. In September 1825 he had succeeded Charles Gyles as town clerk of Newport, and soon afterwards became probate clerk. For many years he would be reelected without opposition, and he would serve his community as clerk until 1875. He died on October 20, 1877 and there is now a portrait of him in the mayor's office.

existence for another two human generations! More probably, the reason why this building was spared was that some British officer came along and said to himself “Now here’s a nice brick building, neat and spacious, with a raised platform at one end of a columned hall, to properly set off my desk and chair — I think this is the one I’ll have for my headquarters.”

And Gilbert Stewart? Give me a break, take a close look at the actual painting and recognize that a child could have painted something like this on the basis of a paint-by-the-numbers kit purchased at the K-Mart.

The preposterous stories that once circulated about this synagogue painting present an interesting example of the dangers posed by pseudohistorical accretion tendencies.

August 8, Friday: St. Mary’s Roman Catholic Church began in Newport (this is therefore the oldest Catholic Parish in [RHODE ISLAND](#)).

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould, who never mentions in all the pages of his journal that there were any Catholics in his home town, failed, typically, to notice the opening of this church:

6th day 8 of 10th M / Our Meeting at the School today was to me a season of weight, in which I had to feel my infermity & weakness - yet a good degree of strength was vouchsafed, & I did not feel that sense of depression which I sometimes do when there is much responsibility devolving upon me. -

1830

During the decades of the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, religious services in the Touro Synagogue in [NEWPORT](#), on [RHODE ISLAND](#)’s Aquidneck Island, having been long since discontinued, and the emptied building allegedly placed under the care of a Friend, that conveniently situated empty structure, which had originally been built for reasons unclear to us now over some sort of root cellar, may have been made available for use as a station on the Underground Railroad.



According to the [ProJo](#) (our local excuse for a newspaper):

Newport ... has the distinction of being the home of several stops on the Underground Railroad.... Newport’s Touro Synagogue was a stop along the way.... By the early 1800s, regular services stopped and the synagogue’s doors were closed. There would not be another Jewish congregation there until 1883. But from the 1830s through the 1850s, the building’s [QUAKER](#) caretaker offered the use of the empty structure to the free Africans living in Newport. ...it was conveniently located in the center

of the free black community. Just how large that community was can be learned from the 1770 census, which reported that nearly a third of the Newport population of 9,000, or 2,800, was of African heritage, and most were free. (The Rhode Island legislature outlawed the importation of slaves to the colony in 1774, though censuses still found more than 300 slaves in Newport County alone in 1790.) ... Over the years, the story has grown that a trap door in the *bimah*, the platform where the rabbi stands to lead the service, was installed as part of the Underground Railroad. Not so. The trap door has been there from the building's beginning. "We feel it was put in by the builders of the synagogue as a symbol of their past persecution," says B. Schlessinger Ross, director of The Society of Friends of Touro Synagogue. Similar trap doors have been found in synagogues in Spain and Portugal and, Ross says, perhaps in those countries they were used as a means of escape from the Catholic church's persecution of Jews during the Inquisition.... At 54 Williams Street, at the corner of Thomas Street, is the Rice family home, Newport's third documented stop on the Underground Railroad. The house was built in the mid-1800s by free black Isaac Rice, whom Charles L. Blockson, author of *The Hippocrene Guide to The Underground Railroad*, calls "the most prominent African-American in the state of Rhode Island." Blockson calls Rice's home "a haven" for runaway slaves. Rice was a gardener for Governor William C. Gibbs and planted trees that still grow in Touro Park. Rice was born in Providence in 1794, and his family moved to Newport when he was young. His home was visited by Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman.

Note: This structure would not be referred to as the "Touro Synagogue" until, at about the midpoint of the century, Abraham and Judah Touro, sons of the first rabbi Isaac Touro who had moved to New-York and made their fortunes, would donate the exceedingly large sum of \$20,000 toward its reconstruction, renovation, and maintenance. (For comparative purposes, the sum of money donated by Nicholas Brown in September 1804 to Rhode Island College, which had caused the renaming of that school as "Brown University," had been \$5,000.) At this point the structure that is now so lovely was just a decrepit almost-abandoned building that, after the general destruction brought to the island during its Revolutionary War occupation by the British Army, had served not only as a synagogue but also as a Rhode Island Supreme Court building, as a Rhode Island General Assembly building, and as a Newport town meeting hall — and the name "Touro" had been in no way associated with it.

We need to bear in mind that although this was a part of the world from which Jews were generally absent, this was not a part of the world from which Antisemitism was absent. This phenomenon can only be understood in terms of the blatant Antisemitism which the early Christian church had embedded into the gospels according to Mark and then according to Matthew, especially Matthew 27:25. Although this poem by Jones Very had not yet been created, I will employ it here for purposes of illustration of that sad fact:

The Jew

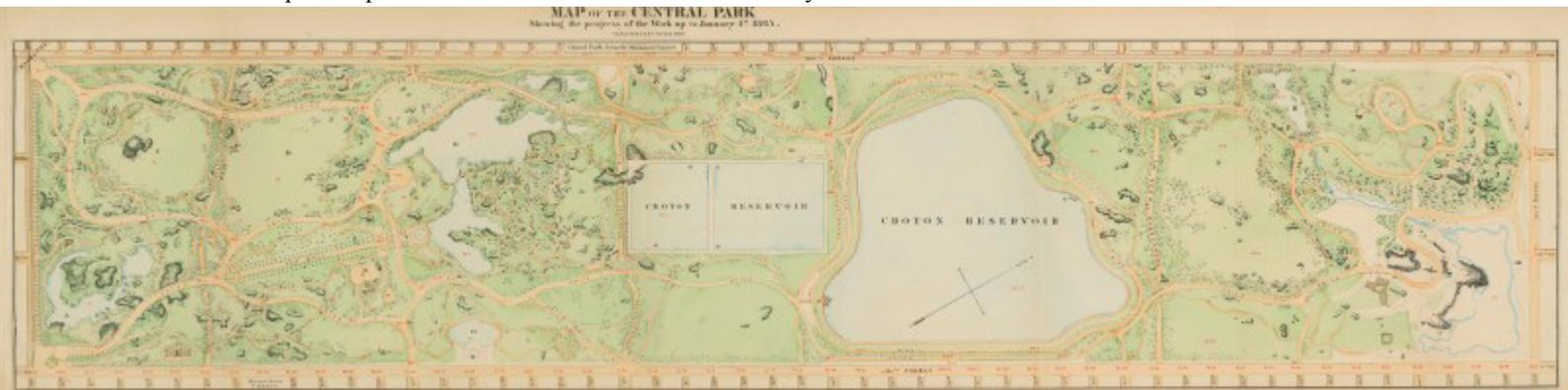
Thou art more deadly than the Jew of old,
 Thou hast his weapons hidden in thy speech;
 And though thy hand from me thou dost withhold,
 They pierce where sword and spear could never reach.
 Thou hast me fenced about with thorny talk,
 To pierce my soul with anguish while I hear;
 And while amid thy populous streets I walk,
 I feel at every step the entering spear;³¹⁰
 Go, cleanse thy lying mouth of all its guile
 That from the will within thee ever flows;

310. Bear in mind that it is not the poet who is the speaker, but the Jew who experienced on the cross the "entering spear."

Go, cleanse the temple thou dost now defile,
 Then shall I cease to feel thy heavy blows;
 And come and tread with me the path of peace,
 And from thy brother's harm forever cease.

Now, in regard to that trap door leading down into an underground room: this was an all-seasons building, with a wood furnace. The wood furnace was located in this underground room, along with the cords of wood that were needed to keep the building heated while it was being used for divine worship. It is as simple as that. In modern times, for fire-insurance purposes, the heating plant for the building has been modernized, and relocated to underneath a slab in the lawn. Therefore, the underground room now stands empty. However, it was never intended to serve as a place of refuge, and in point of fact, there is no evidence whatever that it ever served such a function. That is not to say that this structure never, during its antebellum period of abandonment, when a **QUAKER** caretaker had custody of the key, while it was in the middle of the firmly black district of Newport, served as a rent-free haven for black families in need — it is merely to say that, to all intents and purposes, this stuff about the underground room being a part of the Underground Railroad is nothing but stuff and nonsense. There are root cellars all over America with quite as good, or as poor, credentials.

By contrast with this Newport fantasy stuff, we do know that an active Underground Railroad, one of the 1st in the country, would be quietly operated by Paumanok Long Island Quakers, although we do not know the date on which this activity began. They were helping slaves escape through Long Island and upstate New York. The Parsons family were particularly active in this endeavor. Friend Samuel Bowne Parsons, a member of Flushing Monthly Meeting, was later said to be able to brag that he had assisted more slaves to freedom than any other man in Queens County. A number of Quakers associated with that Meeting were both influential and wealthy. Merchants Robert Murray and his son, John Murray, Jr., (married to Friend Catherine Bowne), helped found The New York Society for the Manumission of Slaves and the Free School Society. The Free School Society provided the first public school instruction in New York City. Friend John Murray, Jr. was also known for his acts of benevolence. Both of these men are buried in the graveyard in back of the Flushing meetinghouse. Murray's brother, Friend Lindley Murray, was a well known grammarian whose publishing business was extremely successful. The Parsons family developed a thriving nursery which introduced a number of plants to America, including the Japanese Maple, the flowering dog-wood and the Weeping Beech. Friend Samuel Parsons, Jr., a partner of Calvert Vaux, became the Landscape Architect for the City of New York and provided many of the plantings for Central Park and Prospect Park. He also helped design many important parks and common areas in New York City and across seventeen states.



1831

The Ward family arrived on Aquidneck Island as summer residents. The family would reside in various locations and then purchase the home that would become known as “Ashurst Cottage,” “Buttonwood,” and most often “Redwood Lodge.” This house, at the corner of Bellevue Avenue and Old Beach Road in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), no longer exists, its lot forming part of the present grounds of the famed Redwood Library.



May 9-10: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont arrived at Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), going on to New-York; thereafter they would travel as far west as Green Bay on Lake Michigan, north to Québec and south to New Orleans.³¹¹



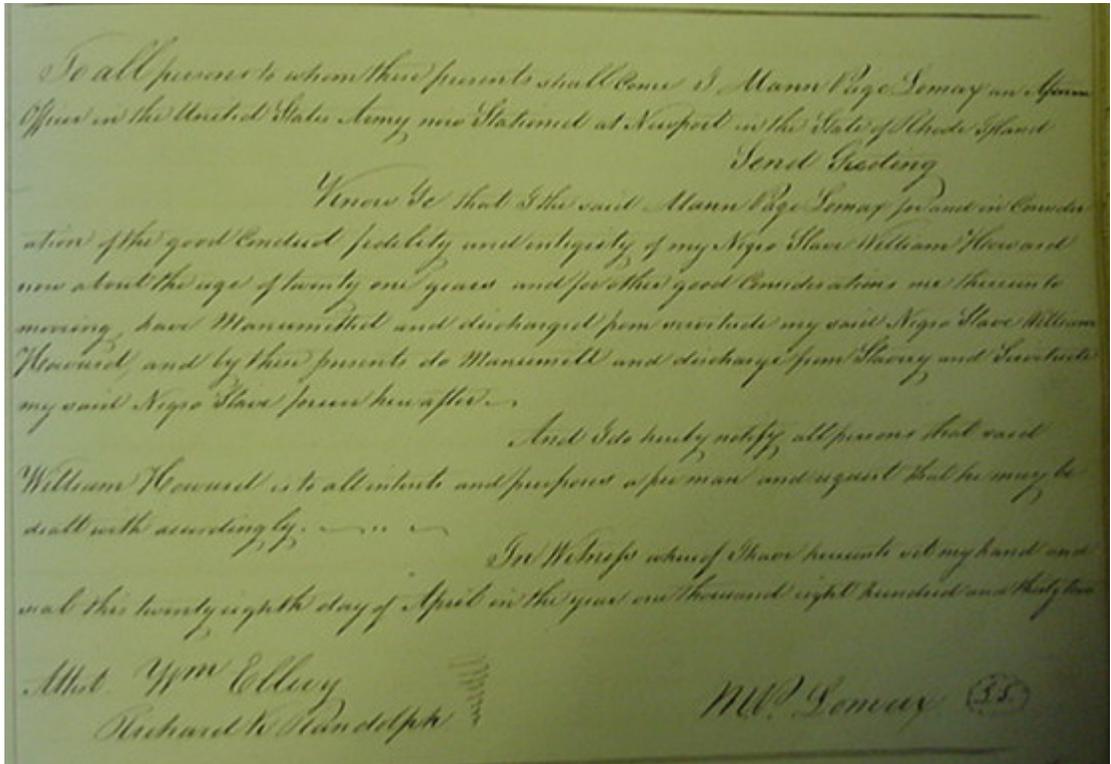
311. When young Alexis de Tocqueville, the “first Americanist,” came to the New World, he was coming, in the Emersonian phrase, at “the cockcrowing and the morning star” of Jacksonianism.

1832

April 28: An army officer stationed at Newport, Mann Page Lomax, manumitted five black slaves including his manservant William Howard and evidently two of his little sisters (that's a guess) Kitty Howard (12 years old) and Martha Howard (xxx years old), as well as Daniel and Maria Rollins. On the basis of the fact that all the slaves of **RHODE ISLAND** were long since already emancipated, it is legitimate to presume that this officer would have arrived at his federal duty station on Aquidneck Island from a state in which slavery was legal, bringing this 21-year-old slave manservant with him and perhaps his sisters when he came. Since the officer was to serve at a federal installation, he and his servants would have been subject to federal law rather than to state law — and of course there was no federal law prohibiting such a situation since no federal law from our Constitution on down had ever ever ever so much as referred to, so much as mentioned, any of the terms “slave,” “slavery,” “enslavement” or any variation thereof, and would continue to make no reference whatever to this practice all the way down until the XIIIth Amendment to the US Constitution.³¹²

312. Note that if, in a later timeframe, Dr. John Emerson had behaved similarly in regard to his slave manservant Dred Scott—whom he was purchasing in this year—when he arrived at his duty station in Fort Snelling, Minnesota Territory—rather than continuing as he did, to hold this manservant in chattel bondage—then the U.S. Supreme Court's disastrous “has no rights which a white man is obligated to respect” decision would never have had occasion to be rendered! Our national history might have been very different!

To all persons to whom these presents shall Come I Mann Page Lomax an [cancelled] Officer in the United States Army now stationed at Newport in the State of Rhode Island
Send Greeting
 Know Ye that I the said Mann Page Lomax for and in Consideration of the good Conduct fidelity and integrity of my Negro Slave William Howard now about the age of twenty one years and for other good Considerations me thereunto moving, have Manumitted and discharged from servitude my said Negro Slave William Howard, and by these presents do Manumitt and discharge from Slavery and Servitude my said Negro Slave forever hereafter. And I do hereby notify all persons that said William Howard is to all intents and purposes a free man and request that he may be dealt with accordingly. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twenty eighth day of April in the years one thousand eight hundred and thirty two
 Attest. W^m. Ellery
 Richard K Randolph
 M. P. Lomax (L.S.)



To all persons to whom these presents shall Come I Mann Page Lomax an Officer in the United States Army now Stationed at Newport in the State of Rhode Island, send Greeting Know Use that I the said Mann Page Lomax for and in Consideration of the good Conduct, fidelity and integrity of my negro slave Kitty Howard now about the age of twelve years and for other good Considerations me thereunto moving, have manumitted and discharged from servitude my said negro slave Kitty Howard and by these presents do manumitt and discharge from slavery and servitude my said negro slave forever hereafter, And I do hereby notify all persons that said Kitty Howard is to all intents and purposes a free person, and request that she may be dealt with accordingly. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the twenty eighth day of April in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty two

Attest. Wm Ellery
Richard K Randolph.

MPLomax (L.S.)

Recorded March 18. 1834.

at 9 O'clock A.M.
Witness
Richard M. Field City Clerk

To all persons to whom these presents shall Come I Mann Page Lomax an Officer in the United States Army now Stationed at Newport in the State of Rhode Island, send Greeting Know Use that I the said Mann Page Lomax for and in Consideration of the good Conduct, fidelity and integrity of my negro slave Martha Howard now about the age of xxxxxxxxxx years and for other good Considerations me thereunto moving, have manumitted and discharged from servitude my said negro slave Martha Howard and by these presents do manumitt and discharge from slavery and servitude my said negro slave forever hereafter, And I do hereby notify all persons that said Martha Howard is to all intents and purposes a free person, and request that she may be dealt with accordingly. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the twenty eighth day of April in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty two

Attest. Wm Ellery
Richard K Randolph.

MPLomax (L.S.)

Recorded March 18. 1834.

at 9 O'clock A.M.
Witness
Richard M. Field City Clerk

July 28, Saturday: A correspondent to The New-York Mirror: A Weekly Journal, Devoted to Literature and the Fine Arts had recently toured the general burying-ground situated upon a pretty slope with a view of the harbor at the upper end of the town of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#). He of course reported on the granite obelisk that had been there erected to the memory of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, who had died of the yellow fever at sea in 1819 — a monument which had not as yet been inscribed with his name and would not for many decades sport the present bronze statue:

It is, as yet, unfinished at the base. His remains were reinterred last fall, between those of his child and his father and mother. There is nothing to mark the spot where the commodore and his child lie, but two small mounds of earth, already overgrown with briars. It is intended, I understand, to disinter and bury him near his monument. There are two plain marble slabs over the spot where the commodore's father and mother are buried. The inscriptions are simply that Christopher Perry, a captain in the United States navy, died June first, 1818, aged fifty-nine years; that Sarah Perry, died December fourth, 1830, aged sixty-two years. At this place I could not avoid reflecting that there, mouldered into dust, lies the gallant hero of Erie. I imagined him on his favorite element, in the pride and glory of his youth, hurling death and defiance at a foe claiming to be mistress of the ocean; I saw him leaving a ship, that had done more then [sic] her duty, in an open boat, amidst showers of shot, waving his banner proudly in the air. In my mind's eye I beheld him trying his fortunes anew in another ship, manoeuvring [sic] the enemy according to his own tactics, breaking his line, and from starboard and larboard dealing out his slaughtering messengers to a gallant but inveterate foe, until the lion crouched beneath the pinions of the eagle, and owned his supremacy; but these things have ceased to be — the grasshopper and cricket alone chant his requiem, amid the solitude of this rural and interesting abode of the dead; but let him rest, "Au plaisir fort de Dieu."

Then his attention had been attracted, he reported, by a tombstone near the centre of the enclosure, and with difficulty he had deciphered the following:

Here lyeth the body of John Cranston, Esq. Governor of the colony of Rhode Island, &c. He departed this life March twelfth 1683, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.³¹³

Beside this inscription, on the same stone, he deciphered the following (with blanks left for words quite obliterated by time):

Here lyeth the body of Samuel Cranston, Esq. Late governor of this colony, aged sixty-eight years, and departed this life March the twenty-sixth, A. D. 1727. He was son to John Cranston, Esq. who also was governor here in 1680. He is descended from the noble Scottish Lord Cranston, and carried in his veins the stream of the ancient blood of Crawford, Bothwell, and _____; having had for his grandfather clerk chaplain of king Charles the first; his great grandfather was John Cranston, of _____; this last was son to James Cranston, Esq. Which James was son to William Lord Cranston.³¹⁴

313. By another account, considerably more accurate, this inscription reads instead as follows:

Here lyeth interred the body of Major John Cranston esq. Governor who deceased this life the 12 day of March in the 55th yeare of his age, 1680.

"_____ happy now brave Briton without end,
Thy country's father and thy country's friend."

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould recorded in his journal:

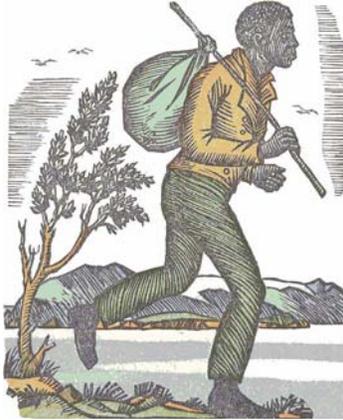
6th day [Friday] had a Meeting at Richmon [Richmond] at this Meeting three women attended having their infants in their Arms & the one of them was restless & cryed, it was seemingly no disturbance - We rode aftermeeting [sic] about ten Miles to Jabez Collins's & dined & from thence to Abel Collins's in Stonington & on 7 day [Saturday] we had a Meeting in the New Meeting House which friends have just built in Hopkinton. - & dined at Ethan Fosters - then rode to Coventry & lodged at Perez Pecks. -

314. By another account, somewhat more accurate, this inscription reads instead as follows:

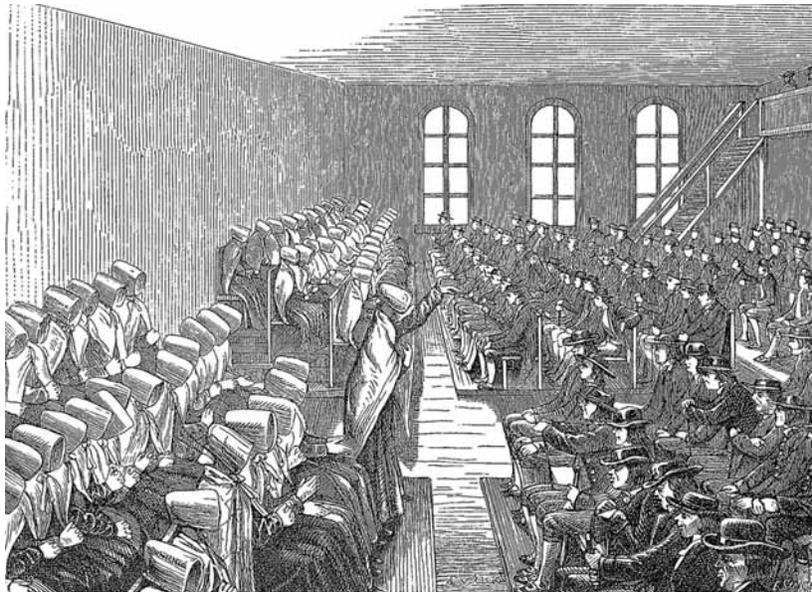
Here lies the body of Samuel Cranston, Esq., late Governour of this colony; aged 68 years; and departed this life April ye 26, A.D. 1727. He was the son of John Cranston, Esq., who was also Governour here, 1680. He was decended from the noble Scottish Lord Cranston, and carried in his veins a stream of the ancient Earls of Crawford, Bothwell, and Traquairs. Having had for his grandfather James Cranston, clerk, Chaplain to King Charles the First. His great-grandfather was John Cranston, of Bool, Esq. This last was son to James Cranston, Esq., which James was son to William Lord Cranston.

1835

Elizabeth Buffum Chase and her sisters founded the Fall River Anti-Slavery Society, trekking door-to-door collecting signatures on petitions calling for the immediate freeing of slaves; for the following decade, until 1845, she and her husband would hide fugitive slaves in their home at the corner of Hunt Street and Broad Street in Central Falls, operating as a station on the Underground Railroad.



After much soul-searching, Chase, who lost a series of five children to illness, would leave her monthly meeting over its refusal to take a tougher stand against slavery. **QUAKER**



Here are the **RHODE ISLAND** ers believed to have been active in the Underground Railroad:

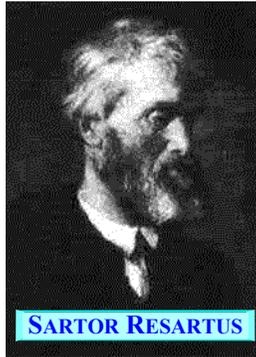
NEWPORT:

Jethro and Anne Mitchell (related to Maria Mitchell of Nantucket? –Jethro was born on January 27, 1784 on Nantucket Island)

[PROVIDENCE](#):

Robert Adams
Friend Arnold Buffum
William Buffum
Samuel B. Chase and Mrs. Elizabeth Buffum Chase
Daniel Mitchell of Foster and Pawtucket (related to Maria Mitchell of Nantucket? –her father’s name was William Mitchell)
Captain Jonathan Walker

October 6: Waldo Emerson received the second set of four offprints of SARTOR RESARTUS from the Boston Custom Shed, which Thomas Carlyle had dispatched to him in June, and set out quite as enthusiastically to disseminate these as he had the previous set of four.



One he would dispatch to the Reverend Convers Francis in Watertown. We can be pretty sure that Francis’s sister Lydia Maria Child perused that copy, for she was departing for a tour of England and asked Emerson for a letter of introduction to its author. Francis would pass this copy on to Theodore Parker, then a student at the Theological School in Cambridge, and Parker would then loan it to his “most intimate friend,” another student, William Silsbee.

Another copy Emerson would dispatch to the Reverend William Ellery Channing in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#). With the Reverend when that copy arrived was Harriet Martineau.

Meanwhile a long anonymous review (written by Alexander H. Everett and made possible by the copy that Emerson had made available to the editor during the late summer) was appearing in the [North American Review](#).³¹⁵

315. “Thomas Carlyle,” [North American Review](#) 41: 454-482

October 21, Wednesday: Waldo Emerson to his journal:

Last Saturday night came hither Mr Alcott & spent the Sabbath with me. A wise man, simple, superior to display. & drops the best things as quietly as the least. Every man, he said, is a Revelation, & ought to write his Record. But few with the pen.

Having met with brickbats in Concord NH and garbage, raw eggs, and rocks in Lowell MA, and having been seriously injured by being hit in the face with a rock in Ohio, and having been denounced by President Andrew Jackson in a message to Congress, the English anti-slavery reformer George Thompson had been reduced to making his return plans in secret because of concern that pro-slavery activists would attempt to kidnap him (presumably to tar and feather him).³¹⁶ He had fled Boston Harbor in a rowboat in order to board a British ship leaving for New Brunswick.

Back ashore, in what would come to be known as the “Gentlemen’s Riot” carried out by a downtown Boston group of swells associated with State Street and Milk Street which sometimes referred to itself as “the broadcloth mob,” what had been planned as a protest against a scheduled lecture by Thompson on behalf of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society transformed itself into a mob of several thousand persons which stormed the meeting while the women prayed for the protection of God. They came uncomfortably close to tarring and feathering the substitute speaker.

STATE STREET, BOSTON



This substitute, William Lloyd Garrison, was saved only by the intervention of Boston’s mayor, who –despite the fact that there was a mayoral election coming up in December– dealt personally with this proslavery mob.

To the people who were engaging in the antislavery struggle, this year of 1835 would become known as “the mob year.” The riot against Garrison in Boston was far from the only one. The North was having what Grimsted refers to as a “riot conversation” with the South, in an attempt to reassure it that its institution of human enslavement would be tolerated, and that opposition to this institution would not be allowed to interfere with the flow of business. There was therefore also an assault on this day upon Henry B. Stanton in Newport, and an assault upon Samuel May in Montpelier. No great personal injury or property damage resulted, as that was not the point:

PAGE 27 GRIMSTED: The day’s riotous work was the North’s final

316. Safely back in England, George Thompson would be elected to Parliament.

offering of works to prove the sincerity of its stream of words against abolition ... few in the South noted how little damage to property and none to people these careful mobs perpetrated.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould recorded in his journal:

*4th day 21 of 10 M / We rode to **PORTSMOUTH** to attend the Select Meeting - After which we went to Aunt Stantons & spent the Afternoon with her in sympathy with her lonely situation*

At this annual meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society at the Anti-Slavery Hall, the women were trapped in rooms on the 3d floor as the mob roamed the corridors of the building. The mayor of Boston belatedly arrived with a group of policemen and got the women to disperse, but William Lloyd Garrison was in his office and was left alone in the building with the mob. When he crawled through the back window and jumped down into the street, someone saw him and the mob gave chase. He was cornered in a second-floor room above a carpenter's shop into which he had dodged, whereupon there was a wrestling match to see whether he would be thrown from the window or into a tar kettle that had been prepared. The police jailed for the night for his own safety, in the jail on Leverett Street, and he inscribed on the wall there that his offense was "preaching the abominable and dangerous doctrine that all men have been created equal." Here is a fuller account of the action:

It was in the midst of such intense and widespread excitement that Boston called its meeting to abolish the Abolitionists. It was the month of August, and the heat of men's passions was as great as the heat of the August sun. The moral atmosphere of the city was so charged with inflammable gases that the slightest spark would have sufficed to produce an explosion. The Abolitionists felt this and carried themselves the while with unusual circumspection. They deemed it prudent to publish an address to neutralize the falsehoods with which they were assailed by their enemies. The address drawn up by Garrison for the purpose was thought "too fiery for the present time," by his more cautious followers and was rejected. The Liberator office had already been threatened in consequence of a fiery article by the editor, denouncing the use of Faneuil Hall for the approaching pro-slavery meeting. It seemed to the unawed and indignant champion of liberty that it were "better that the winds should scatter it in fragments over the whole earth - better that an earthquake should engulf it - than that it should be used for so unhallowed and detestable a purpose!" The anti-abolition feeling of the town had become so bitter and intense that Henry E. Benson, then clerk in the anti-slavery office, writing on the 19th of the month, believed that there were persons in Boston, who would assassinate George Thompson in broad daylight, and doubted whether Garrison or Samuel J. May would be safe in Faneuil Hall on the day of the meeting, and what seemed still more significant of the inflamed state of the public mind, was the confidence with which he predicted that a mob would follow the meeting. The wild-cat-like spirit was in the air - in the seething heart of the populace.

The meeting was held August 21st, in the old cradle of liberty. To its call alone fifteen hundred names were appended. It was a Boston audience both as to character and numbers, an altogether imposing affair, over whom the mayor of the city presided and before whom two of the most consummate orators of the commonwealth fulminated against the Abolitionists. One of their hearers, a young attorney of twenty-four, who listened to Peleg Sprague and Harrison Gray Otis that day, described sixteen years

afterward the latter and the effects produced by him on that audience. Our young attorney vividly recalled how "'Abolitionist' was linked with contempt, in the silver tones of Otis, and all the charms that a divine eloquence and most felicitous diction could throw around a bad cause were given it; the excited multitude seemed actually ready to leap up beneath the magic of his speech. It would be something, if one must die, to die by such a hand – a hand somewhat worthy and able to stifle anti-slavery, if it could be stifled. The orator was worthy of the gigantic task attempted; and thousands crowded before him, every one of their hearts melted by that eloquence, beneath which Massachusetts had bowed, not unworthily, for more than thirty years." Here is a specimen of the sort of goading which the wild-cat-like spirit of the city got from the orators. It is taken from the speech of Peleg Sprague. The orator is paying his respects to George Thompson, "an avowed emissary" "a professed agitator," who "comes here from the dark and corrupt institutions of Europe to enlighten us upon the rights of man and the moral duties of our own condition. Received by our hospitality, he stands here upon our soil, protected by our laws, and hurls firebrands, arrows, and death into the habitations of our neighbors and friends, and brothers; and when he shall have kindled a conflagration which is sweeping in desolation over our land, he has only to embark for his own country, and there look serenely back with indifference or exultation upon the widespread ruin by which our cities are wrapt in flames, and our garments rolled in blood." The great meeting was soon a thing of the past but not so its effects. The echoes of Otis and Sprague did not cease at its close. They thrilled in the air, they thrilled long afterward in the blood of the people. When the multitude dispersed Mischief went out into the streets of the city with them. Wherever afterward they gathered Mischief made one in their midst. Mischief was let loose, Mischief was afoot in the town. The old town was no place for the foreign emissary, neither was it a safe place for the arch-agitator. On the day after the meeting, Garrison and his young wife accordingly retreated to her father's home at Brooklyn, Conn., where the husband needed not to be jostling elbows with Mistress Mischief, and her pals. Garrison's answer to the speeches of Otis and Sprague was in his sternest vein. He is sure after reading them that, "there is more guilt attaching to the people of the free States from the continuance of slavery, than those in the slave States." At least he is ready to affirm upon the authority of Orator Sprague, "that New England is as really a slave-holding section of the republic as Georgia or South Carolina." Sprague, he finds, "in amicable companionship and popular repute with thieves and adulterers; with slaveholders, slavedealers, and slave-destroyers; ... with the disturbers of the public peace; with the robbers of the public mail; with ruffians who insult, pollute, and lacerate helpless women; and with conspirators against the lives and liberties of New England citizens." To Otis who was then nearly seventy years of age Garrison addressed his rebuke in tones of singular solemnity. It seemed to him that the aged statesman had transgressed against liberty "under circumstances of peculiar criminality." "Yet at this solemn period," the reprobation of the prophet ran, "you have not scrupled, nay, you have been ambitious, to lead and address an excited multitude, in vindication of all imaginable wickedness, embodied in one great

system of crime and blood – to pander to the lusts and desires of the robbers of God and his poor – to consign over to the tender mercies of cruel taskmasters, multitudes of guiltless men, women, and children – and to denounce as an ‘unlawful and dangerous association’ a society whose only object is to bring this nation to repentance, through the truth as it is in Jesus.” These audacious and iconoclastic performances of the reformer were not exactly adapted to turn from him the wrath of the idol worshipers. They more likely added fuel to the hot anger burning in Boston against him. Three weeks passed after his departure from the city, and his friends did not deem it safe for him to return. Toward the end of the fourth week of his enforced absence, against which he was chafing not a little, an incident happened in Boston which warned him to let patience have its perfect work. It was on the night of September 17th that the dispositions of the city toward him found grim expression in a gallows erected in front of his house at 23 Brighton street. This ghastly reminder that the fellow-citizens of the editor of the Liberator continued to take a lively interest in him, “was made in real workmanship style, of *maple joist* five inches through, eight or nine feet high, for the accommodation of two persons.” Garrison and Thompson were the two persons for whom these brave accommodations were prepared. But as neither they nor their friends were in a mood to have trial made of them, the intended occupants consented to give Boston a wide berth, and to be somewhat particular that they did not turn in with her while the homicidal fit lasted. This editing his paper at long range, and this thought of life and safety Garrison did not at all relish. They grew more and more irksome to his fearless and earnest spirit. For his was a “pine-and-fagot” Abolitionism that knew not the fear of men or their wrath. But now he must needs have a care for the peace of mind of his young wife, who was, within a few months, to give birth to a child. And her anxiety for him was very great. Neither was the anxiety of devoted friends and followers to be lightly disregarded. All of which detained the leader in Brooklyn until the 25th of the month, when the danger signals seemed to have disappeared. Whereupon he set out immediately for his post in Boston to be at the head of his forces. He found the city in one of those strange pauses of popular excitement, which might signify the ebb of the tide or only the retreat of the billows. He was not inclined to let the anti-Abolition agitation subside so soon, before it had carried on its flood Abolition principles to wider fields and more abundant harvests in the republic. Anxious lest the cat-like temper of the populace was falling into indifference and apathy, he and his disciples took occasion to prod it into renewed wakefulness and activity. The instruments used for this purpose were anti-slavery meetings and the sharp goad of his Liberator editorials. The city was possessed with the demon of slavery, and its foaming at the mouth was the best of all signs that the Abolition exorcism was working effectively. So, in between the glittering teeth and the terrible paws was thrust the maddening goad, and up sprang the mighty beast horrible to behold. One of these meetings was the anniversary of the formation of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society which fell on October 14th. The ladies issued their notice, engaged a hall, and invited George Thompson to address them. Now the foreign emissary was particularly exasperating to Boston sensibility on the subject of slavery. He was the veritable red rag to the pro-

slavery bull. The public announcement, therefore, that he was to speak in the city threw the public mind into violent agitation. The Gazette and the Courier augmented the excitement by the recklessness with which they denounced the proposed meeting, the former promising to Thompson a lynching, while the latter endeavored to involve his associates who were to the "manner born" in the popular outbreak, which was confidently predicted in case the "foreign vagrant" wagged his tongue at the time appointed. Notwithstanding the rage of press and people the meeting was postponed through no willingness on the part of the ladies, but because of the panic of the owners of the hall lest their property should be damaged or destroyed in case of a riot. The ladies, thereupon, appointed three o'clock in the afternoon of October 21st as the time, and the hall adjoining the Anti-Slavery Office, at 46 Washington street, as the place where they would hold their adjourned meeting. This time they made no mention of Mr. Thompson's addressing them, merely announcing several addresses. In fact, an address from Mr. Thompson, in view of the squally outlook, was not deemed expedient. To provide against accidents and disasters, he left the city on the day before the meeting. But this his enemies did not know. They confidently expected that he was to be one of the speakers. An inflammatory handbill distributed on the streets at noon of the 21st seemed to leave no doubt of this circumstance in the pro-slavery portion of the city. The handbill referred to ran as follows:

THOMPSON, THE ABOLITIONIST!

That infamous foreign scoundrel, THOMPSON, will hold forth *this afternoon* at the Liberator office. No. 48 Washington street. The present is a fair opportunity for the friends of the Union to *snake Thompson out!* It will be a contest between the Abolitionists and the friends of the Union. A purse of \$100 has been raised by a number of patriotic citizens to reward the individual who shall first lay violent hands on Thompson, so that he may be brought to the tar-kettle before dark. Friends of the Union, be vigilant!

Boston, Wednesday, 12 o'clock.

That Wednesday forenoon Garrison spent at the anti-slavery office, little dreaming of the peril which was to overtake him in that very spot in the afternoon. He went home to an early dinner, since his wife was a member of the society, and he himself was set down for an address. As he wended his way homeward, Mischief and her gang were afoot distributing the aforesaid handbills "in the insurance offices, the reading-rooms, all along State street, in the hotels, bar-rooms, etc.," and scattering it "among mechanics at the North End, who were mightily taken with it." Garrison returned about a half hour before the time appointed for the meeting. He found a small crowd of about a hundred individuals collected in front of the building where the hall was situated, and on ascending to the hall more of the same sort, mostly young men, choking the access to it. They were noisy, and Garrison pushed his way through them with difficulty. As he entered the place of meeting and took his seat among the ladies, twenty had already arrived, the gang of young rowdies recognized him and evinced this by the exclamation: "That's Garrison!" The full significance of the crowd just without the hall did not seem to have occurred to the

man whom they had identified. He did not know that they were the foam blown from the mouth of a great mob at the moment filling the streets in the neighborhood of the building where he sat with such serenity of spirit. His wife who had followed him from their home saw what Garrison did not see. The crowd of a hundred had swelled to thousands. It lay in a huge irregular cross, jammed in between the buildings on Washington street, the head lowering in front of the anti-slavery office, the foot reaching to the site where stood Joy building, now occupied by the Rogers, the right arm stretching along Court street to the Court House, and the left encircling the old State House, City Hall and Post-office then, in a gigantic embrace. All hope of urging her way through that dense mass was abandoned by Mrs. Garrison, and a friend, Mr. John E. Fuller, escorted her to his home, where she passed the night. Meantime the atmosphere upstairs at the hall began to betoken a fast approaching storm. The noises ominously increased on the landing just outside. The door of the hall was swung wide open and the entrance filled with rioters. Garrison, all unconscious of danger, walked over to these persons and remonstrated in his grave way with them in regard to the disturbance which they were producing, winding up with a characteristic bit of pleasantry: "Gentlemen," said he, "perhaps you are not aware that this is a meeting of the Boston *Female Anti-Slavery Society*, called and intended exclusively for *ladies*, and those only who have been invited to address them. Understanding this fact you will not be so rude and indecorous as to thrust your presence upon this meeting." But he added, "If, *gentlemen*, any of you are *ladies* in disguise – why only apprise me of the fact, give me your names, and I will introduce you to the rest of your sex, and you can take seats among them accordingly." The power of benignity over malignity lasted a few moments after this little speech, when the situation changed rapidly from bad to worse. "The tumult continually increased," says an eye-witness, "with horrible execrations, howling, stamping, and finally shrieking with rage. They seemed not to dare to enter, notwithstanding their fury, but mounted on each other's shoulders, so that a row of hostile heads appeared over the slight partition, of half the height of the wall which divides the society's rooms from the landing place. We requested them to allow the door to be shut; but they could not decide as to whether the request should be granted, and the door was opened and shut with violence, till it hung useless from its hinges." Garrison thinking that his absence might quiet these perturbed spirits and so enable the ladies to hold their meeting without further molestation volunteered at this juncture to the president of the society to retire from the hall unless she desired him to remain. She did not wish him to stay but urged him to go at once not only for the peace of the meeting but for his own safety. Garrison thereupon left the hall meaning at the time to leave the building as well, but egress by the way of the landing and the stairs, he directly perceived was impossible, and did what seemed the next best thing, entered the anti-slavery office, separated from the hall by a board partition. Charles C. Burleigh accompanied him within this retreat. The door between the hall and the office was securely locked, and Garrison with that marvelous serenity of mind, which was a part of him, busied himself immediately with writing to a friend an account of the scenes which were enacting in the next room. The tempest had begun in the streets also. The mob from its five

thousand throats were howling "Thompson! Thompson!" The mayor of the city, Theodore Lyman, appeared upon the scene, and announced to the gentlemen of property and standing, who were thus exercising their vocal organs, that Mr. Thompson was not at the meeting, was not in the city. But the mayor was a modern Canute before the sea of human passion, which was rushing in over law and authority. He besought the rioters to disperse, but he might as well have besought the waves breaking on Nastasket Beach to disperse. Higher, higher rose the voices; fiercer, fiercer waxed the multitude; more and more frightful became the uproar. The long-pent-up excitement of the city and its hatred of Abolitionists had broken loose at last and the deluge had come. The mayor tossed upon the human inundation as a twig on a mountain stream, and with him for the nonce struggled helplessly the police power of the town also. Upstairs in the hall the society and its president are quite as powerless as the mayor and the police below. Miss Mary S. Parker, the president, is struggling with the customary opening exercises. She has called the meeting to order, read to the ladies some passages from the Bible, and has lifted up her voice in prayer to the All Wise and Merciful One "for direction and succor, and the forgiveness of enemies and revilers." It is a wonderful scene, a marvelous example of Christian heroism, for in the midst of the hisses and threats and curses of the rioters, the prayer of the brave woman rose clear and untremulous. But now the rioters have thrown themselves against the partition between the landing-place and the hall. They are trying to break it down; now, they have partially succeeded. In another moment they have thrown themselves against the door of the office where Garrison is locked. The lower panel is dashed in. Through the opening they have caught sight of their object, Garrison, serenely writing at his desk. "There he is! That's Garrison! Out with the scoundrel!" and other such words of recognition and execration, burst from one and another of the mob. The shattering of the partition, the noise of splitting and ripping boards, the sharp crash caused by the shivering of the office door, the loud and angry outcries of the rioters warn the serene occupant of the office that his position has become one of extreme peril. But he does not become excited. His composure does not forsake him. Instead of attempting to escape, he simply turns to his friend, Burleigh, with the words, "You may as well open the door, and let them come in and do their worst." But fortunately, Burleigh was in no such extremely non-resistant mood. The advent of the mayor and the constables upon the scene at this point rescued Garrison from immediately falling into the hands of the mob, who were cleared out of the hall and from the stairway. Now the voice of the mayor was heard urging the ladies to go home as it was dangerous to remain; and now the voice of Maria Weston Chapman, replying: "If this is the last bulwark of freedom, we may as well die here as anywhere." The ladies finally decided to retire, and their exit diverted, while the operation lasted, the attention of the huge, cat-like creature from their object in the anti-slavery office. When the passing of the ladies had ceased, the old fury of the mob against Garrison returned. "Out with him!" "Lynch him!" rose in wild uproar from thousands in the streets. But again the attention of the huge, cat-like creature was diverted from its object in the second story of the building before which it was lashing itself into frenzy. This time it was the anti-slavery sign which hung from the rooms of

the society over the sidewalk. The mob had caught sight of it, and directly set up a yell for it. The sensation of utter helplessness in the presence of the multitude seemed at this juncture to return to the chief magistrate of the city. It was impossible to control the cataract-like passions of the rioters. He heard their awful roar for the sign. The din had risen to terrific proportions. The thought of what might happen next appalled him. The mob might begin to bombard the sign with brickbats, and from the sign pass to the building, and from the building to the constables, and then – but the mayor glanced not beyond, for he had determined to appease the fury of the mob by throwing down to it the hateful sign. A constable detached it, and hurled it down to the rioters in the street. But by the act the mayor had signified that the rule of law had collapsed, and the rule of the mob had really begun. When the rioters had wreaked their wrath upon the emblem of freedom, they were in the mood for more violence. The appetite for destruction, it was seen, had not been glutted; only whetted. Garrison's situation was now extremely critical. He could no longer remain where he was, for the mob would invade the building and hunt him like hounds from cellar to garret. He must leave the building without delay. To escape from the front was out of the question. A way of escape must, therefore, be found in the rear. All of these considerations the mayor and Garrison's friends urged upon him. The good man fell in with this counsel, and, with a faithful friend, proceeded to the rear of the building, where from a window he dropped to a shed, but in doing so was very nearly precipitated to the ground. After picking himself up he passed into a carpenter's shop, meaning to let himself down into Wilson's Lane, now Devonshire street, but the myriad-eyed mob, which was searching every portion of the building for their game, espied him at this point, and with that set up a great shout. The workmen came to the aid of the fugitive by closing the door of the carpenter's shop in the face of his pursuers. The situation seemed desperate. Retreat from the front was cut off; escape from the rear anticipated and foiled. Garrison perceived the futility of any further attempts to elude the mob, and proposed in his calm way to deliver himself up to them. But his faithful Achates, John Reid Campbell, advised him that it was his duty to avoid the mob as long as it was possible to do so. Garrison thereupon made a final effort to get away. He retreated up stairs, where his friend and a lad got him into a corner of the room and tried to conceal his whereabouts by piling some boards in front of him. But, by that time, the rioters had entered the building, and within a few moments had broken into the room where Garrison was in hiding. They found Mr. Reid, and demanded of him where Garrison was. But Reid firmly refused to tell. They then led him to a window, and exhibited him to the mob in the Lane, advising them that it was not Garrison, but Garrison's and Thompson's friend, who knows where Garrison is, but refuses to tell. A shout of fierce exultation from below greeted this announcement. Almost immediately afterward, Garrison was discovered and dragged furiously to the window, with the intention of hurling him thence to the pavement. Some of the rioters were for doing this, while others were for milder measures. "Don't let us kill him outright!" they begged. So his persecutors relented, coiled a rope around his body instead, and bade him descend to the street. The great man was never greater than at that moment. With extraordinary meekness and benignity

he saluted his enemies in the street. From the window he bowed to the multitude who were thirsting for his destruction, requesting them to wait patiently, for he was coming to them. Then he stepped intrepidly down the ladder raised for the purpose, and into the seething sea of human passion. Garrison must now have been speedily torn to pieces had he not been quickly seized by two or three powerful men, who were determined to save him from falling into the hands of the mob. They were men of great muscular strength, but the muscular strength of two or three giants would have proven utterly unequal to the rescue, and this Mr. Garrison's deliverers evidently appreciated. For while they employed their powerful arms, they also employed stratagem as well to effect their purpose. They shouted anon as they fought their way through the excited throng, "He is an American! He shan't be hurt!" and other such words which divided the mind of the mob, arousing among some sympathy for the good man. By this means he was with difficulty got out of Wilson's lane into State street, in the rear of the old State House. The champion was now on historic ground, ground consecrated by the blood of Crispus Attucks and his fellow-martyrs sixty-five years before. His hat was lost, much of his clothing was stripped from his body, he was without his customary glasses, and was therefore practically blind. He could hear the awful clamor, the mighty uproar of the mob, but he could not distinguish them one from another, friend from foe. Nevertheless he "walked with head erect, calm countenance flashing eyes like a martyr going to the stake, full of faith and manly hope" according to the testimony of an eye-witness. Garrison himself has thrown light on the state of his mind during the ordeal. "The promises of God," he afterward remembered, sustained his soul, "so that it was not only divested of fear, but ready to sing aloud for joy." The news now reached the ears of the mayor that Garrison was in the hands of the mob. Thereupon the feeble but kindly magistrate began to act afresh the role of the twig in the mountain stream. He and his constables struggled helplessly in the human current rushing and raging around City Hall, the head and seat of municipal law and authority. Without the aid of private citizens Garrison must inevitably have perished in the commotions which presently reached their climax in violence and terror. He was in the rear of City Hall when the mayor caught up to him and his would-be rescuers. The mayor perceived the extremity of the situation, and said to the Faneuil Hall giants who had hold of Garrison, "Take him into my office," which was altogether more easily said than done. For the rioters have raised the cry "to the Frog Pond with him!" Which order will be carried out, that of the magistrate or that of the mob? These were horrible moments while the two hung trembling in the balance. But other private citizens coming to the assistance of the mayor struck the scales for the moment in his favor, and Garrison was finally hustled, and thrust by main force into the south door of the City Hall and carried up to the mayor's room. But the mob had immediately effected an entrance into the building through the north door and filled the lower hall. The mayor now addressed the pack, strove manfully in his feeble way to prevail upon the human wolves to observe order, to sustain the law and the honor of the city, he even intimated to them that he was ready to lay down his life on the spot to maintain the law and preserve order. Then he got out on the ledge over the south door and spoke in a similar strain to the mob on the street. But alas! he knew not

the secret for reversing the Circean spell by which gentlemen of property and standing in the community had been suddenly transformed into a wolfish rabble. The increasing tumult without soon warned the authorities that what advantage the mayor may have obtained in the contest with the mob was only temporary and that their position was momentarily becoming more perilous and less tenable. It was impossible to say to what extreme of violence a multitude so infuriated would not go to get their prey. It seemed to the now thoroughly alarmed mayor that the mob might in their frenzy attack the City Hall to effect their purpose. There was one building in the city, which the guardians of the law evidently agreed could resist the rage of the populace, and that building was the jail. To this last stronghold of Puritan civilization the authorities and the powers that were, fell back as a dernier resort to save Garrison's life. But even in this utmost pitch and extremity, when law was trampled in the streets, when authority was a reed shaken in a storm, when anarchy had drowned order in the bosom of the town, the Anglo-Saxon passion for legal forms asserted itself. The good man, hunted for his life, must forsooth be got into the only refuge which promised him security from his pursuers by a regular judicial commitment as a disturber of the peace. Is there anything at once so pathetic and farcical in the Universal history of mobs? Pathetic and farcical to be sure, but it was also well meant, and therefore we will not stop to quarrel with men who were equal to the perpetration of a legal fiction so full of the comedy and tragedy of civilized society. But enough – the municipal wiseacres having put their heads together and evolved the brilliant plan of committing the prophet as a disturber of the peace, immediately set about its execution, which developed in the sequence into a bird of altogether another color. For a more perilous and desperate device to preserve Garrison's life could not well have been hit upon. How was he ever to be got out of the building and through that sea of ferocious faces surging and foaming around it. First then by disguising his identity by sundry changes in his apparel. He obtained a pair of trousers from one kindly soul, another gave him a coat, a third lent him a stock, a fourth furnished him a cap. A hack was summoned and stationed at the south door, a posse of constables drew up and made an open way from the door to it. Another hack was placed in readiness at the north door. The hack at the south door was only a ruse to throw the mob off the scent of their prey, while he was got out of the north door and smuggled into the other hack. Up to this point, the plan worked well, but the instant after Garrison had been smuggled into the hack he was identified by the mob, and then ensued a scene which defies description; no writer however skillful, may hope to reproduce it. The rioters rushed madly upon the vehicle with the cry: "Cut the traces! Cut the reins!" They flung themselves upon the horses, hung upon the wheels, dashed open the doors, the driver the while belaboring their heads right and left with a powerful whip, which he also laid vigorously on the backs of his horses. For a moment it looked as if a catastrophe was unavoidable, but the next saw the startled horses plunging at break-neck speed with the hack up Court street and the mob pursuing it with yells of baffled rage. Then began a thrilling, a tremendous race for life and Leverett street jail. The vehicle flew along Court street to Bodoin square, but the rioters, with fell purpose flew hardly less swiftly in its track. Indeed the

pursuit of the pack was so close that the hackman did not dare to drive directly to the jail but reached it by a detour through Cambridge and Blossom streets. Even then the mob pressed upon the heels of the horses as they drew up before the portals of the old prison, which shut not an instant too soon upon the editor of the Liberator, who was saved from a frightful fate to use a Biblical phrase but by the skin of his teeth. Here the reformer safe from the wrath of his foes, was locked in a cell; and here, during the evening, with no abatement of his customary cheerfulness and serenity of spirit, he received several of his anxious friends, Whittier among them, whom through the grated bars he playfully accosted thus: "You see my accommodations are so limited, that I cannot ask you to spend the night with me." That night in his prison cell, and on his rude prison bed, he slept the sleep of the just man, sweet and long:

"When peace within the bosom reigns,
And conscience gives th' approving voice;
Though bound the human form in chains.
Yet can the soul aloud rejoice.

"'Tis true, my footsteps are confined –
I cannot range beyond this cell –
But what can circumscribe my mind,
To chain the winds attempt as well!"

The above stanzas he wrote the next morning on the walls of his cell. Besides this one he made two other inscriptions there, to stand as memorabilia of the black drama enacted in Boston on the afternoon of October 21, 1835. After being put through the solemn farce of an examination in a court, extemporized in the jail, Garrison was discharged from arrest as a disturber of the peace! But the authorities, dreading a repetition of the scenes of the day before, prayed him to leave the city for a few days, which he did, a deputy sheriff driving him to Canton, where he boarded the train from Boston to Providence, containing his wife, and together they went thence to her father's at Brooklyn, Conn. The apprehensions of the authorities in respect of the danger of a fresh attack upon him were unquestionably well founded, inasmuch as diligent search was made for him in all of the outgoing stages and cars from the city that morning. In this wise did pro-slavery, patriotic Boston translate into works her sympathy for the South.

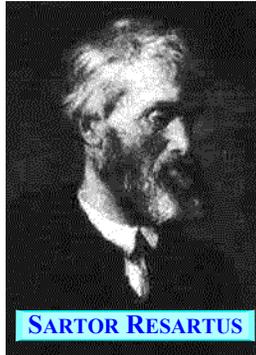
1837

The argument for the almost magical growth of the Scottish author Thomas Carlyle's reputation was first made by the peripatetic English reformer, Harriet Martineau, in her controversial travelogue *SOCIETY IN AMERICA*:

No living writer exercises so enviable a sway, so far as it goes, as Mr. Carlyle ... [whose] remarkable work *SARTOR RESARTUS*, issued piecemeal through *Fraser's Magazine*, has been republished in America and is exerting an influence proportioned to the genuineness of the admiration it has excited. Perhaps this is the first instance of the Americans having taken to their hearts an English work that came to them anonymous, unsanctioned by any recommendation and even absolutely neglected at home. It has regenerated the preaching of more than one of the clergy.



This English author’s published account of the situation, above, is of course entirely disingenuous, is a deliberate act of mystification of her audience. She had herself already become part of the American movement for this book by Carlyle before she had returned to England.



In April 1835 she had been had been “[fed] with the SARTOR” by the Reverend William Henry Furness in Philadelphia out of the copy he had just received from Waldo Emerson in Boston. In May 1835 while vacationing with Mrs. Sophia Ripley and the Reverend George Ripley she had “made the SARTOR her constant companion.” In June 1835 while visiting the Reverend James Freeman Clarke in Lexington, Kentucky she had told him that what she was up to was “preparing the people for Carlyleism.” In August 1835 while visiting the Reverend Clarke’s cousin Margaret Fuller they had had “some talk about Carlyleism.” During Fall 1835 she had met with Emerson himself several times as he exercised himself in behalf of Thomas Carlyle. She had visited several times with Sarah Alden Bradford Ripley in Waltham MA, and in October 1835 she had been staying with the Reverend William Ellery Channing in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) when Emerson had sent the Reverend Channing a copy of SARTOR RESARTUS.

1838

July 13: We know at this point, by virtue of the death of a man who had arrived earlier, and the settlement of his estate by depositions of witnesses as to the will, that on some date prior to this date a ship, the *Martin*, had arrived in Boston Harbor. What we have been able to figure out on the basis of this record is that the vessel had brought to Boston:

- SYLVESTER BALDWIN of Aston Clinton, county Bucks
- Mrs. Sarah Baldwin
- Richard Baldwin
- Sarah Baldwin

- JAMES WEEDEN of Chesham, county Bucks Newport
- Mrs. Phillippa Weeden
- John Weeden
- William Weeden
- Anna Weeden
- Martha Weeden

- CHAD BROWN Providence
- Mrs. Elizabeth Brown
- John Brown



The Reverend Chad Brown and Mrs. Elizabeth Brown's son John Brown was at the time about 8 years old. On August 20, 1638 the Reverend would be incorporated into town fellowship with others at Providence (previously known as *Moshasuck*), in the [RHODE ISLAND](#) colony. In 1642, after the brief tenure of the Reverend Roger Williams, he would become the minister of the new Baptist church there. (After this Reverend would come Elder James Brown (1666-1716?/1732?). After this Elder would come James Brown II (1698-1739), a prosperous merchant and the sire of four important sons.) We do not know for sure that James Brown, Jeremiah Brown, Judah Brown, and Daniel Brown were born after John Brown:

- Son Reverend John Brown of Providence would get married with Mary Holmes (daughter of Obadiah Holmes, who was persecuted by Massachusetts). The couple would have John Brown (2), born on March 18, 1662; James Brown, born during 1666, who would be Elder of the same 1st Baptist Church of Providence in which his grandfather the Reverend Chad Brown had led; Obadiah Brown, Martha Brown, and Deborah Brown.
- Son James Brown
- Son Jeremiah Brown
- Son Judah Brown alias Chad Brown (2).
- Son Daniel Brown, who is recorded in Providence during 1646, would get married on December 25, 1669 with Alice Herenden (probably Benjamin Herenden's daughter). The couple would have Judah Brown (2); Sarah Brown, born on October 10, 1677; Jeremiah Brown (2); and perhaps more. Daniel Brown would die before November 10, 1710.

The following sayings are attributed to the Reverend Chad Brown:

A man's right to defend himself included his right to refuse armaments and to try better means according to the dictates of his conscience.

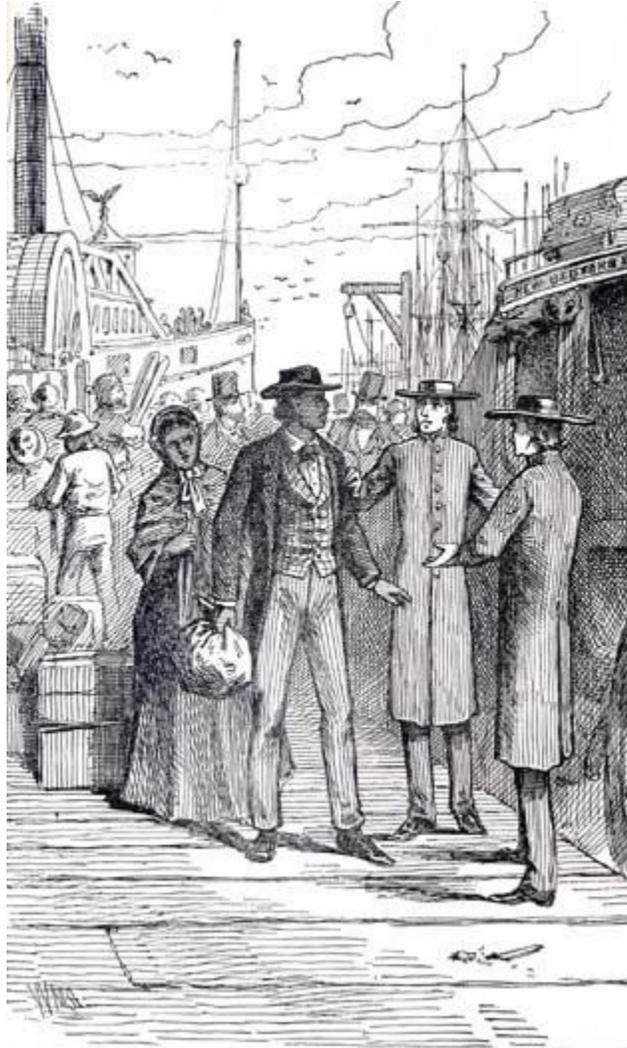
No man should be a slave but that each was entitled to just recompense for labor which he had performed.

Summer: Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was spending the season at [NEWPORT](#) on [AQUIDNECK ISLAND](#), in [RHODE ISLAND](#). He had formed connections there with George W. Greene and with Samuel Ward, a brother of Julia Ward (Howe) whom he had met in Europe, and had prepared for his visit by a perusal of John Callender's 1739 work, AN HISTORICAL DISCOURSE, ON THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND. When he visited 19-year-old Julia, most likely at the Ward family residence called "Buttonwood" or "Redwood Lodge," she called him "Longo" and he caught a bad cold by sleeping with the window wide open. The group visited the Old Stone Mill or Round Tower, and ventured intrepid speculations as to its ancient origins.

NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

September 16, Sunday: Frederick Douglass and Anna Murray Douglass, as Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Johnson, were put by David Ruggles aboard the steamer *John W. Richmond* from New-York to Aquidneck Island³¹⁷ in Rhode Island and there boarded a stagecoach headed toward the whaling port of New Bedford MA in the company of Friend Joseph Ricketson and Friend William C. Taber.³¹⁸



In New Bedford MA, known as a liberal town, the outlaw bridegroom would be seeking (but not finding, due to race prejudice) employment as a caulker — and would be put to work on the docks as a stevedore.

317. There is possible irony here, that might be looked into. What is the probability that Anna's and Frederick's black ancestors had been brought to this continent in ships owned by the international slavetraders of Newport?

318. Although Frederick Douglass's various narratives all make the encounter in Newport seem quite accidental, it is rather more likely that David Ruggles had passed the word to the local anti-slavery society, and that Friends William C. Taber and Ricketson had been expectantly waiting for them to disembark from the steamer.



ANNA MURRAY DOUGLASS



FREDERICK DOUGLASS

We arrived at Newport the next morning, and soon after an old fashioned stage-coach, with "New Bedford" in large yellow letters on its sides, came down to the wharf. I had not money enough to pay our fare, and stood hesitating what to do. Fortunately for us, there were two **QUAKER** gentlemen who were about to take passage on the stage,— Friends William C. Taber and Joseph Ricketson, —who at once discerned our true situation, and, in a peculiarly quiet way, addressing me, Mr. Taber said: "Thee get in." I never obeyed an order with more alacrity, and we were soon on our way to our new home. When we reached "Stone Bridge" the passengers alighted for breakfast, and paid their fares to the driver. We took no breakfast, and, when asked for our fares, I told the driver I would make it right with him when we reached New Bedford.

"The capacity to get free is nothing; the capacity to be free, that is the task."

— André Gide, THE IMMORALIST
translation Richard Howard
NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970, page 7

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

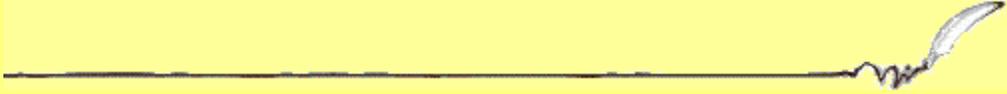
1st day [Sunday] 16th of 9 M 1838 / I was so unwell for several days past that I could go out but little & have not attended Meetings today, but felt Able to be at the funeral of my Venerable Father in law Clarke Rodman, which was after the Afternoon Meeting - It was very numerously attended by people of all persuasions, & the sitting at the house was a very solemn Season leaving an evidence that words are not necessary to produce an evidence to the Truth but that it may be experienced in solemn Silence The only expressions were from Hannah Dennis simply the expression of the Scripture passage "Mark the perfect Man & behold the upright, for the end of that Man is peace."— this simply expressed, without enlargement, left a precious savor & I never felt more unity with Hannah on any occasion. — At the grave we had a Silent Solemn pause & the countenances of the people exhibited a reverence & respect not usually

discoverable to the same extent on such occasions -



September 18, Tuesday: Waldo Emerson to his journal in regard to the annular (partial) solar eclipse (#7260) that passed from Hudson Bay down across northern New England:

This P.M. the Eclipse. Peter Howe did not like it for his rowan would not make hay: and he said "the sun looked as if a nigger was putting his head into it."



Well, in some sense Peter Howe of Concord was right, black people were indeed raising their head into the sunshine. For on this day of eclipse Frederick Douglass and Anna Murray Douglass, as free Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Johnson, were arriving in their new hometown, New Bedford MA:

We arrived at Newport the next morning, and soon after an old fashioned stage-coach, with "New Bedford" in large yellow letters on its sides, came down to the wharf. I had not money enough to pay our fare, and stood hesitating what to do. Fortunately for us, there were two **QUAKER** gentlemen who were about to take passage on the stage,— Friends William C. Taber and Joseph Ricketson,—who at once discerned our true situation, and, in a peculiarly quiet way, addressing me, Mr. Taber said: "Thee get in." I never obeyed an order with more alacrity, and we were soon on our way to our new home. When we reached "Stone Bridge" the passengers alighted for breakfast, and paid their fares to the driver. We took no breakfast, and, when asked for our fares, I told the driver I would make it right with him when we reached New Bedford. I expected some objection to this on his part, but he made none. When, however, we reached New Bedford, he took our baggage, including three music-books,—two of them collections by Dyer, and one by Shaw,—and held them until I was able to redeem them by paying to him the amount due for our rides. This was soon done, for Mr. Nathan Johnson not only received me kindly and hospitably, but, on being informed about our baggage, at once loaned me the two dollars with which to square accounts with the stage-driver. Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Johnson reached a good old age, and now rest from their labors. I am under many grateful obligations to them. They not only "took me in when a stranger" and "fed me when hungry," but taught me how to make an honest living. Thus, in a fortnight after my flight from Maryland, I was safe in New Bedford, a citizen of the grand old commonwealth of Massachusetts....

Mary J. Tabor would allege in 1907 something that does not jibe with the popular appreciation of Frederick Douglass that is gathered from reading of his NARRATIVE, to wit, that at this point, with him arriving at freedom in New Bedford, he was not yet able to read, let alone to write. She would allege that in New Bedford after his escape from slavery, it had been her relative William C. Taber who had found for Douglass the stevedoring work he mentions on the wharves (help not acknowledged in Douglass's written account), and she would allege that at this point Douglass had been taught to read by her relative Charles Taber:

Owing to the anti-slavery principles of Friends, New Bedford

early became a station on the "underground railroad," and if a fugitive slave could once reach this haven of rest, he felt almost safe from pursuit, public opinion being so strong that in the days of the Fugitive Slave Law it would have been impossible to capture a runaway slave in this town.

Frederick Douglass, one of the most remarkable of colored men, passed some time here in safety, and always retained a most grateful recollection of his sojourn among the Quakers. It happened on this wise: Having made his escape from slavery and reached Newport after many perils, he was very anxious to come to New Bedford, that place being known among the slaves as a heaven upon earth.

Hearing the name called out, he peeped shyly around the corner of a building and gazed longingly at the state coach which was filled with "women Friends" on their way home from New England Yearly Meeting. William C. Taber, sitting on the top of the coach, observed the pleading eyes, and said, "Yes, friend, it is all right, climb up here beside me."

No sooner said than done, William C. Taber paid his fare, brought him to his own house, and found work for him on the wharves, as he had been a stevedore at the South. While in New Bedford, he was taught to read by Charles Taber.

Thus the distinguished orator was launched on the road to fame.

What we have, above, is essentially an assertion that when Douglass arrived in New Bedford MA aboard that stage from Newport, Rhode Island, he could not yet read, let alone write. —That that is importantly discordant with the fulsome manner in which the NARRATIVE is now conventionally read, is something that goes without saying.

For their wedding document, the newlyweds had adopted the family name Johnson, but soon this came to seem an unwise selection. At the time the Douglasses were there, New Bedford had the highest per capita income in America. When the fugitive slave Freddy Bailey, then calling himself Frederick Johnson, arrived at the home of Nathan Johnson and Mary “Polly” Johnson in New Bedford (the Douglasses are not the only guests

This is the recent dedication of a plaque at the site, attended by descendants of the original participants:



documented to have found refuge for a time at 21 Seventh Street, next door to the Friends meetinghouse),



Nathan was reading Robert Burns, and within a day or two Johnson would rename him after the hero Douglas



in *LADY OF THE LAKE*, as Frederick Douglass. (Frederick decided to spell it “Douglass” because there were

some black families in New Bedford who spelled their name that way.)³¹⁹

319. But why did Freddy Bailey *alias* Fred Johnson **accept** the proffered name “Douglass”? Merely because it had been suggested to him? I think not! The Following is from a collection of Douglass’s speeches entitled LECTURES ON AMERICAN-SLAVERY, which would be published in 1851:

It is often said, by the opponents of the Anti-slavery cause that, the condition of the people of Ireland is more deplorable than that of the American slaves. Far be it from me to underrate the sufferings of the Irish people. They have been long oppressed; and the same heart that prompts me to plead the cause of the American bondman, makes it impossible for me not to sympathize with all the oppressed of all lands. Yet I must say that there is no analogy between the two cases. The Irishman is poor, but he is not a slave. He may be in rags, but he is not a slave. He is still the master of his own body and can say with the poet,

“The hand of Douglass is his own.”

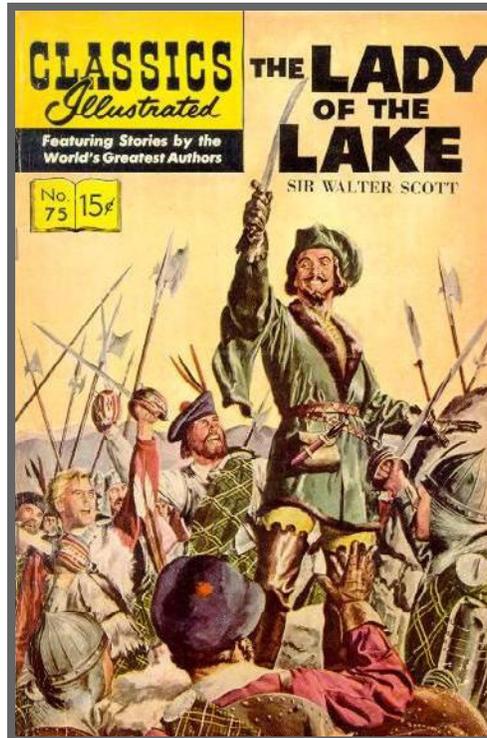
Thus in all probability the name was chosen because although it was intentionally opaque it nevertheless suggested, at least to its bearer, in the idea that “The hand of Douglass is his own,” the same sort of thing that was suggested in that time by the more usual name “Freeman” meaning “the free man.”



ANNA MURRAY DOUGLASS



FREDERICK DOUGLASS



The first thing these Douglasses with a wedding certificate in the name of Johnson, but with no manumission papers to produce for the husband whether he was named “Mr. Douglas” or “Mr. Johnson,” discovered in “free” New Bedford MA was that racial prejudice would prevent the husband from using his skills as a ship calker. It was explained that all the white calkers would quit. Work was found for him, by Friend William C. Taber, as a stevedore, carrying oil aboard a vessel, and he then had to saw wood, shovel coal, sweep chimneys, and roll casks in an oil refinery. However, accounts of such Jim Crow experiences would not fit into the narrative he later needed to tell to righteous Northern abolition audiences, for whom South=Them=Evil meant North=Us=Good, and so Douglass ordinarily suppressed this experience of racial prejudice in New Bedford.³²⁰



Finding my trade of no immediate benefit, I threw off my calking habiliments, and prepared myself to do any kind of work I could get to do.

Although a skilled craftsman could not get work in his craft in that city at that time, due entirely to the color of his skin, Frederick Douglass did not speak of this until 1881, when in a reference to “the test of the real

civilization of the community,” he suggested that the New Bedford MA of the 1840s had failed that test:

I am told that colored persons can now get employment
at calking in New Bedford.

320. If “French” innocence consists in the refusal to be shamed by the nature of one’s pleasures, and if the “German” variety consists in an awareness that so long as one is sacrificing oneself, no-one has a right to object to one’s sacrificing them as well, and if the “English” consists in a principled refusal to take responsibility for one’s obedience to improper instructions from one’s betters, and the “Italian” in not happening to notice where you have your hand, then the innocence of the USer must consist in a refusal or a failure to recognize evil of which we ourselves are the beneficiaries.

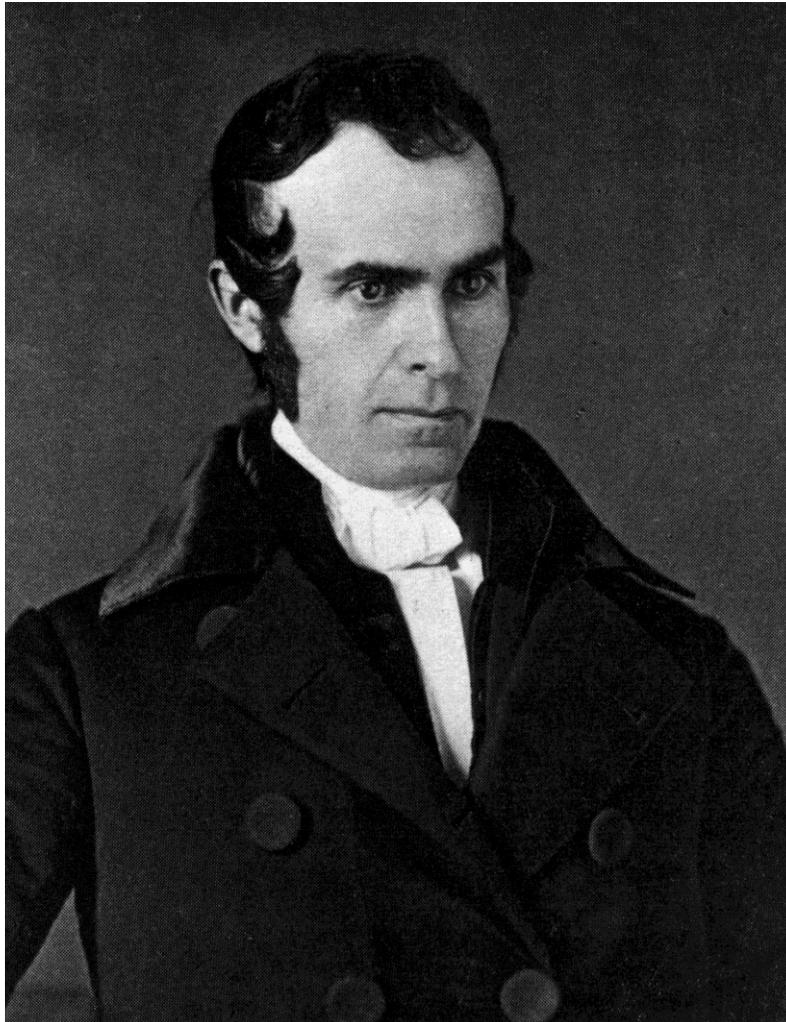
In fuller detail:

... The name given me by my dear mother was no less pretentious and long than Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey. I had, however, while living in Maryland, dispensed with the Augustus Washington, and retained only Frederick Bailey. Between Baltimore and New Bedford, the better to conceal myself from the slave-hunters, I had parted with Bailey and called myself Johnson; but in New Bedford I found that the Johnson family was already so numerous as to cause some confusion in distinguishing them, hence a change in this name seemed desirable. Nathan Johnson, mine host, placed great emphasis upon this necessity, and wished me to allow him to select a name for me. I consented, and he called me by my present name—the one by which I have been known for three and forty years—Frederick Douglass. Mr. Johnson had just been reading the "Lady of the Lake," and so pleased was he with its great character that he wished me to bear his name. Since reading that charming poem myself, I have often thought that, considering the noble hospitality and manly character of Nathan Johnson—black man though he was—he, far more than I, illustrated the virtues of the Douglas of Scotland. Sure am I that, if any slave-catcher had entered his domicile with a view to my recapture, Johnson would have shown himself like him of the "stalwart hand." ...My "Columbian Orator," almost my only book, had done nothing to enlighten me concerning Northern society. I had been taught that slavery was the bottom fact of all wealth. With this foundation idea, I came naturally to the conclusion that poverty must be the general condition of the people of the free States. In the country from which I came, a white man holding no slaves was usually an ignorant and poverty-stricken man, and men of this class were contemptuously called "poor white trash." Hence I supposed that, since the non-slave-holders at the South were ignorant, poor, and degraded as a class, the non-slave-holders at the North must be in a similar condition. I could have landed in no part of the United States where I should have found a more striking and gratifying contrast, not only to life generally in the South, but in the condition of the colored people there, than in New Bedford. I was amazed when Mr. Johnson told me that there was nothing in the laws or constitution of Massachusetts that would prevent a colored man from being governor of the State, if the people should see fit to elect him. There, too, the black man's children attended the public schools with the white man's children, and apparently without objection from any quarter. To impress me with my security from recapture and return to slavery, Mr. Johnson assured me that no slave-holder could take a slave out of New Bedford; that there were men there who would lay down their lives to save me from such a fate.

1840

FRIEND John Greenleaf Whittier returned to live in Amesbury, Massachusetts with his mother, aunt, and sister.

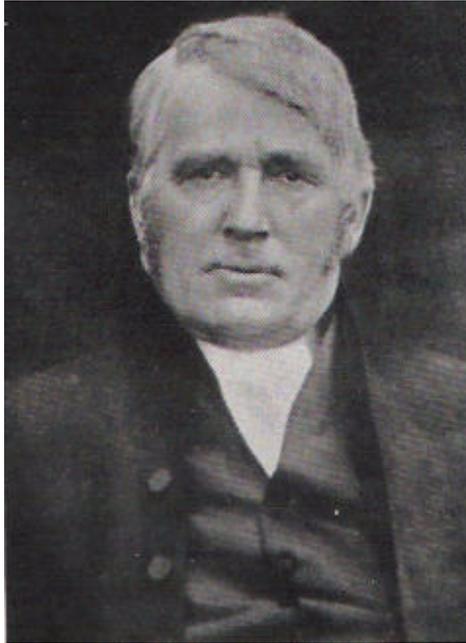
My health was never robust; I inherited from both my parents a sensitive, nervous temperament; and one of my earliest recollections is of pain in the head, from which I have suffered all my life. For many years I have not been able to read or write for more than half an hour at a time; often not so long. Of late, my hearing has been defective.



Then, while he was attending the **NEWPORT**, **RHODE ISLAND** Quarterly Meeting of the **RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**, Friend Richard Mott evidently conveyed an impression to this impressionable young Friend, that the Lord had laid His hand upon him, and would use him for His purposes.

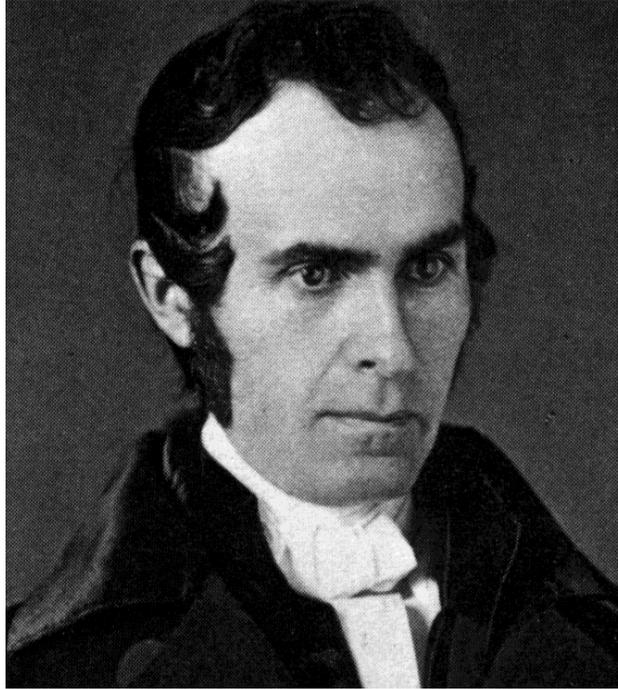
1841

June: Friend John Greenleaf Whittier was on tour with an Englishman, Friend Joseph Sturge, who was going to the various meetings on the Atlantic seaboard to speak of his experiences in the freeing of the slaves of Jamaica.



When they reached the New England Yearly Meeting held at Newport, they were informed that they would not be allowed to use the meetinghouse for any such antislavery discussion. The two young men were considered by this [QUAKER](#) group to represent the practice of arriving at decisions “by majorities, frequently after excited discussions,” when what was needed was silence, compassion, unanimity, and a gradualist approach. Rather than whip up opposition to the evil white people of the South by lecturing among the good white people of the North, the [RHODE ISLAND](#) Friends felt it would be better to appeal directly to the consciences of the good white people in the South who were most directly involved in this evil. “In order for his peaceful release, the hearts of those who now control him [the slave] must be touched and softened.” After

such a rebuff, Friend Whittier for several years would refuse to attend his yearly meeting.



Here are the reactions of Friend Joseph Sturge upon touring a slave trading emporium near Washington DC at some point during this month:

In the afternoon I proceeded by a steam packet, with one of my friends, to Alexandria, about six miles distant, on the other side of the Potomac. A merchant, to whom I had an introduction, kindly accompanied us to a slave-trading establishment there, which is considered the principal one in the district. The proprietor was absent; but the person in charge, a stout, middle aged man, with a good-natured countenance, which little indicated his employment, readily consented to show us over the establishment. On passing behind the house, we looked through a grated iron door, into a square court or yard, with very high walls, in which were about fifty slaves. Some of the younger ones were dancing to a fiddle, an affecting proof, in their situation, of the degradation caused by slavery. There were, on the other hand, others who seemed a prey to silent dejection. Among these was a woman, who had run away from her master twelve years ago, and had married and lived ever since as a free person. She was at last discovered, taken and sold, along with her child, and would shortly be shipped to New Orleans, unless her husband could raise the means of her redemption, which we understood he was endeavouring to do. If he failed, they are lost to him for ever. Another melancholy looking woman was here with her nine children, the whole family having been sold away from their husband and father, to this slave-dealer, for two thousand two hundred and fifty dollars. This unfeeling separation is but the beginning of their sorrows. They will, in all probability, be re-sold at New Orleans, scattered and divided, until not perhaps two of them are left together. The most able-bodied negro I saw, cost the slave-dealer six hundred and eighty-five dollars.

Our guide told us that they sometimes sent from this house from

fifteen hundred to two thousand slaves to the south in a year, and that they occasionally had three hundred to four hundred at once in their possession. That the trade was not now so brisk, but that prices were rising. The return and profits of this traffic appear to be entirely regulated by the fluctuations in the value of the cotton. Women are worth one-third less than men. But one instance of complete escape ever occurred from these premises, though some of the slaves were occasionally trusted out into the fields. He showed us the substantial clothing, shoes, &c., with which the slaves were supplied when sent to the south; a practice, I fear, enforced more by the cupidity of the buyers, than the humanity of the seller. Our informant stated, in answer to enquiries, that by the general testimony of the slaves purchased, they were treated better by the planters than was the case ten years ago. He also admitted the evils of the system, and said, with apparent sincerity, he wished it was put an end to.

November 24: George Thomas Downing married Serena Leanora de Grasse, the daughter of George de Grasse, a prosperous landowner from Calcutta, India who was considered to be the protégé of Aaron Burr. After his marriage Downing, who had learned the restaurant business from his father, the proprietor of a restaurant and oyster house frequented by the more prominent citizens of New-York, would begin his own catering business, initially in New-York and later in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).

Lieutenant Eyre would report that by this point, in Afghanistan, the British troops and officers had lost all confidence, while the locals were growing more and more confident. “Never were troops exposed to greater hardships and dangers; yet, sad to say, never did soldiers shed their blood with less beneficial result than during the investment of the British lines at Cabul.”



Captain Conolly wrote from the Bala Hissar, urging an immediate retreat thither; "but the old objections were still urged against the measure by Brigadier Shelton and others," though several of the chief military, and all the political officers, approved of it. Shah Shoojah was impatient to receive them. The door to negotiation was opened by a letter to the Envoy from Osman Khan Barukzye, a near relation of the new king, Nuwab Mahomed Zuman Khan, who had sheltered Captain Drummond in his own house since the first day of the outbreak. He took credit to himself for having checked the ardour of his followers on the preceding day, and having thus saved the British force from destruction; he declared that the chiefs only desired we should quietly evacuate the country, leaving them to govern it according to their own rules, and with a king of their own choosing. The General, on being referred to, was of opinion that the cantonments could not be defended throughout the winter, and approved of opening a negotiation on the basis of the evacuation of the country.³²¹

December: Matthew Arnold's father Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby School, on becoming Professor of History at Oxford, for his inaugural lecture delivered himself of the conceit that the greatness of English culture lay in its supplementation of such influences as Roman, Greek, and Hebrew culture by a new element, to wit, the element of our English race.³²²

And that this element is an important one, cannot be doubted for an instant. Our English race is the German race.... Now the importance of this stock is plain from this, that its intermixture with Keltic and Roman races at the fall of the Western empire, has changed the whole face of Europe.... What was not [in Roman, Greek, and Hebrew origins] was simply the German race, and the peculiar qualities which characterize it. This one addition was of such power, that it changed the character of the whole mass.... But that element still preserves its force, and it felt for good or for evil in almost every country of the world. We will pause for a moment to observe over how large a portion of the earth this influence is now extended.... I say nothing of the prospects and influence of the German race in Africa and in India - it is enough to say that half of Europe, and all America and Australia, are German more or less completely, in race, in language, or in institutions, or in all.

As Robert J.C. Young would put the matter,³²³

The constitution of the United States proclaimed that "all men are created equal": the institution of slavery constituted a flagrant breach of that principle. However, if there were different species of men, created differently, with non-whites classified as lower species that did not share all the properly human characteristics, then it could be argued that constitutional equality did not apply to them. We thus find a concerted effort gathering pace in the 1840s onwards to establish the doctrine of polygenesis in the place of monogenesis.

321. Lieut. V. Eyre (Sir Vincent Eyre, 1811-1881). THE MILITARY OPERATIONS AT CABUL: WHICH ENDED IN THE RETREAT AND DESTRUCTION OF THE BRITISH ARMY, JANUARY 1842, WITH A JOURNAL OF IMPRISONMENT IN AFFGHANISTAN. Philadelphia PA: Carey and Hart, 1843; London: J. Murray, 1843 (three editions); Lieut. V. Eyre (Sir Vincent Eyre, 1811-1881). PRISON SKETCHES: COMPRISING PORTRAITS OF THE CABUL PRISONERS AND OTHER SUBJECTS; ADAPTED FOR BINDING UP WITH THE JOURNALS OF LIEUT. V. EYRE, AND LADY SALE; LITHOGRAPHED BY LOWES DICKINSON. London: Dickinson and Son, [1843?]

322. Arnold, Thomas. INTRODUCTORY LECTURES ON MODERN HISTORY, WITH THE INAUGURAL LECTURE DELIVERED IN DECEMBER, 1841. Oxford: Parker, 1842 (pages 33-35)

323. Young, Robert J.C. COLONIAL DESIRE: HYBRIDITY IN THEORY, CULTURE AND RACE. London: Routledge, 1995 (pages 124-5)

December: During this month Frederick Douglass would be traveling about [RHODE ISLAND](#) out of



[PROVIDENCE](#), speaking at various regional antislavery conventions such as in East Greenwich, in Newport, and in South Kingstown, in protest of Thomas Dorr's party's People's Constitution.

This People's Constitution would be accepted in the referendum, despite or in part because of its racism, by a landslide vote of 13,944 over 52.



December 24, Friday-25, Saturday: In protest of the racist Dorr constitution, Frederick Douglass spoke at the Regional Anti-Slavery Convention in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).



December 24, Friday: I want to go soon and live away by the Pond where I shall hear only the wind whispering among the reeds.”



December 25, Saturday: I dont want to feel as if my life were a sojourn any longer — that philosophy cannot be true which so paints it. It is time now that I begin to live.



December 26, Sunday: He is the rich man who in summer and winter for ever — could find delight in the contemplation of his own soul. I could look as unweariedly up to that cope —as into the heavens of a summer day —or a winter night. When I hear this bell ring— I am carried back to years and sabbaths when I was newer and more innocent I fear than now —and it seems to me as if there were a world within a world. Sin I am sure is not in overt acts or indeed in acts of any kind, but is in proportion to the time which has come behind us and displaced eternity. That degree to which our elements are mixed with the elements of the world— The whole duty of life is contained in this question How to respire and aspire both at once

1842

A bequest by Judah Touro paid for, and Isaiah Rogers of Boston designed, a fence around the Jewish Cemetery on Bellevue Avenue in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#).

1843

The fences and curbing around the Touro Synagogue in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) were designed by Isaiah Rogers of Boston and paid for through a bequest from Abraham Touro.

1844

The negrero *Enterprise* of Boston was transferred in Brazil for purposes of engaging in the slave-trade (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 30th Congress, 1st session IV, Number 28, pages 79-90).

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The rigorous climate of New England, the character of her settlers, and their pronounced political views gave slavery an even slighter basis here than in the Middle colonies. The significance of New England in the African slave-trade does not therefore lie in the fact that she early discountenanced the system of slavery and stopped importation; but rather in the fact that her citizens, being the traders of the New World, early took part in the carrying slave-trade and furnished slaves to the other colonies. An inquiry, therefore, into the efforts of the New England colonies to suppress the slave-trade would fall naturally into two parts: first, and chiefly, an investigation of the efforts to stop the participation of citizens in the carrying slave-trade; secondly, an examination of the efforts made to banish the slave-trade from New England soil.

The negrero *Uncas* of New Orleans, since it was protected by United States papers, was allowed to clear despite its evident character (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 28th Congress, 2d session IX, Number 150, pages 106-14).

The negrero *Sooy* of [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) was captured by the British sloop *Racer* after landing 600 slaves on the coast of Brazil and found to be sailing without papers (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 28th Congress, 2d session IV, Number 148, pages 4, 36-62).

The *Cyrus*, of New Orleans, suspected of being a negrero, was captured by the British cruiser *Alert* (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 28th Congress, 2d session IV, Number 148, pages 3-41).

During this year and the following one, 19 negreros from Beverly, Boston, Massachusetts, Baltimore, Maryland, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, New-York, New York, [PROVIDENCE](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), and Portland, Maine would be making 22 slave-collecting trips (HOUSE DOCUMENT, 30th Congress, 2d session VII, Number 61, pages 219-20).

Between 1844 and 1849, there would be a total of 93 negreros known to be active in the Brazilian trade (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 31st Congress, 2d session II, Number 6, pages 37-8).

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Not only did the government thus negatively favor the slave-trade, but also many conscious, positive acts must be attributed to a spirit hostile to the proper enforcement of the slave-trade laws. In cases of doubt, when the law needed executive interpretation, the decision was

usually in favor of the looser construction of the law; the trade from New Orleans to Mobile was, for instance, declared not to be coastwise trade, and consequently, to the joy of the Cuban smugglers, was left utterly free and unrestricted.³²⁴ After the conquest of Mexico, even vessels bound to California, by the way of Cape Horn, were allowed to clear coastwise, thus giving our flag to "the slave-pirates of the whole world."³²⁵ Attorney-General Nelson declared that the selling to a slave-trader of an American vessel, to be delivered on the coast of Africa, was not aiding or abetting the slave-trade.³²⁶ So easy was it for slavers to sail that corruption among officials was hinted at. "There is certainly a want of proper vigilance at Havana," wrote Commander Perry in 1844, "and perhaps at the ports of the United States;" and again, in the same year, "I cannot but think that the custom-house authorities in the United States are not sufficiently rigid in looking after vessels of suspicious character."³²⁷

In the courts it was still next to impossible to secure the punishment of the most notorious slave-trader. In 1847 a consul writes: "The slave power in this city [i.e., Rio Janeiro] is extremely great, and a consul doing his duty needs to be supported kindly and effectually at home. In the case of the 'Fame,' where the vessel was diverted from the business intended by her owners and employed in the slave trade—both of which offences are punishable with death, if I rightly read the laws—I sent home the two mates charged with these offences, for trial, the first mate to Norfolk, the second mate to Philadelphia. What was done with the first mate I know not. In the case of the man sent to Philadelphia, Mr. Commissioner Kane states that a clear prima facie case is made out, and then holds him to bail in the sum of *one thousand dollars*, which would be paid by any slave trader in Rio, on the *presentation of a draft*. In all this there is little encouragement for exertion."³²⁸ Again, the "Perry" in 1850 captured a slaver which was about to ship 1,800 slaves. The captain admitted his guilt, and was condemned in the United States District Court at New York. Nevertheless, he was admitted to bail of \$5,000; this being afterward reduced to \$3,000, he forfeited it and escaped. The mate was sentenced to two years in the penitentiary.³²⁹ Also several slavers sent home to the United States by the British, with clear evidence of guilt, escaped condemnation through technicalities.³³⁰

324. OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, III. 512.

325. TENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, May 7, 1850, page 149.

326. OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, IV. 245.

327. SENATE DOC., 28th Congress, 2d session, IX. No. 150, pages 108, 132.

328. HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENTS, 30th Congress, 2d session, VII. No. 61, page 18.

329. Foote, AFRICA AND THE AMERICAN FLAG, pages 286-90.

330. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1839-40, pages 913-4.

1845

It was at approximately this point that George Thomas Downing, the black New-York restaurateur, arrived in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#). There, along with his business activities, he would be the operator of the local Underground Railroad station. In this year Ocean House, the 1st lavish accommodation in Newport for rich summer visitors, opened its doors (there wasn't as yet a line of Gilded-Age "cottages" to provide at-home services for the visiting snobs and swells).

July 10: Frederick Douglass lectured in West Brookfield, Massachusetts.

Michele Felice Cornè died in Newport, Rhode Island. His grave in the Common Burial Ground has a 6-foot obelisk. His house bears a plaque crediting him with having introduced to Rhode Islanders the eating of the tomato:

**HOME OF THE ARTIST
MICHELE FELICE CORNE
WHO INTRODUCED THE TOMATO
INTO THIS COUNTRY**

(Since Mr. Cornè had not appeared in Rhode Island until 1822, and since tomatoes had been being grown for human consumption in Thomas Jefferson's garden in Virginia since 1806, it is clear that although this artist may deserve some local credit, for having introduced residents of Newport to the edibility of the fruit of the tomato plant, he definitely was not the first to introduce tomatoes to white people in general, or to the white people of the United States in general. Also, it is well to remember that although the actual person who introduced the tomato to Americans is unknown—we weren't paying attention—we know that that person had been a Peruvian native and that he had flourished prior to 1544, which is to say, fully three centuries, which is to say, some twelve human generations, earlier.)

1847

May 26: Nathaniel Hawthorne saw his school chum Franklin Pierce off on a foreign adventure:

The author saw General Pierce, in Boston, on the eve of his departure for *Vera Cruz*. He had been intensely occupied, since his appointment, in effecting the arrangements necessary on leaving his affairs, as well as by the preparations, military and personal, demanded by the expedition. The transports were waiting at Newport to receive the troops. He was now in the midst of bustle, with some of the officers of his command about him, mingled with the friends whom he was to leave behind. The severest point of the crisis was over, for he had already bidden his family farewell. His spirits appeared to have risen with the occasion. He was evidently in his element; nor, to say the truth, dangerous as was the path before him, could it be regretted that his life was now to have the opportunity of that species of success which—in his youth, at least—he had considered the best worth struggling for. He looked so fit to be a soldier, that it was impossible to doubt—not merely his good conduct, which was as certain before the event as afterwards, but—his good fortune in the field, and his fortunate return.



May 27: Franklin Pierce departed from Newport, **RHODE ISLAND** on his grand foreign adventure:

He sailed from Newport on the 27th of May, in the bark *Kepler*, having on board three companies of the Ninth Regiment of Infantry, together with Colonel Ransom, its commander, and the officers belonging to the detachment. The passage was long and tedious, with protracted calms, and so smooth a sea that a sail boat might have performed the voyage in safety. The *Kepler* arrived at Vera Cruz in precisely a month after her departure from the United States, without speaking a single vessel from the south during the passage, and, of course, receiving no intelligence as to the position and state of the army which these reenforcements were to join.... During the passage from America, under the tropics, he would go down into the stifling air of the hold, with a lemon, a cup of tea, and, better and more efficacious than all, a kind word, for the sick.

**1848**

August 7: Frederick Douglass was grazed by a thrown rock in Harrisburg PA.³³¹

Work began on the present St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church structure in Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**. The architect was Patrick C. Keeley of Brooklyn. (The edifice would be dedicated on July 25, 1852 and consecrated on August 15, 1884.)

331. The rock that was heaved at him in Northampton MA has been preserved, by the Stetson family there. I don't know whether this Harrisburg rock has been similarly preserved, or not.

1849

July 22: Emma Lazarus was born as the fourth of Esther Nathan Lazarus's and Moses Lazarus's seven children. She would grow up in New-York and in Newport, Rhode Island, and would be educated by private tutors with whom she would study mythology, music, American poetry, European literature, German, French, and Italian. Her father, a sugar merchant, would support her writing financially as well as emotionally.

1850

This is what the mammoth Quaker meetinghouse on [AQUIDNECK ISLAND](#) looked like, during this year:

[QUAKERS](#)



George Thomas Downing's business in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) expanded to include an establishment on Mathewson Street in [PROVIDENCE](#). The success of this Providence venture would provide the operating capital for construction of the luxurious Sea Girt House fronting on Bellevue Avenue in Newport. This 5-story building had large stores on its 1st floor and accommodations over them. Amenities included restaurant meals, game suppers in private parlors, and accommodations not only for gentlemen boarders but also for entire families. The complex included the Downing family residence. The family operated a confectionery and catering business, supplying the Newport "cottages" — their services included the providing of music. (Evidently they were too successful, for eventually they would be burned out.)

NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

August 2: Documentation of the international slave trade, per W.E.Burghardt Du Bois: “Message from the President ... relative to the searching of American vessels by British ships of war.” –SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 31 Cong. 1 sess. XIV. No. 66.

A secular town meeting had been held in the vacant synagogue building in Newport in 1781, and until 1784 **RHODE ISLAND** had had its General Assembly there and the state’s Supreme Court had met there, and then the building had stood vacant and dilapidated under a Quaker caretaker who may possibly have used it as a waystation in the Underground Railroad, which is to say, as affordable (free) temporary housing for persons in transit (note, we’re not talking about folks hiding in the basement here, underneath that famous trap door, we’re just talking about folks living there for awhile, in this dilapidated black district of Newport where they were reasonably safe). On this day, after extensive refurbishment by use of the funds supplied by the Touro brothers of New-York (successful sons of the first rabbi of the synagogue), “Touro Synagogue” was reconsecrated for religious services.



1852

July: Publication of Thoreau’s “The Iron Horse” in Sartain’s Union Magazine, 11:66-68 — “Sounds” paragraphs 5-13.

Until September, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow would be renting Charles T. Hazard’s very spacious “Cliff House” (it no longer exists) at Newport on Aquidneck Island in **RHODE ISLAND** and there played host to, among others, Julia Ward and his wife Frances’s brother Thomas Gold Appleton.³³²

Here we are, in the clover-fields on the cliff, at Hazard’s house; near the beach, with the glorious sea unrolling its changing billows before us. Here, in truth, the sea speaks Italian; at Nahant it speaks Norse. Went this morning into the Jewish burying-ground, with a polite old gentleman who keeps the key. It is a shady nook, at the corner of two dusty, frequented streets, with an iron fence and a granite gateway, ... Over one of the graves grows a weeping willow, - a grandchild of the willow over Napoleon’s grave in St. Helena.

After the described visit to the Jewish Cemetery at the intersection of Kay Street, Touro Street, and Bellevue Avenue, opened in 1677, the oldest Jewish burial ground in the USA, he began a poem that would appear in Putnam’s Monthly Magazine for July 1854:

[on following screen]

332. Late June through Labor Day would become the “summer visiting season” for the rows of “cottages” along Belmont Avenue in Newport.

The Jewish Cemetery at Newport

How strange it seems! These Hebrews in their graves,
Close by the street of this fair seaport town,
Silent beside the never-silent waves,
At rest in all this moving up and down!

The trees are white with dust, that o'er their sleep
Wave their broad curtains in the southwind's breath,
While underneath these leafy tents they keep
The long, mysterious Exodus of Death.

And these sepulchral stones, so old and brown,
That pave with level flags their burial-place,
Seem like the tablets of the Law, thrown down
And broken by Moses at the mountain's base.

The very names recorded here are strange,
Of foreign accent, and of different climes;
Alvares and Rivera interchange
With Abraham and Jacob of old times.

"Blessed be God! for he created Death!"
The mourner said, "and Death is rest and peace!"
Then added, in the certainty of faith,
"And giveth Life that nevermore shall cease."

Closed are the portals of their Synagogue,
No Psalms of David now the silence break,
No Rabbi reads the ancient Decalogue
In the grand dialect the Prophets spake.

Gone are the living, but the dead remain,
And not neglected; for a hand unseen,
Scattering its bounty, like a summer rain,
Still keeps their graves and their remembrance green.

How came they here? What burst of Christian hate,
What persecution, merciless and blind,
Drove o'er the sea -that desert desolate -
These Ishmaels and Hagars of mankind?

They lived in narrow streets and lanes obscure,
Ghetto and Judenstrass, in mirk and mire;
Taught in the school of patience to endure
The life of anguish and the death of fire.

All their lives long, with the unleavened bread
And bitter herbs of exile and its fears,
The wasting famine of the heart they fed,
And slaked its thirst with marah of their tears.

Anathema maranatha! was the cry
That rang from town to town, from street to street:
At every gate the accursed Mordecai
Was mocked and jeered, and spurned by Christian feet.

Pride and humiliation hand in hand
Walked with them through the world where'er they went;
Trampled and beaten were they as the sand,
And yet unshaken as the continent.

For in the background figures vague and vast
Of patriarchs and of prophets rose sublime,
And all the great traditions of the Past
They saw reflected in the coming time.

And thus forever with reverted look
The mystic volume of the world they read,
Spelling it backward, like a Hebrew book,
Till life became a Legend of the Dead.

But ah! what once has been shall be no more!
The groaning earth in travail and in pain
Brings forth its races, but does not restore,
And the dead nations never rise again.

July 25: Dedication of the present St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church structure in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).



July 25, Sunday: 4 Am. to Cliffs

This early twitter or breathing of chip birds in the dawn sounds like something organic in the earth. This is a morning celebrated by birds. Our blue-bird sits on the peak of the house & warbles as in the spring –but as he does not now by day. This morning is all the more glorious for a white fog –which though not universal is still very extensive over all lowlands –some 50 feet high or more –though there was none at 10 last night– There are white cob-webs on the grass. The battalions of the fog are continually on the move. How hardy are cows that lie in the fog chewing the cud all night. They wake up with no stiffness in their limbs. They are indifferent to fogs as frogs to water –like hippopotami fitted are they to dwell ever on the river bank of this world –fitted to meadows & their vicissitudes. I see where in pastures of short firm turf they have pulled up the grass by the roots & it lies scattered in small tufts. (To anticipate a little when I return this way I find two farmers loading their cart with dirt –and they are so unmanly as to excuse themselves to me for working this Sunday morning – by saying –with a serious face that they are burying a cow –which died last night –after some month of sickness –which however they unthinkingly admit that they killed last night being the most convenient time for them – and I see that they are now putting more loads of soil over her body to save the manure– How often men will betray their sense of guilt and hence their actual guilt by their excuses –where no guilt necessarily was. I remarked that it must be cold for a cow lying in such fogs all night but one answered properly– “Well, I don't know how it may be with a sick cow, but it won't hurt a well critter any.” The ditch stone crop is abundant in the now dry pool by the roadside near Hubbards.) From Fair Haven Hill –the sun having risen –I see great wreathes of fog far NE revealing the course of the river –a noble sight –as it were the river elevated –or rather the ghost of the ample stream that once flowed to ocean between these now distant uplands in another geological period –filling the broad meadows.– The dews saved to the earth by this great musketaquid condenser refrigerator and now the rising sun makes glow with downiest white the ample wreathes which rise higher than the highest trees. The farmers that lie slumbering on this their day of rest how little do they know of this stupendous pageant. The bright fresh aspect of the woods glistening with moisture when the early sun falls on them (As I came along the whole earth resounded with the crowing of cocks –from the eastern unto the western horizon, and as I passed a yard I saw a white rooster on the topmost rail of a fence pouring forth his challenges for destiny to come ove –

This salutation was travelling round the world Some six hours since had resounded through England France & Spain –then the sun passed over a belt of silence where the atlantic flows –except a clarion here & there from some cooped up cock upon the waves –till greeted with a general all hail along the Atlantic shore. Looking now from the rocks –the fog is a perfect sea over the great Sudbury meadows in the SW –commencing at the base of this cliff & reaching to the hills south of Wayland & further still to Framingham –through which only the tops of the higher hills are seen as islands –great bays of the sea many miles across where the largest fleets would find ample room –& in which countless farms & farm houses are immersed. The fog rises highest over the channel of the river and over the ponds in the woods which are thus revealed– I clearly distinguish where white pond lies by this sign –and various other ponds methinks to which I have walked 10 or 12 miles distant, & I distinguish the course of the assabet far in the west & SW beyond the woods Every valley is densely packed with the downy vapor– What levelling on a great scale is done thus for the eye! The fog rises to the top of round hill in the sudbury meadows whosesunburnt yellow grass makes it look like a low sand bar in the ocean and I can judge thus pretty accurately what hills are higher than this by their elevation above the surface of the fog. Every meadow & water-course makes an arm of this bay– The primeval banks make thus a channel which only the fogs of late summer & autumn fogs fill. The Wayland hills make a sort of promontory or peninsula like some Nahant. If I look across thither I think of the seamonsters that swim in that sea –& of the wrecks that strew the bottom many fathom deep— — where in an hour when this sea dries up farms will smile & farmhouses be

revealed.— A certain thrilling vastness or wasteness it now suggests. This is one of those ambrosial white—ever-memorable fogs presaging fair weather— It produces the most picturesque and grandest effects—as it rises & travels hither & thither enveloping & concealing trees & forests & hills— It is lifted up now into quite a little white **mt** over Fair Haven Bay and even on its skirts only the tops of the highest pines are seen above it—& all adown the river it has an uneven outline like a rugged **mt** ridge in one place some rainbow tints and far far in the S horizon near the further verge of the sea over Saxonville? is heaved up into great waves as if there were breakers there. In the mean while the wood thrush [*Catharus mustelina*] & the jay & the robin sing around me here, & birds are heard singing from the midst of the fog. And in one short hour this sea will all evaporate & the sun be reflected from farm windows on its green bottom. It is a rare music the earliest bee's hum amid the flowers—revisiting the flower bells just after sunrise.

Of flowers observed before June 11th the following I know or think to be still in blossom viz—

- Stellaria media
- Shepherd 's purse Probably
- Potentilla Canadensis
- Columbine?
- Hedyotis
- Grasses & Sedges
- Sorrel??
- Trifolium procumbens yel. clover
- Celandine
- Red Clover

in favorable moist & shady places

- Tall Crowfoot
- Forget-me-not common
- Hypoxis erecta
- Blue-eyed grass scarce
- Sarracenia??
- Nuphars both not numerous
- Ranunculus Purshii??
- Ribwort
- Cotton-grass common
- Rubus Canadensis?
- Cistus very scarce
- Canada Snap DragonPotentilla argentea not very common?
- White-weed may be here & there
- White clover??
- Meadow-rue very common
- High blackberry?
- Bitter-sweet still.
- Yarrow very common
- Knawel?
- Utricularia vulgaris?

Gone out of Blossom since June 10th (of those observed after June 10th before June 24th) the following

- Iris versicolor
- Broom rape?
- Fumaria?
- Viburnums
- Dracaena
- Carrion-flower
- Cornels
- Silene antirrhina?
- Erigeron strigosum
- Wax-work?
- Large purple orchises.
- Hound 's tongue?
- Tufted Loose-strife
- 4 leaved " ??

A veronica
 Aralia hispida
 Grape vines
 Moss rose & early straight thorned (?)
 Pyrolas?
 Swamp pink? may linger somewhere
 Prinos laevigatus
 Pogonia?
 Iris Virginica
 Elder?
 Mitchella?
 Diervilla
 Mt Laurel
 Sweet briar.

Of those observed between June 10th & 24th the following are still common.

Marsh speedwell
 Floating heart
 Mullein
 Dog 's bane
 Cow wheat
 Butter & eggs
 Prunella
 Epilobium
 Some or most galiums.

1854

Judah Touro died, leaving more than half a million dollars to various Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish charities. His will established, also, a Ministerial Fund for the empty synagogue in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) at which his father had once officiated while there were still Jews living in that town.

It was at some point during the early 1850s that the Howes established a summer residence in South [PORTSMOUTH](#) at Lawton's Valley on [AQUIDNECK ISLAND](#). Eventually Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe and Julia Ward Howe and their six children would have the house at 745 Union Street known as "Oak Glen" as their long-term summer home.

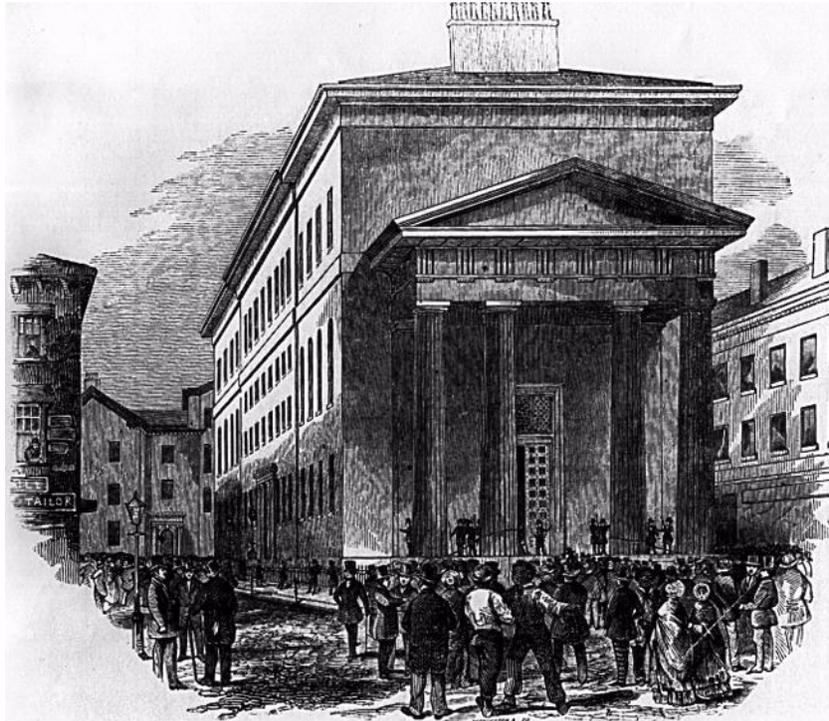
[RHODE ISLAND](#)

May 27, Saturday: In the afternoon Henry Thoreau went to Saw Mill Brook.

In London, the Athenaeum reported that although Henry Thoreau was a graduate of Harvard College and therefore qualified as a minister, instead he had chosen to manufacture pencils and had moved into a hut on the shore of a pond in order to live in a primitive manner and write. The article described WEEK as "a curious mixture of dull and prolix dissertation, with some of the most faithful and animated descriptions of external nature which has [*sic??*] ever appeared."

In Worcester, Bronson Alcott succeeded in persuading the Reverend Thomas Wentworth Higginson to take charge of the Boston vigilantes, and the two took the train into Boston. Martin Stowell of Worcester came also. When they reached Boston, however, they found that the Committee was unable to agree upon a plan of action, and it appears that the Reverend took matters into his own hands. He went out and purchased a dozen axes

with which to attack the door of the courthouse. That night, at the mass rally at Faneuil Hall at which the committee intended to instigate the sort of howling mob which would be needed in order to cover their purposive activity and distract the guards, the committee members slipped out early and took up their positions at the courthouse and waited for the mob to be marshalled. When Martin Stowell gave the signal, a black man ran to the west door and hammered it open with a 12-foot beam and leaped inside, with the Reverend Higginson close behind him. The people who managed to get inside the courthouse were immediately, however, repulsed by a group of policemen with clubs. The Reverend Higginson was badly beaten on the head and face, and one of the policemen was killed either by knife or gunshot to the midriff. The police began arresting individual rioters, and the mob began to pull back, but the Reverend Higginson, and a lawyer named Seth Webb who had been one of his classmates in college, held firm. Then they were joined by Alcott, cane in hand, who walked right up to the door of the courthouse and looked in. A shot was fired inside the building, or was not fired (although some claimed this, Alcott himself never made any mention of having heard such a sound), as Alcott turned around and came back away from the courthouse.



A little-known fact is that Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) businessman George Thomas Downing was one of those involved in this attack on the Boston courthouse.

The Boston mayor, Dr. Jerome Van Crowninshield Smith, a local-politics weathervane, issued the following declaration:

Under the excitement that now pervades the city, you are respectfully requested to cooperate with the Municipal authorities in the maintenance of peace and good order. The law must be obeyed, let the consequences be what they may.

Of course, just as the courthouse officials could agree with peace with quiet, the abolitionists could agree with peace with justice. —They could agree that the ideal of peace and good order was utterly incompatible with kidnapping, and with human enslavement. They could agree that the higher law, which was the law of righteousness, and the law of nature and of God, must be obeyed — whatever the consequences.

A jury, meeting in the building in which Anthony Burns was being held and judged, rendered a verdict of guilty at 10:15 PM — James Wilson was to [HANG](#).

Because there had been an alert that Peter Dunbar's³³³ truckmen were planning to attack the home of Wendell Phillips, Phillips being elsewhere but his family being in the home, Bronson Alcott, Henry Kemp, Francis Jackson, and the Reverend Samuel Joseph May each armed themselves with a pistol, to sit out the night in the Phillips parlor. They would sit out this night with their pistols in their laps, however, without incident.

Because there were fears that the slavemaster, Mr. Charles Francis Suttle, and his attorney at law, William Brent, might be attacked at their lodgings on the 1st floor of the Revere House, an honor guard of southern students was recruited from Harvard College.³³⁴ Suttle and Brent then relocated to a room in the hotel's garret, for greater security inside their cordon of armed students.

Knowing that during the attack on the courthouse he had discharged his pistol toward Watson Freeman but that Freeman had been unharmed, Lewis Hayden considered it entirely possible that it had been his bullet that had

333. What relation would this Peter Dunbar, a member of the management team at the Customs House on the waterfront, and his son Peter Dunbar, Jr., the captain of the guard at the courthouse guarding Anthony Burns, have been to Concord's Cynthia Dunbar Thoreau?

334. Moncure Daniel Conway, as a Harvard student from the South, was recruited to take part in this armed guard at the hotel. The two visitors to Boston were not unknown to him, but rather, they were close neighbors or distant relatives. Nevertheless, he declined to get involved in the affair.

struck the deputy James Batchelder in the major vein of his leg, causing him to bleed out and promptly killing him. Therefore in the evening some activist friends got Hayden into a carriage and conveyed him to the home of Dr. Henry Ingersoll Bowditch in Brookline. (In that period, no-one would have imagined that a person of



color could have been permitted to ride inside such a horse-and-carriage. Thus, drawing the carriage's window curtains was in and of itself adequate to provide complete concealment.) Hayden was met at his destination by a group of black men resolved to prevent the re-enslavement of Burns.

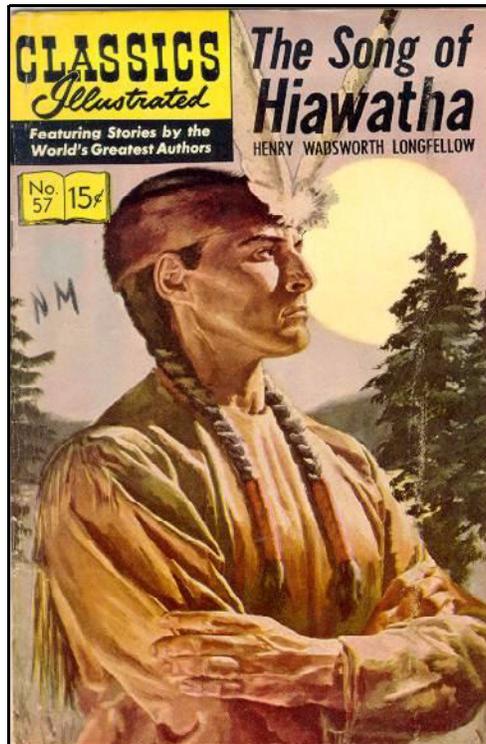


The Reverend Thomas Wentworth Higginson in a note to his wife in Worcester, written in haste from a home in Boston in which he had sought refuge after the attempted rescue of Anthony Burns: "There has been an attempt at rescue, and failed. I am not hurt, except for a scratch on the face which will probably prevent me from doing anything more about it, lest I be recognized."

June 22, Thursday: There was a political convention at Concord attended by George Frisbie Hoar, with the objective of fusing the Free Soilers and the more dissident members of the Whigs of Massachusetts into a new political party, to which few Whigs came.



Henry Wadsworth Longfellow determined to utilize the trochaic dimeter measure of the Finnish epic KALEVALA for an epic poem of his own, on the American Indians. This would become THE SONG OF "HIAWATHA". Begun at Nahant, continued in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), the poem would be finished in Cambridge on March 21, 1855.



1855

Judah Touro, youngest son of Rabbi Isaac Touro, had relocated to New Orleans in his early twenties and had accumulated a considerable fortune there in the Deep South as a merchant/trader. At the time of his death his estate totaled nearly \$1,000,000, most of which was designated in his will to charitable organizations, orphanages, religious institutions, and towards good works in various cities including the place of his birth, [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#). His bequest would provide a public park, and preserve the historic Old Stone Mill.

In [PROVIDENCE](#), the [QUAKERS](#) were not doing nearly so well. The [YEARLY MEETING SCHOOL](#) was forced to send its young scholars home and shut its doors due to bills that could not be paid. To correct this situation, steps needed to be taken to reduce the debt from more than \$8,000 to about \$3,000 — steps such as re-engaging the principals Joseph and Gertrude W. Cartland on a contract system. After five months the school was able to re-open its doors. This crisis would lead to some easement of school regulations. In addition, in the future there were to be graduation ceremonies during which the graduating scholars were to be handed diplomas.³³⁵

335. This matter referred to above, the re-engagement of the school's principals on "a contract system" in 1855, deserves some comment. As a historian, to do a good job, I should be able to establish the crossover point, at which the school transitioned from being a religious school, a school offering a religious education to young members of a religion — to being the sort of hoighty-toighty Ivy League preparatory academy for all and sundry families of the Providence rising classes which as we are all profoundly aware, it has by now become. For the first five years or so of my investigation of the records of this school, I had been presuming that probably I was going to discover this crossover point at which Quakerism became mere lip service to Quakerism to have been reached just prior to the middle of the 20th Century, as this institution made its transition from being a boarding school attracting Quaker youth from all over New England, into being a day school catering to the middleclass families of Providence's toney East Side (plus, incidentally, whatever few Quaker youth happened to reside within daily commuting distance who could afford the high fees or could secure a scholarship). When I discovered, in the records of the school, however, these records of incentive compensation for its headmasters, this caused me to recognize that the crossover into disingenuity may have already been well in the past, by that late point at which the boarding-school aspect of the school's function had disintegrated beyond repair. Incentive compensation is utterly incompatible with charter — one simply cannot allow a person to run an institution and divert half its annual surplus into his own pocket, and anticipate that that person will behave in any manner other than to maximize the income flowing into his own pocket. This is the sort of situation which is described, in economics, and described quite properly, as "moral hazard." At this point, the school's charter to provide an environment guarded from the lay world in which a Quaker education might best be conveyed to Quaker youth, was inevitably abandoned — abandoned because the headmaster's incentive compensation was henceforth to be based not upon fulfilling that charge, but instead upon implementing a contrary agenda of puffing up the school's enrollment and the school's charges and the school's cash flow, while holding down expenditures, in such manner as to maximize a flow into his own pocket. Under such a "contract system" the eventual result, that after a period of evolutionary adjustment and accommodation this Quaker school would be effectively a lay school, and that this Quaker endowment would no longer be being used for Quaker education, should have been anticipatable. For it has always been well understood that:

²⁴ No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

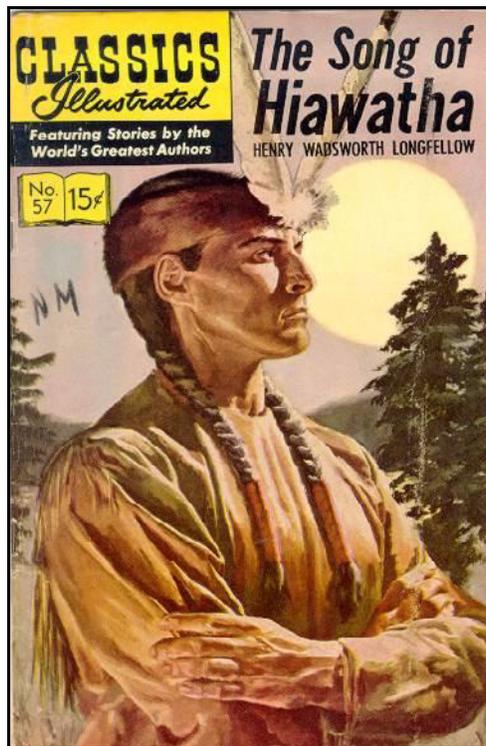
— MATTHEW 6:24

July 3-September 12: The Longfellows were renting “Periwinkle,” the home of Joshua Perry at #58 Perry Street in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) (the structure presently on that lot may or may not have been the one the Longfellows used). At the time Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was whacking away at his THE SONG OF “HIAWATHA”:

July 19th: In the revision I have now got to the parts I wrote last summer at Nahant; and I have to change and rewrite a good deal of it. But it is next to impossible to do anything here, with so many people in the house and no school for the children.

July 26th: To-day is very hot. How can I work? If I shut the window blinds, darkness! If I open them – glare! Chamber-maids chattering about – children crying – and everything sticky except Postage stamps, which having stuck all together like a swarm of bees, refuse further duty. Such is the state of affairs this morning at ten o’clock, when having come to my room to work upon “Hiawatha,” ...

August 20th: In great doubt about a canto of Hiawatha, – whether to retain or suppress it. It is odd how confused one’s mind becomes about such matters from long looking at the same subject.



1856

In [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) a carpenter who lived at 8 Cross Street, William C. Thurston, was functioning as the “Keeper of Jews’ Synagogue.” (If anybody has any idea that these perennial wide-eyed tales about the empty Touro Synagogue being used in antebellum years as a station on the Underground Railroad might possibly have some grain of truth to them — why, dude, this is the guy to put under your microscope. Was this William C. Thurston an abolitionist?)

June 17, Tuesday: The Reverend Theodore Parker wrote to Dr. Fuster, a Viennese professor, mentioning news of Professor Pierre Jean Édouard Desor.

In Worcester, Henry Thoreau, H.G.O. Blake, and Theophilus Brown took a carriage when they went out to Quinsigamund Pond, because they were being accompanied by [SOPHIA E. THOREAU](#).

Friend Daniel Ricketson abandoned Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) to visit Concord to see Henry, unaware that Henry had gone to Worcester. The father [JOHN THOREAU](#) must have been very short indeed, for a man who himself stood 5'3" to have pronounced him "very short":

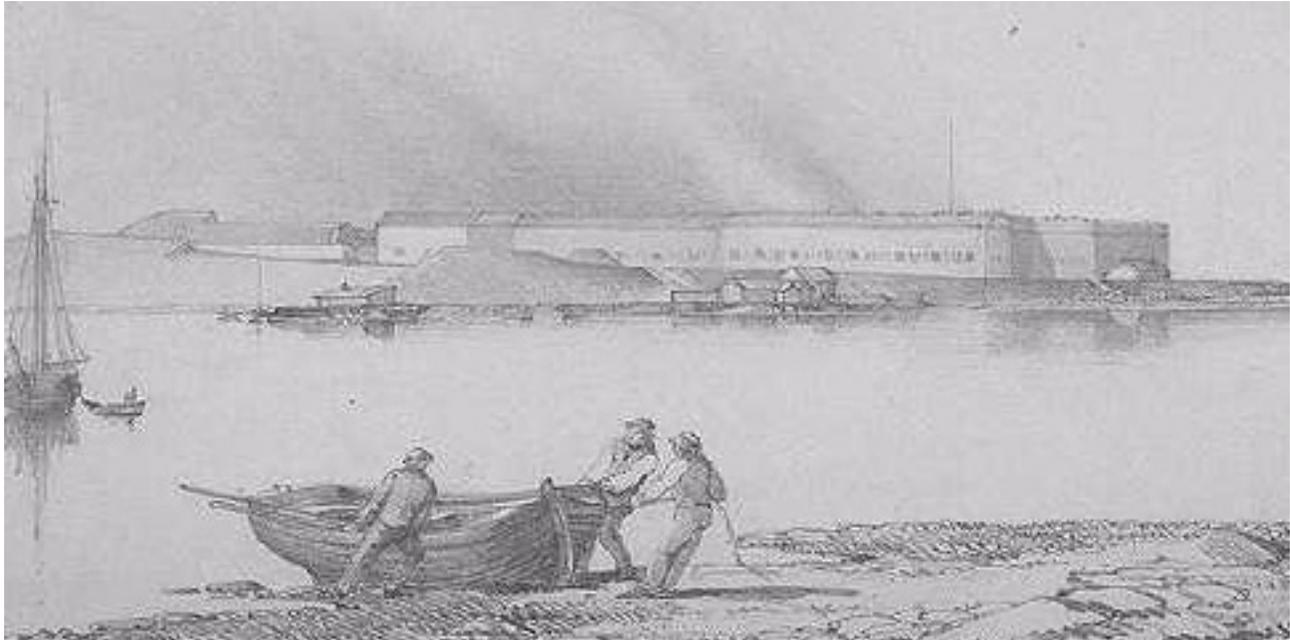


Left Newport this morning at five o'clock for Concord, Mass., via Providence and Boston, and arrived at C. about 12 M. The sail up the Providence or Blackstone River was very fine, the morning being clear and the air very refreshing. My object in coming to Concord was to see H.D. Thoreau, but unfortunately I found him on a visit at Worcester, but I was received with great kindness and cordiality by his father and mother, and took tea with them. Mrs. Thoreau, like a true mother, idolizes her son, and gave me a long and interesting account of his character. Mr. Thoreau, a very short old gentleman, is a pleasant person. We took a short walk together after tea, returned to the Middlesex Hotel at ten. Mrs. T. gave me a long and particular account of W.E. Channing, who spent so many years here.

[CYNTHIA DUNBAR THOREAU](#)

1857

Completion of construction of Fort Adams guarding [NEWPORT](#) Harbor, at 60 acres with 468 cannon the second largest along our nation's coastline. Of course, cheap desperate Irish labor had been utilized to cut and move and position the stone that had been required. This sketch of the fort, and of three Rhode Islanders, had been done about seven years earlier:



The Great Meetinghouse of the Friends in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) was again enlarged.

In this year, according to SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session XII, Number 49 (pages 14-21, 70-1, etc.), there were at least 20 negroes from New-York, New Orleans, and other US ports.

The negroes *William Clark* and *Jupiter*, of New Orleans, *Eliza Jane*, of New-York, *Jos. H. Record*, of [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), and *Onward*, of Boston were captured by British cruisers (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session XII, Number 49, pages 13, 25-6, 69, etc).

The negro *James Buchanan* escaped capture because it was under American colors, while carrying 300 slaves (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session XII, Number 49, page 38).

The negro *James Titors*, of New Orleans, was carrying 1,200 slaves when it was captured by a British cruiser (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session XII, Number 49, pages 31-4, 40-1).

Four New Orleans negroes were operating along the African coast (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session, XII, Number 49, page 30).

The negro *Cortes*, of New-York, was captured (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session, XII, Number 49, pages 27-8).

The negro *Charles*, of Boston, was captured by British cruisers while carrying 400 slaves (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session, XII, Number 49, pages 9, 13, 36, 69, etc).

The *Adams Gray* and *W.D. Miller* of New Orleans were fully equipped as negreros (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session, XII, Number 49, pages 3-5, 13).

Between this year and the following one, such American vessels as the *Charlotte*, of New-York, the *Charles*, of Maryland, etc., were reported to be negreros (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session, XII, Number 49, *passim*).

Slavery had been brought to an end in **RHODE ISLAND** in 1843 and in Connecticut in 1848. In this year it was ended in New Hampshire as well and the North was poised and positioned to become self-righteous in contradistinction to the recalcitrant South. In analyzing the transition known as "gradual emancipation" in New England, Joanne Pope Melish has specified in considerable detail how the stigma of status, "slave," gradually evolved into the stigma of being, "black":



Throughout New England the mapping of dependency from the category "slave" onto the category "person of color" was achieved by a range of practices that insisted upon a slavelike status for persons of color in freedom.

Actually she has analyzed this in considerable critical detail:



The meaning of "free" as it had developed in the ideology of the abolition movement was a category that existed paradoxically in two apparently contradictory semantic domains: "absence" and "availability." The language of abolition framed the possible meanings of "free person of color" as a category to include a state of being for whites along with people of color: "free" always included the state of being "free of slavery," which included a presumption of freedom from slaves themselves -that is, the promise of the ultimate absence of the humans occupying that category- as a desirable status for white.... In whites' minds, formally and conceptually, free people of color had no place at all, even though they were physically still present as day or contract laborers.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: A somewhat more sincere and determined effort to enforce the slave-trade laws now followed; and yet it is a significant fact that not until Lincoln's administration did a slave-trader suffer death for violating the laws of the United States. The participation of Americans in the trade continued, declining somewhat between 1825 and 1830, and then reviving, until it reached its highest activity between 1840 and 1860. The development of a vast internal slave-trade, and the consequent rise in the South of vested interests strongly opposed to slave smuggling, led to a falling off in the illicit introduction of Negroes after 1825, until the fifties; nevertheless, smuggling never entirely ceased, and large numbers were thus added to the plantations of the Gulf States.

Monroe had various constitutional scruples as to the execution of the Act of 1819;³³⁶ but, as Congress took no action, he at last put a fair interpretation on his powers, and appointed Samuel Bacon as an agent in Africa to form a settlement for recaptured Africans. Gradually the agency thus formed became merged with that of the Colonization Society on Cape Mesurado; and from this union Liberia was finally evolved.³³⁷

336. Attorney-General Wirt advised him, October, 1819, that no part of the appropriation could be used to purchase land in Africa or tools for the Negroes, or as salary for the agent: OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, I. 314-7. Monroe laid the case before Congress in a special message Dec. 20, 1819 (HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 1st session, page 57); but no action was taken there.

Meantime, during the years 1818 to 1820, the activity of the slave-traders was prodigious. General James Tallmadge declared in the House, February 15, 1819: "Our laws are already highly penal against their introduction, and yet, it is a well known fact, that about fourteen thousand slaves have been brought into our country this last year."³³⁸ In the same year Middleton of South Carolina and Wright of Virginia estimated illicit introduction at 13,000 and 15,000 respectively.³³⁹ Judge Story, in charging a jury, took occasion to say: "We have but too many proofs from unquestionable sources, that it [the slave-trade] is still carried on with all the implacable rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more subtle in its evasions, and watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened rather than suppressed by its guilty vigils. American citizens are steeped to their very mouths (I can hardly use too bold a figure) in this stream of iniquity."³⁴⁰ The following year, 1820, brought some significant statements from various members of Congress. Said Smith of South Carolina: "Pharaoh was, for his temerity, drowned in the Red Sea, in pursuing them [the Israelites] contrary to God's express will; but our Northern friends have not been afraid even of that, in their zeal to furnish the Southern States with Africans. They are better seamen than Pharaoh, and calculate by that means to elude the vigilance of Heaven; which they seem to disregard, if they can but elude the violated laws of their country."³⁴¹ As late as May he saw little hope of suppressing the traffic.³⁴² Sergeant of Pennsylvania declared: "It is notorious that, in spite of the utmost vigilance that can be employed, African negroes are clandestinely brought in and sold as slaves."³⁴³ Plumer of New Hampshire stated that "of the unhappy beings, thus in violation of all laws transported to our shores, and thrown by force into the mass of our black population, scarcely one in a hundred is ever detected by the officers of the General Government, in a part of the country, where, if we are to believe the statement of Governor Rabun, 'an officer who would perform his duty, by attempting to enforce the law [against the slave trade] is, by many, considered as an officious meddler, and treated with derision and contempt;' ... I have been told by a gentleman, who has attended particularly to this subject, that ten thousand slaves were in one year smuggled into the United States; and that, even for the last year, we must count the number not by hundreds, but by thousands."³⁴⁴ In 1821 a committee of Congress characterized prevailing methods as those "of the grossest fraud that could be practised to deceive the officers of government."³⁴⁵ Another committee, in 1822, after a careful examination of the subject, declare that they "find it impossible to measure with precision the effect produced upon the American branch of the slave trade by the laws above

337. Cf. Kendall's Report, August, 1830: SENATE DOCUMENT, 21st Congress 2d session, I. No. 1, pages 211-8; also see below, Chapter X.

338. Speech in the House of Representatives, Feb. 15, 1819, page 18; published in Boston, 1849.

339. Jay, INQUIRY INTO AMERICAN COLONIZATION (1838), page 59, note.

340. Quoted in Friends' FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE SLAVE TRADE (ed. 1841), pages 7-8.

341. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, pages 270-1.

342. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 698.

343. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 1207.

344. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 1433.

345. Referring particularly to the case of the slaver "Plattsburg." Cf. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, page 10.

mentioned, and the seizures under them. They are unable to state, whether those American merchants, the American capital and seamen which heretofore aided in this traffic, have abandoned it altogether, or have sought shelter under the flags of other nations." They then state the suspicious circumstance that, with the disappearance of the American flag from the traffic, "the trade, notwithstanding, increases annually, under the flags of other nations." They complain of the spasmodic efforts of the executive. They say that the first United States cruiser arrived on the African coast in March, 1820, and remained a "few weeks;" that since then four others had in two years made five visits in all; but "since the middle of last November, the commencement of the healthy season on that coast, no vessel has been, nor, as your committee is informed, is, under orders for that service."³⁴⁶ The United States African agent, Ayres, reported in 1823: "I was informed by an American officer who had been on the coast in 1820, that he had boarded 20 American vessels in one morning, lying in the port of Gallinas, and fitted for the reception of slaves. It is a lamentable fact, that most of the harbours, between the Senegal and the line, were visited by an equal number of American vessels, and for the sole purpose of carrying away slaves. Although for some years the coast had been occasionally visited by our cruisers, their short stay and seldom appearance had made but slight impression on those traders, rendered hardy by repetition of crime, and avaricious by excessive gain. They were enabled by a regular system to gain intelligence of any cruiser being on the coast."³⁴⁷

Even such spasmodic efforts bore abundant fruit, and indicated what vigorous measures might have accomplished. Between May, 1818, and November, 1821, nearly six hundred Africans were recaptured and eleven American slavers taken.³⁴⁸ Such measures gradually changed the character of the trade, and opened the international phase of the question. American slavers cleared for foreign ports, there took a foreign flag and papers, and then sailed boldly past American cruisers, although their real character was often well known. More stringent clearance laws and consular instructions might have greatly reduced this practice; but nothing was ever done, and gradually the laws became in large measure powerless to deal with the bulk of the illicit trade. In 1820, September 16, a British officer, in his official report, declares that, in spite of United States laws, "American vessels, American subjects, and American capital, are unquestionably engaged in the trade, though under other colours and in disguise."³⁴⁹ The United States ship "Cyane" at one time reported ten captures within a few days, adding: "Although they are evidently owned by Americans, they are so completely covered by Spanish papers that it is impossible to condemn them."³⁵⁰ The

346. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, page 2. The President had in his message spoken in exhilarating tones of the success of the government in suppressing the trade. The House Committee appointed in pursuance of this passage made the above report. Their conclusions are confirmed by British reports: PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1822, Vol. XXII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, III. page 44. So, too, in 1823, Ashmun, the African agent, reports that thousands of slaves are being abducted.

347. Ayres to the Secretary of the Navy, Feb. 24, 1823; reprinted in FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 31.

348. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, pages 5-6. The slavers were the "Ramirez," "Endymion," "Esperanza," "Plattsburg," "Science," "Alexander," "Eugene," "Mathilde," "Daphne," "Eliza," and "La Pensée." In these 573 Africans were taken. The naval officers were greatly handicapped by the size of the ships, etc. (cf. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), pages 33-41). They nevertheless acted with great zeal.

349. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1821, Vol. XXIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, page 76. The names and description of a dozen or more American slavers are given: PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1821, Vol. XXIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, pages 18-21.

governor of Sierra Leone reported the rivers Nunez and Pongas full of renegade European and American slave-traders;³⁵¹ the trade was said to be carried on "to an extent that almost staggers belief."³⁵² Down to 1824 or 1825, reports from all quarters prove this activity in slave-trading.

The execution of the laws within the country exhibits grave defects and even criminal negligence. Attorney-General Wirt finds it necessary to assure collectors, in 1819, that "it is against public policy to dispense with prosecutions for violation of the law to prohibit the Slave trade."³⁵³ One district attorney writes: "It appears to be almost impossible to enforce the laws of the United States against offenders after the negroes have been landed in the state."³⁵⁴ Again, it is asserted that "when vessels engaged in the slave trade have been detained by the American cruizers, and sent into the slave-holding states, there appears at once a difficulty in securing the freedom to these captives which the laws of the United States have decreed for them."³⁵⁵ In some cases, one man would smuggle in the Africans and hide them in the woods; then his partner would "rob" him, and so all trace be lost.³⁵⁶ Perhaps 350 Africans were officially reported as brought in contrary to law from 1818 to 1820: the absurdity of this figure is apparent.³⁵⁷ A circular letter to the marshals, in 1821, brought reports of only a few well-known cases, like that of the "General Ramirez;" the marshal of Louisiana had "no information."³⁵⁸

There appears to be little positive evidence of a large illicit importation into the country for a decade after 1825. It is hardly possible, however, considering the activity in the trade, that slaves were not largely imported. Indeed, when we note how the laws were continually broken in other respects, absence of evidence of petty smuggling becomes presumptive evidence that collusive or tacit understanding of officers and citizens allowed the trade to some extent.³⁵⁹ Finally, it must be noted that during all this time scarcely a man suffered for participating in the trade, beyond the loss of the Africans and, more rarely, of his ship. Red-handed slavers, caught in the act and convicted, were too often, like *La Coste* of South Carolina, the subjects of executive clemency.³⁶⁰ In certain cases there were those who even had the effrontery to ask Congress to cancel their own laws. For instance, in 1819 a Venezuelan privateer, secretly fitted out and manned by Americans in Baltimore, succeeded in capturing several American, Portuguese, and Spanish slavers, and appropriating the slaves; being finally wrecked herself, she transferred her crew and slaves to one of her prizes, the "Antelope," which was eventually captured by a United States cruiser and the 280 Africans sent to Georgia.

350. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, pages 15-20.

351. HOUSE DOCUMENT, 18th Congress 1st session, VI. No. 119, page 13.

352. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1823, Vol. XVIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, pages 10-11.

353. OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, V. 717.

354. R. W. Habersham to the Secretary of the Navy, August, 1821; reprinted in FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 47.

355. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 42.

356. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 43.

357. Cf. above, pages 126-7.

358. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 42.

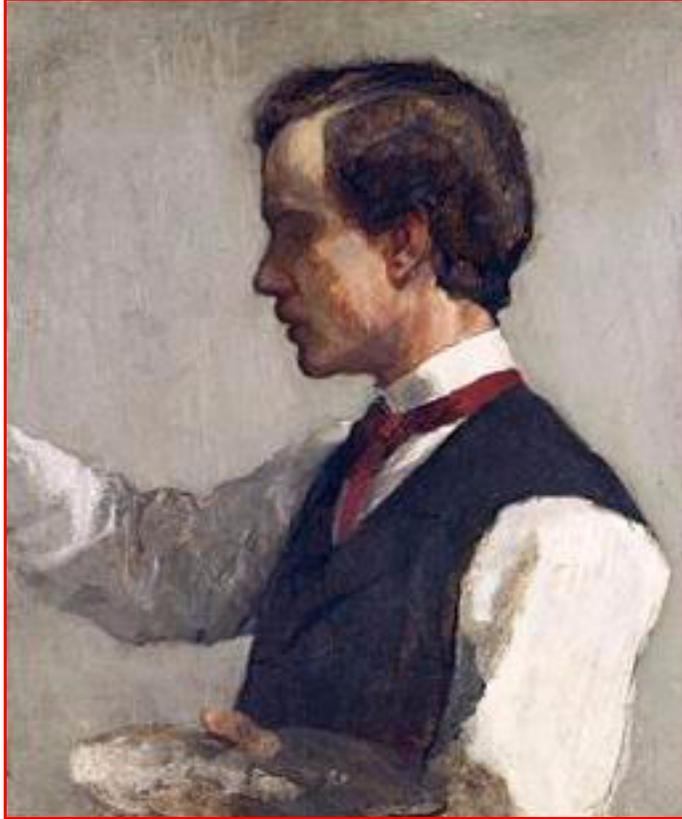
359. A few accounts of captures here and there would make the matter less suspicious; these, however, do not occur. How large this suspected illicit traffic was, it is of course impossible to say; there is no reason why it may not have reached many hundreds per year.

After much litigation, the United States Supreme Court ordered those captured from Spaniards to be surrendered, and the others to be returned to Africa. By some mysterious process, only 139 Africans now remained, 100 of whom were sent to Africa. The Spanish claimants of the remaining thirty-nine sold them to a certain Mr. Wilde, who gave bond to transport them out of the country. Finally, in December, 1827, there came an innocent petition to Congress to *cancel this bond*.³⁶¹ A bill to that effect passed and was approved, May 2, 1828,³⁶² and in consequence these Africans remained as slaves in Georgia. On the whole, it is plain that, although in the period from 1807 to 1820 Congress laid down broad lines of legislation sufficient, save in some details, to suppress the African slave trade to America, yet the execution of these laws was criminally lax. Moreover, by the facility with which slavers could disguise their identity, it was possible for them to escape even a vigorous enforcement of our laws. This situation could properly be met only by energetic and sincere international co-operation....³⁶³

360. Cf. editorial in *Niles's Register*, XXII. 114. Cf. also the following instances of pardons: —
 PRESIDENT JEFFERSON: March 1, 1808, Phillip M. Topham, convicted for "carrying on an illegal slave-trade" (pardoned twice). PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 146, 148-9.
 PRESIDENT MADISON: July 29, 1809, fifteen vessels arrived at New Orleans from Cuba, with 666 white persons and 683 negroes. Every penalty incurred under the Act of 1807 was remitted. (Note: "Several other pardons of this nature were granted.") PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 179.
 Nov. 8, 1809, John Hopkins and Lewis Le Roy, convicted for importing a slave. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 184-5.
 Feb. 12, 1810, William Sewall, convicted for importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 194, 235, 240.
 May 5, 1812, William Babbit, convicted for importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 248.
 PRESIDENT MONROE: June 11, 1822, Thomas Shields, convicted for bringing slaves into New Orleans. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 15.
 Aug. 24, 1822, J.F. Smith, sentenced to five years' imprisonment and \$3000 fine; served twenty-five months and was then pardoned. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 22.
 July 23, 1823, certain parties liable to penalties for introducing slaves into Alabama. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 63.
 Aug. 15, 1823, owners of schooner "Mary," convicted of importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 66.
 PRESIDENT J.Q. ADAMS: March 4, 1826, Robert Perry; his ship was forfeited for slave-trading. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 140.
 Jan. 17, 1827, Jesse Perry; forfeited ship, and was convicted for introducing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 158.
 Feb. 13, 1827, Zenas Winston; incurred penalties for slave-trading. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 161. The four following cases are similar to that of Winston: —
 Feb. 24, 1827, John Tucker and William Morbon. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 162.
 March 25, 1828, Joseph Badger. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 192.
 Feb. 19, 1829, L.R. Wallace. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 215.
 PRESIDENT JACKSON: Five cases. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 225, 270, 301, 393, 440.
 The above cases were taken from manuscript copies of the Washington records, made by Mr. W.C. Endicott, Jr., and kindly loaned me.
 361. See SENATE JOURNAL, 20th Congress 1st session, pages 60, 66, 340, 341, 343, 348, 352, 355; HOUSE JOURNAL, 20th Congress 1st session, pages 59, 76, 123, 134, 156, 169, 173, 279, 634, 641, 646, 647, 688, 692.
 362. STATUTES AT LARGE, VI. 376.
 363. Among interesting minor proceedings in this period were two Senate bills to register slaves so as to prevent illegal importation. They were both dropped in the House; a House proposition to the same effect also came to nothing: SENATE JOURNAL, 15th Congress 1st session, pages 147, 152, 157, 165, 170, 188, 201, 203, 232, 237; 15th Congress 2d session, pages 63, 74, 77, 202, 207, 285, 291, 297; HOUSE JOURNAL, 15th Congress 1st session, page 332; 15th Congress 2d session, pages 303, 305, 316; 16th Congress 1st session, page 150. Another proposition was contained in the Meigs resolution presented to the House, Feb. 5, 1820, which proposed to devote the public lands to the suppression of the slave-trade. This was ruled out of order. It was presented again and laid on the table in 1821: HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 1st session, pages 196, 200, 227; 16th Congress 2d session, page 238.

1859

Here was William James in this year, in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#):



1860

By this point in time, the Great Stone Face had become one of the best-known images of New England as well as one of the primary tourist attractions of our nation. The Franconia Notch had become a mere setting for this cameo. When tourists made their pilgrimage, they paid for rooms at the Profile House, and rowed in Profile Lake, and climbed Profile Mountain. However, the American elite, fickle, had taken their business elsewhere — specifically to [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#):

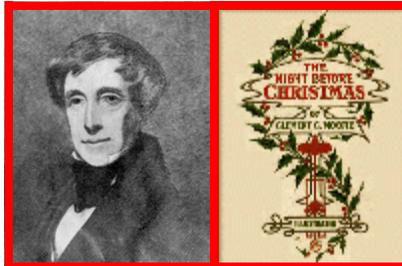


Newport by the 1860s was the most socially exclusive and fashionable American resort. Its rise to prominence mirrored that of the White Mountains in almost every detail, from the “discovery” of its scenery in the 1840s to its “discovery” by the wealthiest New Yorkers in the 1860s. Its social and financial requirements were becoming more rigorous than those of any of the other resorts of New England. Although it was not yet exclusively the home of millionaires that it was to become by the 1880s and 1890s, its name was already synonymous with money and high society. And for many of those living in the nearby towns of southern New England, the name Newport was also synonymous with the vice and idleness of the rich.



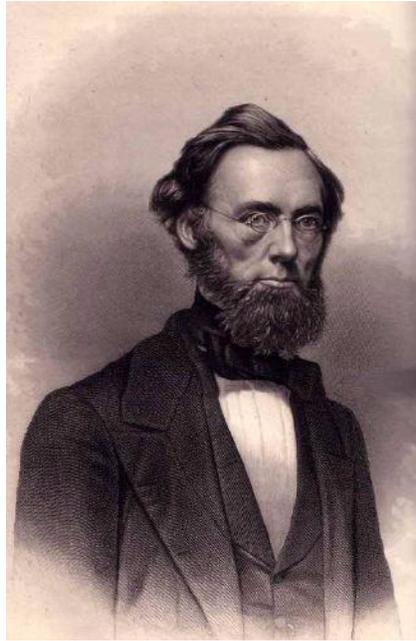
CAPE COD: The time must come when this coast will be a place of resort for those New-Englanders who really wish to visit the sea-side. At present it is wholly unknown to the fashionable world, and probably it will never be agreeable to them. If it is merely a ten-pin alley, or a circular railway, or an ocean of mint-julep, that the visitor is in search of, -if he thinks more of the wine than the brine, as I suspect some do at Newport,- I trust that for a long time he will be disappointed here. But this shore will never be more attractive than it is now. Such beaches as are fashionable are here made and unmade in a day, I may almost say, by the sea shifting its sands. Lynn and Nantasket! this bare and bended arm it is that makes the bay in which they lie so snugly. What are springs and waterfalls? Here is the spring of springs, the waterfall of waterfalls. A storm in the fall or winter is the tide to visit it; a light-house or a fisherman's hut the true hotel. A man may stand there and put all America behind him.

In residence in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) during this period was an elderly religious scholar, the Reverend Clement Clarke Moore, the gent who most belatedly and probably falsely in 1844 had staked a claim to have been the author of the anonymous immortal-because-unforgettable piece of doggerel "The Night Before Christmas."³⁶⁴



364. Everyone had believed him when he had made this unsubstantiated claim, of course, despite the fact that he had never been able to produce any piece of doggerel anywhere near this memorable. -But now we know that he had carefully checked as to the state of the evidence, to reassure himself that he was not going to be found out, prior to publicly asserting the claim.

F.A.P. Barnard accepted an invitation from A.D. Bache to accompany a total eclipse expedition to Labrador. Upon his return, while in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), he would find that he had been elected president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.



At the annual meeting of the American Academy for the Advancement of Science, in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), Charles Darwin's newly published ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES was the cause of not so much as a ripple of concern.



The USS *Constitution* would serve as the school ship for midshipmen at Annapolis, Maryland (and, during the civil war, at [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#)), until 1871.

Summer: The family of Henry James, Sr., back from Europe, was living on Spring Street in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) in a building that now functions as a funeral parlor. Henry James, Jr., while acting as a volunteer fireman, in this year suffered an “obscure hurt” — possibly he injured his back. The older brother, William James, was studying with the painter William Morris Hunt but would soon set this aside in order to enroll at Harvard College's Lawrence Scientific School. Wilkie (the 3d son, Garth Wilkinson James, 15 years of age) and Bob (the 4th son, Robertson James, 14 years of age) would be packed off to Franklin Benjamin Sanborn's private school in [CONCORD](#).

NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

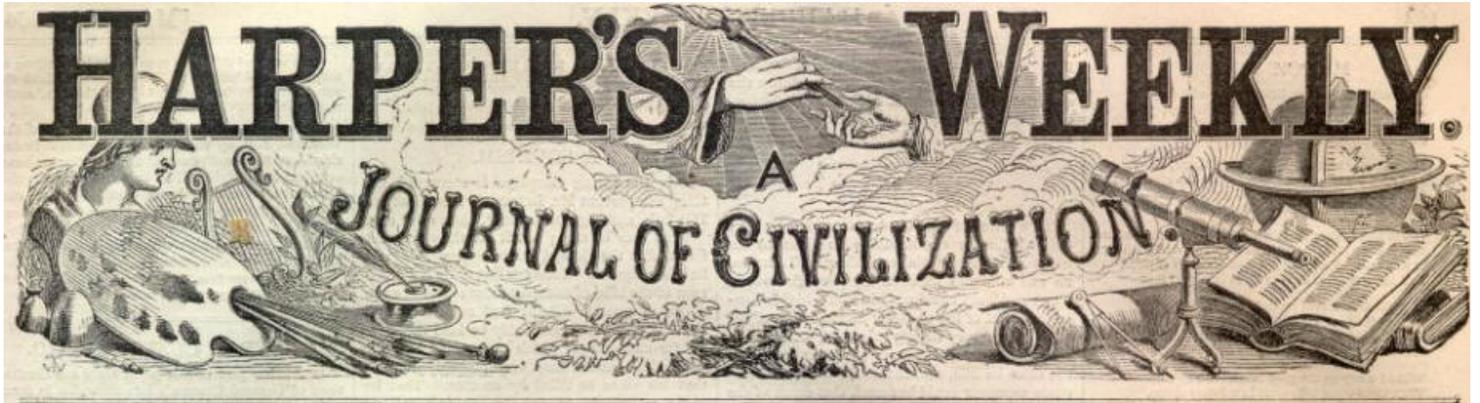
I buried two of my children yesterday – at Concord, Mass.



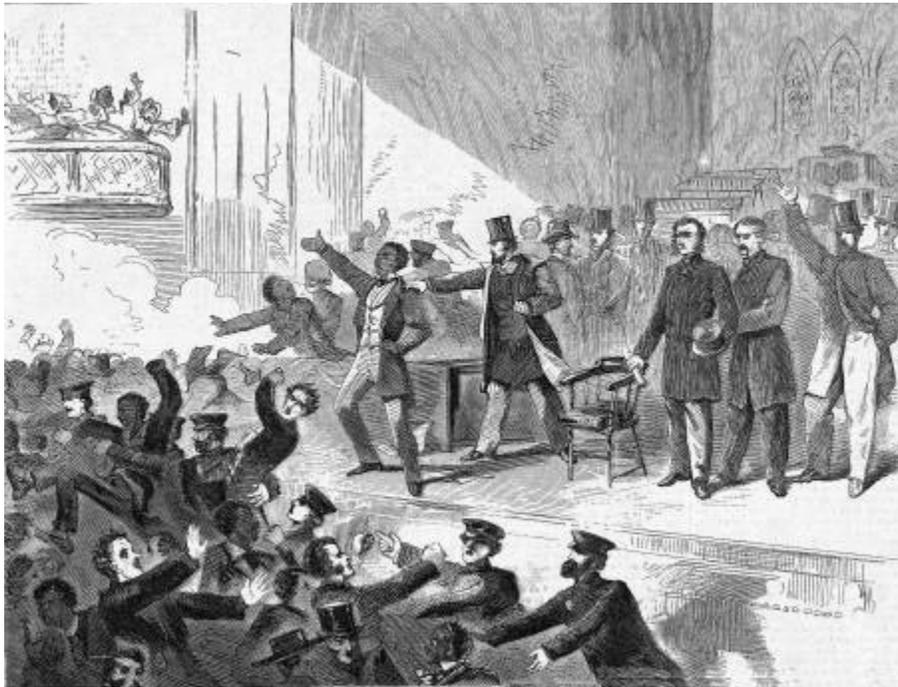
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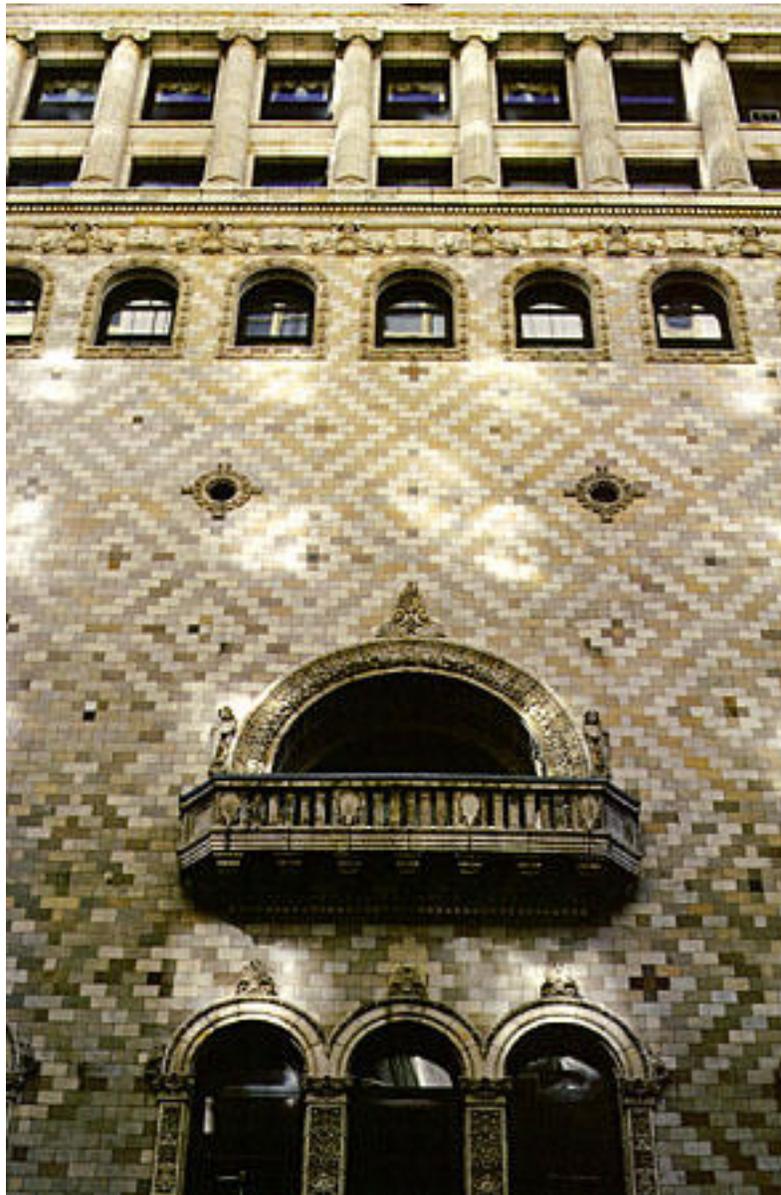
December 15: George Thomas Downing's luxurious Sea Girt House in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#), along with the entire city block bordered by Bellevue Avenue, Liberty Street, and Downing Street, was torched by an arsonist.



There appeared in Harper's Weekly: A Journal of Civilization of New-York in this issue, the famous illustration of the breaking up of the meeting of Boston abolitionists on December 3rd, entitled: "EXPULSION OF NEGROES AND ABOLITIONISTS FROM TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS ON DECEMBER 3, 1860." Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison and others were attempting to celebrate the first anniversary of the hanging of John Brown for leading his famous raid on Harper's Ferry. After Douglass's speech, a Bostonian mob had expelled the abolitionists by force.

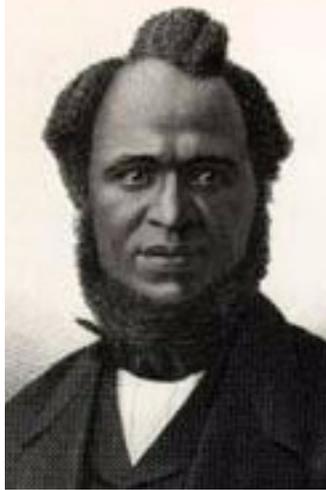


So, you tell me, does the torching of this prominent black businessman's opulent home and productive business establishment in Newport on December the 15th have anything to do with the fact that this inflammatory notice of goings-on in Boston had appeared in the public media? At first blush, there is no indication of a connection — unless one has retained the information, that once upon a time Frederick Douglass had stayed at this home, and that this businessman was a Douglass financial supporter.



Meanwhile, in free Canada, at the Court of Queen's Bench in Toronto, there was a jam of onlookers, some of them black. Could America's neighbor to the north actually be forced to remand an escaped American slave to the tender justice of American slavemasters, who had been publicly pledging that once back in Arkansas he was to be roasted alive over a slow fire? The Canadian police stacked their muskets in front of the hall as a visible warning that no disruption was going to be tolerated. The prisoner in the dock, a stout-built man of a

deep yellow countenance, with a high forehead, could be heard occasionally to sigh. As the clock struck



twelve, the Chief Justice, Robinson, produced his paper and began to read the decision of the three-member court. Two of the members, Chief Justice Robinson and Mr. Justice Burns, had refused the application for John Anderson's discharge. He would need to be extradited, and stand trial for murder in Missouri, a place where no black man had any rights whatever, and then be executed. Mr. Justice McLean had dissented. After the court's majority decision had been read, this lone dissenter read out his dissent:

Looking, then, at all the testimony taken before the justice of the peace, and rejecting such portion as is unnecessary and inadmissible, there is not a witness who connects the prisoner with the stabbing of Diggs, unless it be Thomas Diggs, in his statement of the death-bed declarations of his father to him, and these only shew that the negro by whom Diggs was stabbed made certain declarations as to himself and his identity, which would be true if made by the prisoner; but rejecting the deposition of the slave Phil there is no testimony which establishes satisfactorily that the prisoner is the person who caused the death of Diggs. On the grounds, therefore, that the prisoner was arrested in the first instance on an insufficient complaint, and that he is now detained in custody on a warrant of commitment until discharged by due course of law for an offence committed in a foreign country; and on the further grounds, that the offence stated in the warrant of commitment is not one for which the prisoner is liable to be detained under the provincial act for carrying out the treaty with the United States for the surrender of certain fugitive criminals, and that the evidence, as given before the justice of the peace, is of too vague a character to establish the offence of murder against the prisoner according to the laws of this province, I am of opinion that the prisoner is now entitled to be discharged from custody.

In other words, were there sufficient evidence to proceed, we would of course need to sell this man down the river, but fortunately, we can construe that there seems not to be this sufficient evidence — which is, by any measure, not a strong peg on which to be forced to hang one's legal hat! Here is the conclusion of Mr. Justice McLean's dissent:

Can it then be a matter of surprise that the prisoner should endeavour to escape from so degrading a position; or rather, would it not be a cause of surprise if the attempt were not made? Diggs — though he could have had no other interest in it but that which binds slaveholders for their common interest to

prevent the escape of their slaves – interfered to prevent the prisoner getting beyond the bounds of his bondage, and, with his slaves, pursued and hunted him with a spirit and determination which might well drive him to desperation; and when at length the prisoner appeared within reach of capture, he, with a stick in his hand, crossed over a fence, and advanced to intercept and seize him. The prisoner was anxious to escape, and, in order to do so, made every effort to avoid his pursuers. Diggs, as their leader, on the contrary, was most anxious to overtake and come in contact with the prisoner, for the unholy purpose of rivetting his chains more securely. Could it be expected from any man indulging the desire to be free, which nature has implanted in his breast, that he should quietly submit to be returned to bondage and to stripes, if by any effort of his strength or any means within his reach, he could emancipate himself? Such an expectation, it appears to me, would be most unreasonable; and I must say that, in my judgment, the prisoner was justified in using any necessary degree of force to prevent what, to him, must inevitably have proved a most fearful evil. He was committing no crime in endeavouring to escape and to better his own condition; and the fact of his being a slave cannot, in my humble judgment, make that a crime which would not be so if he were a white man. If in this country any number of persons were to pursue a coloured man with an avowed determination to return him into slavery, it cannot, I think, be doubted that the man pursued would be justified in using, in the same circumstances as the prisoner, the same means of relieving himself from so dreadful a result. Can, then, or must the law of slavery in Missouri be recognized by us to such an extent as to make it murder in Missouri, while it is justifiable in this province to do precisely the same act? I confess that I feel it too repugnant to every sense of religion and every feeling of justice, to recognize a rule, designated as a *law*, passed by the strong for enslaving and tyrannizing over the weak – a law which would not be tolerated a moment, if those who are reduced to the condition of slaves, and deprived of all human rights, were possessed of white instead of black or dark complexions. The Declaration of Independence of the present United States proclaimed to the world, that all men are born equal and possessed of certain inalienable rights, amongst which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; but the first of these is the only one accorded to the unfortunate slaves; the others of these inalienable rights are denied, because the white population have found themselves strong enough to deprive the blacks of them. A love of liberty is inherent in the human breast, whatever may be the complexion of the skin. 'Its taste is grateful, and ever will be so till nature herself shall change.' And in administering the laws of a British province, I never can feel bound to recognize as law any enactment which can convert into chattels a very large number of the human race. *I think that, on every ground, the prisoner is entitled to be discharged.*

In other words, there is a higher law, which even a judge may hear and obey!

The order made by the court was therefore:

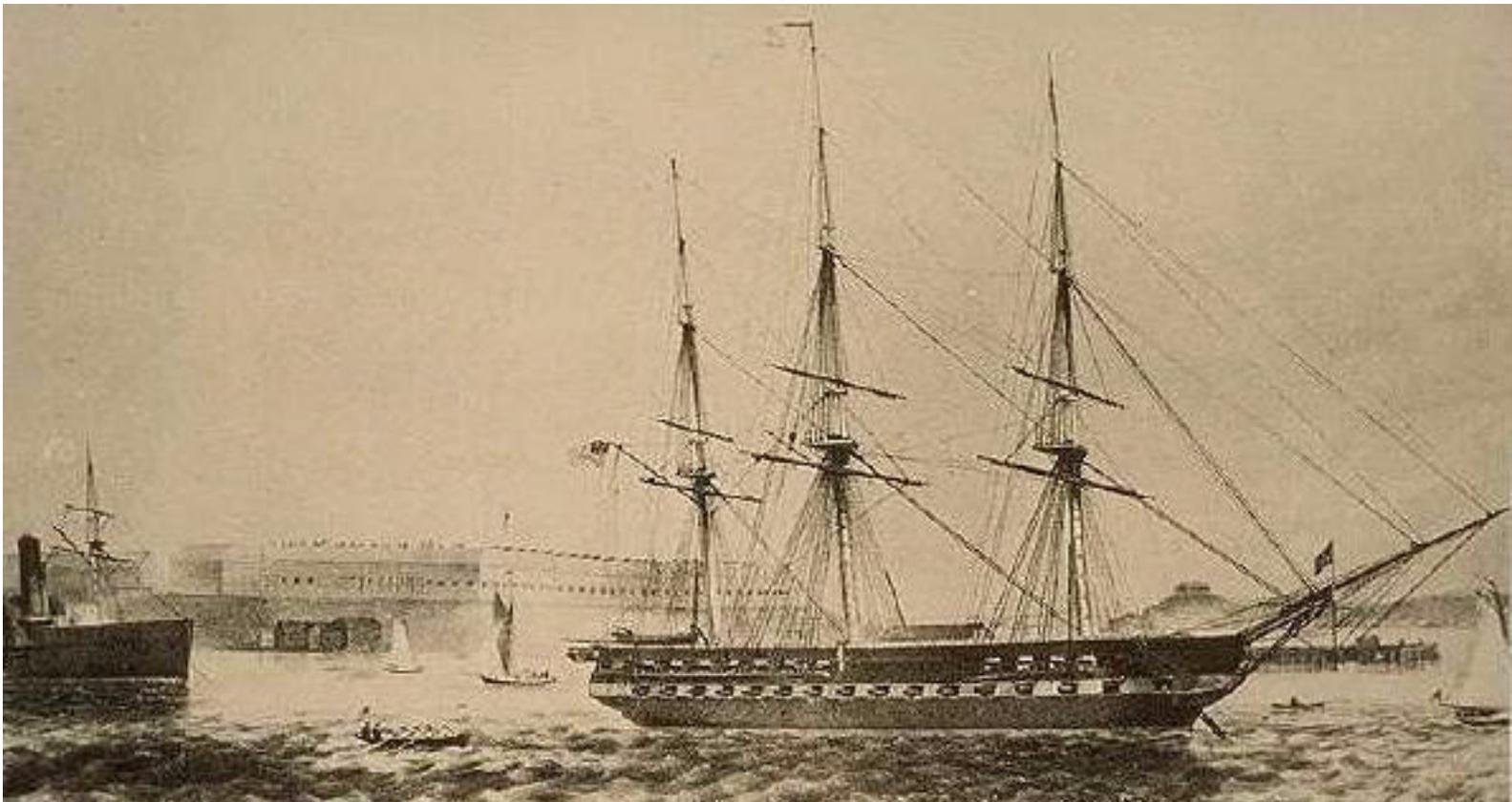
That the said John Anderson be recommitted to the custody of the keeper of the gaol of the county of Brant, under which he had

been detained, until a warrant should issue, upon the requisition of the proper authorities of the United States of America, or of the state of Missouri, for his surrender; or until discharged according to law.

Only one possibility remained — Canada’s Court of Error and Appeal. Could this decision be reversed? When John Anderson’s counsel stated that an appeal was intended, counsel for the Crown pledged that it would throw no obstruction in the way of such appeal.

1861

May 8: The USS *Constitution* rode at anchor in Newport harbor.



RHODE ISLAND

(It had sailed there for its safety from Annapolis, Maryland, and would remain there, serving as the school ship for midshipmen, for the duration of the Civil War.)

[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRY IN HIS JOURNAL FOR 8 MAY]

1862

December: The Reverend Thomas Wentworth Higginson was appointed colonel of the 1st South Carolina Volunteers, a regiment composed of volunteers from South Carolina, the first Negro regiment of freed slaves mustered into the Union Service.



While this husband was off to war, his wheelchair-bound wife Mary would for health and family reasons relocate from Worcester to the boarding house of Friend Hannah Dame in Newport on Aquidneck Island in [RHODE ISLAND](#).

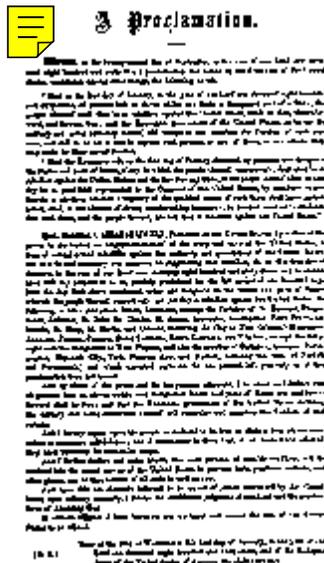
1863

Our national birthday, the 4th of July: During our nation’s 4th of July celebrations,³⁶⁵ while full-pitched battles were going on at Vicksburg and at Gettysburg, the corpse of the scalped³⁶⁶ red raspberry picker lay in the main street of Hutchinson, Minnesota while celebrants stuffed firecrackers into its body orifices. An embarrassed



town doctor finally threw it into the town refuse pit and covered it with some dirt, but then a US Army cavalry officer wanted the head in order to preserve the skull with its distinctive teeth, and it was discovered that this was *Taoyateduta* “Our Red Nation,” Headman Little Crow V. Then some people came around to dig up the torso as well, because the shattered forearm bones were also distinctive of the hated politician and negotiator who had failed to prevent Minnesota’s race war.

365. This was Nathaniel Hawthorne’s 59th birthday. He and 25,000 other citizens were attending a “Democratic Mass Meeting” in Concord NH at which his good ’ol buddy Franklin Pierce (quite possibly the worst president we ever endured prior to Wubya) was declaring the Emancipation Proclamation to be unconstitutional.



366. Scalped: of course the white farmer’s white son, Nathan Lamson, wanted to obtain the \$75.⁰⁰ the State of Minnesota was then offering for any Indian scalp no questions asked. Such a sum of blood money could never be passed up.

The aftermath: Orphaned, the boy would be soon caught starving by the US army, after having managed with his last cartridge to kill a wolf to gnaw upon, and he would readily confess that he was Wowinape "The Appearing One" or "Thomas Wakeman," son of headman "Our Red Nation," and that it had been he, that dusk, who had been the other raspberry picker who had gotten away. The boy would turn 17 years old by the time he would be tried and sentenced by a military court to be hanged. After not being among those selected by President Lincoln to be hanged in the largest mass hanging in US history, and after being released from the Pike Island Sequestration Facility to the Indian reservation, Thomas Wakeman, a Presbyterian, would devote his life to the YMCA.

The farmer received a large sum of money as reward from the State of Minnesota for killing the Indian father. The skull and shattered forearm bones of the father would be placed on display in a glass case at the Minnesota Historical Society.

Of course our civil war continued without interruption on this day: did you expect otherwise? —There was “real” fighting at Helena. The above event in Minnesota was insignificant, as it was not what was being done to white people. A war dispatch from Walt Whitman:

“Specimen Days”

BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

The weather to-day, upon the whole, is very fine, warm, but from a smart rain last night, fresh enough, and no dust, which is a great relief for this city. I saw the parade about noon, Pennsylvania avenue, from Fifteenth street down toward the capitol. There were three regiments of infantry, (I suppose the ones doing patrol duty here,) two or three societies of Odd Fellows, a lot of children in barouches, and a squad of policemen. (A useless imposition upon the soldiers – they have work enough on their backs without piling the like of this.) As I went down the Avenue, saw a big flaring placard on the bulletin board of a newspaper office, announcing “Glorious Victory for the Union Army!” Meade had fought Lee at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, yesterday and day before, and repuls’d him most signally, taken 3,000 prisoners, &c. (I afterwards saw Meade’s despatch, very modest, and a sort of order of the day from the President himself, quite religious, giving thanks to the Supreme, and calling on the people to do the same.) I walk’d on to Armory hospital – took along with me several bottles of blackberry and cherry syrup, good and strong, but innocent. Went through several of the wards, announc’d to the soldiers the news from Meade, and gave them all a good drink of the syrups with ice water, quite refreshing – prepar’d it all myself, and serv’d it around. Meanwhile the Washington bells are ringing their sundown peals for Fourth of July, and the usual fusilades of boys’ pistols, crackers, and guns.

A CAVALRY CAMP

I am writing this, nearly sundown, watching a cavalry company (acting Signal service,) just come in through a shower, making their night’s camp ready on some broad, vacant ground, a sort of hill, in full view opposite my window. There are the men in their yellow-striped jackets. All are dismounted; the freed horses stand with drooping heads and wet sides; they are to be led off presently in groups, to water. [Page 730] The little wall-tents and shelter tents spring up quickly. I see the fires already blazing, and pots and kettles over them. Some among the men are driving in tent-poles, wielding their axes with strong, slow blows. I see great huddles of horses, bundles of hay, groups of men (some with unbuckled sabres yet on their sides,) a few officers, piles of wood, the flames of the fires, saddles, harness, &c. The smoke streams upward, additional men arrive and dismount – some drive in stakes, and tie their horses to them; some go with buckets for water, some are chopping wood, and so on.



In Buffalo, New York, 17 veterans of the War of 1812 marched in the parade.

At Annapolis, a “flag of truce” boat filled with Secessionist women from Philadelphia and elsewhere, having departed on July 3rd, was voyaging south.

Governor Zebulon B. Vance of North Carolina delivered an oration in which he urged the citizenry “to continue their assistance in prosecuting the war until the independence of the Confederate States was established.”

In Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, as the Rebel troops were making their escape from the great battle just fought there, someone threw a bunch of firecrackers among the ambulances carrying their wounded, and this caused not only a stampede of the horses but also panic among the surviving soldiers.

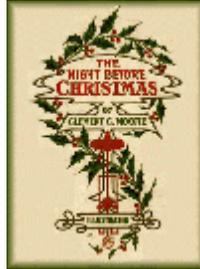
At Randal and Aston's store in Columbus, Ohio, 8,500 American flags were available for purchase.

In Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), when news would arrive that there had been a Union victory at Vicksburg, the 4th-of-July celebration would be repeated on Tuesday, July 7th.

William James was photographed during the summer of 1863 in Newport, Rhode Island. He was some swell dude, and obviously getting shot at in a civil war was not going to be his cup of tea:



July 10: Clement Clarke Moore died notorious, at his summer home in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#). In addition to translating the works of Juvenal into English, and editing his father's sermons, and authoring polemical pamphlets against the subversion of religion by doubters, this scholar had been the author of the immortal "The Night Before Christmas" (NOT!)



The body would be interred in the Trinity Cemetery of the Church of the Intercession, on Upper Broadway at 155th Street in New-York.

A report from Walt Whitman:

"Specimen Days"

Still the camp opposite – perhaps fifty or sixty tents. Some of the men are cleaning their sabres (pleasant to-day,) some brushing boots, some laying off, reading, writing – some cooking, some sleeping. On long temporary cross-sticks back of the tents are cavalry accoutrements – blankets and overcoats are hung out to air – there are the squads of horses tether'd, feeding, continually stamping and whisking their tails to keep off flies. I sit long in my third story window and look at the scene – a hundred little things going on – peculiar objects connected with the camp that could not be described, any one of them justly, without much minute drawing and coloring in words.

On this day and the following one, there was fighting at Fort Wagner SC / Morris Island. Union artillery on Folly Island together with Rear Admiral John Dahlgren's fleet of ironclads opened fire on Confederate defenses of Morris Island. The bombardment provided cover for Brigadier General George C. Strong's brigade, which crossed Light House Inlet and landed by boats on the southern tip of the island. Strong's troops advanced, capturing several batteries, to within range of Confederate Fort Wagner. At dawn on July 11th, Strong attacked the fort. Soldiers of the 7th Connecticut reached the parapet but, unsupported, were thrown back.

1864

October: After being wounded on an upriver raid, Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson received an honorable discharge from the US Army for physical disability, and went home to his wheelchair-bound wife Mary in Newport on Aquidneck Island in [RHODE ISLAND](#), where they would live in the boarding house of Friend Hannah Dame. Within a year of Higginson's arrival, he would be asked to serve on the local school board, a position which at that time was an appointed one rather than an elected one. One Rhode Islander member of this school board, hearing that the Colonel of a black regiment had been asked to serve, vowed that he would never sit on the same committee with a black man, but this gent calmed down when it was carefully explained to him that although Colonel Higginson had been the commander of a black regiment, he was nevertheless a white man like thee and like me.



Thomas Wentworth Higginson

Higginson would continue the uphill endeavor to obtain for his black Union soldiers, equal pay with the white Union soldiers. –What, are their lives as precious?

His articles about commanding black soldiers would begin to appear in [The Atlantic Monthly](#).

1865

Thomas Wentworth Higginson issued a translation of the works of the Stoic philosopher Epictetus.

As the chairman of the [NEWPORT](#) School Committee, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in collaboration with George Thomas Downing, a local black hotel owner who was concerned for the proper education of his children, argued successfully to eliminate the system of a separate set of unequal schools there for black Americans.



During this year George Thomas Downing was one of 26 citizens of [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) who made donations for the purchase of the land that would come to be known as Touro Park.

(At that time in [NEWPORT](#), one could still go down to the waterfront and, across from the abandoned distillery with slave quarters in its upper story, you could still see the “Long Wharf” on which slaves from Africa had been offloaded. Over near Fort Adams, one could inspect the rotting hulk of an actual slave ship, the *Jem*. The everyday presence of such a wreck must have made local issues, such as school integration, seem especially urgent and topical!)



Succeeding in this effort at school integration despite the most intense opposition, Chairman Thomas Wentworth Higginson would of course not be appointed to serve on that committee in the following term (but

when the community began to elect rather than appoint the Committee members, he would win election in 1874-1876).

August 18: Since the synagogue in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) had been restored with ample funding from the Touro family, and a ministerial fund created, worship in that once-neglected building had been resumed. However, there does seem occasionally to have been something of a problem in collecting together the minimum number of Jews, ten, necessary for a proper public worship. Hence the following notice, of this date:

Should the 10th man ever be wanted please address M. Miranda, 219 North Main Street, [PROVIDENCE](#), R.I. Happy to come any time.

1866

Racial segregation was abolished throughout the state of [RHODE ISLAND](#) (so the story goes).

The 1st roller rink in the world was opened at [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#).

1867

Thomas Wentworth Higginson wrote a number of [NEWPORT](#) essays, such as “Driftwood Fire,” that would later be published in the collection OLDPORT DAYS. He helped found the Boston-based Radical Club and Free Religious Association. The first convention of this FRA was held in Boston, with Unitarians such as Waldo Emerson and Bronson Alcott attending. “It has been a great hindrance to genuine progress that religion has not been free, and freedom has not been religious.” Lydia Maria Child was quick to notice that although she was being given zero credit, what this convention was doing was embracing the principles of the two volumes of THE PROGRESS OF RELIGIOUS IDEAS, THROUGH SUCCESSIVE AGES that had been published by her in 1855. So it goes.



She would be attending the FRA meetings regularly during her stays in Boston, and more frequently subsequent to her husband David's death in 1874.

The Great Meetinghouse of the [FRIENDS](#) in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) was again enlarged.

At Yearly Meeting School in [PROVIDENCE](#), it was decided that henceforth they would begin the school year in September and end it in June so that the scholars would be able to provide labor at home during the harvest season (this change is for some reason said to have created a large excess of boys over girls at the school). Although the Quaker scholars would continue to walk down the hill to the Friends meetinghouse for Sunday morning worship and for midweek worship, the practice of attending Sunday afternoon meeting was discontinued. Also discontinued was the practice of morning meeting in the school itself.

A new attitude was emerging toward [QUAKERS](#) in the arts: “Call it by what name you will, mysticism, spiritualism, transcendentalism, it will scarcely be going beyond what history warrants to affirm that every writer or thinker who has taken deep hold of the hearts, not of the intellects, of mankind, has been a teacher of the doctrine of the ‘Divine Principle in man,’ of the ‘enthusiasm (*vergötterung*) of humanity.’ An illustration of the same truth will be furnished by every poet who has touched the deepest sympathies of the heart, whether he write in prose or verse.... He that dishonoureth the creature dishonoureth the Creator.”³⁶⁷

However, it would be a mistake to presume that the above shift in attitudes regarding the arts meant that Quaker students would be able to learn to play a musical instrument. Not so. Even in 1881, when a grand piano would be offered as a gift to the Moses Brown School, it would be accepted only under a stipulation that “music lessons should be given at the school only to those pupils whose parents specifically requested it.”

1869

Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in the frontispiece to his novel MALBONE: AN OLDPORT ROMANCE (a novel the setting of which is [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#)), professed to quote Henry Thoreau:

MALBONE:

AN OLDPORT ROMANCE.

BY

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

“What is Nature unless there is an eventful human life passing within her? Many joys and many sorrows are the lights and shadows in which she shows most beautiful.” — THOREAU, *MS. Diary*.

BOSTON:

FIELDS, OSGOOD, & CO.,

SUCCESSORS TO TICKNOR AND FIELDS.

1869.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1869, by

FIELDS, OSGOOD, & CO.,

in the clerk’s Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

CAMBRIDGE.

In the body of the work, one of his characters speaks as follows:

“Who cares for literature in America,” said Philip, “after a man

367. Alfred W. Bennett in the [Friends’ Quarterly Examiner](#), 1, no. 1 (1867)

risers three inches above the newspaper level? Nobody reads Thoreau; only an insignificant fraction read Emerson, or even Hawthorne. The majority of people have hardly even heard their names. What inducement has a writer? Nobody has any weight in America who is not in Congress, and nobody gets into Congress without the necessity of bribing or button-holing men whom he despises."

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

(In 1888 the author would run for the federal Congress –making the requisite attempt of “bribing or button-holing men whom he despises”– and would lose, presumably to some other candidate who did not have such limiting scruples as to the extent of his bribing and the extent of his button-holing.)

August: Bronson Alcott wrote to Julia Ward Howe in [RHODE ISLAND](#):

You invite my views on the subject of your proposed American Woman's Suffrage Association. I am accustomed to defer to woman the questions that are properly hers. But I will venture say that women ought to be admitted to full citizenship, via these measures: The Convention, The Lecture, The Press, and The Conversation, especially the last named, as being the simplest, the most natural, and in keeping with this humane reform. I trust your American Suffrage Association will be organized on the broadest principles, and set its machinery in motion forthwith.

At this point, it would seem, Alcott must have been wrapping up the work he had been doing since April, of preparing materials for a book on CONCORD DAYS that would see publication in 1872.³⁶⁸

During this year the US Navy purchased what remained above water level of the Goat Island, which once had been part of the farm of Friend Mary Dyer, in Newport harbor. This would be the site for their Newport Torpedo Station. Its Mark 14 proximity torpedo was to be developed there, as the brainchild of Ralph Waldo Christie.



368. Bronson Alcott. CONCORD DAYS. Boston MA: Roberts Brothers, 1872 [bound in green cloth, blind-stamped; “Concord Days” stamped in gold in center of front cover; spine stamped in gold; brown wove endpapers]

1871

When her *ADMETUS AND OTHER POEMS* appeared (NY, Cambridge: Hurd & Houghton; Riverside Press), Emma Lazarus dedicated its title poem “To My Friend, Ralph Waldo Emerson.” This volume also included “In the Jewish Synagogue at Newport” and “How Long,” as well as translations of Goethe and Heine. When her friend would fail to include any of her stuff in his 1874 anthology *PARNASSUS*, despite having awarded space to inferior poets such as Harriet Prescott Spofford and Julia C.R. Dorr, Lazarus would dash off an angry letter.



In this volume the poet used a Henry Thoreau quote, from *WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS*, as the epigraph when republishing her May 1869 poem “Reality”:

“Hold fast to your most indefinite waking dream.
Dreams are the solidest facts that we know.”

Here is the poem itself:

Celestial hopes and dreams,
And lofty purposes, and long rich days,
With fragrance filled of blameless deeds and ways,
And visionary gleams, —

These things alone endure;
“They are the solid facts,” that we may grasp,
Leading us on and upward if we clasp
And hold them firm and sure.

In a wise fable old,
A hero sought a god who could at will
Assume all figures, and the hero still
Loosed not his steadfast hold,

For image foul or fair,
For soft-eyed nymph, who wept with pain and shame,
For threatening fiend or loathesome beast or flame,
For menace or for prayer.

Until the god, outbraved,
Took his own shape divine; not wrathfully,
But wondering, to the hero gave reply,
The knowledge that he craved.

We seize the god in youth;
All forms conspire to make us loose our grasp, —
Ambition, folly, gain, — till we unclasp
From the embrace of truth.

We grow more wise, we say,
And work for worldly ends and mock our dream,
Alas! while all life’s glory and its gleam,
With that have fled away.

If thereto we had clung
Through change and peril, fire and night and storm,
till it assume its proper, godlike form,
We might as last have wrung

An answer to our cries, —
A brave response to our most valiant hope.
Unto the light of day this word might ope
A million mysteries.

O’er each man’s brow I see
The bright star of his genius shining clear;
It seeks to guide him to a nobler sphere,
Above earth’s vanity.

Up to pure height of snow,
Its beckoning ray still leads him on and on;
To those who follow, lo, itself comes down
And crowns at length their brow.

The nimbus still doth gleam
On these the heroes, sages of the earth,
The few who found, in life of any worth,
Only their loftiest dream.

1872

The ornamental iron gates from the town house of Friend Abraham Redwood on Thames Street in Newport, Rhode Island, which had been shipped here from London in 1731, were presented to the Redwood Library. They are now to be seen at its side entrance.

1873

The charter of the Newport School Committee was revised to provide for democratic election. The Reverends Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Mahlon Van Horne would be elected.

Thomas Wentworth Higginson put out a collection of his Newport, Rhode Island essays, entitled OLDPORT DAYS.

March 30: The Reverend Thomas Wentworth Higginson wrote from Newport, Rhode Island to Charles Darwin in Down, England about how pleased he was that Darwin had enjoyed his book *OUTDOOR PAPERS* of 1871. He rejoiced at Darwin's kindly feelings toward the coloured race. He reported that, unfortunately, due to the "unworldliness" of its editor the Reverend Francis Ellingwood Abbot, The Free Religious Index was in financial trouble. He reported that Professor Louis Agassiz of Harvard College, a denier of the theory of evolution, was setting up a summer school for natural history on an island off the Massachusetts coast (this was on the island of Penikese, the outermost of the Elizabeth Islands below Cape Cod) — but that there his pupils had been developing more liberal scientific opinions than those held by their august professor (Agassiz, determinedly racist, was a scoffer at Darwin's theory of evolution since such a scientific theory might indicate there to be some commonality between the white race and the black one). Since Darwin had recently published on *THE EXPRESSION OF THE EMOTIONS IN MAN AND ANIMALS*, the Reverend Higginson enclosed some of his scientific notes on the expression of emotions.

NEWPORT RI

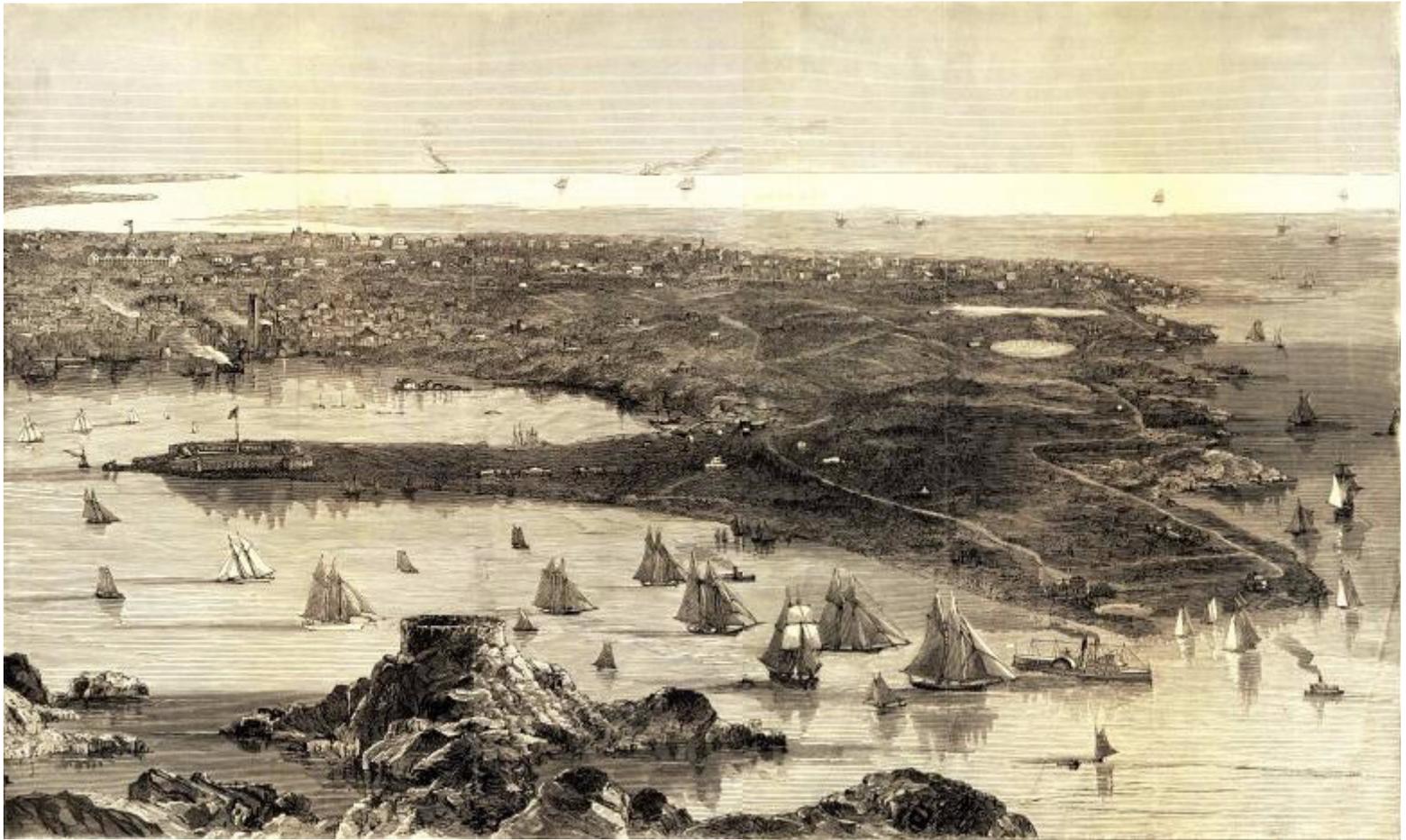
NEWPORT RI

August 30: Harper's Magazine provided a panorama of the harbor of [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) (for convenience here, I have split their panorama into a left part and, on the following screen, a right part):



NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI



1876

Polo was played for the 1st time in America, on a field in [PORTSMOUTH](#) on [RHODE ISLAND](#)'s Aquidneck Island.



1879

By this point George Thomas Downing, whose Sea Girt Hotel in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) had burned in 1860, had come to own a structure that had housed the US Naval Academy during the Civil War, and had transformed this into an establishment known as the Atlantic House.

1880

As of this year, the naval torpedo facilities at what little of Goat Island, which once had been part of the farm of Friend Mary Dyer, in Newport harbor, had not been washed away by the tides and the years, had been built up to this level:

**1881**

Touro Synagogue had remained closed until this point, except for occasional services conducted by summer visitors. However, at this point, new Jewish inhabitants, people unconnected to the previous group of Marranos,³⁶⁹ petitioned the city council of Newport, Rhode Island, which had been acting as trustee for the Judah Touro fund, for permission to use the synagogue and the income on a regular basis. When the rights to the building would be transferred to this new Congregation Shearith Israel, it would proceed to make provision for Sephardic services to be held there on high holy days.

Spring: At this point, foreign-born adult male citizens were still required under the constitution of **RHODE ISLAND** to be the registered owners of real estate taxed for at least \$134 [*sic*, presumably that was a misprint for "\$1.34"], in order to cast a ballot. Native-born adult male citizens who were not being taxed for \$1.34, of either real or personal property, could not vote in any Rhode Island town or city, on any question involving the expenditure of the money or the imposition of a tax, nor could they vote in the state capital for members of the city council. Such native-born adult male citizens, if they desired to exercise the voting franchise, were required to register their names with the city or town clerk on or before the last day of December, in the year next preceding the time of voting, and to pay \$1 as a registry-tax. During this season an Equal Rights Association was formed in Providence, having for its objects the repeal of such property qualifications for voting, and the procuring of equal political standing for all adult male citizens. "The main organization is in Providence, and there are branches in Pawtucket, Newport, and several of the towns. The membership is not large, and the movement appears to meet with but little favor."

369. Marrano = a Spanish or Portuguese Jew of the late Middle Ages who converted to Christianity, especially one forcibly converted but adhering secretly to Judaism.

1882

When Oscar Wilde arrived in Boston for his year-long lecture tour of America he had with him, among his



letters of introduction to such hosts as Professor Charles Eliot Norton and Doctor Oliver Wendell Holmes, an invitation to make the acquaintance of Julia Ward Howe. Wilde was welcome in Howe's Boston apartment on Beacon Street, and in her home in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), where she would arrange numerous receptions and dinner parties. When the Reverend Thomas Wentworth Higginson in Newport would begin to write letters accusing Howe of impropriety, her entanglement with Wilde would be a large part of what was on his mind.



1883

Spring: During this year, Touro Synagogue was reconsecrated, the services being led by Abraham Pereira Mendes and his two sons. The last person to maintain the tenuous thread of Marrano³⁷⁰ tradition in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) would be Henry S. Morais. After his death, a modified service would be instituted, such as switching to the Ashkenazi pronunciation of Hebrew, although services in the synagogue's original Sephardic rite would continue to be conducted by visiting rabbis.

370. Marrano = a Spanish or Portuguese Jew of the late Middle Ages who converted to Christianity, especially one forcibly converted but adhering secretly to Judaism.

1884

August 15: Consecration of the present St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church structure in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).

1889

By this point George Thomas Downing had become a major real estate owner, a "rentier," on Newport's Bellevue Avenue.

1891

A photograph was taken of a rotting ship hulk at Fort Adams near Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), the rotting hulk of the slave ship *Jem* — a reminder of everything people commonly try to just forget all about:



The number of [QUAKERS](#) on Aquidneck Island having diminished, the monthly meeting in Conanicut or Jamestown RI was laid down, and its remaining members absorbed into other meetings.

This is what the town of Bristol, [RHODE ISLAND](#) looked like in this year:



Here is a detail of the above image of Bristol in this year:



1894

From this point until 1933 the USS *Constellation* would be serving as the Stationary Training Ship at the US Naval Training Center at Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#). (The good folks there would all be proudly supposing this vessel, new in 1854, to be the famous *Constellation* of the Revolutionary War launched in Baltimore in 1797! The minor detail, that that famous 38-gun vessel which had defeated the 36-gun French frigate *Insurgente* and the 52-gun French frigate *Vengeance* had been broken up in 1853 at the Gosport Navy Yard in Portsmouth, Virginia as irreparable, and had then been replaced by an entirely new ship built to an entirely new design, had been erased from people's general accounts of things. Such is the power of a name, and of fame.)

1900

Pews were installed in the Touro Synagogue, to supplement the seating around the walls of the room.

Between this year and 1932, the US Patent Office would be receiving some 350 applications for new designs of water closet. Two of the first of these to succeed would be to designs by Charles Neff and Robert Frame of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), who would imagine a siphonic wash-down closet that in later years, after redesign of the bowl by Fred Adee a decade later to avoid the messy overflows to which the design was prone, would become the norm of the nation.³⁷¹

371. Some of the initial problems in the bowl design in Neff and Frame's unit, causing messy overflows, would be corrected a decade later by Fred Adee. From this would develop the German-style toilet, in which the shit lies on a ledge at the rear for your inspection, until it is flushed down a hole at the front, and the French-style toilet, in which this arrangement is inverted, the hole being at the back. Only in British and American toilets does the shit fall directly into the water. In FEAR OF FLYING, Erica Jong would comment on this: "German toilets are really the key to the horrors of the Third Reich. People who can build toilets like this are capable of anything." Slavov Žižek comments that when one visits the lavatory, immediately one is knee-deep in ideology.

1903

July 21: George Thomas Downing died after a long illness, in his Bellevue Avenue home in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#). His funeral would be held at the Emmanuel Church on Dearborn Street.

1905

Since there weren't a thousand or more [QUAKERS](#) anymore in the vicinity of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) and the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends would not be assembling there anymore, the Great Meetinghouse, which in 1699 had been the largest structure of any kind in the American colonies between Boston and New-York, was repurposed as a black entertainment center, hosting segregated dances and that sort of thing.³⁷²



1906

August 14: Eugene Schieffelin, the pharmacist who had introduced the European sparrow and the European starling *Sturnus vulgaris* to America, died in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#). (It's as good a place as any.)

1910

October 17: Julia Ward Howe died at her summer home in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) (good a place as any). Her funeral would be held at the Channing Memorial Church which she had regularly attended.

372. This view dates to 1850. Note that when eventually this building would be restored as a Quaker meetinghouse in the service of the Newport tourist industry and carriage trade, their tourist literature would carefully avoid divulging the factoid, that the white silent-worship center had seen major service as a jiving black dancehall. Notice also that the repurposing of this meetinghouse as a dancehall has enabled us, by the deployment of carefully interlocking qualifiers, to claim that our meetinghouse near the Great Road in Lincoln, Rhode Island, the oldest portion of which was erected after the oldest portion of this Newport meetinghouse was already standing is the oldest in **New England, that has remained in continuous use** (the actual oldest in all America in continuous use being the Great Meetinghouse of the Third Haven Friends in Maryland, which has been in continuous use since shortly after August 14th, 1684).

1914

December 4: The faked-up frigate USS *Constellation* completed its propaganda tour at Washington DC. After some repair work during this month, it would return to its duty as Stationary Training Ship at the US Naval Training Center of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).

1917

The smaller summer house that Friend Abraham Redwood had had erected in 1766 on his country estate was moved to the southeast corner of the grounds of the Redwood Library in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).

1922

At its Newport Torpedo Station on what little of Goat Island in the harbor of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) still remained above water level, the US Navy began work on its Mark 14 proximity torpedo, the brainchild of Ralph Waldo Christie.

April: Mrs. William P. Buffum's reminiscences of the olden times at the Friends' Great Meetinghouse in Newport, Rhode Island were printed in the [Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society](#), Number 40:

The Story of the Old Friends' Meeting House

In 1700, half the whole population of Newport were Quakers, and the Yearly Meeting which occurred annually in the Spring grew each year in size and importance, until in 1743 it was attended by five thousand Friends, and was the event of the year in Newport.

Before the oldest part of the present Meeting-House was built, however, the earliest of the grand, old, Newport Quakers had aged, and some passed away - William Coddington and Henry Bull, Caleb Carr, Edward Thurston, and the Eastons. In their day, the Friends held their meetings mostly in private houses, either in Coddington's spacious home on Marlborough street or Bull's, so recently burned, on Spring street.

Before 1672, however, it seems certain that the Friends had a Meeting House, for it was in a Meeting House that the famous debate between Roger Williams and the Friends took place. This was a previous building to what we see standing now, and probably stood a little farther north on Farewell street. But even yet, many of the meetings were held at Coddington's, for we read on the Friends' records:- "In 1678, a mans' meeting at the Widow Coddingtons." Evidently there were strong attractions that hung about this mansion, whose Great Room had been the meeting place when George Fox was in Newport, and where Governor Bellingham of Massachusetts and his Company had been so royally entertained for ten days. In 1689, however, we find the friends breaking

away from the Coddington House, never to return; for we read:-
"It is agreed that the Yearly Men and Womens Meeting which useth to be at William Coddinton's shall be ye first part at ye Meeting House and later part for ye affayers of ye Church to be at Walter Newberry's."

About this time Philadelphia began to appeal more to some of the Friends in Newport than did their island home; and we find Edward Shippen leaving for the City of Brotherly Love. Later, Anthony Morris comes from Philadelphia, and marries Thomas Coddinton's widow for his third wife. She was a sister of Edward Shippen's wife, their maiden names being Howard. These men, Shippen and Morris, were both Colonial Mayors of Philadelphia, one after the other. So the two Miss Howards did well.

And here comes the first mention of the little Meeting House as we now see it, at the northwest end of the present line of buildings. At a meeting in 1706 the Friends "proposed that the old Meeting House may be better put in order for a stable toward the winter, and also proposed that money may be procured toward finishing the New Meeting House of Newport." So the New Meeting House of that shadowy, far away time is the old Meeting House of today. Shall we not prize and reverence this building where our Forefathers worshipped over two hundred years ago?

The lot, generous in size, upon which the new little meeting house was erected, was without a doubt originally Easton land, having been probably part of the house lot granted to Nicholas Easton, one of the founders of Newport. It came to the Friends either by gift from him or by purchase from his widow Ann. The site of his house, the first house built in Newport, has always been said to be at the left of the Farewell street gate, as one enters the Meeting House yard. Nicholas Easton left to the Friends, with "one certain dwelling house and grounds" -possibly the present Friends' ground- the sum of £20 "in country pay." He also left "to the maintenance of the burial yard where his body lyes, one Barrell of pork, to be managed by Christopher Houlder."

Just at this point must be mentioned a few lines to show the tender care the Meeting extended toward its members. It seems that Ann Bull and Peter Easton were at odds in 1681; about what is not mentioned; but as Ann Bull, who had the distinction of marrying two Governors in succession, first Nicholas Easton and afterward Henry Bull, was the stepmother of Peter Easton, we can readily surmise that it was over some family matter, and quite likely about the disposition of Nicholas Easton's landed estates. The Meeting does not neglect the opportunity to put in a word of reproof, and records the minutes:- "Which act is for judgment of this Meeting that her sperrit was very hard and wrong, and gave Friends noe satisfaction."

Among the Quaker ministers who spoke in this ancient Meeting House, we find Governor John Wanton, a dashing Privateer in his youth, but who swung back to his fathers' faith later in life and was a powerful preacher. He was considered the wealthiest man in the Colony, and his Friends' principles did not prevent his wearing a bright scarlet cloak lined with blue. Among the amusing incidents told us as children of the worthies who worshipped in the building is that of the dear old Quaker, who while preaching took his capacious bandanna from his pocket and with it came a pack of cards, carefully inserted by his mischievous son. These fluttered down on the heads of his audience beneath him. It was a trying moment; but the old Quaker

was equal to it. "Friends," he said, "an enemy hath done this" and calmly went on with his sermon.

Another Friend of the Ministers' Gallery who lived fifty years ago in Mrs. James little house on Cottage Street upon becoming engaged to be married described his future wife, "as a Godly woman with a large circle of acquaintances." We, who do not call ourselves very old, can remember the quiet restful meetings on First Day mornings in summer, held in the middle and largest Meeting House. This was built a hundred years later, in 1807, with a spacious gallery above for the Blacks, but long unused except during the Annual Yearly Meeting week, when it was filled with your people.

The Ministers' Gallery faced Farewell Street. On the "rising seat," as it was called, sat David Buffum with his white beaver hat. Next to him often was Levi Almy of Portsmouth, whose sermons consisted of texts strung together with almost no language of his own. George Bowen and Stephen Chase were beside them and Marmaduke C. Cope of Philadelphia.

On the other side of the aisle and facing the women below, was Annabelle Winn. Before speaking she would take off her bonnet with its snowy lining and strings and put it in the lap of the woman Friend next to her. After sitting a few moments to compose her thoughts she would arise and looking over our heads would give her sweet little message. She would begin sometimes, "As face answereth face in water," this being a favorite thought of hers. I cannot remember the rest of it.

In the seats in the body of the house were many to interest. Henry Morris, who lived on Washington street, was always there. He wore white gloves, and during a Prayer would pull the end of the seat cushion to the floor and kneel himself. He drove to meeting with a two-horse vehicle whose body hung low between the wheels and which went by the name of "The Octopus." Old George Carr was there, who unfailingly arrived at meeting with a rose in his mouth.

On the women's side, one that made an impression was dear old Deborah Wharton, for in Newport Orthodox and Hicksite Friends worshipped together. At the end of a seat sat the sisters, Anna and Eliza Hazard, one so dark and the other so fair and gray. John Farnum and his wife the aged Miss Longstreths who kept the school of renown, and others from Philadelphia staying at Mary Williams' delightful house on Washington street, were always to be seen at meeting when in Newport. The Friends from the cities wore black clothes - the men, broadcloth, and the women taffeta silk with white shawls. The country Friends still clung to the more ancient form of grey for both men and women.

To our childish minds the rustling of silk was always connected with a Friends' Meeting. It used to seem unusually hot on a summer meeting morning in Newport, and palm leaf fans were freely used by the elderly Friends, both men and women, as they listened to the long sermons.

1924

At its Newport Torpedo Station on what little still remained above water level of Goat Island in the harbor of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), the US Navy completed the development of a Mark 14 proximity fuse, brainchild of Ralph Waldo Christie, that would fit on the nose of a torpedo.

During the 1920s the Ku Klux Klan was active in [RHODE ISLAND](#), with one of its monster rallies being held during June of this year on the Old Home Day grounds of [FOSTER](#), with 8,000 in attendance and the honor of delivering the keynote address going to a white Protestant man from the South, United States Senator J. Thomas Heflin of Alabama.



The focus of this KKK anger in the rural northwest corner of Rhode Island was largely upon the Catholic immigrants of the cities rather than upon the local black citizenry.

1926

The US Navy allowed Ralph Waldo Christie to fire two of his expensive new Mark 14 proximity torpedoes at an anchored scrap submarine. One of the two went off and the old sub sank! That was the end of expensive live testing, and production of thousands of these torpedoes proceeded forthwith. The torpedoes and fuses the Newport Torpedo Station on what little still remained above water level of what had been Goat Island in the harbor of [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) continued to test with would grow more and more different from the ones that were actually being manufactured and put untested into the naval inventory.

November: After a short period in dry-dock in Philadelphia, the USS *Constellation* was towed back to the US Naval Training Center at Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#).

1930

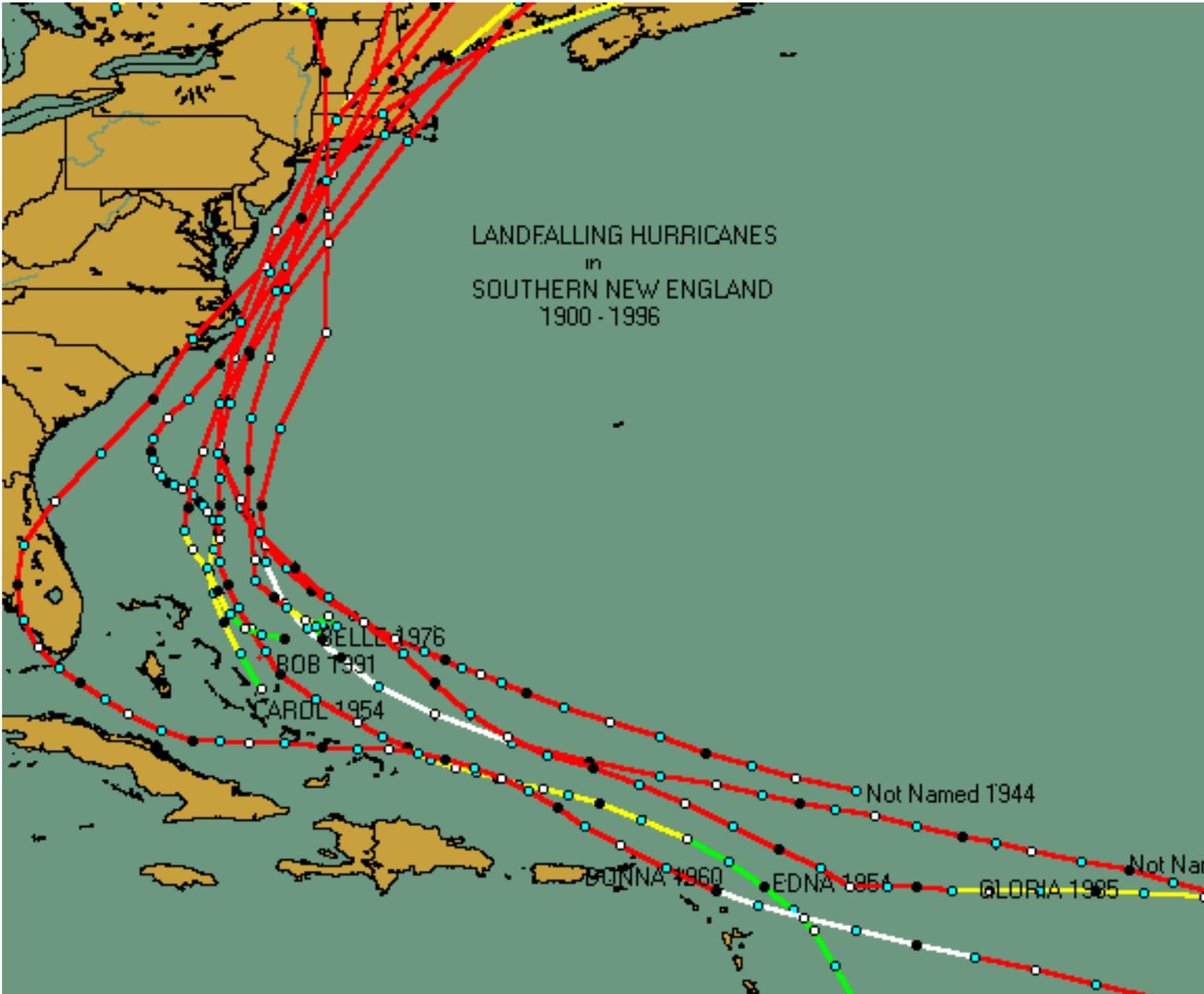
At some point during this decade, John Russell Pope designed the present garden of the Redwood Library in [NEWPORT](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#).

1933

June 16: The Navy Department ordered the USS *Constellation* to decommissioned status, for preservation as a naval relic. Although numerous surveys were conducted and estimates given for the cost of restoring the vessel as a national historic shrine, no decisions on the ship's fate were taken. The vessel would remain in "Ordinary" at the US Naval Training Center at Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) until World War II.

1938

September 21: In the worst weather disaster for New England in its history, the 4th most fatal in all US history, the "Long Island Express" hurricane struck seven states in seven hours and 682 died, 433 of whom were Rhode Islanders.



The drifting dead, typically wearing heavy boots, were initially estimated from the air by counting the tops of heads that could be seen bobbing along the surfline. The downtown of PROVIDENCE flooded 17 feet above its street surfaces. All the enormous mature elm-trees surrounding the Newport, RHODE ISLAND "cottage" named "The Elms" were blown down.³⁷³ In Arlington, the steeple of the Pleasant Street Congregational Church was toppled. Most of the remaining isolated mature white pines that had been planted in the sandy

loam by Henry Thoreau in what had been his beanfield in Walden Woods during his residency on Walden Pond, those that had not burned in that railroad fire in the 1890s, isolated as they had become by fire and standing only in sandy soil, were upset by the winds, which were measured to occasionally gust up to 183 miles per hour — with the exception of one grand old tree which could still be seen from a distance.³⁷⁴

WALDEN: I planted about two acres and a half of upland; and as it was only about fifteen years since the land was cleared, and I myself had got out two or three cords of stumps, I did not give it any manure; but in the course of the summer it appeared by the arrowheads which I turned up in hoeing, that an extinct nation had anciently dwelt here and planted corn and beans ere white men came to clear the land, and so, to some extent, had exhausted the soil for this very crop.

373. Some 4-foot-long metal tubes jammed into the marshy soil and sediment layers at Succotash Marsh in East Matunuck, Rhode Island (at the west side of the ocean entrance of the Narragansett Bay) by Tom Webb of the Geological Sciences Department of Brown University, have revealed that there has been a series of overwash fans created by storm tidal surges, indicating that seven category-three hurricanes have struck Narragansett lowlands in about the past millennium. The 1st such overwash fan that has been revealed dated to the period 1295-1407CE, the 2nd to the period of roughly the first half of the 15th Century, the 3rd to approximately 1520CE (give or take a few decades), the 4th to the historic storm of the 14th and 15th of August, 1635, the 5th to the historic storm of September 23, 1815, and the 6th to the historic storm of October 4/5, 1869. The 7th such overwash fan obviously dates specifically to this historic storm of September 21, 1938.

374. Walter Roy Harding was said to be able to lead one through the woods to the base of this remaining tree.

NEWPORT RI

NEWPORT RI

Securely held in the root system of one of the white pines which had been blown over –although no-one would recognize this until Roland Wells Robbins, an archeologist who lived on the old Cambridge turnpike, would inspect this eroded root system on November 11, 1945– were some of the stones from the foundation of the chimney of Thoreau’s shanty:



A tree snapped and fell over the roof of the Concord bank, and one of the Doric pillars was knocked off its front portico.



The “Texas” House, already damaged by fire, was destroyed during this hurricane.



In New Bedford MA, there was a storm surge of between 12 and 16 feet, and damage amounting to what today would be at least \$3.5 billion.

1939

October 30: U-boat U56 was sitting at periscope depth, ideally positioned in the middle of a contingent of the British Home Fleet just west of the Orkney Islands. In front was the battleship HMS *Rodney*, followed by the HMS *Nelson* (flagship of the fleet) and HMS *Hood*, all surrounded by a protective screen of destroyers. Lieutenant Wilhelm Zahn fired three torpedoes at HMS *Nelson*. Two of the torpedoes struck its hull but neither exploded! It was getaway time. Had either of these torpedoes exploded there would have been hell to pay, as there was a conference going on, on board the flagship, to determine England’s course of action after the torpedoing of the *Royal Oak* at Scapa Flow. The VIPs included C-in-C Home Fleet Admiral Sir Charles Forbes, First Sea Lord and Admiral of the Fleet Sir Dudley Pound, and Lord of the Admiralty Mr. Winston Churchill. Admiral Karl Donetz, the supreme commander of Germany’s U-boat campaign, would write in his war diary “Without doubt, the torpedo inspectors have fallen down on their job ... at least 30% of our torpedoes are duds!” Gunther Prien, hero of Scapa Flow, would remark “How the hell do they expect us to fight with dummy rifles?” This was almost as great an embarrassment to the German Navy as the torpedoes produced in Newport, Rhode Island would be to the US Navy!

1942

At the **MOSES BROWN SCHOOL** of the **RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS** on top of the hill in Providence, **RHODE ISLAND**, a summer session was added so that students who would be seniors in the following year could complete their studies before being drafted and going off into “service” in the US military during World War II.

At night the city of Providence was blacked out, to make it harder for the German bombers to fly all the way across the Atlantic Ocean and bomb Providence the way they were flying all the way across the English Channel and bombing London. Military searchlights criss-crossed the skies.

The US Navy began to make use of Rear Admiral Ralph Waldo Christie’s³⁷⁵ expensive new Mark 14 proximity torpedoes in live combat situations. Field commanders reported back again and again from the battle zones: “This new torpedo doesn’t go off.” The Bureau of Ordnance, of course, refused to credit such reports. At the Newport Torpedo Station on what little still remained above water level of what had once been Goat Island in the harbor of Newport, production of the deficient devices continued apace.



375. Commander, US Submarine Force, Southwest Pacific (ComSubSoWesPac).

1942

Summer: After the US Navy had fired some 800 of Ralph Waldo Christie's expensive new Mark 14 proximity torpedoes in live combat, with many of them failing to go off, someone thought to test the devices and see how deep they were running. The calibration of the depth device on the torpedo was off, and the torpedoes were running about ten feet too deep. Was that why they were refusing to go off, and refusing to blow enemy ships out of the water? If so, a simple adjustment rule-of-thumb would be all that was necessary. At the Newport Torpedo Station on what little still remained above water level of what had once been Goat Island in the harbor of Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), production of the deficient devices continued apace. But, would adjusting

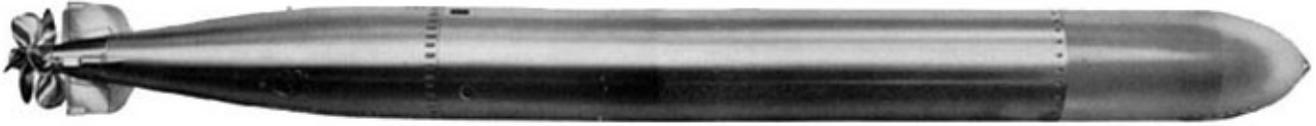


these devices to run at a shallower depth correct the problem? Well, no. According to the design records that had been a problem — but it had evidently not been the whole problem. So, the commanders of American submarines began to inactivate the proximity fuse, and attempt to make these reluctant devices of war explode by colliding them directly against the hull of the target ship, at the waterline. But, would these devices go off when they rammed directly into a ship hull? Well, no. —It seems there was yet another problem. According to the design records, the contact fuse in the device's nose was of such delicate manufacture that when it struck a ship hull it would instantly deform and become inoperative, and therefore not ignite the torpedo's main explosive!

This thing was a dud, it was a dud, it was a dud! This thing was full of the spirit of Friend Mary Dyer the Quaker martyr — on whose farm it had been developed!

1943

July 24, Saturday: Air Marshall Arthur Harris ordered further bombing of Hamburg, Germany.



The US submarine *Tinosa* fired a total of fifteen proximity-fused torpedoes at one of Japan's largest tankers, the *Tonan Maru* that was carrying petroleum to the island of Truck, and managed to hit it eleven times. Ten of the eleven hits did not result in explosions, because of the Mark 14 proximity fuses provided by the Naval Torpedo Station, Newport, Rhode Island. The Japanese tanker did not sink.



The main reason why the Mark 14 went so seriously wrong was that the torpedo station, short on budget and long on optimism, barely tested it. The few tests they ran were not of production weapons under simulated wartime conditions. In all the years of development before the war the Newport Torpedo Station fired a grand total of two armed torpedoes at a vessel, which was moored at the time.... Before the Mark 14 torpedo failures, the Newport Torpedo Station was the country's only torpedo development center, which is just the way [RHODE ISLAND](#) politicians wanted it; but after the war the station was shut down and then razed for hotels and condominiums.



German submarine sunk:

- U-622, by Army aircraft, off Norway, 63 degrees 27 minutes North, 10 degrees 23 minutes East

1944

June 29, Thursday: The 6,000-ton transport *Toyama Maru* was torpedoed by the USS *Sturgeon* while carrying more than 6,000 soldiers of the Japanese 44th Independent Mixed Brigade. Approximately 5,400 died and there were approximately 600 floaters.³⁷⁶

United States naval vessel sunk:

- Coast minesweeper *Valaor* (AMC-108), by collision, off **NEWPORT**, **RHODE ISLAND**, 41 degrees 28 minutes North, 70 degrees 57 minutes West

Japanese naval vessel sunk:

- Minelayer *Tsugaru*, by submarine *Darter* (SS-227), Netherlands East Indies area, 2 degrees 19 minutes North, 127 degrees 57 East

376. At a first order of approximation there seems to be a remarkable similarity between fighting at sea and feeding fish.



1946

At the [MOSES BROWN SCHOOL](#) in Providence, [RHODE ISLAND](#), significant contributions were being made to the American Friends Service Committee.

In Newport, dedication of the structure that had housed the 1st synagogue in what is now the United States of America, Touro Synagogue of Congregation Jeshuat Israel, as a national historical site.³⁷⁷



Affixed to the south side of the exterior wall is a plaque with the following inscription:

**NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
TOURO SYNAGOGUE
JESHUAT ISRAEL CONGREGATION
FOUNDED 1658 THIS OLDEST SYNAGOGUE BUILDING IN THE
UNITED STATES WAS DESIGNED BY PETER HARRISON. GROUND
WAS BROKEN AUGUST 1, 1759. IT WAS DEDICATED ON DECEMBER
2, 1763. HERE 1781-84 THE RHODE ISLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY
MET, AND DURING WASHINGTON’S VISIT TO NEWPORT IN 1781 A
TOWN MEETING WAS HELD HERE. THE STATE SUPREME COURT
HELD SESSIONS HERE AT THAT PERIOD. THE BUILDING WAS
REOPENED FOR RELIGIOUS SERVICES ON AUGUST 2, 1850. IN
1790 GEORGE WASHINGTON WROTE TO THIS CONGREGATION THAT
... “HAPPILY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES...
GIVES TO BIGOTRY NO SANCTION, TO PERSECUTION NO ASSISTANCE.”**

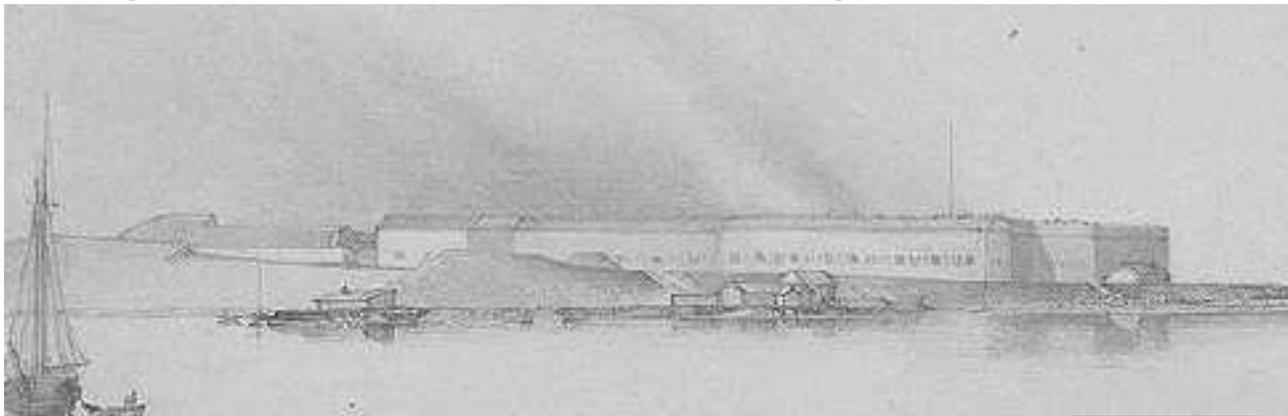
377. Some of the Jews of this synagogue, like some of their Christian neighbors, such as the [QUAKERS](#) next door up the hill, had engaged in the international slave trade. After their synagogue building, in what had become the bad part of town, had been deconsecrated, the empty structure, under a caretaker who was a Quaker, would find use occasionally, surreptitiously, for the harboring of escaping slaves as a station on the Underground Railroad, or so 'tis persistently said although I have never seen a scintilla of evidence to back up such claims (we all know that the way to make something true is to repeat it any number of times). —When you visit, and are proudly shown the must-see “secret hidey hole” beneath the lectern, for Heaven’s sake be polite and do not complicate matters by inquiring about participation in the international slave trade. Remember that the international slave trade wasn’t just for Jews.

The USS *Constellation* was towed from Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) to “Ordinary” at the Boston Navy Yard.

(**Needed Nautical Nomenclature:** Whereas steel ships are “put in mothballs,” wooden ships are “put in ordinary.” –Don’t ask.)

1952

The fort that had been guarding Newport Harbor for two centuries and more, Fort Adams, the second largest such stone fort along our nation’s coastline, was in this year decommissioned, which is to say, upgraded from expensive militaristic nuisance to remunerative militaristic tourist trap.



[RHODE ISLAND](#)

1954

A Restoration Committee undertook the refurbishing of the Touro Synagogue in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#). For one thing, the rows of pews which had been installed in 1900 were discarded. The clock that Judah Jacobs of London, England had presented to the Congregation in 1769 (1767?) was restored. Its brass works still keep approximate time.

1963

December 15, Hanukkah: Rededication of the Touro Synagogue.

1970

The Great Meetinghouse of the [RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#) in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#) was restored under the guidance of Orin M. Bullock, architect, and then presented by its owner, Mrs. Sydney L. Wright, to the Newport Historical Society.

This structure had been at first a Quaker meetinghouse, and then, beginning in about 1905, a black dancehall. The main industries of Newport used to be piracy and the international slave trade, and then the occupations of pirate and of international slave trader fell into some disrepute and the town fell into despair and disrepair. Now Newport has an industry again, that of catering to families on vacation. Tourism is king, Newport is no longer in disrepair, and despair has become a stranger there. Therefore, when this huge structure was restored, its history as an interesting swinging black dancehall has been carefully erased. (In Newport you can be confronted with black people as slaves and victims, but not as dancers and party-goers — it is, of course, not so much that there is no place in the catering industry for black people as that there is no place in the catering industry for cognitive dissonance.)

On the East Side of Providence, a voluntary, unprogrammed meeting for worship was re-introduced for the students at the [MOSES BROWN SCHOOL](#) of the [RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#).

1974

At the [MOSES BROWN SCHOOL](#) of the [RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#) in Providence, [RHODE ISLAND](#), construction work began on a new building for the Lower School.

Publication by the school of William Paxton's MOSES BROWN SCHOOL: A HISTORY OF ITS THIRD HALF-CENTURY, 1919-1969 (Paxton was head of the school's English Department and this was billed as a "Continuation of Rayner W. Kelsey's Centennial History of Moses Brown School, 1819-1919").

The fences and curbing designed by Isaiah Rogers of Boston, that had been put in place in 1842 around the Jewish Cemetery on Bellevue Avenue as part of the bequest by Judah Touro, and that had been put in place in 1843 around the Touro Synagogue as part of the bequest by Abraham Touro, were renovated.

1982

February 22: On the 250th anniversary of the birth of President George Washington, a 22¢ stamp was issued to commemorate the Touro Synagogue which he had visited in Newport, [RHODE ISLAND](#), the expression their warden (*shamash*) Moses Seixas used in addressing Washington, “to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance,” and the letter by which Washington had responded to them, acknowledging them by repeating warden Moses Seixas’s phrase back to them:



1995

January 5: Americans who were, ostensibly, Christians, such as the good Baptist John Brown of



PROVIDENCE, **RHODE ISLAND**, had in antebellum years been much more heavily involved in the international slave trade than Jews such as those of the Touro Synagogue in Newport. Nevertheless, antisemitic black militants had begun to identify American Jews with slave trading — as if Jews had been primarily or solely responsible. Therefore the American Historical Association passed a resolution: “The AHA ... condemns as false any statement alleging that Jews played a disproportionate role in the exploitation of slave labor or in the Atlantic slave trade.” A Jewish source has pointed out that:³⁷⁸

In all, 934 **RHODE ISLAND** vessels are known to have transported slaves to the western hemisphere between 1709 and 1807. A total of 925 owners have been identified for these ships, of whom only 42, or 4.5%, were Jewish. Furthermore, only a minute fraction of slaves were carried on ships owned by Jewish merchants. Shipowners whose religion is identifiable are known to have transported a total of 64,708 slaves to the New World. Of these, only 1,275 slaves, or 1.9%, traveled on vessels owned by Jews and non-Jews in partnership. In contrast, 62,829 of the slaves, or 97 percent, were transported on ships owned exclusively by

378. The figure of 1,275 persons listed as having been imported by Jews or by partnerships including Jews is entirely made up of individuals imported to the USA by the one Newport, **RHODE ISLAND** businessman, President of the congregation of Touro Synagogue, Aaron Lopez:



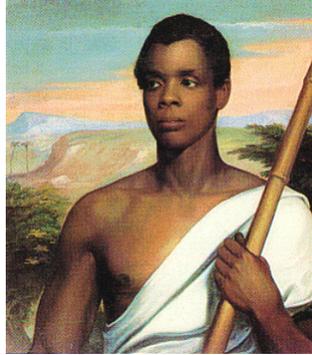
This individual admittedly funded some 200 ventures at sea, approximately 20 of which were slaving ventures. No other such businessman was cited in this study despite the fact that Lopez was most definitely not acting alone in Newport, and despite the fact that the firm with which he was affiliated had another major North American office, in the port of Charlestown SC. To arrive at such a statistic, slaves delivered to other destinations went uncounted. The quote is per Eli Faber’s *SLAVERY AND THE JEWS: A HISTORICAL INQUIRY*, in the “Occasional Paper Series” funded by Anne Bass Schneider and Dr. Louis Schneider of Fort Wayne IN for the Jewish Studies Program of Hunter College.

Rhode Island's non-Jewish merchants.

Lest there be any doubt about it: the **QUAKERS** of **PROVIDENCE** want you to know that there were Quakers also who were involved in the international slave trade out of Newport, **RHODE ISLAND**. We know this, not because we know the names of the offending individuals –our researches have not yet revealed these names– but because we know that our meetings had to struggle with these individuals, whoever they were, in order to clear them and our association of this fault. This was a process which involved a good deal of time and a good deal of soul-searching.

1996

Steven Spielberg released his movie AMISTAD. An undercritical review of this Hollywood production by a professor of law has produced the following howler: “AMISTAD begins with the event that made that ship’s history different from other slave ships: the gradual extraction of a nail from the ship which allowed Joseph Cinqué (also known as Sengbe Pie) to free first himself and then the other slaves on board.” Obviously, the movie has made it appear as if the other slaves aboard *La Amistad* had been, on the night of the takeover of the vessel in Cuban waters, chained, whereas it is generally recognized by historians that only Cinqué was in restraints (a collar) — because only he had made any previous gesture toward escape.



I frankly acknowledge that I was initially overwhelmed by the Spielberg movie on *La Amistad*. However, after a period I began to have second thoughts. On the following screen are some other very problematic aspects of the movie, more accurately presented:

- My trepidations center on the figure of Joseph Cinqué standing in court and petitioning “Give me free.” To my way of thinking Cinqué should have been presented as potentially a perplexing Patrick Henry figure, that is, as the sort of problematic person who indeed wanted freedom for himself but was ready to allow that having freedom for oneself involved, in that social context, the necessity of taking it away from others — of oneself owning slaves. The charge is available, that in both the case of Patrick Henry and the case of Cinqué, the personal freedom that was desired included the freedom to enslave others.
- It seems to me that the idea of “giving” freedom that is presented in this movie is a modern conceit and was something entirely alien to that time and place. To the very best of my understanding, freedom was recognized as something that was never given, but instead was recognized as something which ever of necessity had to be **taken**. My suspicion is that such a petition as this movie’s “Give me free” would have been greeted in that time and place with simple derision, with mockery; such a petitioner with manacled hands would have become the butt of rude rough barroom jests — would not by most have been taken at all seriously.
- The presentation of the complexities of the actual case, in this movie, were confined to the lower-court proceedings, and the appearance of this marvelous actor Anthony Hopkins performing John Quincy Adams before the Supreme Court of the United States of America was so constructed as to make it seem, quite falsely, that at the highest levels of our jurisprudence the Supremes were able to decide this case upon broad and righteous principles. The fact of the situation was quite different, of course. The Supremes decided this case on the basis of the same legal fine points and quibbling as had the lower courts. Had any of the petitioners made the mistake of informing the Supreme Court that actually he had been captured in Africa years ago while still quite young, before the international treaty in question had come into effect, the Supremes would have immediately and remorselessly returned these men to Cuba to face torture and execution. Thus, despite the fact that the movie’s depiction of our legal confusion begins with great accuracy, the movie winds up, suspiciously, merely perpetuating a popular patriotic myth, that at the **very highest** levels of our government, decency and wisdom must and shall prevail.
- John Quincy Adams defended the *La Amistad* mutineers by asserting a States Rights argument, not to be interfered with by the federal government, when in fact he, and his father before him, had been politically opposed to such States Rights. The Adamses were the quintessential political hacks of the first 50 years of the Republic, relentlessly pushing the economic agenda of their immediate neighbors at the expense of the rest of the citizens of the country. John Adams had attempted to subvert the Constitution and free speech with the Alien and Sedition acts and, when the voters punished him for this, seems never to have understood that he and those of his class were not entitled to more freedom than others. To become President after his father, the son had to subvert the electoral process through back-room political maneuvering, and be appointed to rule by the House of Representatives.

- The historical defense attorney Roger Sherman Baldwin, portrayed by the actor Matthew McConaughey as a cynical but ineffectual real estate lawyer, had been an abolitionist before this case began, rather than merely as presented in this movie, a person able to see only the property implications of a human being’s struggle for freedom. This defense attorney’s supposed “development” during the film, from an insensitive ambulance-chaser to a caring abolitionist, falsifies this historical person’s earlier commitment to the movement. The movie gives us no sense whatever that this ridiculous man is going to go on to become the honored governor of the State of Connecticut.
- The linguist who is depicted in the movie as a bumbling idiot and fraud –evidently for comic relief– was actually one of our foremost students of language during that period, Josiah Gibbs. It was this historical person, rather than the fictional Joadson or the fictional Baldwin, who successfully scoured eastern ports looking for a black sailor who understood the Mende language.
- District court judge Andrew T. Judson was opposed to abolitionists before the trial began and had strong racial antipathies — and yet very much overcame all this in rendering his verdict.
- Joseph Cinqué lied to his helpers in America. The film, however, never suggests that he was other than totally reliable.
- Cinqué would have been allowed to assist in no way in the creation of the legal defenses mounted by Roger Sherman Baldwin or John Quincy Adams. He would not even have been kept informed. To suppose that a black person would have been consulted or heeded, by any white movers and shakers, is to seriously misrepresent the ethos of 19th-Century America.
- John Quincy Adams was already assisting the defense team, as early as the district court trial, sending them questions and raising issues for their consideration.
- If a southerner like John C. Calhoun had mentioned the import of such a case it would not have been by use of a term such as “civil war.” (He might conceivably have referred, instead, to “disunion” or to “secession.”)
- Since the vessel *La Amistad* was brought into the Connecticut port during the month of August, there could not have been snow in the air.
- The depiction of presidential candidate Martin Van Buren on a campaign train indicates precious little awareness of 1840s campaign practices.
- The treaties governing the case were not merely the 1795 Pinckney treaty which might require the slaves to be returned to Spain, but also an 1819 American-Spanish treaty reconfirming that 1795 treaty and an 1817 Anglo-Spanish treaty which had outlawed the purchase of Africans in Africa for purposes of enslavement.

- President Martin Van Buren did not appoint a special judge for the circuit court trial. The critical trial was conducted at the district court level and the hearing in the circuit court was merely an exercise in which the district court decision was affirmed so that the case could be rapidly appealed to the Supreme Court. The replacement of a local judge with the imaginary judge “Coughlin” for Van Buren’s political gain as depicted in the film is not merely pure filmic invention, but masks some real and even more repulsive national history. As an outrageous betrayal of our legal process at the highest levels, Secretary of State Forsyth had made arrangements for the persons involved to be placed on the USS *Grampus* and returned to Cuba to be tortured and murdered **no matter what the conclusion reached in the trial**. The President of the United States, his Secretary of State, and this Connecticut district attorney had agreed in early 1840 to a strategy that would subvert the entire course of justice and violate the separation of powers, simply to be rid of a political bombshell before the 1840 election. The prosecutor, District Attorney Holabird, changed tactics in the middle of the trial by acknowledging that the captives were indeed Africans, merely so that the White House could continue to hold them in custody even if this court set them free. In John Quincy Adams’s summation before the Supreme Court he of course described the pattern of executive interference with the *La Amistad* court case and revealed Van Buren’s shocking 1840 plot to send the Africans to Cuba regardless of the lower court’s decision, because executive interference with the judiciary is of course a topic which can be reliably expected to make justices of the Supreme Court most sympathetic (personal freedom is, by contrast, a “ho-hummer”).
- The appeal from Judge Judson’s ruling to the Supreme Court in 1841, nearly two years and three presidents (Martin Van Buren, William Henry Harrison, and John Tyler) after the case had originally begun, was heard by five Southern justices rather than seven as was asserted in the movie’s voiceover. When the Supreme Court heard John Quincy Adams’s oral argument, only seven justices rather than the nine depicted in the movie were in attendance. This sort of merely numerical inaccuracy is insignificant, of course, but it does point out how little consideration Spielberg gave to the historical details underlying his movie — since this falsifying of the number of justices on the bench in fact served no storyline function whatever.
- The movie omits to mention that a rescue was being prepared by abolitionists who were willing to risk violating the law and having all their property seized by the government, in order to forward the victims to safety on the underground railroad. The rescue would have been easy since the African women were working in local homes and since Joseph Cinqué and the other African men were allowed out of the jail for regular sports on the New Haven town common, a green across from the tavern housing the jail facility. They staged athletic exhibitions and Americans tossed coins which the Africans used to buy rum in the saloon that was the entrance to the jail and that was being run by the jailer. Had this rescue plan been implemented their path to Canada might very well have led, at one point, through the Thoreau boardinghouse or through the home of the village blacksmith in Concord, Massachusetts.
- This Hollywood movie seems to have drawn a great deal of its visual imagery from the mural “Mutiny on the *Amistad*” created in 1939 by the African-American artist Hale Woodruff at Talladega College’s Savery Library, in Alabama. It is obviously from this mural that the movie has derived the ludicrous and impossible shape of its Hollywood prop-shop machetes, which make sense only from the perspective of a flat wall painting projecting three-dimensionally and which never could have functioned to chop sugarcane.

- The movie has been based not on a reliable source such as Howard Jones’s 1987 historical study *MUTINY ON THE AMISTAD: THE SAGE OF A SLAVE REVOLT AND ITS IMPACT ON AMERICAN ABOLITION, LAW AND DIPLOMACY*, but instead on a 1953 novelization of the incident by William A. Owens entitled *BLACK MUTINY: THE REVOLT ON THE SCHOONER AMISTAD*. On the current paperback edition of that novel, the publisher is claiming it as “a key historical reference for the major motion picture *AMISTAD*.” The implication, of course, is that that old novelization by Owens is a careful and current historical account of the event; however, whatever scholarship went into the creation of this novel was not careful at the time, and assuredly is no longer current. On the back of the book as currently republished appears the following significant disclaimer: “Written as a novel in 1953 by William A. Owens, this is one historian’s view of the Amistad mutiny.”
- The movie seems to be arguing, especially in that final dramatic courtroom explanation, that an American ideology of freedom was the ultimate heroic force — and this is really, really problematic. In fact, it is a dangerous nationalistic mythification.
- At the home of John Quincy Adams in Quincy MA, the amaryllis plant used in the movie has four blooms, which for 1839 is at least two too many. The Spielberg film seems to turn on an influence by Joseph Cinqué upon Adams, in which Cinqué communicates to Adams an African perspective having to do with influence by ancestral spirits. In this African perspective, the ancestral spirits are actively struggling to cause their descendants, in the present, to honor them by appropriate behavior and by the offering of appropriate rites. Adams receives this in the movie, however, in a typically American way, as a need to live up to an example which has been set for us by our illustrious forbears. Not only would Cinqué never have been invited to visit Adams in his home, not only did such an interaction probably never take place even away from that home environment, but, in addition, these two points of view about heritage have little or nothing in common and the attempt which the movie takes to equate them is, if it is anything at all, disingenuous.
- The story that Cinqué returned to Africa only to become himself a slave trader seems to have derived from page 308 of William Owens’s 1953 book *SLAVE MUTINY*. Owens seems to have done some research for this 1953 book, for in his “Afterword” he indicates that his typewritten notes from documentary sources were deposited in the New Haven Colony Historical Society. However, there are no footnotes in this volume and the author admits that he invented dialogue and “settings” for dramatic effect. Howard Jones, in his 1987 scholarly study *MUTINY ON THE AMISTAD: THE SAGE OF A SLAVE REVOLT AND ITS IMPACT ON AMERICAN ABOLITION, LAW AND DIPLOMACY*, alleges that “Cinqué returned to his people, although he eventually worked as an interpreter for the AMA mission at Kaw-Mende until his death about 1879” (page 255, note 27).
- Many of the settings used in the movie were anachronistic. Newport was used to represent New Haven, and many of the buildings visible in the scenes date only to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Newport’s early 18th-Century Colony House stood in appropriately for the courtroom, for Roger Sherman Baldwin’s office, and for the hotel in which Baldwin stayed during the Supreme Court deliberations. However, the [RHODE ISLAND](#) State Capitol, erected in 1900, was used to represent the United States Capitol, apparently in the mistaken belief that the US Capitol in 1839 already had its dome despite that fact that this elaboration would not be added until the 1850s and 1860s. (The Roman Catholic church in which Judge Coughlin prayed was similarly anachronistic for the time and place of the *La Amistad* events.)



- The *AMISTAD* movie does depict how Joseph Cinqué was kidnapped near the British colony of Sierra Leone by neighbors, but it fails to place sufficient emphasis upon the fact that this was done on account of his refusal to pay an acknowledged debt. He was apparently delivered to a Spanish slave merchant on the coast. Many Africans in North America did indeed owe their enslavement to this sort of initiation, though more were kidnapped in raids or wars. By British law Sierra Leone was supposed to be slave-free. At two points the film uses the Lomboko fort near Sierra Leone, that at the time was owned by the Havana trading house of Don Pedro Martínez. During the 19th Century era of illegal slave-trading many slaves were indeed kept in such “barracoons” but throughout the earlier era of legal slave-trading most slaves had been bought or bartered direct from other Africans. Cinqué was a member of an inland rice-farming group, the Mende, who basically lived by trading slaves and kola and palm products out toward the trading groups on the coast of Africa while trading European goods in toward the interior of the continent. At the time he was captured about half of the people living in Mende territory were slaves in agricultural work or in transit to the coastal trade. He probably had several names (Joseph Cinqué, Cinquez, or Singbe Pieh) not because Americans spelled his name in any manner convenient for them but because he had been trading with Englishmen, Spaniards, and Portuguese. Cinqué’s account of his capture—that the Portuguese seized him on a road near his home—is unlikely to have been the truth of the matter. More likely, he was himself a trader and had been betrayed into the same sort of thing to which he was subjecting others. Presumably Cinqué would have been telling the Americans what he supposed they wanted to hear, when he claimed that he had been a rice farmer and that he himself had never owned slaves. Cinqué was known as an African prince in his time, at least in America, and to be a prince among the Mende would have been to be a slaveholder and to be at least complicitous in the traffic in humans. The basal problem in the *AMISTAD* movie is that it entirely elides the critical difference between not wanting to oneself be a slave or captive, and being opposed to slavery. The same problem surfaces in our understanding the Americo-Liberians of the period, who were by no means abolitionist in their sentiments. They were settlers who sought to serve as middlemen between two great systems of slave-produced goods — North American and African. They claimed to be Virginians and, even in Monrovia, they were indeed Virginians. If we deflate these myths of the Patrick Henry who wanted freedom, the Cinqué who wanted freedom, etc., and if we deflate this Americo-Liberians-as-abolitionists myth, we may come to see more clearly the black and the white men and women who **did** oppose slavery.

Religious organizations with a history of involvement in abolitionism (the New Haven Congregationalists and the United Church of Christ and the United Methodists, among others) have been protesting that the movie invents a conversation in which abolitionist Lewis Tappan speculated that the African prisoners might be more valuable if they were executed and became “martyrs” to the anti-slavery cause. However, they should most definitely not be objecting, since such thought processes were in fact very common among white abolitionists. It is precisely what these religious organizations found most problematic about the movie, that I myself found most true to the actuality of the antebellum situation. I am grateful for the negative portrait of the abolitionists, in particular of the Buffum character. The arrogant manner in which these abolitionists seized upon the Right, in order to magnify themselves by invidious contrast with white Southerners who were the sheerest scum, was one of the prime causes of our civil war, and the trauma of our civil war is one of the prime reasons why even now this nation cannot bring itself to treat its citizens of color with anything approaching fairness. Had these abolitionists approached the Southern white as a person of honor facing an intransigent situation and a painful choice, the civil strife might have been averted and thus the era of Reconstruction and Segregation, from which in fact we have not yet emerged, could have been averted.

These religious organizations have protested that “Tappan himself was willing to become a martyr, and, in fact, he and his brother paid dearly for their lifelong struggle against slavery.” This tempts me to go “Oh, give me a break.” In fact the prime cover story of the person who wants to sacrifice others to his own cause has **always** been “Look at how I myself am sacrificing, you cannot blame me for sacrificing you as well.” It is long overdue for the American public to see these abolitionists as the self-righteous troublemakers they were,

part of all the problems rather than the solution for any of them. For too long we have attempted to ignore the deep chasms of suspicion that lay between the white abolitionists and the black abolitionists. It seems to me that in this constructed carriage scene in the movie, in which the Buffum character is made to speculate that the black prisoners may need to die for the good of the general movement, there was a spiritual accuracy which so far has been evading us. In fact the white abolitionists of the 19th Century in general impatiently wanted the black abolitionists to “sacrifice more for the cause,” and the response of the black abolitionists of the 19th Century was ever that the white abolitionists did not truly grasp what the struggle was all about, that the nature of the problem was that the black people of America were **already** being forced to sacrifice much too much during their lives.

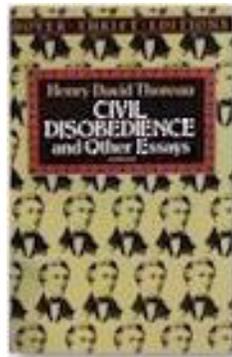
An excerpt from an Internet page offered by one of these religious organizations reads:

- > Visit our Amistad Page, designed to help you and your congregation
- > interpret the new Steven Spielberg movie. This epic about African
- > slaves who fought for their freedom and the Christian abolitionists
- > who defended them in court marks the beginning of the mass movement
- > to abolish slavery in the US.

But this is quite tendentious. In fact this case had no known influence on the abolition of slavery either in the US or in Africa. Had the slaves aboard the *La Amistad* not freed themselves, in general import nothing about US history and nothing about African history would be altered in the slightest. The advent of general freedom would have been neither delayed nor accelerated.

Here’s another such snippet.

- > Although the movie is historically accurate when it shows the horror
- > of the slave trade or the courage of the *La Amistad* captives rising
- > up against their tormenters, the screenplay often misrepresents
- > Christian abolitionists as arrogant or self-serving. The movie even
- > invents a conversation in which abolitionist Lewis Tappan speculates
- > that the African prisoners might be more valuable if they were
- > executed and became “martyrs” to the anti-slavery cause. [and a
- > little below] “Tappan himself was willing to become a martyr, and,
- > in fact, he and his brother paid dearly for their lifelong struggle
- > against slavery,” says the Rev. Thomas E. Dipko, a United Church of
- > Christ minister and head of an agency whose predecessor body was
- > founded by Tappan and other Christian abolitionists. “They advocated
- > civil disobedience for reasons of conscience, but they would never
- > have welcomed or exploited the suffering of other people,
- > particularly of slaves.”



To see how exceedingly accurate the film’s negative portrayal of certain white abolitionists actually is—to see how very complicit abolitionism could be with a straightforward racist desire to solve the American problem of the presence of inferior people by arranging for American peoples of color to be eliminated— please consider a fine new study of the complex motivations of Waldo Emerson issued in 1997 by Oxford UP. The monograph of which I speak is by Anita Haya Patterson and is titled FROM EMERSON TO KING: DEMOCRACY, RACE, AND THE POLITICS OF PROTEST:

From Pages 4-5: “What I have found to be most compelling and bewildering about Emerson’s writing –what has made it hardest for me to know how to think about him– is that his defense of rights and his racism are intimately and deliberately connected.... [T]he fervent, critical recuperation of American democracy undertaken by Emerson was shaped and indeed made conceptually coherent only through his recourse to racialist language and ideology. [Continuing in an endnote] Compare Orlando Patterson’s claims regarding the sociohistorical necessity and consequences of the central contradiction between articulate defenses of freedom and the fact of slavery in America. Observing that ‘Americans have never been able to explain how it came to pass that the most articulate defender[s] of their freedoms ... were large-scale, largely unrepentant slaveholders,’ Patterson finds that ‘[s]lavery is associated not only with the development of advanced economies, but also with the emergence of several of the most profoundly cherished ideals and beliefs in the Western tradition. The idea of freedom and the concept of property were both intimately bound up with the rise of slavery, their very antithesis. The great innovators not only took slavery for granted, they insisted on its necessity to their way of life.... The joint rise of slavery and cultivation of freedom was no accident. It was ... a sociohistorical necessity’ (SLAVERY AND SOCIAL DEATH: A COMPARATIVE STUDY [Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1982], viii-ix).”

What Anita Haya Patterson, Orlando’s spouse, is alleging in this new 1997 book of hers is that all of us, even our most radical abolitionists, were and are deeply influenced by the “double-consciousness” we find in esteemed characters such as Emerson, a doubled consciousness which has been created over the centuries by our most intransigent national race and class predicament. Her hope is that we will find the courage and the grace, rather than merely to renounce in some easy and superficial manner this doubled consciousness we have inherited as Americans of various skin hues and of various heritages, instead to learn something of great value from it.



Thus the last sentence of her Epilogue is not merely a question but is also a daunting challenge for us all:

Page 199, Epilogue: “How can double **possibly** mean nothing?”

This is a thinking and feeling person’s book. I recommend it highly. If we were to pay attention to materials such as this, America would become a quite different place. But will such a movie make America a better place?

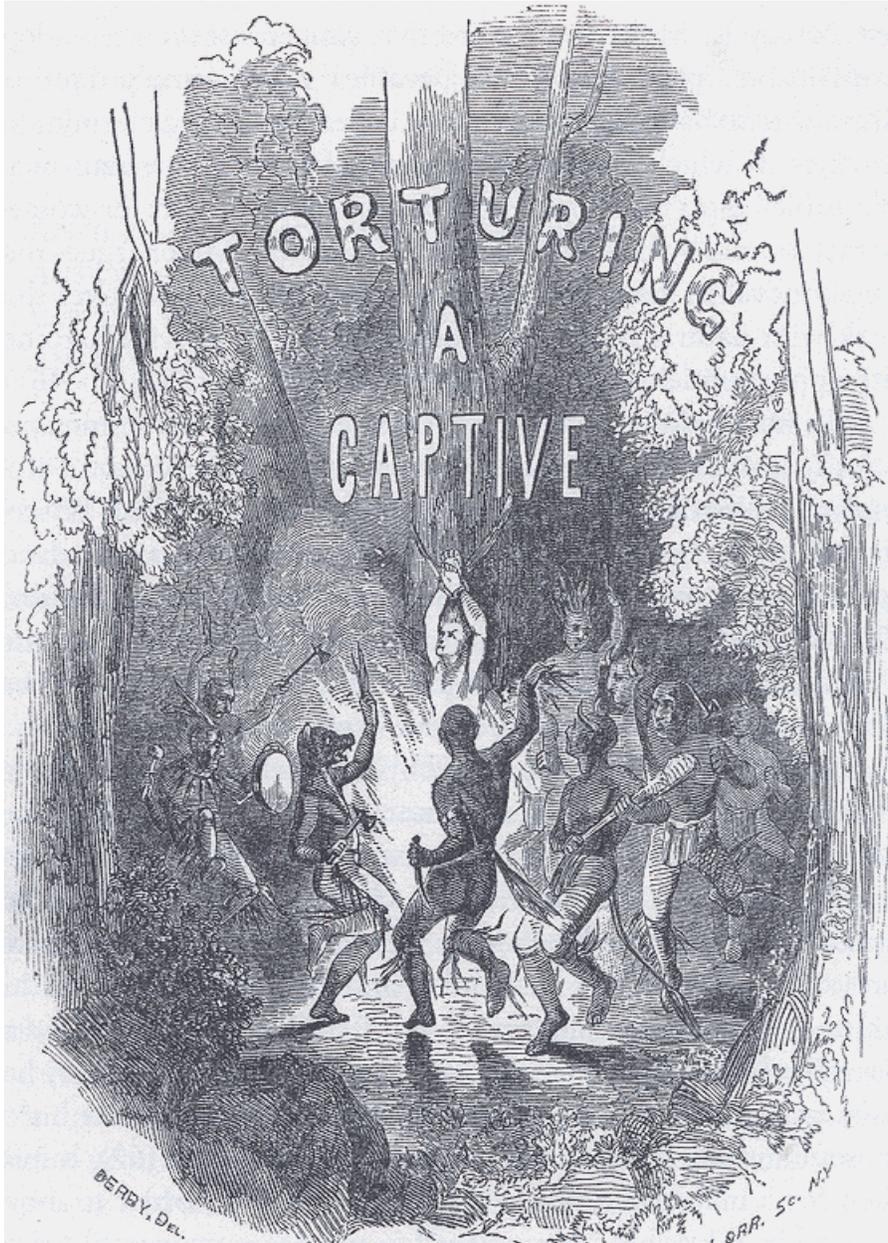
In fact I am not at all certain that it is even **theoretically** possible to make a Hollywood movie that is historically truthful:

- Hollywood history must be histrionic, that is, it must present struggle in terms of good versus evil, and present this from the viewpoint of the righteous who have triumphed or will eventually triumph. The viewing public will not attend, and would not grasp the story line of, any historical narrative which deviated from these conventions. Thus in the *AMISTAD* movie, it was necessary to falsify history in order to present the legal case for freeing the Africans, once that case reaches the Supreme Court of the United States, as if it had been a struggle in which good triumphed over evil. The movie would therefore leave it entirely unexplained why, when in October 1841 the American slaves aboard the *Creole* revolted and killed some of the crew of the vessel and forced the survivors to sail the vessel to neutral waters in the Bahamas, the US government would spend the next 15 years unsuccessfully badgering the British authorities who had promptly freed these American slaves to return this “property” to US control so we could torture and murder “it.” Likewise, the falsehoods inherent in the movie would leave it entirely unexplained how it could be that when in 1857 the Supremes would rule in the case of Dred Scott, that no American black had any rights that any American white was bound to respect, this decision would rendered by a court the majority of the sitting members of which had been the very justices who had earlier voted to free the Africans of the *La Amistad* case!
- The point of view of the “Point of View” characters (POV) must be the one designated as righteous, or politically correct. Sorry little historical facts, such as that ex-President John Quincy Adams never displayed any concern whatever in regard to the slaves held by his wife’s family, and did not turn antislavery until after he had come to believe, in his sulking at home, that it had been the intransigent opposition of the Southern proslavery Democrats which had prevented him in his own turn as US president from accomplishing anything of note, prevented him from rising above mediocrity, sorry little historical facts such as these, must be neglected. It must be presented that Adams would have invited a negro into his home, and would have indulged in personal intimate conversation with that negro — certainly false. It must be presented that Adams was operating out of sympathy and generosity rather than out of vengefulness. Likewise, since the figure of Joseph Cinqué is the POV character in this film for black Americans, Cinqué must be falsified into an abolitionist. There is no evidence that Cinqué, who came from the Mende, a slave-owning tribe, was opposed to slavery. The only evidence we have is that he was, like the slaveholder Patrick Henry, in favor of **his own** freedom. Whether his personal freedom involved an entitlement to enslave others, or excluded an entitlement to enslave others, is something which is not on the record. We do know that he himself had been enslaved while in Africa due to his refusal to pay back an acknowledged personal debt.

- The audience must be provided with a POV character with whom they can personally identify. Up to this point, that POV has always been, as in the case of the movies about A MAN CALLED HORSE, through white eyes. Even in this Spielberg movie *AMISTAD*, where there is a POV through black eyes, the audience is distanced by the techniques of subtle filmic narration, and this subtle filmic narration is overwhelmingly through white eyes and through white attitudes. Thus, even when the only heroes and the only actors on the screen are black, the structure of the events which they portray is the structure necessitated by the overarching white frame of reference, which is “We’ve got these people in our jail and are trying to figure out how best to dispose of them, so we need to figure out how we came to such a pass.”
- The story must be that of triumph, of overcoming. There is no triumph and no overcoming whatever in the true story of the *La Amistad*. By the conclusion of the case no lessons whatever had been learned, and no general societal situations had been altered in the slightest. The disposition of this case is therefore of necessity presented falsely in this movie, in order to transform it into a story of triumph, of overcoming, one of having had an influence upon the breaking out of a purgative civil war later on in our national trajectory. But that civil war would not be fought over the issue of slavery, rather it would be fought over the issue of union, plus, that civil war would most definitely not prove to be in any sense purgative. Nor did the *La Amistad* case (as is demonstrated in spades by the subsequent cases of the *Creole* and of Dred Scott) have any influence whatever toward the bringing on of this period of civil strife. To the contrary, judicial resolution of such conflicts was inherently generally tending toward the **postponement** of, or the **prevention** of, such armed strife.

Why was this particular subject-matter chosen, to make a film of? The historic *Amistad* case was important and dramatic but in fact it had nothing whatever to do with the ending of human enslavement. It neither accelerated nor postponed our US Civil War. It created no freedom precedent. This historical case was entirely about adherence to international treaties by signatories to them. If at any time it had been established that these people had been transported from Africa during their teens, **before** the treaties in question had come into effect, all of them would have been instantly returned to Cuba by our justices, to be inevitably tortured and murdered. These were the same justices who, later, would decide the Dred Scott case. Their action in this case

was consistent with their agenda, to make slavery work as an institution.



The Dreamworld studio, and director Steven Spielberg, have touted their film *AMISTAD* as a critical examination of slavery in antebellum America. They even prepared classroom materials to be used along with the showing of the film in schools. Why did they not do this with the story of Nat Turner’s revolt, instead, or with a major escape narrative such as that of Douglass, or the Crafts, or Tubman, or with a major rescue narrative such as those dealing with Shadrach or Jerry? The nasty suspicious thought arises, that the reason might be, because dealing with such real-life scenarios would have made it quite impossible to create yet another crowd-pleasing tale of self-righteousness and national unity and democratic triumph.

Notice how readily the *La Amistad* incident lent itself to a portrayal in which the iniquity of human enslavement becomes associated with silly, moribund, reactionary, monarchical, and antirepublican despots in the Old World, rather than displaying itself as a fundamental economic, social, and ideological component of our American society. The makers of *AMISTAD* have merely provided us with yet another in a long series of sanctimonious images of American history in which Our Nation triumphs over Wrong Others without taking

note of its own moral failings.

Slavery provided us with sugar, AMISTAD with saccharine.

1998

February 15: An extraordinarily different article appeared in the local [PROVIDENCE](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#) newspaper, the "ProJo":

History of slavery in R.I. not a story in black and white, but shades of gray

By JODY McPHILLIPS, Journal-Bulletin Staff Writer

Steven Spielberg shot his slave-revolt film *La Amistad* in [RHODE ISLAND](#) because the state has great Colonial architecture.

It made sense for other reasons.

Rhode Island played a bigger role than any other state in the Atlantic slave trade and had the only slave plantations in New England. At the same time, it was an early leader in the efforts to abolish slavery.

"Throughout the 18th century, Rhode Island merchants controlled between 60 and 90 percent of the American trade in African slaves," writes historian Jay Coughtry in *THE NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE: RHODE ISLAND AND THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, 1700-1807*.

To be fair, the American slave trade amounted to just a small fraction of the European trade, which brought more than 11 million Africans to the New World over nearly 400 years.

Only half a million of them went directly to North American colonies; the rest went to the plantations and slave markets of Central and South America, from which some would be resold later to the southern colonies.

By comparison Rhode Island, which came the closest of any colony to having a slave trade of its own, made more than 900 slaving voyages during the 18th century, transporting about 106,000 slaves.

Few actually settled in Rhode Island, which was poorly suited for large-scale agriculture with its small rocky farms and icy winters. But they were bought from the slave fortresses of Africa's Gold Coast with Rhode Island-made rum; transported on Rhode Island-built ships to the slave markets of the Caribbean; and later dressed in Rhode Island-made slave cloth.

Why did Rhode Island get so involved?

Money, mostly. The state had good ports and skilled seamen but not much good farmland. Once the fertile areas of South County were settled, the only place to make real money was at sea.

And no trade was as profitable as slaving.

Slave traders like the Browns of Providence amassed

great fortunes, enough to build those mansions along Benefit Street and to found Brown University. Later, **RHODE ISLAND** textile manufacturers produced the coarse cotton cloth slaves wore throughout the New World, much like prison garb today.

There were also coincidental connections.

Two groups who eventually settled here -the Portuguese and the Cape Verdeans- played huge roles in the early slave trade. In the 1400s, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to buy or steal humans from the west coast of Africa; they turned the empty, volcanic Cape Verde islands into a major depot for the worldwide slave trade and created a mixed-race population that flourishes today throughout southeastern New England.

And yet, from the earliest days, some Rhode Islanders were repelled by this human commerce.

The conflict tore families apart. John Brown, of Providence, was an avid slaver, his brother **MOSES BROWN** an abolitionist who fought him at every turn. Bristol slaver James DeWolf's son Levi made one slaving voyage and abandoned the trade in disgust; Levi's brother Charles once defended his extensive slaving activities by telling a preacher, "Parson, I've always wanted to roll in gold."

In 1774, the General Assembly outlawed importing slaves into **RHODE ISLAND**; a decade later, it was one of the first states to free children born of slave mothers.

It's a complicated story, with many moral shadings. Or, as Keith Stokes of **NEWPORT** says, "It's not black and white so much as gray."

Humanity is divided into two: the masters and the slaves.

- Aristotle, POLITICS.

How could it happen? How could supposedly civilized people enslave other human beings?

Historian Hugh Thomas, in THE SLAVE TRADE, says slavery is as old as recorded history, known in virtually all cultures. Typically, slaves were people who lost wars, owed debts, broke laws or were sold into servitude by impoverished parents.

Throughout the Middle Ages, enslavement was increasingly linked to religious conflict. Moslems would enslave Christians, or vice versa: the dominant culture felt they were doing the "less enlightened" people a favor, by liberating them from error and exposing them to the true faith.

By the 1400s, the seafaring Portuguese had begun trading with the small fiefdoms of northwest Africa. They went looking for gold, but didn't find enough; increasingly, they brought home slaves, with the blessing of the Pope. Better a slave in an advanced Christian nation than a free subject of a "cannibal" king, the reasoning went. African slaves quickly became highly prized as strong, hardy workers able to withstand punishing tropical heat. As European colonists flooded into the New World, demand for workers grew exponentially, especially in

the Caribbean islands and the plantations of Central and South America.

At first, the Europeans tried to enslave the native Indians too. The first slaves transported across the Atlantic, in fact, went west to east: Taino Indians brought to Spain from the Caribbean by Christopher Columbus.

But the New World Indians proved too susceptible to European diseases, and not strong enough to cultivate the new cash crops of sugar, tobacco, rice, cotton and indigo in the tropics.

It was the Africans' bad luck that they were physically well suited to hard work in hot climates – and that African kings and chieftains were so willing to sell their enemies and rivals into slavery.

Over the next centuries, the combined lure of gold and slaves drew successive waves of Europeans to Africa: the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Dutch, the French, and finally the English, in the mid-1600s.

They made no bones about why.

"A ship full of blacks brings more to the Treasury than galleons and fleets put together," wrote Pedro Zapata de Mendoza, governor of Cartagena de Indias (in present-day Colombia), in 1648.

The British entered the trade two centuries after the Portuguese, but quickly made up for lost time. One maritime city after another sent huge ships to Africa, capable of carrying as many as 450 slaves at once.

They made money hand over fist.

"Liverpool was in no way shy about the benefits brought her by the slave trade," Thomas writes about the city. "The facade of the Exchange carried reliefs of Africans' heads, with elephants, in a frieze, and one street was commonly known as 'Negro Row.'"

By the end of the 17th century, British traders had exported nearly 100,000 slaves from Africa; by 1725, 75,000 had been sold to British North America.

It was about that time that slaving voyages start showing up in [RHODE ISLAND](#) records.

The early eighteenth century marked the end of North America's novitiate in the traffic of slaves. In the seventeenth century, too poor or too concerned with primitive agriculture, colonists there had been slow to participate in any substantial way.

A few slaves acting as servants had always been seen in all the colonies; but it was not until the owners of plantations in the Carolinas ... realized they could make considerable profits from rice and indigo that anything like a regular trade in slaves began.

– Hugh Thomas

The only land in Rhode Island good enough for plantation-style farming was the Narragansett Country (South County today), where a handful of white landowners did get rich off the labor of black slaves in the years before the Revolution.

But the rest of the settlers had to come up with other

ways to make money. The colony's most successful industry was distilling rum, which at first was sold mainly to other colonies. The strong, good-quality rum soon found a market with slave-trading Africans of the Gold Coast who preferred it to Caribbean rums, which could be weak, salty or packed in leaky barrels.

Rhode Island distillers in Newport (and later Bristol and Providence) were soon making double- and triple-distilled rums for the African trade, taking care to pack it in sturdy hogsheads. [RHODE ISLAND](#) rum became so popular in Africa that, like gold, it served as money. The rum-for-slaves trade began slowly, with occasional voyages as far back as 1709. The triangle trade that evolved was simple: take rum to Africa, and trade it for slaves; take the slaves to the Caribbean, and trade them for molasses; take the molasses back to Rhode Island, and make more rum.

Everybody made out – except the slaves.

At first, the trade was concentrated in Newport. By 1725, one or two voyages a year were being recorded; by 1735, it was up to a dozen a year, a pace maintained until 1740, when fighting between England, Spain and then France disrupted all colonial commerce.

A pattern developed: when hostilities broke out, trade faltered; when peace resumed, slaving boomed. In 1750, 15 Rhode Island trips were recorded; by 1772, that number had doubled.

Rhode Island and, particularly, Newport, was, in the 1750s and 1760s, still the North American colonies' most important slaving zone. Newport, which always welcomed enterprising people without asking whence they came, also used more slaves in small businesses, farms, or homes than any other Northern colony.

– Hugh Thomas

One Rhode Islander in nine was black, the highest percentage north of the Mason-Dixon line. Most were slaves on the Narragansett Country plantations, but others clustered in Newport, where an artisan class of skilled workers developed.

Slavery in New England –and particularly liberal Newport– was probably never absolute. From the early days, a small percentage of Newport blacks were free men, having bought or otherwise obtained their freedom. Keith Stokes, in an essay on the slave trade, writes, "An early 1770s census lists nearly one-third of (Newport's) 9,000 inhabitants as being Negro, both slave and free."

Ship captains were always looking for able mariners; by 1800, "black seamen made up 21 percent of all Newport crews engaged in the West Indian, European and African trades," writes Coughtry.

Yet at the same time, slavers were working out of Providence, Bristol and Warren as well as Newport. (Bristol, in fact, surpassed Newport as the state's primary slaving port as the century closed). Merchants in Greenwich, Tiverton, Little Compton and North

Kingstown played a lesser role.

The slavers were some of the colony's leading citizens, their names still familiar today: Newport's John Bannister (Bannister's Wharf) and Abraham Redwood (Redwood Library); John Brown of Providence (Brown University); the DeWolfs of Bristol, who built Linden Place.

One of the most active was Aaron Lopez of Newport, a founder of Touro Synagogue, who entered the slave trade in 1762 and by 1775 was the largest taxpayer in Newport, with more than 30 ships.

Some were more reprehensible than others. In 1764, Simeon Potter of Bristol wrote to his captain on the slaver *King George*: "Water your rum as much as possible and sell as much by the short measure as you can."

Or the captain of James DeWolf's slaver *Polly*, who lashed a slave infected with smallpox to a chair, threw her overboard, and "lamented only the lost chair."

Merchants not rich enough to build their own ships pooled resources and invested in voyages. Later on, the ships were more often owned by individuals or family groups.

Rhode Islanders made a go of slaving for a number of reasons. Their small, sturdy ships held from 75 to 150 slaves, far fewer than the massive British or French slavers, but their survival rates were better. Shorter loading times in Africa exposed the crews to fewer new diseases, and less crowding of slaves meant fewer died on the voyage, which took from five to 12 weeks.

La Amistad-style rebellions did occur -17 revolts were recorded on [RHODE ISLAND](#) slavers between 1730 and 1807- but were about half as common as on British and French slavers, perhaps because conditions were somewhat better on the smaller boats.

The British destruction of Newport during the Revolution brought a temporary halt to the trade. When it resumed after the war, much of the action shifted up the bay to Bristol, home of the DeWolf clan.

Without a doubt, then, the DeWolfs had the largest interest in the African slave trade of any American family before or after the Revolution; theirs was one of the few fortunes that truly rested on rum and slaves.

— Jay Coughtry

It was a family operation, all right — along the lines of *la cosa nostra*.

The first DeWolf slaver was Mark Anthony DeWolf, who began as captain for his brother-in-law, Simeon Potter. By 1774, Mark Anthony and Charles, one of his five sons, had completed seven voyages and may have been financing their own ships, Coughtry writes.

Between 1784 and 1807, seven DeWolfs completed 88 slaving voyages, or one-quarter of all Rhode Island trips made in those years; they were involved in 60 percent of the slaving voyages from Bristol.

They didn't just sail the ships — they branched out into all aspects of the operation. James DeWolf, another of

Mark Anthony's sons, married the daughter of William Bradford, who owned Bristol's rum distillery; he went on to make another fortune in cotton manufacturing, and served in the U.S. Senate.

Other sons sold slaves at slave markets in Charleston and Havana; the family also bought a Cuban sugar plantation, so they had a piece of the action at all stages of the cycle.

They were resourceful. As the public grew more repulsed by slavery and anti-slavery laws began to be passed, the DeWolfs dug in, and used their clout and connections to keep the money flowing.

By the turn of the century, William Ellery, the customs collector in Newport, was cracking down on illegal slaving. The DeWolfs got the General Assembly to create a separate customs office in Bristol, and in 1804 snared the collector's job for Charles Collins, a DeWolf in-law and a slaver himself.

It was clear sailing out of Bristol after that.

Although slavery was outlawed nationally as of 1808, James DeWolf continued slaving until 1820, "the period of the [RHODE ISLAND] trade's greatest profits," writes Arline Ruth Kiven, in a history of the state's abolitionist movement called *THEN WHY THE NEGROES?*

"This was also the time of his greatest affluence," although, she notes, there are no records for the Bristol port during this period because Collins burned them all when he was finally ousted in 1820.

Slavers were pretty crafty about staying ahead of the anti-slaving laws. A 1794 law banning U.S. citizens from carrying slaves to other nations, for example, had only one real enforcement provision: much like modern-day drug laws, the government could confiscate slaving vessels and sell them at auction.

Slavers promptly rigged the auctions so they (or straw buyers) could buy back the ships for pocket change. The government countered by getting the ships assessed, and then sending an agent to the auction to enter that price as an opening bid.

Samuel Bosworth, the surveyor for Bristol, was the unfortunate soul sent to bid on the *Lucy*, a slaver confiscated from Charles DeWolf. He undertook the job "with considerable fear and trembling," writes Coughtry.

The night before the sale, Bosworth got a visit from DeWolf, his brother James, and John Brown, who advised him to refuse the assignment. He stood his ground.

The next morning the DeWolfs dropped by again, telling Bosworth that while they certainly wouldn't harm a hair of his head, if he showed up at the sale he would probably be "insulted if not thrown off the wharf" by sailors.

Bosworth never made it to the auction. "His would-be baptizers, in nominal Indian dress and with faces blackened, seized him as he approached the wharf, and hustled him aboard a small sailboat" which took him for a pleasant two-mile ride down the bay, Coughtry writes. By the time he made it back to Bristol, the *Lucy* had been bought by a captain who worked for the DeWolfs.

The DeWolfs - or their agents - at times went in for outright thuggery. In 1800 the Treasury Department sent Capt. John Leonard to [RHODE ISLAND](#) as a kind of special prosecutor targeting slave traders. He promptly sued James DeWolf for \$20,000 over violations by DeWolf's slave ship *Fanny*.

The jury found for DeWolf. But some months after the trial, "apparently fearful that Leonard's strategy against DeWolf would become a dangerous and costly precedent, a group of civic-minded Bristolians traveled to Washington to make their own appeal at the Federal Courthouse," Coughtry writes.

When they spotted Leonard coming down the courthouse steps, "several unidentified assailants assaulted him."

Whereas, there is a common course practiced by Englishmen to buy negers so that they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventing of such practices among us, let it be ordered that no blacke mankind or white, being forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assignes longer than 10 years or until they come to bee 24 years of age....

- Rhode Island's first anti-slavery law, 1652

The 1652 law was supposed to ban slavery of any kind from Providence and Warwick, or indentured servitude for more than 10 years. It was enforced for whites but largely ignored for blacks; like so many cultures before them, the British colonies were deeply conflicted over slavery.

In 1636, Roger Williams, who founded the colony in Providence, questioned the justice of enslaving the Pequots. Yet in 1676, the same man denounced one of the early calls for freeing black slaves as "nothing but a bundle of ignorance and boisterousness."

Kiven writes that the northern part of the state was always less enamored of slavery than the seafaring and farming south.

Slaving was not confined to a particular religion or sect. Christians and Jews made fortunes in the trade, though by the early 18th century Quakers began to question the ethics of what they were doing.

Abolitionist sentiment got a boost in 1738, when an article in the English Weekly Miscellany "declared that, if Africans were to seize people from the coast of England, one could easily imagine the screams of 'unjust' which would be heard," writes Thomas.

In Newport in 1770, the Rev. Samuel Hopkins of the First Congregational Church preached his first sermon against slavery, and was surprised when his congregation -many of whom owned slaves- did not walk out en masse.

Three years later, Hopkins got the idea of sending two educated blacks to Africa as missionaries. To that end, John Quamine and Bristol Yamma were sent to Princeton College to prepare.

The Revolution intervened, however, and Quamine died aboard a privateer, while Yamma apparently dropped out of school to go to work and disappeared into history.

According to Kiven, the Quakers were the biggest and best-organized religious group in **RHODE ISLAND**, and once they began to oppose slavery, its days were numbered.

One by one, slave owners changed their minds. "College Tom" Hazard, heir to Narragansett Country landowner Robert Hazard, refused his father's offer of slaves on his marriage (Robert was said to own 1,000 slaves in 1730).

In 1773, the younger Hazard convinced the Quaker Yearly Meeting to ban Quaker participation in slavery. That same year **MOSES BROWN** of Providence quit the family slaving business, and began a decades-long assault on his brother, John Brown, for continuing to buy and sell humans; the next year he became a **QUAKER**.

The approach of the Revolution brought a temporary end to slaving, but also disrupted abolitionist momentum. In 1774, the General Assembly passed a law banning residents from importing slaves to Rhode Island, though it said nothing about visitors, or slaveowners who might want to move here.

(That was partly because Newport had a prosperous relationship with rich Southern plantation owners, who summered in Rhode Island before the Civil War, to escape the ferocious southern heat).

Brown, working with Hopkins, set about lobbying the state legislature as well as the Continental Congress; Hopkins wrote a persuasive tract, DIALOGUE CONCERNING THE SLAVERY OF THE AFRICANS, which was used well into the 19th century as an argument for abolition.

The war also gave blacks a chance to earn their own freedom. In 1778, a law was passed freeing any slave who would enlist in the Continental Army; several hundred formed the First Rhode Island Regiment, which performed well in battle, although the soldiers later had trouble getting paid.

"Their courage in battle and the subsequent gratitude of the people of the state to them is credited for the law, passed in 1784, providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in the state," writes Kiven.

The new law, which freed children born of slaves, passed only after a provision banning the trade entirely was removed. According to **MOSES BROWN**, the act was eviscerated by the Speaker of the House, William Bradford of Bristol.

Yes, the same Bradford who ran the big Bristol rum distillery, and whose daughter was married to slave-trader James DeWolf.

State House insiders were apparently getting pretty sick of lectures from the reform-minded **QUAKERS**. Wrote Brown, "We were much flung at by several."

Is it not extraordinary that [**RHODE ISLAND**], which has exceeded the rest of the states in carrying on this trade, should be the first Legislature on this globe which has prohibited that trade?

— Rev. Samuel Hopkins, Nov. 27, 1787

Other states were wrestling with the slavery issue. It proved so contentious that in 1787, when the Continental Congress adopted a constitution, it deferred any national action on slavery until 1808.

New England, however, wasn't waiting around. **RHODE ISLAND** banned the trade entirely in 1787; Connecticut and Massachusetts followed suit the following year.

True, the slave trade would continue for 70 years, by one means or another. Some slavers shifted operations to ports like New York, which had not yet passed any slaving laws; others simply broke the law.

But in 1789, Hopkins and **MOSES BROWN** helped found the Providence Abolition Society, which worked for anti-slaving laws and sued those who broke them.

One such was John Brown, Moses' brother. The society sued him in 1796 on charges of illegal slave-trading; though he offered to abandon the trade and pay all court costs, they seemed to want to make an example of him. They should have taken the deal. He was acquitted.

"The verdict was a definite defeat for the Society, many of whose members became convinced that a Rhode Island jury would not give judgment against the prominent type of men engaged in the slave-trade," writes Kiven.

Over the next few decades a pattern evolved. Abolitionists would pressure the government to pass anti-slavery legislation, and the slaving interests would do what they could to water it down.

Once a law was passed, business would temporarily falter while the slavers watched to see how strictly the law would be enforced; usually, enforcement was sporadic, and business actually increased.

The American and British governments finally banned slaving as of 1808. But the trade hardly stopped. Some American ships flew Spanish flags; Gen. George DeWolf of Bristol simply shifted his operations to Cuba.

The American law only banned the international slave trade. American slavers could still trade slaves internally, or move them up and down the coast. And they did, because demand was huge.

With the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, the demand for agricultural workers exploded in the south, Thomas writes. In 1792, the United States exported 138,328 pounds of cotton; by 1800, it was 17,790,000 pounds and by 1820, 35,000,000 pounds.

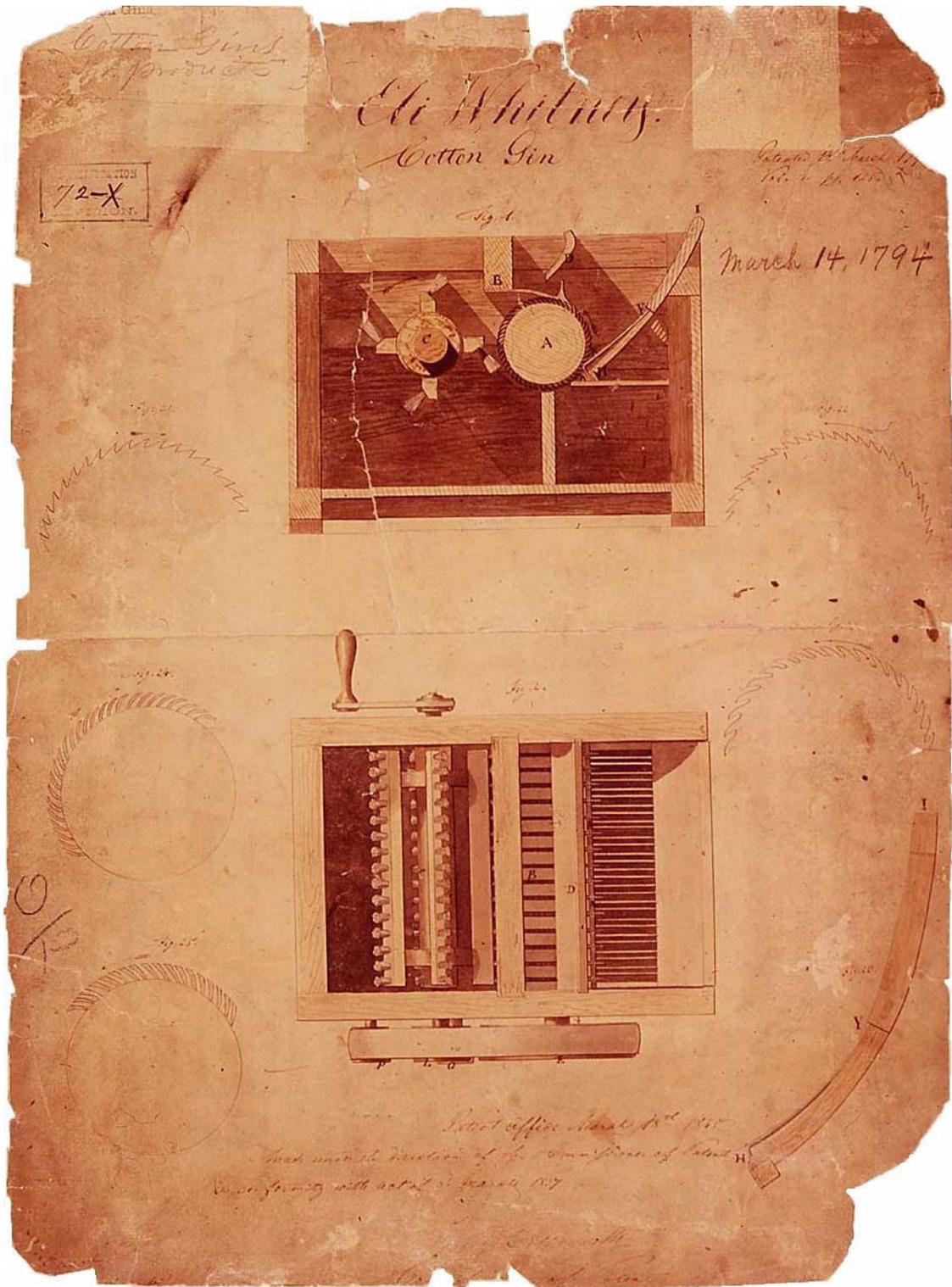
The planters weren't going to pick it themselves.

Rhode Island participation in the slave trade after Jan. 1, 1808, is a maddening puzzle, for most of the pieces are missing.

— Jay Coughtry

It looks like Rhode Island slavers began to pull out of the business after the federal ban, although it's hard to be sure since it was easy to cheat, particularly at first.

Some, like the DeWolfs, continued to slave illegally. But Coughtry concludes that "it does not appear that



Rhode Island ports or individual Rhode Island merchants participated in the illegal heyday of the modern American slave trade" between 1820 and 1860.

They abandoned the business sporadically, much as they had started. John Brown died in 1803. James DeWolf quit the trade in 1808, though his brother George continued until 1820, when the sympathetic Collins was fired in Bristol; after a series of business failures, George fled the state in 1825 for his Cuban plantation.

Rhode Island merchants gradually turned away from the maritime trade and invested their money in cotton mills – by 1830, the state had 130 of them. They managed to squeeze yet more profit from slavery: many specialized in coarse slave or negro cloth, worn by slaves throughout the New World.

Abolitionists kept up the pressure. The Providence Abolition Society was joined by other groups; three buildings still standing today served as stations on the Underground Railroad – the Isaac Rice homestead in Newport, the Elizabeth Buffum Chace house in Central Falls, and the Charles Perry home in Westerly.

Some decided not to wait. In 1826, a group of free Newport blacks, led by former slave Newport Gardiner, sailed for Liberia with the help of the American Colonization Society.

Gardiner, who worked for years to buy freedom for himself and his family, was freed in 1791. He helped found the nation's first black civic organizations, the African Union Society, and the African Benevolent Society.

His decision to leave came 14 months after white rioters destroyed Hard Scrabble, the black community in Providence (University Heights today).

He was 75 years old.

"I go to set an example for the youth of my race," he said. "I go to encourage the young. They can never be elevated here. I have tried it for 60 years.... It is in vain."

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March 12, Sunday: Paul Davis's column about the days of slavery and the international slave trade in Providence, Rhode Island's "ProJo," the Providence Journal:

Buying and Selling the Human Species: Newport and the Slave Trade

For more than 75 years, Rhode Island ruled the American slave trade. On sloops and ships called Endeavor, Success and Wheel

of Fortune, slave captains made more than 1,000 voyages to Africa from 1725 to 1807. They chained their human cargo and forced more than 100,000 men, women and children into slavery in the West Indies, Havana and the American colonies. The traffic was so lucrative that nearly half the ships that sailed to Africa did so after 1787 – the year Rhode Island outlawed the trade. Rum fueled the business. The colony had nearly 30 distilleries where molasses was boiled into rum. Rhode Island ships carried barrels of it to buy African slaves, who were then traded for more molasses in the West Indies which was returned to Rhode Island. By the mid-18th century, 114 years after Roger Williams founded the tiny Colony of Rhode Island, slaves lived in every port and village. In 1755, 11.5 percent of all Rhode Islanders, or about 4,700 people, were black, nearly all of them slaves. In Newport, Bristol and Providence, the slave economy provided thousands of jobs for captains, seamen, coopers, sail makers, dock workers, and shop owners, and helped merchants build banks, wharves and mansions. But it was only a small part of a much larger international trade, which historians call the first global economy.

Pollipus Hammond was dying. As a young man in Newport he had sailed wooden sloops and brigs across the roiling Atlantic. Now, at 72, he was curled up in agony. The Rev. Ezra Stiles was surprised. He had heard that dying men often stretched out. Shortly before midnight in the winter of 1773, Hammond died. Stiles, a pastor for nearly 20 years at the Second Congregational Church on Clarke Street, closed the dead man's eyes. Physically, Hammond was short and thin. But spiritually, he had been a pillar in the congregation, a sober churchgoer for nearly 34 years. A boat builder, mechanic and father of five, Hammond could have turned "his hand to any Thing," Stiles wrote in his daily journal. For a quarter of century, Hammond had turned his hand to the slave trade. Sailing from Newport's crowded harbor, he purchased hundreds of slaves from the west coast of Africa and chained them aboard ships owned by some of the town's wealthiest merchants. Hammond belonged to a group of captains who depended on the slave trade for a living. He quit the business in the 1750s, when he was in his mid-50s. He became a devout Congregationalist; he even offered his home for monthly meetings. But he never stopped telling stories about danger, even exaggerating what he had seen and heard on his African voyages along what slavers called the Guinea Coast. It was, Stiles wrote, the only "blemish in his character." "He was many years a Guinea Captain; he had then no doubt of the Slave Trade," Stiles wrote. "But I have reason to think that if he had his Life to live over again, he would not choose to spend it in buying and selling the human species." If Hammond regretted his life as a slave captain, he left no record of it. When Hammond died on Feb. 5, 1773, Newport's slave trade was booming. Nearly 30 captains had sailed to Africa the year before, ferrying away nearly 3,500 Africans to slave ports in the Americas and the Caribbean. "Our orders to you are, that you Embrace the first fair wind and make the best of your way to the coast of Africa," wrote merchant Aaron Lopez to Capt. William English. "When please God you arrive there ... Convert your cargo into good Slaves" and sell them "on the best terms you can," ordered Lopez, who outfitted four slave ships that year. The first recorded departure of a Newport slave ship was in 1709, and regular voyages from Newport to Africa were recorded beginning in 1725.

"There's no Newport without slavery," says James Garman, a professor of historic preservation at Salve Regina University in Newport. "The sheer accumulation of wealth is astonishing and it has everything to do with the African trade...." It's unclear when Pollipus Hammond, born in 1701, boarded his first slave ship, but Hammond and the trade matured together. By the time Hammond turned 21, more than 600 ships a year passed through Rhode Island's busy ports. Many carried New England goods – mackerel, pork, beef, cider, beer, onions, flour, butter, candles, apples, cheese and staves – to other colonies along the Atlantic Coast. Others carried goods directly to the slave plantations in the Caribbean or in South America. These ships returned to Newport with sugar and barrels of molasses, which distillers turned into rum. Some of it was sold in New England. But Rhode Islanders soon discovered a new market for their rum: tribal leaders and European traders along the African coast, in regions known as the Slave, Gold and Windward Coasts. In all, Rhode Island ships carried nearly 11 million gallons of rum to Africa during the 18th and early 19th centuries. Tribal leaders were willing to dicker with Newport captains, turning over prisoners from rival tribes and other natives in exchange for Rhode Island rum. The African captives were then sold in the Caribbean or in the southern colonies for cash or for more sugar and molasses, creating what was known as the Triangular Trade. Rhode Islanders distilled an especially potent liquor that was referred to as Guinea rum, spirits which quickly displaced French brandy in the slave trade. As a result, slavers from Rhode Island were often called "rum men." By his mid-30s, Hammond was a rum man. In 1733, he sailed the Dispatch, owned by merchant Godfrey Malbone, to Africa. Six years later Malbone, who owned a house in Newport, a country estate and several slaves, hired Hammond again, this time to take 55 slaves to the West Indies aboard the sloop Diamond. Already, the slave trade was competitive. In 1736, Capt. John Cahoon told Newport merchant Stephen Ayrault that seven Rhode Island captains and 12 other slavers were anchored off the coast of Africa, "ready to devour one another for the chance to trade" for slaves being held at a handful of British ports. Never "was so much rum on the Coast at one time before...." Four years later, the colony's fleet of 120 ships was "constantly employed in trade, some on the coast of Africa, others in the neighboring colonies, many in the West Indies and a few in Europe," Gov. Richard Ward told the Board of Trade in 1740. The sugar and slave plantations especially benefited from Rhode Island's exports. Plantation owners – too busy growing sugar cane to grow their own food – "reaped great advantage from our trade, by being supplied with lumber of all sorts, suitable for building houses, sugar works and making casks," Governor Ward noted. The West Indies slave owners dined on beef, port, flour and other provisions "we are daily carrying to them." Rhode Island horses hauled their cane and turned their sugar mills. And "our African trade often furnishes 'em with slaves for their plantations." For Pollipus Hammond and other slave captains, African voyages posed many risks. The voyages were filthy, laborious and dangerous. "Few men are fit for those voyages but them that are bred up to it," Dalby Thomas, an agent for the Royal African Company, told his superiors in London in the early 1700s. These captains must be ready to "do the meanest office," he wrote. Africa teemed with killers – river blindness, yellow fever, malaria. One or two captains died each year from

disease, violent storms or slave uprisings. Capt. George Scott barely escaped a slave revolt in 1730, when several Africans aboard the Little George murdered three of his men in their sleep. Caleb Godfrey jumped into a longboat after lightning struck his ship, and he once was mauled by a leopard. If a captain survived –and many did not– he “had nothing to lose and a great deal to gain from a slaving venture,” says historian Sarah Deutsch. In addition to a monthly wage, captains received a 5 percent commission on every slave sold. Many also received a bonus, or “privilege,” of four or more slaves per 104 Africans aboard. The captains were free to sell them or keep them. Some made enough to invest in later trips to Africa. Many joined the Fellowship Club, a mutual aid society, established in Newport in 1752. When the club received a charter from the Rhode Island legislature, 17 of the 88 members had made at least one voyage to Africa. By the time Hammond died, slaving captains formed a third of the society. While some captains made enough money to quit the trade and move up socially, Hammond “never left the wheel,” says Jay Coughtry in *THE NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE*. “Lack of capital, ambition, or, perhaps, the lure of the sea” prevented men like Hammond “from rising into the ranks of the merchant class,” he says.

The Rev. Ezra Stiles arrived in Newport to assume the pulpit of the Second Congregational Church in 1755, about the time Pollipus Hammond quit the slave trade. A bookish man who studied Latin and physics at Yale, Stiles declared Newport “an agreeable Town,” a place of “leisure and books,” and a choice spot to continue “my Love of preaching.” He drank cider, tea and claret, and planned future books, including a history of the world. In 1761, six years after he arrived in Newport, the minister paced off its streets to map the town. Evidence of the town’s booming sea and slave trade was everywhere. He counted 888 houses, 16 rum distilleries and 61 shops near the waterfront. Some of the town’s biggest slave traders belonged to Stiles’ Clarke Street church. Eleven members were either slave traders or captains, including Caleb Gardner, William Ellery and William and Samuel Vernon. Newport was a far cry from New Haven, where Stiles grew up and attended Yale. While New Haven had been settled by strict religious leaders, Newport had been settled by “men who chafed at the economic, as well as religious, restrictions of Puritan society,” says historian Lynne Withey. They “wanted to build prosperous towns and personal fortunes out of the wilderness.” Those attracted to Newport included the Quaker merchant Thomas Richardson, who had moved from Boston in 1712; Daniel Ayrault, a French Huguenot, who arrived around 1700, and Godfrey Malbone, who moved from Virginia at about the same time. William and John Wanton, shipbuilders from Massachusetts, arrived a few years later. These entrepreneurs – or their sons or in-laws – added slave trading to their business ventures. Yet another group of investors arrived between 1746 and 1757, among them Ellery, the Champlins and Lopez. Stiles read the **BIBLE** in the morning and visited some of the slave traders as their pastor in the afternoon. He socialized with them, too. He dined often with William Vernon, who bought a mansion three doors down on Clarke Street. An ardent gardener, Stiles wrote his name on an aloe leaf on Abraham Redwood’s country estate. Eventually, the pastor was named librarian of the new Redwood Library. While he talked philosophy with Newport’s slave merchants, he also ministered to the town’s slaves. By the mid-1770s, he was preaching to

dozens of slaves. Often, he preached to them in small groups in his home. "I directed the Negroes to come to me this Evening," he wrote in 1771. "I discoursed with them on the great Things of the divine Life and eternal Salvation...." Three days after Pollipus Hammond died, the temperature plunged to 5 degrees. Ice clogged the harbor. That winter, the spindly trees above the waterfront were "full of crystals or frozen sleet or icy horror," noted Stiles. It was so cold his window had frozen shut. "I can not come at my thermometer which is usually left abroad all night," he complained. Head down, his long nose poking forward, Stiles trudged through Newport's icy streets to attend Hammond's burial in the Common Burying Ground, on a hill near the edge of town. A prominent stone mason had carved a final thought for the slave captain. His headstone, topped with an angel, said, "Here Lieth the Body of the Ingenious Capt. Pollipus Hammond." It was Stiles's habit to visit his church members and their families at least four times a year. Stiles had visited Hammond 10 times before his death. If the two men discussed slavery, Stiles did not note it in his diary. Then again, the pastor had written little about his own ties to the slave trade. His father, Isaac, had purchased an African couple to work in the fields of the family's 100-acre farm in North Haven. And a year after he became pastor of the Second Congregational Church, Stiles put a hogshead of rum — 106 gallons — aboard a ship bound for the coast of Africa. The captain, William Pinnegar, returned with a 10-year-old African boy. Stiles kept the slave for 22 years, and freed him only after he accepted a job as president of Yale in 1777. In 1756, Stiles gave the boy a name. He called him Newport.

March 13, Monday: The ice went on Walden Pond. Although the pond had frozen over in mid-January, this winter the ice had never become thick enough to support anyone's weight.

In Providence, Rhode Island's "ProJo," the [Providence Journal](#), Paul Davis's series about the days of slavery and the international slave trade continued:

Plantations in the North: The Narragansett Planters

While Newport merchants profited by trafficking in slaves, colonists across Narragansett Bay found another way to grow rich. They used slaves to grow crops and raise livestock on small plantations throughout South County.

For 50 years, Newport's merchants loaded the surplus farm products onto ships bound for slave plantations in the West Indies where they were traded mostly for sugar and molasses.

By 1730, the southern part of Rhode Island was one-third black, nearly all of them slaves.

The Narragansett Planters thrived from the early 1700s to just before the American Revolution, which brought trade to a standstill.

* * *

From his counting house above Newport harbor, Aaron Lopez fretted about the future.

The Portuguese immigrant had sold soap in New York, candles in Philadelphia and whale oil in Boston. But a plan to trade goods with England failed because the market was glutted. Now, heavily in debt to an English creditor, Lopez sought a new market.

He chose Capt. Benjamin Wright, a savvy New England trader, as

his agent in Jamaica. From the tropics, Wright acted as a middleman between Lopez and his new buyers – slave owners too busy making sugar to grow their own food.

Don't worry, Wright told Lopez in 1768. "Yankey Dodle will do verry well here." Yankee Doodle did.

His chief suppliers were just across the Bay.

There, amid the rolling hills and fertile fields, hundreds of enslaved Africans worked for a group of wealthy farmers in South Kingstown, North Kingstown, Narragansett, Westerly, Exeter and Charlestown.

Relying on slave labor, the so-called Narragansett Planters raised livestock and produced surplus crops and cheese for Newport's growing sea trade.

As the Newport slave merchants prospered in the early 1700s, the Narragansett Planters had success selling their crops and horses to slave plantations in the West Indies.

The slaves, brought by Newport merchants from the West Indies and later Africa, cut wheat, picked peas, milked cows, husked corn, cleaned homes and built the waist-high walls that bisected the fields and hemmed them in.

So many blacks worked along the coast that, by the mid-1700s, southern Rhode Island boasted the densest slave population in New England after Boston and Newport.

While most New England communities were organized in compact villages with small farms, southern Rhode Island evolved into a plantation society. "South County was unique in New England," says author Christian M. McBurney. Cheap land made it possible, he says.

The Narragansett Indians had once ruled the region, but Colonial wars and disease had greatly reduced their number, leaving huge tracts of vacant land up for grabs. A territory dispute between Connecticut and Rhode Island scared off some timid settlers.

Investors, many of them from Newport and **PORTSMOUTH**, "scrambled to the top," says McBurney. They bought land on credit, sold the unwanted lots to generate cash and started farms.

By 1730, the most successful planters –including the Robinson, Hazard, Gardiner, Potter, Niles, Watson, Perry, Brown and Babcock families– owned thousands of acres. In Westerly, Col. Joseph Stanton owned a 5,760-acre estate that stretched more than four miles long.

A typical farm had 300 sheep, 100 bulls and cows and 20 horses. "The most considerable farms are in the Narragansett Country," concluded William Douglas who, in 1753, surveyed the English settlements in North America for the Mother Country. The region's rich grazing and farm lands benefited from warm winters and "a sea vapour which fertilizeth the soil," he wrote.

The owners sometimes relied on family members and indentured Indians for help, but slaves did most of the work. The largest planters –families like the Robinsons, Updikes and Hazards– owned between 5 and 20 slaves.

Although their plantations were much smaller than those in the southern Colonies, an early historian described the area as "a bit of Virginia set down in New England."

Made rich from their exports, the planters built big homes, sent their children to private schools and carved the hillsides into apple orchards and gardens. North Kingstown planter Daniel Updike kept peacocks on his 3,000-acre farm. Framed by deep blue feathers, the exotic peafowl screeched and strutted in their New World home.

* * *

Rowland Robinson, a third-generation planter and slave holder, was one of the region's most successful planters.

In 1700, his grandfather purchased 700 acres on Boston Neck, "east by the salt water." By the time he died, the elder Robinson owned 629 sheep, 131 cows and bulls, 64 horses and eight slaves. His son, William, the colony's lieutenant governor, increased the family fortune by acquiring more land. William, who owned 19 slaves, died in 1751, and Rowland, one of six sons, settled on the family estate.

Tall and handsome, with "an imperious carriage," the younger Robinson rode a black horse and owned more than 1,000 acres and a private wharf. His farm, a mile from the Bay, gave him easy access to the Newport market. During a two-year period in the 1760s, he delivered more than 6,000 pounds of cheese, 100 sheep, 72 bundles of hay, 51 bushels of oats, 30 horses and 10 barrels of skim milk to Aaron Lopez who then shipped them to the West Indies and other markets. Most planters relied on public ferries. They hauled their cheese, beef, sheep and grains along muddy Post Road to South Ferry, the public port that was a vital link between Newport and the Narragansett country, also called King's County.

In 1748, Boston Neck planter John Gardiner urged legislators to expand the busy port at South Ferry. The current boats, he complained, are "crowded with men, women, children" along with "horses, hogs, sheep and cattle to the intolerable inconvenience, annoyance and delay of men and business."

* * *

According to one account, Rowland Robinson owned 28 slaves. Tradition says he abandoned the slave trade after a boatload of dejected Africans arrived at his dock.

But the region's planters bought slaves until the American Revolution. Even small farmers, like the Rev. James MacSparran, owned field hands and domestic servants. "My two Negroes are threshing rye," wrote MacSparran, who owned 100 acres, on July 29, 1751.

Their work had a profound effect on the economy, says historian Joanne Pope Melish.

Freed from domestic chores, white masters were able to pursue other opportunities, jobs or training. Some learned new trades, became lawyers or judges, or sought public office.

In the end, slave labor helped Rhode Island move from a household-based economy to a market-based economy, says Melish. "Slaves contributed to the expansion and diversification of the New England economy," she says.

Plantation owners, merchants, importers and retailers prospered on both sides of the Bay.

From his home on Thames Street, Aaron Lopez could walk to his private pier and a warehouse next to the town wharf. In a loft above his office, sail makers stitched sheets of canvas. His Thames Street shop supplied Newport's residents with everything from Bibles and bottled beer to looking glasses and violins. Lopez, one of the founders of Touro Synagogue, and his father-in-law, Jacob Rivera, owned more than a dozen slaves between them, and sometimes rented them to other merchants.

Lopez became Newport's top taxpayer. He owned or had interest in 30 ships, which sailed to a dozen ports.

He wasn't alone. By 1772, nearly half of Newport's richest residents had an interest in the slave trade.

"The stratification of wealth was astonishing," says James Garman, a professor at Salve Regina University. "And it had everything to do with the African trade."

Although the Narragansett Planters weren't as well off as their monied counterparts across the Bay, they took their cues from Newport's merchants and the English gentry.

Their large houses –Hopewell Lodge in Kingston, Fodderring Place at Pt. Judith– often stood more than a mile apart.

John Potter's "Greate House" in Matunuck included elegant woodwork and a carved open arch. Rowland Robinson's house featured gouged flower designs, classical pilasters and built-in cupboards adorned with the heads of cherubs.

The Reverend MacSparran described a typical day of socializing: "I visited George Hazard's wife, crossed ye Narrow River, went to see Sister Robinson, called at Esq. Mumford's, got home by moon light and found Billy Gibbs here." So much company, he confessed, "fatigues me."

Their wealth "brought social pretensions and political influence ... all without parallel in rural Rhode Island and New England," says McBurney. The elegant lifestyle did not last.

During the Revolutionary War, the British burned Newport's waterfront. Many merchants fled, and trade stalled. Lopez moved to Leicester, Mass. In 1782, he drowned when his horse plunged into a pond.

The Narragansett Planters did not recover from the loss of the Newport market. The sons of the big planters chopped the plantations into small farms. Some freed their slaves.

But before the Revolution, they lived a carefree life.

In the spring, they traveled to Hartford to "luxuriate on bloated salmon." In the summer, they raced horses on the beach and roasted shellfish, says Wilkins Updike in a history of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett.

During corn-husking festivals, men and women gathered for "expensive entertainments" in the large halls of "spacious mansions," says Updike. The men wore silk stockings, shoes with shiny buckles and "scarlet coats and swords, with laced ruffles over their hands." Their hair was "turned back from the forehead and curled and frizzled" and "highly powdered."

The women, dressed in brocade and high-heeled shoes, "performed the formal minuet with its thirty-six different positions and changes. These festivities would sometimes continue for days ... These seasons of hilarity and festivity were as gratifying to the slaves as to their masters," Updike says.

In the 18th century, Yankee Doodle did all right.

On the farms and on the wharfs he made money – sometimes as a slave owner, sometimes as a slave trader, sometimes as both.

March 14, Tuesday: In Providence, Rhode Island's "ProJo," the [Providence Journal](#), Paul Davis's series about the days of slavery and the international slave trade continued:

Strangers in a Strange Land: Newport's Slaves

Newport was the hub of New England's slave trade, and at its height, slaves made up one-third of its population. Yet little is known about their day-to-day lives.

Ledger documents traced to Caesar Lyndon, a slave for one of the Colony's early governors, provide one rare glimpse into the private life of an 18th-century slave. But, overall, the slaves

left few, if any, journals or diaries to illuminate what they thought or how they felt.

The absence of written material forces historians to rely on tombstones, newspaper accounts, wills, court records and the documents of slave owners and abolitionists to piece together an account of their lives.

On a cold day in 1768, Pompe Stevens told his brother's story on a piece of slate. Both men were slaves.

A gravestone polisher and carver, Pompe worked for John Stevens Jr., who ran a well-known masonry shop on Thames Street in Newport.

Carefully gouging the stone, Pompe reduced his brother's life to a single sentence:

**THIS STONE WAS
CUT BY POMPE
STEVENS IN MEMO
RY OF HIS BROTHER
CUFFE GIBBS, WHO
DIED DEC. 27TH, 1768**

Little else is known about Gibbs.

Experts say he probably came from Ghana, on the west coast of Africa. His surname, Cuffe, is an Anglicized version of Kofi, a traditional name given to Ghanaian boys born on Friday.

But it's uncertain who owned Gibbs or what he did in Newport, the hub of New England's slave trade.

More is known about his brother.

Pompe Stevens outlived three wives and eventually won his freedom.

Theresa Guzman Stokes, at work on a book on Newport's slave cemetery, says Cuffe's gravestone tells us even more.

African families "were torn apart by slavery" -Cuffe and Pompe served different masters and lived apart- and Pompe wanted others to understand that they were human, not unfeeling pieces of property, she says.

"He was trying to make it clear. He was saying, 'This is who I am and this is my brother.'"

* * *

A gravedigger buried Cuffe Gibbs in the northwest corner of the Common Burying Ground, on a slope reserved for Newport's slaves. Already, many headstones dotted the hill.

Newporters had been importing slaves from the West Indies and Africa since the 1690s. By 1755, a fifth of the population was black. Only two other colonial cities -New York and Charleston, S.C.- had a greater percentage of slaves.

Few, if any, accounts survive of the lives of slaves in Newport, but the Common Burying Ground, one of the largest and oldest slave cemeteries in the country, offers some clues. The gravestones mark the lives of Susannah, daughter of Kirby and Rachel Rodman, who died in 1831, and Thomas, servant of Samuel

Fowler Esq., who died in 1786.

Twenty years later, a third of the families in Newport would own at least one slave. Traders, captains and merchants would own even more. The wealthy Francis Malbone, a rum distiller, employed 10 slaves; Capt. John Mawdsley owned 20. On Newport's noisy waterfront, enslaved Africans cut sails, knotted ropes, shaped barrels, unloaded ships, molded candles and distilled rum. On Thames Street, master grinder Prince Updike -a slave owned by the wealthy trader Aaron Lopez- churned cocoa and sugar into sweet-smelling chocolate. Elsewhere, Newport's slaves worked as farmers, hatters, cooks, painters, bakers, barbers and servants. Godfrey Malbone's slave carried a lantern so that the snuff-loving merchant could find his way home after a midnight dinner of meat and ale.

"Anyone who was a merchant or a craftsman owned a slave," says Keith Stokes, executive director of the Newport County Chamber of Commerce. "By the mid-18th century, Africans are the entire work force."

* * *

Some of the earliest slaves were from the sugar plantations in the West Indies where they "seasoned," developing a resistance to European diseases and learning some English.

Later, slaves were brought directly from slave forts and castles along the African coast. Newporters preferred younger slaves so they could train them in specific trades.

The merchants often sought captives from areas in Africa where tribes already possessed building or husbandry skills that would be useful to their New World owners, Stokes says.

Newly arrived slaves were sometimes held in waterfront pens until they were sold at public auction. Others were sold from private wharves. On June 23, 1761, Capt. Samuel Holmes advertised the sale of "Slaves, just imported from the coast of Africa, consisting of very healthy likely Men, Women, Boys, Girls" at his wharf on Newport harbor.

In the early 1700s, lawyer Augustus Lucas offered buyers a "pre-auction" look at a group of slaves housed in his clapboard home on Division Street.

Many more were sold through private agreements.

The slaves were given nicknames like Peg or Dick, or names from antiquity, like Neptune, Cato or Caesar. Pompe Stevens was named after the Roman general, Pompey the Great.

* * *

The slaves were thrust into a world of successful merchants like William and Samuel Vernon, who hawked their goods from the docks and stores that rimmed the waterfront. From their store on John Bannister's wharf, they hawked London Bohea Tea, Irish Linens and Old Barbados Rum "TO BE SOLD VERY CHEAP, For Cash only." On Brenton's Row, Jacob Richardson offered a "large assortment of goods" from London, including sword blades, knee buckles, pens, Dutch twine, broadcloths, buff-colored breeches, gloves and ribbons.

As property, slaves could be sold as easily as the goods hawked from Newport's wharves. In December, 1762, Capt. Jeb Easton listed the following items for sale: sugar, coffee, indigo - "also four NEGROES."

Although Newport was growing -in 1761 the town boasted 888 houses- it was a densely packed community. Most homes, crowded on the land above the harbor, were small.

Slaves slept in the homes of their masters, in attics, kitchens

or cellars. In some instances, African children even slept in the same room or bed as their masters.

William and Samuel Vernon made their fortunes in the slave trade and from sales at their store on Bannister's Wharf. William's house still stands on Clarke Street in Newport.

The opportunity for slaves to establish families or maintain kinship ties was almost impossible in colonial Newport, says Edward Andrews, a University of New Hampshire history student studying Rhode Island slavery.

His theory is that slaves and servants were discouraged from marrying or starting families to curb urban crowding. Also, some indentured servants had to sign contracts forbidding fornication or matrimony, he says, because Newporters wanted to restrict the growth of the destitute and homeless.

Many slaves had to adopt their master's religion. Slaves owned by Quakers worshipped at Newport's Meeting House. Slaves owned by Congregationalists heard sermons from the Rev. Ezra Stiles. The slave Cato Thurston, a dock worker, was a "worthy member of the Baptist Church" who died "in the faith" while under the care of the Rev. Gardner Thurston.

But even in religion, Africans could only participate partially; most sat in balconies or in the rear of Newport's churches.

Increasingly restrictive laws were passed to control the slaves' lives. Under one early law, slaves could not be out after 9 p.m. unless they had permission from their master. Offenders were imprisoned in a cage and, if their master failed to fetch them, whipped.

Another law, passed in 1750, forbade Newporters to entertain "Indian, Negro, or Mulatto Servants or Slaves" without permission from their masters, and also outlawed the sale of liquor to Indians and slaves. A 1757 law made it illegal for shipmasters to transport slaves outside the colony.

Some fought back by running away. In 1767, a slave named James ran away from the merchants Joseph and William Wanton. It wasn't unusual.

From 1760 to 1766, slave owners paid for 77 advertisements in the Newport Mercury, offering rewards for runaway slaves and servants.

"People sometimes think slaves were better off here because they weren't picking cotton, but on the other hand, psychologically and socially, they were very much dominated by European life," says Stokes.

While oppressed, Newport's slaves still emerged better equipped to understand and navigate the world of their masters.

They learned skills, went to church and became part of the social fabric of the town, achieving a kind of status unknown elsewhere, Stokes says.

"You can't compare Newport to the antebellum South," he says. "These are not beasts of the field."

In fact, many in Newport found ways to forge new lives despite their status as chattel. Some married, earned money, bought their freedom and preserved pieces of their culture.

Caesar Lyndon, an educated slave owned by Governor Josiah Lyndon, worked as a purchasing agent and secretary. With money he managed to earn on the side, he bought good clothes and belt buckles.

In the summer of 1766, Caesar and several friends, including Pompe Stevens, went on a "pleasant outing" to [PORTSMOUTH](#). Caesar provided a sumptuous feast for the celebrants: a roasted

pig, corn, bread, wine, rum, coffee and butter. Two months later, Caesar married his picnic companion, Sarah Searing and a year later, Stevens married his date, Phillis Lyndon, another of the governor's slaves. Slaves often socialized on Sunday, their day off. On Walnut Street in Newport, is the home of a former African slave Newport "Neptune" Thurston, who was a cooper, or barrelmaker, by trade. He may have learned the craft from Baptist minister Gardner Thurston, a cooper and member of the slave-trading Thurston family. And many slaves worked on trade ships, even some bound for Africa. At sea, they found a new kind of freedom, says Andrews. "They were mobile in a time of immobility." Slaves and freed blacks preserved their culture through funeral practices, bright clothing and reviving their African names. Beginning in the 1750s, Newport's Africans held their own elections. The ceremony, scholars say, echoed African harvest celebrations. During the annual event, slaves ran for office, dressed in their best clothes, marched in parades and elected "governors" and other officials. White masters, who loaned their slaves horses and fine clothes for the event, considered it a coup if their slaves won office. Historians disagree on the meaning of the elections. Some historians say those elected actually held power over their peers. Others say it was merely ceremonial. "Election ceremonies are common in all controlled societies," says James Garman at Salve Regina University. "They act as a release valve. But no matter whose purpose they serve, they don't address the social inequities."

* * *

On Aug. 26, 1765, a mob of club-carrying Newporters marched through the streets and burned the homes and gardens of a British lawyer and his friend. A day earlier, merchants William Ellery and Samuel Vernon burned an Englishman in effigy. The Colonists were angry about the English Parliament's proposed Stamp Act, which would place a tax on Colonial documents, almanacs and newspapers. Eventually Parliament backed off, and a group of Newporters again hit the streets, this time to celebrate by staging a spectacle in which "Liberty" was rescued from "Lawless Tyranny and Oppression." As historian Jill Lepore notes in her recent book on New York slavery, New England's Colonists championed liberty and condemned slavery. But, in their political rhetoric, slavery meant rule by a despot. When they talked about freedom, Newport's elite were not including freedom for the 1,200 African men, women and children who lived and worked in the busy seaport. Many liberty-loving merchants -Ellery and Vernon included- owned or traded slaves. "I call it the American irony," says Stokes of the days leading up to the American Revolution. "We're fighting for political and religious freedom, but we're still enslaving people." Some did not miss the irony. In January 1768, the Newport Mercury stated, "If Newport has the right to enslave Negroes, then Great Britain has the right to enslave the Colonists." By the end of the decade, a handful of Quakers and Congregationalists began to question Newport's heavy role in the slave trade. The Quakers -often referred to as Friends- asked their members to free their slaves.

And, a few years later, the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, pastor of the First Congregational Church, angered some of his congregation when he started preaching against slavery from the pulpit, calling it unchristian. Nearby, white school teacher Sarah Osborn provided religious services for slaves. At one point, 300 Africans and African-Americans attended her class. By 1776, the year the Colonies declared their independence from English rule, more than 100 free blacks lived in Newport. Some moved to Pope Street and other areas on the edge of town, or to Division Street, where white sympathizers like Pastor Hopkins, lived. In 1784, the General Assembly passed the Negro Emancipation Act, which freed all children of slaves born after March 1, 1784. All slaves born before that date were to remain slaves for life. Even the emancipated children did not get freedom immediately. Girls remained slaves until they turned 18; boys were slaves until they were 21.

That same year, Pastor Hopkins told a Providence Quaker that Newport "is the most guilty respecting the slave trade, of any on the continent." The town, he said, was built "by the blood of the poor Africans; and that the only way to escape the effects of divine displeasure, is to be sensible of the sin, repent, and reform."

After the American Revolution, Newport's free blacks formed their own religious organizations, including the African Union Society, the nation's first self-help group for African-Americans.

Pompe Stevens was among them.

No longer a slave, he embraced his African name, Zingo.

The society helped members pay for burials and other items, and considered various plans to return to Africa. In time, other groups were formed, including Newport's Free African Union Society.

In 1789, the society's president, Anthony Taylor, described Newport's black residents as "strangers and outcasts in a strange land, attended with many disadvantages and evils ... which are like to continue on us and on our children while we and they live in this Country."

March 15, Wednesday: In Providence, [RHODE ISLAND](#)'s "ProJo," the [Providence Journal](#), Paul Davis's series about the days of slavery and the international slave trade continued:

1 Boye Slave Dyed: The Terrible Voyage of the Sally

The first ship to leave Providence for Africa was sent by James Brown in 1735, but only a smattering of ships departed from that port before the Revolutionary War. Providence never became a busy slave center, like Newport and Bristol.

Newport dominated the state's slave trade for the first 50 years. All trade came to a halt during the seven years the colonies fought for independence from Great Britain. When the war ended, [RHODE ISLAND](#) ships again cleared for Africa. Newport continued to send dozens of ships to Africa, but Providence and Warren, and especially Bristol, became bigger players.

Between 1784 and 1807, 402 ships sailed from Rhode Island for Africa.

Providence, which sent 55 of those ships, accounted for only 14 percent of the state's slave trade.

* * *

Capt. Esek Hopkins had just cleared the African coast when one of his captives died.

The young girl wasn't the first.

For nine long months, Hopkins had bartered with slave traders on behalf of the Brown brothers of Providence - Nicholas, Joseph, John and Moses. By late August 1765, he had finally purchased enough slaves, 167, so he could leave. Tarrying on the malarial coast -sailors called it the White Man's Grave- Hopkins had already lost 20 slaves and two members of his crew.

On his first -and last- slave trade voyage on the *Sally* in 1765, Capt. Esek Hopkins lost 109 slaves to uprisings and disease. The failed attempt marked a turning point for the Brown family of Providence as **MOSES BROWN** turned his back on the slave trade. Now, on board the 120-ton brig *Sally*, the deaths continued.

"1 boye slave Dyed," Hopkins wrote on Aug. 25. He kept a tally of the slave deaths in his trade book. The young boy was number 22.

The Browns had instructed Hopkins to sell his slaves in the West Indies for "hard cash" or "good bills of exchange."

"Dispatch," they reminded him, "is the life of Business."

Esek Hopkins, 46, had spent years at sea, but, until now, he had never helmed a slave ship.

At 20, he left the family farm in Scituate to board a ship bound for Surinam, a South American port favored by Newport captains and slave dealers. Two older brothers also sailed. John died at sea; Samuel died at Hispaniola, a Caribbean slave and sugar center, now known as Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

Stephen, a third brother, rose through the ranks of colonial politics and became governor of Rhode Island.

Esek married in 1741, bought a farm in Providence and also dabbled in civic affairs. But he preferred the sea. Aggressive and outspoken, he worked for more than three decades as a privateer and merchant-adventurer, sometimes for the Browns. During the Seven Years' War between England and France, he captured a French ship loaded with oil and other goods.

But commanding a slave ship required knowledge of African tribal customs and negotiating skills; he possessed neither. He wasn't even the Browns' first choice; many Rhode Island captains were already on the African coast.

Stocked with handcuffs, leg irons, chains and padlocks, the *Sally* was a floating prison.

The women, mostly naked, lived unchained on the quarterdeck. Crew members believed there was little chance they would stage a rebellion.

The males, chained together in pairs, were kept below deck, where they struggled for air in the dark humid hold. Their spaces were so cramped they struggled to sit up.

In good weather, Hopkins and his crew exercised the more than 100 African slaves on deck, and scrubbed their filthy quarters with water and vinegar.

On Aug. 28, just eight days after leaving the coast of Africa, Hopkins freed some of the slaves to help with the chores. Instead, they freed other slaves and turned on what was left of his crew. "...the whole rose upon the People, and endeavored to get Possession of the vessel," the Newport Mercury reported later. Outnumbered, the sailors grabbed some of the weapons aboard the *Sally*: 4 pistols, 7 swivel guns, 13 cutlasses, 2 blunderbusses and a keg of gunpowder. The curved cutlass blades and short-barreled blunderbusses - favored by pirates and

highwaymen - were ideal weapons for killing enemies in close quarters. "Destroyed 8 and several more wounded," Hopkins wrote. One slave suffered broken ribs, another a cracked thigh bone. Both later died.

At sea, the *Sally* creaked and rolled as the crew kept careful watch on the remaining males shackled on the decks below.

Above deck, Hopkins revised the death count in his trade book. 32, he wrote.

* * *

Back in Providence, the Browns had high hopes for the *Sally*. Among the city's richest men, they operated under the name Nicholas Brown and Company. They owned all or partial interest in a number of ships; a candle factory at Fox Point; a rope factory, sugar house and chocolate mill and two rum distilleries.

Just before the *Sally* sailed, they invested in an iron foundry on the Pawtuxet River, the Hope Furnace in Scituate. Esek's brother, Stephen, was a partner. To help raise cash for the new foundry and their candle business, the Browns invested in the *Sally* and two non-slave ships that carried horses and other goods to the Caribbean.

Sending the *Sally* to Africa marked the first time the four brothers, as a group, had ventured into the slave trade.

Their great-great grandfather, Chad Brown, had been an early religious leader of the colony along with founder Roger Williams. The brothers' grandfather, James, a pious Baptist church elder, was openly critical of Providence's rising merchant class.

Yet, his son, Capt. James Brown, rejected the pulpit for the counting house. He sailed to the West Indies, ran a slaughter house, opened a shop and ran two distilleries. Unlike the earlier Browns, James recorded his children's births in his business ledger, rather than the family Bible.

And in 1735, he sent Providence's first slave ship to Africa. "Gett Molases if you can" and "leave no debts behind," James wrote to his brother, Obadiah. The market was poor; still, Obadiah traded the *Mary's* human cargo in the West Indies for coffee, cordage, duck and salt. He brought three slaves, valued at 120 English pounds, back to Providence.

When James died three years later, Obadiah helped raise his brother's sons: Nicholas, Joseph, John and Moses.

In 1759, John and Nicholas joined Obadiah and other merchants in outfitting another slave ship, the *Wheel of Fortune*. It was captured by a French privateer. "Taken" wrote Obadiah in his insurance book.

The sons were not deterred.

Abraham Redwood was one of the principal contributors to The Redwood Library and Athenaeum when it was opened in 1750. Although he made his fortune from his Caribbean plantations and the slave trade, Redwood was remembered at the time of his death as a philanthropist and benefactor of the poor.

Although the local economy had suffered during the war between France and Britain, the slave trade surged in 1763.

In Virginia, plantation owner Carter Braxton urged the Browns to send him slaves. I understand, he said, there is a "great Traid carried on from Rhode Island to Guinea for Negroes."

The Browns did not act on Braxton's offer. But in the summer of 1754, three of the brothers helped stock the *Sally* with 17,274 gallons of rum, the main currency of the Rhode Island slave

trade, 1,800 bunches of onions, 90 pounds of coffee, 40 barrels of flour, 30 boxes of candles, 25 casks of rice, 10 hogsheads of tobacco, 6 barrels of tar, and bread, molasses, beef and pork. The *Sally's* crew included a first and second mate, Hopkins' personal slave and a cooper to make barrels for the molasses the *Sally* would receive in trade for slaves.

The Browns agreed to pay Esek Hopkins 50 pounds a month for the voyage. Although it was slightly less than the wages paid the first and second mates, Hopkins was also promised a fat bonus, or "privilege," including 10 barrels of rum and 10 slaves. Most Rhode Island captains received a bonus of 4 slaves per 104 sold at market.

Because hard money was scarce in Rhode Island, the first and second mates were also offered slaves as commissions.

For the Browns, the stakes were high. For 50 years, Newport had been the colony's major shipping port. The Browns, along with Gov. Stephen Hopkins and a few other merchants, wanted to make Providence the political and commercial center of Rhode Island. "The Browns knew that the trade posed risks, but they also knew it could result in tremendous profits," says James Campbell, a Brown University professor. "They clearly anticipated a very profitable voyage."

* * *

Hopkins, however, fared poorly in Africa.

With the end of the Seven Years' War, transatlantic trade resumed; British and New England ships jammed Africa's slave castles, trade forts and river mouths. "Demand was great and prices were high," Campbell says. "The seller had the upper hand."

Hopkins had no choice but to sail a 100-mile stretch of coast, looking for deals. Worse, he didn't understand local customs, which depended on gifts, tributes and bribes.

The trade, which dragged on for months, "involved an exchange of courtesies, gifts and negotiations," says Campbell. "You had to establish your credentials and character before trade actually began."

By mid-December, Hopkins had purchased 23 slaves. But the trading went slowly. Hopkins gave King Fodolgo Talko and his officers two barrels of rum and a keg of snuff. It wasn't enough. The next day, he gave another leader and his men two casks of rum.

On Dec. 23, he met with the king beneath a tree. He gave him 75 gallons of rum and received a cow as a present. The next day trading resumed, and Hopkins offered another 112 gallons of rum. He got one slave.

Later that day, the king demanded more rum, tobacco, iron and sugar for himself, his son and other officials.

Rhode Island captains spent an average of four months on the African coast; it took Hopkins nine.

"Hopkins was inexperienced as a slaver," says Campbell. "You wanted to get in and out as quickly as possible. As long as a slave ship was close to land, there was a danger of insurrection. Moreover, you die when you're on the West African coast. You're being exposed to diseases like malaria and yellow fever. Your slaves and crews start to die."

On June 8, Hopkins logged his most successful day of trading - 12 slaves. That same day, one of his earlier captives hanged herself between the decks of the *Sally*.

* * *

Now, as Hopkins crossed a cruel stretch of ocean called the Middle Passage, death came almost daily.

"3 women Slaves Dyed," Hopkins wrote in his trade book on Oct. 1. The ink had hardly dried when, a day later, he wrote: "3 men Slaves and 2 women Slaves - Dyed."

On Oct. 3, "1 garle Slave Dyed."

The family clock of Adm. Esek Hopkins sits today in an office in University Hall at Brown University, which was Rhode Island College at the time. The first building on campus, it was built using slave labor. The clock was presented by his granddaughter Elizabeth Angell in 1855.

In a letter to the Browns, Hopkins blamed the deaths on the failed slave revolt. The survivors were "so dispirited," he wrote, that "some drowned themselves, some starved and others sickened and died."

But the rate at which the Africans died "suggests an epidemic disease," probably smallpox or dysentery, says Campbell.

Amoebic dysentery, carried through fecal-tainted water, was spread by the filthy conditions below slave ship decks. It caused violent diarrhea, dehydration and death. Traders called it the "bloody flux."

The remaining Africans aboard the *Sally* were in a "very sickly and disordered manner," Hopkins wrote to the Browns when he arrived in Antigua. The emaciated slaves, fed a gruel made of rice, fetched poor prices; some sold for as little as 4 to 6 English pounds.

By the time Hopkins returned to Newport, he had lost 109 Africans. For most investors, a 15 percent loss of life was an acceptable risk; Hopkins lost more than half of his human cargo. And, the Browns lost the equivalent of \$10,000 on the voyage, says Campbell. "The debacle represented a turning point for three of the brothers -Nicholas, Joseph and Moses- who thereafter left the trade for good," says Campbell. "It would be nice to say that they quit because of moral qualms, but there isn't much evidence to support that, at least initially. More likely, they simply concluded that slavery was too risky an investment."

John invested in additional slave voyages -between four and eight more- and became a defender of the trade.

His younger brother, Moses, took another path.

Depressed, unable to sleep, he avoided the family counting house. In 1773 -eight years after the *Sally's* voyage- he freed his six slaves. He was sure his wife's death was the result of his role in the trade.

Joining other [QUAKERS](#), Moses declared war on New England's slavers.

One of his first targets was his older brother, John Brown.

March 16, Thursday: In Providence, [RHODE ISLAND](#)'s "ProJo," the Providence Journal, Paul Davis's series about the days of slavery and the international slave trade continued:

Brown vs. Brown: Brothers Go Head to Head

In 1770, the Rev. Samuel Hopkins preached his first sermon against slavery and the slave trade, calling them terrible sins. His message surprised church members, some of them slave traders. One family left the church. The notion that slavery was immoral was slow to take hold.

The **QUAKERS** were among the first to question the practice and, in 1773, they asked members to free their slaves. Not everyone agreed. Wealthy businessman Abraham Redwood and even a long-term **RHODE ISLAND** governor refused to free their slaves and were disowned by the group.

Although the Quakers would help federal officials prosecute slave traders in the 1790s, they were seen as a quirky fringe group. A century earlier, the Puritans in Boston hanged Quakers and Roger Williams called them heretics.

* * *

By 1797, John Brown had burned the British ship *Gaspee*, co-founded Providence's first bank, sent a trade ship to China and laid the cornerstone of Brown University's administration building.

He was, says a biographer, one of America's leading merchants. But the federal government had other words for him: illegal slave trader. Agents seized his ship, the *Hope*, for violating the U.S. Slave Trade Act of 1794. Brown was the first Rhode Islander -possibly the first citizen in the new nation- to be tried under the law which forbid the trading of slaves in foreign ports.

On Aug. 5, in District Court in Newport, Judge Benjamin Bourn outlined the reasons for seizing the *Hope*. Brown and others had "fitted, equipped, loaded, and prepared" the ship that sailed from Providence to Africa and on to Havana "for the purpose of carrying on a trade and traffic in Slaves" which was contrary to the Statute of the United States, Judge Bourn wrote.

Federal authorities learned of John Brown's activities from his own brother **MOSES BROWN** and other anti-slavery radicals.

John and Moses had been at odds over the slave trade for more than a decade. Moses, in fact, had helped push for the federal law after an earlier state law to stop the trade was not enforced.

Now, in the late 1790s, the Providence Abolition Society was suing merchants for breaking the federal law. The group's strategy was a simple one: if the slavers agreed to quit the trade, they would drop their suits.

John Brown, one of America's leading merchants in the late 1700s, vigorously fought government efforts to end the slave trade. Moses Brown, a devout Quaker after quitting the slave trade, was an abolitionist who pressed the government to end slavery.

One of Providence's biggest slave traders, Cyprian Sterry, buckled under the group's pressure, and agreed to stop selling Africans.

But John wouldn't.

After months of out-of-court wrangling, the two sides failed to reach an agreement.

In court, John lost one round but won another.

The judge decreed that the *Hope*, along with "her tackle, furniture, apparel and other appurtances" be sold at an India Point auction on Aug. 26.

But, in a second court appearance, John triumphed over the abolitionists. In Newport, the center of the state slave trade, jurors were reluctant to convict a vocal defender of the African trade.

In a 1798 letter to his son James, John Brown said he had won a verdict for costs against his prosecutors whom he called a "Wicked and abominable Combination."

The state's anti-slavery foes, he said, were "Running Round in the Rain.... I tell them they had better be Contented to Stop ware they are, as the Further they go the wors they will fail." It wasn't the first time John Brown clashed with his brother and Rhode Island's other slavery foes. And it wouldn't be the last.

* * *

The two brothers did not always quarrel. As young men, they learned the sea trade and manufacturing from their uncle Obadiah. With their brothers Joseph and Nicholas, they formed a family firm, Nicholas Brown and Company in 1762. The brothers shipped goods to the West Indies, made candles from the oil of sperm whales and later produced pig iron at Hope Furnace in Scituate.

Each man brought a different skill to the partnership. Nicholas was methodical and plodding, John was bold and reckless, Joseph was a good technician and Moses was erudite, says Brown family biographer James B. Hedges.

In 1764, the four brothers invested in their first slave voyage. It was a financial disaster; more than half of the slaves died before they could be sold in the West Indies. The Browns never financed another slave trip together. But John, anxious to expand his business interests, struck out on his own. In 1769, he outfitted another slave ship to Africa. The family dynamic changed forever.

* * *

After the death of his wife and a daughter, Moses embraced the spiritual beliefs of the Quakers. In 1773, following their example, he freed the six slaves he owned and relinquished his interest in four others who worked at the family's candle works. He invited his family and several Quakers to hear his explanation. "Whereas I am clearly convinced that the buying and selling of men of what color soever as slaves is contrary to the Divine Mind," he began, "I do therefore ... set free the following negroes being all I am possessed of or any ways interested in." Moses promised to oversee the education of the youngest slaves and he gave each of the men the use of an acre of land from his farm. Consider me a friend, he told them.

For generations, the Browns had been Baptist ministers and churchmen. But a year after he freed his slaves, Moses officially converted to Quakerism. He was sure his wife Anna's death in 1773 was God's way of punishing him for his role in the slave trade.

Almost immediately, he and other Quakers began prodding local and federal lawmakers to ban both slavery and the slave trade. In 1774, the General Assembly passed a law prohibiting the importation of slaves into Rhode Island, an amended version of a bill advanced by Moses Brown that would have ended the slave trade altogether. In fact, it included a loophole that allowed slaves who could not be sold elsewhere to be brought into Rhode Island for one year. In addition, the proposed fines for importing slaves were omitted.

The "law proved totally ineffectual," says historian Christy Millard Nadalin.

The Brown family's influence is still evident on Providence's East Side from the stately family mansions to the university that bears their name. The institution's first building was built by slaves.

The first act calling for the freeing of slaves in Rhode Island

came in 1784. But the General Assembly did not want it done quickly. Under the act, children born to slave mothers after March 1, 1784 would be free when they became adults. The law, says Nadalin, "required no real sacrifice on the part of the slave owners, and it did nothing to curb the actual trade in slaves."

In 1787, the General Assembly made it illegal for any Rhode Islander to be involved in the African slave trade – the first such law in America. But, again, it was ignored; in the next three years, 25 ships sailed to Africa. Two years later, Moses Brown, the Rev. Samuel Hopkins of Newport, and about 180 others organized the Abolition Society. Its mission, according to J. Stanley Lemons, history professor at Rhode Island College, was to enforce the laws against the slave trade.

* * *

Just as the abolitionists were organizing, a bitter attack against them erupted in the Providence Gazette.

The society, a critic wrote, was "created not to ruin only one good citizen but to ruin many hundreds within the United States" who have all or part of their property in slaves and the slave trade.

These people you are calling "Negro-dealers" and "kidnappers" are some of the "very best men" in Rhode Island, he wrote.

"This traffic, strange as it appears to the conscientious Friend or Quaker, is right, just and lawful, and consequently practiced every day."

The diatribe was signed "A Citizen."

It was John Brown.

Brother Moses and other abolitionists responded, accusing John and other defenders of slavery as selfish, ignorant and pitiful. Moses publicly refuted a number of the "Citizen's" arguments, including the assertion that Africans were better off as slaves in America because they would have been killed back home.

The "Citizen" had his facts wrong, Moses countered. But if his argument were right, wouldn't it be an even greater act of humanity to grant the captives their freedom after arriving in America?

The battle was the "most bitter and unrestrained controversy" in the state's early history, says Moses Brown biographer Mack Thompson. What started as a discussion about the pros and cons of the slave trade "soon degenerated into an acrimonious debate in which politics and personalities became the main subject."

Moses eventually withdrew from the public debate.

But, privately, he continued to plead for an end to the state's slave trade. "Confronted with public apathy, inefficient state officials, and the power of the slave traders," Moses and his fellow abolitionists had little impact, says biographer Thompson.

Moses couldn't even convince his own brother that slave trading was evil. So he and others turned to U.S. Attorney Ray Greene, who dragged John and other slave traders into court.

John lost his ship but never publicly apologized.

* * *

In 1800, two years after he was elected to Congress, John Brown was one of only five congressmen to vote against a bill to strengthen the 1794 law under which he had been prosecuted.

Speaking against the measure, he offered three familiar arguments. First, he said, it was wrong to deny to American citizens the benefits of a trade that was open to Europeans.

Second, the trade was not immoral because the condition of those enslaved was "much bettered." Finally, he argued that the trade would bring much-desired revenue to the nation's treasury. "Why should a heavy fine and imprisonment be made the penalty for carrying on a trade so advantageous?" he asked. The abolitionist Moses, meanwhile, joined Samuel Slater and made cloth in a mill in Pawtucket. They made clothes from cotton picked by slaves on plantations in the South.

* * *

John Brown never changed his mind about profits and slavery, says Joaquina Bela Teixeira, executive director of the Rhode Island Black Heritage Society in Providence. "His sense of morality never shifted." He tried to fix tobacco prices and filed false insurance claims, she says, "yet he's touted as one of Providence's patriots." But the Browns "aren't big slave traders," says James Campbell, history professor at Brown University. They play a big role in the state's slave trading history, in part, because they are major historical figures, kept meticulous records and have a name linked to a major university. "Slavery was a fact of life. Yet, what is compelling about that late 18th-century moment is that you get this new moral sensibility. At some point, people acted against the slave trade. Not everyone did, and not everyone acted at the same time. But through the Browns you can see these deep historical currents" that ran through the era, Campbell says. It's also important to understand that, despite their public arguments, the two brothers cared about each other, Campbell says. "In private correspondence, they are very frank with one another. My sense is that they loved one another. In one letter, Moses says, 'John, I'm doing this for you.'"

March 17, Friday: In Providence, Rhode Island's "ProJo," the [Providence Journal](#), Paul Davis's series about the days of slavery and the international slave trade concluded:

Living Off the Trade: Bristol and the DeWolfs

Rhode Island outlawed slave trading in 1787, but it didn't stop the trafficking. Almost half of all of Rhode Island's slave voyages occurred after trading was outlawed. By the end of the 18th century, Bristol surpassed Newport as the busiest slave port in Rhode Island.

In 1807, the United States Congress, after a bitter debate, banished the slave trade and Rhode Island's 75-year reign sputtered to an end.

Rhode Island's rum mills were gradually replaced by cotton mills. Bristol was broke, Newport was struggling and Providence merchants turned to manufacturing.

* * *

Samuel Bosworth was scared. He was ordered to buy a ship at auction to keep it out of the hands of its owner, Charles DeWolf, one of Bristol's biggest slave traders. Federal officials had just seized the *Lucy*, which they were sure DeWolf planned to send to Africa on a slave voyage – a clear violation of a 1794 law that prohibited Americans from fitting out vessels "for the purpose of carrying on any trade or traffic

in slaves, to any foreign country.”

U.S. Treasury officials wanted to send a message to Rhode Island’s slavers so they instructed Bosworth, a government port surveyor, to outbid competitors. In the past, slave traders caught violating the law simply repurchased their ships at auction, often at a fraction of their value.

Keeping the *Lucy* from DeWolf would not be popular.

Charles and his brothers had prospered from trafficking in human cargo since the 1780s and the town’s residents depended on them for their livelihood. Bristol’s craftsmen made iron chains, sails and rope for the slave ships; farmers grew onions and distillers made rum – all items needed to support the trade. The night before the auction, three of Rhode Island’s wealthiest men appeared at Bosworth’s home. Charles and James DeWolf and John Brown, a Providence merchant who had just been elected to Congress, warned Bosworth not to go, saying it was not part of his job as a surveyor. But Bosworth had little choice. He had been pressured by William Ellery, Newport’s zealous customs collector, a “straight-gazing patriot” who had signed the Declaration of Independence 23 years earlier. Although his father had been a slave trader, Ellery regarded smuggling slaves as “nothing short of treason,” writes George Howe, a DeWolf descendant.

On the morning of the auction, July 25, 1799, Charles DeWolf approached Bosworth a second time. If he tried to buy the *Lucy*, he would likely be “insulted if not thrown off the wharf by some of the sailors,” DeWolf warned.

Bosworth continued on his way. But he never reached the town wharf.

As he neared the *Lucy*, eight men in Indian garb and painted faces grabbed him and pushed him into a sailboat. The black-faced men sailed Bosworth around Ferry Point and dumped him at the foot of Mount Hope, two miles from the auction site. With Bosworth out of the way, a DeWolf captain bought the *Lucy* for \$738. “The government had found the slave traders more than a match on their home turf, and never tried the tactic again,” says historian Jay Coughtry.

The DeWolfs were just getting started.

* * *

Already, the clan owned a piece of Bristol’s waterfront.

The brothers William and James DeWolf operated from a wharf and a three-story brick counting house on Thames Street, overlooking the harbor.

At the turn of the century, the family founded the Bank of Bristol, chartered with \$50,000 in capital. Among the chief stockholders in 1803 were two generations of DeWolfs – John, Charles, James, William, George and Levi. The clan also started the Mount-Hope Insurance Co., which insured their own slave ships.

When slave merchant James DeWolf traveled to Washington as a senator, he rode in the ornate carriage that is kept at Linden Place, in Bristol, the George DeWolf family mansion.

Business was good.

Before the American Revolution, Newport merchants dominated the slave trade. But from 1789 to 1793, nearly a third of Rhode Island’s slave ships sailed from Bristol. By 1800, Bristol surpassed Newport as the busiest slave port. The DeWolfs financed 88 slaving voyages from 1784 to 1807 – roughly a quarter of all Rhode Island slave trips during that period. Alone, or

with other investors, the family was responsible for nearly 60 percent of all African voyages that began in Bristol.

"This will inform you of my arrival in this port safe, with seventy-eight well slaves," wrote Jeremiah Diman to James DeWolf on April 1, 1796. Writing from St. Thomas, Diman said he'd lost two slaves on the voyage from Africa, and promised to leave soon for Havana to sell the others. "I shall do the best I can, and without other orders, load with molasses and return to Bristol." The DeWolfs owned five plantations in Cuba -among them the Mary Ann, the New Hope and the Esperanza- where their slaves grew sugar cane and coffee. The DeWolfs also brought some slaves back to Bristol, where they were "sold to some of the best families in the state," says historian Charles O.F. Thompson. In 1803, James DeWolf gave his wife an African boy and girl for Christmas.

* * *

They were self-made men. The DeWolf family crest, shown here as painted on the door of the carriage, above. Too poor to stay in school, they took jobs on ships. Their father, Mark Anthony DeWolf, was a slaver and a seaman, too. But he never made any money from it.

He married the daughter of wealthy privateer Simeon Potter, moved from Guadeloupe to Bristol and sailed on Potter's ships. After years of scrambling to make a living, he died, broke, of a "nervous fever" in 1793.

Between voyages he sired 15 children. Three of his sons died at sea. But five -James, John, Charles, William and Levi- survived. The "Quakerish" Levi quit the slave trade after a single voyage, but the others prospered from the trade, privateering, whaling and other ventures.

Each son worked a different part of the family business. Charles, the oldest, acted as the family's financial consultant. William ran the Mount-Hope Insurance Company, which insured ships and their cargoes against "the dangers of the seas, of fire, enemies, pirates, assailing thieves, restraints and detentions of kings . . . and all other losses and misfortunes." Ships and their cargoes were insured at up to \$7,000.

In 1804, Henry DeWolf moved to South Carolina to handle the family's slave sales in Charleston. The move was typical; the family placed relatives or in-laws in every part of their slaving enterprise from Bristol to Cuba.

At the urging of the DeWolfs, Congressman John Brown helped establish Bristol and Warren as a separate customs district where slave traders could operate away from "the prying eyes" of William Ellery in Newport, says Coughtry. A few years later, the family successfully lobbied President Thomas Jefferson to name Charles Collins, a slave trader and DeWolf cousin, as head of the new district. Collins had been captain of the seized ship, the Lucy.

The family's hold was now complete.

From 1804 to 1807, the prosecution of slave traders ceased, and the number of Africa-bound ships from Bristol soared.

"The DeWolf family monopolized the slave trade," says Kevin E. Jordan, a retired professor at Roger Williams University.

To keep an eye on their trade, the DeWolfs built huge homes near the harbor. Charles hired ship carpenters to build the Mansion House on Thames Street before 1785. It had four entrances, with broad halls running north to south and east to west. Wallpaper in the drawing room featured exotic birds with brilliant plumage.

Two decades later, James hired architect Russell Warren to build The Mount, a white three-story home with five chimneys, a deer park and a glass-enclosed cupola. Each day, his wife's slave washed the teak floors with tea leaves. In 1810, George hired Warren to design a \$60,000 mansion with fluted Corinthian columns, a three-story spiral staircase and a skylight. The estate is now referred to as Linden Place.

* * *

James DeWolf was the most extraordinary of the brothers. His life, says historian Wilfred H. Munro, resembled "the wildest chapters of a romance." Born in Bristol in 1764, he boarded Revolutionary War ships as a boy, and was held prisoner by the British in Bermuda. The cruelty and hardship he experienced as a young prisoner "made him a man of force and indomitable energy with no nice ethical distinctions," says one biographer.

In his early 20s, he sailed aboard the slave ship Providence, owned by John Brown; he bought his own slave ship, a 40-ton schooner, in 1788.

Tall, with gray-blue eyes, he had big sailor's hands – and a Midas touch, says Munro.

While his fellow merchants "were cautiously weighing the possible chances of success in ventures in untried fields, he was accustomed to rush boldly in, sweep away the rich prizes that so often await a pioneer, and leave for those who followed him only the moderate gains that ordinary business affords," writes Munro.

Some called his boldness cruel.

In 1791, a grand jury charged James with murdering a slave aboard a bark the year before. The woman, who had smallpox, had to be jettisoned before she contaminated the other slaves and crew, some sailors testified in his defense. But jurors said the slave ship captain did not have "the fear of God before his eyes." Instead, he was "moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil" when he threw the woman from his ship. She "instantly sank, drowned and died ..." the jury said.

Although an arrest warrant was issued, the federal marshal from Newport reported twice annually that he couldn't find James. After four years, the charge was dropped. Whether James was in Bristol during these years or, as one historian writes, hiding out in the Danish West Indies, is unclear.

It wasn't the only time James flouted the law. After it became illegal to sell slaves in foreign lands, he and his captains disguised their mission by equipping their ships with slave quarters after they left Rhode Island waters. Others simply sailed past Newport in the dark.

James DeWolf, left, served as a senator while he profited from the trade; William, center, ran the Mount-Hope Insurance Company that insured the slave traders' ships and Charles, right, the oldest son, was the family's financial consultant.

Before he turned 25, James had accumulated considerable wealth. His 1790 marriage to Nancy, the daughter of Deputy Gov. William Bradford, brought him more money. During the War of 1812, he sent out his own 18-gun brig with the government's blessing and captured 40 British vessels worth more than \$5 million, says Ray Battcher III, curator of the Bristol Historical & Preservation Society.

He emerged, according to Battcher, as one of the richest men in the United States.

When the federal government ran low on credit, James DeWolf

loaned the nation money.

He built the Arkwright Mills in Coventry, where workers made cloth from cotton grown by southern slaves. He also converted some of his ships into whalers, took up farming and traded with China.

In his late 30s, he entered politics. In 1802, he won a seat in the state legislature and later became speaker of the House. Locally, he was town moderator. In 1821, he went to Washington to serve in the Senate.

DeWolf's reputation as a slave trader followed him.

During a Senate debate over whether Missouri should be admitted as a slave state, a senator from South Carolina noted that some Rhode Islanders opposed the move and were bitter toward slaveholders.

But such a sentiment could not be widespread, he said with sarcasm.

After all, Rhode Island voters elected James DeWolf to represent them – a man who "had accumulated an immense fortune by the slave trade."

The southern senator noted that of the 202 vessels that carried slaves to South Carolina from 1804 to 1807, 59 were from Rhode Island – and 10 belonged to DeWolf. DeWolf left the Senate before his term was up – one biographer said he was bored.

* * *

After 1807, a much stronger federal law ending the slave trade was passed, and the DeWolfs' hold on Bristol began to unravel. They moved their slaving operation to their Cuban plantations. In 1825, when George DeWolf's sugar cane crop failed, he defaulted on a business bank loan, bringing three banks to near collapse. The reverberations hit the other DeWolfs and much of Bristol. "The family went bankrupt. They couldn't pay the farmers" or other suppliers "so the people all went bankrupt," says Jordan. Among them was slave ship Capt. Isaac Manchester, who lost \$80,000 and turned to clamming to earn a living.

According to one account, women wept and even churches closed their doors. "General DeWolf has failed utterly!" wrote Joel Mann to his father on Dec. 12, 1825.

"All night and yesterday officers and men were flying in all directions, attacking and securing property of every description. All classes of men, even clergymen and servants, are sufferers. Many among us are stripped of everything. Honest merchants and shopkeepers have lost all or nearly all," the pastor of the Bristol Congregational Church wrote.

Although the DeWolf family was responsible for much of the early wealth of Bristol, modest homes line the street that bears their name.

"The banks are in equal distress. A director has just told me that the General is on paper in some way or other at all the banks ... The Union Bank is thought to be ruined – perhaps others."

Six months later, the directors of the Bristol Union Bank, Eagle Bank and Bank of Bristol asked the General Assembly for tax relief because DeWolf's failure had cost them more than \$130,000 in capital.

James lost money, too, but died, in 1837, a millionaire. His estate included property in Ohio, Kentucky, Maryland, New York and Bristol.

To avoid Bristol's creditors, George DeWolf left his Bristol mansion at night, just before Christmas. Eight years earlier,

he had entertained President James Monroe there.
"All the creditors stormed the place and looted it," says Jordan. "They pulled out everything that wasn't nailed to the walls. They took the chandeliers from the ceilings."

November 3, Friday morning: During our own lifetimes, on November 2, 1965 outside the Pentagon in Washington DC, making a personal protest against war in Vietnam, Friend Norman Morrison immolated himself, and, on this day almost 41 years to the day later, there was another such self-immolation, this one at the Millennium Flame sculpture on the Kennedy Expressway near downtown Chicago. This time it was peace activist Malachi Ritscher and this time the self-immolator's protest was against war in Iraq and Afghanistan. Perhaps we need to use this occasion take a look at the origins of Quaker self-martyrdom, something which goes way, way back, all the way back at least to Boston — for when Friend Mary Dyer traveled there from the safety of her Aquidneck Island home in the Narragansett Bay to preach yet again, after once already having been excused and warned by the Puritans only at the foot of the hanging tree on Boston Common, she had well known what fate she was choosing for herself.

While preparing to sacrifice himself, Malachi put up the following message at <http://www.savagesound.com/gallery99.htm>:

- mission statement -

My actions should be self-explanatory, and since in our self-obsessed culture words seldom match the deed, writing a mission statement would seem questionable. So judge me by my actions. Maybe some will be scared enough to wake from their walking dream state — am I therefore a martyr or terrorist? I would prefer to be thought of as a "spiritual warrior." Our so-called leaders are the real terrorists in the world today, responsible for more deaths than Osama bin Laden.

I have had a wonderful life, both full and full of wonder. I have experienced love and the joy and heartache of raising a child. I have jumped out of an airplane, and escaped a burning building. I have spent the night in jail, and dropped acid during the sixties. I have been privileged to have met many supremely talented musicians and writers, most of whom were extremely generous and gracious.

Even during the hard times, I felt charmed. Even the difficult lessons have been like blessed gifts.

When I hear about our young men and women who are sent off to war in the name of God and Country, and who give up their lives for no rational cause at all, my heart is crushed. What has happened to my country? We have become worse than the imagined enemy — killing civilians and calling it "collateral damage," torturing and trampling human rights inside and outside our own borders, violating our own Constitution whenever it seems convenient, lying and stealing right and left, more concerned with sports on television and ring-tones on cell-phones than the future of the world ... half the population is taking medication because they cannot face the daily stress of living in the richest nation in the world.

I too love God and Country, and feel called upon to serve. I can only hope my sacrifice is worth more than those brave lives thrown away when we attacked an Arab nation under the deception of "Weapons of Mass Destruction." Our interference completely destroyed that country, and destabilized the entire region. Everyone who pays taxes has blood on their hands.

I have had one previous opportunity to serve my country in a

meaningful way – at 8:05 one morning in 2002, I passed Donald Rumsfeld on Delaware Avenue, and I was acutely aware that slashing his throat would spare the lives of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, of innocent people. I had a knife clenched in my hand, and there were no bodyguards visible; to my deep shame I hesitated, and the moment was past.

The violent turmoil initiated by the United States military invasion of Iraq will beget future centuries of slaughter, if the human race lasts that long. First we spit on the United Nations, then we expect them to clean up our mess. Our elected representatives are supposed to find diplomatic and benevolent solutions to these situations. Anyone can lash out and retaliate, that is not leadership or vision. Where is the wisdom and honor of the people we delegate our trust to?

To the rest of the world we are cowards – demanding Iraq to disarm, and after they comply, we attack with remote-control high-tech video-game weapons. And then lie about our reasons for invading. We, the people, bear complete responsibility for all that will follow, and it won't be pretty.

It is strange that most if not all of this destruction is instigated by people who claim to believe in God, or Allah. Many sane people turn away from religion, faced with the insanity of the "true believers." There is a lot of confusion: many people think that God is like Santa Claus, rewarding good little girls with presents and punishing bad little boys with lumps of coal; actually God functions more like the Easter Bunny, hiding surprises in plain sight. God does not choose the Lottery numbers, God does not make the weather, God does not endorse military actions by the self-righteous, God does not sit on a cloud listening to your prayers for prosperity. God does not smite anybody. If God watches the sparrow fall, you notice that it continues to drop, even to its death. Face the truth folks, God doesn't care, that's not what God is or does. If the human race drives itself to extinction, God will be there for another couple million years, "watching" as a new species rises and falls to replace us. It is time to let go of primitive and magical beliefs, and enter the age of personal responsibility. Not telling others what is right for them, but making our own choices, and accepting consequences.

"Who would Jesus bomb?" This question is primarily addressing a Christian audience, but the same issues face the Muslims and the Jews: God's message is tolerance and love, not self-righteousness and hatred. Please consider "Thou shalt not kill" and "As ye sow, so shall ye reap." Not a lot of ambiguity there. What is God? God is the force of life – the spark of creation. We each carry it within us, we share it with each other. Whether we are conscious of the life-force is a choice we make, every minute of every day. If you choose to ignore it, nothing will happen – you are just "less conscious." Maybe you are less happy (maybe not). Maybe you grow able to tap into the universal force, and increase the creativity in the universe. Love is anti-entropy. Please notice that "conscious" and "conscience" are related concepts.

Why God – what is the value? Whether committee consensus of a benevolent power that works through humans, or giant fungus under Oregon, the value of opening up to the concept of God is in coming to the realization that we are not alone, establishing a connection to the universe, the experience of finding completion. As individuals we may exist alone, but we are all

alone together as a people. Faith is the answer to fear. Fear opposes love. To manipulate through fear is a betrayal of trust. What does God want? No big mystery – simply that we try to help each other. We decide to make God-like decisions, rescuing falling sparrows, or putting the poor things out of their misery. Tolerance, giving, acceptance, forgiveness.

If this sounds a lot like pop psychology, that is my exact goal. Never underestimate the value of a pep-talk and a pat on the ass. That is basically all we give to our brave soldiers heading over to Iraq, and more than they receive when they return. I want to state these ideas in their simplest form, reducing all complexity, because each of us has to find our own answers anyway. Start from here....

I am amazed how many people think they know me, even people who I have never talked with. Many people will think that I should not be able to choose the time and manner of my own death. My position is that I only get one death, I want it to be a good one. Wouldn't it be better to stand for something or make a statement, rather than a fiery collision with some drunk driver? Are not smokers choosing death by lung cancer? Where is the dignity there? Are not the people who disregard the environment killing themselves and future generations?

Here is the statement I want to make: if I am required to pay for your barbaric war, I choose not to live in your world. I refuse to finance the mass murder of innocent civilians, who did nothing to threaten our country. I will not participate in your charade – my conscience will not allow me to be a part of your crusade. There might be some who say "it's a coward's way out" – that opinion is so idiotic that it requires no response. From my point of view, I am opening a new door.

What is one more life thrown away in this sad and useless national tragedy? If one death can atone for anything, in any small way, to say to the world: I apologize for what we have done to you, I am ashamed for the mayhem and turmoil caused by my country. I was alive when John F. Kennedy instilled hope into a generation, and I was a sorry witness to the final crushing of hope by Dick Cheney's puppet, himself a pawn of the real rulers, the financial plunderers and looters who profit from every calamity; following the template of Reagan's idiocracy.

The upcoming elections are not a solution – our two party system is a failure of democracy. Our government has lost its way since our founders tried to build a structure which allowed people to practice their own beliefs, as far as it did not negatively affect others. In this regard, the separation of church and state needs to be reviewed. This is a large part of the way that the world has gone wrong, the endless defining and dividing of things, micro-sub-categorization, sectarianism. The direction we need is a process of unification, integrating all people into a world body, respecting each individual. Business and industry have more power than ever before, and individuals have less. Clearly, the function of government is to protect the individual, from hardship and disease, from zealots, from the exploitation, from monopoly, even from itself. Our leaders are not wise persons with integrity and vision – they are actors reading from teleprompters, whose highest goal is to stir up the mob. Our country slaughters Arabs, abandons New Orleans, and ignores the dying environment. Our economy is a house of cards, as hollow and fragile as our reputation around the world. We, as a nation, face the abyss of our own design.

A coalition system which includes a Green Party would be an obvious better approach than our winner-take-all system. Direct electronic debate and balloting would be an improvement over our non-representative congress. Consider that the French people actually have a voice, because they are willing to riot when the government doesn't listen to them.

"Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up, and shake off the existing government ..."
— Abraham Lincoln

With regard to those few who crossed my path carrying the extreme and unnecessary weight of animosity: they seemed by their efforts to be punishing themselves. As they acted out the misery of their lives it is now difficult to feel anything other than pity for them.

Without fear, I go now to God — your future is what you will choose today.

Malachi had also put his own "blogobituary" on the internet, at <http://www.savagesound.com/gallery100.htm>:

Malachi Ritscher **- out of time -**

Chicago resident Malachi Ritscher passed away last (day of week), a (tragic, baffling, mundane) death at the age of (subtract 1954 from current year). He was the modern day version of a "renaissance man," except instead of attaining success in several fields, he consistently failed, and didn't really worry too much about it. For example, his boxing record in Golden Gloves. The eldest son of Richard C. Ritscher, a music educator, he collected and played many exotic instruments, without mastering any. Most recently, he had been playing a vintage Conn C-Melody saxophone that once belonged to free-spirit Hal Russell. Malachi was best known for his live concert recordings, mostly of local jazz groups who couldn't afford expensive studios. His license plates said AKG C 414, after his favorite microphones. Upwards of fifty recordings were eventually released commercially, with some acclaim for their natural sound. His archive of live recordings he had documented exceeded 2000 shows. Mostly he was just a big fan.

Also he was a film photographer, with a picture of a peregrine falcon chick published in a local Audubon magazine, and related video footage shown on local television news. He wrote poetry that was not published, painted watercolors in a quirky naive style, and participated passionately in the anti-war and free speech movement. He was arrested at a protest on March 20, 2003 and spent the night in jail, then became a member of the pending class-action suit against the City of Chicago. Arrested again two years later, he successfully sued the City of Chicago for false arrest on 1st Amendment/free speech grounds. One of his proudest achievements was an ultra-searing hot sauce recipe, which he registered under the name "Undead Sauce — re-animate yourself!" It was a blend of tropical peppers, which he grew indoors in 5-gallon buckets, and a few secret ingredients that gave it a unique flavor (pomegranate, pistachio, and cinnamon). Born Mark David Ritscher in Dickinsen, North Dakota on January 13, 1954, he lived most of his life in the mid-west, ranging from small-town Madison, South Dakota to Chicago, where he moved in 1981, changing his first name to Malachi. As a child, he was

intensely afraid of many things, especially heights; he spent the rest of his life trying to face his fears, without ever coming to terms with his fear of people. He dropped out of high school and married at the age of 17, a union that lasted almost 10 years. He became an ordained minister with the Missionaries of the New Truth in 1972, and had performed several weddings. He provided for his family with a variety of trade positions, eventually reaching Journeyman High-Voltage Technician status with the electric utility in Lincoln, Nebraska. He became a Licensed Stationary Engineer in 1987. He was a member of several unions throughout his career, including IBEW, IUOE, and SEIU. He was proud to be a dues-paying proletariat intellectual.

After getting divorced, he relocated to Chicago to work with friends in an art-rock band, which inevitably led to forming a trio called "wantnot," recording and releasing a CD in 1990, with Malachi on bass and vocals, Mike Mansfield on guitar, and Janna Brooks on drums. The cover design received an award from the American Center for Design, which didn't increase sales. He also designed skateboard decks, flyers, and t-shirts, with similar commercial results.

He was a collector of several things: books, records, meteorites, butterfly knives, keris, glass eyes, fossil tully monsters, microphones, medium-base lightbulbs, and instruments, especially snare drums. He was a man of strong contrasts, and fierce loyalties. There was a joy of life, which balanced a suspicious misanthropy. Endless pondering of existential gray areas could be interrupted by a totally spontaneous act: jumping in his car to drive downtown and participate in the Sears Tower stair-climb (2003). When he read Goethe's words "Nowhere but in his own Montserrat will a man find happiness and peace," his first thought was to find out where it is, and then book a flight there. He had memorized Pi to the 1101 decimal place, and would recite it at will. He could shave with a straight razor. He loved cinnamon rolls. He loved the smell of turpentine. He also loved motorcycles, which he wisely avoided. In the words of Stephen Wright, he was a "peripheral visionary." His sense of humor was droll – he theorized that surprise and not tragedy was the most important element of comedy. His favorite joke was to walk into a room, sniff the air, and observe "it smells like snot in here." His favorite word was "ominous." His favorite two words were "Tahitian hiatus." He always carried his passport with him.

He owned and maintained several web-sites:

<http://www.savagesound.com>

<http://www.unwinnablewar.net>

<http://www.killthepresident.net>

<http://www.warwhores.us>

In addition, he was preparing

<http://www.publicparkingparty.org>

... to promote protection of residents' rights in Chicago.

A lover of literature, even more than music, he had always dreamed of being a writer. The handwritten manuscript of his "fictional autobiography," titled "Farewell Tour," was under consideration by publishers. It had a general theme of shared universal aloneness, and was controversial for seeming to endorse suicide after the age of fifty. His favorite classic

authors were Proust and Shakespeare.

The metaphor for his life was winning the lottery, but losing the ticket. In the end, the loneliness was overwhelming. He was deeply appreciative for everything that had been given to him, but acutely aware that the greater the present, the higher the price. He was a member of Mensa, and of Alcoholics Anonymous since 1990. For him, sobriety was virtually getting a second chance at life. He practiced a personal and private spirituality, seeking to connect across the illusion that separates us from each other. Reportedly, his last words were "rosebud ... oops."

Near his end, he was purchasing real estate in Vancouver with the intention of eventual emigration, unable to reconcile his conscience with his tax dollars financing an unjust war. He frequently took short trips to New York City and New Orleans, where he made more recordings of concerts. Europe seemed more civilized to him, and he experienced Paris and Amsterdam, Germany and Switzerland, as well as Madrid and Barcelona.

His family was far-flung, surviving parents Richard and Betty Ann, older sisters Carol and Susan, younger siblings Paul, Jon, and Ellen; nieces Laurel, Carol, Julia, Jessica, Marissa, and nephew Aaron. He had a son, from whom he was estranged (at the son's request), and two grandchildren. He had many acquaintances, but few friends; and wrote his own obituary, because no one else really knew him. He has a plot at Calvary Cemetery in Evanston, Illinois; and the epithet he chose is "I Dreamt That I Was Dreaming."

Bruno Johnson of Okkadisk will have the dubious honor of maintaining archives and dispersing collections.

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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



ARRGH: THE AUTOMATED RESEARCH

REPORT GENERATION HOTLINE



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