

AARON LOPEZ, AMERICA'S "MERCHANT PRINCE"¹



AARON LOPEZ

1391

The pogroms against Jews in Spain led to the beginning of Marranism: For the sake of “social and sectarian uniformity,” Spanish Jews were obliged to pretend to convert to [Catholicism](#).

ANTISEMITISM

June 4, Sunday (Old Style): At Seville, where the largest and most prosperous Jewish community in the kingdom of Castile was situated, [Catholics](#) set fire to the gates to the Jewish quarter and killed many of its inhabitants. Women and children would be sold into slavery in North Africa. Some infants were taken to baptismal fonts and adopted. In a few days, a similar antisemitic pogrom would begin at nearby Cordoa. This would prove to be a long hot summer of looting and slaughter, in Toledo, in Madrid, in Cuenca, in Valencia, and in Burgos. Jews would be fleeing from España toward Navarre to the north, toward Morocco to the south, and toward Portugal to the west. (This is now alleged by the historian Benzion Netanyahu to have been part of the complex social circumstances leading up to the Inquisition.)

July 9, Sunday (Old Style): Antisemitic rioting began among the [Catholics](#) of Valencia.

August 2, Wednesday (Old Style): Antisemitic rioting began among the [Catholics](#) on the island of Majorca. Soon such rioting would be beginning in Barcelona.

1. That's Merchant Prince as in “Watch me sell your ugly ass.”

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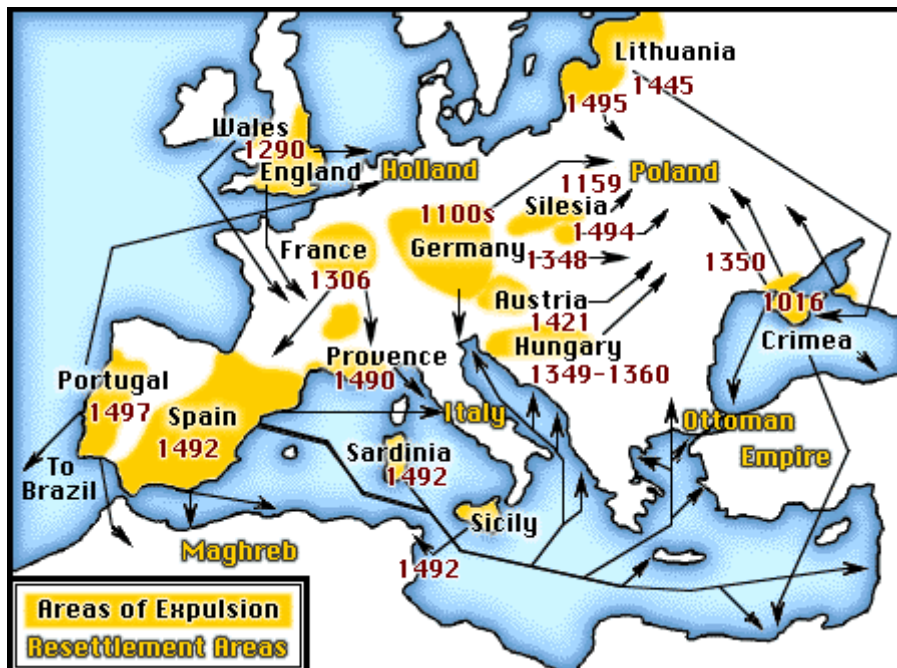
1492

By order of Inquisitor-General Torquemada, all Spanish Jews were allowed three months in which to embrace [Catholicism](#) — or leave the nation.

ANTISEMITISM

1497

Portuguese Jews (including Baruch Spinoza's ancestors) were forced to convert to [Catholicism](#). A stream of refugees of course began to flow out of Portugal.



ANTISEMITISM



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1658

Spring (1657, Old Style): Family names such as Lopez, Rivera, Seixas, deToro (Touro), Gomez and Hays began to settle in [Newport](#) on [Rhode Island](#)'s [Aquidneck Island](#), and by the time of the American Revolution this population of Sephardic Jews would have grown to a prosperous community of several hundred souls. As international sugar traders from Brazil, the West Indies, Portugal, etc. they chose to maintain their headquarters on the island because it was a thriving peaceful commercial center with a major port.² For a long time they would hold *minyanim* in private homes. Their first public venture would be not the construction of a synagogue but the creation of a [Jewish](#) cemetery. (Only later, in 1763, would they be constructing the [Touro Synagogue of Congregation Jeshuat Israel](#).)³

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

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

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

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

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1731

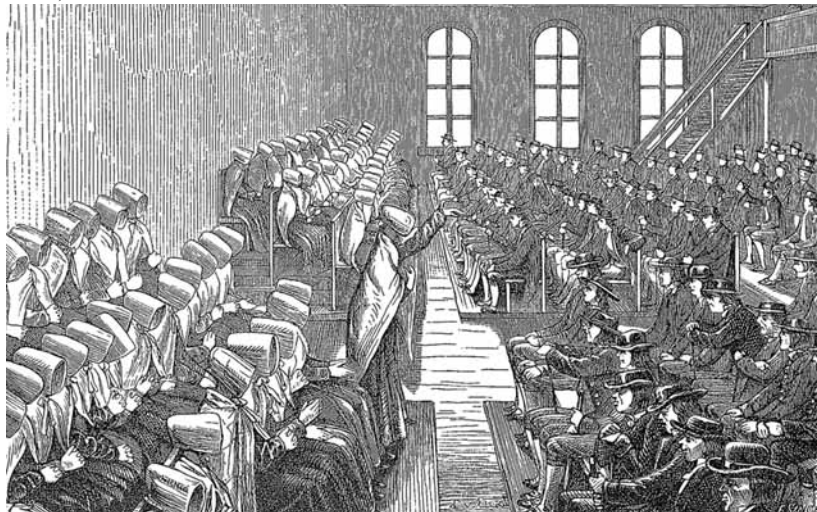
[Aaron Lopez](#) was born in Portugal. A Marrano,⁴ he would live in Lisbon under the Christian name Duarte Lopez, and would be able to acknowledge his Jewish name only after he emigrated to the relative security of

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



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

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



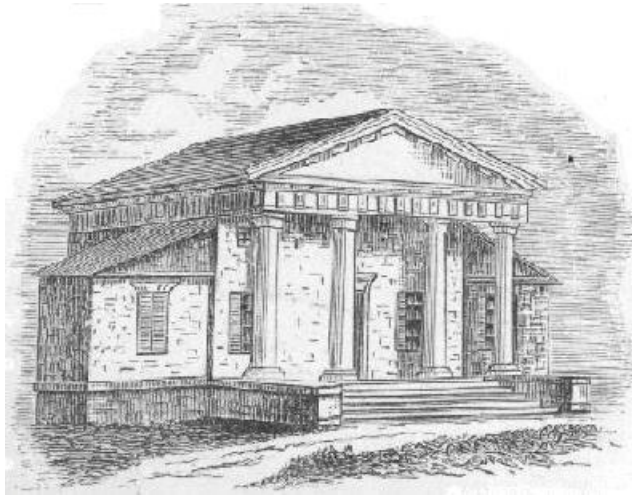
[Newport](#) in [Rhode Island](#).

JUDAISM



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

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

AARON LOPEZ**MERCHANT PRINCE****1747**

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



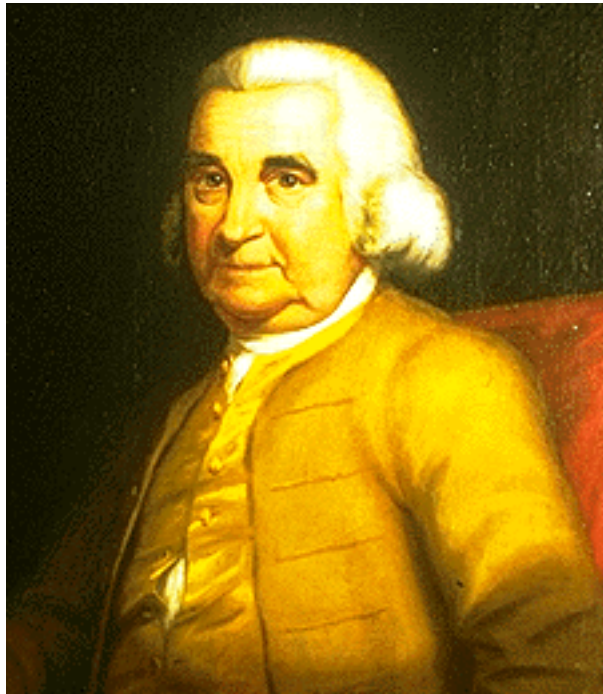
(Presumably this contribution would come somewhat later than the establishment of the library, since it is said that Aaron, then known as Duarte, would still be in Lisbon until 1750.)

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

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



So, if we pose for ourselves the question, whether the expensive books that provided the basis for the Redwood Library had the sweat of unpaid labor on their pages, the answer would not be “No, for the donation of the Jewish slavetrader Lopez came somewhat later,” but would instead be “Yes, because the donation of the Quaker slaveholder Redwood was wealth extracted from the sweat of unpaid labor.”⁵

1748

Jacob Rodriguez Rivera, of a Marrano⁶ family of Seville, Spain, arrived in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) from Curacao to introduce the manufacture of spermaceti candles. His daughter Sarah Rivera would marry with his nephew [Aaron Lopez](#) and his son Jacob Rivera would build a grand mansion on the Parade (today the site is 8 Washington Square). Jacob Rodriguez Rivera would be second only to his son-in-law in the commercial, religious, and social life of Newport’s [Jewish](#) community.

TOURO SYNAGOGUE

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

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

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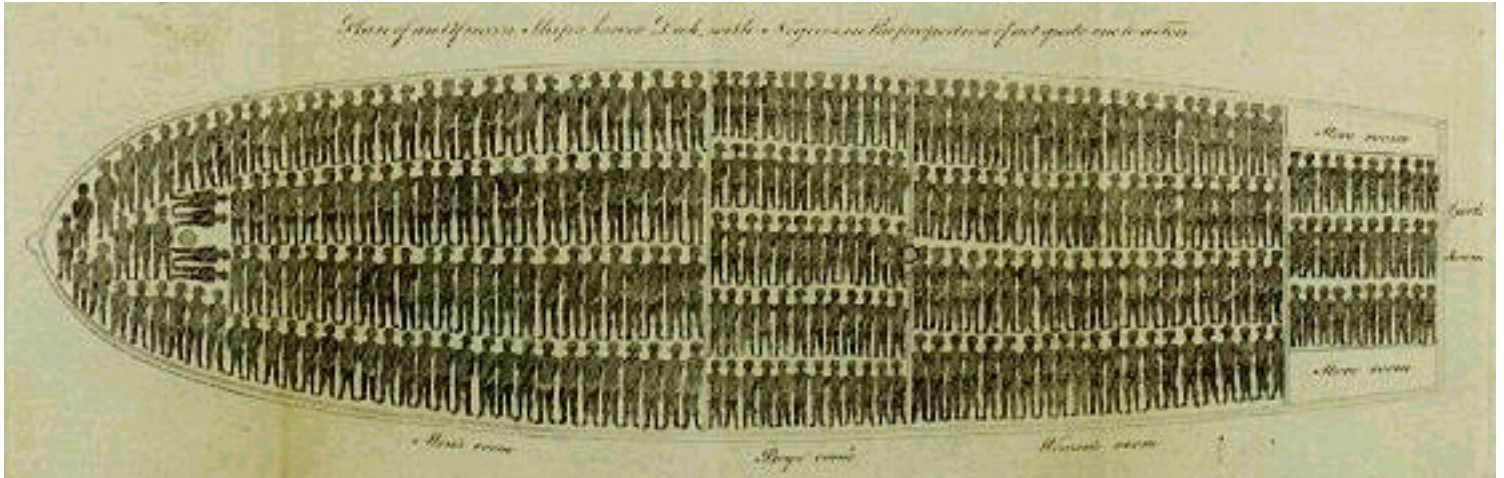


Jos. B. Rivera

*From the original painting by Gilbert Stuart
in the possession of Miss Emma Rodman*

1750

A [Quaker](#) in [Newport](#), one of the two major [slave](#) importing centers of the USA, was put under dealing by the elders of his monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), on account of his firm's continuing to engage in the [international slave trade](#).⁷



[Aaron Lopez](#), who would be known as the “Merchant Prince” of early American commerce, and his family, at this point arrived in [Newport](#) from Lisbon, Portugal, where as a Marrano⁸ he had been being required to use the Christian name “Don Duarte Lopez.”

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



8. Marrano = a Spanish or Portuguese Jew of the late Middle Ages who converted to Christianity, especially one forcibly converted but adhering secretly to [Judaism](#).

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



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

1752

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



It would bring [Aaron Lopez](#), Moses Levy, and Jacob Franks, the vessel's owners, a net profit of \$6,621 (which

was a significant amount of pocket change, since their penny was worth, roughly, one of today's greenbacks).



NEWPORT

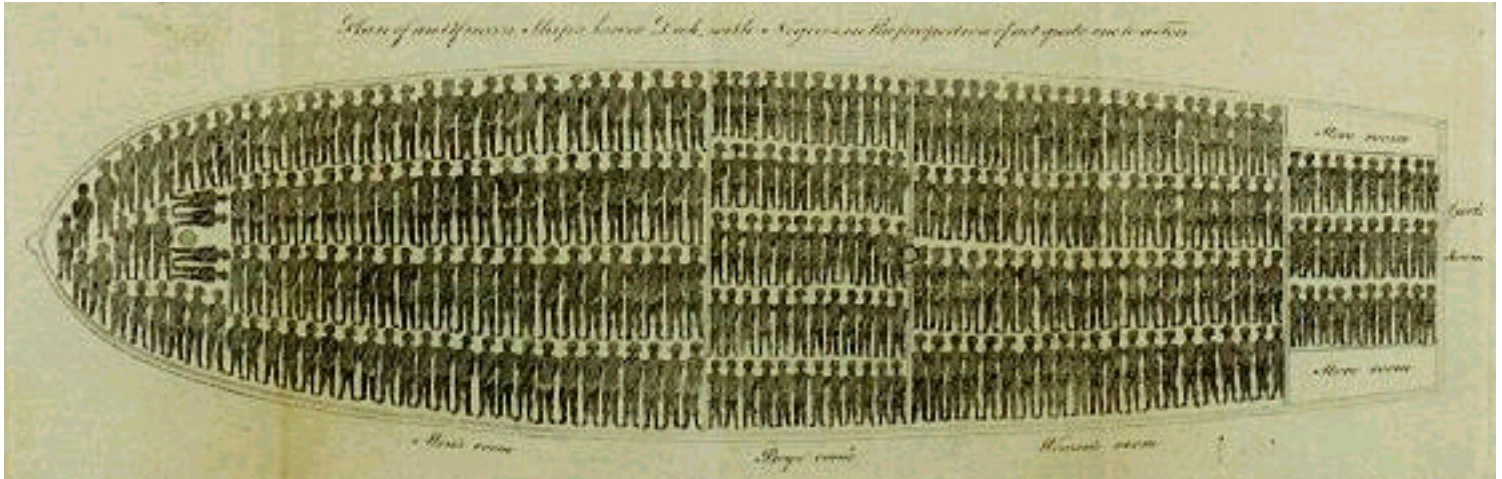
Here are some of the other negreros of which we have record:

- The *La Fortuna* transported approximately 217 slaves on each trip. The owner cleared not less than \$41,438 from such a trip.
- The *Crown* owned by Isaac Levy and Nathan Simpson
- The *Nassau* owned by Moses Levy
- The *Four Sisters* owned by Moses Levy
- The *Anne & Eliza* owned by Justus Bosch and John Abrams
- The *Prudent Betty* owned by Henry Cruger and Jacob Phoenix
- The *Hester* owned by Mordecai Gomez and David Gomez
- The *Elizabeth* owned by Mordecai Gomez and David Gomez
- The *Antigua* owned by Nathan Marston and Abram Lyell
- The *Betsy* owned by William DeWoolf
- The *Polly* owned by James DeWoolf
- The *White Horse* owned by Jan de Sweevts
- The *Expedition* owned by John Rosevelt and Jacob Rosevelt
- The *Charlotte* owned by Moses Levy, Samuel Levy, and Jacob Franks
- The *Caracoa* owned by Moses Levy and Samuel Levy
- Coastal slave-runners: the *La Fortuna*, the *Hannah*, the *Sally*, and the *Venue*
- The *Sanderson*, trading to Africa and the West Indies (AMERICAN HISTORICAL RECORD, I. 315-9, 338-42)

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(In [Rhode Island](#) harbors alone, during this year alone, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 14 vessels were being fitted out for the [international slave trade](#). If an average cargo of [slaves](#) was 109—as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos—then a total of more than 1,500 souls would have been being transported over the dreadful [Middle Passage](#) during this year in Rhode Island bottoms alone.)⁹



W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Vessels from Massachusetts,¹⁰ Rhode Island,¹¹ Connecticut,¹² and, to a less extent, from New Hampshire,¹³ were early and largely engaged in the carrying slave-trade. "We know," said Thomas Pemberton in 1795, "that a large trade to Guinea was carried on for many years by the citizens of Massachusetts Colony, who were the proprietors of the vessels and their cargoes, out and home. Some of the slaves purchased in Guinea, and I suppose the greatest part of them,

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

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

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

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

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

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



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were sold in the West Indies."¹⁴ Dr. John Eliot asserted that "it made a considerable branch of our commerce.... It declined very little till the Revolution."¹⁵ Yet the trade of this colony was said not to equal that of Rhode Island. Newport was the mart for slaves offered for sale in the North, and a point of reshipment for all slaves. It was principally this trade that raised Newport to her commercial importance in the eighteenth century.¹⁶ Connecticut, too, was an important slave-trader, sending large numbers of horses and other commodities to the West Indies in exchange for slaves, and selling the slaves in other colonies.

This trade formed a perfect circle. Owners of slavers carried slaves to South Carolina, and brought home naval stores for their ship-building; or to the West Indies, and brought home molasses; or to other colonies, and brought home hogsheads. The molasses was made into the highly prized New England rum, and shipped in these hogsheads to Africa for more slaves.¹⁷ Thus, the rum-distilling industry indicates to some extent the activity of New England in the slave-trade. In May, 1752, one Captain Freeman found so many slavers fitting out that, in spite of the large importations of molasses, he could get no rum for his vessel.¹⁸ In Newport alone twenty-two stills were at one time running continuously;¹⁹ and Massachusetts annually distilled 15,000 hogsheads of molasses into this "chief manufacture."²⁰

Turning now to restrictive measures, we must first note the measures of the slave-consuming colonies which tended to limit the trade. These measures, however, came comparatively late, were enforced with varying degrees of efficiency, and did not seriously affect the slave-trade before the Revolution. The moral sentiment of New England put some check upon the trade. Although in earlier times the most respectable people took ventures in slave-trading voyages, yet there gradually arose a moral sentiment which tended to make the business somewhat disreputable.²¹ In the line, however, of definite legal enactments to stop New England citizens from carrying slaves from Africa to any place in the world, there were, before the Revolution, none. Indeed, not until the years 1787-1788 was slave-trading in itself an indictable offence in any New England State.

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

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

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

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

18. AMERICAN HISTORICAL RECORD, I. 316.

19. AMERICAN HISTORICAL RECORD, I. 317.

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

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

1753

[Moses Lopez](#) was granted, by the General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#), a ten-year patent for the manufacture of potash. Ten years of no competition, and being able to charge as much as the market would bear! This Moses Lopez was the nephew of [Aaron Lopez](#) and a rich man in his own right. –And how does this relate to the very first patent that would be issued by the new federal government, in 1790, which would be to Samuel Hopkins of Vermont (apparently not the same person as the Reverend Samuel Hopkins of the 1st Congregational Church in [Newport](#)) for a process to make potash and pearl ash?

1764

[Aaron Lopez](#), President (Parnas) of The Holy Congregation Dispersed Ones of Israel (Kahal Kodesh Nephutsay Israel) appealed for funds with which the [Jewish](#) congregation might pay off the mortgage and interest due for the building of their synagogue in [Newport, Rhode Island](#).



TOURO SYNAGOGUE

The structure had been created out of red brick imported from England.

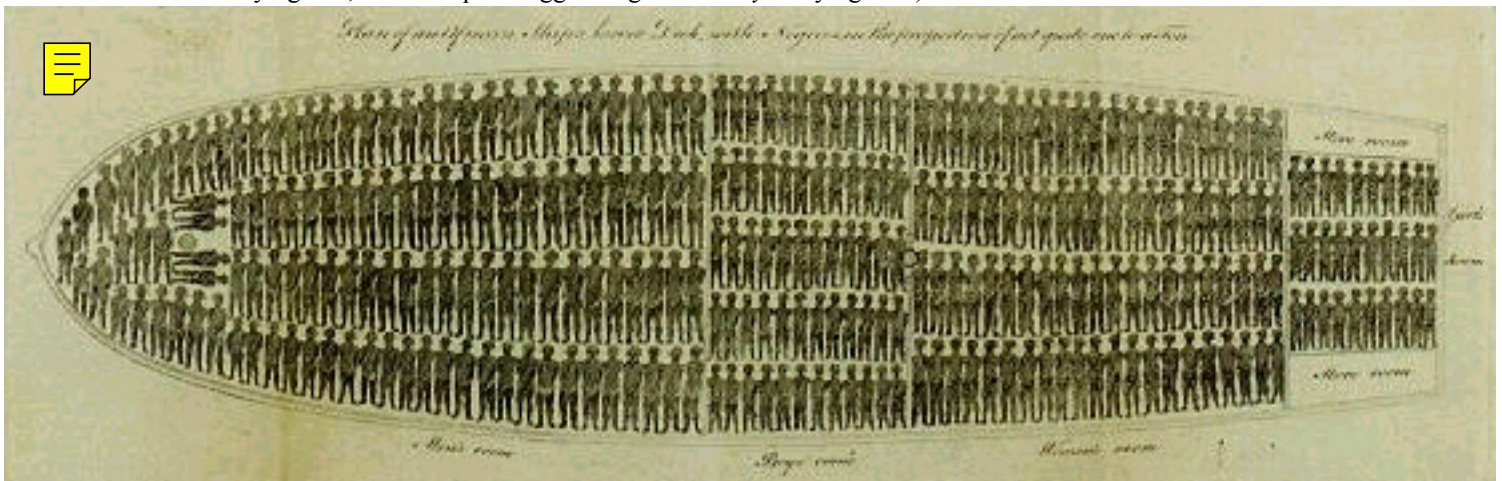
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1767

November 29, Sunday: Abraham Pereira Mendez wrote from Charleston, where he had journeyed to better control his cargo of human beings, to the international slavetrader [Aaron Lopez](#) at [Newport, Rhode Island](#): “These Negroes, which Captain Abraham All delivered to me, were in such poor condition due to the poor transportation, that I was forced to sell 8 boys and girls for a mere 27, 2 other for 45 and two women each for 35.”

Presumably the damaged-goods-sale amounts mentioned for the [slaves](#) are in pounds sterling. Boys and girls aren’t worth much if they aren’t in perfect condition — as anyone who deals in human flesh can tell you. (During this year, in [Rhode Island](#) harbors, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some dozen vessels were being fitted out for the [international slave trade](#). If an average cargo of slaves was 109—as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos—then a total of more than 1,300 souls were being transported in Rhode Island bottoms alone. Examples from this year include the Rhode Island brig *Benjamin* carrying a cargo of 115 slaves, the ship *Black Prince* carrying a cargo of 190, the sloop *Isabella* carrying 100, the brig *Polly* carrying 130, the ship *Polly* carrying 180, the snow *Polly* carrying 100, the brig *Royal Charlotte* carrying 105, and the square-rigged brigantine *Sally* carrying 120.)



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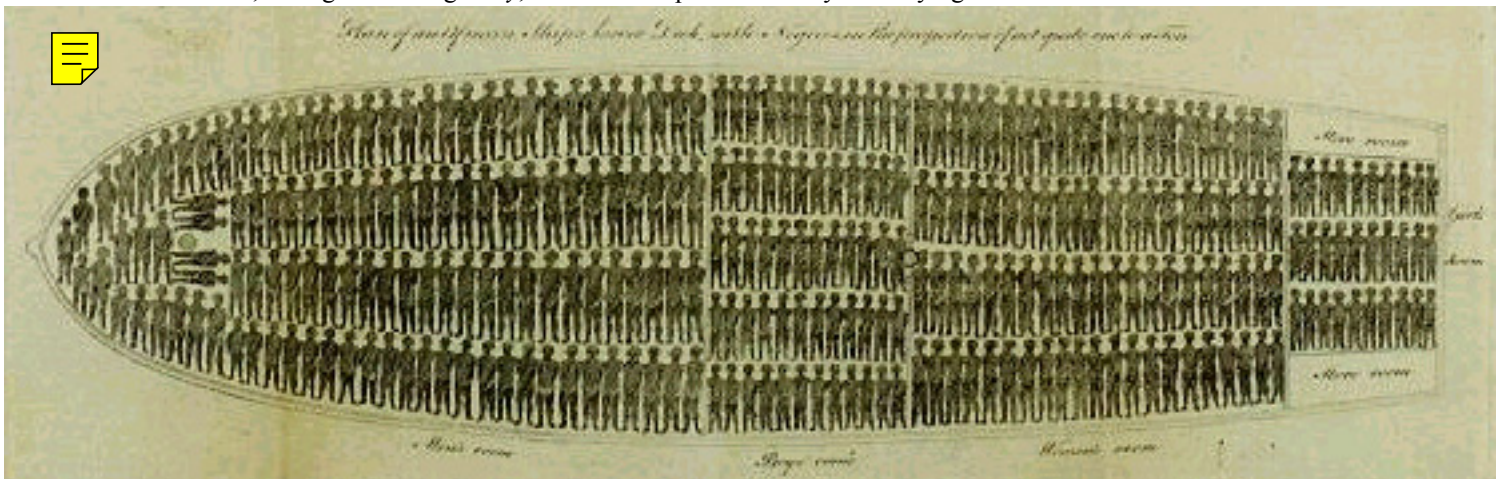
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1768

One member of the Jewish congregation in [Newport](#), [Aaron Lopez](#), owned some 30 oceangoing vessels and more than 100 coastal schooners. He had the honor of occupying the special raised President's Seat at the side of the [Touro Synagogue](#), separate from the other worshipers inside a railing. He and his family involved themselves heavily in the molasses, rum and [slave](#) trade.²² The other major American hub of their trading ring was in Charleston, South Carolina.



In [Rhode Island](#) harbors in this year, it is estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, some 18 vessels were being fitted out for the [international slave trade](#). If an average cargo of slaves was 109—as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos—then a total of well over 1,950 souls were being transported in Rhode Island bottoms alone. Examples from this year include the Rhode Island brig *Hannah*, carrying a cargo of 165 slaves, the ship *King George*, carrying a cargo of 230, the sloop *Patty*, carrying 130, the brig *Polly*, carrying 154, and again the brig *Polly*, on another trip in the same year carrying 130.



Captain John Wilson, of General Gage's 59th regiment in [Boston](#), attempted to incite [servile insurrection](#) among some 300 black [slaves](#) in that metropolis by assuring them that the military had seized the port in an attempt to secure their freedom and that if they would fight for their freedom in conjunction with the military, "they would be able to drive the Liberty Boys to the devil."

22. We immediately recollect that in the BIBLE, this man's namesake had led people **out of** slavery.



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1770

In 1760 Naphtali Hart Myers had donated a candelabrum that was being used in the [Touro Synagogue](#) of [Newport, Rhode Island](#). In 1765 Abraham Rodriguez Mendez had donated two more, more or less like it. At this point the international slavetrader and commodity trader [Aaron Lopez](#), the President of the synagogue, donated a fourth candelabrum inscribed with his own name, making up an almost matching set of four.²³

JUDAISM



(According to Samuel Greene Arnold’s HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND published in 1859, Volume II, pages 304, 321, and 337, during this year the legislature of Rhode Island considered, but rejected, a bill to prohibit importation of [slaves](#). Since such a bill would have substantially damaged the business activities of Aaron Lopez, it seems at least remotely possible that this fourth candelabrum was donated to the synagogue as a way of petitioning the Deity that the bill in the colonial legislature be defeated, or in expression of gratitude for the defeat of the bill. I interrogated the tour guide as to what would cause a person to donate something inscribed with his own name, to be placed on public view in a public place, and she responded that she simply couldn’t speculate as to motives. —Actually, what I was doing was causing her to focus in on the inscribed name “Aaron Lopez,” because I wanted to find out whether she would take advantage of an opportunity like that to segue into some remarks about the [international slave trade](#). It was my little good-cop interrogation trick — I wanting

23. Where did the money come from, with which to purchase this nice inscribed candelabrum? Was it blood money? In this year, it is estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, [Rhode Island](#) fitted out 16 [negreros](#) for the coast of the continent of Africa to obtain fresh bodies for the [international slave trade](#). Do I have information that any one of these 16 slave ships belonged to or was being fitted out by [Aaron Lopez](#) of [Newport](#)? I do not. It is very likely that not all 16 of these bottoms were owned by or were being fitted out by Rhode Island Jews. It is rather more than possible, that some of these 16 were owned by or were being fitted out by Rhode Island Quakers. We can estimate roughly that at least 1,700 black Africans were taken over the ocean on the dreaded Middle Passage in this year by these vessels.



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to see what she would say and what she wouldn't.



She didn't seize this opportunity — which adequately answered the actual question I had been refraining from asking. —She and I agreed, however, that such a circumstance is quite different from the usual sort of inscription, in which something given as a memorial to a deceased loved one is inscribed with “in memory of,” followed by a name.)

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In 1652 Rhode Island passed a law designed to prohibit life slavery in the colony. It declared that “Whereas, there is a common course practised amongst English men to buy negers, to that end they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventing of such practices among us, let it be ordered, that no blacke mankind or white being forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assignes longer than ten yeares, or untill they come to bee twentie four yeares of age, if they bee taken in under fourteen, from the time of their cominge within the liberties of this Collonie. And at the end or terme of ten yeares to sett them free, as the manner is with the English servants. And that man that will not let them goe free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to that end that they may bee enslaved to others for a long time, hee or they shall forfeit to the Collonie forty pounds.”²⁴

This law was for a time enforced,²⁵ but by the beginning of the eighteenth century it had either been repealed or become a dead letter; for the Act of 1708 recognized perpetual slavery, and laid an impost of £3 on Negroes imported.²⁶ This duty was really a tax on the transport trade, and produced a steady income for

24. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, I. 240.

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



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twenty years.²⁷ From the year 1700 on, the citizens of this State engaged more and more in the carrying trade, until Rhode Island became the greatest slave-trader in America. Although she did not import many slaves for her own use, she became the clearing-house for the trade of other colonies. Governor Cranston, as early as 1708, reported that between 1698 and 1708 one hundred and three vessels were built in the State, all of which were trading to the West Indies and the Southern colonies.²⁸ They took out lumber and brought back molasses, in most cases making a slave voyage in between. From this, the trade grew. Samuel Hopkins, about 1770, was shocked at the state of the trade: more than thirty distilleries were running in the colony, and one hundred and fifty vessels were in the slave-trade.²⁹ "Rhode Island," said he, "has been more deeply interested in the slave-trade, and has enslaved more Africans than any other colony in New England." Later, in 1787, he wrote: "The inhabitants of Rhode Island, especially those of Newport, have had by far the greater share in this traffic, of all these United States. This trade in human species has been the first wheel of commerce in Newport, on which every other movement in business has chiefly depended. That town has been built up, and flourished in times past, at the expense of the blood, the liberty, and happiness of the poor Africans; and the inhabitants have lived on this, and by it have gotten most of their wealth and riches."³⁰

The Act of 1708 was poorly enforced. The "good intentions" of its framers "were wholly frustrated" by the clandestine "hiding and conveying said negroes out of the town [Newport] into the country, where they lie concealed."³¹ The act was accordingly strengthened by the Acts of 1712 and 1715, and made to apply to importations by land as well as by sea.³² The Act of 1715, however, favored the trade by admitting African Negroes free of duty. The chaotic state of Rhode Island did not allow England often to review her legislation; but as soon as the Act of 1712 came to notice it was disallowed, and accordingly repealed in 1732.³³ Whether the Act of 1715 remained, or whether any other duty act was passed, is not clear.

While the foreign trade was flourishing, the influence of the Friends and of other causes eventually led to a movement against slavery as a local institution. Abolition societies multiplied, and in 1770 an abolition bill was ordered by the Assembly, but it was never passed.³⁴ Four years later the city of Providence resolved that "as personal liberty is an essential part of the natural rights of mankind," the importation of slaves and the system of slavery should cease in the colony.³⁵ This movement

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

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

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

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

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

31. Preamble of the Act of 1712.

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

33. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 471.

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

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



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finally resulted, in 1774, in an act "prohibiting the importation of Negroes into this Colony," – a law which curiously illustrated the attitude of Rhode Island toward the slave-trade. The preamble of the act declared: "Whereas, the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which, that of personal freedom must be considered as the greatest; as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; – Therefore," etc. The statute then proceeded to enact "that for the future, no negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free...." The logical ending of such an act would have been a clause prohibiting the participation of Rhode Island citizens in the slave-trade. Not only was such a clause omitted, but the following was inserted instead: "Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave brought from the coast of Africa, into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this colony, and which negro or mulatto slave could not be disposed of in the West Indies, but shall be brought into this colony. Provided, that the owner of such negro or mulatto slave give bond ... that such negro or mulatto slave shall be exported out of the colony, within one year from the date of such bond; if such negro or mulatto be alive, and in a condition to be removed."³⁶ In 1779 an act to prevent the sale of slaves out of the State was passed,³⁷ and in 1784, an act gradually to abolish slavery.³⁸ Not until 1787 did an act pass to forbid participation in the slave-trade. This law laid a penalty of £100 for every slave transported and £1000 for every vessel so engaged.³⁹

1772

A building was constructed on Meeting Street in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) that would be known as Shakespeares Head. This building would serve as a meeting place for the local Anti-Slavery Society and would house an abolitionist print shop.⁴⁰

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

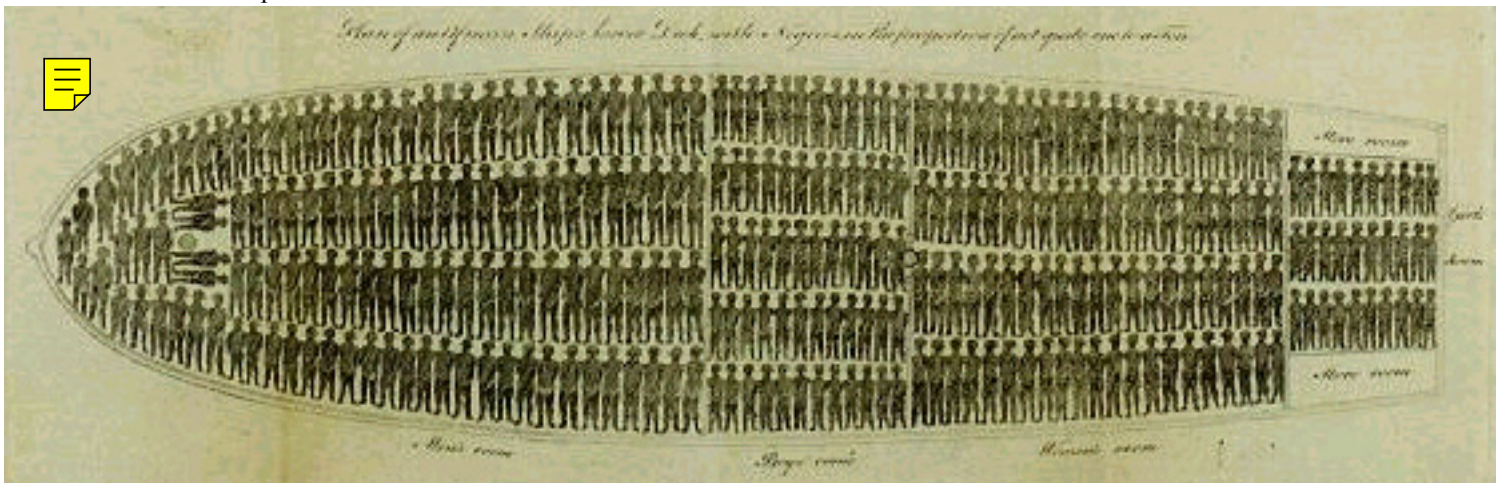
In 1774, 3,761. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VII. 253.

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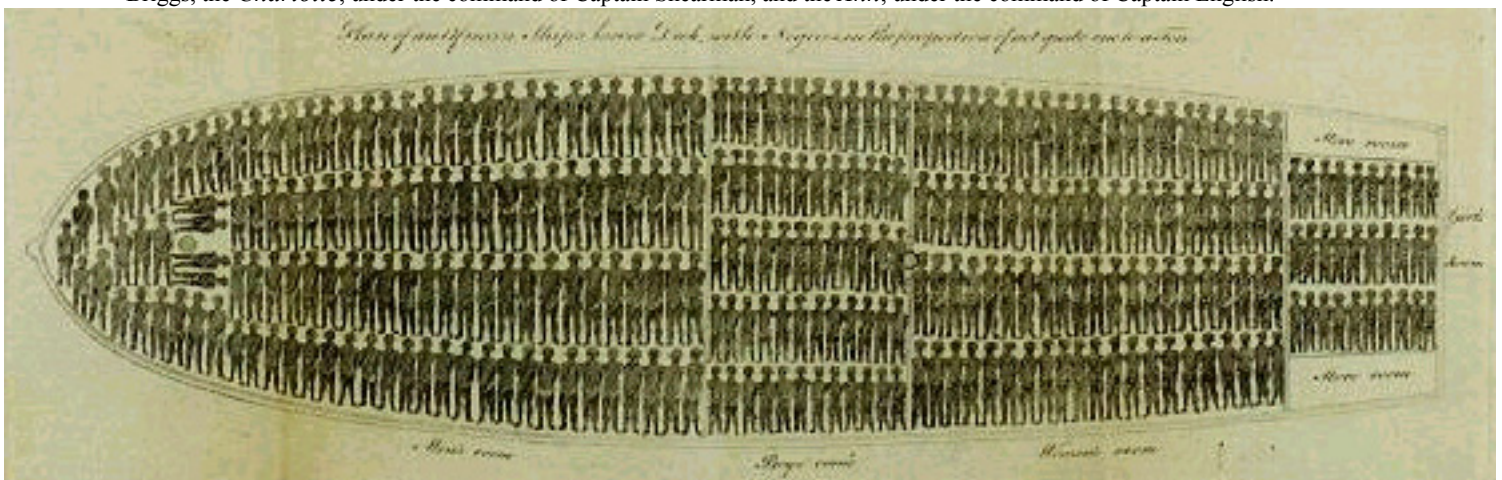
1773

November 27, Saturday: Captain William Moore dispatched a piece of exceedingly good news to [Aaron Lopez](#) & Company of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) about his brigantine *Ann*: “I wish to advise you that your ship ‘Ann’ docked here night before last with 112 slaves, consisting of 35 men, 16 large youths, 21 small boys, 29 women, 2 grown girls, 9 small girls, and I assure you this is such a one rum-cargo [distilled spirits from the distilleries along the shore of Narragansett Bay in exchange for black [slaves](#) at one or another port along the west coast of Africa] which I have not yet encountered, among the entire group there may be five to which one could take exception.”⁴¹



TRIANGULAR TRADE

40. In this year, it is reported by Alexander Boyd Hawes, [Aaron Lopez](#) of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) owned or was loading the following ships to sail from Rhode Island for the coast of the continent of Africa to obtain fresh bodies for the [international slave trade](#): the *Royal Charlotte*, under the command of Captain Benjamin Wright, the *Cleopatra*, under the command of Captain Briggs, the *Charlotte*, under the command of Captain Shearman, and the *Ann*, under the command of Captain English.





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1774

The descendants of the native Americans who had been [enslaved](#) after “[King Phillip’s War](#)” were [manumitted](#) in Connecticut and [Rhode Island](#).⁴²

The Connecticut and [Rhode Island](#) colonies prohibited further importation of [slaves](#). When New Jersey’s assembly, however, proposed a prohibitive duty, its Council refused to go along.⁴³

“A Bill for laying a Duty on Indian, Negroe and Molatto Slaves, imported into this Colony.” Passed the Assembly, and was rejected by the Council as “plainly” intending “an intire Prohibition,” etc. N.J. ARCHIVES, 1st Series, VI. 222.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Connecticut, in common with the other colonies of this section, had a trade for many years with the West Indian slave markets; and though this trade was much smaller than that of the neighboring colonies, yet many of her citizens were engaged in it. A map of Middletown at the time of the Revolution gives, among one hundred families, three slave captains and “three notables” designated as “slave-dealers.”⁴⁴ The actual importation was small,⁴⁵ and almost entirely unrestricted before the Revolution, save by a few light, general duty acts. In 1774 the further importation of slaves was prohibited, because “the increase of slaves in this Colony is injurious to the poor and inconvenient.” The law prohibited importation under any pretext by a penalty of £100 per slave.⁴⁶ This was re-enacted in 1784, and provisions were made for the abolition of slavery.⁴⁷ In 1788 participation in the trade was forbidden, and the penalty placed at £50 for each slave and £500 for each ship engaged.⁴⁸

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In 1652 Rhode Island passed a law designed to prohibit life slavery in the colony. It declared that “Whereas, there is a common course practised amongst English men to buy negers, to that end they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventing of such practices among us, let it be ordered, that no blacke mankind or white being forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assignes longer than ten yeares, or untill they come to bee twentie four yeares of age, if they bee taken in under

41. In this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, 17 ships sailed from Rhode Island for the coast of the continent of Africa to obtain fresh bodies for the [international slave trade](#). If an average cargo of slaves was 109 –as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos– then a total of more than 1,850 souls were being transported in [Rhode Island](#) bottoms alone. In this year, Hawes reports, [Aaron Lopez](#) of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) owned or loaded the following ships to sail from Rhode Island for the coast of the continent of Africa to obtain fresh bodies for the [international slave trade](#): the *Charlotte*, under the command of Captain Shearman, the *Active*, under the command of Captain Taggart.

Hawes indicates that the brigantine *Ann* in this year on this voyage carried only 104 slaves as its cargo from Africa, but that must be from its previous round trip. (The 112 indicated in the letter above are booked by Hawes for the year 1774.)

42. As of the Year of our Lord 1781, freedom would come to visit the descendants of the native Americans who had been [enslaved](#) in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as well. Work gangs of these race [slaves](#) had been utilized throughout New England to construct much of that attractive, mossy old stone walls, field fencing which today we fancy to have been constructed through the dedicated labor of “our” stereotypically sturdy and industrious –because white– Yankee-farmer forebears.

MERCHANT PRINCE

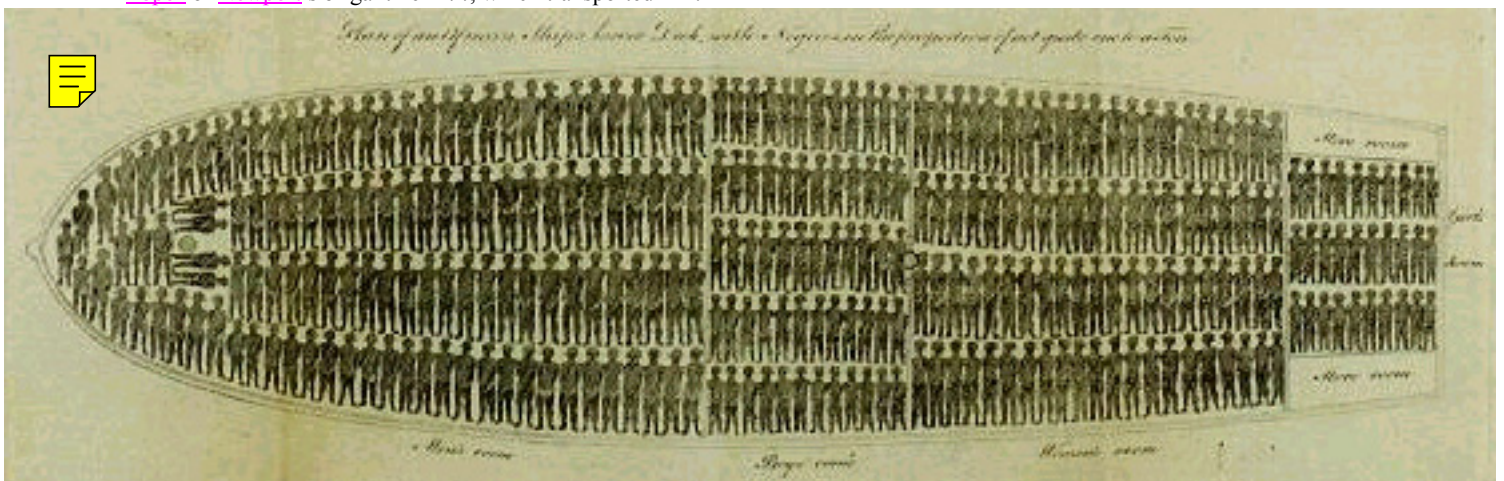
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fourteen, from the time of their coming within the liberties of this Collonie. And at the end or terme of ten yeares to sett them free, as the manner is with the English servants. And that man that will not let them goe free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to that end that they may bee enslaved to others for a long time, hee or they shall forfeit to the Collonie forty pounds.”⁴⁹

This law was for a time enforced,⁵⁰ but by the beginning of the eighteenth century it had either been repealed or become a dead letter; for the Act of 1708 recognized perpetual slavery, and laid an impost of £3 on Negroes imported.⁵¹ This duty was really a tax on the transport trade, and produced a steady income for twenty years.⁵² From the year 1700 on, the citizens of this State engaged more and more in the carrying trade, until Rhode Island became the greatest slave-trader in America. Although she did not import many slaves for her own use, she became the clearing-house for the trade of other colonies. Governor Cranston, as early as 1708, reported that between 1698 and 1708 one hundred and three vessels were built in the State, all of which were trading to the West Indies and the Southern colonies.⁵³ They took out lumber and brought back molasses, in most cases making a slave voyage in between. From this, the trade grew. Samuel Hopkins, about 1770, was shocked at the state of the trade: more than thirty distilleries were running in the colony, and one hundred and fifty vessels were in the slave-trade.⁵⁴ “Rhode Island,” said he, “has been more deeply interested in the slave-trade, and has enslaved more Africans than any other colony in

43. In this year, it has been estimated by Alexander Boyd Hawes, 24 ships sailed from [Rhode Island](#) for the coast of the continent of Africa to obtain fresh bodies for the international slave trade. If an average cargo of slaves was 109—as we have estimated on the basis of a number of known cargos—then a total of more than 2,600 souls were being transported in Rhode Island bottoms alone. This, in fact, was nearly a record, as it was exceeded only in the year 1772 when 28 such Rhode Island vessels had been engaging in the [triangular trade](#).

Examples would be the [Rhode Island](#) brig *Othello*, which in this year is known to have transported a cargo of 52 souls, and [Aaron Lopez](#) of [Newport](#)’s brigantine *Ann*, which transported 112.



To be quite legal, after 1774 a Rhode Island vessel engaged in the international slave trade would need to dispose of all its cargo of new African slaves in the West Indies and along the American coastline, and be entirely clear of that business before coming to anchor in its home port. (However, until 1820, there would be no real need to be quite legal or to be entirely clear of that business before sailing into a Rhode Island port, as through the manipulations of John Brown of Providence and President Thomas Jefferson, the US Customs House in beautiful downtown [Bristol](#) would remain safely under the control of a DeWolf in-law who had significant investments in the illicit trade.)



New England." Later, in 1787, he wrote: "The inhabitants of Rhode Island, especially those of Newport, have had by far the greater share in this traffic, of all these United States. This trade in human species has been the first wheel of commerce in Newport, on which every other movement in business has chiefly depended. That town has been built up, and flourished in times past, at the expense of the blood, the liberty, and happiness of the poor Africans; and the inhabitants have lived on this, and by it have gotten most of their wealth and riches."⁵⁵

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While the foreign trade was flourishing, the influence of the Friends and of other causes eventually led to a movement against slavery as a local institution. Abolition societies multiplied, and in 1770 an abolition bill was ordered by the Assembly, but it was never passed.⁵⁹ Four years later the city of Providence resolved that "as personal liberty is an essential part of the natural rights of mankind," the importation of slaves and the system of slavery should cease in the colony.⁶⁰ This movement finally resulted, in 1774, in an act "prohibiting the

44. Fowler, LOCAL LAW, etc., page 124.

45. The number of slaves in Connecticut has been estimated as follows: —

In 1680, 30. CONNECTICUT COLONIAL RECORD, III. 298.

In 1730, 700. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 259.

In 1756, 3,636. Fowler, LOCAL LAW, etc., page 140.

In 1762, 4,590. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 260.

In 1774, 6,562. Fowler, LOCAL LAW, etc., page 140.

In 1782, 6,281. Fowler, LOCAL LAW, etc., page 140.

In 1800, 5,281. Fowler, LOCAL LAW, etc., page 141.

46. CONNECTICUT COLONIAL RECORD, XIV 329. Fowler (pages 125-6) says that the law was passed in 1769, as does Sanford (page 252). I find no proof of this. There was in Connecticut the same Biblical legislation on the trade as in Massachusetts. Cf. LAWS OF CONNECTICUT (repr. 1865), page 9; also COLONIAL RECORD, I. 77. For general duty acts, see COLONIAL RECORD, V 405; VIII. 22; IX. 283; XIII. 72, 125.

47. ACTS AND LAWS OF CONNECTICUT (ed. 1784), pages 233-4.

48. ACTS AND LAWS OF CONNECTICUT (ed. 1784), pages 368, 369, 388.

49. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, I. 240.

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

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

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

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

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

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

56. Preamble of the Act of 1712.

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

58. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 471.

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

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



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importation of Negroes into this Colony," — a law which curiously illustrated the attitude of Rhode Island toward the slave-trade. The preamble of the act declared: "Whereas, the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which, that of personal freedom must be considered as the greatest; as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; — Therefore," etc. The statute then proceeded to enact "that for the future, no negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free...." The logical ending of such an act would have been a clause prohibiting the participation of Rhode Island citizens in the slave-trade. Not only was such a clause omitted, but the following was inserted instead: "Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave brought from the coast of Africa, into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this colony, and which negro or mulatto slave could not be disposed of in the West Indies, but shall be brought into this colony. Provided, that the owner of such negro or mulatto slave give bond ... that such negro or mulatto slave shall be exported out of the colony, within one year from the date of such bond; if such negro or mulatto be alive, and in a condition to be removed."⁶¹ In 1779 an act to prevent the sale of slaves out of the State was passed,⁶² and in 1784, an act gradually to abolish slavery.⁶³ Not until 1787 did an act pass to forbid participation in the slave-trade. This law laid a penalty of £100 for every slave transported and £1000 for every vessel so engaged.⁶⁴

February 11, Friday: Joseph Holloway sold Charles, a Negro man, to [Aaron Lopez](#), international slavetrader.

NEWPORT
RHODE ISLAND
ENSLAVEMENT

February 14, Monday: [Aaron Lopez](#), international slavetrader, transferred Charles, a Negro man whom he had three days earlier purchased from Joseph Holloway, to Captain Daniel Holloway, Mariner.⁶⁵

NEWPORT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

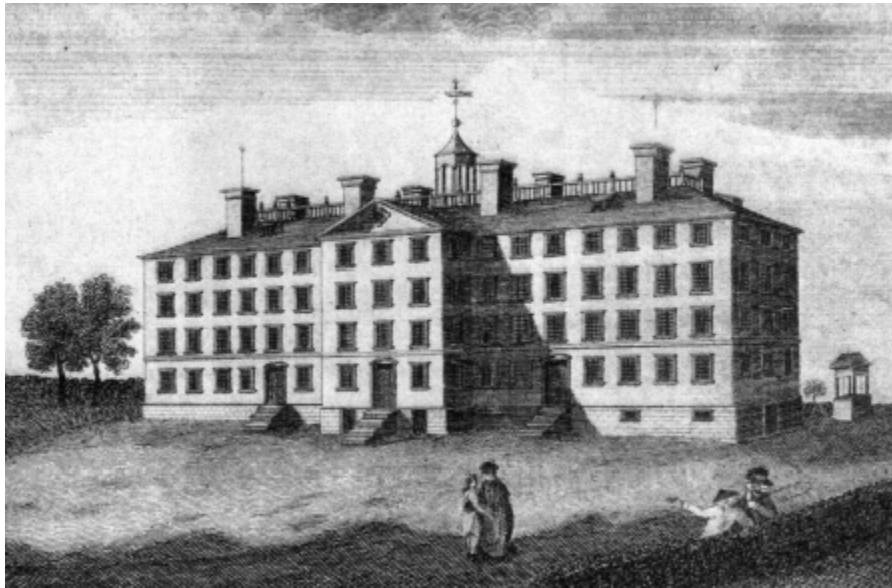
65. We notice, of course, that in this year [Rhode Island](#) was forbidding the further importation of [slaves](#). There's nothing out of order here: export's not import, so get a clue — the exportation of slaves could remain perfectly legal.

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1776

December 10, Tuesday: The British troop encampments on [Aquidneck Island](#) were within clear sight from atop College Hill, which meant that there was an ever-present danger to young colonial men of impressment. President [James Manning](#) of [Rhode Island](#) College placed a notice in the [Providence Gazette](#) explaining that the building which had been constructed had for the time being been commandeered as a barracks for revolutionary soldiers.



The [College of Rhode Island](#) which eventually would become [Brown University](#) would actually not reopen for its students until May 27, 1782.

This is to inform all the Students, that their Attendance on College Orders is hereby dispensed with, until the End of the next Spring Vacation ; and that they are at Liberty to return Home, or prosecute their Studies elsewhere, as they think proper : And that those who pay as particular Attention to their Studies as these confused Times will admit, shall then be considered in the same Light and Standing as if they had given the usual Attendance here. In Witness whereof, I subscribe

James Manning, President.

Providence, December 10.

Since most of the colonials were abandoning [Newport](#) during this timeframe, we may presume that this was about the time at which the family of Friend [Abraham Redwood](#) also departed from there, to reside for a short period in North [Providence](#) before purchasing a farm in Mendon, Massachusetts, and the family of [Aaron Lopez](#) departed from there, to reside first in [Providence](#) and then in Leicester, Massachusetts.

On a following screen is a depiction of the beacon which would give warning to Providence, should the British occupying nearby Aquidneck Island begin an approach.

1780

Moses Michael Hays removed from [Newport, Rhode Island](#) to [Boston](#). He would be one of the founders of the Massachusetts Fire and Marine Insurance Company, which eventually would become Bank of Boston.

1782

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



[Aaron Lopez](#) was in a carriage, returning to [Newport, Rhode Island](#), and stopped off at Scott's Pond in [Smithfield](#) to let his horse drink. The horse bolted into deep water, the carriage overturned, and the rich man drowned.⁶⁶

On this day the course of instruction at the [College of Rhode Island](#) atop College Hill in [Providence](#) was resuming after the wartime hiatus. Long live peace!

BAPTISTS
 BROWN UNIVERSITY

66. To get some idea of just how easily one might become entangled in apparatus and unable to extricate oneself underwater from the wreckage of this sort of conveyance, you might take a close look at John Brown's "chariot" — which is stored behind the John Brown mansion in Providence, Rhode Island.

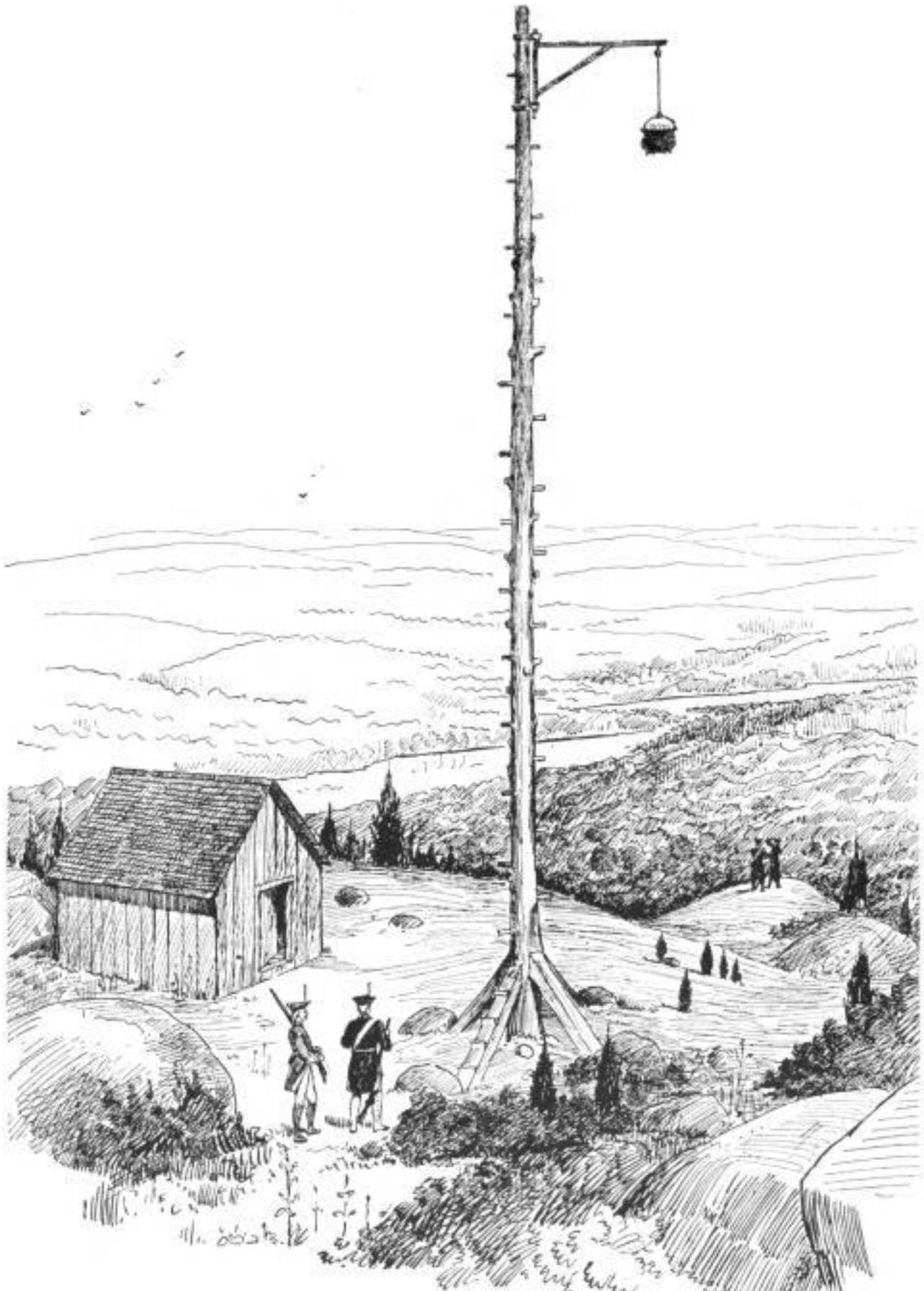
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WHAT?

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MERCHANT PRINCE

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1806



THE NEW-ENGLAND [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1806. By Isaac Bickerstaff. [Providence, Rhode Island](#): John Carter.

THE RHODE-ISLAND [ALMANAC](#) FOR 1806. By Benjamin West. [Newport](#) Oliver Farnsworth.

THE COLUMBIAN CALENDAR OR [ALMANAC](#) FOR 1806. By Remington Southwick. [Newport](#). Printed for the author.

A [LUNAR CALENDAR](#) FOR A. M. 5566. (1806) By [Moses Lopez](#). [Newport](#): Newport Mercury (a copy is preserved at the [Touro Synagogue](#)).

This Almanac was calculated for the Jews who at this time had a very prosperous colony in Newport.

1828



October 1, Wednesday: Founding of the University of London on Gower Street in London (afterward, this would be known as University College). [Professor George Long](#) of the University of Virginia had returned to England to become professor of Greek there (until 1831, when he would become editor of the [Quarterly Journal of Education](#)). The Long family would reside in Jacksons Lane, Highgate, to the west of Hornsey and would have three female servants, a coachman, and a gardener. With them from America they had brought one of the family slaves, Jacob Walker, who in England would be assigned the role “M.S.” (male servant), and it is not known whether it was Jacob who was that coachman, or that gardener.

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

4th day 1st 10th M 1828 / Today Joseph S Tillinghast from N Bedford on his way to NYork Hudson &c called & dined with us & took letters for John whom he expects to see next first day. – he went in the Steam Boat Connecticut this Afternoon. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

AARON LOPEZ

MERCHANT PRINCE

There's a sketchy painting above the case that holds the Torah scrolls at the [Touro Synagogue](#) in [Newport](#). It is a painting of the short names used, in the Hebrew language, for the Ten Commandments that Moses received from YHWH on Mount Sinai. I don't have any better photo of the crude painting in question, which also depicts three golden crowns, than this one, for your edification,



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but here is a modern representation of the Hebrew characters in question. Read them from right to left:



One of the stories that grew up in Newport over the years had to do with those three golden crowns we can see so nicely depicted at the top of that painting. The story was that the synagogue building had been saved from being trashed during the occupation of the town in Revolutionary War years, when so many of the buildings in the abandoned town were being stripped for kindling to keep the occupying British soldiers warm, because the soldiers presumed that this building must have something to do with the King of England.



Another of the stories that grew up was that this painting, since it is, allegedly, “so fine,” must have been by the famous painter Gilbert Stuart, who resided in nearby [North Kingstown](#). However, it is not listed as one of his known works, nor do we know that he ever painted anything even remotely like this.

As anyone who reads Hebrew who now visits this Newport [tourist trap](#) can look up and plainly see, the character that is shown in this painting as the third letter, in the captions of the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th Commandments in the left column, is not correct! Four of the ten labels have been reduced to nonsense! If that painting had been hanging up there above the case of Torahs while the building was being used for Jewish



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worship services during the 18th Century, why would it have been that none of the members of this congregation, and none of the honored Jewish visitors to this synagogue, ever informed anyone of this error in the painting, and why would it have been that nobody went and fetched a ladder and some oil paint and climbed up there and touched over the linguistic error with a few simple dabs? This is what the character does look like  (the artist did get the character right when he painted it in the 6th Commandment, at the top of the left column!), and this is what it might have been made to look like with a few more dabs of paint, had anyone known to correct that painting: 

Granted, the Marranos⁶⁷ who created this synagogue had been living a submerged life as pretend Christians⁶⁸ since the Inquisition in Spain in Portugal, and granted, they had only just gotten back into the process of recovering their cultural roots — but surely some of them must have known enough Hebrew to be able to recite the Ten Commandments! So, why didn't they correct this painting?

We discover in the records of the General Assembly of Rhode Island, that on this date the sum of \$12.⁰⁰ was paid to the clerk for the town of Newport, Benjamin Baker Howland, who was treasurer of the Newport Savings Bank and a local historian and artist, as reimbursement for a painting of the captions in Hebrew of the Ten Commandments.⁶⁹ Clearly, Mr. Howland had as little actual knowledge of Hebrew as any other deacon of the local 1st Baptist Church. This painting of his had been created as a mere piece of esoterica, only marking this structure as having formerly been in use as a synagogue, and there would be no opportunity to discover and correct its error —since in point of fact, during the decades of the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, there would be no religious services whatever in the structure —since in point of fact, there were no longer any Jews residing in Newport.

JUDAISM

Maybe, as a deacon in the 1st [Baptist](#) Church, this Howland should have stuck to designing Christian T-shirts

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

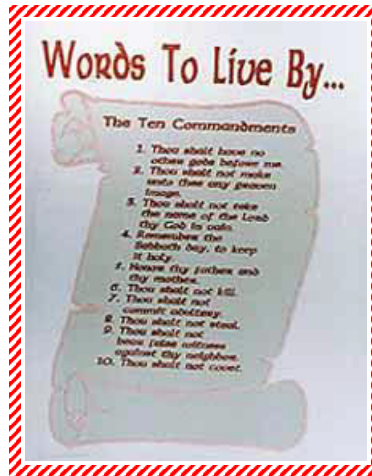
68. For instance, for the first twenty or so years of his life, the President of this congregation, [Aaron Lopez](#), had been living in Portugal as a Christian by the name of Duarte Lopez. He had been under such deep cover that he and his wife, who was always called “Anna” in Portugal, had had their wedding ceremony in a Catholic church. It was only after they were safely in Rhode Island that they were able to live openly under their given names Aaron and Abigail.

69. This is a “Mayflower” family and as you might imagine, there have been any number of Benjamin Howlands. A Benjamin Howland (1755-1821), had been a Democratic legislator in Rhode Island legislature, and had from 1804 to 1809, as a Jeffersonian Republican, served as one of the US Senators from Rhode Island. This clerk Benjamin Baker Howland of 1828 was not the son of this Senator Benjamin Howland who died in 1821. He was, instead, the son of Henry Howland and Susan Baker Howland, and had been born in Newport on December 11, 1787. At an early age he had been thrown upon his own resources, and having a taste for drawing and painting, had begun the study of portraiture under Robert Feke. In September 1825 he had succeeded Charles Gyles as town clerk of Newport, and soon afterwards became probate clerk. For many years he would be reelected without opposition, and he would serve his community as clerk until 1875. He died on October 20, 1877 and there is now a portrait of him in the mayor's office.

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for sale to the summer tourists:



So it is clearly false, that the British troops of occupation spared the wood in this building because they saw those three golden crowns and thought of their monarch. The painting in question wouldn't come into existence for another two human generations! More probably, the reason why this building was spared was that some British officer came along and said to himself "Now here's a nice brick building, neat and spacious, with a raised platform at one end of a columned hall, to properly set off my desk and chair — I think this is the one I'll have for my headquarters."

And Gilbert Stewart? Give me a break, take a close look at the actual painting and recognize that a child could have painted something like this on the basis of a paint-by-the-numbers kit purchased at the K-Mart.

The preposterous stories that once circulated about this synagogue painting present an interesting example of the dangers posed by pseudohistorical accretion tendencies.

1855

The [Providence, Warren](#), and [Bristol](#) railroad link began to provide mass transportation for the East Bay region of [Rhode Island](#). If the locomotive used for this service was a new one, it may have looked like this, for this was "A good Standard Type" built by Danforth Cooke & Company in 1855:

[William J. Brown](#) would report a beginning of a decline, in the [Baptist](#) church for people of color on College Hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), due to their having lost their minister:

PAGES 121-124: Our church had been in a very low state. It commenced to decrease in 1855, directly after our pastor, Rev.



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Chauncey Leonard, left us. He had been with us some two years, when he united with us. He had come directly from a theological institution. His education was good, and his oratory surpassed any pastor that ever graced our pulpit since the organization of our church. He was receiving from us four hundred dollars a year, which was all we were able to give, and a portion of that came from the Rhode Island State Convention. But our pastor was greatly in debt for his education, and if he did not go as a missionary to Liberia, he must repay them. As soon as they learned that he had settled over our church, they demanded their pay, and this brought him into such straitened circumstances that he could not remain here and support his family; and having an offer from the people in Baltimore, Md., to take charge of a select school, and supply a church, with a salary of six hundred dollars, he tendered his resignation to our church and accepted the call to Baltimore. That left us without any pastor, and the church fell into a despondent state.... Brother Waterman remarked that we had better disband, as we were all paupers, our pastor had gone and we could not do anything. But the majority proposed to continue together and trust in the Lord.

(During this period of his church's vulnerability, Brown would be serving proudly as a lay minister or exhorter.)

1946

At the [Moses Brown School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), significant contributions were being made to the American Friends Service Committee.

Under “La Loi Mile. Marthe Richard,” the brothels of Paris were shut down and regulated medical examination of sex workers abandoned — such establishments had come to be regarded as venues of [slavery](#), although prostitution itself was quite OK and the demimondaines remained free to work the streets (the eponymous Mile. Richard was a member of the French Assembly).

In [Newport](#), dedication of the structure that had housed the 1st synagogue in what is now the United States of America, [Touro Synagogue](#) of Congregation Jeshuat Israel, as a national historical site.⁷⁰



Affixed to the south side of the exterior wall is a plaque with the following inscription:

**NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
TOURO SYNAGOGUE
JESHUAT ISRAEL CONGREGATION
FOUNDED 1658 THIS OLDEST SYNAGOGUE BUILDING IN THE
UNITED STATES WAS DESIGNED BY PETER HARRISON. GROUND
WAS BROKEN AUGUST 1, 1759. IT WAS DEDICATED ON DECEMBER
2, 1763. HERE 1781-84 THE RHODE ISLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY
MET, AND DURING WASHINGTON’S VISIT TO NEWPORT IN 1781 A
TOWN MEETING WAS HELD HERE. THE STATE SUPREME COURT
HELD SESSIONS HERE AT THAT PERIOD. THE BUILDING WAS
REOPENED FOR RELIGIOUS SERVICES ON AUGUST 2, 1850. IN
1790 GEORGE WASHINGTON WROTE TO THIS CONGREGATION THAT**

70. Some of the Jews of this synagogue, like some of their Christian neighbors, such as the [Quakers](#) next door up the hill, had engaged in the [international slave trade](#). After their synagogue building, in what had become the bad part of town, had been deconsecrated, the empty structure, under a caretaker who was a Quaker, would find use occasionally, surreptitiously, for the harboring of escaping [slaves](#) as a station on the Underground Railroad, or so ’tis persistently said although I have never seen a scintilla of evidence to back up such claims (we all know that the way to make something true is to repeat it any number of times). —When you visit, and are proudly shown the must-see “secret hidey hole” beneath the lectern, for Heaven’s sake be polite and do not complicate matters by inquiring about participation in the international slave trade. Remember that the international slave trade wasn’t just for Jews.

... “HAPPILY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES...
GIVES TO BIGOTRY NO SANCTION, TO PERSECUTION NO ASSISTANCE.”

1995

January 5, Thursday: Americans who were, ostensibly, Christians, such as the good Baptist [John Brown](#) of [Providence](#),



[Rhode Island](#), had in antebellum years been much more heavily involved in the [international slave trade](#) than Jews such as those of the [Touro Synagogue](#) in [Newport](#). Nevertheless, antisemitic black militants had begun to identify American Jews with slave trading — as if Jews had been primarily or solely responsible. Therefore the American Historical Association passed a resolution: “The AHA ... condemns as false any statement alleging that Jews played a disproportionate role in the exploitation of slave labor or in the Atlantic slave trade.” A Jewish source has pointed out that:⁷¹

In all, 934 [Rhode Island](#) vessels are known to have transported slaves to the western hemisphere between 1709 and 1807. A total of 925 owners have been identified for these ships, of whom only 42, or 4.5%, were Jewish. Furthermore, only a minute fraction of [slaves](#) were carried on ships owned by Jewish merchants. Shipowners whose religion is identifiable are known to have transported a total of 64,708 slaves to the New World. Of these, only 1,275 slaves, or 1.9%, traveled on vessels owned by Jews and non-Jews in partnership. In contrast, 62,829 of the slaves, or 97 percent, were transported on ships owned exclusively by Rhode Island’s non-Jewish merchants.

Lest there be any doubt about it: the [Quakers](#) of [Providence](#) want you to know that there were Quakers also who were involved in the [international slave trade](#) out of [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#). We know this, not because we know the names of all of the offending families —our researches, which have produced names such as Wanton, are as yet far from complete— but because we know that our meetings had to struggle with such persons, whoever they were, mired in their livelihood, in order to clear them and our association of this fault. This was a process which involved a good deal of time and a good deal of soul-searching, and was then covered over in a good deal of forgetting and self-satisfaction.

2006

March 12, Sunday: Paul Davis's column about the days of [slavery](#) and the [international slave trade](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#)'s "ProJo," the [Providence Journal](#):

Buying and Selling the Human Species: Newport and the Slave Trade

For more than 75 years, Rhode Island ruled the American slave trade. On sloops and ships called Endeavor, Success and Wheel of Fortune, slave captains made more than 1,000 voyages to Africa from 1725 to 1807. They chained their human cargo and forced more than 100,000 men, women and children into slavery in the West Indies, Havana and the American colonies. The traffic was so lucrative that nearly half the ships that sailed to Africa did so after 1787 – the year Rhode Island outlawed the trade. Rum fueled the business. The colony had nearly 30 distilleries where molasses was boiled into rum. Rhode Island ships carried barrels of it to buy African slaves, who were then traded for more molasses in the West Indies which was returned to Rhode Island. By the mid-18th century, 114 years after Roger Williams founded the tiny Colony of Rhode Island, slaves lived in every port and village. In 1755, 11.5 percent of all Rhode Islanders, or about 4,700 people, were black, nearly all of them slaves. In [Newport](#), [Bristol](#) and [Providence](#), the slave economy provided thousands of jobs for captains, seamen, coopers, sail makers, dock workers, and shop owners, and helped merchants

71. The figure of 1,275 persons listed as having been imported by Jews or by partnerships including Jews is entirely made up of individuals imported to the USA by the one [Newport, Rhode Island](#) businessman, President of the congregation of [Touro Synagogue](#), [Aaron Lopez](#):



This individual admittedly funded some 200 ventures at sea, approximately 20 of which were slaving ventures. No other such businessman was cited in this study despite the fact that Lopez was most definitely not acting alone in Newport, and despite the fact that the firm with which he was affiliated had another major North American office, in the port of Charlestown SC. To arrive at such a statistic, slaves delivered to other destinations went uncounted. The quote is per Eli Faber's *SLAVERY AND THE JEWS: A HISTORICAL INQUIRY*, in the "Occasional Paper Series" funded by Anne Bass Schneider and Dr. Louis Schneider of Fort Wayne IN for the Jewish Studies Program of Hunter College.



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build banks, wharves and mansions. But it was only a small part of a much larger international trade, which historians call the first global economy.

Pollipus Hammond was dying. As a young man in Newport he had sailed wooden sloops and brigs across the roiling Atlantic. Now, at 72, he was curled up in agony. The Rev. [Ezra Stiles](#) was surprised. He had heard that dying men often stretched out. Shortly before midnight in the winter of 1773, Hammond died. Stiles, a pastor for nearly 20 years at the Second Congregational Church on Clarke Street, closed the dead man's eyes. Physically, Hammond was short and thin. But spiritually, he had been a pillar in the congregation, a sober churchgoer for nearly 34 years. A boat builder, mechanic and father of five, Hammond could have turned "his hand to any Thing," Stiles wrote in his daily journal. For a quarter of century, Hammond had turned his hand to the slave trade. Sailing from Newport's crowded harbor, he purchased hundreds of slaves from the west coast of Africa and chained them aboard ships owned by some of the town's wealthiest merchants. Hammond belonged to a group of captains who depended on the slave trade for a living. He quit the business in the 1750s, when he was in his mid-50s. He became a devout Congregationalist; he even offered his home for monthly meetings. But he never stopped telling stories about danger, even exaggerating what he had seen and heard on his African voyages along what slavers called the Guinea Coast. It was, Stiles wrote, the only "blemish in his character." "He was many years a Guinea Captain; he had then no doubt of the Slave Trade," Stiles wrote. "But I have reason to think that if he had his Life to live over again, he would not choose to spend it in buying and selling the human species." If Hammond regretted his life as a slave captain, he left no record of it. When Hammond died on Feb. 5, 1773, Newport's slave trade was booming. Nearly 30 captains had sailed to Africa the year before, ferrying away nearly 3,500 Africans to slave ports in the Americas and the Caribbean. "Our orders to you are, that you Embrace the first fair wind and make the best of your way to the coast of Africa," wrote merchant [Aaron Lopez](#) to Capt. William English. "When please God you arrive there ... Convert your cargo into good Slaves" and sell them "on the best terms you can," ordered Lopez, who outfitted four slave ships that year. The first recorded departure of a Newport slave ship was in 1709, and regular voyages from Newport to Africa were recorded beginning in 1725. "There's no Newport without slavery," says James Garman, a professor of historic preservation at Salve Regina University in Newport. "The sheer accumulation of wealth is astonishing and it has everything to do with the African trade...." It's unclear when Pollipus Hammond, born in 1701, boarded his first slave ship, but Hammond and the trade matured together. By the time Hammond turned 21, more than 600 ships a year passed through Rhode Island's busy ports. Many carried New England goods – mackerel, pork, beef, cider, beer, onions, flour, butter, candles, apples, cheese and staves – to other colonies along the Atlantic Coast. Others carried goods directly to the slave plantations in the Caribbean or in South America. These ships returned to Newport with sugar and barrels of molasses, which distillers turned into rum. Some of it was sold in New England.



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But Rhode Islanders soon discovered a new market for their rum: tribal leaders and European traders along the African coast, in regions known as the Slave, Gold and Windward Coasts. In all, Rhode Island ships carried nearly 11 million gallons of rum to Africa during the 18th and early 19th centuries. Tribal leaders were willing to dicker with Newport captains, turning over prisoners from rival tribes and other natives in exchange for Rhode Island rum. The African captives were then sold in the Caribbean or in the southern colonies for cash or for more sugar and molasses, creating what was known as the Triangular Trade. Rhode Islanders distilled an especially potent liquor that was referred to as Guinea rum, spirits which quickly displaced French brandy in the slave trade. As a result, slavers from Rhode Island were often called "rum men." By his mid-30s, Hammond was a rum man. In 1733, he sailed the *Dispatch*, owned by merchant Godfrey Malbone, to Africa. Six years later Malbone, who owned a house in Newport, a country estate and several slaves, hired Hammond again, this time to take 55 slaves to the West Indies aboard the sloop *Diamond*. Already, the slave trade was competitive. In 1736, Capt. John Cahoone told Newport merchant Stephen Ayrault that seven Rhode Island captains and 12 other slavers were anchored off the coast of Africa, "ready to devour one another for the chance to trade" for slaves being held at a handful of British ports. Never "was so much rum on the Coast at one time before...." Four years later, the colony's fleet of 120 ships was "constantly employed in trade, some on the coast of Africa, others in the neighboring colonies, many in the West Indies and a few in Europe," Gov. Richard Ward told the Board of Trade in 1740. The sugar and slave plantations especially benefited from Rhode Island's exports. Plantation owners – too busy growing sugar cane to grow their own food – "reaped great advantage from our trade, by being supplied with lumber of all sorts, suitable for building houses, sugar works and making casks," Governor Ward noted. The West Indies slave owners dined on beef, port, flour and other provisions "we are daily carrying to them." Rhode Island horses hauled their cane and turned their sugar mills. And "our African trade often furnishes 'em with slaves for their plantations." For Pollipus Hammond and other slave captains, African voyages posed many risks. The voyages were filthy, laborious and dangerous. "Few men are fit for those voyages but them that are bred up to it," Dalby Thomas, an agent for the Royal African Company, told his superiors in London in the early 1700s. These captains must be ready to "do the meanest office," he wrote. Africa teemed with killers – river blindness, yellow fever, malaria. One or two captains died each year from disease, violent storms or slave uprisings. Capt. George Scott barely escaped a slave revolt in 1730, when several Africans aboard the *Little George* murdered three of his men in their sleep. Caleb Godfrey jumped into a longboat after lightning struck his ship, and he once was mauled by a leopard. If a captain survived –and many did not– he "had nothing to lose and a great deal to gain from a slaving venture," says historian Sarah Deutsch. In addition to a monthly wage, captains received a 5 percent commission on every slave sold. Many also received a bonus, or "privilege," of four or more slaves per 104 Africans aboard. The captains were free to sell them or keep them. Some



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made enough to invest in later trips to Africa. Many joined the Fellowship Club, a mutual aid society, established in Newport in 1752. When the club received a charter from the Rhode Island legislature, 17 of the 88 members had made at least one voyage to Africa. By the time Hammond died, slaving captains formed a third of the society. While some captains made enough money to quit the trade and move up socially, Hammond "never left the wheel," says Jay Coughtry in *THE NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE*. "Lack of capital, ambition, or, perhaps, the lure of the sea" prevented men like Hammond "from rising into the ranks of the merchant class," he says.

The Rev. Ezra Stiles arrived in Newport to assume the pulpit of the Second Congregational Church in 1755, about the time Pollipus Hammond quit the slave trade. A bookish man who studied Latin and physics at Yale, Stiles declared Newport "an agreeable Town," a place of "leisure and books," and a choice spot to continue "my Love of preaching." He drank cider, tea and claret, and planned future books, including a history of the world. In 1761, six years after he arrived in Newport, the minister paced off its streets to map the town. Evidence of the town's booming sea and slave trade was everywhere. He counted 888 houses, 16 rum distilleries and 61 shops near the waterfront. Some of the town's biggest slave traders belonged to Stiles' Clarke Street church. Eleven members were either slave traders or captains, including Caleb Gardner, William Ellery and William and Samuel Vernon. Newport was a far cry from New Haven, where Stiles grew up and attended Yale. While New Haven had been settled by strict religious leaders, Newport had been settled by "men who chafed at the economic, as well as religious, restrictions of Puritan society," says historian Lynne Withey. They "wanted to build prosperous towns and personal fortunes out of the wilderness." Those attracted to Newport included the Quaker merchant Thomas Richardson, who had moved from Boston in 1712; Daniel Ayrault, a French Huguenot, who arrived around 1700, and Godfrey Malbone, who moved from Virginia at about the same time. William and John Wanton, shipbuilders from Massachusetts, arrived a few years later. These entrepreneurs – or their sons or in-laws – added slave trading to their business ventures. Yet another group of investors arrived between 1746 and 1757, among them Ellery, the Champlins and Lopez. Stiles read the BIBLE in the morning and visited some of the slave traders as their pastor in the afternoon. He socialized with them, too. He dined often with William Vernon, who bought a mansion three doors down on Clarke Street. An ardent gardener, Stiles wrote his name on an aloe leaf on Abraham Redwood's country estate. Eventually, the pastor was named librarian of the new Redwood Library. While he talked philosophy with Newport's slave merchants, he also ministered to the town's slaves. By the mid-1770s, he was preaching to dozens of slaves. Often, he preached to them in small groups in his home. "I directed the Negroes to come to me this Evening," he wrote in 1771. "I discoursed with them on the great Things of the divine Life and eternal Salvation...." Three days after Pollipus Hammond died, the temperature plunged to 5 degrees. Ice clogged the harbor. That winter, the spindly trees above the waterfront were "full of crystals or frozen sleet or icy horror," noted Stiles. It was so cold his window had frozen shut.



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"I can not come at my thermometer which is usually left abroad all night," he complained. Head down, his long nose poking forward, Stiles trudged through Newport's icy streets to attend Hammond's burial in the Common Burying Ground, on a hill near the edge of town. A prominent stone mason had carved a final thought for the slave captain. His headstone, topped with an angel, said, "Here Lieth the Body of the Ingenious Capt. Pollipus Hammond." It was Stiles's habit to visit his church members and their families at least four times a year. Stiles had visited Hammond 10 times before his death. If the two men discussed slavery, Stiles did not note it in his diary. Then again, the pastor had written little about his own ties to the slave trade. His father, Isaac, had purchased an African couple to work in the fields of the family's 100-acre farm in North Haven. And a year after he became pastor of the Second Congregational Church, Stiles put a hogshead of rum – 106 gallons – aboard a ship bound for the coast of Africa. The captain, William Pinnegar, returned with a 10-year-old African boy. Stiles kept the slave for 22 years, and freed him only after he accepted a job as president of Yale in 1777. In 1756, Stiles gave the boy a name. He called him Newport.



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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: November 20, 2013

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, upon someone's request we have pulled it out of the hat of a pirate that has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (depicted above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of data modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture. This is data mining. To respond to such a request for information, we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the program has obvious deficiencies and so we need to go back into the data modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and do a recompile of the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process which 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.

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