

## GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

### WOONSOCKET AND SAYLESVILLE AND SMITHFIELD, RHODE ISLAND



"I know histhry isn't thtrue, Hinnissy, because it ain't like what I see ivry day in Halsted Street. If any wan comes along with a histhry iv Greece or Rome that'll show me th' people fightin', gettin' dhrunk, makin' love, gettin' married, owin' th' grocery man an' bein' without hard coal, I'll believe they was a Greece or Rome, but not befur."

— Dunne, Finley Peter,  
OBSERVATIONS BY MR. DOOLEY,  
New York, 1902

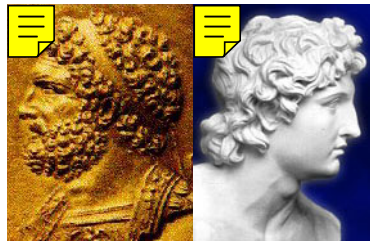


1661

~~Massasoit~~ died and was succeeded by his 1st son, *Wamsutta*, the one who had been nicknamed "Allexander" (*sic*) by the whites.<sup>1</sup>



Att the ernest request of Wamsitta, desiring that in regard his father is lately deceased, and hee being desirouse, according to the custome of the natives, to change his name, that the Court would confer an English name upon him, which accordingly they did, and therefore ordered, that for the future hee shalbee called by the name of Allexander Pokanokett; and desireing the same in the behalfe of his brother, they have named him Phillip.



Allexander *Wamsutta* was married to *Squaw Sachem Weetamoo* of Pocasset. He sold Attleboro lands to the *Plymouth* colony. This sachem would be signing the land sale documents presented to him by the English sometimes with

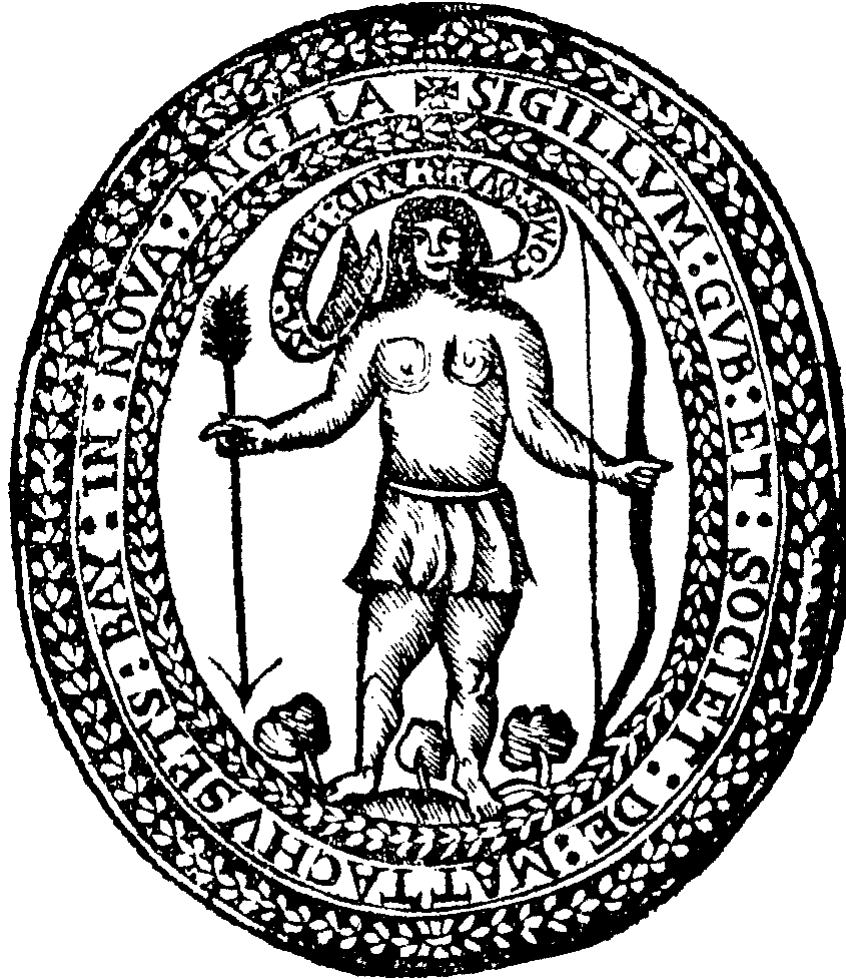
an **A** sometimes with a **W** and sometimes with a **M**

(these things are complex, for in fact he had in addition another name beginning with the letter M) as his younger brother Metacom, when he would in his turn become the sachem of the *Wampanoag*, would be signing these ubiquitous documents with

a big inky **P**

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1. When the seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony depicted an American native with a cartoon bubble coming out of his mouth, going “Come over and help us,” the reference of course was to the Book of the Acts of the Apostles in the Christian Bible, which has the Apostle Paul dreaming of a Macedonian who is pleading that he “Come over into Macedonia, and help us.”



On that basis, for the whites to have assigned to two Native American sachems the names “Phillip” (*sic*) and “Allexander” (*sic*) two well-known kings of ancient Macedonia, would seem rather innocent. However, bear in mind that it was the naming convention of the period, to refer to persons of color by the deployment of offensively grandiloquent and therefore implicitly derogatory nicknames. The dusky brothers *Wamsutta* and *Metacom* were therefore nicknamed Allexander and Phillip more or less in the mode in which masterly whites were in the habit of condescending magisterially to their black slaves: such ostentatious names (in the case of black slaves, master-assigned names such as those which Dr. LeBaron of *Plymouth* tried to enforce upon his house slaves, such as Pompey and Julius Caesar — starving one of his slaves, Quasho Quando, as punishment when the man absolutely refused to respond to such a name) implicitly gestured toward their low standing in the eyes of the righteous, marking them as pretenders, as con artists, implicitly warning fellow whites not to take them seriously as human beings or as leaders.

**In what significant manner does this differ from the period in Central Europe during which Jews were being required to register and to receive family names and were being assigned names, by a sympathetic constabulary, which translate into the ordinary English as “gold-grubber” and as “money-bags”?**



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*Phillip alias Metacom  
his mark*

(it all was made to seem so legitimate and respectful and congenial).

This was the year of the property transaction known as the “Northern Purchase.” The English of [Rehoboth](#) (chartered in 1643 by the [Plymouth](#) Colony, and the birthplace of public education in North America) hired



Thomas Willett to negotiate for them with [Wampanoag](#) sachems for what is now Attleboro and North Attleboro. This 1661 deed still exists and very clearly is signed by Willett and by *Wamsutta*.<sup>2</sup> The land in question has clearly belonged to the white man since way back. One of the terms and conditions of this deed document, however, is that part of the property in question had been set aside for perpetual use by the natives. Since there aren’t any natives there any longer, and since continuous occupancy is normally taken by our courts to be the signal of native title, this clause would seem to be ancient history — but as of the Year of Our Lord 2003 there is a case pending in the [Rhode Island](#) courts which alleges that legal title to the land district

2. [Metacom](#) had such a high regard for Captain Thomas Willett that during the race war he ordered that the Willett family not be harmed. When someone who had not heard of this brought the head of Hezekiah Willett to Metacom, thinking that he would be pleased, Metacom did what he could: he adorned the head of Willett’s son with wampum, and combed its hair.



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that had been set aside, that seems to amount to [Cumberland](#) and east [Woonsocket](#), is open to challenge.



The bite in this antique document comes from the fact that since the early 1660s, colonial law, and the federal law that followed after this colonial law upon our national independence, has consistently held that no native tribal land could be validly conveyed to another unless that conveyance had the blessing of a federal court, or of the US Congress. Since there exists no federal legislative or judicial record whatever, that these lands which had been formally set aside for native use in this Wamsutta/Willett title document have subsequently legitimately been conveyed to anyone else, and since the tribe in question, the Seaconke [Wampanoag](#), happens to be still in existence, it is abundantly clear that the land in question –whatever that land amounts to and whoever now resides upon it– still belongs to them and to them alone. (After the natives lost in this race war known as “[King Phillip’s War](#)”, we understand that very naturally the victorious white colonists simply moved in and took over by eminent domain, selling the red survivors of the war into slavery or packing them off to other lands. However, that makes the situation of these native inheritors similar to, say, the situation of an Israeli Jew who is holding a WWII-era title document to a family home in the Polish town of Oswicum, the German form of the name being “Auschwitz” — a family home now inhabited and defended by non-Jewish Poles who definitely have some sort of piece of paper asserting their invalid title. It seems clear that the legal implications of World War II for its survivors, and the implications of King Phillip’s War for its survivors, have yet to be fully worked out.)

But you can’t please everybody all the time. Soon *Wamsutta* fell under suspicion of not favoring one English colony over another, but instead, of the evil practice of selling merely to the highest bidder, favoring his own interest and the interest of his band over the interest of others. He was therefore taken captive by an indignant Major Josiah Winslow and marched rapidly to Duxbury at gunpoint, as part of a strategy to put the arm on him and to induce him to favor the [Plymouth](#) colony over the [Rhode Island](#) colony. They needed for him to pledge to sell no more native American territory to settlers out of the [Rhode Island](#) group, even if those white people were to offer his people a better deal.

Did he not understand who his real friends were? However, while being held under guard in Duxbury, Alexander *Wamsutta* became seriously ill, so ill that the guards feared to be blamed for his death and released him to hike home — and in his fever he didn’t make it all the way back.



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[\*Metacom\*](#), the second son of the *Massasoit*, the one who had been nicknamed “Phillip” by the whites, was at that time 24 years of age, and suspected or professed to suspect that the whites had poisoned his brother, or had caused his illness because of the overexertion of being force-marched at gunpoint, or at the very least had sadly neglected his brother during his fever. That suspicion, well or poorly grounded, was going to cause one hell of a lot of trouble.

[\*Weetamoo\*](#), a Pocasset, had been the consort of [\*Metacom\*](#)’s older brother *Wamsutta*. With his death, as his younger brother became Sachem, she became not merely a widow but the Squaw Sachem.

1662

January 27, Monday (1661, Old Style): [Providence](#) reserved lands at the [lime kilns](#) at Hackleton (probably Setamuchut Hill near Manton and Netaconkanut Hill in Johnston).

RHODE ISLAND

1665

LIME KILNS

The first English governor of the New-York colony reported to the King’s commissioners about limestone uniquely available in [Rhode Island](#): “Here only yet is Limestone found” to be burned to produce the necessary lime for mortar for colonial construction. About the only other available source of this construction lime would have been clamshells. By the late 1660s at Lime Rock near [Smithfield](#), Gregory Dexter would be mining limestone and burning it and packaging and shipping it.



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**Inauthentic representation of Metacom  
by Paul Revere, for whom an Indian was  
an Indian was an Indian, at the Library  
of Congress. Done in 1772.**



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1676

March 26, Sunday (Old Style): American attacks were staged on the English settlements at Longmeadow, Marlborough, and Simsbury. Mendon and Wrentham were evacuated. Although the citizens of Marlborough had become war refugees, it was decided that due to the strategic location a garrison of soldiers would need to maintain themselves in a fortified house there.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

After the Plymouth force had staged its assault on the principal village of the [Narragansett](#) in the Great Swamp near [South Kingstown](#), [Rhode Island](#), the surviving Narragansett –who had to this point been neutral– of necessity had joined with the surviving Wampanoag. That Great Swamp Fight had taken the lives, by some accounts, of some 300 braves and almost 400 women and children. During the following spring the merged groups were seeking their vengeance. Captain Michael Peirce of Scituate led a detachment in pursuit of Miantonomi’s son, the sachem Canonchet, at Quisnicket near [Pawtucket](#), but within the original limits of Bristol County (this happened near what is now Lincoln Woods Park in [Lincoln](#), [Rhode Island](#)). They had marched to Taunton, and then along the Old Seacunke Road to [Rehoboth](#) (East Providence), and then had come north along the east side of the Seekonk. On this day a war party led by chief sachem Canonchet successfully ambushed and overwhelmed Captain Pierce’s company of approximately 63 or 65 Englishmen and 20 native Cape Cod auxiliaries on the banks of the [Blackstone River](#) in present-day [Central Falls](#) somewhere near



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Lonsdale, at a ford in the river in a heavily wooded area.<sup>3</sup> Several of the native American guides from Cape Cod were able to escape alive by various subterfuges. Actually, it seems the American natives lost more warriors in this fight than the English. Supposedly, nine of the white warriors were captured and would be conveyed to a spot in [Cumberland](#) that now goes under the name “Nine Men’s Misery,” and there killed.<sup>4</sup>



A messenger had been sent to [Providence](#) for aid, before the ambush, but had been, according to tradition, too pious to interrupt a church service in progress when he arrived. After he had waited outside the church for hours while the long service proceeded, his message was too late the relief force being able only to bury the

3. It would appear that at least some of the white soldiers who were cut down fighting back-to-back in that “double-double ring” were [Quakers](#) who had abandoned their Peace Testimony for the duration of the race war — because Benjamin Tompson would memorialize them as such in his canto “New-Englands Tears For Her Present Miseries”:

Here Captious ones, without their Queries lie,  
The Quaker here, the Presbyterian by.  
The Scruple dormant lies of thee and thou,  
And most as one to Deaths dominion bow.

Among the fallen fighters whom we imagine probably to have been armed Quakers were:

- Friend Stephen Wing, Jr. of Sandwich
- Friend Samuel Bourman or Bowerman of Barnstable
- Friend John Sprague of Duxbury

**THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY**

4. According to Sidney Rider the common accounts of the episode are based mainly on legend. For instance, the [Cumberland](#) monument, which happens to be the first ever erected to American white fighters, states that these victims were the “pursued,” as if they had been seeking to avoid this, when actually they were very much the pursuers and had been out looking for a fight. The location now identified by this name on the grounds of the Edward J. Hayden library on Diamond Hill Road is highly questionable as having any relation to the events as they actually happened. Bicknell reports that the skulls of the nine victims were found in the 1960s in the basement of the Rhode Island Historical Society on Brook Street in [Providence](#), where they had been stored after being recovered in an 1800s antiquarian dig.

Among the skulls, that of Benjamin Buckland of Rehoboth was easy to identify, because he (like headman *Taoyateduta* in Minnesota in a subsequent race war) had a double set of teeth.





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scalped bodies. (A few days later Canonchet would be captured and executed.)

1708

October 2, Saturday (Old Style): In [Providence](#), Eleazer Arnold made out a deed, to his son-in-law Friend Thomas Smith<sup>5</sup> and others, of a 7-by-12-rod tract of land near his dwelling house, “on which stands a certain meeting house, of the people called [Quakers](#).”

1719

In [Rhode Island](#) during this year, the [Quakers](#) began construction of another meetinghouse, at [Woonsocket](#) (this district has now long been separated from [Providence](#), and has become North [Smithfield](#)).



(This new meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was only a 20X20 structure. It would be enlarged in 1755 through the addition of a 20X30 ell. That ell would be removed in 1775 in order to add an additional 32 square feet. In 1849 the building would be remodeled, and in 1881 it would burn.)

5. At this point the town of Providence occupied the entire county of Providence, with the exception of Cumberland, so [Lincoln](#) would have been within its boundaries. This number of rods would amount to about half an acre. Friend Thomas Smith lived in [Providence, Rhode-Island](#) until he settled in the modern day Woonsocket area near Providence Road. The first permanent settler of Woonsocket had been Richard Arnold’s son John Arnold, who by 1666 had established a sawmill at Woonsocket Falls. In 1712 John Arnold would build the 1st house in Woonsocket, on Providence Street (E. Richardson, HISTORY OF WOONSOCKET. Woonsocket RI: S.S. Foss, 1876). Friend Thomas’s wife was Friend Phebe Arnold Smith, a daughter of Eleazer Arnold. After resettling in the Woonsocket area, Friend Thomas would sell a plot of land there for the establishment of the meetinghouse which the Quakers would erect in 1719 in what is now the Union Village district of North [Smithfield](#).



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10th mo.: A minute by the [Greenwich](#) monthly meeting for business of [Quakers](#), dated December 1719:

Whereas, this meeting has had a matter in consideration, about building a meeting house at [Woonsocket](#), on the burying ground lately purchased; to build a meeting house twenty feet square, and John Arnold was appointed to build the same, the height thereof left to him.

**RHODE ISLAND**

**SMITHFIELD**

**1724**

9th Mo.: The records of the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting for November 1724 indicate that there was an intent to erect another [Quaker](#) meetinghouse inside [Providence](#) town:

Whereas, it is concluded by this meeting, a house shall be built in [Providence](#) town, and there being a frame offered us, it is concluded by this meeting, that if Edward Smith and Thomas Arnold approve of the frame, that the money be paid to Daniel Abbot, as quick as can be, with convenience.

**RHODE ISLAND**

**1725**

January 8, Friday (1724, Old Style): The plan of the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting to erect another [Quaker](#) meetinghouse in [Providence](#) was approved on 8th of 11th month 1724-5 by the quarterly meeting:

The [Friends](#) of [Providence](#), having, both at our last, and also at this quarterly meeting, represented the service of a meeting-house being built at Providence town, which their concern is well approved, and this meeting will also contribute something towards accomplishing the same, and also thinks proper, that the matter may be proposed to the yearly meeting in order for a subscription by particulars or otherwise as may be thought proper.

**RHODE ISLAND**



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1731

In [Rhode Island](#), the town of [Smithfield](#) was set off from [Providence](#) (*Moshasuck*).

Among [Quakers](#), the name “[Providence](#) monthly meeting,” as opposed to “[Greenwich](#) monthly meeting,” was changed at this point to “Smithfield monthly meeting.”

(The map on the following screen will give you some idea how this 18th-Century situation has come forward into the 21st Century. The red circle marks the unprogrammed [Lincoln](#) meetinghouse that used to be the “lower” Smithfield meetinghouse — while the green arrow indicates the location of the programmed Smithfield meetinghouse of our present era, and its old Quaker cemetery.)



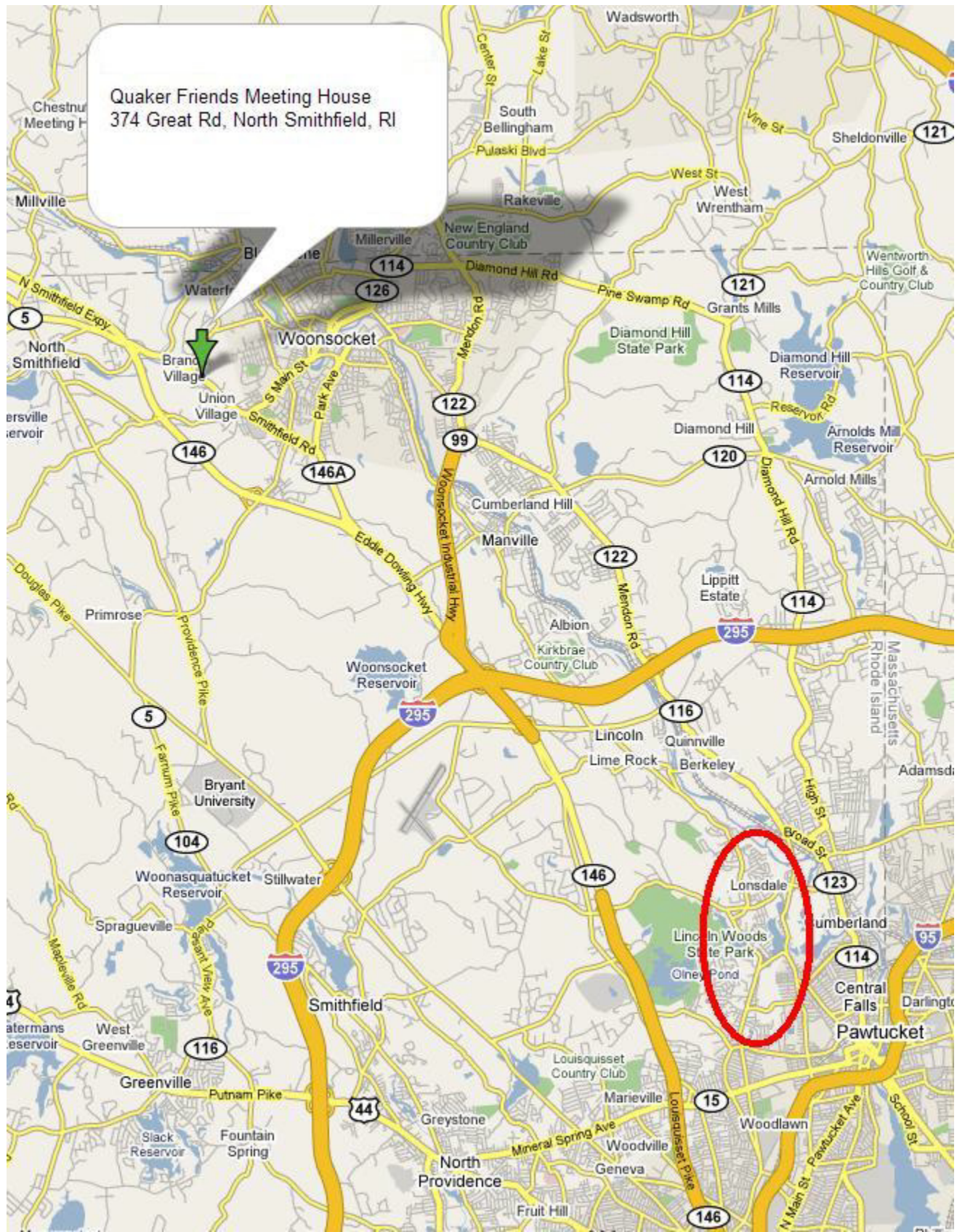
The cemetery in question is historical cemetery #WO011, northeast of the Great Road, for which apparently the records have been lost in a fire in 1890. It is directly across from the Union Cemetery of North Smithfield, next to the meetinghouse, and there are 99 burials having 59 inscriptions dating from 1795 to 1909, plus about 150 additional unmarked graves. As you can see from the photo, the place is not exactly in good shape. However, a survey of the gravestones was compiled by Grace G. Tillinghast during May 1932, and another one was compiled by Charles P. and Martha A. Benns in about 1938, and another one was compiled by Paul P. Delisle and Roger Beaudry during May 1992.



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1732

The [Providence, Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had been set off in 1718 from East Greenwich Monthly Meeting. At this point it changed its name to [Smithfield](#) Monthly Meeting.

1745

The [Quakers](#) of [Rhode Island](#) had built themselves, in 1704, a first one-room one-story meetinghouse, near the Great Road in [Lincoln](#). In about this year a larger two-story annex was appended to the front of this.<sup>6</sup> (This structure is still in business. Visitors are welcome for First Day worship.)



In the same year the [Quakers](#) who lived in [Providence](#) were moving from their 1st meetinghouse on Stampers Hill near the foot of Olney Street to their new meetinghouse on North Main Street between South Court Street and Meeting Street (where the brick firehouse now stands).

Also in this year, the General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#) used the proceeds from a lottery to construct a bridge 18 feet wide, at Weybosset.

1746

When a meetinghouse for the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had been constructed in 1725 within the town limits of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), it had been placed on what was then known as “Stamper’s Hill” and consequently had come to be referred to as the meetinghouse of the Stamper’s Hill Worship Group of the Providence Monthly Meeting, a group which had its main meetinghouses not in Providence but in [Smithfield](#) and in [Saylesville](#). By this point, the name “Stamper’s” having passed out of existence, this [Quaker](#) meetinghouse was being referred to as that of the Providence Worship Group of the Providence Monthly Meeting.

6. There is, actually, another theory, according to which it was the two-story portion that had been erected in 1704, with the one-story structure annexed to it in 1745. I have been told, verbally, that those who have looked at the actual wall interiors at the juncture between the two portions are quite sure that the larger portion must have been tacked onto the earlier smaller portion — but I have not myself confirmed such physical evidence.



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**1751**

18th of 10th month (New Style): [Job Scott](#) was born in the part of north [Providence, Rhode Island](#) that has since become Smithfield, to [Friends John Scott and Lydia Scott](#). After a period of what has been said to be youthful folly he “requested the care, and became a member of the Monthly Meeting of [Smithfield](#), then extending to Providence.”

**1752**

November 29, Wednesday (New Style): Woonsocket or Quinsnickit was the [Smithfield](#) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#)’s upper meetinghouse and [Saylesville](#) its lower meetinghouse. Its area, in the Revolutionary period, encompassed not only [Providence, Rhode Island](#), which did not yet have its own meetinghouse, but all of central Massachusetts. [Friend](#) Jeremiah Wilkinson’s farm was across the Blackstone River from the [Woonsocket](#) upper meetinghouse in [Cumberland](#), on a rise known as Cherry Hill north of Camp Swamp and south of Hunting Hill, about four miles from the Saylesville lower meetinghouse. On this day a baby girl was born, a “birthright” Friend named after one of Job’s daughters, Jemimah. She was probably the 8th surviving child of Friend Elizabeth Amey Whipple Wilkinson:

- 1739 William Wilkinson
- 1740 Patience Wilkinson
- 1740 Amy Wilkinson
- 1741 Jeremiah Wilkinson
- 1743 Simon Wilkinson
- 1745 Benjamin Wilkinson
- 1750 Marcy Wilkinson
- 1752 Jemimah Wilkinson
- 1755 Stephen Wilkinson
- 1757 Jephtha Wilkinson
- 1760 Elizabeth Wilkinson
- 1764 Deborah Wilkinson

At any rate, Friend [Jemimah Wilkinson](#) would be part of a farm family of eight sons and four daughters, and would be about 12 or 13 years of age at the death of her mother.<sup>7</sup>

**WILKINSON FAMILY**

7. The HISTORY OF THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND WITH ILLUSTRATIONS, no author cited, issued by Albert J. Wright, Printer, Boston and Philadelphia, in 1878, gives the date of birth not as the 29th of November but the 19th. Another branch of the Quaker Wilkinson family in [Rhode Island](#), headed by [Oziel Wilkinson](#), presumably related to the ironworking Wilkinsons of Birmingham, England, moved to Pawtucket and became involved with [Friend](#) Moses Brown and with Samuel Slater in the creation of the 1st water-driven cotton-yarn mill in America, and thus had nothing to do with the disownment of [Friend](#) Jeremiah Wilkinson’s daughter [Jemimah Wilkinson](#) and those associated with her (although that family would get into trouble with the Quakers as well, when one of its daughters, Hannah, got married with Samuel Slater, a non-Friend). Oziel Wilkinson and Company would in 1794 begin a metal-working mill near the Pawtucket Falls and in 1810 would erect a 3 1/2-story mill made of rubblestone for the manufacture of cotton yarns. His son David Wilkinson, in the machine shop on the ground floor, would invent cotton-working machinery. In 1816, the ironmaster David Wilkinson and his nephew Samuel Greene would manufacture the “Scotch” loom designed by William Gilmore, Rhode Island’s first marketable power loom.





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1755

The [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was enlarged beyond the original 20X20 structure by the addition of a 20X30 ell.

1760

During the 1760s, some [Quakers](#) from [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) were moving to a new community in the Hoosac Valley in the Berkshires, called at the time East Hoosuck Plantation — that eventually would be known, in honor of Samuel Adams of Boston, as Adams.



They would be in this new community some 15 years before beginning a meetinghouse, in 1782, and would complete it four years later. Above is how this Quaker meetinghouse would appear as of 1904.



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1770

In the previous year the [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting had taken the issue of abolitionism in New England to the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), which had appointed a committee to study the matter and report back in the following year. At this year's meeting, the committee recommended that all New England [Quakers manumit](#) all [slaves](#) owned by them, excepting only the very old and the very young. The Yearly Meeting embraced this recommendation.<sup>8</sup>

Up in the northern reaches of the [Rhode Island](#) colony, in [Cumberland](#), motherless [Friend Jemimah Wilkinson](#), age 18, was very happy that this was happening. She was decidedly opposed to human slavery. However, apparently without as much parental guidance as she needed, she was also being caught up emotionally in the religious re-awakening that was following the visits of the Reverend George Whitefield to New England. She would be becoming involved with the New Light [Baptists](#) of Ledyard, Connecticut, known also as "Rogerenes." Her attendance at such meetings would lead in August 1776 to her being [disowned](#) by her Quaker meeting, the [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) — and then she would in effect transform herself into a New-Age "channeler" for a spirit from the Other World, and create her own religious climate centered around her own person and her own personal whims.<sup>9</sup>



8. For the benefit of non-[Quakers](#), I need to point out what this means. It means that there was not one single Friend who was so troubled by this as to stand in its way!



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1771

30th day of 7th month: The meeting for business of the [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly 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.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

MANUMISSION

SLAVERY

1772

September: The [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), of which former [Rhode Island](#) Governor [Stephen Hopkins](#) was at least nominally a member (as, for instance, President Richard Milhouse Nixon was at least nominally a birthright member of the Friends Church in Whittier, California—since his mother had been a member at the time of his birth—despite the fact that he had nothing whatever to do with Quakers and in fact refused to visit with committees coming to Washington DC to plead with him about such topics as the bombing of Cambodia), took [Friend](#) Stephen under dealing for his refusal to [manumit](#) his black personal manservant and [slaves](#) Toney.

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

September: One afternoon, while [Moses Brown](#) and his wife [Anna Brown](#) were visiting friends in [Boston](#), Anna collapsed. The doctors were mystified. The remainder of her short life would be spent in a sickbed.

Charles Rappleye, in *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006, page 129), has recently alleged that the involvement with Quakerism at the 2d Friends meetinghouse inside [Providence, Rhode Island](#) (the structure at North Main Street between South Court Street and Meeting Street, a structure that would be sold and relocated in 1844 and then rebuilt on that site), an involvement with Quakerism that had begun in about this timeframe, was not limited to Moses Brown and Anna Brown, but extended to Anna's sister [Mary Brown](#) and to [John Brown](#)'s wife Sarah Smith Brown:

9. Examples of this sort of religious misconduct have always abounded. There has been, for instance, in our own time, "Judge" J.F. Rutherford of the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society who channeled bigtime by receiving the concealed true meanings of Scripture direct from God as the occasion arose, and there has been the bestselling Jane Roberts, a housewife from upstate New York who was channeling "Seth," and there has been the touring-circuit phenomenon J.Z. Knight who was channeling a Cro-Magnon warrior who identified himself as "Ramtha," and of course, there has been the indefatigable and terminally enthusiastic Shirley MacLaine. The spiritual entities channeled have been variously assigned inventive names such as Ashtar, Aurora, Bashar, Emmanuel, Jesus, K17, Kuthumi, Lazarus, Lily, Mafu, Mary, Mentor, Merlin, Monka, Phebious, Ra, Ramtha, St. Germaine, Zolar, Zoosh — and in this indicated early instance in a Quaker or Baptist context, "Divine Spirit." (You know the old one about how many legs a dog has, if you call its tail a leg, the answer being four and the reason being that calling a tale a leg doesn't make it a leg? Well, in this context, calling self-privileging by the name "Divine Spirit," in very much the same manner, doesn't evade the sin of self-privileging.)

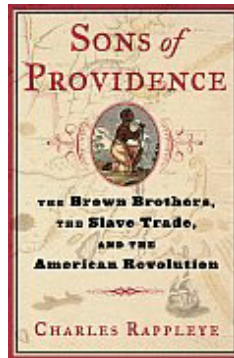


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Late in her life, Anna had begun to attend Quaker services, along with her sister Mary and John Brown's wife, Sarah. The meetinghouse was in Providence, though the services were conducted under the auspices of [Smithfield](#), a small town to the east<sup>10</sup> that was home to the Monthly Meeting. With Anna bedridden and declining, Moses began attending there as well.



Adequate sources are not cited, and the only source I have been able to imagine for the above conceptualization of the situation by Rappleye, is that he has perhaps incautiously extrapolated from Mack Thompson's *MOSES BROWN: RELUCTANT REFORMER* (Chapel Hill NC: U of North Carolina P, 1962), adding to Thompson's description his own entirely unfounded presumption that Mrs. John Brown had before her wedding been a Quaker girl — for on page 74 of Thompson we find the following:

After Moses moved her from Boston to Providence, he sat throughout the fall and winter by his wife's bedside and watched her die. Anna knew that she was dying and as her time approached she turned more and more to God for comfort; Moses turned with her. In search for some explanation for his wife's affliction, and no doubt in an attempt to find some comfort for his grief, he began to attend religious services at the Quaker meetinghouse in Providence. Anna could not, of course, accompany him, but he brought Friends to visit her and silent meetings were held by her bedside; together they moved away from the Baptist Church and toward acceptance of Friends' doctrines.

Thompson added on page 77 that:

Why Moses turned to Quakerism for spiritual comfort rather than to the family church is difficult to determine. Undoubtedly he was influenced by his wife who became a spiritual Quaker before she died, and by her sisters, Mary and Phebe, and John's wife, Sarah, who were attending Friends' meetings as early as the winter of 1773, and perhaps earlier. Even that old rascal Uncle Elisha had "got religion," and was attending Friends' meetings. Perhaps Moses followed their lead.

10. Yet another incautious error: the two [Smithfield](#) meetinghouses are to the north and northwest of Providence, definitely not to the east of Providence.



WOONSOCKET RI

SAYLESVILLE RI

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1773

January 28, Thursday: A couple of Quaker men who had been delegated to visit Governor [Stephen Hopkins](#), and elder him about his not as yet having [manumitted](#) his black servant in accordance with the Quaker Query as to Noninvolvement in Slavery, reported back to the [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) that the governor “desires Friends not to act hastily.” (Does that mean “Can’t you wait until the polls close”?)

SLAVERY

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

*The matter concerning Stephen Hopkins' holding a Negro as slave, was considered. And as he still refuses to set her at liberty requested. This meeting puts him from under their care. & hopes Tammam & George Barnet to draw down up a paper of his Denial & bring to next m. by meeting. And Benjamin & Thomas Lapham pointed to Inform said Hopkins of the above conclusions. And so next m. by meeting.*

March: [Friend Stephen Hopkins](#), a former governor of [Rhode Island](#), instead of [manumitting](#) his [slave](#) Toney, was still pleading special circumstances after six months of being dealt with. On account of this impasse, in this month the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) decided that they needed at this point to take action. If he continued to resist, then the clerk, Friend Moses Farnum, and an associate, were to draw up a “Paper of Denial” that would notify Rhode Islanders that the governor was no longer in unity with his Quaker associates.



QUAKER DISOWNMENT

This all seems strange to us now. What was going on back then? The Smithfield, Rhode Island Quakers had not disowned Hopkins when time after time he had compromised their testimony against swearing by taking an oath of office as Governor. The Smithfield Friends had not disowned Hopkins when he had compromised the Quaker Peace Testimony by directing the Rhode Island war effort in the Great War for the Empire, nor for seeking a defensive union of the English North American colonies. At this late date all of a sudden they are acting against him but they are taking their own sweet time about it, taking him under dealing in September





SAYLESVILLE RI

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## GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

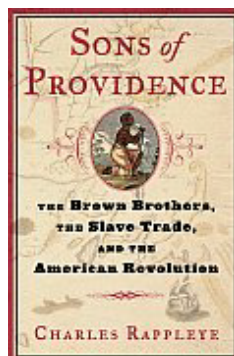
1772 and taking half a year to reach a decision to disown him — and they wouldn't get around to making it public knowledge that he was being disowned for another five months, in October 1773! Now, Quakers are notoriously slow to be sure, but this is ridiculous — what was going on? Perhaps we may take some sort of clue from the fact that a published work of Quaker history (real trees killed to make real paper) has alleged that he was being disciplined “for refusing to free a slave woman who had small children. Hopkins insisted on retaining ownership until her children no longer needed her care.”<sup>11</sup> **Can you smell whitewash? Who was this slave woman and who were her small children? —They appear exactly nowhere in our historical record. Hopkins's black manservant, whom he would not free, was named Toney Hopkins. When Stephen Hopkins died more than a decade later on July 13, 1785, this Toney was not yet in possession of his manumission document!**

April 29, Thursday: The “Paper of Denial” constructed by clerk Moses Farnum and an associate (Friend George Comstock) was presented to the business meeting of the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), and the group put off for a month its decision on the matter of the disownment of the governor of the colony of [Rhode Island](#), [Friend Stephen Hopkins](#), until its meeting in June.

### QUAKER DISOWNMENT

The matter concerning Stephen Hopkins's holding a Negro slave, was considered. And as he still refuses to set her at liberty often requested. This meeting puts him from under their care. & Moses Farnum & George Comstock to draw up a paper of this D. & bring to next m. ly meetg. And Benjamin & Thomas Lapham pointed to inform said Hopkins of the above conclusions. And to next m. ly meetg.

11. Charles Rappleye, in his recent *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006, page 142), quotes the phrase “still refuses to set her at liberty tho often requested.” I wonder if he has actually looked at these holographic minutes at the Rhode Island Historical Society on Hope Street in Providence, Rhode Island, for I am unable myself in them to make out this word he has alleged, “her.” I find there to be nothing whatever in the record to suggest that the slave in question was female.







WOONSOCKET RI

SAYLESVILLE RI

## GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

June 24, Thursday: At the previous business meeting of the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), approval of the “Paper of Denial” disowning Governor [Stephen Hopkins](#) for his failure to manumit his black slave<sup>12</sup> had been deferred. At this meeting “the matter concerning the Testimony of Stephen Hopkins’ Denial was considered, and said Testimony was approved of.” Hopkins finally had been disowned.

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

However, the sole purpose of such a disownment is as a notification to the general surrounding [Rhode Island](#) community that such and such a person was no longer a [Friend](#) — and in this sensitive case the community was not notified. The community would not be informed of this action until October.

October: The [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), that had in March decided to disown a famous former governor of [Rhode Island](#), [Friend Stephen Hopkins](#), at this point revealed that he had been disowned.<sup>13</sup>

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

1774

Friends were beginning to encourage one another to bring their African-American servants to meeting for worship, to see to their education, and to arrange special meetings for them.

The New York [Yearly Meeting](#) of the Religious Society of Friends was beginning to ban its members from owning [slaves](#) but Friend [Elias Hicks](#) was noting “a great unwillingness in most of them to set their slaves free.” In his Jericho meeting for worship on Paumanok Long Island in this year, he spoke for the first time.

The New England [Yearly Meeting](#) appointed a committee to recommend new laws that would “tend to the abolition of [slavery](#).” Friend Thomas Hazard III of the [South Kingstown](#) monthly meeting, and Friends Moses Farnum and Thomas Lapham of the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting, were on this committee.

12. We note that this Quaker document falsely uses the singular feminine, “her,” when in fact according to the census of 1774 Hopkins owned not one but six slaves, and when in fact according to the manumission document created at the Town Hall by his step-daughter after Hopkins’s death, one of those six had been “Toney,” a male. Clearly the Quakers had not only been improperly delaying their announcement of the disownment of this public figure, but also had been putting the best possible face on this by a not overcareful attention to the truth. (Subsequent Quaker literature has made much of the “historical facts” that since Hopkins was refusing to manumit only one person, and since that one person was female, then obviously there were special considerations to which we are no longer privy — he must have been attempting, by not freeing “her,” to tenderly protect “her” from the cold cruel world!)

13. Between 1775 and 1784 we would disown 147 Quakers who would become in one way or another involved with this civil disruption — in fact we would be less tolerant of this error of patriotic violence than we had been of Quaker slaveholding.



SAYLESVILLE RI

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

March: [Moses Brown](#) had married with his first cousin Anna Brown, daughter of Obadiah Brown, and had assisted in the creation of the [College of Rhode Island](#) in [Rhode Island](#).

BROWN UNIVERSITY

The death of this first wife in the previous year had caused him to reconsider his priorities, and at this point he requested membership in the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

There is preserved an interesting receipt from a former slave, Bonno, dating to this month. On one side it bears the inscription:

*Rec<sup>d</sup> of  
Bonno  
1774*

On the other side it bears the inscription:

*Providence 21st of 3 Mo 1774  
Received of Bonno Forty Dollars Cash, which  
I am to put to Interest and Account therefor with  
the Principal, Agreeable to My proposal and  
Advice at his Freedom. as Witnefs My hand  
40 dollars Mofes Brown  
gave ?act urth?*

(The reading of this last line is uncertain.)

April 24, Sunday: The [Smithfield](#), [Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) formally accepted [Moses Brown](#) as a convinced [Friend](#).<sup>14</sup>

1775

In [Rhode Island](#), the 1755 “ell” that had been added to the 1719 [Smithfield](#) meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was removed in the process of adding an additional 32 square feet.

14. Imagine how good they must have felt about acquiring a new celebrity Friend, a richy-rich one — after having been driven so recently to shun their previous celebrity Friend, the most politically powerful person of the colony!



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SAYLESVILLE RI

## GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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](#).
- 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](#).
- 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.

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](#). 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 QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

**SAYLESVILLE RI**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**





## WOONSOCKET RI

## SAYLESVILLE RI

## GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

December 13, Wednesday: Nathaniel Baker and Elizabeth Taylor of [Concord](#) filed their intention to marry (the ceremony would take place during February 1776).

The portrait painter Ralph Earl and the silversmith Amos Doolittle advertised for sale copies of a series of four engraved prints, in the New Haven newspaper at a price of six shillings the set, uncolored, “or eight shillings colored.” The engravings were of successive stages of the fighting in Lexington and [Concord](#) on April 19th, and were offered as “from original paintings taken on the spot.”



Note that these works of art bore no resemblance to what Brumidi would place on a wall of our nation's capitol,



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Washington DC:



[Friends Moses Brown](#) and David Buffum rode from [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) to Roxbury, where they met three other Quakers of their Smithfield monthly meeting and spent the night. Among them they were carrying gold coins and other currencies amounting to what today would be more than \$4,000, money intended for poor relief. The next morning they would ride on into Cambridge to seek the permission of the siege commander, General George Washington, to cross military lines and enter the besieged city of [Boston](#).





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### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

December 14, Thursday: [Friends Moses Brown](#), David Buffum, and others of the [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends rode from Roxbury to Cambridge, carrying with them poor relief for Quakers inside the besieged city of [Boston](#) in the form of gold coins and other currencies amounting to what today would be more than \$4,000. In Cambridge they sought out the headquarters of the American siege commander, General George Washington, for a pass to cross the military lines and visit British General William Howe. The American commander indicated that first they would need to pitch their scheme to his logistics aide, Brigadier General [Nathanael Greene](#) (a birthright Quaker with a club foot who had renounced the faith and asked to be [disowned](#), having become fascinated by the efficacy and necessity of warfare, who had been directly promoted from private to brigadier general by Washington during the previous June).



Brigadier General Greene invited the Quakers to have supper with him, and listened to their plan. He wound up giving their plan the green light, telling them that so long as they “meddled not in the dispute,” they would be able to expect “protection from both sides.”

December 15, Friday: [Friends Moses Brown](#), David Buffum, and others of the [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends were escorted by the besieging Americans up to the British lines of defense around the city. There, British General William Howe refused to allow them permission to enter. The sheriff of [Boston](#) came to the fortifications to meet with them, and accepted a promissory note in the amount of £100, agreeing to deliver the relief funds to various needy Quakers inside the city.



SAYLESVILLE RI

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1776

February: At the women's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "Lower house Preparative Meeting [[Saylesville](#)] informing that Patience Wilkinson hath had an illegitimate child<sup>15</sup> and also that [Jemimah Wilkinson](#) but seldom attends Friends Meetings nor makes use of the plain Scripture Language, This Meeting appoints Lydia Wilkinson and Mary Olney to Labor with them for said offenses and Report to this meeting in the 4th month next."<sup>16</sup>

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

15. Eventually Patience Wilkinson would marry, in upstate New York, with a son of Judge William Potter of [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#).

16. We may presume that this Friend Lydia Wilkinson would have been a close older relative who might succeed in placing herself *in loco parentis* for these motherless teenage girls.

## WOONSOCKET RI

## SAYLESVILLE RI

### GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

March: At the men's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "Smithfield Lower House Preparative Mtg. [[Saylesville](#)] informing that Stephen and Jephtha Wilkinson, sons of Jeremiah, have attended Training for Military Exercise — and but seldom attended friends meetings — Wherefore this meeting appoints Benja. Arnold, Wm. Buffum & Thomas Lapham Jr. to labor with them for said Transgressions — and report to next Assembly."

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

This is the cast-iron stove that we had installed in the Saylesville meetinghouse for use during the winters, at about this point in time or perhaps a few years earlier:



April: At the women's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "Lydia Wilkinson & Mary Olney are to visit Patience & [Jemimah Wilkinson](#) (Daughters of Jeremiah) make report they have performed their visit which was not to satisfaction. The same committee continued to further Labour with them for said offenses and Report to this meeting in the Eighth month next."

QUAKER DISOWNMENT



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



May: A call for American independence from Britain, the Virginia Declaration of Rights was drafted by George Mason (1725-1792) and amended by Thomas Ludwell Lee (*circa* 1730-1778) and by the Virginia Convention. Mason wrote “*That all men are born equally free and independant [sic], and have certain inherent natural right, of which they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; among which are the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the Means of acquiring and possessing Property, and pursuing [sic] and obtaining Happiness and Safety.*” [Thomas Jefferson](#) would draw from this document when a month later he worked over an early draft of the [Declaration of Independence](#). In 1789 it would be accessed not only by [James Madison](#) in drawing up the Bill of Rights to the US Constitution but also by the *Marquis de Lafayette* in drafting the French Declaration of the Rights of Man.



But that was in Virginia and applied to people who were safely pro-war. For people who were anti-war there weren't all that many rights available in America:



Pennsylvania Quakers ... experienced significant harassment for their pacifism and neutrality. Their numbers were already greatly reduced by the disciplinary renaissance of the 1750s, and they faced a real schism from “Free Quakers,” who both supported the Revolution and rejected pacifism. As a result “orthodox” Friends found themselves hunted down in a colony they had founded and long governed. In May 1776 a stone-throwing mob forced Philadelphia Friends to observe a fast day that the Continental Congress had proclaimed. A Berks County mob shackled and jailed Moses Roberts, a Quaker minister, until he posted a \$10,000 bond guaranteeing his “good” behavior. Philadelphia patriots also exiled seventeen Friends to Virginia in 1776 for nearly two years so they would not interfere with revolutionary activities. Patriots celebrating the surrender of Cornwallis in October 1782 ransacked Quaker homes that had not displayed victory candles.



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Clearly, there were in [Rhode Island](#) a few Quaker men who were attempting to avoid persecution by the usual coterie of Those-Who-Aren't-With-Us-Are-Against-Us "patriots." For, at the men's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield](#), "*Two of the Committee to labour with Stephen & Jephtha Wilkinson for attending Training etc. report that they have labored with them and they appear to have frequented Trainings for Military service and endeavour to justify the same, and seldom attended friends meetings, and gave but very little satisfaction for their said conduct. Therefore this Meeting puts them from under their care, until they shall condemn said conduct to the Satisfaction of friends, which we desire they may be enabled to do — Jona Arnold is desired to inform them of their denial, Right of appeal and report to next monthly Mtg. to which time the drawing of a Testimony of their deniels [sic], in order to be published, is referred. — L. Lapham, Clerk.*"

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

June: At the men's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "Jona. Arnold reports that he informed Stephen & Jephtha Wilkinson according to appointment — and the matter of publishing their deniels [sic] was considered in this meeting, and Jona. Arnold & Job Scott are appointed to draw Testimonies of their Denials and bring to next monthly meeting."

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

July: At the men's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "Jona. Arnold & Jephtha Wilkinson's Deniels [sic] which was read and referred to next monthly meeting for Consideration."

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

August: At the women's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the upper meetinghouse in [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "*Patience Wilkinson hath been laboured with on account of her having an Illegitimate Child and not appearing in a State of Mind Suitable to Make Satisfaction therefore this meeting Disowns her from membership. Jemimah Wilkinson hath been laboured with for not attending Meeting and not using the plain language, finding no amendment this meeting puts her from under there [sic] care. (Both daughters of Jeremiah Wilkinson). Mary Brown and Mary Olney are to draw a Denial against Patience and Jemimah Wilkinson and bring to Next Monthly Meeting.*"

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

Meanwhile, at the corresponding men's meeting, "*The testimonies of Stephen & Jephtha Wilkinson's Deniels Referd [sic] to this meeting was Considered; and Being Drawn Seperate [sic], and Dated from this meeting, were approved of & signed by the clerk. The women's meeting Informs that they have rec'd Sarah Buffum (wife of Jedediah) a member of our Society and Disowned Patience and Jemima [sic] Wilkinson (Daughters of Jeremiah).*"

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



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September: At the women's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the upper meetinghouse in [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "*The Committee presented the Denials of [Jemimah Wilkinson](#) approved & Signed by the Clerk. Also one for Patience Wilkinson Signed by the Clerk, both Daughters of Jeremiah Wilkinson. Benjamin Arnold appointed to read the Denials of Jemimah Wilkinson & Patience Wilkinson at a Publick Meeting at the Lower House. Lydia Wilkinson is appointed to enform [sic] Jemimah & Patience of their being Disowned.*"

**QUAKER DISOWNMENT**

October: At the women's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the upper meetinghouse in [Smithfield](#), "*Lydia Wilkinson continued to enform [sic] Patience and [Jemimah Wilkinson](#) of their being disowned from Friends and report to this Meeting.*"

There was, meanwhile, an outbreak of typhus in [Rhode Island](#), that evidently came with the *Columbus*, a ship of war carrying prisoners. As a girl, Friend Jemimah Wilkinson had experienced evangelical sermons by the Reverend George Whitefield and had been inspired by the female leader Ann Lee ("Mother Ann") of the Shakers. At about the age of 18, she had become involved with the New Light [Baptists](#) or "Rogerenes" of Ledyard, Connecticut. At this point, while suffering under the spiritual distress of being [disowned](#) by here monthly meeting of the Society and contemplating the long road of atonement and spiritual rectification that would be necessary before such a disownment could be erased, probably while in Ledyard, as a victim of the typhus epidemic she fell into a prolonged coma — and upon reviving, she would proclaim that her soul had gone to Heaven and had been replaced in her body by "Spirit of Life." God had sent this apparition to inhabit her body in order to warn earthly creatures of His impending wrath. Discontinuing the use of the name "Jemimah Wilkinson" and denominating herself instead "Publik Universal Friend," she would preach, attired in something suggestive of men's rather than of women's clothing, through Connecticut and Rhode Island. The





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preserved image we have of her portrays her while attired in a rather standard clerical gown and collar over her men's clothing:



For a time her friend [Moses Brown](#) had been taken by her pretensions, but at the point of her disownment, he was able to stand aside. Here is the account of this by the Los Angeles newsman and storyteller Charles Rappleye on page 187 of his recent *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006) — an account in which he has exaggerated some of the details (such as the precise number of hours that she was uncommunicative, and the conceit that she had been “pronounced dead”) and gotten other details bass-ackward (for instance suggesting that she had been opposed to war when in fact she and her family were at odds with the Quaker Peace Testimony, sending a number of the Wilkinson sons to Washington’s army):

Moses’ quest for meaning drew him to another homegrown mystic during the early days of the war, a tall, striking woman named Jemima Wilkinson. As deep and stoic as was Job Scott, Wilkinson was extravagant. She called herself “the Public Universal Friend,” and mesmerized audiences for hours by proclaiming moral convictions she said were acquired by revelation, or simply by delivering from memory lengthy quotations from the Bible. Some of her contemporaries considered her a charlatan, but she had genuine charisma, and won a following among powerful people in Rhode Island, including several prominent judges.

Moses knew Wilkinson from her youth. Her father, a Quaker farmer, was a cousin to Israel Wilkinson, the ironworker long associated with the Browns, and also to Stephen and Esek Hopkins, connections that ensured her entrée to the elite families of Rhode Island. Jemima was intrigued early on by a variety of religious doctrines, including those of the New Light Baptists and the Quakers, but her transformation took place in 1776, when she contracted a case of typhus. Beset with fever and delirium, she was pronounced dead, but she arose after thirty-six hours, and proclaimed her own resurrection.

In the following months, Jemima Wilkinson renounced her former worldly identity and began holding ad hoc prayer meetings in country glades or borrowed meetinghouses. She preached a sort of radical strain of Quakerism, damning war, slavery, and matrimony in sermons that often ran over two hours. Her traveling services evolved into a sort of religious circus,

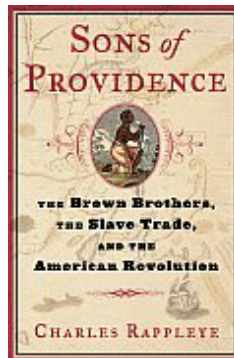


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featuring appearances by devotees who dubbed themselves Prophet Daniel and Prophet Elijah and who mimicked Wilkinson by professing visions and delivering messages from on high. Moses was intrigued by Wilkinson and attended several of her meetings. He was impressed with her knowledge of the Bible, but more than that, Moses was drawn to her story of divine inspiration. From the time of his own revelation, while walking home from Anna's grave, Moses looked for similar signs of God's active hand. Another adherent was Moses' uncle Elisha Brown, who attended several of her meetings and, convinced "that she was a messenger from God," invited her to his home, where they spent several evenings discussing her message and the controversy she caused among Rhode Island Quakers. Fortunately for Moses, however, he could not accept her as a prophet, and when the New England Meeting formally ostracized Wilkinson and barred attendance at her meetings, Moses was able to watch the proceedings with a sense of bemused detachment.



Jemimah would establish congregations at New Milford, Connecticut, and at Greenwich, Rhode Island. She did nothing to restrain enthusiastic followers who acclaimed her as the Messiah, and occasionally a stone would be thrown at her.

A memorandum of the introduction of that fatal Fever, called in the year 1776 the Columbus fever, since called the Typhus.... The ship called *Columbus* which sailed out of **Providence** in the state of Rhode Island, being a ship of war, on her return brought with her prisoners this awful and alarming disease of which many of the inhabitants in Providence died. On the fourth of the tenth month it reached the house of Jemima Wilkinson, ten miles from Providence.... A certain young woman, known by the name of Jemima Wilkinson, was seized with this mortal disease. And on the 2nd day of her illness was rendered almost incapable of helping herself. And the fever continued to increase until fifth day of the week, about midnight she appeared to meet the shock of Death; which (released) the Soul.



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## GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

What was it she preached? –Generally, she favored celibacy and plainness of dress, and opposed slavery. As an intellectual record it's not all that impressive. She totally bought into the Puritan vision of the inherent depravity of humankind. Various [Quakers](#), especially those favorable to the American cause in the Revolution, would follow her in approximately a similar manner to the manner in which the Shakers followed Mother Ann Lee. The [Religious Society of Friends](#) would be disowning a number of these Friends as they made themselves guilty by association. Although her brother Stephen Wilkinson and sisters Mercy Wilkinson, Betsey (?) Wilkinson, and Deborah Wilkinson followed Universal Friend in her relocation to upstate New York, her father Jeremiah Wilkinson, who had admittedly at times served as her escort but had never been a convert, and her brother Jeremiah Wilkinson, eventually would resume association with the [Smithfield](#) Friends.



Jemima Wilkinson was born in Cumberland, Nov. 19, 1752, and is, without doubt, the most singular as well as celebrated female character Rhode Island has ever produced. When she was about eighteen years of age, she became very much impressed with matters of a religious nature. A great religious excitement prevailed about this time in the county of Providence, and soon spread itself all over the State, through the efforts and preaching of George Whitefield. Jemima became very much interested and a great change came over her life. From a gay, spirited girl she became a sort of recluse, and spent her time in the study of the scriptures and deep meditation.

In 1775 she was stricken with a severe fever, and during her illness she pretended to have a vision from on high, and received a call, as she was pleased to term it, to go out and preach to the sin-burdened world. She arose suddenly one night, demanded her clothes, and appeared to be in a trance. The next Sabbath she preached her first sermon under the old oak tree we have mentioned in another part of this work. Her words made a decided sensation upon her hearers. She styled herself the "People's Universal Friend," and ever afterward was known by that appellation. She travelled through the country preaching her peculiar doctrine and soon surrounded herself with many devoted followers. For some six years she made her home at Judge Potter's, in [Kingstown](#). The Judge was a wealthy land-holder and became one of her most devoted admirers. When others began to desert her and cry her down as an imposter and a selfish, scheming woman, the Judge became all the more infatuated, and no means were spared to sustain her cause and protect her from the calumnies of her enemies. Wherever she went, the Judge was her companion, and when she finally resolved to leave her native State and settle in the wilds of western New York, Mr. Potter was among the most prominent advocates of this movement.

He at last became embarrassed financially, and his fine estate was sold, and in his old age he was compelled to live in straitened circumstances, a victim of infatuated devotion to this artful adventuress. She claimed for herself supernatural powers, and great crowds often congregated to witness some of her wonderful performances. She several times attempted to raise the dead, and her failures were attributed to want of faith in those who had assembled to witness the verification of her pretended supernatural powers. She removed with a few followers to Yales County, N. Y., and settled at a place which they called



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New Jerusalem. Here she spent the remainder of her eventful life, and died July 1, 1819. After her death her followers remained for several years and kept up their peculiar organization.

The history of this woman has been written by several different parties, and the fallacy of her pretended inspiration received the verdict it so justly merited. And yet, that she was a woman possessed of more than ordinary abilities and some admirable traits of character it would be more than folly to deny. She lived in an age when ignorance and superstition in matters of religion were more prevalent than now, and it is not strange that she drew to her faith many good and honest people. Experience teaches that there is no creed without its believers and no delusion without its dupes. The saying that "murder will out" is accepted as truth, and the excitement attending the supposed celestial powers of this artful woman was shrewdly turned to account, and avarice preyed upon credulity. A great revolution is silently making its way through the world by the developing influences of education, the freedom of thought and the press, and will end in promoting the highest interests of the race, and remove forever the last vestige of religious superstition and fanaticism.

The Old Baptist Church at Abbott's was situated on the east side of the Lanesville road, upon the site now [1878] occupied by D.A. Thompson's house. It was built about the year 1700. It was a wooden structure, two stories high, with a large gallery. Its size was 30 x 60 feet, and it was torn down in 1825. Under an oak-tree that stood in front of this church, the celebrated Jemima Wilkinson made her first speech, and was listened to with attention.

The Baptist Catholic Society was chartered January, 1797. It held its meetings during warm weather in the shade of the old oak-tree at Lonsdale. These meetings were discontinued about 1860.

The old oak-tree in Lonsdale is an historical relic of the past. It is held in great veneration by the citizens of the place, and an iron railing has been placed around it. The tree is supposed to be three hundred years old, but is now [1878] rapidly going to decay. It is said, by good authorities, that these trees are one hundred years maturing, they flourish another hundred, and decay in the third and last hundred years.





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([Friend Jemimah Wilkinson](#) was not the only American woman to begin cross-dressing in this year. In Middleborough, Massachusetts, the mind of a 16- year-old indentured servant, Deborah Sampson, was becoming “agitated with the enquiry — why a nation, separated from us by an ocean ... [should] enforce on us plans of subjugation.” Sampson would resolve to make herself into “one of the severest avengers of the wrong” and through flattening her breasts with a bandage would enlist in the Revolutionary army as a common soldier. She was at this point also involved with the New Light [Baptists](#), although she would get in trouble with them and be expelled, and although she would be detected in the army and discharged. She would then transform herself more completely and competently, into the Revolutionary soldier Robert Shurtleff, for 17 months an enlisted man in the 4th Massachusetts Regiment of the Continental Army. She would suffer war wounds in an encounter with a Tory militia while on a scouting expedition in the New York countryside but, at a later point, would fall ill with a fever and be discovered again to be of the female persuasion. With “chastity inviolate” — but of course they checked this out— she would receive a revolutionary veteran’s pension. Her grave in Rockridge Cemetery is marked as that of “a revolutionary soldier.” She married, so after her death her husband received the monetary equivalent of a revolutionary veteran’s widow’s pension.)

1777

Friend [Moses Brown](#) went into his harvest field and called his laborers together, and offered to pay them extra wages if they would be willing to dispense with the usual allowance of distilled spirits that employers of that period provided to their laborers. At a much later point he would confide to his journal that “I have never Since being now 57 years furnished Any Spirits in Harvest or Hay Time, & I have My business done better and the Laborers come in and go out More Quiet and Satisfactory to them & their Family than they used to do when Spirits were freely Given and Used by them.”

Friend [Moses Brown](#) served on a committee to plan the education of children of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of Friends. It was decided that students who were from outside the Friends community would also be allowed to participate. The [Smithfield](#) Monthly Meeting hired Friend Job Scott to “teach a School at the Lower Meeting House in Smithfield [that would refer to what is now the Saylesville meetinghouse in Lincoln], to be paid 80 hard dollars, or an equivalent in clothing, or Other things, for One Year, to be paid Quarterly, and his board to be found.” This would eventually result in the founding of the school of the New England Yearly Meeting, what is now referred to as Moses Brown School, on land next to what is now referred to as Brown University. (At the moment of this writing, there is no connection whatever between the school and the nearby Providence and [Smithfield](#) Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, any connection between the school and the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends is at the most perfunctory and financial, and the educational curriculum of the school contains no testable Quaker component — while consideration is being given to dissolving even this perfunctory residual linkage with the [Quakers](#), “except in spirit.”) According to Mack Thompson’s *MOSES BROWN, RELUCTANT REFORMER* (Chapel Hill NC: U of North Carolina P, 1962, pages 135-6):

IN THE COURSE of the long years of the Revolution, [Moses Brown](#) emerged as the leading Quaker in New England. The basis of his leadership was an ability to hold the diverse groups within the various meetings together in the face of economic disaster, public ridicule, and divided loyalties. The solidarity of the Society of Friends was



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threatened not only by external enemies but by internal disputes. The war raised many problems that Friends had never had to deal with before, and the individualistic tendencies of their beliefs encouraged many to challenge the authority of tradition and the collective will of the meetings. To Moses the internal conflicts brought on by the war were as serious as dangers from battle or from governmental authorities, and he made strenuous efforts to minimize their effects.

The most divisive threats to the Society were posed by paper money and taxes. These two issues were intimately connected with the much broader question of acceptance or rejection of the new governments which used the taxes and money to support their civil and military establishments. In the early years of the Revolution, some Friends felt that currency issued by the rebellious governments should not be accepted, and this attitude became the official position of the Society, although it was more strictly adhered to in the middle states than in New England.<sup>17</sup> Moses thought that the distinction made by Quakers between specie and paper money was ridiculous; one promoted the war as much as the other. His position was determined by sympathy for the American cause and by common sense: it was fortified by his experience when distributing the donations to the poor sufferers around Boston from 1775 to 1777. There he found that while some Friends accepted specie, others refused to take the new paper currency "from a principle of its promoting the war as well as on account of the authority making it."<sup>18</sup>

17. Pemberton to [Moses Brown](#), August 28, November 9, 1775, MOSES BROWN PAPERS, MISC. MSS (John Carter Brown Library, Providence, B-814, Box 6). The Pembertons' refusal to accept paper money issued by the revolutionary governments may well have been an expression of their pro-British feeling rather than an effort to maintain the Quaker discipline, although admittedly the two motives are hard to differentiate. For an argument that Israel Pemberton "did not defend the acts of the British government," see Thayer, Theodore. ISRAEL PEMBERTON: KING OF THE QUAKERS (Philadelphia PA, 1943, page 207).

18. April 30, 1776, MOSES BROWN PAPERS, MISC. MSS (John Carter Brown Library, Providence, K-AB)

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January: A resident of the New York colony, John Cumming (this is **not** the Dr. John Cuming of Concord, Massachusetts), went to the city of New-York to determine how best he might handle his delicate political situation, his delicate political situation being that he was a Loyalist rather than a revolutionary. While in the city he refused a commission in the British army.

People were trying to kill each other at the Assumpsick Bridge in Trenton, New Jersey.

At the women's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the upper meetinghouse in [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), "*Benjamin Arnold informs this meeting that he hath read the denials of Jemimah and Patience Wilkinson agreeable to appointment.*"



JEMIMAH WILKINSON

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

Three more [Quaker](#) men of Worcester County, Massachusetts were imprisoned for adhering to the Peace Testimony.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

1779

March 4, Thursday: Giacomo Maria Brignole replaced Giuseppe Lomellini as Doge of Genoa.

[Moses Brown](#) wed a 2nd time, at the [Lincoln](#) meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Rhode Island](#), with Friend Mary Olney.







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March 25, Thursday: The [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) minuted its concern over the proper education of its young people:

It having been the concern of this Meeting to Promote the Education of our youth in Schools under the Government of Solid friends and as this necessary care is much relaxed within our Yearly Meeting, from what our Discipline requires, and finding Incouragement, by our own short experience, as well as by the doings of the last yearly meeting held at Philadelphia on this Subject, which have been laid before this meeting we are Induced to recommend to the Solid attention of the Quarterly meeting this important Subject and if it appears to you as it does to us of weight enough to carry forward to the Yearly meeting and the minds of Friends are United in a living concern therein, We think it will be an acceptable step in the Reformation.

MOSES BROWN SCHOOL

In result, the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) would charge a committee to prepare a report on educational needs for presentation during the following yearly meeting.

1780

June: The Quaker monthly meeting of [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) received a petition from an enslaved person, that she be allowed to “come under friends care.” Her name was Pink Harris and she was the slave of Friend David Harris. (Note that the given name “Pink” might very well indicate here what it has definitely indicated elsewhere in American culture — as witness the 1949 movie “Pinky.” The fact that this woman was enslaved should not be accepted as sufficient evidence that her complexion was in any way distinguishable from the fair complexion of the general membership of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). Quite to the contrary, the fact that she would be accepted into membership should be accepted as sufficient evidence that this person was a mulatto light enough of complexion to be able to pass as all white at least among those unfamiliar with her family background and social situation.)

September: The [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) received Pink Harris, the [slave](#) of Friend David Harris, into membership. She eventually would be granted a [manumission](#) document.



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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....”

QUAKER DISOWNMENT

1781

In [Rhode Island](#), the town of [Smithfield](#) was divided into [Smithfield](#), North [Smithfield](#), Lincoln, and [Woonsocket](#).

1782

[Arnold Buffum](#) was born in [Smithfield](#), [Rhode Island](#), a birthright Friend. According to the genealogy records of the Buffum family he was born on December 13th of this year — but in the Quaker records he is recorded as having been born as of January 13th of this year, which would be either eleven months earlier (if they were using a year that begins on January 1st) or one month later (if they were using the old-style year that begins in March).

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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During the 1760s, some [Quakers](#) from [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) had relocated to a new community in the Hoosac Valley in the Berkshires, called at the time East Hoosuck Plantation — that had long since been renamed in honor of founding father Samuel Adams of Boston, as Adams MA. At this point these Friends began to erect an Adams meetinghouse, that would require four years to complete. This is the meetinghouse as it would appear as of 1904, with more than a century of weather and silence on its boards:





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May 27 (Trinity Monday): [Henry Headley](#) was elected scholar at Trinity College, Oxford. Other students there, the critic William Lisle Bowles and the classicist William Benwell, would become his friends. Headley would fall under the influence of Poet Laureate [Thomas Warton](#), then a fellow of this college.



[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.<sup>19</sup>

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!

**BAPTISTS**

**BROWN UNIVERSITY**

19. 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.





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1783

With the departure of the British army, the Quaker meetinghouse in [Flushing](#) on *Paumanok* Long Island was returned to the control of the Friends, and meetings for worship were resumed there.



At this point 4 [Rhode Island](#) meetinghouses were available for Quaker worship: Mendon, what would become the upper and lower [Smithfield](#) meetinghouses, and Providence. Whereas previously the Quakers who met in the new meetinghouse on Main Street in [Providence](#) had been considered to be merely a “worship group” affiliated with the Providence Monthly Meeting, a worship group that happened to be meeting to worship locally for convenience rather than going on the carriage ride all the way north to the Smithfield meetinghouse on the one side of the river or the [Saylesville](#) meetinghouse on the other side of the river, at this point the affiliations and the names were rearranged. Henceforth the group that was attending the Smithfield meetinghouse and the “Lower Smithfield” meetinghouse near Saylesville would be considered to constitute a separate Smithfield Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). (That is, there would be two monthly meetings rather than one, and the name “Providence” would adhere to the group that actually was inside the town of Providence.)<sup>20</sup>

20. I have not been able to establish whether or not this split had anything to do with the current state of affairs in Smithfield and Saylesville, having to do with the disownment of the charismatic “Universal Friend” [Jemimah Wilkinson](#), who at this point was still active in the area.



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1784

Beginning of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) boarding school at [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#). The committee that ran this school was made up of two members from each monthly meeting. Classes were held in a small upper room at the Portsmouth Meetinghouse and the students boarded among the families of local [Friends](#).<sup>21</sup> The master of the school was Isaac Lawton, who had been Clerk of the New England Yearly Meeting. Among the initial crop of 30 students were:

- Obadiah Brown, a son of [Moses Brown](#)
- Jonathan Lapham of [Smithfield](#) Monthly Meeting
- Abraham Borden of [South Kingstown](#) Monthly Meeting<sup>22</sup>



21. The [Quaker](#) school accepted non-Quaker children, so long as they would continue to abide by the Quaker rules.

22. This effort would endure for four years, until 1788. After a hiatus of two decades, in 1808, Friend [Moses Brown](#) 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](#).)



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This school would be discontinued due to cash flow problems after but four years of operation, in 1788, and would for decades exist only as a concept in a storage box. However, this original attempt in 1784 in Portsmouth would enable the present school to utilize the numerals “1784” on its logo, as a sort of slogan (you see, they’re not really saying that their school began in the Year of Our Lord 1784 — they are merely reciting these four digits, in the same way that their present sports audiences recite their sports slogan “Go Quakes!” without actually making any reference to the Religious Society of Friends). You will notice that they are also superimposing these four anonymous digits on a sketch of a building that would be constructed not in 1784 but some 35 years later, in 1819, and not in Portsmouth but in Providence after they had been out of existence for several decades except as a nice concept:



(Of course, it would be arguably more honest for them to be using the numerals “1819” on their logo — but as we all are aware, an excess of honesty is not always a winning policy. Go Quakes!)







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1786

March 13, Monday: Per Volume 22, page 109 of the records of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), on this day Jonathan Arnold of [Smithfield manumitted](#) a Servant in his Family, a Negro girl Named Lilly, who had arrived to the age of Twenty Five years or thereabouts:

*To all People to whom these Presents shall Come  
Know YE that I Jonathan Arnold of Smithfield in the County  
of Providence and State of Rhode Island Yeoman Do hereby  
Manumit set Free and Discharge a Negro girl Named Lilly  
heretofore a Servant in my Family she being by this time arrived to  
the age of Twenty Five years or thereabouts - Hereby Relinquishing  
for myself my Heirs Executors and Administrators all Claims  
on Demand upon her or her Services in future.  
In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set  
my Name and affixed my Seal this 13th Day of March in  
the Year of our LORD 1786.*

*In Presence of  
Welcome Arnold } Jonathan Arnold ( ( L . S . ) )  
Rich Ward  
Recorded this 18th Day of November AD. 1786- }*

*Theodore Foster Town Clerk*

SLAVERY

May 11, Thursday: [Henry Marie Brackenridge](#) was born, a son of Judge Hugh Henry Brackenridge of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He would be educated by his father and by private tutors, and then attend a French academy at St. Genevieve, Louisiana.

In [Rhode Island](#), [Friend Ruth Smith Hopkins](#), alleging that as a [Friend](#) she had “sometime past” set free her Negro Man Servant, so that he would “be entitled to the Privileges of a Freeman which he is and has an undoubted Right to be,” at this point needed to visit the town clerk to register for this [Toney Hopkins](#) a written Infrument of manumission to replace said previous such document, unrecorded, that he said he had lost.

This obviously innocent document of record in obviously honest confirmation of the previous benevolent



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action would appear for all time on pages 35 and 36 of Volume 22 of such [Providence](#) records:

*To all People to whom These Presents shall come - Whereas I sometime past set free a Negro Man called Toney Hopkins heretofore a Sercant [Servant??] to Me the Subscriber and gave him*

—page break—

*him a written Instrument evidencing the Same which writing he the said Negro - Man says is lost and being diffcult that he should be entitled to the Privileges [Privileges??] of a Freeman which he is and has an undoubted Right to be I have given him the [the??] further written Evidence thereof hereby declaring him the said Toney Hopkins a Free-man agreeable to the date set for encouraging the Manumission of Slaves in this state hereby for myself my Heir's [sic??] & Rencouncing all claim to him the said Toney Hopkins his Labour or Service In Writing whereof I have hereto subscribed my Name and put my seal this Eleventh Dat [Day??] of the 5th Month 1786 In Providence in Prefence of*

*Ruth Hopkins (L.S.)*

*Recorded this 11th Day of May A.D. 1786*

(symbol)

*Theodore Foster Town Clerk*

MANUMISSION

That's at least what this appears to be, on its surface.

But, is this all as straightforward as it seems? This would presumably be the Ruth Smith Hopkins who was the daughter of the 2d wife of [Governor Stephen Hopkins](#) (March 7, 1707-July 13, 1785), Anne Arnold Smith Hopkins, by her previous husband, who had been adopted by Governor Hopkins, and who lived in the red house just down the street from the county house in which this record was being created:



This slave being freed would presumably be Toney, a [slave](#) in this household.<sup>23</sup> Toney had presumably been the property not of the unmarried adopted daughter but of the stepfather who was recently deceased, and whose estate was presumably at that point still in probate. But, by his will, he had freed all his slaves! Something does not compute. But here's the rub: Governor Hopkins had been disowned by the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of





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the [Religious Society of Friends](#) for having refused to manumit his personal servant, pleading special circumstances. There had apparently never been any such document, as the manumission document which here she said he said was lost. **Toney, however, clearly had not been freed by Governor Hopkins or by what he had written in his will, and this adopted daughter couldn't free him because she didn't own him. This was a little white scam.** This was the [Quaker](#) daughter's one chance to set right her stepfather's neglect and clear her family of the taint of enslavement and provide to Toney his chance at freedom. The Quaker lady fibbed. Bully for her!

1788

AN [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1788. By Elisha Thornton of [Smithfield](#) [[Rhode Island](#)].<sup>24</sup> [Newport](#): Peter Edes. October 11, 1787.

AN ASTRONOMICAL DIARY, OR [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1788. By Daniel Freebetter, Philomath. [Newport](#): Peter Edes.

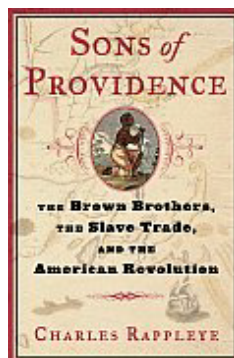
THE NEW-ENGLAND [ALMANACK](#), OR, LADY'S AND GENTLEMAN'S DIARY FOR 1788. By Isaac Bickerstaff, esq., Philom. [Providence](#): John Carter.

WHEELER'S NORTH-AMERICAN CALENDAR, AND RHODE-ISLAND [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1788. [Providence](#): Bennett Wheeler.

WHEELER'S SHEET [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1788. [Providence](#): Bennett Wheeler.

Broadside. Advertised in the [U.S. Chronicle](#). No copy located.

23. Charles Rappleye, in his recent *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006, page 142), instances that the 1774 census had recorded six slaves as living in the Hopkins household in Providence, Rhode Island. He also references "a Negroe woman," as recorded in the minutes of the Smithfield Monthly Meeting." I wonder if he has actually looked at these holographic minutes at the Rhode Island Historical Society on Hope Street in Providence, Rhode Island, for I am unable myself in them to make out this phrase he has alleged, "a Negroe woman."



24. Elisha Thornton had been born in Smithfield, Rhode Island in 1748, and was the first native Rhode Island almanac maker. He would discontinue publishing his own material with the issue of 1792 and thereafter would vend his calculations to other printers.



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[Benjamin West](#) began to lecture in mathematics and natural philosophy at the [College of Rhode Island](#). THE NORTH-AMERICAN CALENDAR: OR, THE RHODE-ISLAND [ALMANACK](#) FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD CHRIST 1788.... [[Benjamin West](#)] [Providence](#): Printed by Bennett Wheeler. One-page account of the College of Rhode-Island. A number of useful “receipts” such as how to make Japan ink, how to prevent the “smoaking” of lamps, and how to produce “the King of France’s Teeth Powder, famous for making the Teeth White and preserving them from the Scurvy.”

(Same, second impression) Advertised in the [U.S. Chronicle](#).

[Isaac Bailey](#), who would as a young adult be heavily engaged in the [Providence](#) printing business, was born in [Rhode Island](#).

1790

WHEELER’S NORTH-AMERICAN CALENDAR, OR AN [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1790. [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#): Bennett Wheeler.

Cut of eclipse on title page.



(Same, second edition.)

The second edition contains an apology for the non-appearance of the comet of 1661.

THE NEW-ENGLAND [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1790. By Isaac Bickerstaff. [Providence](#): John Carter.

Contains two eclipse cuts. This almanac contains “Directions for sailing up the Providence River.”



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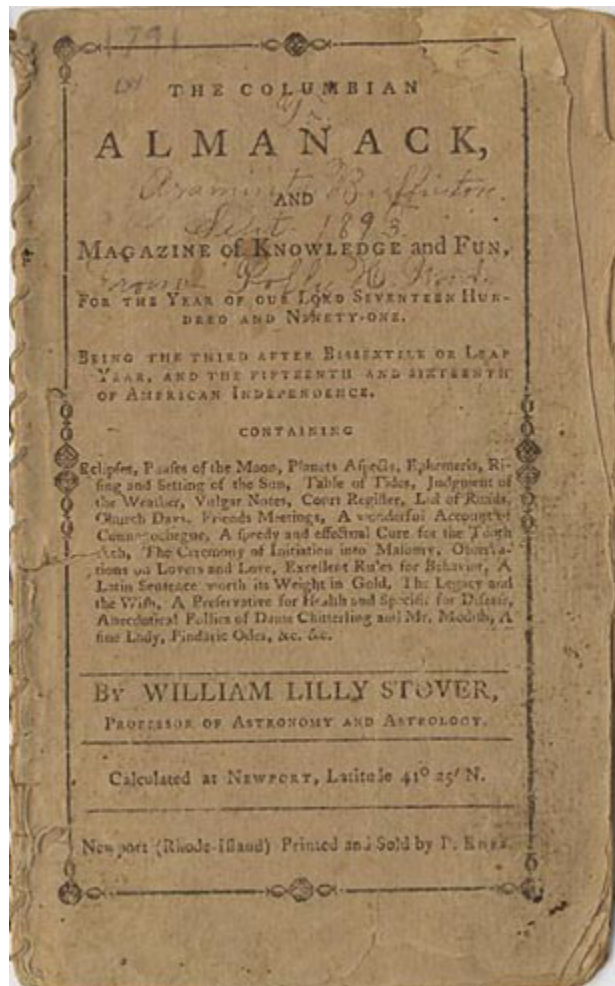
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AN [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1790. By Elisha Thornton of [Smithfield](#). [Newport](#): Peter Edes.

THE RHODE-ISLAND [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1790. [Newport](#): Peter Edes.

THE COLUMBIAN [ALMANACK](#) AND MAGAZINE OF KNOWLEDGE AND FUN FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-ONE. BEING THE THIRD AFTER BISEXTILE OR LEAP YEAR, AND THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. "William Lilly Stover, Professor of Astronomy and Astrology." Calculated at [Newport](#), Latitude  $41^{\circ} 25' N.$ : Printed and Sold by Peter Edes. This offered calculations identical to those of Elisha Thornton of [Smithfield](#)'s RHODE ISLAND [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1791, which was also printed by Peter Edes.






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1800

 THE NEW-ENGLAND [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1800. By Isaac Bickerstaff. [Providence, Rhode Island](#): John Carter.<sup>25</sup>

THE UNITED STATES [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1800. By Eliab Wilkinson of [Smithfield, Warren](#): Nathaniel Phillips.

THE NEW-ENGLAND CALENDAR, AND EPHEMERIS FOR 1800. By Eliab Wilkinson of Smithfield. [Warren](#): Nathaniel Phillips.

Two pages are used for each month.

THE NEW-ENGLAND CALENDAR, AND EPHEMERIS FOR 1800. By Eliab Wilkinson of Smithfield. [Newport](#): Printed for Jacob Richardson.

Two pages are used for each month.

THE NEWPORT [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1800. [Newport](#): Oliver Farnsworth.

Probably compiled by Remington Southwick as one by him is referred to in the [American Minerva](#) of Dedham, Oct. 9, 1800. There is an ornamental cut on title pap and the man of signs cut

25. John Carter (1745-1814) had been an apprentice in the print shop of Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia, and in that of William Goddard in Providence. Along with William Goddard and later William's mother Sarah Goddard he published the [Providence Gazette](#), until in 1768 at the age of 23 he became sole proprietor. In 1772 he had become Providence's 1st postmaster. He was one of the partners of the Carter and Wilkinson publishing firm. His daughter Ann Carter got married with Nicholas Brown, his daughter Rebecca Carter got married with Amos Throop Jenckes, and his daughter Elizabeth Ann Carter got married with Walter Raleigh Danforth. Walter Raleigh Danforth (1787-1861), a son of Job Danforth (1745-1830), would graduate from the College of Rhode Island (Brown University) in 1805 and become clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court of Providence in 1807, editor of the [Providence Gazette](#) in 1820. He would in 1825 found a weekly newspaper named [Microcosm](#).

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

on page two.







WOONSOCKET RI

SAYLESVILLE RI

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1803

→ Friends [Arnold Buffum](#) and Sarah Gould were wed. In [Smithfield](#) and Fall River, [Rhode Island](#), this [Quaker](#) couple would produce ten children seven of whom would survive, and like their parents be actively involved



in the antislavery movement. The daughters Elizabeth, Lydia, Rebecca, and Lucy would become writers. Elizabeth in particular would be prolific under her married name [Elizabeth Buffum Chase](#), championing causes such as women's suffrage, temperance and working conditions in the New England mills. Elizabeth also would produce a daughter who would become an author, Lillie Buffum Chase Wyman (refer to VIRTUOUS LIVES — FOUR QUAKER SISTERS REMEMBER FAMILY LIFE, [ABOLITIONISM](#), AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, by Lucille Salitan and Eve Lewis Perera. NY: Continuum Publishing Company, 370 Lexington Avenue).

FEMINISM



SAYLESVILLE RI

WOONSOCKET RI

## GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



"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

1804



June 7, Thursday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*5 day before Meeting 7th of 6 M 1804 / I am now going to Meeting & I hope to be favor'd with a season of improvement.  
Arnold Buffum Son of Wm Buffum of Smithfield & Rebecca Gould daughter of John Gould of Middletown will Solomnize their Marriage*

*And may it be a solemn covenant not only between themselves, but also to their God. So firm that their spiritual May bore their Ears to the posts of the doors that they may grow more out, but serve him forever.–*

*Returned from the above mentioned Meeting which I believe to be an eminently favord one particularly the forepart of it The friends who were concerned in publishing testimony [speaking out in the silence] are as follows Jonathon Wright, Mary Mitchell, Nathan Hunt & a prayer by Elizabeth Coggeshall*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 26, Thursday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*26 of 7 mo 1804 I have just returned from our Mo Meeting which was held in town, the first Meeting was silent but I believe the masters presence was felt in it, & that being the substance itself is more to be craved than vocal communication.*

*I think the business was transacted with unusual solemnity & weight*

*Wm Estes alias Francis was admitted to membership with us - Anne Greene laid before us a concern which had been long on her mind to pay a religious visit to some meetings as truth might open the way in Smithfield Quarterly Meeting, & the families of*



WOONSOCKET RI

SAYLESVILLE RI

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Friends in [Providence](#) Mo Meeting which was feelingly sympathized with & a committee appointed to take an opportunity with her & if it appears necessary to draught a few lines by way of certificate & bring to next Mo Meeting.

Abigail Robins on returnd to us the certificate she took last summer as credentials to perform a religious visit to friends in Baltimore, N Carolina & Georgia. She said, she had not much account to give of the visit & it had not been so extensive as she at first apprehended. two of the most distant Quarterly Meetings in North Carolina Yearly Meeting, she was prevented from visiting on account of her extream low state of health, & said that thro' mercy & favor she felt her mind released from the service - she said much weakness of mind had been her lot, but the Mountains were made to skip like Rams & the little hills like lambs at the presence of the Mighty Gods of Jacob-

Her accounts appeared to be satisfactory to the Meeting, & for my part I felt a degree of thankfulness on her Account. Since I came from meeting, have received a very acceptable letter from my esteemed friend Jonathon Gorham of [Nantucket](#) at the reading of which I felt much interested as it contains an account of their Quarterly Meeting-& other matters which give me to believe that he is a young man laboring to walk in the paths of Truth for which I felt rejoiced, & desire to walk in the service with him hand in hand.

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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 13, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

13 of 10 m 1804 / Our friends who attende the Quarterly Meeting have returned having when going experienced a time of Tribulation, from a Severe Storm. The wind was so high that it was with great difficulty that these who went by land could ride in their Chaises & were in danger of being blown of Browns Bridge, heavy rain with Thunder and Lightning added to the Awfulness of the Scene they got very wet, & some of them were out till late in the evening.

Our Beloved friends Anne Greene & Susanna Barker who have been to [Smithfield](#) & [Providence](#) on a religious account return'd with peaceful Minds, feeling the Answer of well done faithful Servants, having done my Will - The substance of this Dear Cousin Anne expressed to me on the evening of her return

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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 29, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5 day 29 of 11 M 1804 / Attended our M Meeting which was to my mind a sweet & precious season - Our Beloved Anne Greene was



SAYLESVILLE RI

WOONSOCKET RI

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

*avored to preach the Gospel in the Authority of her Master: & my mind was deeply affected at her communication. – in the last meeting she return'd the copy of the Minute which she Took from us some Months past to visit the M Meeting of [Providence](#) & some meetings in [Smithfield](#) Quarter & said she had but little to say except, that she was ready to lay it all at the feet of him who had helped her through, & hoped it might be an encouragement to others to cast in their mites. She brought two endorsements on her certificate from [Smithfield](#) & Uxbridge, & a certificate from [Providence](#) expressing their unity with her in her Gospel Labors among them. – My mind was affected from the many afflicting circumstances that were before us, no less than four Young men were under dealing for their misconduct I never remember to have been in a meeting where in my mind was under more sensibility than in that, & desire to be thankful that I was capable of feeling, & kept in a tender quickened frame of Mind.  
After Meeting I rode to [Middletown](#) on business, & staid all night. –The next day came home, & went to Narragansett where I staid overnight & the next day came home seventh day*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1805



In [Rhode Island](#), Henry Smith was Acting Governor. The Douglas Turnpike, now Route 7, was chartered to run from [Providence](#) to [Smithfield](#). Rowland Hazard installed a carding machine at his fulling mill on the Saugatucket River in Peace Dale in [South Kingstown](#) (this marked the beginning of the Narragansett [Cotton](#) Manufacturing Company).

A new community to be known as “Slatersville” was developed by the partnership of Almy and Brown at Buffam’s Mills on the Branch River two miles upstream from the Blackstone River. John Slater purchased the land from the Buffams for \$6,035 and enlarged the mill pond, adding to the mill, store, and worker housing.

SAMUEL SLATER

1806



[Elizabeth Buffum Chase](#) was born as Elizabeth Buffum in a [Quaker](#) family of [Smithfield](#), [Rhode Island](#).



WOONSOCKET RI

SAYLESVILLE RI

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1807



August 30, Sunday: Theresia Helferstorfer, wife of Antonio Salieri and mother of his eight children, died in Vienna.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 8th M 30th 1807 / My mind has this mornng felt the renewal of life & have had to reflect on various subjects with Seriousness, particularly riches & happiness - I am Scarcely willing to admit the former in any degree conducive to the latter, I have of late Seen Several instances which hath nearly confirmed m that there is no connection between them, tho' I believe both rich & poor may be happy & that both have their cares, yet I have thought so much mor responsibility is attached to Riches than poverty, that they are not enviable, but most of all & above all that is to be desired is the middle path & an heart humbly thankful for every favor vouchsafed & that in all our movements, the cause of Truth be our primary object - A State correspondent with Agur the son of Jakeh [author of Proverbs 30] - "Remove far from me vanity & lies; give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me: Lest I be full & deny thee, & say, Who is the Lord? or lest I be poor & steal & take the name of my God in vain"*

*We had this mornng a favor'd meeting but the seed or spring of life was low with me - Our friends D Buffum & E Coggershall were largely favor'd in testimony Judge Arnold of [Smithfield](#) was at meeting & much affected - After meeting my mind being drawn towards [Portsmouth](#) to see my Beloved H with whom I have spent but very little time for several weeks, & even months, thought it warrantable on that acc't to leave the afternoon meeting to Spend the Afternoon & went with her, but it was not without some reluctance that I left the meeting as it is an example I do not approve, & in riding out met a young man a member of Society the Sight of which affected my mind & led me to fear my example would so some hurt, & a voice like this was so affectingly in sounded my mind that I was allmost induced to turn back "Adam where art thou? Adam where art thou?" but on turning the matter in my mind felt more approved for going & fell into a little conversation, whereby I clear'd myself & obliquely reproved him - my visit to my precious H was precious indeed, & I trust both were renewedly confirm'd our engagements to each other were founded on that which was right I lodged at P L & this 2nd day [Monday] morning rose at a little past four OC [oclock] & rode home in good season to open my shop & have been rather more industrious than common for me - Called this evening at Aunt M Goulds [Martha et al] found them better - then at D R's where I found Jemimah Ausatin who I was glad to see for the love I bore for her before she went away. I fear the poor child has not gaind much in the*





**SAYLESVILLE RI**

**WOONSOCKET RI**

**Go To MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

*better part Since I saw her last – While I was setting at D's  
my mind was tendered with a belief that the Spirit of truth was  
yet with me, & I trust living thanks arose in my heart to the  
God of all that he was once more pleas'd to visit my soul with  
his refreshing presence*

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**



WOONSOCKET RI

SAYLESVILLE RI

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1810

➡ By this point there were over 100 mills along the [Blackstone River](#) outside [Providence](#) similar to the [cotton](#) mill set up in 1791 by [Samuel Slater](#) and Friend [Moses Brown](#).<sup>26</sup>The amount of money the [Rhode Island](#)



Friends had set aside for [Quaker](#) education had at this point grown to nearly \$8,000.

Henry A. Howland of [Providence](#) was keeping careful track of his life.

HENRY A. HOWLAND

26. That sounds just hunky-dory, but on the downside, these alterations being made in the [Blackstone River](#) were, as one might imagine, destroying its migrating and spawning fish. (“You can never do just one thing.”)



SAYLESVILLE RI

WOONSOCKET RI

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



September 27, Thursday: French troops attacked a combined British/Portuguese force at Buçaco and were repulsed with great losses.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 27 of 9 M 1810// It is our Monthly Meeting day - & presently I expect to attend -- I feel the operation of the spirit of Truth in my mind, but I also feel a mixture of evil, which I hope to keep under, but Alas how weak is human Nature, how easily does the enemy, work himself into those places where he ought not to be admitted. —*

*I had a very good quiet meeting both in the first & last, being favor'd with the precious arisings of Life — Our friends Holder Almy & Abigail Robinson were very acceptably engaged in Public testimony — And in the last we had a considerable buiness in the transaction of which I felt a Quiet Solemn covering A Robinson & H dennis expressed a concern to pay a religious [visit] to [Smithfield](#) Moy [Monthly] Meetg & some meetings in that Quarterly Meeting which was united with & a copy of a Minute granted them — Also it was proposd of this Moy [Monthly] Meeting's giving forth a testimony concerning Our Ancient & venerable friend Mary Mitchell deceased of the Island of [Nantucket](#), but formerly of this Island — We had the company of Caty & Nancy Almy at Dinner whose company was very pleasant — I have indeed had a very comfortable day for which I desire to be thankful — How pleasant it is, yes, how rejoicing it is, to feel the arisings of life & light upon the mind — My dear friend & Brother Philip Dunham spent the evening with us very sweetly on our part —*

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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 21, Sunday: [Marcus Spring](#) was born in Northbridge, Massachusetts to Adolphus Spring (1772-1847) and Lydia Taft (1772-1838). He would attend Uxbridge Academy.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 21 of 10 Mo// Our meetings were large as usual, and I dont know but what I had a degree of life setting in them — both were Silent & no one present that would be likely to speak in the line of the Ministry D Buffum having gone to Salem & A Robinson & H Dennis to [Smithfield](#) — We dined & took tea at my fathers & in the eveng I went a little while to D Williams — Recd letters from Aunt P Stanton. —*

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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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SAYLESVILLE RI

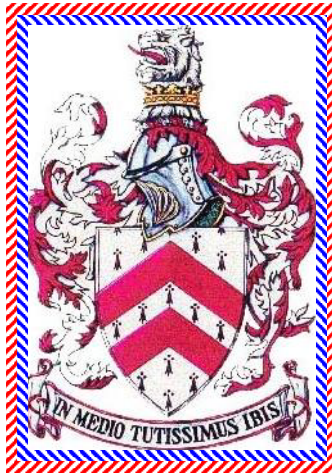
GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1811



January 6, Sunday: In the Hermitage of St. Petersburg, Rien de trop ou Les deux paravents, an opéra comique by Adrien Boieldieu to words of Pain, was performed for the initial time.

Charles Sumner was born in Boston.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 6 of 1\_Mo// Silent Meetings, & tho I wrestled hard was unable to obtain what I wanted, yet I thought I felt a little of the good spirit as it were running underneath – Edwd W Lawton & Saml Potter ?a young men from [Smithfield](#) took tea & set the evening very pleasantly on our part.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1812



April 19, Sunday: In Concord, the militia assembled to take part in war with the British.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 19th of 4 M // Amos Peasly & Benjm Fulsom were at meeting this forenoon. Also Hireanea Thompson. The two former of the State of Newhampshire & the latter of [Smithfield](#) Amos is a living & powerful Minister & Hireanea has a good gift & were both largely concern'd in testimony & Hireanea in a supplication – In the Afternoon they appointed a meeting at [Portsmouth](#) 3*



SAYLESVILLE RI

WOONSOCKET RI

## GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

*OClock, several friends went from town & said Amos was largely concerned in testimony & supplication*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1814



At this point there were small pockets of [Catholic](#) French-Canadians in Winooski, Vermont and in [Woonsocket](#), [Rhode Island](#).



1816



February 25, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 25th of 2 M / Our forenoon meeting was Silent -Afternoon Anne Greene appear'd in a short but lively & sweet testimony – Took Tea with D Buffum who has been sometime confin'd with the Rheumatism – his conversation was interesting, on the State of society he said that notwithstanding the present low state of the Church in many places that he believed Our society would rise & is rising in the Agregate, & will finally go before all others in the World – The expression from a man of his Age & experience was comfortable to my feeling especially at this time, it having been my prospect that we were losing ground & a*





WOONSOCKET RI

SAYLESVILLE RI

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

*fear possessed my mind that we should finally be outstripped in Spiritually by those who now seem feeding upon husks. – He related a story when speaking of our friend Comfort Collins who was formerly Comfort Hoag & has lately left time at the very advanced Age of 105 Years & 3 M he said many years ago she was at lower [Smithfield](#) Meeting & that a man came to the meeting who was a stranger to friends, who remarked that when she first stood up, he thought her the most Ordinary woman he ever saw, but before she had half done he thought her the handsomest he ever saw – Comfort was very ordinary in appearance, but a very great preacher – a great orator, & with all & over all & on atop” (as G Fox said) her ministry was attended with uncommon life & power.*

–

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 18, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 18th of 4th M 1816 / Our Meeting silent & I trust in a good degree favor'd – to individuals at least – as respects my own particular an engagement was witnessed but so much overcoming was not attained & I desirest – In the Preparative meeting our new Clerk D Buffum Jr performed well – The Answers to the queries got along pretty well -- The Womens meeting had a new Clerk Mary Williams Jr who they say also performed well– We took tea at father R's where my feelings were not a little afflicted on hearing that a young woman formerly a member of the MOY Meeting now removed to [Smithfield](#) had there forsaken our meetings & attends with the Methodists, & dresses gay. This young woman has some years ago, made considerable profession among us & at one time conceived it to be her duty to dress Singularly plain -thus to depart is afflicting – Unstable as Water thou shall never excell –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1817



June 17, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day But one sitting today & that this Afternoon A testimony concerning Elisha Thornton rec'd was read from [Smithfield](#) Mo Meeting. The subject of education & the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings were brought up & engaged the attention of the Meeting. – Many excellent testimonies were excited & divine good felt to be near. – The subject of removing The Yearly Meeting being called up a committee was appointed to consider of the subject & report to a future sitting. – a committee was also appointed to promote Subscriptions for the School. – We had*



SAYLESVILLE RI

WOONSOCKET RI

## GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

*about 25 at tea - & Mary Allen & Lydia Hadwin came in & had an opportunity of silence in which she preached sweetly*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1818

➡ June 23, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 23rd of 6 M / This morning Thos Wickersham rose before any of us was up, took his horse & went on his way to join his companion J Heald at [Smithfield](#) -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1820

➡ [Zachariah Allen](#) began, on a worn-out plot of 40 acres in [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) which he was unable to lease any longer even as pasture, an experiment in silviculture that now seems to us to have been the first such attempt in New England and perhaps in the entire United States (this woodlot has become part of the present-day Lincoln Woods State Park). He planted trees and began a 67-year period of keeping careful track of expenses. The cost of planting these trees was \$45 and the plot had been appraised to have a value of \$600.

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 originary 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.

FAMINE

THOMAS PAINE

### THE NIGHTSHADES (SOLANACEAE)

- — [Solanum tuberosum](#)
- — [Tomato Lycopersicon esculentum](#)
- — chili peppers
- — eggplant
- — deadly nightshade
- — [Nicotiana tabacum](#)



WOONSOCKET RI

SAYLESVILLE RI

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

- — henbane
- — Jimson weed
- — petunia
- — plus some 2,000 other species grouped into 75 genera



March 6, Monday: Louis Spohr appeared as soloist in a concert with the Philharmonic Society Orchestra that had been delayed due to the death of King George III. He was acclaimed one of the great violinists and composers of the age.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day 6th 3rd / This evening we were called on by our friend Royal Southwick from [Smithfield](#) who came to town on buisness. — he Set the evening with & his company was very pleasant & acceptable — he left at 9 OClock & lodged at his friend Thos Bush's —*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

SAYLESVILLE RI

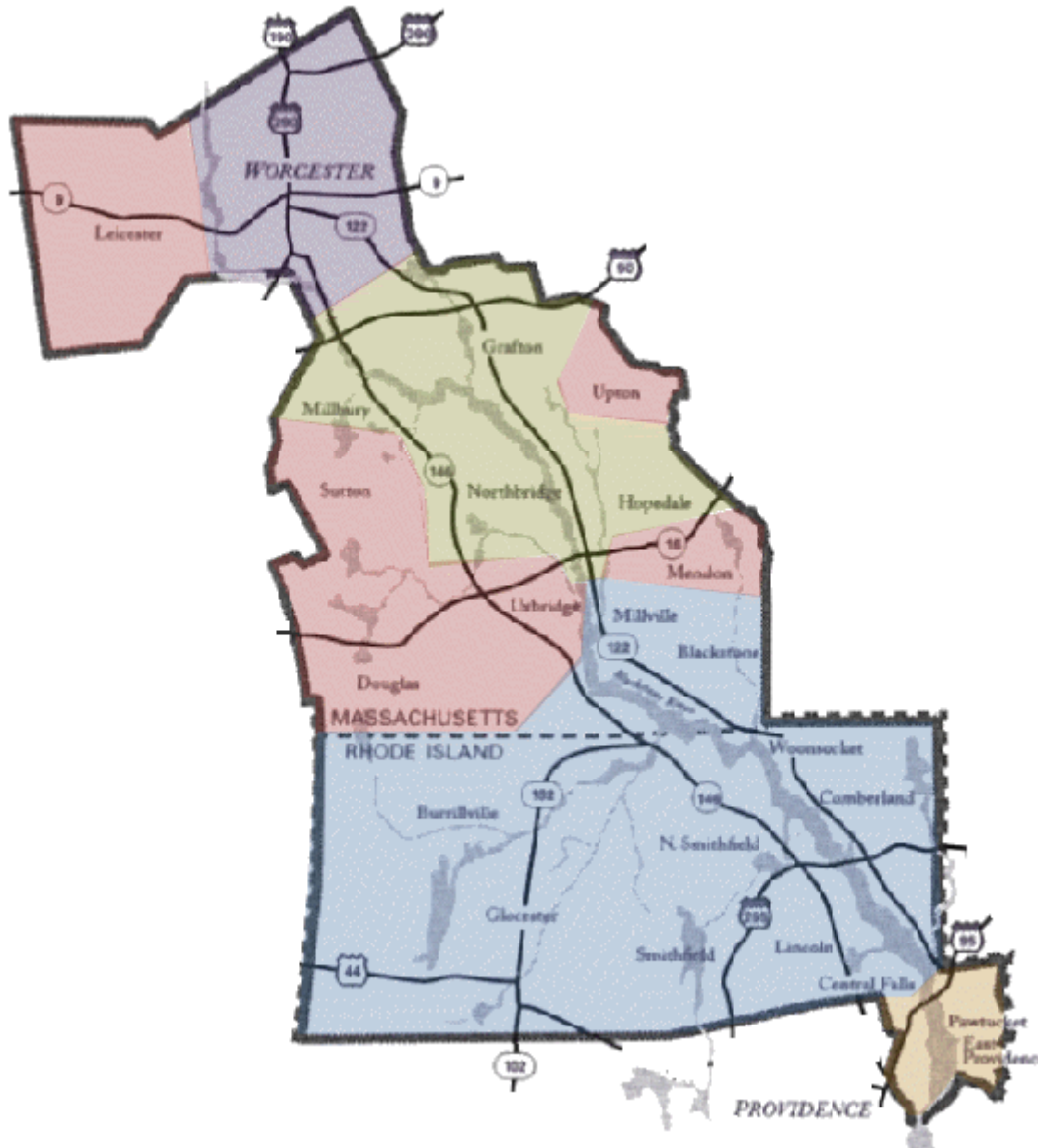
WOONSOCKET RI

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

1824



The [Blackstone Canal](#) was being dug by hand. It would be completed in 1828 and would remain in operation until 1843. Sections can still be seen along the foot of Smith Street at Canal Street, and in the northwest corner of the North Burial ground off North Main Street, and alongside Lorraine Mills off Mineral Spring Avenue in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). The best preserved rural section is north of Ashton (Quinnville, Lincoln) to Lonsdale. Only two of the original 49 locks on the original 45 miles of this canal yet remain (not, of course, operational), in Uxbridge and in Millville, Massachusetts.





WOONSOCKET RI

SAYLESVILLE RI

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

A charter was issued for the Morris Canal. The Pennsylvania state legislature appointed a [canal](#) commission — the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Internal Improvements in the Commonwealth.

A survey of the proposed Rideau [Canal](#) was carried out by the Royal Engineers.

The Chesapeake and Ohio [Canal](#) Company was formed.

Ohio retained Judge David Stanhope Bates to survey two of Geddes' routes, which will become the Ohio and Erie [Canal](#) and the Miami and Erie [Canal](#).

Construction began on New Jersey's Morris [Canal](#).

Horatio Allen became a resident engineer on the Chesapeake and Delaware [Canal](#).

Justus Post and Rene Paul recommend five possibilities for a [canal](#) between Lake Michigan and the Illinois River.

The US Supreme Court, in Gibbons v. Ogden, gave the Federal government control of all US rivers — the first of the Rivers and Harbors acts.



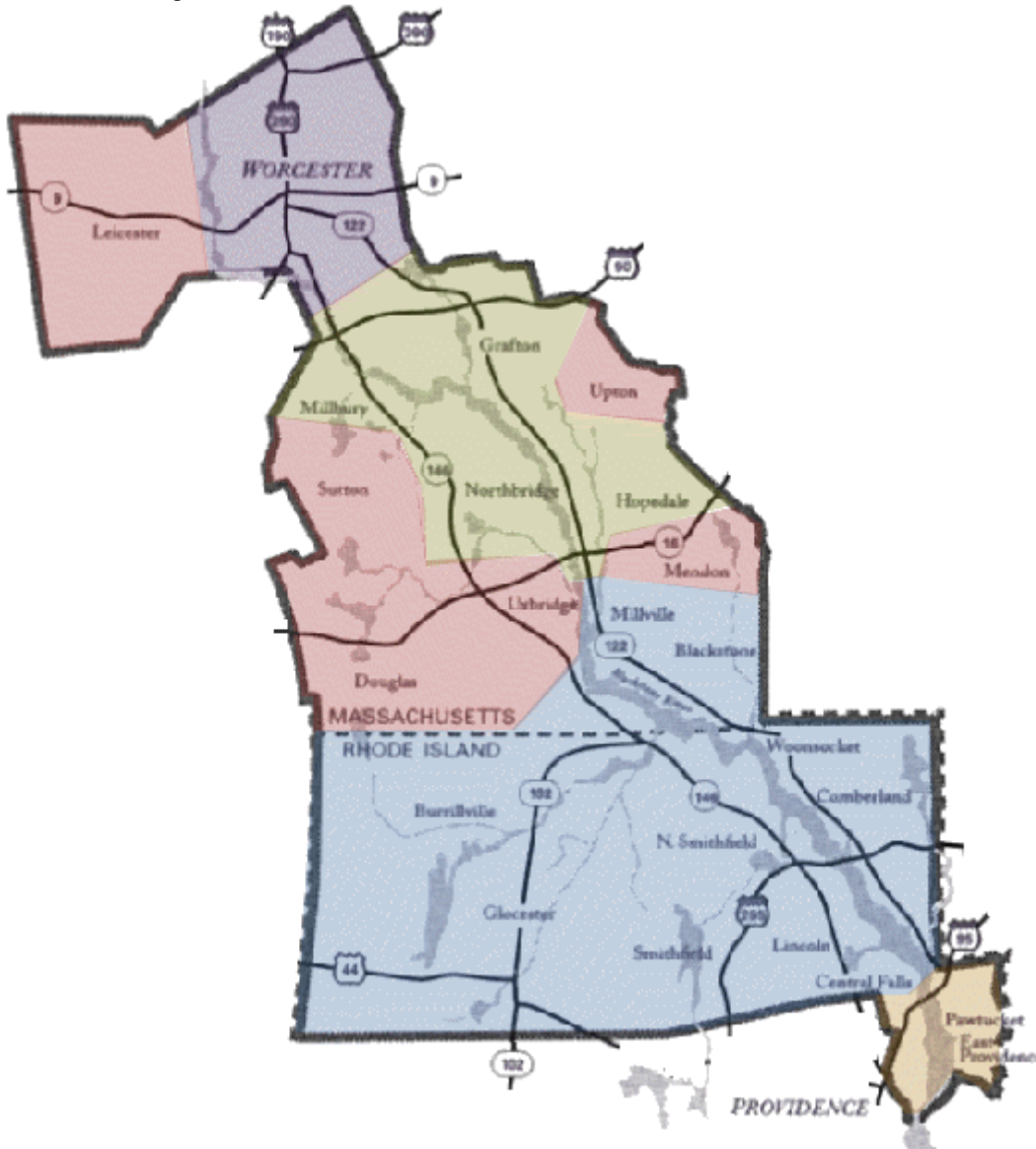
SAYLESVILLE RI

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1826

➡ Construction began on the Millville, Massachusetts lock of the [Blackstone Canal](#).





WOONSOCKET RI

SAYLESVILLE RI

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1828



October 7, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 7 of 10 M / The day has been pleasant & this Afternoon my frd Wm Jenkins called to see me yet it is the first time I have seen him since he returned from his important mission to Ohio on the yearly Meeting committee of Conference - We sympathized with each other, & I did most feelingly & sincerely so with him in his sufferings bodily & mentally both while on the journey to Ohio & while attending that Y Meeting. - And his experience I trust is greatly enlarged & I have no doubt he has deepened in the root of Truth. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



SAYLESVILLE RI

WOONSOCKET RI

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Isaiah Thomas (1749-1831), “the first American capitalist of the printing business,” witnessed the 1st [canal](#) barge from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) arriving at its Worcester dock at Thomas Street, on property which he personally had donated to the city.

The barge that was the 1st to travel the entire length of the new waterway opening up the center of Massachusetts was the *Lady Carrington*. One official guest had fallen overboard and had had to be rescued with a boat hook. The [Blackstone Canal](#)’s depth was a minimum of 3½ feet, and it descended 451½ feet by way of a series of 62 locks to its outlet in Providence. Until this canal opened, it cost more to freight Boston



goods 40 miles overland to Worcester than it did to ship them the 3,000 miles across the Atlantic to Liverpool,

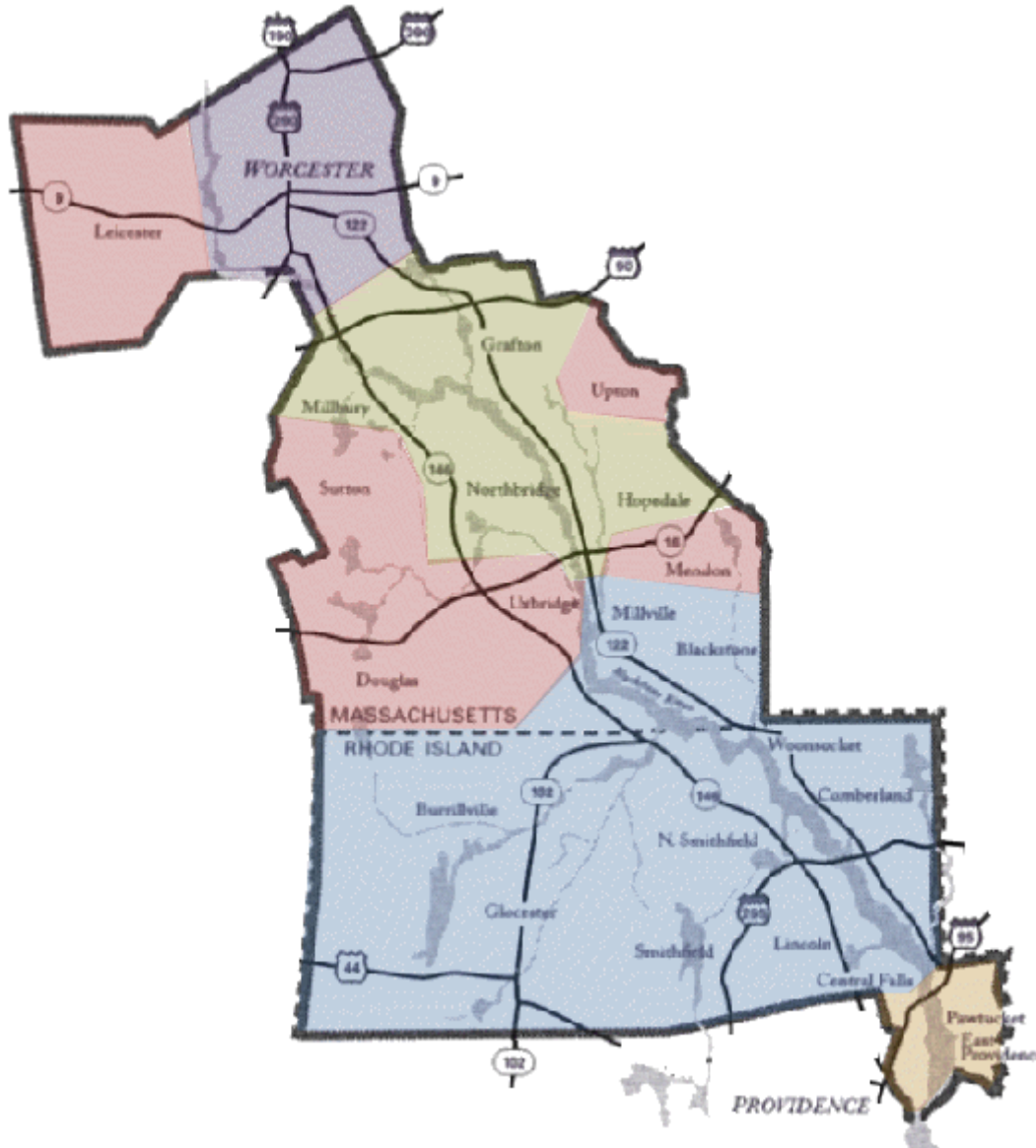


WOONSOCKET RI

SAYLESVILLE RI

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

England. The new canal was 45 miles long.



There not being enough water in the [Blackstone River](#) watershed to supply both the canal and the mills along the way, a river mill faction would dump boulders into the canal and a canal faction would conspire to burn down mills. (What a coup! —Providence would be a commerce winner for 19 entire years, until the steam-powered railroad which was just being proposed, and its route explored, would come along in 1835 and

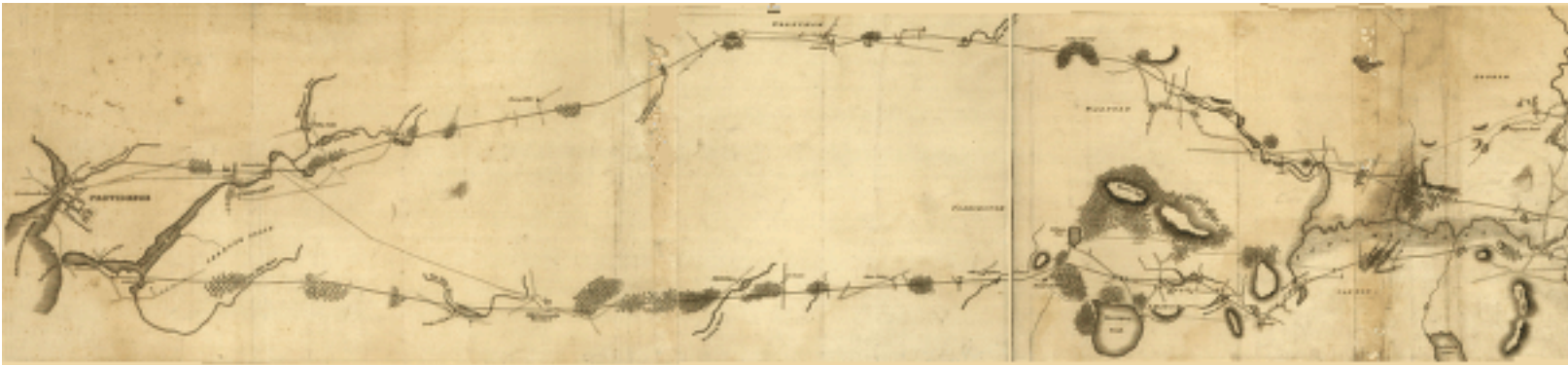


**SAYLESVILLE RI**

**WOONSOCKET RI**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

instantly obsolete the old mills along the river, and this canal and its single terminus.)



December 24, Wednesday: A 2d Kindersymphonie by [Felix Mendelssohn](#) was performed for the initial time, in Berlin.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 24th of 12th M 1828 / Today is Moy [Monthly] Meeting held at [Smithfield](#) lower Meeting house [Saylesville, in Lincoln] - My wife & I have both been quite unwell for some days which prevents our attending. -*

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

**1829**



August 9, Sunday: According to an almanac of the period, "Entire change in the French ministry by a decree of the king. The Liberals or moderate party dismissed from office, and an Ultra-royalist ministry, with Prince de Polignac at its head, appointed in their places. This measure is said to have been effected through the influence of the British cabinet."

**CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS**

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 9th of 8 M / Lydia Breed & Anna A Jenkins attended Meeting at lower [Smithfield](#) - which Seemed to me like a right concern. - Our Meeting at School this Morning was Silent - Our friend Abram Sherman from [New Bedford](#) attended with us. - Saml Foster & his Mother & our Nephew Wm Rodman was also - in addition to the foregoing In the Afternoon we had the company of Loyd Greene & wife - Lydia Breed having returned was present & she & Loyd had short acceptable offerings. -*

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**





WOONSOCKET RI

SAYLESVILLE RI

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



October 28, Wednesday: Destruction by a mob of The True South, an abolition newspaper published at Newport, Kentucky.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 28th of 10 M / We attended Monthly Meeting held at [Smithfield](#) at which our Certificate was read & received, which unites us to [Providence](#) Monthly Meeting. - I know not that I shall ever feel as if that was as much my own as [Rhode Island](#) Moy [Monthly] Meeting, but I desire to be united to the living body where they or I may be - There are those here that I love & feel nearly united to, & hope I may be willing to contribute my mite & usefulness. -*

*In the first Meeting Hepzibah Harris a friend in the Station of an Elder, & now quite blind - appeared in testimony in a few words, which evinced a lively concern for the cause of Truth & willingness to be engaged for its support - She was followed by a lively & powerful testimony by Wm Almy & after a few words in tenderness of Spirit by Caleb Fisk the meeting closed - We rode home to Dinner*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1830



April 25, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 25 of 4th M / With my H Rode to [Smithfield](#) & attended Meeting there, - it was silent & a dull season to me. - I Returned to the Afternoon Meeting at the Institution Wm Almy was there & preached instructively*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 28, Wednesday: Franz Liszt and Henri Herz played duets at the Salle Chanteraine, Paris.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 28th of 4 M / Rode to [Smithfield](#) to attend the Moy [Monthly] Meeting - it was a very pleasant Ride - we enjoyed the Scenery - the beautiful pines & the other forest trees were highly interesting & particularly the wild plums which is in full blossom*

*But the Meeting tho' highly favoured in some respects was a season of painful exercise Wm Harris Abraham Wilkinson Timothy Greene & Nathan Buffington were disowned - & three others were taken under dealing - the Meeting held over four hours. - In the first Meeting our friend Wm Almy preached & was followed by*



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*Anna A Jenkins - Lydia Breed closed in Supplication - In the last meeting Anna A Jenkins opened a concern to attend the approaching Yearly Meeting at New York & recd a copy of a Minute for the purpose & Lydia Breed felt a drawing to attend the Moy [Monthly] Meetings of Dartmouth & [New Bedford](#) & had a copy of a Minute for that purpose. - So that amidst all the discouraging circumstances which attend us - there are some which evince that there are some alive & ready to go fourth in the great course of their Lord & Master. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 8, Tuesday: The USS *Vincennes* returned to New-York harbor as “the first warship to circumnavigate the earth.” Well, anyway, that was its blurb in the patriotic press.

The [Quaker](#) educational institution in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), on its way to becoming today’s [Moses Brown School](#), was visited by a couple of traveling [Hicksite](#) Quakers, and Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#), living in an apartment of the boarding house for students as a kind of house parent, found himself in deep opposition to these Hicksites and everything they stood for:

*3rd day 8th of 6th M / Today Stephen Wilson & Hannah his wife from Goose Creek in Virginia called at the Institution - they are Hixites & Hannah as Preacher & has come on here to impose on Friends - She was formerly Hannah Pope of Bolton & an old acquaintance of ours as a Yearly Meeting lodger. - 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 - they were accompanied by Anson Potter a disowned Member of the Moy [Monthly] Meeting at whose house they lodged last night - From here they went to James Scott another disowned member. -  
After tea I went down to [Moses Browns](#) & sat with him & Elisha Bates. -*



June 23, Wednesday: [Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 23rd of 6 M / Rode with my H to [Smithfield](#) to attend Monthly Meeting - It was a pleasant Ride & a good Meeting Wm Almy, Hepzibah Harris & Anna A Jenkins bore good & precious testimonies. - In our ride home we took a rode which brought us to one of the Locks of the Worcester Canal & we had the satisfaction of being there & saw two boats pass the Lock, one up, & the other down - This is the first time I ever saw a Boat pass a Canal lock. - It was an interesting sight to us both. -*



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



Our national birthday, the 4th of July, Sunday: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 26th birthday.

In Columbia, South Carolina the 4th had already been celebrated, on Saturday the 3rd — of course because Down Here In God's Country We Remember The Sabbath Day And Keep It Holy.

Vice President John C. Calhoun, at the Anniversary celebration in Pendleton, South Carolina, stirred up a certain amount of controversy with a toast in which "consolidation and disunion" were the "two extremes of our system" — whatever the hell that was supposed to mean.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



Suffer the Little Children to Come Unto Me, an anthem by Lowell Mason, was performed for the initial time, by a children's choir in Park Street Church, Boston.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 4th of 7 M / Both Meetings Silent & in the mornng Enoch & Lydia at [Smithfield](#). —  
Benj C Stanton was here in the Mornng & went to Town in the Afternoon. — The more acquaintance I have with him the more I esteem him. —*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 8, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 8 of 8 M / We rode to [Smithfield](#) & Attended Meeting there. — It is a very pleasant Meeting place & the company who meet there considerably interesting. — The number at Meeting today was rather smaller than at some time but it was a comfortable season. —*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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August 16, Monday: Despite the fact that he had little sympathy for such republican changes and was wary of service under the new constitutional monarch Louis-Philippe, Alexis de Tocqueville took the oath of loyalty as mandated. He began musing on ways of avoiding all this unpleasant commonness, such as by visiting the United States of America to “see there what a great republic is like” and to observe whether or no that sort of



thing could ever be good for France. He commented that his only fear was that upon his return, he would find France also had become a republic.



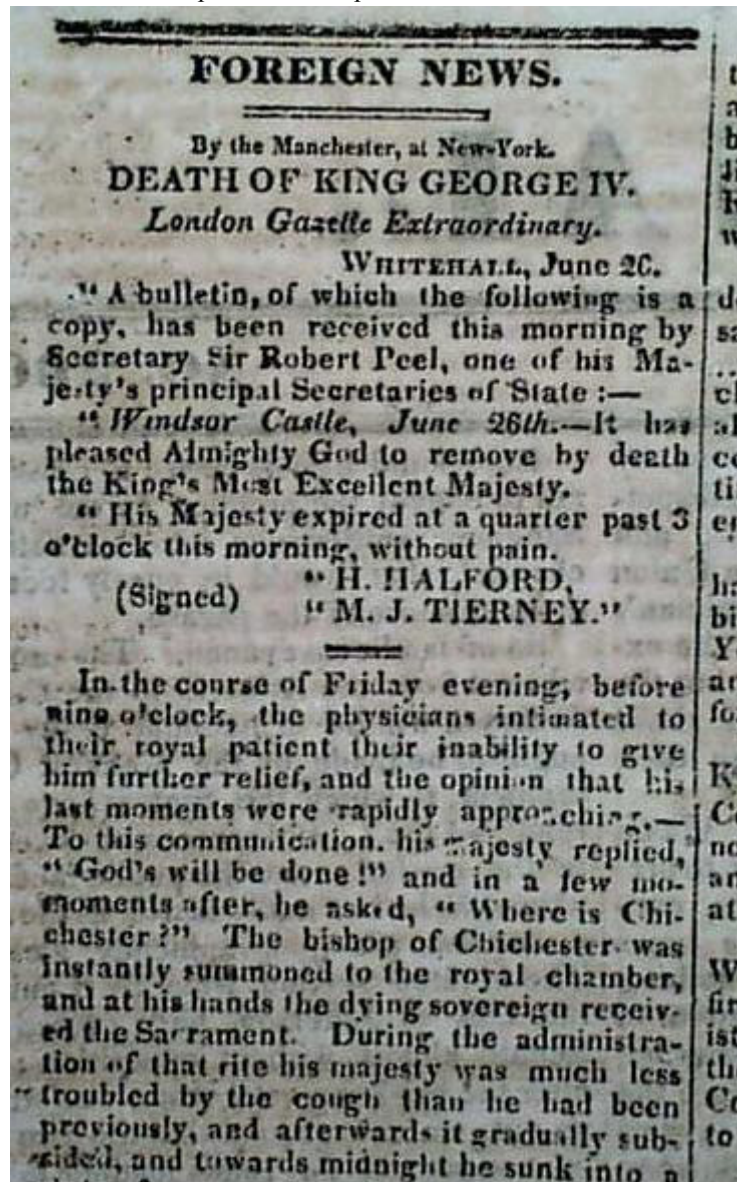
Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day 16 of 8 M / Took Sister Ruth & rode to Cumberland Meeting with Edw & Elizabeth Wing - Stopped at Davis Metcalfs & refreshed before Meeting. The Meeting was not large but a season of favour. - Dined at Davis Mercalf then left Ruth & came home, as they expected to be at [Smithfield](#) tomorrow. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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The news arrived in America, that King George IV of England had died. Note the black banner at the top of the column, the manner in which printers of the period announced a death:



August 17, Tuesday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

3rd day 8th M 17th 1830 / Rode to [Smithfield](#) to attend the Appointed Meeting & Joined our friends & Sister Ruth. —Elizabeth was favour'd in the language & encouragement to all & there were a pretty respectable number of Females who were not members & some men. — Elizabeth requested the members present to remain - & to them she had very encouraging service. After the Meeting closed I rode home with them to the Institution





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*& After dinner & resting a while - our kind young friend Gilbert Congdon took Sister Ruth with him in a Chaise & Conducted them to Elihu Bowens in Scituate where they expect to be at Meeting tomorrow & next day at Cranston. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 5, Sunday: Imelda de' Lambertazzi, a melodramma tragico by Gaetano Donizetti to words of Tottola, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro San Carlo, Naples.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 5th of 9 M / Rode with my wife to [Smithfield](#) & attended Meeting there - it was Silent but Solid & a considerable number present. - After Meeting we went to Aza Arnolds & dined - I was much gratified with an opportunity to visit this Aged & respectable friend now in his 83rd Year. - We spent the Afternoon with him very pleasantly & then rode home.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 29, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*12 M 29 1830 (4th day) / Rode to [Smithfield](#) & attended Moy [Monthly] Meeting - In the first Meeting Betsy Purinton prayed & I thought it was a pretty good Meeting, tho' my own mind was very much secluded from Good, & perhaps preserved from much that was positively bad - In the last Meeting we got along pretty well with the buisness. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1831



January 23, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 23rd of 1st M / Tho the sky is clear, it has never the less been a driving Snow Storm - the Wind has been high at North West, & the Snow has blown violently - I apprehend a number of Small Meetings in this quarter may have fallen through - particularly [Smithfield](#) where no Man lives within a very considerable distanc*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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February 23, Wednesday: Richard Wagner matriculated at Leipzig University as a music student.

Polish and Russian forces clashed at Grochow. They would fight for 3 days without strategic result.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 23rd of 2nd M 1831 / Today is our Monthly Meeting at [Smithfield](#). - The travel is so bad that none of us from the Institution have attempted to go. - There is a large quantity of Snow remaining on the ground it rained most of last night, & is raining hard this Morning, so that it is neither Sleighing or Wheeling, & every step a horse takes will sink him (in many places) to his knee joints, & in some places worse than that - so that we have not ventured to undertake to go. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

February 24, Thursday: Paul Devaux replaced Charles Rogier as head of the provisional Belgian government.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 24 of 2 M / We learn today that ten men & one woman were all that could get to the Moy [Monthly] Meeting, yesterday at [Smithfield](#), - they adjourned the Meeting till three weeks from today, - to meet at [Providence](#)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

May 18, Wednesday: There was a news account of the activities of the visitors Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont.

The Salon of 1831 opened in Paris. Among the works shown for the 1st time was the "Liberty Leading the People" of Eugene Delacroix.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 18th of 5 M / We rode our to Cumberland to attend [Smithfield](#) Preparative Meeting held there. - we stoped at Davis Metcalfs before Meeting. - The Meeting was silent & very small - but rather comfortable. - We returned & dined at Davis Metcalfs & spent the Afternoon very pleasantly - our ride home was also very pleasant - we came thro' Central Falls a beautiful Manufacturing establishment that we never were at before. - My wife as well as myself enjoyed the



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scenery exceedingly. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 1, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 1st of 6 M 1831 / Went with our friend Jared Pattison to [Smithfield](#) Meeting - It was small but he had a close preaching testimony to the few present - his testimony was a remarkable one, & closely affected the minds of some present - & was a renewd evidence to my mind of the divine power in directing his Servants. - & showing them the ground & the paths they should persue, where they have not been - We dined at Aza Arnolds, & we returned to town & took tea with Dr Tobey

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 29, Wednesday: In London, a British and Foreign Temperance Society was organized.

At St. James' Palace, Johann Nepomuk Hummel and [Nicolò Paganini](#) gave a joint concert before the King, Queen, and nobility (on his current visit to London, Paganini's presence was overshadowing Hummel; the two performers already knew each other, having shared a stage in Weimar a couple of years earlier).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 29th of 6 M 1831 / Rode to [Smithfield](#) with Mary Lafavour to attend Moy [Monthly] Meeting. - Wm Almy, Betsy Purinton Dorcas Payne wife of Caleb all preached acceptably. - In consequence of the Rain the Meeting was small, but there were enough present to transact the buisness reputably & in order. - there however not much to do. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 8, Friday: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont visited Frenchman's Island.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 8th of 7 M / At 10 OC this forenoon Our frd [Moses Brown](#) came here with Nathen Hunt preposing to have an opportunity with the Scholars - we soon collected them in the Meeting room & Nathan had a great deal to say, all appropriate, feeling & good & a good opportunity it was. - After it was over I took him & his companion over the House & into the New Building, with which he seemed gratified & pleased - After tea we went to See our frd Elisha Bates & spent the evening with him at Wm Jenkins's - he is better & in hopes to be about



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tomorrow. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 10, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 10th of 7 M / Nathan Hunt was at [Smithfield](#) Meeting [Moses Brown](#) went with him as did Enoch & Lydia. – Our dear friend Elisha Bates came up & was with us at Meeting in the forenoon – his Sermon was very reaching & I have no doubt convincing to many minds both of the younger & more advanced scholars – all were serious & many in tears. – I have no doubt his visit here will be memorable to Many for years to come – he dined at the table with the Boys & noticed several of them in a way which pleased them & I have no doubt will be useful – The Afternoon Meeting at the Institution was silent. – The Meeting in Town was put off till five OClock on Elishas account & a general invitation extended to the Inhabitants of the Town. –Our teachers a number of older Scholars went into the Meeting. –*

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August 24, Wednesday: The Reverend John Stevens Henslow, Professor of Botany at Cambridge University and founder of the [Botanic](#) Garden there, suggested that [Charles Darwin](#) travel with him aboard HMS *Beagle*, a 10-gun brig, for its 2d world voyage of exploration and charting.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 24th of 8th M 1831 / Rode with my wife to [Smithfield](#) & attended Moy [Monthly] Meeting - it was to me a remarkably solid & good meeting - in the first Meeting Wm Almy bore a short testimony In the last we did not have much buisness but affairs were conducted in a solid manner I believe this was the first meeting I ever attended with [Moses Brown](#) where he was wholly silent in a Meeting for buisness. - he was pretty smart in*





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*health, but he told me after meeting that he had nothing special to offer tho' he took an interest in the subject before us –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ November 13, Sunday: The abolitionists met in the law offices of Samuel Eliot Sewall on State Street in [Boston](#) to discuss the formation of an anti-slavery society in opposition to the gradualist agenda of the American Colonization Society.



STATE STREET, BOSTON

They agreed going in that it would be mandatory to secure at least a dozen positive votes to get this abolitionist society started. Present, besides of course Sewall whose offices these were, and William Lloyd Garrison, were:

- [David Lee Child](#), representing himself and also his spouse [Lydia Maria Child](#) who could of course not be present since this was an all-guys thing, a business meeting
- [Joshua Coffin](#)
- Isaac Knaap
- [Friend](#) Oliver Johnson
- Ellis Gray Loring
- The Reverend Samuel Joseph May
- The Reverend Moses Thacher






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- [Friend Arnold Buffum](#) of old [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#)

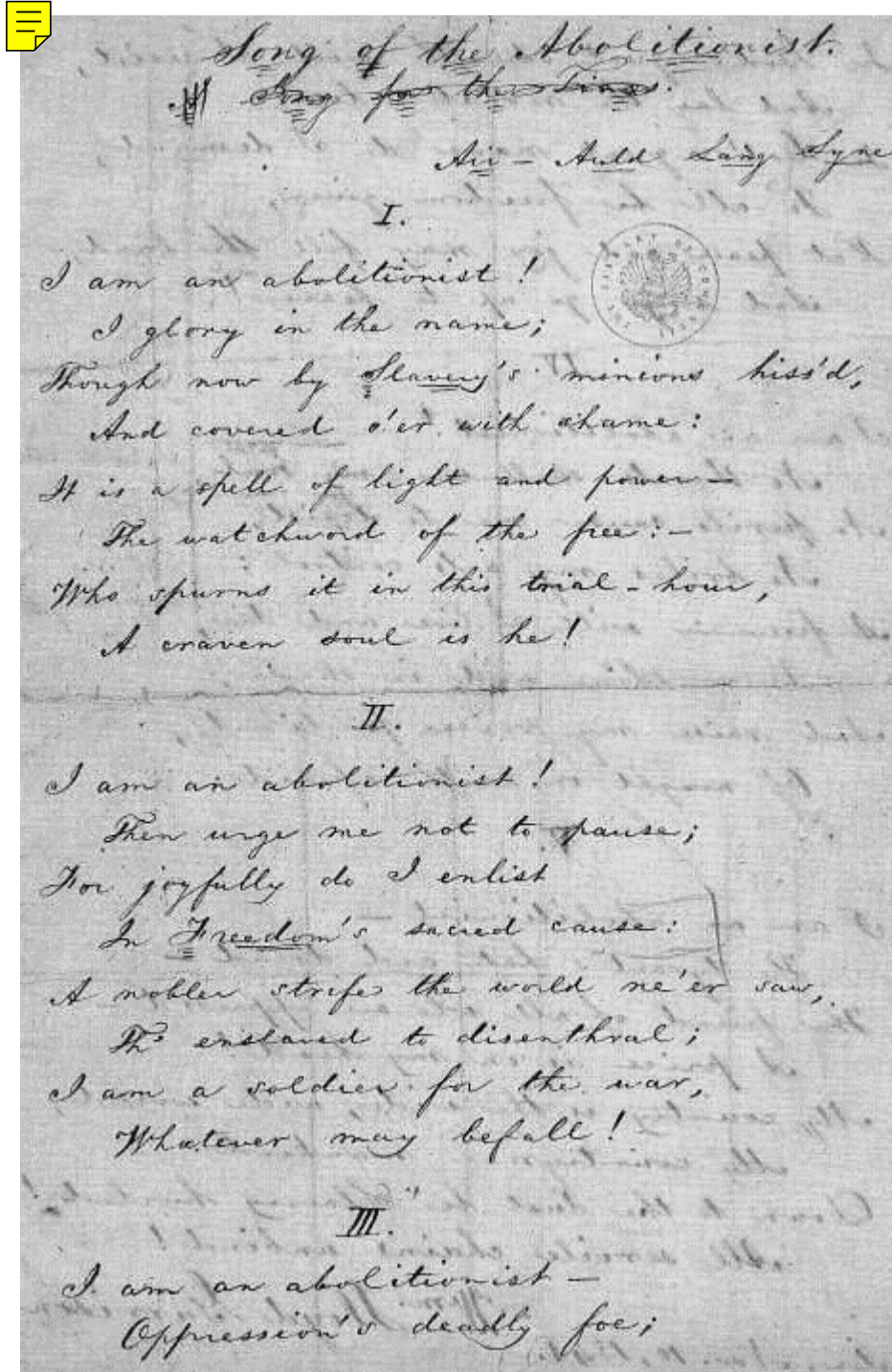


Their initial ballot unfortunately produced, among the fifteen who voted, only nine persons ready to proceed on an “immediatist” or “just do it” agenda rather than the agreed magic minimum number of twelve. They would therefore need to hold another meeting, in December,  and then three more such meetings, before they would be able to complete their agreement on January 1, 1832  and then confirm it with their dozen signatures, in the basement classroom of the African Meeting House on Belknap Street in the presence of black witnesses, on January 6, 1832. 

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December 28, Wednesday: As threatened earlier in the month, the USS *Lexington* under Commander Silas Duncan arrived in the Falkland Islands and looted settlements, disarming and carrying away inhabitants such as one of the governor's aides.

Calvin Edson, the living skeleton, placed himself on exhibit in [Boston](#) for an admission fee of 25 cents.<sup>27</sup>



In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 28 of 12 M 1831 / My H being almost sick with a cold -  
I rode to [Smithfield](#) with Deborah Ramsdell to attend Moy  
[Monthly] Meeting -It was a rather low Meeting but we were  
favoured to transact what little business we had with a good  
degree of order  
Most of those who have been here were absent*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1832



January 6, Friday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

27. Born in Stafford, Connecticut, Edson was 42 years of age and had a wife and three children. When he had served as a soldier during the Revolutionary War, his weight had been 135 pounds and he had been 5 foot 6 inches. Since then his height had shrunk by 3 inches and he had come to weigh but 58 pounds. He was able to ride horseback and would demonstrate that he was able to lift 150 pounds.



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*6th day 6th of 1st M 1832 / This evening recd a letter from my old & long loved friend Thomas Thompson of Liverpool it contained a pleasant acct of the travels of our friend John Wilbour now in that country on a religious visit as well of Stephen Grillett & Christo Healy - it also contained the information of the decease of our dear friend Jonathon Taylor of Ohio, in Ireland, who was also in that country on a religious Mission, I was comforted with receiving a letter from Thomas & think I shall now renew my correspondence with him. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

That evening 12 abolitionists, William Lloyd Garrison and others, walked up “Nigger Hill” in Boston in a northeaster snowstorm to meet in the basement of the African Meeting House off Belknap Street and constitute themselves as a New England Anti-Slavery Society, in opposition to the agenda of the American Colonization Society which was seeking to return the freed Africans to Africa. There were “a number of colored citizens” present as observers as these white men filed to the front and placed their signatures in the meeting book. A number of black elders placed their names in a parallel column as a gesture of general support. [Friend Arnold Buffum](#) of Old [Smithfield](#) and [Providence](#) became president. Garrison became corresponding secretary, but declined to allow the new society any control over the editorial policies of his newspaper.

AME

ABOLITIONISM



February 22, Wednesday: Antonio de Saavedra y Frigola, Conde de Alcudia replaced Francisco Tadeo Calomarde Arria as First Secretary of State of Spain.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 22 of 2 M / We rode to [Smithfield](#) & attended Moy [Monthly] Meeting - Wm Almy very satisfactorily engaged in testimony. -there was but little buisness & the Meeting did not last long. -  
It was a pleasant day & a pleasant ride. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Ground was broken for Indiana’s [Wabash and Erie Canal](#), to connect the Ohio River with Lake Erie.

There was a dinner party in Washington DC on this, the centennial birthday of George Washington. When the cloth was removed after the banquet, Senator [Daniel Webster](#) of Massachusetts had the honor of calling for the official toast:<sup>28</sup>

I rise, Gentlemen, to propose to you the name of that great man, in commemoration of whose birth, and in honor of whose character and services, we are here assembled.

I am sure that I express a sentiment common to every one present, when I say that there is something more than ordinarily solemn and affecting in this occasion.

28. Edwin P. Whipple’s THE GREAT SPEECHES AND ORATIONS OF DANIEL WEBSTER WITH AN ESSAY ON DANIEL WEBSTER AS A MASTER OF ENGLISH STYLE (Boston: Little, Brown, 1879).





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We are met to testify our regard for him whose name is intimately blended with whatever belongs most essentially to the prosperity, the liberty, the free institutions, and the renown of our country. That name was of power to rally a nation, in the hour of thick-thronging public disasters and calamities; that name shone, amid the storm of war, a beacon light, to cheer and guide the country's friends; it flamed, too, like a meteor, to repel her foes. That name, in the days of peace, was a loadstone, attracting to itself a whole people's confidence, a whole people's love, and the whole world's respect. That name, descending with all time, spreading over the whole earth, and uttered in all the languages belonging to the tribes and races of men, will for ever be pronounced with affectionate gratitude by every one in whose breast there shall arise an aspiration for human rights and human liberty.

We perform this grateful duty, Gentlemen, at the expiration of a hundred years from his birth, near the place, so cherished and



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beloved by him, where his dust now reposes, and in the capital which bears his own immortal name.

All experience evinces that human sentiments are strongly influenced by associations. The recurrence of anniversaries, or of longer periods of time, naturally freshens the recollection, and deepens the impression, of events with which they are historically connected. Renowned places, also, have a power to awaken feeling, which all acknowledge. No American can pass by the fields of Bunker Hill, Monmouth, and Camden, as if they were ordinary spots on the earth's surface. Whoever visits them feels the sentiment of love of country kindling anew, as if the spirit that belonged to the transactions which have rendered these places distinguished still hovered round, with power to move and excite all who in future time may approach them.

But neither of these sources of emotion equals the power with which great moral examples affect the mind. When sublime virtues cease to be abstractions, when they become embodied in human character, and exemplified in human conduct, we should be false to our own nature, if we did not indulge in the spontaneous effusions of our gratitude and our admiration. A true lover of the virtue of patriotism delights to contemplate its purest models; and that love of country may be well suspected which affects to soar so high into the regions of sentiment as to be lost and absorbed in the abstract feeling, and becomes too elevated or too refined to glow with fervor in the commendation or the love of individual benefactors. All this is unnatural. It is as if one should be so enthusiastic a lover of poetry, as to care nothing for Homer or Milton; so passionately attached to eloquence as to be indifferent to Tully and Chatham; or such a devotee to the arts, in such an ecstasy with the elements of beauty, proportion, and expression, as to regard the masterpieces of Raphael and Michael Angelo with coldness or contempt. We may be assured, Gentlemen, that he who really loves the thing itself, loves its finest exhibitions. A true friend of his country loves her friends and benefactors, and thinks it no degradation to commend and commemorate them. The voluntary outpouring of the public feeling, made to-day, from the North to the South, and from the East to the West, proves this sentiment to be both just and natural. In the cities and in the villages, in the public temples and in the family circles, among all ages and sexes, gladdened voices to-day bespeak grateful hearts and a freshened recollection of the virtues of the Father of his Country. And it will be so, in all time to come, so long as public virtue is itself an object of regard. The ingenuous youth of America will hold up to themselves the bright model of Washington's example, and study to be what they behold; they will contemplate his character till all its virtues spread out and display themselves to their delighted vision; as the earliest astronomers, the shepherds on the plains of Babylon, gazed at the stars till they saw them form into clusters and constellations, overpowering at length the eyes of the beholders with the united blaze of a thousand lights.



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## GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Gentlemen, we are at a point of a century from the birth of Washington; and what a century it has been! During its course, the human mind has seemed to proceed with a sort of geometric velocity, accomplishing for human intelligence and human freedom more than had been done in fives or tens of centuries preceding. Washington stands at the commencement of a new era, as well as at the head of the New World. A century from the birth of Washington has changed the world. The country of Washington has been the theatre on which a great part of that change has been wrought, and Washington himself a principal agent by which it has been accomplished. His age and his country are equally full of wonders; and of both he is the chief.

If the poetical prediction, uttered a few years before his birth, be true; if indeed it be designed by Providence that the grandest exhibition of human character and human affairs shall be made on this theatre of the Western world; if it be true that,

"The four first acts already past,  
A fifth shall close the drama with the day,  
Time's noblest offspring is the last";—

how could this imposing, swelling, final scene be appropriately opened, how could its intense interest be adequately sustained, but by the introduction of just such a character as our Washington?

Washington had attained his manhood when that spark of liberty was struck out in his own country, which has since kindled into a flame, and shot its beams over the earth. In the flow of a century from his birth, the world has changed in science, in arts, in the extent of commerce, in the improvement of navigation, and in all that relates to the civilization of man. But it is the spirit of human freedom, the new elevation of individual man, in his moral, social, and political character, leading the whole long train of other improvements, which has most remarkably distinguished the era. Society, in this century, has not made its progress, like Chinese skill, by a greater acuteness of ingenuity in trifles; it has not merely lashed itself to an increased speed round the old circles of thought and action; but it has assumed a new character; it has raised itself from **beneath** governments to a participation **in** governments; it has mixed moral and political objects with the daily pursuits of individual men; and, with a freedom and strength before altogether unknown, it has applied to these objects the whole power of the human understanding. It has been the era, in short, when the social principle has triumphed over the feudal principle; when society has maintained its rights against military power, and established, on foundations never hereafter to be shaken, its competency to govern itself.

It was the extraordinary fortune of Washington, that, having been intrusted, in revolutionary times, with the supreme military command, and having fulfilled that trust with equal renown for wisdom and for valor, he should be placed at the head of the first government in which an attempt was to be made on a large scale to rear the fabric of social order on the basis of



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a written constitution and of a pure representative principle. A government was to be established, without a throne, without an aristocracy, without castes, orders, or privileges; and this government, instead of being a democracy, existing and acting within the walls of a single city, was to be extended over a vast country, of different climates, interests, and habits, and of various communions of our common Christian faith. The experiment certainly was entirely new. A popular government of this extent, it was evident, could be framed only by carrying into full effect the principle of representation or of delegated power; and the world was to see whether society could, by the strength of this principle, maintain its own peace and good government, carry forward its own great interests, and conduct itself to political renown and glory.

By the benignity of Providence, this experiment, so full of interest to us and to our posterity for ever, so full of interest, indeed, to the world in its present generation and in all its generations to come, was suffered to commence under the guidance of Washington. Destined for this high career, he was fitted for it by wisdom, by virtue, by patriotism, by discretion, by whatever can inspire confidence in man toward man. In entering on the untried scenes, early disappointment and the premature extinction of all hope of success would have been certain, had it not been that there did exist throughout the country, in a most extraordinary degree, an unwavering trust in him who stood at the helm.

I remarked, Gentlemen, that the whole world was and is interested in the result of this experiment. And is it not so? Do we deceive ourselves, or is it true that at this moment the career which this government is running is among the most attractive objects to the civilized world? Do we deceive ourselves, or is it true that at this moment that love of liberty and that understanding of its true principles which are flying over the whole earth, as on the wings of all the winds, are really and truly of American origin?

At the period of the birth of Washington, there existed in Europe no political liberty in large communities, except in the provinces of Holland, and except that England herself had set a great example, so far as it went, by her glorious Revolution of 1688. Everywhere else, despotic power was predominant, and the feudal or military principle held the mass of mankind in hopeless bondage. One half of Europe was crushed beneath the Bourbon sceptre, and no conception of political liberty, no hope even of religious toleration, existed among that nation which was America's first ally. The king was the state, the king was the country, the king was all. There was one king, with power not derived from his people, and too high to be questioned; and the rest were all subjects, with no political right but obedience. All above was intangible power, all below quiet subjection. A recent occurrence in the French Chambers shows us how public opinion on these subjects is changed. A minister had spoken of the "king's subjects." "There are no subjects,"



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exclaimed hundreds of voices at once, "in a country where the people make the king!"

Gentlemen, the spirit of human liberty and of free government, nurtured and grown into strength and beauty in America, has stretched its course into the midst of the nations. Like an emanation from Heaven, it has gone forth, and it will not return void. It must change, it is fast changing, the face of the earth. Our great, our high duty is to show, in our own example, that this spirit is a spirit of health as well as a spirit of power; that its benignity is as great as its strength; that its efficiency to secure individual rights, social relations, and moral order, is equal to the irresistible force with which it prostrates principalities and powers. The world, at this moment, is regarding us with a willing, but something of a fearful admiration. Its deep and awful anxiety is to learn whether free states may be stable, as well as free; whether popular power may be trusted, as well as feared; in short, whether wise, regular, and virtuous self-government is a vision for the contemplation of theorists, or a truth established, illustrated, and brought into practice in the country of Washington.

Gentlemen, for the earth which we inhabit, and the whole circle of the sun, for all the unborn races of mankind, we seem to hold in our hands, for their weal or woe, the fate of this experiment. If we fail, who shall venture the repetition? If our example shall prove to be one, not of encouragement, but of terror, not fit to be imitated, but fit only to be shunned, where else shall the world look for free models? If this great **Western Sun** be struck out of the firmament, at what other fountain shall the lamp of liberty hereafter be lighted? What other orb shall emit a ray to glimmer, even, on the darkness of the world?

There is no danger of our overrating or overstating the important part which we are now acting in human affairs. It should not flatter our personal self-respect, but it should reanimate our patriotic virtues, and inspire us with a deeper and more solemn sense, both of our privileges and of our duties. We cannot wish better for our country, nor for the world, than that the same spirit which influenced Washington may influence all who succeed him; and that the same blessing from above, which attended his efforts, may also attend theirs.

The principles of Washington's administration are not left doubtful. They are to be found in the Constitution itself, in the great measures recommended and approved by him, in his speeches to Congress, and in that most interesting paper, his Farewell Address to the People of the United States. The success of the government under his administration is the highest proof of the soundness of these principles. And, after an experience of thirty-five years, what is there which an enemy could condemn? What is there which either his friends, or the friends of the country, could wish to have been otherwise? I speak, of course, of great measures and leading principles.

In the first place, all his measures were right in their intent. He stated the whole basis of his own great character, when he





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told the country, in the homely phrase of the proverb, that honesty is the best policy. One of the most striking things ever said of him is, that "**he changed mankind's ideas of political greatness.**"<sup>29</sup> To commanding talents, and to success, the common elements of such greatness, he added a disregard of self, a spotlessness of motive, a steady submission to every public and private duty, which threw far into the shade the whole crowd of vulgar great. The object of his regard was the whole country. No part of it was enough to fill his enlarged patriotism. His love of glory, so far as that may be supposed to have influenced him at all, spurned every thing short of general approbation. It would have been nothing to him, that his partisans or his favorites outnumbered, or outvoted, or outmanaged, or outclamored, those of other leaders. He had no favorites; he rejected all partisanship; and, acting honestly for the universal good, he deserved, what he has so richly enjoyed, the universal love.

His principle it was to act right, and to trust the people for support; his principle it was not to follow the lead of sinister and selfish ends, nor to rely on the little arts of party delusion to obtain public sanction for such a course. Born for his country and for the world, he did not give up to party what was meant for mankind. The consequence is, that his fame is as durable as his principles, as lasting as truth and virtue themselves. While the hundreds whom party excitement, and temporary circumstances, and casual combinations, have raised into transient notoriety, sink again, like thin bubbles, bursting and dissolving into the great ocean, Washington's fame is like the rock which bounds that ocean, and at whose feet its billows are destined to break harmlessly for ever.

The maxims upon which Washington conducted our foreign relations were few and simple. The first was an entire and indisputable impartiality towards foreign states. He adhered to this rule of public conduct, against very strong inducements to depart from it, and when the popularity of the moment seemed to favor such a departure. In the next place, he maintained true dignity and unsullied honor in all communications with foreign states. It was among the high duties devolved upon him, to introduce our new government into the circle of civilized states and powerful nations. Not arrogant or assuming, with no unbecoming or supercilious bearing, he yet exacted for it from all others entire and punctilious respect. He demanded, and he obtained at once, a standing of perfect equality for his country in the society of nations; nor was there a prince or potentate of his day, whose personal character carried with it, into the intercourse of other states, a greater degree of respect and veneration.

He regarded other nations only as they stood in political relations to us. With their internal affairs, their political parties and dissensions, he scrupulously abstained from all interference; and, on the other hand, he repelled with spirit

29. See Works of Fisher Ames, pp. 122, 123.



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all such interference by others with us or our concerns. His sternest rebuke, the most indignant measure of his whole administration, was aimed against such an attempted interference. He felt it as an attempt to wound the national honor, and resented it accordingly.

The reiterated admonitions in his Farewell Address show his deep fears that foreign influence would insinuate itself into our counsels through the channels of domestic dissension, and obtain a sympathy with our own temporary parties. Against all such dangers, he most earnestly entreats the country to guard itself. He appeals to its patriotism, to its self-respect, to its own honor, to every consideration connected with its welfare and happiness, to resist, at the very beginning, all tendencies towards such connection of foreign interests with our own affairs. With a tone of earnestness nowhere else found, even in his last affectionate farewell advice to his countrymen, he says, "Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be **constantly** awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government."

Lastly, on the subject of foreign relations, Washington never forgot that we had interests peculiar to ourselves. The primary political concerns of Europe, he saw, did not affect us. We had nothing to do with her balance of power, her family compacts, or her successions to thrones. We were placed in a condition favorable to neutrality during European wars, and to the enjoyment of all the great advantages of that relation. "Why, then," he asks us, "why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?"

Indeed, Gentlemen, Washington's Farewell Address is full of truths important at all times, and particularly deserving consideration at the present. With a sagacity which brought the future before him, and made it like the present, he saw and pointed out the dangers that even at this moment most imminently threaten us. I hardly know how a greater service of that kind could now be done to the community, than by a renewed and wide diffusion of that admirable paper, and an earnest invitation to every man in the country to reperuse and consider it. Its political maxims are invaluable; its exhortations to love of country and to brotherly affection among citizens, touching; and the solemnity with which it urges the observance of moral duties, and impresses the power of religious obligation, gives to it the highest character of truly disinterested, sincere, parental advice.

The domestic policy of Washington found its pole-star in the avowed objects of the Constitution itself. He sought so to administer that Constitution, as to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the



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common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty. These were objects interesting, in the highest degree, to the whole country, and his policy embraced the whole country.

Among his earliest and most important duties was the organization of the government itself, the choice of his confidential advisers, and the various appointments to office. This duty, so important and delicate, when a whole government was to be organized, and all its offices for the first time filled, was yet not difficult to him; for he had no sinister ends to accomplish, no clamorous partisans to gratify, no pledges to redeem, no object to be regarded but simply the public good. It was a plain, straightforward matter, a mere honest choice of men for the public service.

His own singleness of purpose, his disinterested patriotism, were evinced by the selection of his first Cabinet, and by the manner in which he filled the seats of justice, and other places of high trust. He sought for men fit for offices; not for offices which might suit men. Above personal considerations, above local considerations, above party considerations, he felt that he could only discharge the sacred trust which the country had placed in his hands, by a diligent inquiry after real merit, and a conscientious preference of virtue and talent. The whole country was the field of his selection. He explored that whole field, looking only for whatever it contained most worthy and distinguished. He was, indeed, most successful, and he deserved success for the purity of his motives, the liberality of his sentiments, and his enlarged and manly policy.

Washington's administration established the national credit, made provision for the public debt, and for that patriotic army whose interests and welfare were always so dear to him; and, by laws wisely framed, and of admirable effect, raised the commerce and navigation of the country, almost at once, from depression and ruin to a state of prosperity. Nor were his eyes open to these interests alone. He viewed with equal concern its agriculture and manufactures, and, so far as they came within the regular exercise of the powers of this government, they experienced regard and favor.

It should not be omitted, even in this slight reference to the general measures and general principles of the first President, that he saw and felt the full value and importance of the judicial department of the government. An upright and able administration of the laws he held to be alike indispensable to private happiness and public liberty. The temple of justice, in his opinion, was a sacred place, and he would profane and pollute it who should call any to minister in it, not spotless in character, not incorruptible in integrity, not competent by talent and learning, not a fit object of unhesitating trust.

Among other admonitions, Washington has left us, in his last communication to his country, an exhortation against the excesses of party spirit. A fire not to be quenched, he yet conjures us not to fan and feed the flame. Undoubtedly,



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Gentlemen, it is the greatest danger of our system and of our time. Undoubtedly, if that system should be overthrown, it will be the work of excessive party spirit, acting on the government, which is dangerous enough, or acting **in** the government, which is a thousand times more dangerous; for government then becomes nothing but organized party, and, in the strange vicissitudes of human affairs, it may come at last, perhaps, to exhibit the singular paradox of government itself being in opposition to its own powers, at war with the very elements of its own existence. Such cases are hopeless. As men may be protected against murder, but cannot be guarded against suicide, so government may be shielded from the assaults of external foes, but nothing can save it when it chooses to lay violent hands on itself.

Finally, Gentlemen, there was in the breast of Washington one sentiment so deeply felt, so constantly uppermost, that no proper occasion escaped without its utterance. From the letter which he signed in behalf of the Convention when the Constitution was sent out to the people, to the moment when he put his hand to that last paper in which he addressed his countrymen, the Union,—the Union was the great object of his thoughts. In that first letter he tells them that, to him and his brethren of the Convention, union appears to be the greatest interest of every true American; and in that last paper he conjures them to regard that unity of government which constitutes them one people as the very palladium of their prosperity and safety, and the security of liberty itself. He regarded the union of these States less as one of our blessings, than as the great treasure-house which contained them all. Here, in his judgment, was the great magazine of all our means of prosperity; here, as he thought, and as every true American still thinks, are deposited all our animating prospects, all our solid hopes for future greatness. He has taught us to maintain this union, not by seeking to enlarge the powers of the government, on the one hand, nor by surrendering them, on the other; but by an administration of them at once firm and moderate, pursuing objects truly national, and carried on in a spirit of justice and equity.

The extreme solicitude for the preservation of the Union, at all times manifested by him, shows not only the opinion he entertained of its importance, but his clear perception of those causes which were likely to spring up to endanger it, and which, if once they should overthrow the present system, would leave little hope of any future beneficial reunion. Of all the presumptions indulged by presumptuous man, that is one of the rashest which looks for repeated and favorable opportunities for the deliberate establishment of a united government over distinct and widely extended communities. Such a thing has happened once in human affairs, and but once; the event stands out as a prominent exception to all ordinary history; and unless we suppose ourselves running into an age of miracles, we may not expect its repetition.

Washington, therefore, could regard, and did regard, nothing as



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of paramount political interest, but the integrity of the Union itself. With a united government, well administered, he saw that we had nothing to fear; and without it, nothing to hope. The sentiment is just, and its momentous truth should solemnly impress the whole country. If we might regard our country as personated in the spirit of Washington, if we might consider him as representing her, in her past renown, her present prosperity, and her future career, and as in that character demanding of us all to account for our conduct, as political men or as private citizens, how should he answer him who has ventured to talk of disunion and dismemberment? Or how should he answer him who dwells perpetually on local interests, and fans every kindling flame of local prejudice? How should he answer him who would array State against State, interest against interest, and party against party, careless of the continuance of that **unity of government which constitutes us one people?**

The political prosperity which this country has attained, and which it now enjoys, has been acquired mainly through the instrumentality of the present government. While this agent continues, the capacity of attaining to still higher degrees of prosperity exists also. We have, while this lasts, a political life capable of beneficial exertion, with power to resist or overcome misfortunes, to sustain us against the ordinary accidents of human affairs, and to promote, by active efforts, every public interest. But dismemberment strikes at the very being which preserves these faculties. It would lay its rude and ruthless hand on this great agent itself. It would sweep away, not only what we possess, but all power of regaining lost, or acquiring new possessions. It would leave the country, not only bereft of its prosperity and happiness, but without limbs, or organs, or faculties, by which to exert itself hereafter in the pursuit of that prosperity and happiness.

Other misfortunes may be borne, or their effects overcome. If disastrous war should sweep our commerce from the ocean, another generation may renew it; if it exhaust our treasury, future industry may replenish it; if it desolate and lay waste our fields, still, under a new cultivation, they will grow green again, and ripen to future harvests. It were but a trifle even if the walls of yonder Capitol were to crumble, if its lofty pillars should fall, and its gorgeous decorations be all covered by the dust of the valley. All these might be rebuilt. But who shall reconstruct the fabric of demolished government? Who shall rear again the well-proportioned columns of constitutional liberty? Who shall frame together the skilful architecture which unites national sovereignty with State rights, individual security, and public prosperity? No, if these columns fall, they will be raised not again. Like the Coliseum and the Parthenon, they will be destined to a mournful, a melancholy immortality. Bitterer tears, however, will flow over them, than were ever shed over the monuments of Roman or Grecian art; for they will be the remnants of a more glorious edifice than Greece or Rome ever saw, the edifice of constitutional American liberty.





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But let us hope for better things. Let us trust in that gracious Being who has hitherto held our country as in the hollow of his hand. Let us trust to the virtue and the intelligence of the people, and to the efficacy of religious obligation. Let us trust to the influence of Washington's example. Let us hope that that fear of Heaven which expels all other fear, and that regard to duty which transcends all other regard, may influence public men and private citizens, and lead our country still onward in her happy career. Full of these gratifying anticipations and hopes, let us look forward to the end of that century which is now commenced. A hundred years hence, other disciples of Washington will celebrate his birth, with no less of sincere admiration than we now commemorate it. When they shall meet, as we now meet, to do themselves and him that honor, so surely as they shall see the blue summits of his native mountains rise in the horizon, so surely as they shall behold the river on whose banks he lived, and on whose banks he rests, still flowing on toward the sea, so surely may they see, as we now see, the flag of the Union floating on the top of the Capitol; and then, as now, may the sun in his course visit no land more free, more happy, more lovely, than this our own country!

Gentlemen, I propose— "THE MEMORY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON."



March: [Friend Arnold Buffum](#) of Old [Smithfield](#) and [Providence, Rhode Island](#) initiated the New England Anti-Slavery Society, which would be based in [Boston](#) and of which he would become the 1st president.

Some mystery attends the [disownment](#) by Smithfield, Rhode Island, meeting of Arnold Buffum, a European American abolitionist and one of the most visible and vocal radicals in New England. Buffum had converted to the cause after buying the first issue of the [Liberator](#) and meeting Garrison. Though numerous sources refer to his disownment, none provide dates for the event, and monthly meeting minutes record no such act. Still, Buffum himself once stated that the Smithfield meeting had disowned him, and his daughter Elizabeth Buffum Chace recalled that the meeting told Buffum the matter might be "amicably settled, if he would give up this abolition lecturing."<sup>30</sup>

30. Page 89 in Donna McDaniel's and Vanessa Julye's FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).



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1833



March 9, Saturday: [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) met Queen Consort Adelaide Amelia Louise Theresa Caroline at Windsor Castle, and played the organ for her. In the evening he played for both her and King William IV.

[Friend Arnold Buffum](#) of old [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), and the Reverend Samuel Joseph May, representing the New England Anti-Slavery Society, appeared at the Canterbury, Connecticut town meeting



with instructions from Headmistress [Prudence Crandall](#) to agree to any reasonable compromise — and got absolutely nowhere.



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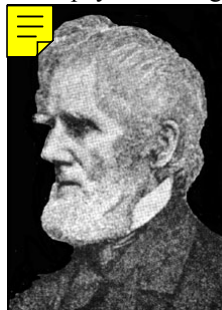
It is clear from the record that the spectre that was terrifying the white elders of the town of Canterbury was that of racial intermarriage. Prudence, let us be frank, did not disdain to pour fuel on these flames:

Moses had a black wife.

Further negotiation became impossible. The town's whitebread leaders, outraged by this frank acceptance of race mingling, would not stop short of the collapse of her academy.



Arthur Tappan would contact her and offer to pay all her legal expenses.





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1834



April 19, Saturday: In and around Penn Yan, New York at the head of Crooked Lake (now Keuka Lake), some members of the Society of Universal Friends were still hanging onto their faith. In Philadelphia, the Saturday Courier incautiously published a “tragical story of a Mormon preacher” who had pretended to be able to walk on water, who had been foiled by some clever Philadelphians, a story allegedly provided to that gazette “by the editor of the Independent Messenger on the authority of a gentleman from the western part of the state of New York”:

In a town where the delusion had made numerous converts the disciples were summoned to assemble in a wild place, circumjacent to a pond, on the water of which, a gifted elder announced that he should walk and preach.... But it seems there were a few wicked Lamanites, who secretly set themselves to make mischief.... They soon discovered a line of plank laid in a particular direction completely across the pond, sunk about four inches under the surface of the water.... They resolved on preventing the miracle by sawing the concealed bridge in pieces, just where it crossed the deepest and most dangerous part of the pond.... The expected day arrived, the congregation placed themselves as in an amphitheatre on the surrounding slopes and the preacher appeared at the edge of the water ... and as he paced his invisible bridge with a step apparent unearthly taught and warned the people. All ears were open, and every eye strained from its socket with astonishment. But alas! ... he stepped upon one of the detached pieces of plank sallied side-ways, and instantly plunged, floundering and sinking in the deep water mire ... the tale closes with the close of his life and the consequent close of Mormonism in that vicinity.

The Evening and Morning Star, a Mormon gazette, promptly reprinted this gazette’s story verbatim (Volume 2, Number 19, page 151) while commenting that “Some two or three years since, a similar story was hatched up by (we presume) the priests, or their dupes; but we had supposed that it had either gone back to its native region to dwell with its author the father of lies, or like its first promulgator from him, sunk into disgrace to rise no more.” The Mormon gazette’s editor, Oliver Cowdery, challenged the Courier to publish the name of its source. In fact, the story was the recycling of one of those urban legends too good not to be told, that had previously surfaced not in regard to Mormon saints but in regard to “Universal Friend,” Jemimah Wilkinson, and perhaps also in regard to other religious pretenders. In this year a travel guide, MEN AND MANNERS IN AMERICA, would pick up the story (Volume II, pages 305-6):

The banks of the Seneca, like those of the Gareloch,<sup>31</sup> have been the chosen seat of miracles. Some years ago, a woman called Jemima Wilson [Wilkinson], announced herself as the Saviour of the world, and attracted a few followers somewhat more mad than herself. While her miraculous endowments were displayed only in the jabbering of unknown tongues, and unintelligible predictions, she stood on safe ground, but unluckily her ambition pointed to the honour of more palpable miracles. “Near Rapelyeas ferry,” says the Northern Tourist, “the frame is still

31. A salt-water inlet 63 miles long and a mile wide, to the west of Glasgow, Scotland.



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standing which Jemima constructed to try the faith of her followers. Having approached within a few [306] hundred yards of the shore, she alighted from an elegant carriage, and the road being strewed by her followers with white handkerchiefs, she walked to the platform, and having announced her intention of walking across the lake on the water, she stepped ankle-deep into the clear element, when suddenly pausing, she addressed the multitude, enquiring whether they had faith that she could pass over, for if otherwise, she could not; and on receiving an affirmative answer, returned to her carriage, declaring, that as they believed in her power, it unnecessary to display it.

This legend about “Universal Friend,” [Jemimah Wilkinson](#), has also been retailed in regard to Sneece Pond and other bodies of water in [Cumberland](#) and [Smithfield](#), and in regard to Worden Pond in [South Kingstown](#), [Rhode Island](#), and in regard to Yawgoog Pond in Exeter, to the Taunton River near Swansea, to the Housatonic River near New Milford, to the Schuylkill River near Philadelphia, and to various sites on Seneca and Keuka lakes. In its most common variant Jemimah promises to walk on the water like Christ, but when her followers attest their faith, declares there to be no need for proof. There is, however, a version in which the onlookers include skeptics, with Jemimah declaring, “Without thy faith I cannot do it,” and a version in which she attempts to walk on a platform that has been constructed just below the still surface of the lake, but someone has removed several boards from this platform, so she tumbles into the water to the delight of the skeptics.

1835



October: A [duel](#) took place near Scott’s pond in [Smithfield](#), [Rhode Island](#) between two naval officers who had arrived by boat from New-York to [Providence](#) and then by coach. It appears that both officers sustained wounds.



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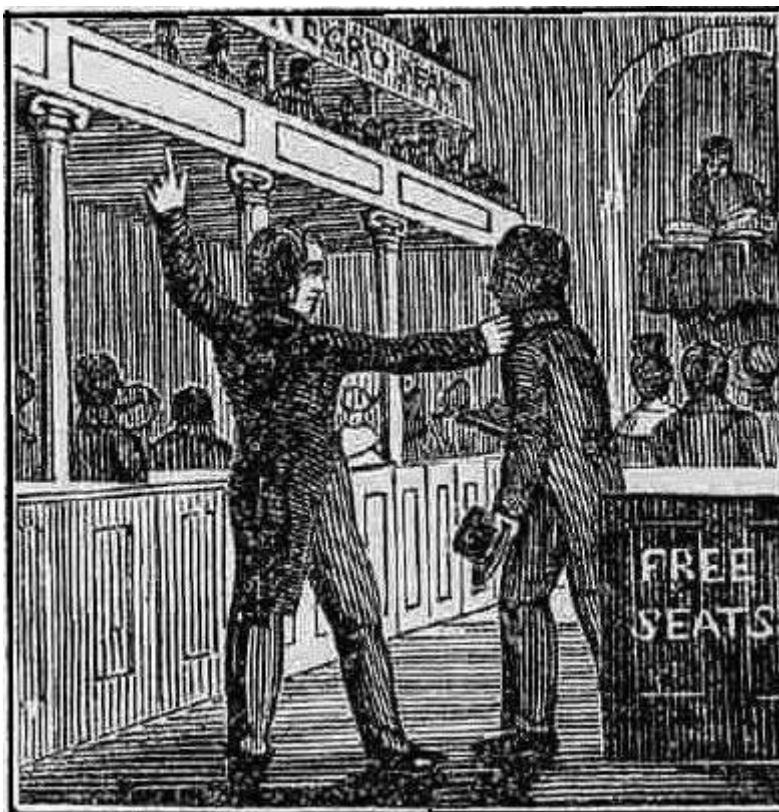
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1838

In this year ownership of the [Saylesville, Rhode Island](#) machine shop and its land was transferred from Granville Olney to his son Elisha Olney (this would not be recorded in [Smithfield](#) town records until 1841).

[Friend William Bassett](#) of Lynn, Massachusetts participated in the founding of the New England Non-Resistance Society and also spoke out publicly against the [Quaker](#) meetinghouses which imposed segregated seating upon white and black Friends.



(The “Negro Gallery” had been removed from the Friends meetinghouse in [Providence](#) in a renovation in 1822, but as of 1838 was still in existence in the society’s meetinghouse in [Saylesville](#) and in fact is in existence there to this day — although of course nowadays nobody thinks of it in that context.)



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1839

February 21, Thursday: According to Roll #12 of microfilmed records of “Inward Slave Manifests,” now available on the Internet for your ready consultation, on this day the brig *Smithfield* of the firm of Nicholas Brown & Co. of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), a coastwise vessel, arrived in the port of Charleston, South Carolina under the command of Captain Thomas Andros or Andrews (both spellings are listed)<sup>32</sup> conveying two coffles of American [slaves](#) to their destiny on the auction block for the Southern plantation market. The coffles were divided according to their white ownership, with the consignment pertaining to the factor Alex M. Donald, a middleman, consisting of the following persons:

NAME	GENDER	AGE	HEIGHT	COLOR
Charles	male	21	5-5	Black
John	male	21	5-10	Black
Harry	male	14	4-10	Black
Jack	male	19	5-11	Mulatto
Joseph	male	23	5-8	Black
Antony	male	15	4-9	Mulatto
Lucy	female	28	5-2	Black

The other consignment, pertaining to the factor T. Ely Gragg of Chesaw, South Carolina, consisted of the following persons:

NAME	GENDER	AGE	HEIGHT	COLOR
Melesa	female	22	5-9	Brown
Nancy	female	40	5-4	Black
Martha Jane	female	12	4-5	Black
Nancy Peters	female	9	3-11	Black
Judy	female	4	3-3	Black
Joseph	male	(infant)		Black
Lseeila	female	15	5-3	Black

32. Clearly, this “Captain Thomas Andros or Andrews” of this coastal slave ship was one and the same person as the Thomas Andrews who had been born on December 1, 1790 in [Smithfield](#), a son of Jonathan Andrews and Marcy Ames Andrews of North Smithfield.



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1841

3d Month: [Quaker](#) meetings at the 1st Mendon meetinghouse were discontinued by [Smithfield](#) Monthly Meeting of [Rhode Island](#).

[Abby Kelley](#) wrote to the Uxbridge Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#):

I hereby disown all connection of fellowship with the Society of Friends, feeling it a duty to "come out and be separate."

To celebrate her break from religious discipline Abby read a novel which she had previously, by the strict standards of this religious discipline, been unable to bring herself to read simply because as a work of fiction, it was therefore of the nature of a lie: TRISTRAM SHANDY.

[Friend Joseph Sturge](#) came to America with two expressed purposes: the abolition of slavery, and the promotion of a permanent international peace. Arriving shortly after the American Anti-Slavery Society had spun off a large portion of its membership into the all-male American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society over the question of admitting women to its ranks, Friend Joseph, who did honor the work of female abolitionists,



would take the position that our projects of race and gender fairness were better kept separate. His first stop in New-York was an orthodox [Quaker](#) meeting. Later he would visit Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Baltimore, Delaware, Vermont, Washington, Virginia, and Massachusetts in the company of [John Greenleaf Whittier](#).

**Disarmament, by [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)**

"Put up the sword!" The voice of Christ once more



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Speaks, in the pauses of the cannon's roar,  
O'er fields of corn by fiery sickles reaped  
And left dry ashes; over trenches heaped  
With nameless dead; o'er cities starving slow  
Under a rain of fire; through wards of woe  
Down which a groaning diapason runs  
From tortured brothers, husbands, lovers, sons  
Of desolate women in their far-off homes  
Waiting to hear the step that never comes!  
O men and brothers! let that voice be heard.  
War fails, try peace; put up the useless sword!

Fear not the end. There is a story told  
In Eastern tents, when autumn nights grow cold,  
And round the fire the Mongol shepherds sit  
With grave responses listening unto it:  
Once, on the errands of his mercy bent,  
Buddha, the holy and benevolent,  
Met a fell monster, huge and fierce of look,  
Whose awful voice the hills and forests shook,  
"O son of peace!— the giant cried, "thy fate  
Is sealed at last, and love shall yield to hate."  
The unarmed Buddha looking, with no trace  
Of fear and anger, in the monster's face,  
In pity said, "Poor fiend, even thee I love."  
Lo! as he spake the sky-tall terror sank  
To hand-breadth size; the huge abhorrence shrank  
Into the form and fashion of a dove  
And where the thunder of its rage was heard,  
Circling above him sweetly sang the bird:  
"Hate hath no harm for love," so ran the song,  
"And peace unweaponed conquers every wrong!"

### The Meeting, by [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)

The elder folk shook hands at last,  
Down seat by seat the signal passed.  
To simple ways like ours unused,  
Half solemnized and half amused,  
With long-drawn breath and shrug, my guest  
His sense of glad relief expressed.

Outside, the hills lay warm in sun;  
The cattle in the meadow-run  
Stood half-leg deep: a single bird  
The green repose above us stirred.  
"What part or lot have you," he said,  
"In these dull rites of drowsy-head?  
Is silence worship? Seek it where  
It soothes with dreams the summer air,  
Not in this close and rude-benched hall,  
But where soft lights and shadows fall,  
And all the slow sleep-walking hours,  
Glide soundless over grass and flowers!



WOONSOCKET RI

SAYLESVILLE RI

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

From time and place and form apart,  
Its holy ground the human heart,  
Nor ritual-bound nor templeward  
Walks the free spirit of the Lord  
Our common Master did not pen  
His followers up from other men;  
His service liberty indeed,  
he built no church, He framed no creed;  
But while the saintly Pharisee  
Made broader his phylactery,  
As from the synagogue was seen  
The dusty-sandaled Nazarene  
Through ripening cornfields lead the way  
Upon the awful Sabbath day,  
His sermons were the healthful talk  
That shorter made the mountain walk,  
His wayside texts were flowers and birds,  
Where mingled with His gracious words  
The rustle of the tamarisk-tree  
And ripple-wash of Galilee.”

“Thy words are well, O friend,” I said;  
“Unmeasured and unlimited,  
With noiseless slide of stone to stone,  
The mystic Church of God has grown.  
Invisible and silent stands  
The temple never made with hands,  
Unheard the voices still and small  
Of its unseen confessional.

He needs no special place of prayer  
Whose hearing ear is everywhere;  
He brings not back the childish days  
That ringed the earth with stones of praise,  
Roofed Karnak’s hall of gods and laid  
The plinths of Philae’s colonnade.

Still less He owns the selfish good  
And sickly growth of solitude,—  
The worthless grace that, out of sight,  
Flowers in the desert anchorite;  
Dissevered from the suffering whole  
Love hath no power to save a soul.  
Not out of self, the origin,  
And native air and soil of sin,  
The living waters spring and flow,  
The trees with leaves of healing grow.

“Dream not, O friend, because I seek  
This quiet shelter twice a week,  
I better deem its pine-laid floor  
Than breezy hill or sea-sung shore;  
But nature is not solitude:  
She crowds us with her thronging wood;  
Her many hands reach out to us,  
Her many tongues are garrulous;  
Perpetual riddles of surprise  
She offers to our ears and eyes;  
She will not leave our senses still,  
But drags them captive at her will;  
And making earth too great for heaven,  
She hides the Giver in the given.





**SAYLESVILLE RI**

**WOONSOCKET RI**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

“And so I find it well to come  
For deeper rest to this still room,  
For here the habit of the soul  
Feels less the outer world’s control;  
The strength of mutual purpose pleads  
More earnestly our common needs;  
And from the silence multiplied  
By these still forms on either side,  
The world that time and sense have known  
Falls off and leaves us God alone.

“Yet rarely through the charmed repose  
Unmixed the stream of motive flows,  
A flavor of its many springs,  
The tints of earth and sky it brings;  
In the still waters needs must be  
Some shade of human sympathy;  
And here, in its accustomed place,  
I look on memory’s dearest face;  
The blind by-sitter guesses not  
What shadow haunts that vacant spot;  
No eyes save mine alone can see  
The love wherewith it welcomes me!

And still, with those alone my kin,  
In doubt and weakness, want and sin,  
I bow my head, my heart I bare,  
As when that face was living there,  
And strive (too oft, alas! in vain)  
The peace of simple trust to gain,  
Fold fancy’s restless wings, and lay  
The idols of my heart away.

“Welcome the silence all unbroken,  
Nor less the words of fitness spoken,—  
Such golden words as hers for whom  
Our autumn flowers have just made room;  
Whose hopeful utterance though and through  
The freshness of the morning blew;  
Who loved not less the earth that light  
Fell on it from the heavens in sight,  
But saw in all fair forms more fair  
The Eternal beauty mirrored there.

Whose eighty years but added grace  
And saintlier meaning to her face,—  
The look of one who bore away  
Glad tidings from the hills of day,  
While all our hearts went forth to meet  
The coming of her beautiful feet!

Or haply hers, whose pilgrim tread  
Is in the path where Jesus led;  
Who dreams her childhood’s sabbath dream  
By Jordan’s willow-shaded stream,  
And, of the hymns of hope and faith,  
Sung by the monks of Nazareth,  
Hears pious echoes, in the call  
To prayer, from Moslem minarets fall.



WOONSOCKET RI

SAYLESVILLE RI

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Repeating where His works were wrought  
The lesson that her Master taught,  
Of whom an elder sibyl gave,  
The prophecies of Cumae's cave!  
"I ask no organ's soulless breath  
To drone the themes of life and death,  
No altar candle-lit by day,  
No ornate wordsman's rhetoric-play,  
No cool philosophy to teach  
Its bland audacities of speech  
To double-tasked idolaters  
Themselves their gods and worshippers,  
No pulpit hammered by the fist  
Of loud-asserting dogmatist,  
Who borrows for the Hand of love  
the smoking thunderbolts of Jove.

I know how well the fathers taught,  
What work the later schoolmen wrought;  
I reverence old time faith and men,  
But God is near us now as then;  
His force of love is still unspent,  
His hate of sin as imminent;  
And still the measure of our needs,  
Outgrows the cramping bounds of creeds;  
The manna gathered yesterday  
Already savors of decay;  
Doubts to the world's child-heart unknown  
Question us now from star and stone;  
Too little or too much we know  
And sight is swift and faith is slow;  
The power is lost to self-deceive  
With shallow forms of make-believe.

We walk at high noon, and the bells  
Call to a thousand oracles,  
But the sound deafens, and the light  
Is stronger than our dazzled sight;  
The letters of the sacred Book  
Glimmer and swim beneath our look;  
Still struggles in the Age's breast  
With deepening agony of quest  
The old entreaty: "Art thou He,  
Or look we to the Christ to be?"

"God should be most where man is least:  
So, where is neither church nor priest,  
And never rag nor form of creed  
To clothe the nakedness of need,—  
Where farmer folk in silence meet,—  
I turn my bell-unsummoned feet;  
I lay the critic's glass aside,  
I tread upon my lettered pride,  
And, lowest-seated, testify  
To the oneness of humanity;  
Confess the universal want,  
And share whatever Heaven may grant.

He findeth not who seeks his own,  
The soul is lost that's saved alone.



**SAYLESVILLE RI**

**WOONSOCKET RI**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

September: This was the [Brook Farm](#) experiment's membership roster as it has been derived from their Articles of Association documents dated September 29, 1841 and February 17, 1842, from their Constitution dated February 11, 1844, and from various minutes of their meetings preserved by the Massachusetts Historical Society. We instantly notice that it is not a particularly accurate record of what had been going on, as witness the fact that [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) is being shown as being admitted to membership in the association a month after his attorney has filed the necessary legal papers to disassociate him:

Date of Admission	Name	Birthplace	Birthdate	Occupation
September 1841	<a href="#">Reverend George Ripley</a>	Greenfield MA	1802	minister
September 1841	<a href="#">Mrs. Sophia Dana Ripley</a>	Cambridge MA	1803	wife of minister
September 1841	Marianne Ripley	Greenfield MA	1797	teacher
September 1841	Charles A. Dana	Hindsdale NH	1819	student
September 1841	Minot Pratt	Weymouth MA	1805	printer
September 1841	Maria Pratt	Boston MA	1806	wife of printer
September 1841	<a href="#">Nathaniel Hawthorne</a>	Salem MA	1804	writer
September 1841	Sarah F. Stearns	Massachusetts	<i>circa</i> 1820	student
September 1841	<a href="#">William Allen</a>	Vermont	1815	schoolteacher at Concord
September 1841	Charles O. Whitmore	?	?	?
February 1842	Georgiana Bruce	England	<i>circa</i> 1820	teacher
February 1842	Samuel D. Robbins	Lynn MA	1812	minister
February 1842	Mary Robbins	Lynn MA	<i>circa</i> 1812	wife of minister
February 1842	David Mack	Cambridge MA	?	Boston attorney
February 1842	Lucy Maria Kollock Brastow Mack	Cambridge MA	?	wife of attorney David Mack
February 1842	<a href="#">Lemuel Capen</a>	?	1789 (died 1858)	minister
February 1842	Warren Burton	Wilton NH	1800	minister
February 1842	George C. Leach	Gloucester MA	?	hotelkeeper
February 1842	Francis Farley	?	?	farmer
February 1842	Sylvia Allen	Vermont	?	wife of farmer
June 1842	Anna Foord	?	<i>circa</i> 1820	student
June 1842	Abigail Morton	Plymouth MA	<i>circa</i> 1820	student



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Date of Admission	Name	Birthplace	Birthdate	Occupation
June 1842	James Hill	?	?	?
August 1842	James Curtis	<a href="#">Providence, Rhode Island</a>	1824	student
September 1842	Eleanor Garrith	?	?	?
September 1842	John Brown	?	?	farmer
October 1842	Manuel Diaz	?	?	student
December 1842	Icabod Morton	Plymouth MA	?	commercial fisherman
January 1843	Amelia Russell	Dunkirk, France	1798	teacher
January 1843	Lewis Ryckman	New-York NY	1796	shoemaker
January 1843	Jane Ryckman	New-York NY	1799	wife of shoemaker
January 1843	Mary Brown	?	?	wife of a farmer
February 1844	John Cheever	Ireland	1802	domestic servant
February 1844	Marianne Williams	England	1806	?
February 1844	John Mitchell	Scotland	1818	shoemaker
February 1844	John Sullivan Dwight	Boston MA	1813	minister
February 1844	Christopher List	Wurtemberg, Germany	1816	lawyer
February 1844	William J. Davis	Sutton MA	1816	carpenter
February 1844	Anne Dana	Gaines NY	1825	sister of student
February 1844	Charles Salisbury	Walpole NH	1819	farmer
February 1844	Deborah N-	?	?	?
February 1844	Mary Holland	Belfast ME	<i>circa 1817</i>	wife of a tallow chandler
February 1844	Mary Ann Willard	?	?	?
April 1844	William Teel	Jersey City NJ	1822	shoemaker
April 1844	Porter Holland	Belfast ME	1817	tallow chandler
April 1844	Jeremiah Reynolds	Sterling CT	1820	carpenter
April 1844	Peter Baldwin	Boston MA	1806	baker
May 1844	Ephraim Capen	Dorchester MA	1813	pewterer



**SAYLESVILLE RI**

**WOONSOCKET RI**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

Date of Admission	Name	Birthplace	Birthdate	Occupation
May 1844	Job Tirell	Boston MA	1795	carpenter
May 1844	Charles Fuller	Boston MA	1822	shoemaker
May 1844	Frederick Burnham	Roxbury MA	1821	shoemaker
May 1844	William Cheswell	Boston MA	1818	carpenter
May 1844	Mary Ann Cheswell	Boston MA	1822	wife of carpenter
May 1844	Robert Westacott	England	1818	cabinet maker
June 1844	Frederick Cabot	Boston MA	1822	clerk
June 1844	Mary Dwight	West Newbury MA	1792	mother of minister
June 1844	Marianne Dwight	Boston MA	1816	teacher
June 1844	Benjamin Fitch	Temple NH	1810	farmer
June 1844	Francis Dwight	Boston MA	1819	sister of minister
June 1844	Flavel Patterson	Lunenburg MA	1806	carpenter
June 1844	Caroline Patterson	Charlestown MA	1815	wife of carpenter
June 1844	Rebecca Codman	Charlestown MA	1798	wife of a mechanic
July 1844	Jonathan Butterfield	West Cambridge MA	1818	printer
July 1844	Nathaniel Colson	Abington MA	1815	shoemaker
July 1844	Hannah Colson	Athens ME	1821	wife of shoemaker
July 1844	George Houghton	Stillwater NY	1809	printer
July 1844	Hiram Haskell	St. Johns, New Brunswick	1823	apothecary
July 1844	Julia Whitehouse	Assumption Point NJ(?)	1799	?
July 1844	Buckley Hastings	Franklin [County?] MA	1814	grocer
August 1844	Cynthia Hastings	Votingham(?) VT(?)	1818	wife of grocer
August 1844	John Codman	Boston MA	1794	mechanic
August 1844	John Drew	Plymouth MA	1821	?
August 1844	Catharine Sloan	Dunstable MA	1822	seamstress
August 1844	Caleb Smith	Hallowell ME	circa 1822	?





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**SAYLESVILLE RI**

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Date of Admission	Name	Birthplace	Birthdate	Occupation
August 1844	Benjamin Clark	Townsend MA	1822	farmer
August 1844	Edmund Farrington	Medway MA	1822	mechanic
August 1844	Thomas Blak	Hallowell ME	1823	printer
August 1844	John Orvis	Ferrisburgh VT	1816	farmer, son of Quaker
August 1844	Castalia Hosmer	Bedford MA	1819	shoemaker
August 1844	Mary Hosmer	Townsend MA	1820	wife of shoemaker
September 1844	Elmira Daniels	Keene NH	1819	seamstress
September 1844	Alex Murray	St. Johns, New Brunswick	1820	cabinetmaker
September 1844	George Pierce	?	?	?
September 1844	Peter Kleinstrup	Denmark	1800	gardener
September 1844	Charles Hosmer	Medford MA	1820	shoemaker
September 1844	James Clapp	<a href="#">Smithfield, Rhode Island</a>	1816	bricklayer
October 1844	Alpha Clapp	<a href="#">Cumberland, Rhode Island</a>	1820	wife of bricklayer
October 1844	Caroline Clapp	Boston MA	1824	seamstress
October 1844	Augustina Kleinstrup	Denmark	1808	wife of gardener
November 1844	Granville Hosmer	Bedford MA	1822	shoemaker
November 1844	Ann Hosmer	Bedford MA	<i>circa</i> 1822	wife of shoemaker
December 1844	John Hoxie	Boston MA	?	?
December 1844	Jeanne Palisse	Switzerland	1802	manufacturer
December 1844	Eunice Macdaniel	Washington DC	1824	sister of a journalist who was not a member
December 1844	Francis Macdaniel	Washington DC	?	?
December 1844	Eliza Palisse Weymout	?	?	?
December 1844	John Sawyer	?	?	?
December 1844	Lydia Smith Lancaster	?	?	?
December 1844	Henry Trask	?	?	?
December 1844	Clinton, A	Cambridgeport MA	?	?



**SAYLESVILLE RI**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

<b>Date of Admission</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Birthplace</b>	<b>Birthdate</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
January 1845	Sarah Codman	Boston MA	1820	carriage maker
March 1845	Charles Curtis	?	1820	?
April 1845	Alfred Peppercorn	England	?	butcher



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**SAYLESVILLE RI**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

November 18, Thursday: From about the 18th to about the 20th, [Frederick Douglass](#) and [Abby Kelley](#) would be in



[Providence](#) during the Dorrite “People’s Convention,” and would be taking part in a Rhode Island Regional anti-slavery convention in [Woonsocket Falls, Rhode Island](#) intended as a protest against the Dorr constitution.



**READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT**

Douglass would later write of Kelley that “Her young and simple Quaker beauty, combined with her wonderful



**SAYLESVILLE RI**

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**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**





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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

earnestness, her large knowledge and great logical power bore down all opposition, wherever she spoke, though she was pelted with foul eggs and no less foul words from the noisy mobs which attended us.” The Law and Order party which Douglass and Kelley were backing would lose the election, but since it was an election of very dubious legality, and since President John Tyler had already offered federal troops if necessary to straighten out the situation in Rhode Island, it was possible for this losing “Law and Order” party to put a thousand-dollar reward on the head of the “winner” of the election, the lawyer and legislator [Thomas Wilson Dorr](#), and when they had arrested him under arms, to try him for treason and sentence him to life in prison.

(In Cabul, [Afghanistan](#), the promised animals to draw the wagons during the British retreat had never been produced and heavy snow had rendered the situation of the British even more desperate. At this point news arrived that General Sale had sallied forth from Jellalabad and driven the enemy before his forces, but had in so doing sustained considerable losses. There would be no further hope of relief from that detachment. Only the force in Kandahar might offer relief, although there was little prospect that anyone could make it from Kandahar to Cabul during that season. There was discussion of making an attack on Mahomed Khan’s fort in order to open a path to the Bala Hissar, but that idea was abandoned when Lieutenant Sturt of the engineers considered it impracticable.)



**SAYLESVILLE RI**

**WOONSOCKET RI**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

December 2, Thursday-3, Friday: [Frederick Douglass](#) fulminated at the Regional Anti-Slavery Convention



in [Woonsocket](#) Falls, [Rhode Island](#) in protest of the racist Dorr constitution.



December 3: Music in proportion as it is pure is distant. The strains I now hear seem at an inconceivable distance, yet remotely within me. Remotes throws all sound into my inmost being and it becomes music, as the slumbrous sounds of the village, or the tinkling of the forge — from across the water or the fields.





WOONSOCKET RI

SAYLESVILLE RI

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

To the senses that is farthest from me which addresses the greatest depth within me.



1844

September: [Brook Farm](#) added the following new recruits:

Name	Birthplace	Birthdate	Occupation
Elmira Daniels	Keene NH	1819	seamstress
Alex Murray	St. Johns, New Brunswick	1820	cabinetmaker
George Pierce	?	?	?
Peter Kleinstrup	Denmark	1800	gardener
Charles Hosmer	Medford MA	1820	shoemaker
James Clapp	<a href="#">Smithfield, Rhode Island</a>	1816	bricklayer

1849

In [Rhode Island](#), the 1719 [Smithfield](#) meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was remodeled.



SAYLESVILLE RI

WOONSOCKET RI

## GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1860

The 8th national census. The [slave](#) states that would remain within the federal union had come to enslave only 13.5% of their population, while the slave states that would form the new confederacy were at this point enslaving 38.7% of their population. The %age of slaves in the border slave states had been gradually declining, while this had been meanwhile very slowly rising farther south:

### % of Americans Enslaved

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
Union Slave States	27.5	24.5	22.9	22.5	21.9	19.3	16.5	13.5
States of Confederacy	35.3	35.3	37.1	37.7	38.1	38.4	38.6	38.7

Another difference, and one that has been given insufficient attention, is that free blacks were a much more significant percentage of the population in Union slave states in 1860 (4.0%) than in the Confederacy (1.5%). In some states the free black percentages were substantial enough that serious resistance by free blacks could have made a difference. Delaware, for example, in 1860 while it was still a slave state, had 17.7% of its black population as free.<sup>33</sup>

The US census showed 174, 620 people in [Rhode Island](#). A few years earlier, in 1845, the French Canadian population of the state had been about 400. Between 1860 and 1910 at least 32, 000 French Canadians would enter the state. [Central Falls](#) would boast 18,000 French Canadians in 1895. By 1930, of [Woonsocket](#)'s 50,000 people at least 35,000 would be of French Canadian descent.



33. Cramer, Clayton E. BLACK DEMOGRAPHIC DATA, 1790-1860: A SOURCEBOOK, Greenwood Publishing Group, 1997.



**WOONSOCKET RI**

**SAYLESVILLE RI**

**GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

By 1910 the population of Germans in the state would grow to around 13,000.



When the Rhode Island Republican Party nominated an abolitionist, Seth Padelford, for governor, the party split. Supporters of other Republican aspirants and Republican moderates of the Lincoln variety joined with soft-on-slavery Democrats to elect a fusion “Conservative” candidate. They chose the heir to a vast cotton textile empire and a colonel in the [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Marine Corps of Artillery, 29-year-old William Sprague of [Cranston](#). When Sprague outpolled Padelford 12,278 to 10,740, the city of Savannah, Georgia fired off a one-hundred-gun salute in celebration of this grand victory for human enslavement.

Young Governor Sprague, when going from his office on Benefit Street to his home on the top of College Hill, rather than dismount at the steps on Meeting Street below Congdon Street, would urge his white horse up these steps full tilt.

As of 1790 the center of the human population of the USA had been a little town just about a day’s travel inland

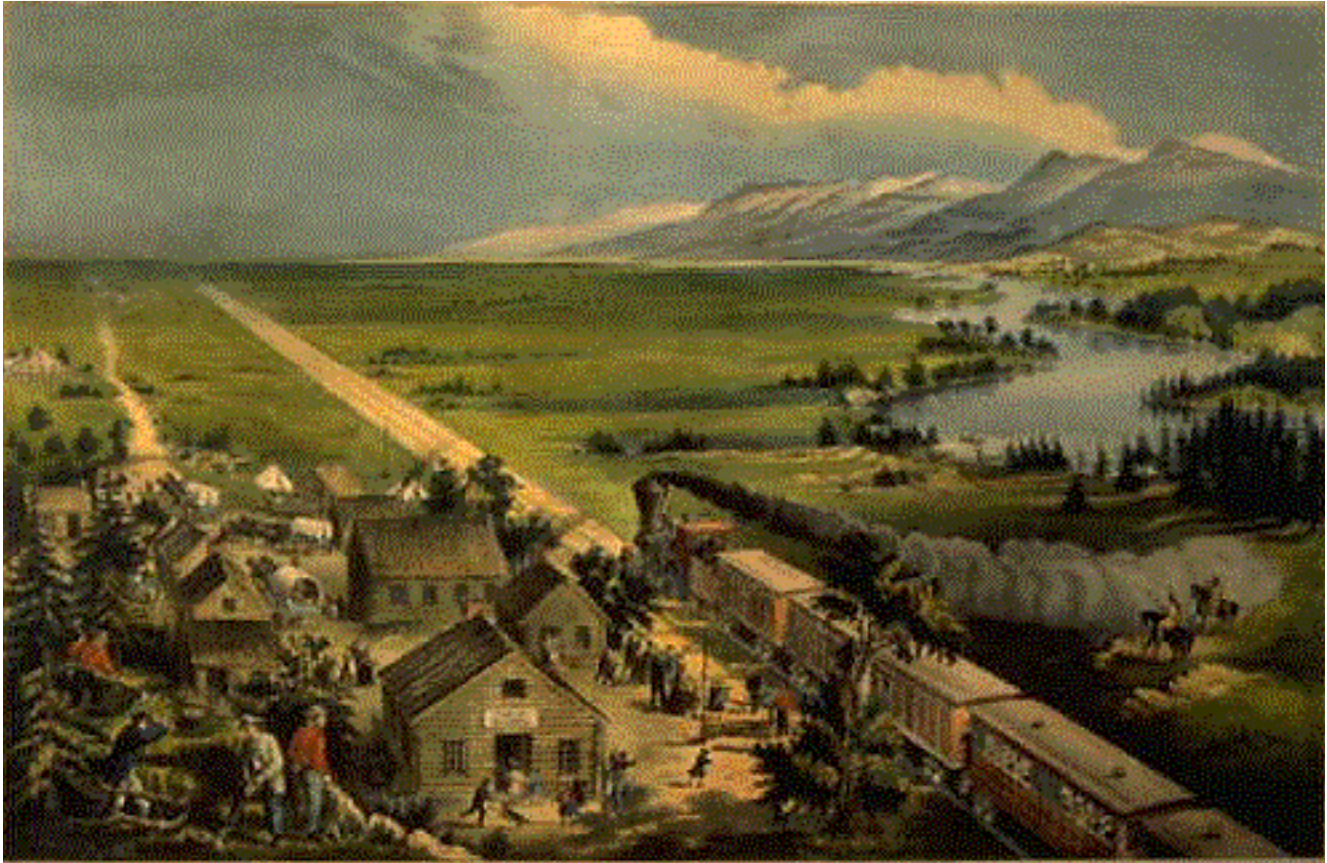


**SAYLESVILLE RI**

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from [Baltimore](#). By this period the center of population had relocated.



(Nowadays, of course, we've all been coming from one or another center in Missouri.)





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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

March 8, Thursday: Presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln delivered, in [Woonsocket, Rhode Island](#), the standard



stump speech about American [slavery](#) being contrary to the spirit of our [Declaration of Independence](#) that he had already delivered on March 6th in New Haven and on March 7th in Meriden, Connecticut and would go on to deliver without significant changes on March 9th in Norwich and on March 10th in Bridgeport CT. According to the New Haven [Daily Palladium](#) for March 7th, this was the gist of it:

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-CITIZENS OF [INSERT TOWN HERE]:

If the Republican party of this nation shall ever have the national house entrusted to its keeping, it will be the duty of that party to attend to all the affairs of national house-keeping. Whatever matters of importance may come up, whatever difficulties may arise in the way of its administration of the government, that party will then have to attend to. It will then be compelled to attend to other questions, besides this question which now assumes an overwhelming importance — the question of Slavery. It is true that in the organization of the Republican party this question of Slavery was more important than any other; indeed, so much more important has it become that no other national question can even get a hearing just at present. The old question of tariff — a matter that will remain one of the chief affairs of national housekeeping to all time — the question of the management of financial affairs; the question of the disposition of the public domain — how shall it be managed for the purpose of getting it well settled, and of making there the homes of a free and happy people — these will remain open and require attention for a great while yet, and these questions will have to be attended to by whatever party has the control of the government. Yet, just now, they cannot even obtain a hearing, and I do not purpose to detain you upon these topics, or what sort of hearing they should have when opportunity shall come.

For, whether we will or not, the question of Slavery is the question, the all absorbing topic of the day. It is true that all of us — and by that I mean, not the Republican party alone, but the whole American people, here and elsewhere — all of us wish this question settled — wish it out of the way. It stands in the way, and prevents the adjustment, and the giving of necessary attention to other questions of national house-keeping. The people of the whole nation agree that this question ought to be settled, and yet it is not settled. And the reason is that they are not yet agreed how





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it shall be settled. All wish it done, but some wish one way and some another, and some a third, or fourth, or fifth; different bodies are pulling in different directions, and none of them having a decided majority, are able to accomplish the common object.

In the beginning of the year 1854 a new policy was inaugurated with the avowed object and confident promise that it would entirely and forever put an end to the Slavery agitation. It was again and again declared that under this policy, when once successfully established, the country would be forever rid of this whole question. Yet under the operation of that policy this agitation has not only not ceased, but it has been constantly augmented. And this too, although, from the day of its introduction, its friends, who promised that it would wholly end all agitation, constantly insisted, down to the time that the Lecompton bill was introduced, that it was working admirably, and that its inevitable tendency was to remove the question forever from the politics of the country. Can you call to mind any Democratic speech, made after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, down to the time of the Lecompton bill, in which it was not predicted that the Slavery agitation was just at an end; that "the abolition excitement was played out," "the Kansas question was dead," "they have made the most they can out of this question and it is now forever settled." But since the Lecompton bill no Democrat, within my experience, has ever pretended that he could see the end. That cry has been dropped. They themselves do not pretend, now, that the agitation of this subject has come to an end yet. [Applause.]

The truth is, that this question is one of national importance, and we cannot help dealing with it: we must do something about it, whether we will or not. We cannot avoid it; the subject is one we cannot avoid considering; we can no more avoid it than a man can live without eating. It is upon us; it attaches to the body politic as much and as closely as the natural wants attach to our natural bodies. Now I think it important that this matter should be taken up in earnest, and really settled. And one way to bring about a true settlement of the question is to understand its true magnitude.

There have been many efforts to settle it. Again and again it has been fondly hoped that it was settled, but every time it breaks out afresh, and more violently than ever. It was settled, our fathers hoped, by the Missouri Compromise, but it did not stay settled. Then the compromises of 1850 were declared to be a full and final settlement of the question. The two great parties, each in National Convention, adopted resolutions declaring that the settlement made by the Compromise of 1850 was a finality — that it would last forever. Yet how long before it was unsettled again! It broke out again in 1854, and blazed higher and raged more furiously than ever before, and the agitation has not rested since.

These repeated settlements must have some fault about them. There must be some inadequacy in their very nature to the purpose for which they were designed. We can only speculate as to where that fault — that inadequacy, is, but we may perhaps profit by past experience.

I think that one of the causes of these repeated failures is that our best and greatest men have greatly underestimated the size of this question. They have constantly brought forward small cures for great sores — plasters too small to cover the wound. That is one reason that all settlements have proved so temporary — so evanescent. [Applause.]

Look at the magnitude of this subject! One sixth of our population, in round numbers — not quite one sixth, and yet more than a seventh, — about one sixth of the whole population of the United States are slaves! The owners of these slaves consider them property. The effect upon the minds of the owners is that of property, and nothing else — it induces them to insist upon all that will favorably affect its value as property, to demand laws and institutions and a public policy that shall increase and secure its value, and make it durable, lasting and universal. The effect on the minds of the





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owners is to persuade them that there is no wrong in it. The slaveholder does not like to be considered a mean fellow, for holding that species of property, and hence he has to struggle within himself and sets about arguing himself into the belief that Slavery is right. The property influences his mind. The dissenting minister, who argued some theological point with one of the established church, was always met by the reply, "I can't see it so." He opened the Bible, and pointed him to a passage, but the orthodox minister replied, "I can't see it so." Then he showed him a single word — "Can you see that?" "Yes, I see it," was the reply. The dissenter laid a guinea over the word and asked, "Do you see it now?" [Great laughter.] So here. Whether the owners of this species of property do really see it as it is, it is not for me to say, but if they do, they see it as it is through 2,000,000,000 of dollars, and that is a pretty thick coating. [Laughter.] Certain it is, that they do not see it as we see it. Certain it is, that this two thousand million of dollars, invested in this species of property, all so concentrated that the mind can grasp it at once — this immense pecuniary interest, has its influence upon their minds.

But here in Connecticut and at the North Slavery does not exist, and we see it through no such medium. To us it appears natural to think that slaves are human beings; men, not property; that some of the things, at least, stated about men in the [Declaration of Independence](#) apply to them as well as to us. [Applause.] I say, we think, most of us, that this Charter of Freedom applies to the slave as well as to ourselves, that the class of arguments put forward to batter down that idea, are also calculated to break down the very idea of a free government, even for white men, and to undermine the very foundations of free society. [Continued applause.] We think Slavery a great moral wrong, and while we do not claim the right to touch it where it exists, we wish to treat it as a wrong in the Territories, where our votes will reach it. We think that a respect for ourselves, a regard for future generations and for the God that made us, require that we put down this wrong where our votes will properly reach it. We think that species of labor an injury to free white men — in short, we think Slavery a great moral, social and political evil, tolerable only because, and so far as its actual existence makes it necessary to tolerate it, and that beyond that, it ought to be treated as a wrong. Now these two ideas, the property idea that Slavery is right, and the idea that it is wrong, come into collision, and do actually produce that irrepressible conflict which Mr. Seward has been so roundly abused for mentioning. The two ideas conflict, and must conflict.

Again, in its political aspect, does anything in any way endanger the perpetuity of this Union but that single thing, Slavery? Many of our adversaries are anxious to claim that they are specially devoted to the Union, and take pains to charge upon us hostility to the Union. Now we claim that we are the only true Union men, and we put to them this one proposition: What ever endangered this Union, save and except Slavery? Did any other thing ever cause a moment's fear? All men must agree that this thing alone has ever endangered the perpetuity of the Union. But if it was threatened by any other influence, would not all men say that the best thing that could be done, if we could not or ought not to destroy it, would be at least to keep it from growing any larger? Can any man believe that the way to save the Union is to extend and increase the only thing that threatens the Union, and to suffer it to grow bigger and bigger? [Great applause.] Whenever this question shall be settled, it must be settled on some philosophical basis. No policy that does not rest upon some philosophical public opinion can be permanently maintained. And hence, there are but two policies in regard to Slavery that can be at all maintained. The first, based on the property view that Slavery is right, conforms to that idea throughout, and demands that we shall do everything for it that we ought to do if it were right. We must sweep away all opposition, for opposition to the right is wrong; we must agree that Slavery is right, and we must



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adopt the idea that property has persuaded the owner to believe — that Slavery is morally right and socially elevating. This gives a philosophical basis for a permanent policy of encouragement.

The other policy is one that squares with the idea that Slavery is wrong, and it consists in doing everything that we ought to do if it is wrong. Now, I don't wish to be misunderstood, nor to leave a gap down to be misrepresented, even. I don't mean that we ought to attack it where it exists. To me it seems that if we were to form a government anew, in view of the actual presence of Slavery we should find it necessary to frame just such a government as our fathers did; giving to the slaveholder the entire control where the system was established, while we possessed the power to restrain it from going outside those limits. [Applause.] From the necessities of the case we should be compelled to form just such a government as our blessed fathers gave us; and, surely, if they have so made it, that adds another reason why we should let Slavery alone where it exists.

If I saw a venomous snake crawling in the road, any man would say I might seize the nearest stick and kill it; but if I found that snake in bed with my children, that would be another question. [Laughter.] I might hurt the children more than the snake, and it might bite them. [Applause.] Much more, if I found it in bed with my neighbor's children, and I had bound myself by a solemn compact not to meddle with his children under any circumstances, it would become me to let that particular mode of getting rid of the gentleman alone. [Great laughter.] But if there was a bed newly made up, to which the children were to be taken, and it was proposed to take a batch of young snakes and put them there with them, I take it no man would say there was any question how I ought to decide! [Prolonged applause and cheers.]

That is just the case! The new Territories are the newly made bed to which our children are to go, and it lies with the nation to say whether they shall have snakes mixed up with them or not. It does not seem as if there could be much hesitation what our policy should be! [Applause.]

Now I have spoken of a policy based on the idea that Slavery is wrong, and a policy based upon the idea that it is right. But an effort has been made for a policy that shall treat it as neither right or wrong. It is based upon utter indifference. Its leading advocate has said "I don't care whether it be voted up or down." [Laughter.] "It is merely a matter of dollars and cents." "The Almighty has drawn a line across this continent, on one side of which all soil must forever be cultivated by slave labor, and on the other by free;" "when the struggle is between the white man and the negro, I am for the white man; when it is between the negro and the crocodile, I am for the negro." Its central idea is indifference. It holds that it makes no more difference to us whether the Territories become free or slave States, than whether my neighbor stocks his farm with horned cattle or puts it into tobacco. All recognize this policy, the plausible sugar-coated name of which is "popular sovereignty." [Laughter.]

This policy chiefly stands in the way of a permanent settlement of the question. I believe there is no danger of its becoming the permanent policy of the country, for it is based on a public indifference. There is nobody that "don't care." ALL THE PEOPLE DO CARE! one way or the other. [Great applause.] I do not charge that its author, when he says he "don't care," states his individual opinion; he only expresses his policy for the government. I understand that he has never said, as an individual, whether he thought Slavery right or wrong — and he is the only man in the nation that has not! Now such a policy may have a temporary run; it may spring up as necessary to the political prospects of some gentleman; but it is utterly baseless; the people are not indifferent; and it can therefore have no durability or permanence.

But suppose it could! Then it could be maintained only by a public opinion that shall say "we don't care." There must be a change in public opinion, the public mind must be so



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far debauched as to square with this policy of caring not at all. The people must come to consider this as "merely a question of dollars and cents," and to believe that in some places the Almighty has made Slavery necessarily eternal. This policy can be brought to prevail if the people can be brought round to say honestly "we don't care;" if not, it can never be maintained. It is for you to say whether that can be done. [Applause.] You are ready to say it cannot, but be not too fast! Remember what a long stride has been taken since the repeal of the Missouri Compromise! Do you know of any Democrat, of either branch of the party — do you know one who declares that he believes that the [Declaration of Independence](#) has any application to the negro? Judge Taney declares that it has not, and Judge Douglas even vilifies me personally and scolds me roundly for saying that the Declaration applies to all men, and that negroes are men. [Cheers.] Is there a Democrat here who does not deny that the Declaration applies to a negro? Do any of you know of one? Well, I have tried before perhaps fifty audiences, some larger and some smaller than this, to find one such Democrat, and never yet have I found one who said I did not place him right in that. I must assume that Democrats hold that, and now, not one of these Democrats can show that he said that five years ago! [Applause.] I venture to defy the whole party to produce one man that ever uttered the belief that the Declaration did not apply to negroes, before the repeal of the Missouri Compromise! Four or five years ago we all thought negroes were men, and that when "all men" were named, negroes were included. But the whole Democratic party has deliberately taken negroes from the class of men and put them in the class of brutes. [Applause.] Turn it as you will, it is simply the truth! Don't be too hasty then in saying that the people cannot be brought to this new doctrine, but note that long stride. One more as long completes the journey, from where negroes are estimated as men to where they are estimated as mere brutes — as rightful property!

That saying, "in the struggle between the white man and the negro," &c., which I know came from the same source as this policy — that saying marks another step. There is a falsehood wrapped up in that statement. "In the struggle between the white man and the negro" assumes that there is a struggle, in which either the white man must enslave the negro or the negro must enslave the white. There is no such struggle! It is merely an ingenious falsehood, to degrade and brutalize the negro. Let each let the other alone, and there is no struggle about it. If it was like two wrecked seamen on a narrow plank, when each must push the other off or drown himself, I would push the negro off or a white man either, but it is not; the plank is large enough for both. [Applause.] This good earth is plenty broad enough for white man and negro both, and there is no need of either pushing the other off. [Continued applause.]

So that saying, "in the struggle between the negro and the crocodile," &c., is made up from the idea that down where the crocodile inhabits a white man can't labor; it must be nothing else but crocodile inhabits a white man can't labor; it must be nothing else but crocodile or negro; if the negro does not the crocodile must possess the earth; [laughter;] in that case he declares for the negro. The meaning of the whole is just this: As a white man is to a negro, so is a negro to a crocodile; and as the negro may rightfully treat the crocodile, so may the white man rightfully treat the negro. This very dear phrase coined by its author, and so dear that he deliberately repeats it in many speeches, has a tendency to still further brutalize the negro, and to bring public opinion to the point of utter indifference whether men so brutalized are enslaved or not. When that time shall come, if ever, I think that policy to which I refer may prevail. But I hope the good freemen of this country will never allow it to come, and until then the policy can never be maintained.

Now consider the effect of this policy. We in the States are not to care whether Freedom or Slavery gets the better, but the people in the Territories may care. They



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are to decide, and they may think what they please; it is a matter of dollars and cents! But are not the people of the Territories detailed from the States? If this feeling of indifference — this absence of moral sense about the question — prevails in the States, will it not be carried into the Territories? Will not every man say, "I don't care, it is nothing to me?" If any one comes that wants Slavery, must they not say, "I don't care whether Freedom or Slavery be voted up or voted down?" It results at last in naturalizing [the word Lincoln spoke was more likely to have been "nationalizing"] the institution of Slavery. Even if fairly carried out, that policy is just as certain to naturalize [again, "nationalize"] Slavery as the doctrine of Jeff Davis himself. These are only two roads to the same goal, and "popular sovereignty" is just as sure and almost as short as the other. [Applause.]

What we want, and all we want, is to have with us the men who think slavery wrong. But those who say they hate slavery, and are opposed to it, but yet act with the Democratic party — where are they? Let us apply a few tests. You say that you think slavery is wrong, but you denounce all attempts to restrain it. Is there anything else that you think wrong, that you are not willing to deal with as a wrong? Why are you so careful, so tender of this one wrong and no other? [Laughter.] You will not let us do a single thing as if it was wrong; where is no place where you will allow it to be even called wrong! We must not call it wrong in the Free States, because it is not there, and we must not call it wrong in the Slave States because it is there; we must not call it wrong in politics because that is bringing morality into politics, and we must not call it wrong in the pulpit because that is bringing politics into religion; we must not bring it into the Tract Society or the other societies, because those are such unsuitable places, and there is no single place, according to you, where this wrong thing can properly be called wrong! [Continued laughter and applause.]

Perhaps you will plead that if the people of Slave States should themselves set on foot an effort for emancipation, you would wish them success, and bid them God-speed. Let us test that! In 1858, the emancipation party of Missouri, with Frank Blair at their head, tried to get up a movement for that purpose, and having started a party contested the State. Blair was beaten, apparently if not truly, and when the news came to Connecticut, you, who knew that Frank Blair was taking hold of this thing by the right end, and doing the only thing that you say can properly be done to remove this wrong — did you bow your heads in sorrow because of that defeat? Do you, any of you, know one single Democrat that showed sorrow over that result? Not one! On the contrary every man threw up his hat, and hallooed at the top of his lungs, "hooray for Democracy!" [Great laughter and applause.]

Now, gentlemen, the Republicans desire to place this great question of slavery on the very basis on which our fathers placed it, and no other. [Applause.] It is easy to demonstrate that "our Fathers, who framed this government under which we live," looked on Slavery as wrong, and so framed it and everything about it as to square with the idea that it was wrong, so far as the necessities arising from its existence permitted. In forming the Constitution they found the slave trade existing; capital invested in it; fields depending upon it for labor, and the whole system resting upon the importation of slave-labor. They therefore did not prohibit the slave trade at once, but they gave the power to prohibit it after twenty years. Why was this? What other foreign trade did they treat in that way? Would they have done this if they had not thought slavery wrong?

Another thing was done by some of the same men who framed the Constitution, and afterwards adopted as their own act by the first Congress held under that Constitution, of which many of the framers were members; they prohibited the spread of Slavery into Territories. Thus the same men, the framers of the Constitution, cut off the supply and prohibited the spread of Slavery, and both acts show conclusively





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that they considered that the thing was wrong.

If additional proof is wanting it can be found in the phraseology of the Constitution. When men are framing a supreme law and chart of government, to secure blessings and prosperity to untold generations yet to come, they use language as short and direct and plain as can be found, to express their meaning. In all matters but this of Slavery the framers of the Constitution used the very clearest, shortest, and most direct language. But the Constitution alludes to Slavery three times without mentioning it once! The language used becomes ambiguous, roundabout, and mystical. They speak of the "immigration of persons," and mean the importation of slaves, but do not say so. In establishing a basis of representation they say "all other persons," when they mean to say slaves — why did they not use the shortest phrase? In providing for the return of fugitives they say "persons held to service or labor." If they had said slaves it would have been plainer, and less liable to misconstruction. Why didn't they do it? We cannot doubt that it was done on purpose. Only one reason is possible, and that is supplied us by one of the framers of the Constitution — and it is not possible for man to conceive of any other — they expected and desired that the system would come to an end, and meant that when it did, the Constitution should not show that there ever had been a slave in this good free country of ours! [Great applause.]

I will dwell on that no longer. I see the signs of the approaching triumph of the Republicans in the bearing of their political adversaries. A great deal of their war with us now-a-days is mere bushwhacking. [Laughter.] At the battle of Waterloo, when Napoleon's cavalry had charged again and again upon the unbroken squares of British infantry, at last they were giving up the attempt, and going off in disorder, when some of the officers in mere vexation and complete despair fired their pistols at those solid squares. The Democrats are in that sort of extreme desperation; it is nothing else. [Laughter.] I will take up a few of these arguments.

There is "THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT." [Applause.] How they rail at Seward for that saying! They repeat it constantly; and although the proof has been thrust under their noses again and again, that almost every good man since the formation of our government has uttered that same sentiment, from Gen. Washington, who "trusted that we should yet have a confederacy of Free States," with Jefferson, Jay, Monroe, down to the latest days, yet they refuse to notice that at all, and persist in railing at Seward for saying it. Even Roger A. Pryor, editor of the Richmond Enquirer, uttered the same sentiment in almost the same language, and yet so little offence did it give the Democrats that he was sent for to Washington to edit the States — the Douglas organ there, while Douglas goes into hydrophobia and spasms of rage because Seward dared to repeat it. [Great applause.] This is what I call bushwhacking, a sort of argument that they must know any child can see through.

Another is JOHN BROWN! [Great laughter.] You stir up insurrections, you invade the South! John Brown! Harper's Ferry! Why, John Brown was not a Republican! You have never implicated a single Republican in that Harper's Ferry enterprise. We tell you that if any member of the Republican party is guilty in that matter, you know it or you do not know it. If you do know it, you are inexcusable not to designate man and prove the fact. If you do not know it, you are inexcusable to assert it, and especially to persist in the assertion after you have tried and failed to make the proof. You need not be told that persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true is simply malicious slander. Some of you admit that no Republican designedly aided or encouraged the Harper's Ferry affair; but still insist that our doctrines and declarations necessarily lead to such results. We do not believe it. We know we hold to no doctrines, and make no declarations, which were not held to and made by our fathers who framed the Government under which we live, and we cannot see how declarations that were patriotic when they made them are villainous when we make





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them. You never dealt fairly by us in relation to that affair — and I will say frankly that I know of nothing in your character that should lead us to suppose that you would. You had just been soundly thrashed in elections in several States, and others were soon to come. You rejoiced at the occasion, and only were troubled that there were not three times as many killed in the affair. You were in evident glee — there was no sorrow for the killed nor for the peace of Virginia disturbed — you were rejoicing that by charging Republicans with this thing you might get an advantage of us in New York, and the other States. You pulled that string as tightly as you could, but your very generous and worthy expectations were not quite fulfilled. [Laughter.] Each Republican knew that the charge was a slander as to himself at least, and was not inclined by it to cast his vote in your favor. It was mere bushwhacking, because you had nothing else to do. You are still on that track, and I say, go on! If you think you can slander a woman into loving you or a man into voting for you, try it till you are satisfied! [Tremendous applause.]

Another specimen of this bushwhacking, that "shoe strike." [Laughter.] Now be it understood that I do not pretend to know all about the matter. I am merely going to speculate a little about some of its phases. And at the outset, I am glad to see that a system of labor prevails in New England under which laborers CAN strike when they want to [Cheers,] where they are not obliged to work under all circumstances, and are not tied down and obliged to labor whether you pay them or not! [Cheers.] I like the system which lets a man quit when he wants to, and wish it might prevail everywhere. [Tremendous applause.] One of the reasons why I am opposed to Slavery is just here. What is the true condition of the laborer? I take it that it is best for all to leave each man free to acquire property as fast as he can. Some will get wealthy. I don't believe in a law to prevent a man from getting rich; it would do more harm than good. So while we do not propose any war upon capital, we do wish to allow the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with everybody else. [Applause.] When one starts poor, as most do in the race of life, free society is such that he knows he can better his condition; he knows that there is no fixed condition of labor, for his whole life. I am not ashamed to confess that twenty five years ago I was a hired laborer, mauling rails, at work on a flat-boat — just what might happen to any poor man's son! [Applause.] I want every man to have the chance — and I believe a black man is entitled to it — in which he can better his condition — when he may look forward and hope to be a hired laborer this year and the next, work for himself afterward, and finally to hire men to work for him! That is the true system. Up here in New England, you have a soil that scarcely sprouts black-eyed beans, and yet where will you find wealthy men so wealthy, and poverty so rarely in extremity? There is not another such place on earth! [Cheers.] I desire that if you get too thick here, and find it hard to better your condition on this soil, you may have a chance to strike and go somewhere else, where you may not be degraded, nor have your family corrupted by forced rivalry with negro slaves. I want you to have a clean bed, and no snakes in it! [Cheers.] Then you can better your condition, and so it may go on and on in one ceaseless round so long as man exists on the face of the earth! [Prolonged applause.]

Now, to come back to this shoe strike, — if, as the Senator from Illinois asserts, this is caused by withdrawal of Southern votes, consider briefly how you will meet the difficulty. You have done nothing, and have protested that you have done nothing, to injure the South. And yet, to get back the shoe trade, you must leave off doing something that you are now doing. What is it? You must stop thinking slavery wrong! Let your institutions be wholly changed; let your State Constitutions be subverted, glorify slavery, and so you will get back the shoe trade — for what? You have brought owned labor with it to compete with your own labor, to under work you, and to degrade you! Are you ready to get back the trade on those terms?



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But the statement is not correct. You have not lost that trade; orders were never better than now! Senator Mason, a Democrat, comes into the Senate in homespun, a proof that the dissolution of the Union has actually begun! but orders are the same. Your factories have not struck work, neither those where they make anything for coats, nor for pants, nor for shirts, nor for ladies' dresses. Mr. Mason has not reached the manufacturers who ought to have made him a coat and pants! To make his proof good for anything he should have come into the Senate barefoot! (Great laughter.)

Another bushwhacking contrivance; simply that, nothing else! I find a good many people who are very much concerned about the loss of Southern trade. Now either these people are sincere or they are not. (Laughter.) I will speculate a little about that. If they are sincere, and are moved by any real danger of the loss of Southern trade, they will simply get their names on the white list,<sup>34</sup> and then, instead of persuading Republicans to do likewise, they will be glad to keep you away! Don't you see they thus shut off competition? They would not be whispering around to Republicans to come in and share the profits with them. But if they are not sincere, and are merely trying to fool Republicans out of their votes, they will grow very anxious about your pecuniary prospects; they are afraid you are going to get broken up and ruined; they did not care about Democratic votes — Oh no, no, no! You must judge which class those belong to whom you meet; I leave it to you to determine from the facts.

Let us notice some more of the stale charges against Republicans. You say we are sectional. We deny it. That makes an issue; and the burden of proof is upon you. You produce your proof; and what is it? Why, that our party has no existence in your section — gets no votes in your section. The fact is substantially true; but does it prove the issue? If it does, then in case we should, without change of principle, begin to get votes in your section, we should thereby cease to be sectional. You cannot escape this conclusion; and yet, are you willing to abide by it? If you are, you will probably soon find that we have ceased to be sectional, for we shall get votes in your section this very year. [Applause.] The fact that we get no votes in your section is a fact of your making, and not of ours. And if there be fault in that fact, that fault is primarily yours, and remains so until you show that we repel you by some wrong principle or practice. If we do repel you by any wrong principle or practice, the fault is ours; but this brings you to where you ought to have started — to a discussion of the right or wrong of our principle. If our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section for the benefit of ours, or for any other object, then our principle, and we with it, are sectional, and are justly opposed and denounced as such. Meet us, then, on the question of whether our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section; and so meet it as if it were possible that something may be said on our side. Do you accept the challenge? No? Then you really believe that the principle which our fathers who framed the Government under which we live thought so clearly right as to adopt it, and indorse it again and again, upon their official oaths, is, in fact, so clearly wrong as to demand your condemnation without a moment's consideration.

Some of you delight to flaunt in our faces the warning against sectional parties given by Washington in his Farewell address. Less than eight years before Washington gave that warning, he had, as President of the United States, approved and signed an act of Congress, enforcing the prohibition of Slavery in the northwestern Territory, which act embodied the policy of Government upon that subject, up to and at the very moment he penned that warning; and about one year after he penned it he wrote LaFayette that he considered that prohibition a wise measure, expressing in the same connection his hope that we should some time have a confederacy of Free States.

34. Abraham Lincoln was referring to a movement on the part of certain business interests to help along the Southern boycott of antislavery New England manufactures by preparing a list of "white" (which is to say, proslavery Democrats, whom it would be politically correct to patronize) rather than "black" (which is to say, opposed to human slavery, firms which would be politically incorrect to patronize) New England manufacturing concerns.



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Bearing this in mind, and seeing that sectionalism has since arisen upon this same subject, is that warning a weapon in your hands against us, or in our hands against you? Could Washington himself speak, would he cast the blame of that sectionalism upon us, who sustain his policy, or upon you who repudiate it? We respect that warning of Washington, and we commend it to you, together with his example pointing to the right application of it. [Applause.]

But you say you are conservative — eminently conservative — while we are revolutionary, destructive, or something of the sort. What is conservatism? Is it not adherence to the old and tried, against the new and untried? We stick to, contend for, the identical old policy on the point in controversy which was adopted by our fathers who framed the Government under which we live; while you with one accord reject, and scout, and spit upon that old policy, and insist upon substituting something new. True, you disagree among yourselves as to what that substitute shall be. You have considerable variety of new propositions and plans, but you are unanimous in rejecting and denouncing the old policy of the fathers. Some of you are for reviving the foreign slave-trade; some for a Congressional Slave-Code for the Territories; some for Congress forbidding the Territories to prohibit Slavery within their limits; some for maintaining Slavery in the Territories through the Judiciary; some for the "gur-reat pur-rin-ciple" that "if one man would enslave another, no third man should object," fantastically called "Popular Sovereignty;" [great laughter,] but never a man among you in favor of Federal prohibition of Slavery in Federal Territories, according to the practice of our fathers who framed the Government under which we live. Not one of all your various plans can show a precedent or an advocate in the century within which our Government originated. And yet you draw yourselves up and say "We are eminently conservative!" [Great laughter.]

It is exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great Confederacy shall be at peace, and in harmony, one with another. Let us Republicans do our part to have it so. Even though much provoked, let us do nothing through passion and ill temper. Even though the Southern people will not so much as listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands, and yield to them if, in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can. Judging by all they say and do, and by the subject and nature of their controversy with us, let us determine, if we can, what will satisfy them?

Will they be satisfied if the Territories be unconditionally surrendered to them? We know they will not. In all their present complaints against us, the Territories are scarcely mentioned. Invasions and insurrections are the rage now. Will it satisfy them if, in the future, we have nothing to do with invasions and insurrections? We know it will not. We so know because we know we never had anything to do with invasions and insurrections; and yet this total abstaining does not exempt us from the charge and the denunciation.

The question recurs, what will satisfy them? Simply this: we must not only let them alone, but we must, somehow, convince them that we do let them alone. [Applause.] This, we know by experience, is no easy task. We have been so trying to convince them, from the very beginning of our organization, but with no success. In all our platforms and speeches, we have constantly protested our purpose to let them alone; but this has had no tendency to convince them. Alike unavailing to convince them is the fact that they have never detected a man of us in any attempt to disturb them.

These natural and apparently adequate means all failing, what will convince them? This, and this only; cease to call slavery wrong, and join them in calling it right. And this must be done thoroughly — done in acts as well as in words. Silence will not be tolerated — we must place ourselves avowedly with them. Douglas's new sedition law must be enacted and enforced, suppressing all declarations that Slavery is wrong, whether made in politics, in presses, in pulpits, or in private. We must arrest and return their



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fugitive slaves with greedy pleasure. We must pull down our Free State Constitutions. The whole atmosphere must be disinfected of all taint of opposition to Slavery, before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us. So long as we call Slavery wrong, whenever a slave runs away they will overlook the obvious fact that he ran because he was oppressed, and declare he was stolen off. Whenever a master cuts his slaves with the lash, and they cry out under it, he will overlook the obvious fact that the negroes cry out because they are hurt, and insist that they were put up to it by some rascally abolitionist. [Great laughter.]

I am quite aware that they do not state their case precisely in this way. Most of them would probably say to us, "Let us alone, do nothing to us, and say what you please about Slavery." But we do let them alone — have never disturbed them — so that, after all, it is what we say, which dissatisfies them. They will continue to accuse us of doing, until we cease saying.

I am also aware they have not, as yet, in terms, demanded the overthrow of our Free State Constitutions. Yet those Constitutions declare the wrong of Slavery, with more solemn emphasis than do all other sayings against it; and when all these other sayings shall have been silenced, the overthrow of these Constitutions will be demanded, and nothing be left to resist the demand. It is nothing to the contrary, that they do not demand the whole of this just now. Demanding what they do, and for the reason they do, they can voluntarily stop nowhere short of this consummation. Holding as they do, that Slavery is morally right, and socially elevating, they cannot cease to demand a full national recognition of it, as a legal right, and a social blessing.

Nor can we justifiably withhold this, on any ground save our conviction that Slavery is wrong. If Slavery is right, all words, acts, laws, and Constitutions against it, are themselves wrong, and should be silenced, and swept away. If it is right, we cannot justly object to its nationality — its universality; if it is wrong, they cannot justly insist upon its extension — its enlargement. All they ask, we could as readily grant, if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right, and our thinking it wrong, is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right as they do, they are not to blame for desiring its full recognition, as being right; but, thinking it wrong, as we do, can we yield to them? Can we cast our votes with their view, and against our own? In view of our moral, social, and political responsibilities, can we do this?

Wrong as we think Slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the National Territories, and to overrun us here in these Free States?

If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty, fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored — contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong, vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man — such as a policy of "don't care" on a question about which all true men do care — such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to Disunionists, reversing the divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance — such as invocations of Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington did.

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might; and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty, as we understand it.



March 8. 2.30 P. M.—50°. To Cliffs and Walden.





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See a small flock of grackles on the willow-row above railroad bridge. How they sit and make a business of chattering! for it cannot be called singing, and no improvement from age to age perhaps. Yet, as nature is a becoming, their notes may become melodious at last. At length, on my very near approach, they flit suspiciously away, uttering a few subdued notes as they hurry off.

This is the first flock of blackbirds I have chanced to see, though Channing saw one the 6th. I suspect that I have seen only grackles as yet.

I saw, in Monroe's well by the edge of the river, the other day, a dozen frogs, chiefly shad frogs, which had been dead a good while. It may be that they get into that sort of spring-hole in the fall to hibernate, but for some reason die; or perhaps they are always jumping into it in the summer, but at that season are devoured by some animal before they infest the water.

Now and for some days I see farmers walking about their fields, knocking to pieces and distributing the cow-dung left there in the fall, that so, with the aid of the spring rains, they fertilize a larger surface and more equally. To say nothing of fungi, lichens, mosses, and other cryptogamous plants, you cannot say that vegetation absolutely ceases at any season in this latitude; for there is grass in some warm exposures and in springy places, always growing more or less, and willow catkins expanding and peeping out a little further every warm day from the very beginning of winter, and the skunk-cabbage buds being developed and actually flowering sometimes in the winter, and the sap flowing [IN] the maples in midwinter in some days, perhaps some cress growing a little (?), certainly some pads, and various naturalized garden weeds steadily growing if not blooming, and apple buds sometimes expanding. Thus much of vegetable life or motion or growth is to be detected every winter. There is something of spring in all seasons. There is a large class which is evergreen in its radical leaves, which make such a show as soon as the snow goes off that many take them to be new growth of the spring.

At the pool on the south side of Hubbard's Grove, I notice that the crowfoot, i. e. buttercup, leaves which are at the bottom of the water stand up and are much more advanced than those two feet off in the air, for there they receive warmth from the sun, while they are sheltered from cold winds.

Nowadays we separate the warmth of the sun from the cold of the wind and observe that the cold does not pervade all places, but being due to strong northwest winds, if we get into some sunny and sheltered nook where they do not penetrate, we quite forget how cold it is elsewhere.

In some respects our spring, in its beginning, fluctuates a whole month, so far as it respects ice and snow, walking, sleighing, etc., etc.; for some years winter may be said to end about the first of March, and other years it may extend into April.

That willow-clump by railroad at Walden looks really silvery.

I see there that moles have worked for several days. There are several piles on the grass, some quite fresh and some made before the last rain. One is as wide as a bushel-basket and six inches high; contains a peck at least. When I carefully remove this dirt, I cannot see, and can scarcely detect by feeling, any looseness in the sod beneath where the mole came to the surface and discharged all this dirt. I do feel it, to be sure, but it is scarcely perceptible to my fingers. The mole must have filled up this doorway very densely with earth, perhaps for its protection.

Those small green balls in the Pout's-Nest—and in the river, etc.—are evidently the buds by which the *Utricularia vulgaris* are propagated. I find them attached to the root as well as adrift.

I noticed a very curious phenomenon in this pond. It is melted for two or three rods around the open side, and in many places partly filled with a very slender thread-like spike-rush (apparently *Eleocharis tenuis*?) which is matted more or less horizontally and floating, and is much bleached, being killed. In this fine matting I noticed perfectly straight or even cuts a rod or more in length, just as if one had severed this mass of fine rush as it lay [?] with some exceeding sharp instrument. However, you could not do it with a scythe, though you might with scissors, if it were ruled. It is as if you were to cover a floor with very fine flaccid grass and tread it to one inch in thickness, and then cut this web straight across. The fact is, this floating matting (it also rests partly on soft mud) was not cut at all, but pulled apart on a straight line, producing the exact appearance of a cut, as if you were to pull a piece of felt apart by a force on each side and yet leave the edge as straight as if it had been cut. It had been frozen in, and when the ice cracked it was in an instant thus pulled apart, without further disturbing the relative position of the fibres. I first conjectured this, and then saw the evidence of it, for, glancing my eye along such a cut, which ran at right angles with the shore, I saw that it exactly corresponded at its termination to an old crack in the ice which was still unmelted and which continued its course exactly. This in the ice had been filled and cemented so as to look like a white seam. Would this account for such a crack being continued into the meadow itself, as I have noticed?

I meet some Indians just camped on Brister's Hill. As usual, they are chiefly concerned to find where black ash grows, for their baskets. This is what they set about to ascertain as soon as they arrive in any strange





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neighborhood.

1875

March 18, Thursday: In [Woonsocket, Rhode Island](#), “Fred Sibley and Christopher Dunn had a nigger show in Elliots Hall.”





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**1881**

In [Rhode Island](#), the [Smithfield](#) meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) burned, and would be replaced by the present structure:



When Clark Shove of Fall River offered to donate a grand piano to the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#), the School Committee of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) took his proposal as an opportunity for the Society to reappraise its attitude toward the arts. After serious consideration, the elders decided that this gift would be accepted, it being understood that “music lessons should be given at the school only to those pupils whose parents specifically requested it.”

During this year Friend Rufus Matthew Jones was completing his studies at the school.



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**1934**

September 11, Tuesday/12, Wednesday: One citizen was killed at the mills in [Saylesville, Rhode Island](#), and two at the mills in [Woonsocket](#), when workers protested the hiring of strikebreakers and the National Guard was called in.





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1941

December 7, Sunday afternoon, 1941: At the home of Helen May Clarke Grimes, in Spragueville near [Smithfield](#) northwest of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the radio was switched on. As they listened, news flashes began to come in about a [Japanese](#) attack that had begun at dawn, which had been about 1:20PM Eastern Standard Time.



**Helen May Clarke Grimes of Rhode Island had no warning.**

Helen had been keeping a diary since she was ten years of age,<sup>35</sup> and made notes which indicate the fragmentary nature of the information available to the American people, who were given no real grasp that the toll of this “day that will live in infamy” actually was a dozen ships sunk or beached (three of them, the *Arizona*, the *Utah*, and the *Oklahoma*, damaged beyond repair), 164 aircraft destroyed and 159 damaged, and 3,566 American casualties, including 2,388 killed. Listeners like Helen were told only that the U.S.S. *Arizona* was sunk and the *Oklahoma* capsized, and casualty reports were never within an order of magnitude of being adequate:

Dec. 7 – This is a sleepy Sunday afternoon at home. We are in the little upstairs sitting room, Mother sewing, I writing, and Dorrance [her husband] listening to the portable radio. I haven’t anything to write about, really, and the Philharmonic is fast putting me to sleep although the broadcast is interrupted now and then with news bulletins on the tense “Far Eastern Situation.” After all we have been more or less tense for months.

.....

Later – I guess this is it! Japanese dive bombers have attacked Honolulu!

.....

4:30 – News bulletin. Taken down as given. Parachute troupes [sic] sighted – Pearl Harbor attacked by dive bombers – Manila bombed – smoke of anti-aircraft guns over Pearl Harbor – from 50 to 100 planes from Japanese aircraft carrier – attachés of Japanese government at Washington burning secret papers.

35. Mystic River Historical Society: AN ACCOUNT OF MY LIFE 1915-1926: THE CHILDHOOD JOURNALS OF HELEN MAY CLARKE OF MYSTIC, CONNECTICUT.



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We are shocked silent. Dorrance who is coming down with a cold is too carried away by the intermittent bulletins to realize how rotten he feels.

The Albert Spalding program, Victor Herbert selections, Carmichael's Stardust, Kostelanetz orchestra.

.....

5 P.M. — At last more news — fragmentary, probably inaccurate. Washington: President Roosevelt is dictating message to Congress. Probably declaration of war tomorrow.<sup>36</sup> Heavy damage and loss of life in Hawaii. It was a dawn attack. All aerial observation posts in Los Angeles ordered manned. Naval engagement reported. Pearl Harbor under bombardment.

Well, here it is: we're at war.

We hang close to the radio listening to program after program afraid we may miss a news bulletin no matter how vague or unconfirmed the reports may be. The Prudential (Insurance) Hour with Deems Taylor and Gladys Swarthout singing Paradise in Waltz Time from the motion picture Champagne Waltz.

At last, another bulletin. Japan announces she has entered a state of war with Britain and the United States from dawn to-day Dec. 7th, 1941. Government order just issued comes over WPRO: The Secretary of War orders that all plants working on defense orders institute a guard against sabotage.

Jimmie Cat jumps in my lap. The news has come to an end, the program returns to Gladys Swarthout.

5:45 — William L. Shirer, news commentator. Speaks of "flagrant aggression ... a war after 23 years and one month of uneasy peace" ... the battleship Oklahoma set on fire by Japanese bombs.

I should be reacting to this in some way, but I remain incredulous and interested, nothing more as yet.

An attempt has been made to contact overseas — no result. Honolulu — CBS calling Honolulu — no answer. Calling Manila — CBS calling Manila, go ahead Manila — no answer.

We take time out for supper, our ears on the radio.

6:30 — All marines notified to return to their stations ... order from Quonset.

Guam has been attacked by a squadron of planes ... Elmer Davis, commentator. He must have seen this happening months ago. Senator Wheeler, isolationist, says sensibly enough that "there is nothing to do now but lick the hell out of them."<sup>37</sup> The Japanese have struck at Singapore, sinking two British ships.

We now hear Albert Warner, Washington news commentator — and next, Maj. Elliot who says the Japanese plan plainly underway for two weeks during treacherous negotiations at Washington. I have a conviction we have been sold down the river again. A year ago Oliver said every navy man on Jamestown said we'd be at war

36. The sole dissenter would be Representative Jeanette Rankin, who had also voted against declaring war in 1817.

37. Burton K. Wheeler (1882-1975), senator from Montana (1923-1947), progressive Democrat, had helped create the isolationist "America First" committee of Charles A. Lindbergh and Norman Thomas. The committee would be dissolved four days after Pearl Harbor.





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with Japan shortly. I suppose Major Elliot didn't know, or our beloved [sarcasm, as the author of this was decidedly not a supporter] President! Well, this is no time to think of that. We are at war.

Notice: all recruiting offices open to-morrow.

7:00 - Censorship on all out going cablegrams and radio messages. The Jack Benny Program ... Don Wilson, the announcer ... "J-E-L-L-O with that locked in flavor." An interruption; news from the office of the Providence Journal - Providence police are requested to round up all enlisted men. War Extra editions are on the streets.

I am surprised at Mother. I expected her to be shocked, horrified, but she seems excited, stepped up, her asthma forgotten.

The program continues ... a Dennis Day song. How are the performers reacting? - they must be getting this awful news. More bulletins; Shanghai: the Japanese have taken over the American Light Company.

7:30 - Providence Cake commercial ... the Fitch [Shampoo] Band Wagon program with - Oh, another news bulletin, from the Prov. Journal: Gov. McGrath has called a meeting ... Newport takes immediate precautions ... six Japanese planes said to have been shot down. Unconfirmed report that Wake Island is occupied by Japanese. A black-out of Panama Canal ordered for to-night.

Back to the scheduled program again: Horace Heidt and the "Shepherd's Serenade," with Frankie Carle at the piano ... "I'll Never Forget," this weeks Band Wagons top tune.

Just happened to remember that Elizabeth Colby and her husband are stationed at Honolulu.

News bulletin: 104 dead and 300 wounded, not including civilian population as a result of Japanese raid on Hawaii.

8:00 - A Pinkerton Fur commercial ... the Chase and Sanborn Coffee Hour with Charlie McCarthy and Mortimer Snerd on Edgar Bergen's knee. Just ordinary Sunday night listening mixed in with a world shaking event.

Ray Noble's Orchestra ... Abbot and Costello ... Judy Garland, the guest star.

News: The Governor of the Dutch East Indies has declared war on Japan ... likewise Costa Rica. Well, that will be a help!

In Shanghai bombs fall on the International Settlement ... and Judy Garland sings. Zing Went the Strings of My Heart.

Commercial: Shop at Newberry's first. News flash: All women and children in Manila ordered evacuated. Mayor La Guardia has issued an order that all Japanese nationals remain in their homes until their status is settled.

Back to the regular programs - this one Carter's Little Liver Pills and it is terrible. A long wait this time lasting through an Inner Sanctum mystery story and into the Ford Musical Hour which comes on at 9 o'clock. Jimmie Cat is in my lap again, mother is embroidering a bureau scarf for Constance. Somehow small things seem important - things I can understand like the



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radiator clanking as the steam comes up, or the small spot of nail varnish flaking from my thumb nail.

9:30 – At last more news. Washington officially announces 100 dead and 300 wounded. Wake Island is said to have surrendered to a superior Japanese force. There has been one – perhaps two – ship casualties. Japanese of San Francisco under careful watch.

Back to the Ford Hour, the second half of the program taking place at the U.S. Naval Training Station at Great Lakes, Illinois. There is a band, and a commanding officer, Rear Admiral John Downes thanks Edsel Ford for the new auditorium and recreational building presented by him to the Naval Training Station. We listen to the Training Station Chorus, the Training Station Band, and a Lieut. Edward Peabody who plays a medley of Southern airs on his banjo.

10:00 – Commercial: This Christmas shoppers are using Gerber's lay away plan. News Flash: Canada has declared war upon Japan. Grand Central Station is jammed with men in uniform rounded up by Shore Patrol and Military Police from theaters, restaurants and bars. All officers on leave called back to their posts. State of emergency declared in San Francisco. Mother says thank God constance isn't there.

At last they have established direct radio contact with the Philippines. The commentator tells of one news reporter who broadcast over wrong channel in his haste.

The Telephone Company makes an announcement. Long distance is so over taxed it is asked that no calls be made unless strictly necessary.

Clare Booth and Vincent Shean speak. Shean describes Wake Island and the base made there, and the 1100 American soldiers now probably the prisoners of the Japanese.

The Army and Navy Departments are flooded with pleas from families for knowledge of men in Hawaii and the Philippines.

10:30 – Following a Nylon hosiery commercial<sup>38</sup> comes a CBS special broadcast. There is an unconfirmed report of a big naval engagement at sea. Eric Severied reports from Washington: the city is swarming with reporters, the portico is lighted; there are lines of shiny cars and a mass of faces standing in the cold waiting news.

There has been heavy destruction at Hawaii. Unconfirmed reports state that we have lost two capital ships and the airfield has been leveled. President Roosevelt will address joint session of Congress at 12:30 to-morrow.

It is 4:30 in London. Parliament meets today to declare war on Japan directly after America.

A Columbia broadcast: Guam is in trouble ... Shanghai bombed. I have smoked until my mouth is dry: I am too tired to write more. It is now eleven o'clock, we have been glued to the radio for hours.<sup>39</sup>

38. Nylons had been on the market since May 15, 1940.

39. This volume of the diary is at the Rhode Island Historical Society in Providence, Rhode Island.



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Remember, at an early point in the autumn, Kilsoo Haan, an agent for the Sino-Korean People's League, had indicated to Eric Severeid of CBS that the Korean underground in [Korea](#) and [Japan](#) had obtained proof not only that the Japanese military was planning an attack on the US naval facilities at Pearl Harbor on the island of Oahu, but also that this attack was scheduled to take place before [Christmas](#). Eric Severeid had been informed that one Korean had sighted the actual plans. What would Eric Severeid have been thinking on this day as he listened to these radio reports? –Has anyone ever dared ask him?

**WORLD WAR II**

Remember, late in October, US Senator Guy Gillette had been informed by Kilsoo Haan that the [Japanese](#) were planning to attack the US fleet in December or January, whereupon Senator Gillette had personally alerted the State Department, Army and Navy Intelligence, and [President Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#). What would Senator Gillette have been thinking on this day as he listened to these radio reports? –Did anyone ever dare ask him?



The people in the US federal government who had been briefed by Eric Severeid of CBS or by US Senator Guy Gillette as to what this Korean agent was passing along to us — what might they have been thinking on this day as they listened to these radio reports? Will we ever know?



**Koreans knew.  
Eric Severeid of CBS knew.  
Senator Guy Gillette knew.  
President Franklin Delano Roosevelt knew.**



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December 10, Wednesday: Cuba declared war upon [Japan](#).

WORLD WAR II

The Japanese landed on Camiguin Island and at Gonzaga and Aparri on the island of Luzon in the Philippine Islands. They captured the British-controlled islands of Abemama, Makin (Butaritari) and Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands (Kiribati). The US Marine garrison on Guam surrendered to a [Japanese](#) landing force.

*Führer* [Adolf Hitler](#) commented that [President Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#)'s words on the previous day had amounted to a de facto declaration of war.

[German](#) and [Italian](#) forces began a full retreat to the west from Tobruk (Tubruq).

S.S. Commander Heinrich Himmler ordered that the ill, mentally ill and those otherwise unfit for work be removed from concentration camp populations and gassed to death.

Brazil froze all the [German](#), [Italian](#), and [Japanese](#) assets it could get its hands on. Argentina froze all [Japanese](#) assets.

The British warships HMS *Repulse* and HMS *Prince of Wales* were sunk off Kuantan, Malaya. The ships had been spotted by submarine I-58 just before dawn and a flight of nine "Betty" torpedo-carrying planes of the Japanese 22nd Naval Air Flotilla led by Lieutenant Haruki Iki had scrambled from the Japanese base at [Saigon](#). The battleship *Prince of Wales* was hit by 4 torpedoes and sank at 12:33PM. 327 died. The cruiser *Repulse* was hit by 14 torpedoes and sank at 1:20PM. 513 died. The Far Eastern Fleet commander, Admiral Sir Tom Phillips, went down with his ship. The Japanese lost 4 planes. A total of 2,081 would be plucked from the water by escort destroyers HMS *Electra*, *Vampire*, and *Express* and would be dropped off at Singapore.

Cavite Navy Yard, Philippine Islands was heavily damaged by enemy air attack. United States naval vessels damaged at Cavite, Philippine Islands:

- Destroyer *Peary* (DD-226), by horizontal bomber
- Submarine *Seadragon* (SS-194), by horizontal bomber
- Submarine *Sealion* (SS-195), by horizontal bomber
- Minesweeper *Bittern* (AM-36), by horizontal bomber

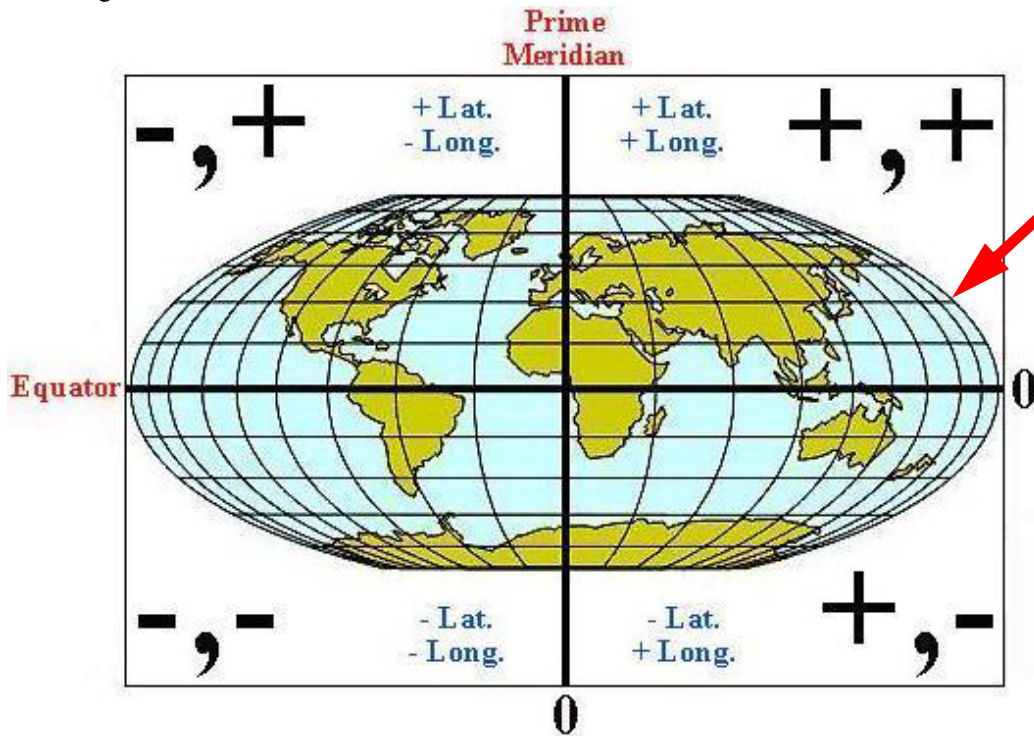
Japanese naval vessels sunk:

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- Submarine I-170, by carrier-based aircraft, Hawaiian Islands area, 23 degrees 45 minutes North, 155 degrees 35 minutes West



- Minesweeper No. 10, by Army aircraft, Philippine Islands area, 17 degrees 32 minutes North, 120 degrees 22 minutes East



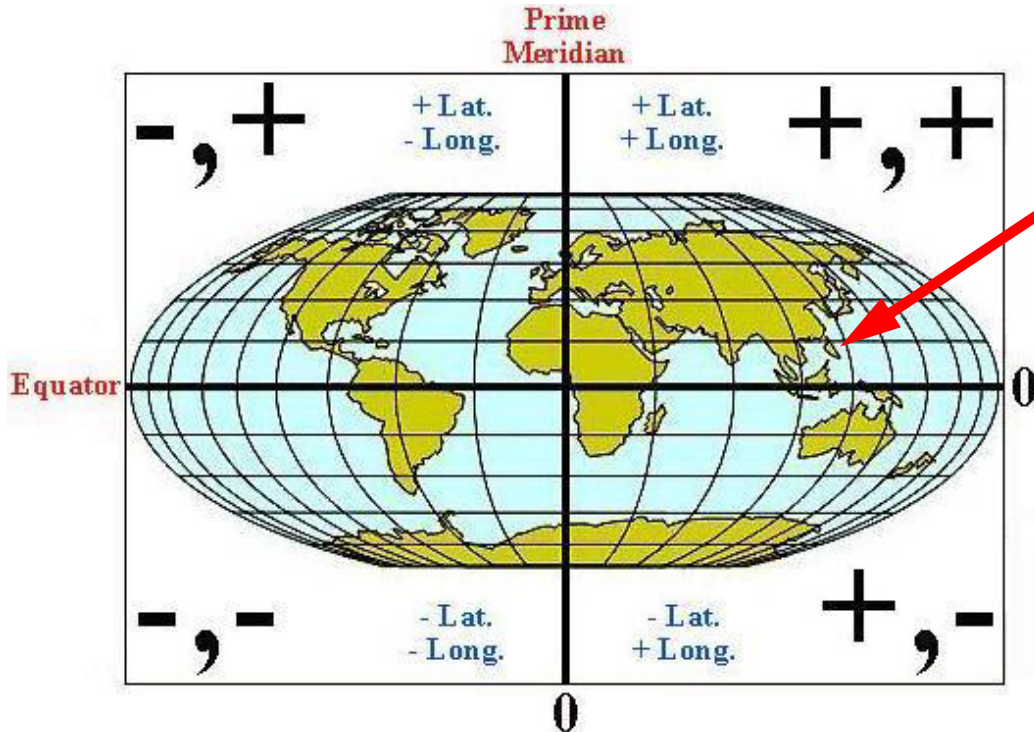


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- Minesweeper No. 19, damaged by Army aircraft and grounded by own forces (total loss), Philippine Islands area, 18 degrees 22 degrees North, 121 degrees 38 minutes East At the home of



Helen Clarke Grimes, in Spragueville near [Smithfield](#) northwest of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), as in many homes in America, the radio was being kept constantly on, not for the soap operas that filled the daytime airwaves, but for the sporadic news flashes about the war situation. Helen made notes for her diary:

Dec. 10 - From London comes news that the ill-fated and short-lived Prince of Wales has been sunk by Japanese aircraft. In the year of its service it saw action with the Bismark from which it emerged badly crippled, and later served as the meeting place of Churchill and Roosevelt in the mid-Atlantic.

The Repulse has been lost, too.

Keeping the radio tuned-in all day means listening to an endless series of "soap operas," the daytime serials for moronic women. The sensible thing is to listen to regular news broadcasts at stated intervals, but I find myself compelled to listen almost continuously for every stray bulletin, which is downright idiotic of me.

There is a report that American bombers have sunk one Japanese transport and hit five others, three by direct hits.

Noon 12:00 - The Japanese attempt to land troops on Luzon has been beaten back by our forces.

The British report a heavy battle going on in Hong Kong.

No news from Germany.

the last of the trans-Atlantic steamship service has been discontinued. Only planes now link us to Europe.



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Some idiot in Washington has chopped down four of the Japanese cherry trees along the Potomac, and pinned messages to the hacked trunks.

December 11, Thursday: Canti di prigionia for chorus, two pianos, two harps and percussion by Luigi Dallapiccola, to words of Mary, Queen of Scots, Boethius and Savonarola, was performed completely for the initial time, in the Teatro delle Arti of Rome.

Lieutenant Haruki Iki flew over the area of ocean in which his flight of torpedo bombers had struck two ships on the previous day, killing 840, to drop a bouquet of flowers.<sup>40</sup>

In Washington DC, four of the cherry trees were found to have been chopped down in what must have been a retaliation for the [Japanese](#) bombing of Pearl Harbor (because messages had been pinned to the stumps). In hope to prevent future vandalism, for the duration of the war the government would be referring to these trees as “Oriental” flowering cherries.



Soviet forces captured Istra, 50 kilometers west of Moscow. As [President Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#) had hoped and expected, [Germany](#) and [Italy](#) declared a state of war with the United States.

GERMAN WAR DECLARATION

40. Maybe he should have been a florist. (Albert Einstein would suspect that maybe he should have been a plumber.)





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[Adolf Hitler](#) addressed the *Reichstag* in regard to these “circumstances brought about by President Roosevelt,” saying that he had been given information of “a plan prepared by President Roosevelt ... according to which his intention was to attack Germany in 1942 with all the resources of the United States. Thus our patience has come to a breaking point.”

The United States immediately declared by joint resolutions of the Congress a state of war with Germany and Italy. Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic declared war against Germany and Italy. Poland declared a state of war with Japan. [Mexico](#) severed diplomatic relations with Germany and Italy.



Wake Island's Marine defenders repulsed a [Japanese](#) landing attempt and sank two of its destroyers:

- Destroyer *Hayate*, by Marine shore batteries.
- Destroyer *Kisaragi*, by Marine aircraft.

The [Japanese](#) effected landings at Legaspi, Luzon, Philippine Islands.

WORLD WAR II

At the home of Helen Clarke Grimes, in Spragueville near [Smithfield](#) northwest of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), as in many homes in America, the radio was being kept constantly on, not for the soap operas that filled the daytime airwaves, but for the sporadic news flashes about the war situation. Helen made notes for her diary:

Dec. 11 – Now that President Roosevelt has all the power he has demanded in his insatiable desire to rule absolute, it remains to be seen if he is capable of applying it wisely – or if he will continue his Grand Court of Lagado.  
It is no time for national disunity, the people must stand or fall with the man thrice acclaimed by the majority.  
An early report gives news of a Japanese battleship sunk by American bombers off the Phillipines.  
This morning, Hitler in one of his high flown speeches declared Germany at war with the United States. Italy obediently tailed



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along.

By 10 o'clock we had received word that the United States had declared war against Germany.

A late bulletin reveals that there were four attacks on our fleet in Pearl Harbor: three on Sunday and a fourth on Monday, which may have been the basis of a preposterous rumor emanating from Washington itself the early part of this week that ninety percent of the fleet stationed at Pearl Harbor had been destroyed.

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December 12, Friday: Haiti, Panama, and Honduras declared war against [Germany](#) and [Italy](#). The Polish government-in-exile declared war on [Japan](#). [Japanese](#) forces occupied Legaspi in southern Luzon. [Japanese](#) troops pushed Indian defenders out of Jitra, Malaya, 670 kilometers northwest of Singapore, while [Japanese](#) planes bombed Pinang, killing 600 people.

Slovakia declared war on the United States and Great Britain. Rumania declared a state of war with the United States.



WORLD WAR II

Cuba instituted a draft. Cuba, Uruguay and Venezuela froze all [German](#), [Italian](#) and [Japanese](#) assets. Several demonstrations supporting the United States were dispersed by police in Buenos Aires. Prime Minister [Winston Churchill](#) boarded the battleship *Duke of York* to meet with United States representatives at the





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Arcadia conference.

The Naval Air Transport Service (NATS) was established.

In retaliation for an attempt to kill a [German](#) officer, 743 Jews were arrested in Paris and imprisoned at Compiègne.

**ANTISEMITISM**

At the home of Helen Clarke Grimes, in Spragueville near [Smithfield](#) northwest of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), as in many homes in America, the radio was being kept constantly on, not for the soap operas that filled the daytime airwaves, but for the sporadic news flashes about the war situation. Helen made notes for her diary:

Dec. 12 – Tin Pan Alley is said to be swatting out patriotic songs at a great rate of speed, although with the war only five days old none has as yet hit the air waves. Of course we have had Irving Berlin's "Any Bonds Today" for some time, but that might be classed as a pre-war song, as E.B. White remarked, "innocently combining patriotic fervor with a definite rate of interest." It is a tuneful affair and as such has become very popular. However, it is my belief that music will appeal to the heart, the soul, or the feet, but seldom touches the pocket book....<sup>41</sup>

41. Within ten days, a song entitled "Good-Bye Mama, I'm Off to [Yokohama](#)" would be written, published, on the air waves, and on sales racks in music stores. Within just a few months, Frank Loesser's "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition" would be achieving top ratings. Irving Berlin would author "Any Bonds today" as the official song of the US Treasury Department's National Defense Savings Program. There would also be "Cash for Trash," "Get Out and Dig, Dig, Dig," "Boogie Woogie Bugle Boy," "I left My Heart at the Stage Door Canteen," "This Is the Army," "As Time Goes By," "I'll Be Seeing You," "Rosie the Riveter," and "We Did It Before and We'll Do It Again."



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1952

September 28, Sunday: For many years the Friends of [Providence](#) had worshiped in [Saylesville, Rhode Island](#) at what had been known as the “South” meetinghouse, the “North” meetinghouse having been across the river in



[Smithfield](#) (this “South” meetinghouse near Lincoln has by now become one of the two oldest surviving continuously operated [Quaker](#) meetinghouses in America). Then, belatedly, a Quaker meeting had taken place within the town limits, near the town fort on Stampers Hill (at the foot of today’s Olney Avenue). Then a new meetinghouse had been erected on North Main Street on the site of what is today the brick firehouse, and eventually it was expanded. When that expanded building had become old, it had in 1844 been put on heavy sledges and tugged by a team (a team of horses, we are told) down the snow-covered Town Street, then up Wickenden Street on Fox Point, and then uphill to 77 Hope Street, where it became a 2-family residence (demolished in 1860; the site now has an apartment building). Thus its century-and-a-quarter old foundation had been cleared, to hold up the west half of a 3d meeting house created in 1844 of plain uninsulated barn construction (the east half of the new structure would be on top of crawl space). This newer meeting house on Meeting Street had lasted the local Friends for 108 years, until the city of Providence was needing a central site for a proposed new Fire Station (another site was available to the city, but a brick building on it would have



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been more expensive to clear and its location between North Main Street and Canal Street had inferior access for fire equipment). So we offered our lot to the City and it was purchased gratefully for enough money to cover 90% of the cost of erection of a better new structure. Our very plain 1844 building was of no architectural import,<sup>42</sup> so we took the benches and little else and the City razed what was left behind. In consequence, in about this year, a 4th meeting house was erected, a brick meetinghouse with a slate roof, at the corner of Olney and Morris on Friend [Moses Brown](#)'s trust property atop the hill on the East Side. The land is subject to a long term lease from the New England Yearly Meeting, which is trustee for this trust property established by Friend Moses.<sup>43</sup> Friend Thomas Perry clerked the building committee and the architect was Albert Harkness. In September the building was dedicated, with a talk by Alexander Purdy. — That's where you can now<sup>44</sup> join

42. Sometimes people get the idea that we Quakers worship old stuff. Yes, we have a long history but no, we don't.

43. I have seen a Moses Brown School document that refers to this lot as "school property." This is their insolence, as it is not. The Moses Brown School is squatting on the trust land left by Friend Moses precisely as the Friends meetinghouse is squatting on it, only through the permission of the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. The difference between the school's use and the meetinghouse's use is that the monthly meeting holds a long-term lease entitlement whereas the school holds no such legal document.

44. Sometimes people get the idea that the Quakers are gone. No, we're still here.



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us for worship:



1699	The “Great Meetinghouse” in Newport, Rhode Island
1704	2-story Saylesville meetinghouse completed
1718	“Providence” monthly meeting set off from “East Greenwich” monthly meeting
1719	Construction began on a small Smithfield meetinghouse
1725	1st Providence meetinghouse erected near town fort at the very north edge of town, on “Stampers Hill” (up from Town Street at the foot of Olney Lane)



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1745	Kitchen shed added to Saylesville meetinghouse; 2d Providence meetinghouse erected at the corner of what at the time was known as Town Street but is now known as North Main Street and what at the time was known as Gaol Street but is now known as Meeting Street, across from Salt Cove; the name "Stamper's" having passed out of existence, this Quaker meetinghouse was being referred to as that of the Providence Worship Group of the Providence Monthly Meeting
1755	The small Smithfield meetinghouse was enlarged
1752	The Smithfield Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends's "upper" meetinghouse was at Woonsocket or Quinsnickit, and its "lower" meetinghouse was at Saylesville
1775	The 1719 Smithfield meetinghouse was again expanded
1783	The Quakers who met in the meetinghouse on Main Street in Providence, Rhode Island had up to this point been considered to be a "worship group" affiliated with the Providence Monthly Meeting (with meetinghouses in Smithfield and in Saylesville), a worship group that happened to be meeting to worship locally for convenience rather than going on the carriage ride all the way north to the Smithfield meetinghouse on the one side of the river or the Saylesville meetinghouse on the other side of the river. At this point the affiliations and the names were rearranged. Henceforth the group that was attending the Smithfield meetinghouse and the "Lower Smithfield" meetinghouse near Saylesville would be considered to constitute a separate Smithfield Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. That is, there would be two monthly meetings rather than one, and the name "Providence" would hereinafter adhere to the group that actually was inside the town of Providence.
1784	2d Providence meetinghouse enlarged
1822	2d Providence meetinghouse renovated: "what was called the Negros Gallery" removed (still in existence in Saylesville meetinghouse)
1844	2d Providence meetinghouse moved to Hope Street and became a residence; 3d meetinghouse erected with its west part atop old foundation
1849	The Smithfield meetinghouse was remodeled
1860	the old meetinghouse, become a residence on Hope Street, was demolished
1881	The Smithfield meetinghouse burned, and would be replaced by the present structure
1952	3d meetinghouse property at Main and Meeting streets purchased by city of Providence for firestation
September 1952	brick 4th meetinghouse, on Moses Brown farm property atop College Hill at corner of Olney and Morris (99-year renewable lease), dedicated





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**1967**

June 18, Sunday: In the skies above [Woonsocket](#), the sighting, and photographing, of a flying saucer demonstrated once and for all just how overwhelmingly important [Rhode Island](#) really is in the great scheme of things.



(See, I told you that you wouldn't understand.)



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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



**Prepared: December 3, 2013**



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ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.  
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.