

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

TIVERTON, RHODE ISLAND (POCASSET)





POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1675

June 26, Saturday-29, Tuesday (Old Style): Attacks were made by the *Wampanoag* upon *Rehoboth* and *Taunton*. It proved to be possible to evade the approaching colonial troops and evacuate *Mount Hope* in favor of *Pocasset* (now *Tiverton, Rhode Island*). The Mohegan sent an embassy to Boston with an offer to fight alongside the English against the Wampanoag.

Here again however, I suppose the attitude expressed by the amateur historian Reverend *Grindall Reynolds* of *Concord* to be considerably more accurate and cogent than the attitude expressed by any of the professional historians of this period:



The first act of the war closed with Philip's flight from Mount Hope. At the seat of what, we are asked to believe, was a long conceived, subtle, and powerful confederacy, almost literally no resistance was made. In forty-eight hours after the appearance of the hastily gathered English soldiery, the chief was a fugitive, and his tribe, as such, swept out of existence.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

July 19, Monday (Old Style): The Massachusetts and Plymouth militias attacked the Wampanoag at *Pocasset* (now *Tiverton*) but a full day of skirmishing resulted in only a single prisoner. They called off the attack, sent some troops home, and began to construct the sort of forts that they presumed would keep sachem *Metacom* and his warriors bottled up. As might have been expected, the warriors proceeded to slip away into the Nipmuc territory.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1676

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

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

[Friend](#) “Low” (Zoar or Zoeth) Howland of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) was killed at [Pocasset](#), now [Tiverton](#), near the [Aquidneck Island](#) ferry (be careful not to confuse this location with Pocasset, Massachusetts), and his body found in a stream which would come to be known as the Sin and Flesh Brook. (At the end of the race war  a native American named Manasses Molasses suspected of having killed this [Quaker](#) would be sold into slavery.)

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

authorities):

METACOM

On Tuesday morning they called their general court (as they call it) to consult and determine, whether I should go home or no. And they all as one man did seemingly consent to it, that I should go home; except Philip, who would not come among them. But before I go any further, I would take leave to mention a few remarkable passages of providence, which I took special notice of in my afflicted time.

1. Of the fair opportunity lost in the long march, a little after the fort fight, when our English army was so numerous, and in pursuit of the enemy, and so near as to take several and destroy them, and the enemy in such distress for food that our men might track them by their rooting in the earth for ground nuts, whilst they were flying for their lives. I say, that then our army should want provision, and be forced to leave their pursuit and return homeward; and the very next week the enemy came upon our town, like bears bereft of their whelps, or so many ravenous wolves, rending us and our lambs to death. But what shall I say? God seemed to leave his People to themselves, and order all things for His own holy ends. Shall there be evil in the City and the Lord hath not done it? They are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph, therefore shall they go captive, with the first that go captive. It is the Lord's doing, and it should be marvelous in our eyes.

2. I cannot but remember how the Indians derided the slowness, and dullness of the English army, in its setting out. For after the desolations at Lancaster and Medfield, as I went along with them, they asked me when I thought the English army would come after them? I told them I could not tell. "It may be they will come in May," said they. Thus did they scoff at us, as if the English would be a quarter of a year getting ready.

3. Which also I have hinted before, when the English army with new supplies were sent forth to pursue after the enemy, and they understanding it, fled before them till they came to Banquaug river, where they forthwith went over safely; that that river should be impassable to the English. I can but admire to see the wonderful providence of God in preserving the heathen for further affliction to our poor country. They could go in great numbers over, but the English must stop. God had an over-ruling hand in all those things.

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM





TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

4. It was thought, if their corn were cut down, they would starve and die with hunger, and all their corn that could be found, was destroyed, and they driven from that little they had in store, into the woods in the midst of winter; and yet how to admiration did the Lord preserve them for His holy ends, and the destruction of many still amongst the English! strangely did the Lord provide for them; that I did not see (all the time I was among them) one man, woman, or child, die with hunger. Though many times they would eat that, that a hog or a dog would hardly touch; yet by that God strengthened them to be a scourge to His people.

The chief and commonest food was ground nuts. They eat also nuts and acorns, artichokes, lilly roots, ground beans, and several other weeds and roots, that I know not. They would pick up old bones, and cut them to pieces at the joints, and if they were full of worms and maggots, they would scald them over the fire to make the vermine come out, and then boil them, and drink up the liquor, and then beat the great ends of them in a mortar, and so eat them. They would eat horse's guts, and ears, and all sorts of wild birds which they could catch; also bear, venison, beaver, tortoise, frogs, squirrels, dogs, skunks, rattlesnakes; yea, the very bark of trees; besides all sorts of creatures, and provision which they plundered from the English. I can but stand in admiration to see the wonderful power of God in providing for such a vast number of our enemies in the wilderness, where there was nothing to be seen, but from hand to mouth. Many times in a morning, the generality of them would eat up all they had, and yet have some further supply against they wanted. It is said, "Oh, that my People had hearkened to me, and Israel had walked in my ways, I should soon have subdued their Enemies, and turned my hand against their Adversaries" (Psalm 81.13-14). But now our perverse and evil carriages in the sight of the Lord, have so offended Him, that instead of turning His hand against them, the Lord feeds and nourishes them up to be a scourge to the whole land. 5. Another thing that I would observe is the strange providence of God, in turning things about when the Indians was at the highest, and the English at the lowest. I was with the enemy eleven weeks and five days, and not one week passed without the fury of the enemy, and some desolation by fire and sword upon one place or other. They mourned (with their black faces) for their own losses, yet triumphed and rejoiced in their inhumane, and many times devilish cruelty to the English. They would boast much of their victories; saying that in two hours time they had destroyed such a captain and his company at such a place; and boast how many towns they had destroyed, and then scoff, and say they had done them a good turn to send them to Heaven so soon. Again, they would say this summer that they would knock all the rogues in the head, or drive them into the sea, or make them fly the country; thinking surely, Agag-like, "The bitterness of Death is past."



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM





POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Now the heathen begins to think all is their own, and the poor Christians' hopes to fail (as to man) and now their eyes are more to God, and their hearts sigh heaven-ward; and to say in good earnest, "Help Lord, or we perish." When the Lord had brought His people to this, that they saw no help in anything but Himself; then He takes the quarrel into His own hand; and though they had made a pit, in their own imaginations, as deep as hell for the Christians that summer, yet the Lord hurled themselves into it. And the Lord had not so many ways before to preserve them, but now He hath as many to destroy them.

But to return again to my going home, where we may see a remarkable change of providence. At first they were all against it, except my husband would come for me, but afterwards they assented to it, and seemed much to rejoice in it; some asked me to send them some bread, others some tobacco, others shaking me by the hand, offering me a hood and scarfe to ride in; not one moving hand or tongue against it. Thus hath the Lord answered my poor desire, and the many earnest requests of others put up unto God for me. In my travels an Indian came to me and told me, if I were willing, he and his squaw would run away, and go home along with me. I told him no: I was not willing to run away, but desired to wait God's time, that I might go home quietly, and without fear. And now God hath granted me my desire. O the wonderful power of God that I have seen, and the experience that I have had. I have been in the midst of those roaring lions, and savage bears, that feared neither God, nor man, nor the devil, by night and day, alone and in company, sleeping all sorts together, and yet not one of them ever offered me the least abuse of unchastity to me, in word or action. Though some are ready to say I speak it for my own credit; but I speak it in the presence of God, and to His Glory. God's power is as great now, and as sufficient to save, as when He preserved Daniel in the lion's den; or the three children in the fiery furnace. I may well say as his Psalm 107.12 "Oh give thanks unto the Lord for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever." Let the redeemed of the Lord say so, whom He hath redeemed from the hand of the enemy, especially that I should come away in the midst of so many hundreds of enemies quietly and peaceably, and not a dog moving his tongue. So I took my leave of them, and in coming along my heart melted into tears, more than all the while I was with them, and I was almost swallowed up with the thoughts that ever I should go home again. About the sun going down, Mr. Hoar, and myself, and the two Indians came to Lancaster, and a solemn sight it was to me. There had I lived many comfortable years amongst my relations and neighbors, and now not one Christian to be seen, nor one house left standing. We went on to a farmhouse that was yet standing, where we lay all night, and a comfortable lodging we had, though nothing but straw to lie on. The Lord preserved us in safety that night, and raised us up again in the morning, and carried us along, that before noon, we came to Concord.



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

CONCORD



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM





TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Now was I full of joy, and yet not without sorrow; joy to see such a lovely sight, so many Christians together, and some of them my neighbors. There I met with my brother, and my brother-in-law, who asked me, if I knew where his wife was? Poor heart! he had helped to bury her, and knew it not. She being shot down by the house was partly burnt, so that those who were at Boston at the desolation of the town, and came back afterward, and buried the dead, did not know her. Yet I was not without sorrow, to think how many were looking and longing, and my own children amongst the rest, to enjoy that deliverance that I had now received, and I did not know whether ever I should see them again. Being recruited with food and raiment we went to Boston that day, where I met with my dear husband, but the thoughts of our dear children, one being dead, and the other we could not tell where, abated our comfort each to other. I was not before so much hemmed in with the merciless and cruel heathen, but now as much with pitiful, tender-hearted and compassionate Christians.

In that poor, and distressed, and beggarly condition I was received in; I was kindly entertained in several houses. So much love I received from several (some of whom I knew, and others I knew not) that I am not capable to declare it. But the Lord knows them all by name. The Lord reward them sevenfold into their bosoms of His spirituals, for their temporals. The twenty pounds, the price of my redemption, was raised by some Boston gentlemen, and Mrs. Usher, whose bounty and religious charity, I would not forget to make mention of. Then Mr. Thomas Shepard of Charlestown received us into his house, where we continued eleven weeks; and a father and mother they were to us. And many more tender-hearted friends we met with in that place. We were now in the midst of love, yet not without much and frequent heaviness of heart for our poor children, and other relations, who were still in affliction. The week following, after my coming in, the governor and council sent forth to the Indians again; and that not without success; for they brought in my sister, and goodwife Kettle. Their not knowing where our children were was a sore trial to us still, and yet we were not without secret hopes that we should see them again. That which was dead lay heavier upon my spirit, than those which were alive and amongst the heathen: thinking how it suffered with its wounds, and I was no way able to relieve it; and how it was buried by the heathen in the wilderness from among all Christians. We were hurried up and down in our thoughts, sometime we should hear a report that they were gone this way, and sometimes that; and that they were come in, in this place or that. We kept inquiring and listening to hear concerning them, but no certain news as yet.



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

About this time the council had ordered a day of public thanksgiving. Though I thought I had still cause of mourning, and being unsettled in our minds, we thought we would ride toward the eastward, to see if we could hear anything concerning our children. And as we were riding along (God is the wise disposer of all things) between Ipswich and Rowley we met with Mr. William Hubbard, who told us that our son Joseph was come in to Major Waldron's, and another with him, which was my sister's son. I asked him how he knew it? He said the major himself told him so. So along we went till we came to Newbury; and their minister being absent, they desired my husband to preach the thanksgiving for them; but he was not willing to stay there that night, but would go over to Salisbury, to hear further, and come again in the morning, which he did, and preached there that day. At night, when he had done, one came and told him that his daughter was come in at Providence. Here was mercy on both hands. Now hath God fulfilled that precious Scripture which was such a comfort to me in my distressed condition. When my heart was ready to sink into the earth (my children being gone, I could not tell whither) and my knees trembling under me, and I was walking through the valley of the shadow of death; then the Lord brought, and now has fulfilled that reviving word unto me: "Thus saith the Lord, Refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears, for thy Work shall be rewarded, saith the Lord, and they shall come again from the Land of the Enemy." Now we were between them, the one on the east, and the other on the west.

Our son being nearest, we went to him first, to Portsmouth, where we met with him, and with the Major also, who told us he had done what he could, but could not redeem him under seven pounds, which the good people thereabouts were pleased to pay. The Lord reward the major, and all the rest, though unknown to me, for their labor of Love. My sister's son was redeemed for four pounds, which the council gave order for the payment of. Having now received one of our children, we hastened toward the other. Going back through Newbury my husband preached there on the Sabbath day; for which they rewarded him many fold.

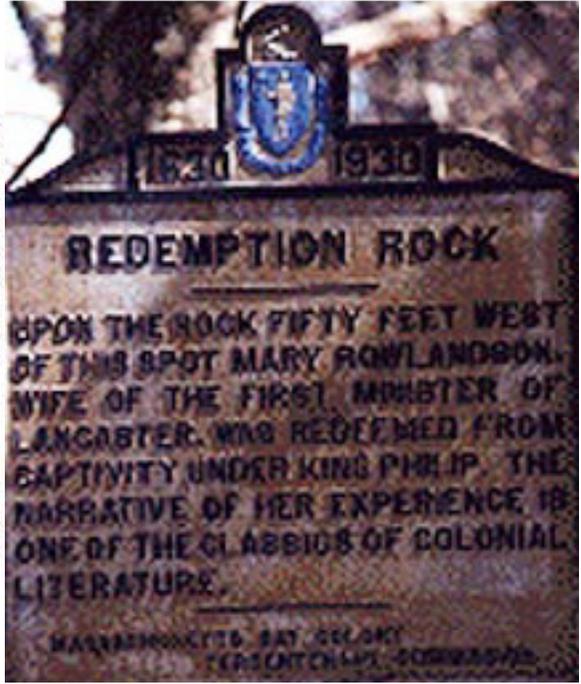
CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

WILLIAM HUBBARD

After 11 weeks in the custody of this native American couple, a [Narragansett](#) man and a [Pocasset](#) (now [Tiverton, Rhode Island](#)) woman, [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was successfully ransomed, for only about £20

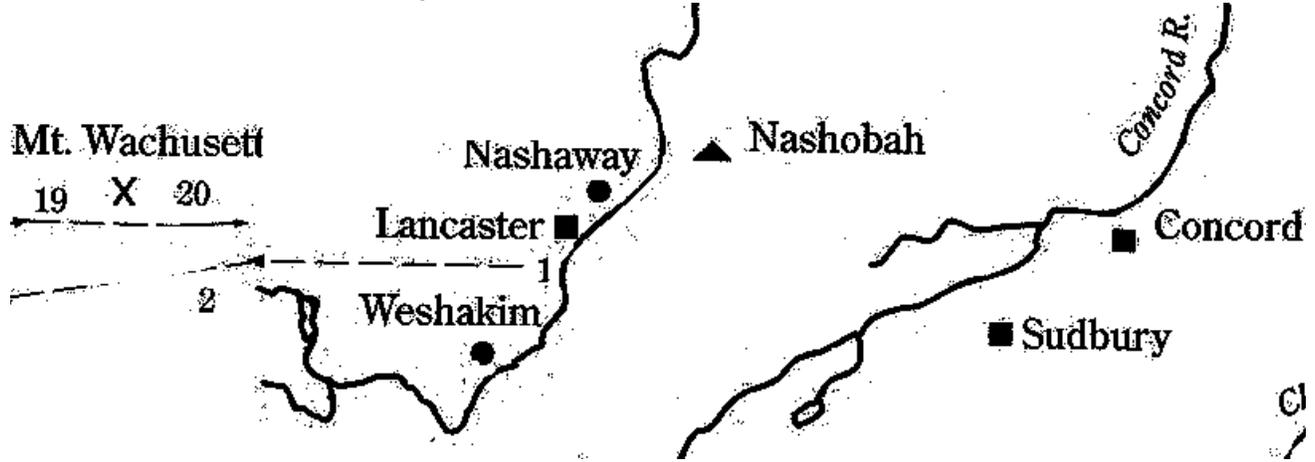
GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

worth of trade goods, by [John Hoar](#), at an outcropping now known as “Redemption Rock” (near which the



town of Princeton MA eventually would be founded, after this decimation of the woodland natives had rendered it possible).¹ They made their way back to [Concord](#) and she would reunite with the Reverend Joseph Rowlandson and with their two surviving children.

Refer to “20” on the map below:



1. On July 19th, 1842 [Henry Thoreau](#) would begin a hike from [Concord](#) to Mount Wachusett,  between Worcester and Fitchburg, and while on his way back home on July 22d, after parting from his walking companion, he would pass the sites on the Nashua and the North Nashua streams of Lancaster (now part of Leominster State Forest) at which these events had occurred. You can also visit the rock in question, on which the redemption was enacted: it is to be found where a small used-car lot intersects Main Street in South Lancaster MA.



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

The white soldiers in the mainland countryside had been following a scorched-earth policy similar to the city-versus-village warfare in Vietnam, in the hope that by starving the women and children they could avoid having to fight the men. Anything which might sustain a family in the countryside was systematically being put to the torch.

When Mary Rowlandson would get back from her captivity to this all-encompassing civilization, however, she would deliver to the governor the significant military intelligence that the scorched-earth policy alone was not succeeding in its objective, and that therefore the white soldiers would be needing to go out and find their enemy and exterminate them — they would not be able simply wait for these families hiding in the forests to be starved into a surrender:



It was thought, if their corn were cut down, they would starve and die with hunger: and all their corn that could be found, was destroyed, and they driven from that little they had in store, into the woods in the midst of winter... they would eat that, that a hog or a dog would hardly touch... old bones... full of worms and maggots... horse's guts, and ears... the very bark of trees....

CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION

As Mrs. Rowlandson was making her way back to civilization, the Massachusetts Council was becoming alarmed at the condition of the Christian natives being held on the islands in Boston Harbor. Like half of them had already died. If steps were not taken immediately, the survivors would not be worth anything on the slave market. Arrangements were made for “a man with a boate” to pick up a crew of Praying Indian men who were still capable of labor despite their exposure and starvation, to be “employed in catching of fish for their supply.”

We should note that this famous man of Concord, lawyer [John Hoar](#) the intrepid ransomer, was not universally admired in his home community. I quote Jenny Hale Pulsipher's “Massacre at Hurtleberry Hill”: “John Hoar spent most of his life in bitter contention with the authorities of Massachusetts Bay and with his fellow townsmen. He sued neighbors –including Concord's minister Peter Bulkeley– over land, and he was censured by local and general courts for failing to attend worship services, for ‘profane speech,’ and for accusing the magistrates of illegal proceedings, this last offense culmination in permanent disbarment and a sizable fine. Hoar was thus well known to the magistrates and not well admired.”



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

August 6, Sunday (Old Style): [Weetamoo](#), the squaw sachem of [Pocasset](#) (now [Tiverton, Rhode Island](#), and not to be confused with Pocasset, Massachusetts) who had allied with her kinsman [Metacom](#), was captured by twenty men of Taunton at Gardiner's Neck in Swansea, along with her few remaining followers. She made a break for it on a hastily constructed raft, attempting to get across the Taunton River. When her drowned body was discovered the English mutilated it and, cutting off the head, carried it into Taunton where they mounted it atop a pole on the village green.²

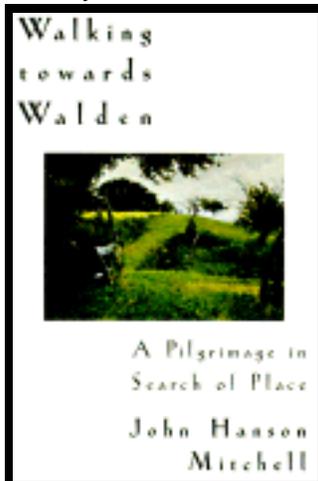


"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

In American history it is ordinarily, unfortunately, no accident when it is women and children of color who are the ones being offed. In fact the white colonists typically considered it to be of more long-term benefit to them, to kill off the women and children of the natives, than to kill off their adult males, their warriors. The reason for this attitude was simple: these warriors represented only the present of the group of color, whereas women and children of color represented the future of the breed. Thus it would come about that, when in one of the military actions only 52 adult red males had been offed but all of 114 red women and children had been offed, the Reverend [William Hubbard](#) would celebrate the statistics of this as a "signal Victory, and Pledg [sic] of Divine Favour to the English" — for these 114 defenseless women and children had been "Serpents of the same Brood" (fast forward, if you please, to November 29-30, 1864  and the Reverend John Milton Chivington of the Sand Creek reservation massacre just at the edge of Denver, and to the explanation that this lay reverend race murderer offered to us all, that "nits breed lice").

On this same day, in [Concord](#), according to the historian [Daniel Gookin](#), superintendent of the native encampment at Deer Island, some white citizen sighted three of the local native American women with three of their children³ wandering a bit too far from their official encampment on the shore of Flint's Pond, onto the "Hurtleberry Hill" just to the southwest of Walden Pond — the geographical feature that eventually would

2. In John Hanson Mitchell's WALKING TOWARDS WALDEN: A PILGRIMAGE IN SEARCH OF PLACE (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1995, page 259) there is a gratuitous reference to "...a raiding party under the control of Queen Weetamoo..." which would seem to suggest that this squaw sachem, although separated from her consort Quinnapin, had something to do with the hostilities. Such an imputation is of course utterly false. These tribal groupings on occasion did have female leaders, but a female leader would have functioned only in a peacetime context and would have had nothing whatever to do with warfare. After the race war Quinnapin would be tried and executed: he definitely had been a wartime leader.



3. Six people who of course had names, but their names would be no part of the record kept by the people who terminated them for having committed this extreme error.



TIVERTON

POCASSET

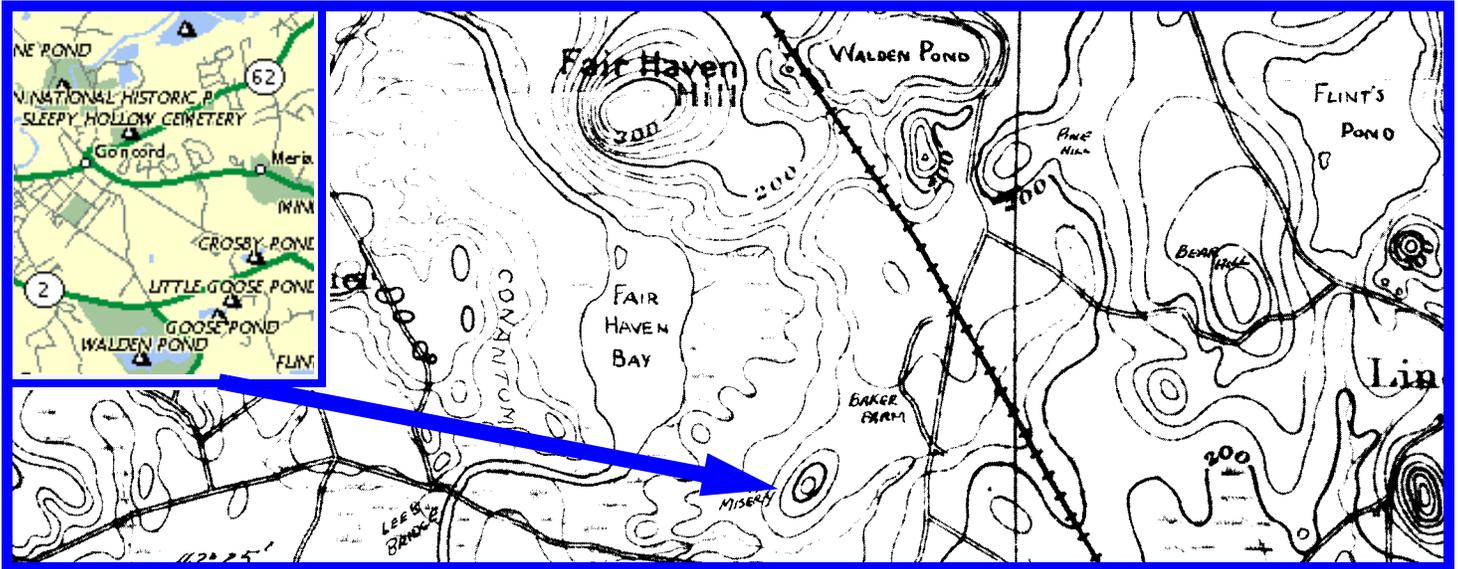
GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

come to be known by the curious name Mount Misery. This little group, led by John Stoolmester (a native American, who was armed because he had just been released from military service with the whites and had not yet had an opportunity to turn in his weapon), was, presumably, merely out picking “hurtleberries” or huckleberries or whatever, but the countryside around and about Concord had been declared to be a Vietnam-style “free fire zone.” They had ventured than the permitted one mile, indeed they had gone as the crow flies about one and one half miles, from their recognized habitation, all the way to the other side of Walden Pond and onto the Hoar farm! So after the local white men had exchanged some bread and cheese for some of the berries, four of them, Lieutenant Daniel Hoar (a nephew of John Hoar), Daniel Goble and his nephew Stephen Goble (who had no wife or child and probably was no more than 22 years of age), Nathaniel Wilder, went out to make themselves the death of this pic-nic. The three women and three children were chased and then murdered on the north slope of the hill. Their bodies were stripped of their coats and left to lie exposed. When the bodies would be found, some would be noticed to have been “shot through” while others would be noticed to have had “their brains beat out with hatchets.”⁴



4. A brief but indicative record of this race atrocity has been preserved in [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#). The form of Shattuck's record is more informative than its content. His record appears only in the 2d footnote on his page 62, indicating, quite clearly, that as far as he is concerned, any race atrocities which involve white perpetrators and nonwhite victims could be at best mere footnotes to the **significant** events of a town's past. His note is preceded by an invidiously false but intendedly exculpatory declaration, that “Strict regard was paid to the rights of friendly Indians by the government.” He proceeds to refer to the murdered wives as “squaws” and to this racial mass murder of them and their children as their having been “killed.” Making no mention in such a context of the town of [Concord](#), he situates this act of genocide “on a hill in Watertown, now in Lincoln.” He makes no mention of the fact that the six Concordians who were thus executed had been Concordians, as if, after all, they had only been reds rather than real people, nor does he make any mention of the fact that the four perps had been Concordians or, for that matter, of the obvious fact that such an egregious atrocity could only have been constructed by construing it, at that time, as having constituted an official military engagement of the Concord Militia.

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



In the days of King Philip's War, the Indians had spared the town of Concord. They burned the neighboring settlements, Sudbury, Chelmsford, Stow, but one of their chieftains said, as they glanced over Concord from a hill-top, "We shall never prosper if we go there. The Great Spirit loves that town." This was an Indian legend, and one could well believe it. Plain, low, quiet, the village had no obvious distinction.



— Van Wyck Brooks, THE FLOWERING OF NEW ENGLAND



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Later, when Andrew Pittimee, a local Native American who had been serving as a sergeant of the red guides for the white troops fighting in the race war, would return to Concord, he would not be able to find his family.⁵ His wife had simply disappeared and was nowhere to be found. His two sisters also had disappeared; they were nowhere to be found. Inquiries revealed that three Indian women and three Indian children had been killed while out huckleberrying –where had they been buried — had their bodies even been buried– and Pittimee started going around making much trouble, talking of equal hanging for all. A lot of red men were being judged, why shouldn't some white men be judged? The white militiamen who had set up this afternoon's fun, Lieutenant Daniel Hoar (in charge, giving the orders, defending his family's farm), Stephen Goble and Daniel Goble, and Nathaniel Wilder, eventually found themselves judged, not only by red people whose opinions really did not count for much, but also by landowners, selectmen, white men whose opinions really did count, to be guilty of the crime of murder. But, gee whiz, weren't they just "following orders"?



[see next screen]

5. The fact that the white Concord soldiers were willing to be led through the forest by this Andrew Pittimee the red Concordian did not imply that they considered him human or of equivalent standing and rights with themselves, for according to the Reverend William Ames's (October 6, 1605-January 11, 1654, a Harvard College graduate) CONSCIENCE WITH THE POWER AND CASES THEREOF (pages 188-9), "as it is lawfull to use the helpe of beasts, as of Elephants, Horses, &c. So also is it lawfull to use the aid of beastlike men."



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

AT A COUNCIL Held in BOSTON,

August 30, 1675.

The Council judging it of absolute Necessity for the Security of the English, and the Indians that are in Amity with us, that they be Refrained their usual Commerce with the English, and Hunting in the Woods, during the Time of Hostility with those that are our Enemies,

Do Order, that all those Indians that are desirous to Approve themselves Faithful to the English, be Confined to their several Plantations underwritten, until the Council shall take further Order; and that they do order the setting of their Wigwams, that they may stand Compact in some one Part of their Plantations respectively, where it may be best for their own Provision and Defence. And that none of them do presume to Travel above one Mile from the Center of such their Dwelling, unless in Company with some English, or in their Service near their Dwellings; and excepting for gathering and fetching in their Corn with one Englishman, on Peril of being taken as our Enemies, or their Abettors: And in Case that any of them shall be taken without the Limits above said, except as above said, and do lose their Lives, or be otherwise damnified, by English or Indians; The Council do hereby Declare, that they shall account themselves wholly Innocent, and their Blood or other Damage (by them sustained) will be upon their own Heads. Also it shall not be lawful for any Indians that are in Amity with us, to entertain any strange Indians, or receive any of our Enemies Plunder, but shall from Time to Time make Discovery whereof to some English, that shall be Appointed for that End to sojourn among them, on Penalty of being reputed our Enemies, and of being liable to be proceeded against as such.

Also, whereas it is the Manner of the Heathen that are now in Hostility with us, contrary to the Practice of all Civil Nations, to Execute their bloody Infolencies by Stealth, and Sculking in small Parties, declaring all open Decision of their Controverfie, either by Treaty or by the Sword.

The Council do therefore Order, That after the Publication of the Provision afore said, It shall be lawful for any Person, whether English or Indian, that shall find any Indians Travelling or Sculking in any of our Towns or Woods, contrary to the Limits above named, to command them under their Guard and Examination, or to Kill and destroy them as they best may or can. The Council hereby declaring, That it will be most acceptable to them that none be Killed or Wounded that are Willing to surrender themselves into Custody.

The Places of the Indians Residencies are, *Natick, Punguapaog, Nafhoba, Wamefit, and Haffanemefit:*

And if there be any that belong to any other Plantations, they are to Repair to some one of these.



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Now more recently, on page 57 of John Hanson Mitchell's TRESPASSING: AN INQUIRY INTO THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF LAND (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley, 1998), an extrabogus version of the Concord genocide story has resurfaced without references being cited. According to this author Mitchell's inventive elaborations and suppressions, no native children were involved and only one woman was offed, her innocent activities at the time remain unspecified, only one white perpetrator was involved, who had been a passing stranger, the offense had been against town laws, it not being mentioned whether this was a Concord town law or a Boston statute — and the local militia of course had nothing whatever to do with the incident. Thus it is that history gets rewritten to serve the self-respect of the descendant children of the victor:



By the 1670s this Puritan concept of written law, of a higher doctrine, had become so established that during King Philip's War, when the wife of one of the sometime residents at Nashobah was killed by a passing Englishman at Hurtleberry Hill, the town fathers, finding the white man guilty under the aegis of town laws, felt compelled to hang him.

That is not to say that the native peoples of the Americas did not also have a concept of law or, for that matter, a concept of the division of land.



GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



"Denial is an integral part of atrocity, and it's a natural part after a society has committed genocide. First you kill, and then the memory of killing is killed."



- Iris Chang, author of THE RAPE OF NANKING (1997), when the Japanese translation of her work was cancelled by Basic Books due to threats from Japan, on May 20, 1999.



"Historical amnesia has always been with us: we just keep forgetting we have it." - Russell Shorto



1746

During this year and the next, an agreement between Rhode Island and Massachusetts would result in Rhode Island and Providence Plantation's annexation of Cumberland and several East Bay towns such as Tiverton, Little Compton, Warren (which then included Barrington), and the international slave trade port of Bristol.

1755

In Tiverton, Rhode Island, Robert Gray was born.



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

The population of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) amounted to, in the categories of the day: 747 men, 741 women, 655 boys, 754 girls, 262 blacks, 275 men able to bear arms, and 406 enlisted soldiers.

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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



- EAST GREENWICH RI
- MOUNT HOPE
- PORTSMOUTH
- TIVERTON
- WARWICK RI
- REHOOTH
- BRISTOL
- WARREN
- SWANSEA

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



CONCORD

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

CARTOGRAPHY

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

HDT

WHAT?

INDEX

POCASSET

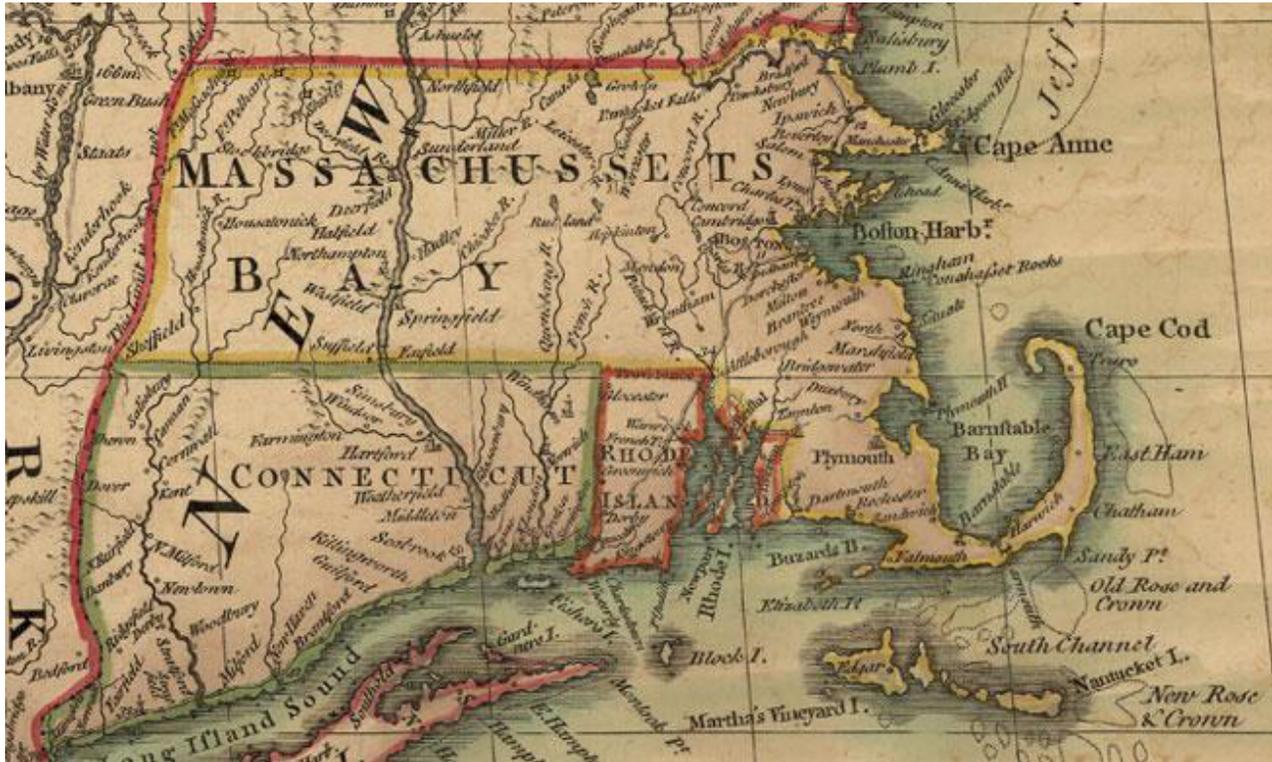
TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Also in this year, a map by Thomas Kitchin:



1778

[Robert Gray](#) of [Tiverton, Rhode Island](#), who was in his early twenties, was probably at this point aboard one or another American [privateer](#) — for after the war he would continue with a sea career.





POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

May 31, Sunday: People were trying to kill each other at [Tiverton, Rhode Island](#).

1803

 December 15, Thursday: [Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

15th of 12th M, 5th of the week / To my mind our meeting was a good time.

Hannah Dennis wife of Jona Dennis & daughter of the late Saampson Sherman [see letters and testimonials] appeared in the testimony nearly in these words, (tho I think she expressed a few words more which I dont recollect) "He that will some may come & drink of the waters of life freely" — It is something remarkable that a few weeks before & since the Decease of our beloved friend & faithful Minister Isaac Lawton which is all within two years, there has been five appearances in the Ministry, all for which I know have been to the satisfaction of friends —so we may see that the Great Head of the Church designs no loss to be sustained by the removal of the ancients, if there is but a disposition among the people, willingly to submit to his government. The names of the friends who have appeared in the ministry are as follows

Susanna Barker of [Tiverton](#), Holder Almy, Abigail Sherman and Sarah Fish of [Portsmouth](#) & Hannah Dennis of [Newport](#)

1804

 July 30, Monday: [Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

30 of 7 mo 1804 Yesterday which was first day I took Chaise with my friend Isaac Austin & rode to [Portsmouth](#). I took breakfast at John Borden's & Isaac staid at his Uncle [Preserved Fishs](#) where we left the Chaise after breakfast we walked to Howlands ferry & crossed over to [Tiverton](#), where I went to Meeting & Isaac went to Little Compton — Now while I was riding on the Island a Living concern arose in my mind, to mind my own proper business, & when I arrived at [Tiverton](#) I had it to remember as I met with such a season, as I never experienced before, about which I believe it best to insert but little except that never was my mind so humbly bowed under my exercise as under this. which I am inclind to think will not soon be erased from my memory — I went from the ferry to the Meeting house, & as it was not Meeting time I went in & viewed it as I was never there before here my exercise befell me which was so great that when I got up to Thos Barkers



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

I was not able to converse freely with them, every word was painful, after going to Thos Barkers & sitting a little while before meeting we returned & held meeting & had a pretty good time I took dinner at Thos Barkers & staid till three oclock then came over the ferry, took tea at J Bordens & then Isaac & I rode pleasantly home, & I was favord to feel an evidence in my mind that my visit was a good one, & performed in the right time.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 26, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1 day 26 of 8 m 1804 / This morning I endeavored to draw my mind inward that I might obtain a little spiritual nourishment to sustain me in our meeting, which I attended with but little of that which I desired. Mary Morton appeared in testimony - Between meetings I finished reading the manuscript Diary of Hannah Bringham, lent me yesterday by her husband who has spent much of his time in this town of late with this third wife who he Married at [Tiverton](#) I can say of his wife's diary, that it is a peace from reading I was much instructed & interested In the Afternoon meeting I undertook to fight with the enemy with spiritual weapons, & was favored to overcome him so far as to obtain a time of Solid quiet & to me the meeting ended well. Abigail Sherman was concern'd to repeat this Passage of Scripture. "The harvest truly is great, but the laborers are few. pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he send forth more laborers into into his harvest." I thought yes more faithful laborers, & O may I be one - - After meeting made several visits in the corse of the evening, but such a Serious depression of mind was my lot that I could not enjoy their company, nor could I scarcely speak a word the whole time of my being there, so came home early, & went to bed as I concluded to be alone was best at that time

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1805



August 16, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

16 of 8 M 1805 6 day of the week/ This morning our worthy Honorable & Dignified instrument Wm Crotch left town to visit Sam Elam from there he will return & dine with Richard Mitchell, & then go to [Tiverton](#) & [Swanzy](#) & so to [Providence](#) in the work & service of his Master who has doubtless sent him from his



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

native land to this country as an instrument of great Good...

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1807

 September 20, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1 day 20 of 9 M / Our beloved friend Wm Flanner after having visited [Tiverton](#), Little-Compton, Acoaxet & several meetings in those parts, returned here yesterday & was at our meeting today, in the forenoon he was very large in testimony, appearing to be under a very depressive exercise on account of the lukewarmness & indifference that prevaild in this place, among the professors of religion, & also the aboundings of wickendness which he Said occasions much darkness & deep waiding for his poor mind. The life & power of the spirit evidently attended his communication & I was favord to feel the force therof in an uncommon degree in my mind. O Saith my soul may his testimony reach the hearts of those that are at ease in Zion for whom her ways do mourn - & may those who are sinning continually against the just witness in their hearts when the Lord God calls Again unto them in the Language "Adam where art thou", be so arroused thereby as to See their miserable fig leaf covering & seek another that Shall stand them in better Stead

Between meetings I called at J Shermans to see the dear man, [to see Fanner?] it was a precious call indeed, I desire not to think too much of any man, but truly it is my judgement there has not been a deeper & more honest laborer for some time, he is pleasant & very instructing in conversation, his countenance at the same time bespeaking a deeply Baptized spirit - I walked up to the meeting house with him, & should have been glad to have had him & companion to have taken tea with us this Afternoon -At meeting he was gain very Searching & powerful in testimony The current of which was mostly as in the morning - to such as were at ease in Zion - M Morton set her seal to it, Desiring we might individually take our portions of what was Said without placing it on others, & said that we read that Jerusalem was Searched as with lighted candles & she believed Something of it had been fulfilled among us this day - Towards night I rode with him & companion to D Buffums & spent the evening in their company very sweetly - I trust it has been a day wherein I have witnessed a degree of divine favor upon my Spirit & hope to be able to keep under its precious influence.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1809



August 3, Thursday: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) and Hobhouse sailed on the frigate *Hyperion* bound for Gibraltar.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal describing the role of visiting Friends and their missions of visiting families, as well as of speaking out in Meetings, particularly Quarterly Meetings:

5th day 3 of 8th Mo// This mornng took chaise & rode to [Portsmouth](#) to attend our Quarterly meeting. Sister Eliza went with me, my H being unwilling to leave the little boy - we arrived at R Shermans alittle [sic] after 9 OClock where I left E & went to the Meeting house to meet with the representatives, we got thro' with our buisness in Season to go back & bring E to meeting. In the first meeting James Green opened the service in which he pointed out the true way to happines which he said was in a "clean concience, a life of religion & thousands & tens of thousands of this world would not purchase it" then after a long time of waiting, Our friend Easter Griffin rose up with the text "Awake thou that sleepest that Christ may give the light" & soon set down appearing to have but little to say - John Casey then rose up & bore testimony to the universality of divine light & its all sufficiency thro' life, he said that he felt it in his early life but then did not distinctly see what it was but since having been brought more into the knowledge of it, he could bear testimony now in his Old age when his cheeks were furrow'd with Age & his head coverd with grey hairs, that it is all that is worth living for, he Sweetly encoraged all to walk & believe in it & very touchingly addressed the younger part of society - he had not taken his seat but a few minutes be fore Easter again rose, took up his subject & greatly enlarged to the comfort & consolation of many present, that light had again broke thro' the thick cloud of darkness that has for a long time coverd our land. I know that we are apt to think the last best, but I really think I have not heard preaching that appeard to reach the audience like hers in a very long time, such life & power attended it as was cause of admiration in my mind. Soon after she took her seat - Hannah Field kneeld in supplication, Beseeching the Almighty to "gather the people call a solemn assembly assemble the Elders & blow the trumpet in Zion that truth might arrise in its ancient splendor & c - In the meeting for buisness before we began to act James Dinson Ladd introduced himself as one traveling for his health, belonging to Wain Oak Monthly & particular Meeting in Virginia, he appeard to be a solid friend & was permitted to set tho' he had no certificate - Soon after the Queries were read & the Answers approved - Our friend David Buffum in a very weighty manner proposed the appointment of a Solid committee to visit the Moy [Monthly] Meetings & labor for the promotion & preservation of Love &



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Unity, it consisted of the following names John Casey, D Buffum, Sylvester Wickes, [Moses Brown](#), Thos Howland Jona[thon] Dennis & O Williams - it was also united with by the women & one appointed by them to unite with the men - but little further buisness was transacted the most important was that of reading the certificates of our friend E Griffin & H Field, & Gideon Seman who accompanied them - After Meeting Sister E & I went to H Almy's & dined, where I left her to go to [Tiverton](#) to be at meeting with Our abovementioned [sic] friends E G & H F tomorrow -I rode home with Lloyd Green & took James Green up who rode a little ways with us -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 10, Thursday: Ecuador gained its independence.

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

5th day 10 of 8 M 1809// [written very dark] This day of the week one Year ago was a day by me to be remembered. I was married to my dear H Rodman While at meeting I reflected on what passed twelve months ago, but could not realise it as at some other seasons - so it is Times & Seasons are not at our command - Our friends Easter Griffin & H field with their companion Gideon Seaman were with us A Robinson opened the service in a few words which is the first time in a long time that she has opened her mouth in a public meeting in [Newport](#). H Field then had a long & living testimony to bear among us wherein she couched much excellent doctrine & intructive counsil to many State, particularly the Youth - Then Easter appeared in supplication in a most Powerful Manner on behalf of all classes & ranks, particularly the Aged, Youth, those that are at ease in Zion the Ministers, the Elders, & burden bearers of society, a sweet solemnity coverd many minds & I have no doubt but the living Power of truth was over the Assembly many being melted into tears - A young man by the name of [here there is a blank] Parker was at meeting from Boston, he was very attentive to the friends when there & invited them to his fathers house & seem'd very desirous of being acquainted with friends principals & asked many questions relative to them, & now being at [Tiverton](#) & hearing of their being here came on purpose to see them - he is a Collegian & designed for a Minister in the Church of England, but may bring up among friends if he is faithful to the light afforded - In the eveng Sister Eliza & I went to T Robinsons to see them but they had not returnd from their service on our return home we met them in the street, however our visit was not for nought, we saw our dear Sister S Barker who from severe indisposition has been unable to get to town in more than twelve Months, whose comapny was very grateful. -



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1810

 March 3, Saturday: France annexed Dalmatia and attached the Tyrol to the Kingdom of Italy.

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

7 day 3 of 3 Mo// This Afternoon rode to [Portsmouth](#) with brother D Rodman on our way to [Tiverton](#) to attend the funeral of Our good old friend James Bringham - We lodged at Benjamin Freeborns, & were very comfortably & agreeably entertain'd in the evening by conversation with our friends Benjm is a man of experience & value - In the Morning after breakfast we rode to Tiverton & crossed the new Stone Bridge at Howlands ferry which is the first time I have been there since its compleation - We went to Thos Barkers at the time appointed for the funeral & saw the corpse of the good old man which looked natural & pleasant considering how long it had been kept - I serv'd as a bearer & soon Moved to the Meeting house after a pretty length of Silence Our frd Wm Almy rose up & preached the truth to the people, & as soon as he concluded Our friend D Buffum was up on his feet & spoke with much life & Power for a considerable time - After a considerable pause in which the Minds of many present appear'd to be dipt into much feeling, the Meeting concluded & we took the corpse from the Meeting house to the grave on Shoulders where after a suitable pause it was decently interr'd We returnd & dined at Thos Barkers, & after going into the chamber to see my beloved Susanna who is mostly confind by sickness We returnd homeward stopping on our Way at Benjm Freeborns to get what we left there the night before - We got safe home a little before sundown & found our wifes & little ones Well - I can say with repect to myself that it has been a very favor'd visit to me a time I hope not soon to forget. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 23, Friday: In the "Rambouillet Decree," the Emperor [Napoléon](#) directed the seizure of all ships of the United States of America entering French ports (his order was issued retroactive to the previous May 20th).

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

6th day 23 of 3 Mo// Divers have gone from town to attend the funeral of Joshua Barker an aged man & Uncle to my valued friend Susanna Barker. I should have been glad to have gone but having latly been at Tiverton I thought the time that it would take was



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

more than I could afford – I understand he left time suddenly, having a cold for several days but not more unwell than he frequently was & about. As usual the family carried him his breakfast, & when they went to him again found him on the floor Dead. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 11, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 11 of 8 Mo// "Help Lord for the Godly man ceaseth, for the faithful fail from among the children of men" - I have heard this Afternoon that my much loved friend & sister Susanna Barker departed this life last eveng at her residence in [Tiverton](#). She was a friend that I dearly loved & have had many precious opportunitys with her, for in the days of her health she would come to my shop & set a considerable time in familiar conversation on subjects that nearly [closely, strongly] interested us, & I have also frequently happened with her in family settings when she has had a word of comfort or exhortation to those present, which has allways been to me Satisfactory. She had a good gift in the Ministry & about a Year & an half ago was recommended, but was able to attend but three or four Settings of the Select Meeting, & has not been in town but once or twice since we were married & then so unwell that she could not get to see us, so that we have never seen her in our habitation. I believe her health has been such that she had not been at a Monthly meeting since, We were published which was in 7 M at [Portsmouth](#) and was then a representative & waited on us back & forth to the different meetings. The natural urbanity of her disposition renderd her peculiarly useful among the younger class of Society for she could speak to us by way of reproof & yet not give offence, but do much good, & all were willing to call on her for advice, which none were backward about doing, as she was open & free to all – Her kindness, attention & benevolence to all that came within her knowledge that were in distress, & particularly to her indigent neighbors will long live as a memorial in the hearts of many, but most of all to be regretted is the loss of her labors in Society, being invested with a deep concern for the promotion of truth & has often in conversation with me expressed much feeling on account of the little meeting that she attended, where to every appearance she was just opening into a field of usefulness but Alas is now no more -Thus, we go one after another with quick, yea rapid succession to the Grave; the house appointed for all living, & whose turn it will be next, to resign the mortal breath, is unknown to All but Him who knows & sees all things.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1811

June 24, Monday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

2nd day 24 of 6 Mo// Our friends left town this morning, intending to spend the day in visiting a few in Portsmouth & appoint a meeting there tomorrow & be the next day & Tiverton & from thence go to Bedford -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1816

February 7, Wednesday: George Gordon, Lord Byron's "The Siege of Corinth" and "Parsinia" were published together.

The Congress of New Granada invested Simón Bolívar with political and military control of the invasion of Venezuela from Haiti.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

4th day 7 of 2 M / This forenoon the remains of Elisha Brown were carried to Tiverton to be buried, he died yesterday in a fit on Sherburns Wharf - A solemn warning to survivors - My mind has been this day in a serious mood I hop profitably so. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

February 21, Wednesday: Ludwig van Beethoven, who knew what was best, obtained a court order forbidding his late brother's wife Johanna from visiting her son Karl von Beethoven at his new boarding school.

Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar was born as part of Concord's Royal Family, the son of Squire Samuel Hoar and Madam Sarah Sherman Hoar. He had as a couple of years older, his big sister Elizabeth Sherman Hoar, who quickly learned as a big sister how to make herself a royal pain in the behind:

History of Ebenezer R. Hoar,
Written by his Sister,
ELIZABETH HOAR
Designed for the use of young persons.

Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar was born in Concord February 21, 1816, of respectable parents. When he was three years old he could read the BIBLE as correctly as any grown



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

person. He was vary passionate at times when he was offended or disappointed.

At the age of about two years he was sent to school to a very pious Instructress, who in a few weeks taught him more than any town schoolmaster would.

At four he excelled his older sister in reading and spelling and the pauses. He had a great affection for his Instructress, and as she was poor, when he had any money given him to spend, it was his delight to carry it to her.

Sometimes he indulged selfishness, and was unwilling to carry anything to her. I will mention an instance of this kind. One day they had a cherry pie brought upon the table. He had now nearly finished his dinner, and there was a small piece left upon the plate. His mother asked him which he had rather do, carry it to his Instructress or eat it himself? He replied, "I had rather eat it myself"; but he was afterward very sorry that he had eaten it, and the next time he had his choice he requested to carry it to his Instructress. She was sensible to all these proofs of affection, and she often kissed and praised him.

His Instructress was accustomed to have a small party the Saturday after Thanksgiving every year. She invited all her scholars, and among the rest my brother. He had a young companion named Gardiner Davis; he got into a little quarrel with him and bit him most severely.

But I hope as he increases in years he will do better, but I have lately experienced that, as he grew older, he grew worse.

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

4th day 21 of 2 M / I find that the Station of an overseer is a weighty one & that since I have been under the appointment the weight of the concerns of society have increased upon me My mind has much of this day been engaged in looking over the State of Society with no Small degree of concern - The Meeting of [Tiverton](#) has been specially under consideration - The State of it is very low & has been ever since my remembrance - their numbers is Sufficient to hold a preparative Meeting if numbers was all that is wanting, but alas "by whom shall Israel Arise" - they hold but one meeting in a week & that often attended by only two or three members - I feel much on acct of the state of things, but see nothing that I can do for their help. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 28, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 28th of 11 M / Monthly Meeting - the first was silent & well attended. The last was long & closely exercising, the



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

subject of appointing a committee to visit [Tiverton](#) Meeting & friends there, was brought up & finally refered another Month – Isaac Chase Jr & Ruth Dennis daughter of Robt Dennis published their intentions of Marriage.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 26, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 26th of 12 M / Took My H & John to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Moy [Monthly] Meeting. This side of Slate Hill the through Brace broke & by the help of friends we so fixed it that Br David & I rode in it to meeting, Hannah got in with Ruth & Isaac Mitchell took John. –At meeting Cynthia Coggeshall appeared in a few words & was followed by Hannah Dennis & D Buffum, all which testimonys were pleasant to me, & I trust in some measure was beneficial. –The subject of appointing a committee to visit [Tiverton](#) meeting was revived, & after a long time of exercise it was concluded to appoint a committee to visit such parts of the Monthly Meeting as way should open. Saml Thurston, Richd Mitchell & Benjn Freeborn were nominated & appointed. – After Meeting we Dined at Jethro T Mitchells & rode home without further accident

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1817

 June 19, Thursday: In Bergamo, Concertino in G for english horn and orchestra by Gaetano Donizetti was performed for the initial time.

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

5th day Our Meeting today was large, attended by many of the great folks of the town, Mary Nafftal & Hannah Evans preached & Jesse Kersey was favor'd in testimony, much to the satisfaction of many if not all present – The gathering was very large. –Mary Evans concluded in supplication – Mary Nafftal, Mary Lewis & Stephen Grellet, with Isaac Thorn & Ruben House Set the latter part of the Afternoon & took tea with us – M Nafftal seems to be a goodly old Woman, & Stephen a deeply concerned friend & related many interesting Anecdotes of his own travels in France Hayti, & Canada, with several of other peoples exercises which rendered this little visit useful to us as well as very gratifying to have their company. – After dinner & in the course of the forenoon all our family left us us except Isaac & Ruben, we have had the company of interesting company – some in one way & some in another, & to me Luke Aldridge & his sister Sarah were not a little so. they



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

both came in by convincement. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 20, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day Isaac Thorn & R. House left us for [Tiverton](#) where they expect to be at meeting this day -I went down to the Packet at Banisters Wharf with Jesse Kersey & Ritchard Hartshorn where they found the Packet about going off, they took passage & saild about 9 O'clock. -

In concluding this little (for it is but a little) account of the occurences of the Yearly Meeting - I feel thankful in acknowledging, that not withstanding we have had much company & our apartments small to accomadate them in, yet my mind has in the midst of all been refreshed with fresh manifestations that good was near-. no grateing occurence has taken place & we moved on in our family with order, my dear H being well quallified to take the lead. & our Help viz. Mary Macomber & Martha Aleman were also of the best Kind, capable of getting the Meals in season & in the best manner this was a favor to my H as She was not confind so as to make her late at meeting or obliged to work so as to be fatigued when there.

My Mother Aunt Stanton & Cousin Martha Hazard set the Afternoon & took tea with us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1818



March 22, Easter Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 22nd of 3rd M / Yesterday Afternoon the minds of friends generally were affected with the news of the decease of JOSEPH BARKER of [Tiverton](#), he died about 1 / 2 past nine OC in the morning he had not been sick long & but the day before sent for Dr Hazard but he had expired before the Doctor reached him His loss is great to the meeting & neighborhood where he lived & to his family in particular. -

Our meeting this forenoon was in good measure favord & father Rodman was concerned in a short & feeling testamony. -

In the Afternoon Hannah Dennis preached & Lydia Almy prayed & before I left it I was sensible that divine favor was extended to us. About a quarter of an hour after we were settled Abraham Thurston came & called out John Slocum, & about a quarter afterwards he came in & called me out this excited some feeling in the meeting - after we were out Abraham informed me that a Challenge had been sent from Capt Heath to Comodore Perry to fight a DUEL & that the barer of it was in town & he & some



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

others wanted some of the society of friends to enter a complaint against the cond[?] he wished us to interfere as friends of Peace & men of influence. This streightened me very much & I told him that I would return to meeting & after it concluded consult some of my friends on the subject but he said it must be done immedeatly & if I would not go with him he would go in & call out some other man & rather than have the meeting further disturbed, I concluded to go & see what was wanting to be done & how far I could consistently act in it, on the So side of Washington Square I found a number of the inhabitants assembled with anxous countenences - we went to Thos Townsend Junr where further consultation was had & I became convinced that something ought to be promptly done to prevent if possible so desolating a stroke to the family of Com. Perry & the community in general & if the Devil could not be stoped to wipe as far as Possible the stain from the State by using all the means & all the vigor of our laws against it - still my mind was embarrassed & much exercised as to moving in it myself not seeing exactly to the end of it - John Slocum consented to sign a complaint & by this time meeting was broke & I sent for Benj Hadwen, who I took out of the room & explained to him my reasons for an unwillingness to engage in the affair, & he readily consented, being used to the law & understood it much better than myself - A court was soon convened & a warrant made out & the man in question apprehended & soon committed to Prison for further examination & messengers were also sent to [Providence](#) to Apprehend Capt Heath. & I greatly desire a stop may be put to so abhorant an affair

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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

5th day 17th of 9 M / Our Meeting this day was indeed as an heavenly place the silent part of it was favor'd with a precious covering, under which Anne Thorn rose & deliverd a very copious testimony & reached the states & conditions of many present - to the afflicted, her testimony was like oil whom she was engaged to address particularly

In the course of her exercise I could but acknowledge afresh in my heart that there is no "God like our God" he quallifies poor dust & ashes to proclaim his Word with the same Power with which he cloathed the Apostles & is still condescending in his adorable goodness to raise up those who are willing to stand on his holy Mount to receive his command, to the people & sanctifies their labors, his witness in many minds was reached this day, & may the bread cast on the Waters soon return. - It was a season of refreshment to me, for which I desire to be thankful. She dined at D Buffums & expects to go to [Tiverton](#) tonight from thence to [Providence](#) on her way home.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

 December 20, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 20th of 12th M 1818 / In the forenoon Meeting D Buffum was engaged in a lively testimony & in the Afternoon father Rodman was also engaged in a lively encouraging communication. In the Afternoon I enjoyed a pretty good state, but the morning was a hard time. – In the forpart of the evening with James Taylor & D Rodman, visited Judge Nicholas Taylor who has been confined a number of weeks with a painful indisposition, but seems now to be recovering. We found him cheerful, & related an anecdote which interested me very much. – he said that His father whose name was Robert, served his apprenticeship with old Joseph Wanton of Tiverton, & while he was an apprentice, there came a man on buisness With Joseph, who became very turbulent & abusive, so much so that Robert thought he was going to strike his master & feeling his temper excited atthe abuse offered his master raised his fist & Knocked him down to the ground. "Poh! Robert what did thee strike the man for, he did nothing but talk." Tho' the occurence must have happened 70 or 80 Years ago, as Joseph Wanton has been dead about 64 Years, I feel a freedom to rescue it from oblivion, that it may be found as an instructive lesson to others. I hope it may rest on my mind, that should I be assailed with abuse, remember to keep my temper & not fall into the same spirit of the opposer, & frequently recur to the words of good old Joseph when he said "he did nothing but talk".- I have often heard my mother & others who remember him, say that he was a man remarkable for his mildness of disposition, a man very useful in society & a solid preacher, tho' not an extensive gift.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1820

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

1st day 18th of 6 M 1820 / Our Morning meeting was large but did not prove so open a time as could be wished tho our frd Charles Osborn labord faithfully in the ability afforded - In the Afternoon as the other Meeting broke, many people flocked in, which happened just as Charles rose & it proved a season of good openness wherein he discharged himself to the comfort of friends & the satisfaction of others. – They took tea with us & after tea we took leave at which time Charles was concerned to impart a few words of Sweet encouragement very precious & consoling to our feelings - They rode to Rich Mitchells to lodge, intending from thence to [Tiverton](#) Little Compton, Westport & on to [New Bedford](#) wishing to be at [Nantucket](#) on first Day next. I have to Acknowledge (I trust) under an humble sense of the



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Lords goodness that this Yearly Meeting has been to me a season of favor, tenderness & love, for which I desire to offer thanksgiving & praise where it is alone due. – before the meeting commenced it was a season of much fear & dread among us, least [lest] from some existing causes, the Truth would suffer, but the Lord made bare his holy Arm for the help of his people, & the good cause gained ground, to the consolation of the honest sincere hearted traveller, who travel for the prosperity of Zion & the right enlargement of her Borders.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1824

 December 5, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 5th of 12th M / It was my intention to have gone with Jethro F Mitchell to [Tiverton](#) Meeting as one of the committee appointed to attend occasionall – but the weather being Stormy yesterday & very Windy today, prevented us. – Our Meeting at home was silent & to me low. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1825

 May 21, Saturday: Le lapin blanc, an opera comique by Ferdinand Herold to words of Melesville and Carmouche, was performed for the initial time, in the Theatre Feydeau, Paris.

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

7th day 21st of 5 M / Rode to [Portsmouth](#) with Uncle Benjn Freeborn, & took tea at Aunt Elizabeth Thurstons - Then Walked on to Uncle Stantons & lodged. – 1st day [Sunday] Morning after breakfast walked up to Asa Shermans, where Jethro T Mitchell soon met me & with him & his son Wm rode over to [Tiverton](#) to attend the Meeting there being part of the committee appointed to visit it occasionally - The number that meet are small & the spring of life evidently low, yet I do not see, any better way than to strive to Keep the Meeting up yet a little longer. – After Meeting we came directly homeward & dined at Assa Shermans, & from thence I rode home with D Buffum Jr who was also at [Tiverton](#). –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

 December 10, Sunday: When back in [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) caught up in his journal:

7th day 9th of 12 M / Rode this afternoon to [Tiverton](#) with our Frd David Buffum - Lodged at Abraham Barkers & next day (1st day [Sunday]) We attended Meeting there - the gathering was small & the appearance of things among them weak & low, yet it seemed as if there was a little encouragement to continue to hold the Meeting. - D B was engaged in a good feeling testimony which went to encourage the few who usually assemble at that place. - We dined at Abraham Barkers & returned home in the Afternoon. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1827

 November 15, Thursday: The Creeks ceded all their remaining territory in Georgia to the United States of America.

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

5th day 16th [sic] of 11th M / A good Meeting to me, a few words by Father Rodman - Several friends absent from meeting to attend the funeral of Nathan Chase at [Tiverton](#). -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1832



December 21, Friday: The 2d Unitarian Church of [Boston](#) made its final payment on Assistant Pastor [Waldo Emerson](#)'s salary.

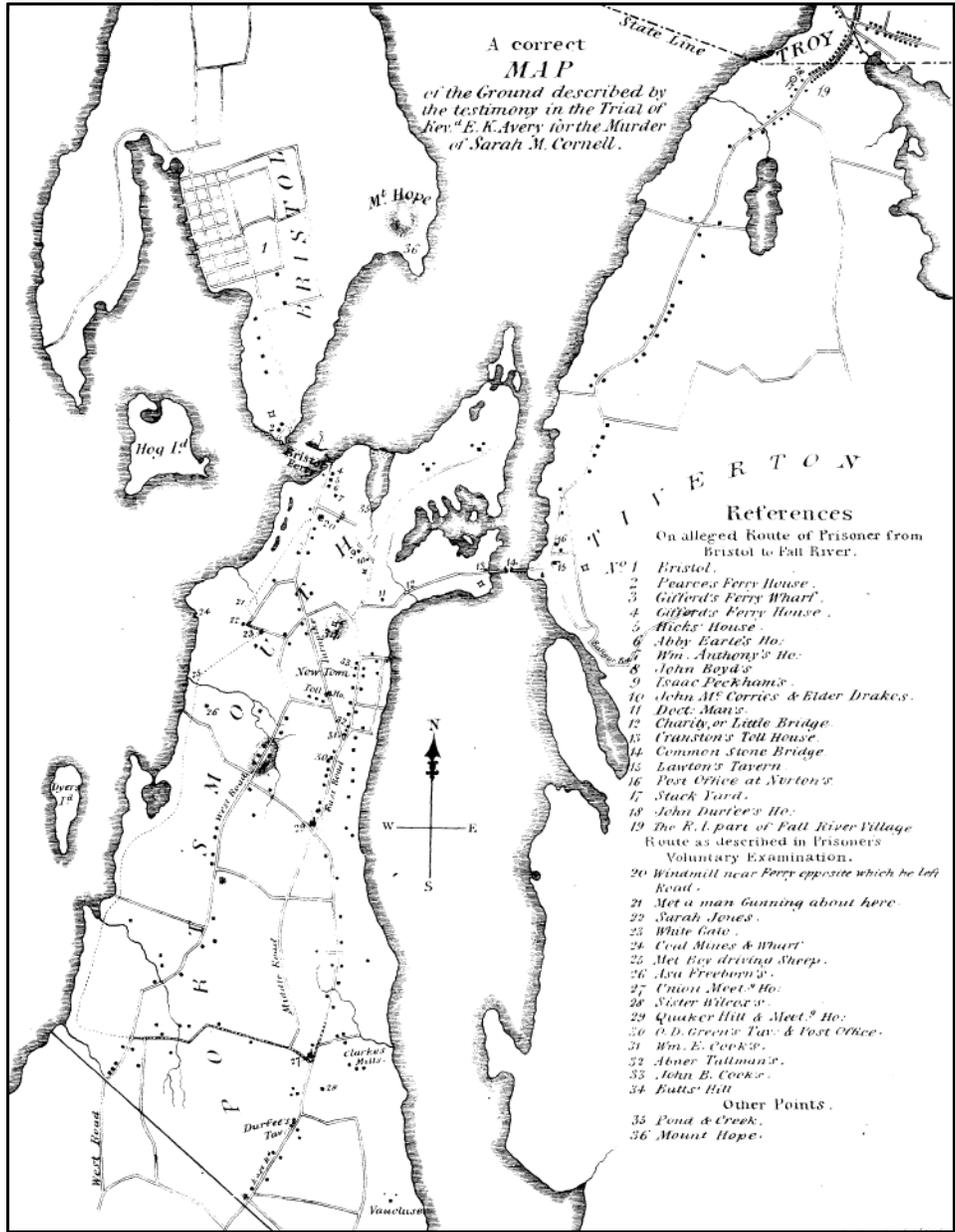
[Egyptian](#) forces defeated the main Ottoman army at Konya in central Anatolia.

Albert Lortzing's vaudeville *Der Weihnachtsabend* to his own words was performed for the initial time, in Munster.

Great excitement was being generated by a suspicion that it was the Reverend E.K. Avery, a Methodist minister of [Tiverton, Rhode Island](#), who had been responsible for the death of Sarah Maria Cornell, whose body was found hanging and pregnant and with a venereal disease. The hearings in this case would consume twenty-seven and one half days.

READ ABOUT THIS CASE

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



READ ABOUT THIS CASE



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1835

 November 3, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

11th M 3rd (3rd day of week) 1835 / This Afternoon we Rode to [Tiverton](#) & staid at Edward Wings - this was the first time my wife was ever there

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1836

 June 19, Sunday: [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) and the *Alert* began to enter the waters off Cape Horn.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Sunday, June 19th, were in lat. 34° 15' S., and long. 116° 38' W.

There now began to be a decided change in the appearance of things. The days became shorter and shorter; the sun running lower in its course each day, and giving less and less heat; and the nights so cold as to prevent our sleeping on deck; the Magellan Clouds in sight, of a clear night; the skies looking cold and angry; and, at times, a long, heavy, ugly sea, setting in from the southward, told us what we were coming to. Still, however, we had a fine, strong breeze, and kept on our way, under as much sail as our ship would bear. Toward the middle of the week, the wind hauled to the southward, which brought us upon a taught bowline, made the ship meet, nearly head on, the heavy swell which rolled from that direction; and there was something not at all encouraging in the manner in which she met it. Being so deep and heavy, she wanted the buoyancy which should have carried her over the seas, and she dropped heavily into them, the water washing over the decks; and every now and then, when an unusually large sea met her fairly upon the bows, she struck it with a sound as dead and heavy as that with which a sledge-hammer falls upon the pile, and took the whole of it in upon the fore-castle, and rising, carried it aft in the scuppers, washing the rigging off the pins, and carrying along with it everything which was loose on deck. She had been acting in this way all of our forenoon watch below; as we could tell by the washing of the water over our heads, and the heavy breaking of the seas against her bows, (with a sound as though she were striking against a rock,) only the thickness of the plank from our heads, as we lay in our berths, which are directly against the bows. At eight bells, the watch was called, and we came on deck, one hand going aft to take the wheel, and another and another going to the galley to get the grub for dinner. I stood on the fore-castle, looking at the seas, which were rolling high, as far as the eye could reach, their tops white with foam, and the body of them of a deep indigo blue, reflecting the bright rays of the sun. Our ship rose slowly over a few of the largest of them, until one immense fellow came rolling on, threatening to cover her, and which I was sailor enough to know, by "the feeling of her" under my feet, she would not rise over. I sprang upon the knight-heads, and seizing hold of the fore-stay with my hands, drew myself upon it. My feet were just off the stanchion, when she struck fairly into the middle of the sea, and it washed her fore and aft, burying her in the water. As soon as she rose out of it, I looked aft, and everything forward of the main-mast, except the long-boat, which was griped and doublelashed down to the ring-bolts, was swept off clear. The galley, the pig-sty, the hen-coop, and a large sheep-pen which had been built upon the fore-hatch, were all gone, in the twinkling of an eye— leaving the



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

deck as clean as a chin new-reaped— and not a stick left, to show where they had stood. In the scuppers lay the galley, bottom up, and a few boards floating about, the wreck of the sheep-pen— and half a dozen miserable sheep floating among them, wet through, and not a little frightened at the sudden change that had come upon them. As soon as the sea had washed by, all hands sprung out of the fore-castle to see what had become of the ship and in a few moments the cook and old Bill crawled out from under the galley, where they had been lying in the water, nearly smothered, with the galley over them. Fortunately, it rested against the bulwarks, or it would have broken some of their bones. When the water ran off, we picked the sheep up, and put them in the long-boat, got the long-boat, got the galley back in its place, and set things a little to rights; but, had not our ship had uncommonly high bulwarks and rail, everything must have been washed overboard, not excepting Old Bill and the cook. Bill had been standing at the galley-door, with the kid of beef in his hand for the fore-castle mess, when, away he went, kid, beef, and all. He held on to the kid till the last, like a good fellow, but the beef was gone, and when the water had run off, we saw it lying high and dry, like a rock at low tide— nothing could hurt that. We took the loss of our beef very easily, consoling ourselves with the recollection that the cabin had more to lose than we; and chuckled not a little at seeing the remains of the chicken-pie and pan-cakes floating in the scuppers. “This will never do!” was what some said, and every one felt. Here we were, not yet within a thousand miles of the latitude of Cape Horn, and our decks swept by a sea not one half so high as we must expect to find there. Some blamed the captain for loading his ship so deep, when he knew what he must expect; while others said that the wind was always southwest, off the Cape, in the winter; and that, running before it, we should not mind the seas so much. When we got down into the fore-castle, Old Bill, who was somewhat of a croaker,— having met with a great many accidents at sea— said that if that was the way she was going to act, we might as well make our wills, and balance the books at once, and put on a clean shirt. “Vast there, you bloody old owl! You’re always hanging out blue lights! You’re frightened by the ducking you got in the scuppers, and can’t take a joke! What’s the use in being always on the look-out for Davy Jones?” “Stand by!” says another, “and we’ll get an afternoon watch below, by this scrape;” but in this they were disappointed, for at two bells, all hands were called and set to work, getting lashings upon everything on deck; and the captain talked of sending down the long top-gallant masts; but, as the sea went down toward night, and the wind hauled abeam we left them standing, and set the studding-sails.

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

1st day 19th of 6th M 1836 / Our fr Joshua Lynch & his companion Joel Woolman staid last night at David Buffums, being engaged in looking for a horse to go the journey they have in propect. — They returned to Meeting with us in the forenoon & went to an appt Meeting at [Portsmouth](#) at 4 OC this Afternoon intending to go from thence to Edw Wings in [Tiverton](#) & stay tonight - Joshua had a good testimony with us in the Morning & in the Afternoon Meeting Father Rodman was concerned in lively testimony

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1998

February 15, Sunday: An extraordinarily different article appeared in the local [Providence, Rhode Island](#) newspaper, the "ProJo":

History of slavery in R.I. not a story in black and white, but shades of gray

By JODY McPHILLIPS, Journal-Bulletin Staff Writer

Steven Spielberg shot his slave-revolt film [La Amistad](#) in [Rhode Island](#) because the state has great Colonial architecture.

It made sense for other reasons.

Rhode Island played a bigger role than any other state in the [Atlantic slave trade](#) and had the only slave plantations in New England. At the same time, it was an early leader in the efforts to abolish slavery.

"Throughout the 18th century, Rhode Island merchants controlled between 60 and 90 percent of the American trade in African slaves," writes historian Jay Coughtry in *THE NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE: RHODE ISLAND AND THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, 1700-1807*.

To be fair, the American slave trade amounted to just a small fraction of the European trade, which brought more than 11 million Africans to the New World over nearly 400 years.

Only half a million of them went directly to North American colonies; the rest went to the plantations and slave markets of Central and South America, from which some would be resold later to the southern colonies.

By comparison Rhode Island, which came the closest of any colony to having a slave trade of its own, made more than 900 slaving voyages during the 18th century, transporting about 106,000 slaves.

Few actually settled in Rhode Island, which was poorly suited for large-scale agriculture with its small rocky farms and icy winters. But they were bought from the slave fortresses of Africa's Gold Coast with Rhode Island-made rum; transported on Rhode Island-built ships to the slave markets of the Caribbean; and later dressed in Rhode Island-made slave cloth.

Why did Rhode Island get so involved?

Money, mostly. The state had good ports and skilled seamen but not much good farmland. Once the fertile areas of South County were settled, the only place to make real money was at sea.

And no trade was as profitable as slaving.



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Slave traders like the Browns of [Providence](#) amassed great fortunes, enough to build those mansions along Benefit Street and to found Brown University. Later, [Rhode Island](#) textile manufacturers produced the coarse cotton cloth slaves wore throughout the New World, much like prison garb today.

There were also coincidental connections.

Two groups who eventually settled here -the Portuguese and the Cape Verdeans- played huge roles in the early slave trade. In the 1400s, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to buy or steal humans from the west coast of Africa; they turned the empty, volcanic Cape Verde islands into a major depot for the worldwide slave trade and created a mixed-race population that flourishes today throughout southeastern New England.

And yet, from the earliest days, some Rhode Islanders were repelled by this human commerce.

The conflict tore families apart. [John Brown](#), of [Providence](#), was an avid slaver, his brother [Moses Brown](#) an abolitionist who fought him at every turn. [Bristol](#) slaver James DeWolf's son Levi made one slaving voyage and abandoned the trade in disgust; Levi's brother Charles once defended his extensive slaving activities by telling a preacher, "Parson, I've always wanted to roll in gold."

In 1774, the General Assembly outlawed importing slaves into [Rhode Island](#); a decade later, it was one of the first states to free children born of slave mothers.

It's a complicated story, with many moral shadings. Or, as Keith Stokes of [Newport](#) says, "It's not black and white so much as gray."

Humanity is divided into two: the masters and the slaves.

- Aristotle, POLITICS.

How could it happen? How could supposedly civilized people enslave other human beings?

Historian Hugh Thomas, in *THE SLAVE TRADE*, says slavery is as old as recorded history, known in virtually all cultures. Typically, slaves were people who lost wars, owed debts, broke laws or were sold into servitude by impoverished parents.

Throughout the Middle Ages, enslavement was increasingly linked to religious conflict. Moslems would enslave Christians, or vice versa: the dominant culture felt they were doing the "less enlightened" people a favor, by liberating them from error and exposing them to the true faith.

By the 1400s, the seafaring Portuguese had begun trading with the small fiefdoms of northwest Africa. They went



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

looking for gold, but didn't find enough; increasingly, they brought home slaves, with the blessing of the Pope. Better a slave in an advanced Christian nation than a free subject of a "cannibal" king, the reasoning went. African slaves quickly became highly prized as strong, hardy workers able to withstand punishing tropical heat. As European colonists flooded into the New World, demand for workers grew exponentially, especially in the Caribbean islands and the plantations of Central and South America.

At first, the Europeans tried to enslave the native Indians too. The first slaves transported across the Atlantic, in fact, went west to east: Taino Indians brought to Spain from the Caribbean by Christopher Columbus.

But the New World Indians proved too susceptible to European diseases, and not strong enough to cultivate the new cash crops of sugar, tobacco, rice, cotton and indigo in the tropics.

It was the Africans' bad luck that they were physically well suited to hard work in hot climates – and that African kings and chieftains were so willing to sell their enemies and rivals into slavery.

Over the next centuries, the combined lure of gold and slaves drew successive waves of Europeans to Africa: the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Dutch, the French, and finally the English, in the mid-1600s.

They made no bones about why.

"A ship full of blacks brings more to the Treasury than galleons and fleets put together," wrote Pedro Zapata de Mendoza, governor of Cartagena de Indias (in present-day Colombia), in 1648.

The British entered the trade two centuries after the Portuguese, but quickly made up for lost time. One maritime city after another sent huge ships to Africa, capable of carrying as many as 450 slaves at once.

They made money hand over fist.

"Liverpool was in no way shy about the benefits brought her by the slave trade," Thomas writes about the city.

"The facade of the Exchange carried reliefs of Africans' heads, with elephants, in a frieze, and one street was commonly known as 'Negro Row.'"

By the end of the 17th century, British traders had exported nearly 100,000 slaves from Africa; by 1725, 75,000 had been sold to British North America.

It was about that time that slaving voyages start showing up in [Rhode Island](#) records.

The early eighteenth century marked the end of North America's novitiate in the traffic of slaves. In the seventeenth century, too poor or too concerned with



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

primitive agriculture, colonists there had been slow to participate in any substantial way.

A few slaves acting as servants had always been seen in all the colonies; but it was not until the owners of plantations in the Carolinas... realized they could make considerable profits from rice and indigo that anything like a regular trade in slaves began.

– Hugh Thomas

The only land in Rhode Island good enough for plantation-style farming was the [Narragansett](#) Country (South County today), where a handful of white landowners did get rich off the labor of black slaves in the years before the Revolution.

But the rest of the settlers had to come up with other ways to make money. The colony's most successful industry was distilling rum, which at first was sold mainly to other colonies. The strong, good-quality rum soon found a market with slave-trading Africans of the Gold Coast who preferred it to Caribbean rums, which could be weak, salty or packed in leaky barrels.

[Rhode Island](#) distillers in [Newport](#) (and later [Bristol](#) and [Providence](#)) were soon making double- and triple-distilled rums for the African trade, taking care to pack it in sturdy hogsheads. [Rhode Island](#) rum became so popular in Africa that, like gold, it served as money. The rum-for-slaves trade began slowly, with occasional voyages as far back as 1709. The triangle trade that evolved was simple: take rum to Africa, and trade it for slaves; take the slaves to the Caribbean, and trade them for molasses; take the molasses back to [Rhode Island](#), and make more rum.

Everybody made out – except the slaves.

At first, the trade was concentrated in [Newport](#). By 1725, one or two voyages a year were being recorded; by 1735, it was up to a dozen a year, a pace maintained until 1740, when fighting between England, Spain and then France disrupted all colonial commerce.

A pattern developed: when hostilities broke out, trade faltered; when peace resumed, slaving boomed. In 1750, 15 [Rhode Island](#) trips were recorded; by 1772, that number had doubled.

[Rhode Island](#) and, particularly, Newport, was, in the 1750s and 1760s, still the North American colonies' most important slaving zone. Newport, which always welcomed enterprising people without asking whence they came, also used more slaves in small businesses, farms, or homes than any other Northern colony.

– Hugh Thomas



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

One Rhode Islander in nine was black, the highest percentage north of the Mason-Dixon line. Most were slaves on the [Narragansett](#) Country plantations, but others clustered in Newport, where an artisan class of skilled workers developed.

Slavery in New England -and particularly liberal Newport- was probably never absolute. From the early days, a small percentage of Newport blacks were free men, having bought or otherwise obtained their freedom. Keith Stokes, in an essay on the slave trade, writes, "An early 1770s census lists nearly one-third of (Newport's) 9,000 inhabitants as being Negro, both slave and free."

Ship captains were always looking for able mariners; by 1800, "black seamen made up 21 percent of all Newport crews engaged in the West Indian, European and African trades," writes Coughtry.

Yet at the same time, slavers were working out of [Providence](#), [Bristol](#) and [Warren](#) as well as Newport. (Bristol, in fact, surpassed [Newport](#) as the state's primary slaving port as the century closed). Merchants in Greenwich, [Tiverton](#), Little Compton and [North Kingstown](#) played a lesser role.

The slavers were some of the colony's leading citizens, their names still familiar today: Newport's John Bannister (Bannister's Wharf) and Abraham Redwood ([Redwood Library](#)); [John Brown](#) of [Providence](#) (Brown University); the DeWolfs of [Bristol](#), who built Linden Place.

One of the most active was [Aaron Lopez](#) of Newport, a founder of [Touro Synagogue](#), who entered the slave trade in 1762 and by 1775 was the largest taxpayer in Newport, with more than 30 ships.

Some were more reprehensible than others. In 1764, Simeon Potter of [Bristol](#) wrote to his captain on the slaver *King George*: "Water your rum as much as possible and sell as much by the short measure as you can."

Or the captain of James DeWolf's slaver *Polly*, who lashed a slave infected with smallpox to a chair, threw her overboard, and "lamented only the lost chair."

Merchants not rich enough to build their own ships pooled resources and invested in voyages. Later on, the ships were more often owned by individuals or family groups.

Rhode Islanders made a go of slaving for a number of reasons. Their small, sturdy ships held from 75 to 150 slaves, far fewer than the massive British or French slavers, but their survival rates were better. Shorter loading times in Africa exposed the crews to fewer new diseases, and less crowding of slaves meant fewer died on the voyage, which took from five to 12 weeks.

[La Amistad](#)-style rebellions did occur -17 revolts were



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

recorded on [Rhode Island](#) slavers between 1730 and 1807– but were about half as common as on British and French slavers, perhaps because conditions were somewhat better on the smaller boats.

The British destruction of [Newport](#) during the Revolution brought a temporary halt to the trade. When it resumed after the war, much of the action shifted up the bay to [Bristol](#), home of the DeWolf clan.

Without a doubt, then, the DeWolfs had the largest interest in the African slave trade of any American family before or after the Revolution; theirs was one of the few fortunes that truly rested on rum and slaves.

– Jay Coughtry

It was a family operation, all right – along the lines of la cosa nostra.

The first DeWolf slaver was Mark Anthony DeWolf, who began as captain for his brother-in-law, Simeon Potter. By 1774, Mark Anthony and Charles, one of his five sons, had completed seven voyages and may have been financing their own ships, Coughtry writes.

Between 1784 and 1807, seven DeWolfs completed 88 slaving voyages, or one-quarter of all [Rhode Island](#) trips made in those years; they were involved in 60 percent of the slaving voyages from [Bristol](#).

They didn't just sail the ships – they branched out into all aspects of the operation. James DeWolf, another of Mark Anthony's sons, married the daughter of William Bradford, who owned [Bristol](#)'s rum distillery; he went on to make another fortune in cotton manufacturing, and served in the U.S. Senate.

Other sons sold slaves at slave markets in Charleston and Havana; the family also bought a Cuban sugar plantation, so they had a piece of the action at all stages of the cycle.

They were resourceful. As the public grew more repulsed by slavery and anti-slavery laws began to be passed, the DeWolfs dug in, and used their clout and connections to keep the money flowing.

By the turn of the century, William Ellery, the customs collector in [Newport](#), was cracking down on illegal slaving. The DeWolfs got the General Assembly to create a separate customs office in [Bristol](#), and in 1804 snared the collector's job for Charles Collins, a DeWolf in-law and a slaver himself.

It was clear sailing out of [Bristol](#) after that.

Although slavery was outlawed nationally as of 1808, James DeWolf continued slaving until 1820, "the period of the [[Rhode Island](#)] trade's greatest profits," writes Arline Ruth Kiven, in a history of the state's



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

abolitionist movement called THEN WHY THE NEGROES?
"This was also the time of his greatest affluence," although, she notes, there are no records for the [Bristol](#) port during this period because Collins burned them all when he was finally ousted in 1820. Slavers were pretty crafty about staying ahead of the anti-slaving laws. A 1794 law banning U.S. citizens from carrying slaves to other nations, for example, had only one real enforcement provision: much like modern-day drug laws, the government could confiscate slaving vessels and sell them at auction. Slavers promptly rigged the auctions so they (or straw buyers) could buy back the ships for pocket change. The government countered by getting the ships assessed, and then sending an agent to the auction to enter that price as an opening bid. Samuel Bosworth, the surveyor for [Bristol](#), was the unfortunate soul sent to bid on the *Lucy*, a slaver confiscated from Charles DeWolf. He undertook the job "with considerable fear and trembling," writes Coughtry. The night before the sale, Bosworth got a visit from DeWolf, his brother James, and [John Brown](#), who advised him to refuse the assignment. He stood his ground. The next morning the DeWolfs dropped by again, telling Bosworth that while they certainly wouldn't harm a hair of his head, if he showed up at the sale he would probably be "insulted if not thrown off the wharf" by sailors. Bosworth never made it to the auction. "His would-be baptizers, in nominal Indian dress and with faces blackened, seized him as he approached the wharf, and hustled him aboard a small sailboat" which took him for a pleasant two-mile ride down the bay, Coughtry writes. By the time he made it back to [Bristol](#), the *Lucy* had been bought by a captain who worked for the DeWolfs. The DeWolfs - or their agents - at times went in for outright thuggery. In 1800 the Treasury Department sent Capt. John Leonard to [Rhode Island](#) as a kind of special prosecutor targeting slave traders. He promptly sued James DeWolf for \$20,000 over violations by DeWolf's slave ship *Fanny*. The jury found for DeWolf. But some months after the trial, "apparently fearful that Leonard's strategy against DeWolf would become a dangerous and costly precedent, a group of civic-minded Bristolians traveled to Washington to make their own appeal at the Federal Courthouse," Coughtry writes. When they spotted Leonard coming down the courthouse steps, "several unidentified assailants assaulted him."



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Whereas, there is a common course practiced by Englishmen to buy negers so that they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventing of such practices among us, let it be ordered that no blacke mankind or white, being forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assignes longer than 10 years or until they come to bee 24 years of age....

– [Rhode Island](#)'s first anti-slavery law, 1652

The 1652 law was supposed to ban slavery of any kind from [Providence](#) and Warwick, or indentured servitude for more than 10 years. It was enforced for whites but largely ignored for blacks; like so many cultures before them, the British colonies were deeply conflicted over slavery.

In 1636, Roger Williams, who founded the colony in [Providence](#), questioned the justice of enslaving the Pequots. Yet in 1676, the same man denounced one of the early calls for freeing black slaves as "nothing but a bundle of ignorance and boisterousness."

Kiven writes that the northern part of the state was always less enamored of slavery than the seafaring and farming south.

Slaving was not confined to a particular religion or sect. Christians and Jews made fortunes in the trade, though by the early 18th century [Quakers](#) began to question the ethics of what they were doing.

Abolitionist sentiment got a boost in 1738, when an article in the [English Weekly Miscellany](#) "declared that, if Africans were to seize people from the coast of England, one could easily imagine the screams of 'unjust' which would be heard," writes Thomas.

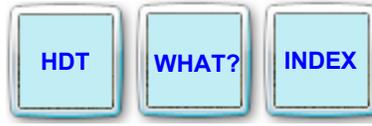
In [Newport](#) in 1770, the Rev. Samuel Hopkins of the First Congregational Church preached his first sermon against slavery, and was surprised when his congregation -many of whom owned slaves- did not walk out en masse.

Three years later, Hopkins got the idea of sending two educated blacks to Africa as missionaries. To that end, John Quamine and Bristol Yamma were sent to Princeton College to prepare.

The Revolution intervened, however, and Quamine died aboard a [privateer](#), while Yamma apparently dropped out of school to go to work and disappeared into history.

According to Kiven, the Quakers were the biggest and best-organized religious group in [Rhode Island](#), and once they began to oppose slavery, its days were numbered.

One by one, slave owners changed their minds. "College Tom" Hazard, heir to [Narragansett](#) Country landowner Robert Hazard, refused his father's offer of slaves on his marriage (Robert was said to own 1,000 slaves in 1730).



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

In 1773, the younger Hazard convinced the Quaker Yearly Meeting to ban Quaker participation in slavery. That same year [Moses Brown](#) of [Providence](#) quit the family slaving business, and began a decades-long assault on his brother, [John Brown](#), for continuing to buy and sell humans; the next year he became a [Quaker](#).

The approach of the Revolution brought a temporary end to slaving, but also disrupted abolitionist momentum. In 1774, the General Assembly passed a law banning residents from importing slaves to [Rhode Island](#), though it said nothing about visitors, or slaveowners who might want to move here.

(That was partly because [Newport](#) had a prosperous relationship with rich Southern plantation owners, who summered in [Rhode Island](#) before the Civil War, to escape the ferocious southern heat).

Brown, working with Hopkins, set about lobbying the state legislature as well as the Continental Congress; Hopkins wrote a persuasive tract, DIALOGUE CONCERNING THE SLAVERY OF THE AFRICANS, which was used well into the 19th century as an argument for abolition.

The war also gave blacks a chance to earn their own freedom. In 1778, a law was passed freeing any slave who would enlist in the Continental Army; several hundred formed the First [Rhode Island](#) Regiment, which performed well in battle, although the soldiers later had trouble getting paid.

"Their courage in battle and the subsequent gratitude of the people of the state to them is credited for the law, passed in 1784, providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in the state," writes Kiven.

The new law, which freed children born of slaves, passed only after a provision banning the trade entirely was removed. According to [Moses Brown](#), the act was eviscerated by the Speaker of the House, William Bradford of [Bristol](#).

Yes, the same Bradford who ran the big Bristol rum distillery, and whose daughter was married to slave-trader James DeWolf.

State House insiders were apparently getting pretty sick of lectures from the reform-minded [Quakers](#). Wrote Brown, "We were much flung at by several."

Is it not extraordinary that [[Rhode Island](#)], which has exceeded the rest of the states in carrying on this trade, should be the first Legislature on this globe which has prohibited that trade?

— Rev. Samuel Hopkins, Nov. 27, 1787

Other states were wrestling with the slavery issue. It proved so contentious that in 1787, when the Continental



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Congress adopted a constitution, it deferred any national action on slavery until 1808.

New England, however, wasn't waiting around. [Rhode Island](#) banned the trade entirely in 1787; Connecticut and Massachusetts followed suit the following year.

True, the slave trade would continue for 70 years, by one means or another. Some slavers shifted operations to ports like New York, which had not yet passed any slaving laws; others simply broke the law.

But in 1789, Hopkins and [Moses Brown](#) helped found the Providence Abolition Society, which worked for anti-slaving laws and sued those who broke them.

One such was [John Brown](#), Moses' brother. The society sued him in 1796 on charges of illegal slave-trading; though he offered to abandon the trade and pay all court costs, they seemed to want to make an example of him. They should have taken the deal. He was acquitted.

"The verdict was a definite defeat for the Society, many of whose members became convinced that a [Rhode Island](#) jury would not give judgment against the prominent type of men engaged in the slave-trade," writes Kiven.

Over the next few decades a pattern evolved. Abolitionists would pressure the government to pass anti-slavery legislation, and the slaving interests would do what they could to water it down.

Once a law was passed, business would temporarily falter while the slavers watched to see how strictly the law would be enforced; usually, enforcement was sporadic, and business actually increased.

The American and British governments finally banned slaving as of 1808. But the trade hardly stopped. Some American ships flew Spanish flags; Gen. George DeWolf of [Bristol](#) simply shifted his operations to Cuba.

The American law only banned the international slave trade. American slavers could still trade slaves internally, or move them up and down the coast. And they did, because demand was huge.

With the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, the demand for agricultural workers exploded in the south, Thomas writes. In 1792, the United States exported 138,328 pounds of cotton; by 1800, it was 17,790,000 pounds and by 1820, 35,000,000 pounds.

The planters weren't going to pick it themselves.

[Rhode Island](#) participation in the slave trade after Jan. 1, 1808, is a maddening puzzle, for most of the pieces are missing.

– Jay Coughtry

It looks like [Rhode Island](#) slavers began to pull out of the business after the federal ban, although it's hard

HDT

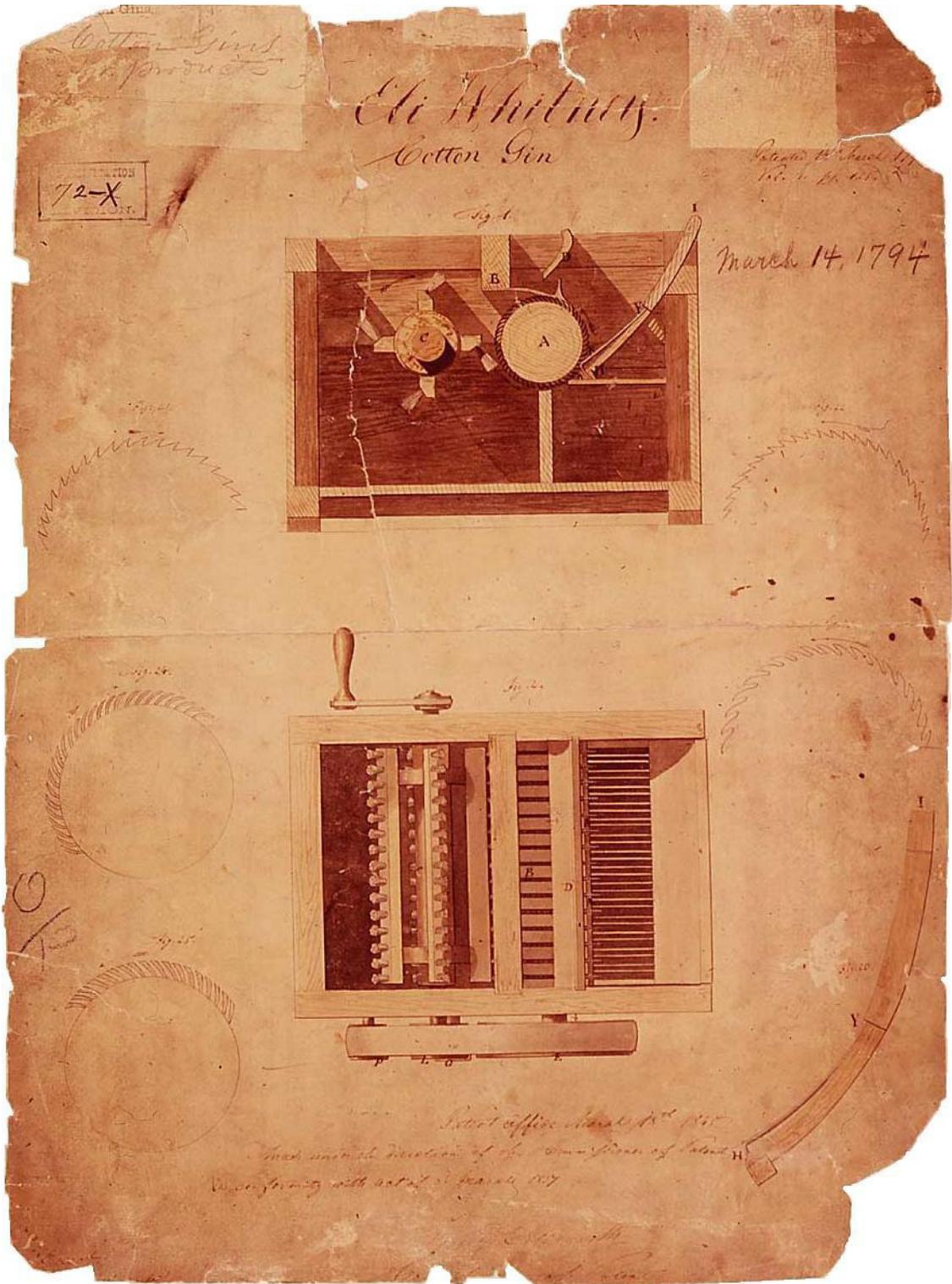
WHAT?

INDEX

TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM





POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

to be sure since it was easy to cheat, particularly at first.

Some, like the DeWolfs, continued to slave illegally. But Coughtry concludes that "it does not appear that [Rhode Island](#) ports or individual [Rhode Island](#) merchants participated in the illegal heyday of the modern American slave trade" between 1820 and 1860.

They abandoned the business sporadically, much as they had started. [John Brown](#) died in 1803. James DeWolf quit the trade in 1808, though his brother George continued until 1820, when the sympathetic Collins was fired in [Bristol](#); after a series of business failures, George fled the state in 1825 for his Cuban plantation.

[Rhode Island](#) merchants gradually turned away from the maritime trade and invested their money in cotton mills – by 1830, the state had 130 of them. They managed to squeeze yet more profit from slavery: many specialized in coarse slave or negro cloth, worn by slaves throughout the New World.

Abolitionists kept up the pressure. The Providence Abolition Society was joined by other groups; three buildings still standing today served as stations on the Underground Railroad – the Isaac Rice homestead in [Newport](#), the Elizabeth Buffum Chace house in [Central Falls](#), and the Charles Perry home in [Westerly](#).

Some decided not to wait. In 1826, a group of free Newport blacks, led by former slave Newport Gardiner, sailed for Liberia with the help of the American Colonization Society.

Gardiner, who worked for years to buy freedom for himself and his family, was freed in 1791. He helped found the nation's first black civic organizations, the African Union Society, and the African Benevolent Society.

His decision to leave came 14 months after white rioters destroyed Hard Scrabble, the black community in [Providence](#) (University Heights today).

He was 75 years old.

"I go to set an example for the youth of my race," he said. "I go to encourage the young. They can never be elevated here. I have tried it for 60 years.... It is in vain."

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TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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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 2, 2013



POCASSET

TIVERTON

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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.



TIVERTON

POCASSET

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

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@brown.edu>. Arrgh.