

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND¹

"I go the way that Providence dictates with all the assurance of a sleepwalker."

—Adolf Hitler, 1936, München



1. For colonial Providence Plantations prior to 1790, go to <http://www.kouroo.info/RI/ColonialProvidence.pdf>

1790

During the 1790s, a Congregationalist girl of the East Side in Providence, Rhode Island named Betsey Metcalf would, with the encouragement of her aunt, be developing a process for weaving women's bonnets, from cultivated straw, similar to one she had seen in a local store. She would teaching this process to neighbors. Eventually, when she was grown, she would become a schoolteacher in West Dedham (now Westwood), Massachusetts and then get married with a local man named Obed Baker (1783-1868). Then, a whole lot later, Mrs. Baker would realize that she had accomplished something of significance, and would write an ex-post-facto "diary" made up of recollections, and lay claim to this one thing of significance that allegedly she had accomplished in her life.²

During the writing of the Constitution, the American inventors and promoters of steamboat schemes had been very persistent and insistent in their lobbying the halls and lobbies and offices of political power, for the immense prizes of monopoly economic power which could be granted to influential citizens by the new national government, and this activity of course continued while the US Patent Act of 1790 was being negotiated and enacted, and while the first American patents were being granted, and while the new governmental department's administrative procedures and policies were being worked out. John Fitch's 2nd, larger steamboat, the *Perseverance*, was already employing its stern crank and paddle propulsion scheme to run on a commercial schedule between Philadelphia and Burlington. Almost immediately Fitch and James Rumsey secured conflicting US steamboat patents, and John Stevens secured three related steamboat patents plus three patents for improvements to the antique design of the Savery engine which seemed at the time to be relevant. In addition, Fitch went to France and got a steamboat patent when he heard that Rumsey was in England getting a steamboat patent. (However, looking ahead, neither Fitch nor Rumsey would succeed during their lifetimes in translating their patents into the monopoly economic power for which they had for so long schemed. Eventually Fitch would off himself.)

Self-Murder

Date	Sex	Method
March 5, 1786	Male	hanged self
July 5, 1790	Male	hanged self
ditto	Male	shot self
March 29, 1791	Female	method not stated
October 11, 1796	Male	cut throat

2. Well, that — or maybe during the British embargo of the maritime commerce of Napoleonic Europe **somebody else** performed this American act of imitation of the peasant weavers of Livorno, Italy. There's no evidence whatever, other than the belated testimony of the lady in question: no samples of the early work survive, we have only this one self-serving and uncorroborated and belated reconstruction of the events, and anyway it was admittedly a mere act of imitation of a foreign bonnet that was on display in a local store. Also, the lady in question actually had no way to know for sure after the fact that it had been she who had been the one whose childhood bonnets had sparked this local industry — rather than someone else with a similar inspiration but less of a desire to have a claim to fame.

The story persists because it is a nice story with a nice moral —and because it may be true —and because male historians have considered it to be woman-oriented local-history stuff and therefore unworthy of their challenges. Local histories are full of such stories of localities considered locally to be of historical significance, which may or may not be of historical significance, and nobody wants to be the one to challenge the firm knowledge of a local-history tour guide who is escorting one down toney Benefit Street on the toney East Side of Providence on a sunny afternoon. It is the sort of story upon which one may build relentlessly, as one explores the absolute spirit of altruism in which the little girl teaches this foreign process which she has imitated and recreated, for free to various anonymous East Side neighbors.

Date	Sex	Method
March 15, 1807	Male	cut throat
April 16, 1807	Male	hanged self

During this year a John Fitch (evidently a son or grandson of this steamboat inventor) was a student at Rhode Island College and drew a bird's-eye-view illustration of Providence, Benefit Street, Meeting Street, the wharves, and the College Edifice perched atop College Hill.

The Reverend James Manning requested to be relieved of his duties as President of the College of Rhode Island. (He would die before a successor would be appointed.)



During this decade, the father of George W. Benson, George Benson (1752-1836), a Providence merchant active in the Rhode Island Peace Society who would become a founding member and then the secretary of the Providence Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, was transiting from being a Baptist to becoming a convinced member of the Religious Society of Friends.

May 24-29: During this year, the 1st US national census would be reporting 68,824 people in Rhode Island. The governing figures in the state had been defying the instructions of the nascent federal government and instead of staging a representative convention of delegates had conducted a democratic popular referendum on the new US constitutional document. Since this referendum had been boycotted by the Federalists, it had defeated the constitution by a vote of 2,708 over 237. Finally, however, in mid-January 1790, the requisite convention of delegates had been called together, and an initial inconclusive convention had been held in South Kingstown on March 1-6, and a second convention of delegates was staged in Newport on May 24-29, and a ratification tally of 34 votes over 32 votes was obtained when Providence threatened to secede from the state and unite itself either with Connecticut or with Massachusetts — and, finally, on May 29th, by the slimmest of margins, two votes, Rhode Island became the 13th of the original 13 states to ratify the Constitution:



Might it be said that, in holding out in this way against a new federal union between slaveholding colonies and nonslaveholding colonies, these Rhode Island Quakers were anticipating the civil war which would destroy so many American lives three or four human generations into the future? (By way of radical contrast, the people in the other American colonies were in effect saying to them, “Hey, don’t let a little thing like human slavery bother you so much!”) Well, you could say that if you believe that Rhode Islanders are by their very nature pure of heart. However, some historians have alleged that the issue can be better understood by observing the Watergate rule, “follow the money” — Rhode Island, they suggest, had needed to uphold state sovereignty in order for its paper money to retain value.

RATIFICATIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

December 8, 1787	Delaware	YES= 30	NO= 0
December 12, 1787	Pennsylvania	YES= 46	NO= 23
December 18, 1787	New Jersey	YES= 38	NO= 0
January 2, 1788	Georgia	YES= 26	NO= 0
January 9, 1788	Connecticut	YES=128	NO= 40
February 16, 1788	Massachusetts	YES=187	NO=168
April 26, 1788	Maryland	YES= 63	NO= 11
May 23, 1788	South Carolina	YES=149	NO= 73

June 21, 1788	New Hampshire	YES= 57	NO= 47
June 25, 1788	Virginia	YES= 89	NO= 79
July 26, 1788	New York	YES= 30	NO= 27

JOINING LATER IN ADHERENCE TO THE US CONSTITUTION: 12 & 13

November 21, 1789	North Carolina	YES=194	NO= 77
May 29, 1790	Rhode Island	YES= 34	NO= 32

June 1: In Providence, Rhode Island there was a “drunken frolick through the streets” in celebration of the new Constitution, and in the evening “the India ship warren was Illuminated with lanterns & rockets were thrown from the great bridge.”

During this month George Washington would give his support to a plan by which the new federal government would be assuming and funding the Revolutionary War debts of the several states. Congress would be choosing Philadelphia as the interim capital for the United States but, to assuage Virginia, which was the foremost opponent of this assumption of debt, the federal Congress would select a site on the Potomac River in Virginia for its permanent capital, to be occupied in ten years time.

July 14: In France this was, of course, the 1st anniversary of Bastille Day. Alexander von Humboldt and Georg Forster were in Paris for the celebration. Humboldt would return to his studies. Forster would join the revolution and, four years later, die in disgrace and misery.



At some point during this year a federal grand jury, in its first session, returned an indictment of murder against James DeWolf (1764-1837) of Bristol, son of Captain Mark Anthony DeWolf (1726-1792), for having thrown a woman overboard when she exhibited symptoms of the small pox. The indictment read “James DeWolf, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil ... did feloniously, willfully and of his malice aforethought, with his hands clinch and seize in and upon the body of said Negro woman ... and did push, cast and throw her from out of said vessel into the Sea and waters of the Ocean, whereupon she then and there instantly sank, drowned and died.” James DeWolf, protected by his influential uncle Simeon Potter and other family members, would never be required to answer to this indictment.



In Providence, Rhode Island, per Volume 22, page 290 of the town records, John T. Clark on behalf of the firm of Clark & Nightingale, distillers engaged in the Triangular Trade, manumitted “Quam a Negro Man late a Servant to us for life”:

Know all Men to who these Presents shall come that We Clarke & Nightingale of Providence in the County of Providence Merchants for & in Consideration of the Sum of Fifty Spanish Milled Dollars to us in Hand paid by Quam a Negro Man late a Servant to us for life & for divers other good Considerations us thereunto moving, have manumitted & set free, the said Negro Man named Quam hereby for us & our Heirs, Relinquishing all Claim or Title to the said Negro Man his services or Labour forever hereafter. In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names as the Firm of our House this fourteenth Day of July, in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred & Ninety - -

Clark & Nightingale

Witness Sam Arnold

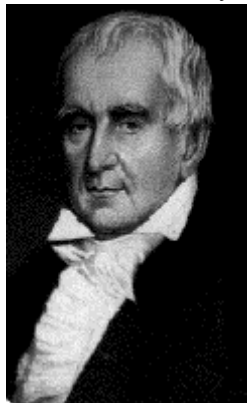
We wonder at the magnificent gentility of these white folks engaged in the Triangular Trade, in setting free this man of color who was their servant for life, and we also wonder — **how old** might Quam have been at the point at which he was thus made free?

August 18: “General George Washenton President of the United States landed at the lower end of the town [of Providence, Rhode Island] & walked up in grand procession to Mr Dagget’s tavern.”

September 7: In the evening in Providence, Rhode Island, from the yard of the Baptist church, an “air-balloon” ascended into the skies.

1791

Nicholas Brown became a trustee of the Rhode Island College in Providence, Rhode Island from which he had graduated five years earlier, the institution which eventually would come to bear his name.



Colonel Timothy Pickering, Canandaigua lawyer Thomas Morris, the Reverend Kirkland, Horatio Jones, and Jasper Parrish negotiated with native headmen Red Jacket, Cornplanter, and Good Peter (the Indian preacher) and local tribes at New Town point (Elmira, New York). Nearly 500 Senecas encamped at Friend's Landing on Seneca Lake. At the request of Good Peter, "Universal Friend" Jemimah Wilkinson made an appearance. Her topic was "Have We Not All One Father?" Good Peter's sermon following her sermon, "Universal Friend" requested that his words be interpreted. Good Peter declined to provide this interpretation, commenting succinctly "if she is Christ, she knows what I said."

Following this conference, a delegation of Seneca headmen set out to visit President George Washington at the nation's capital, Philadelphia.

Noting "the great advantages which had resulted to Boston from the bank established there," Moses Brown and John Brown helped a group of wealthy merchants found, and John served as the chief executive officer, and Moses served as a director of, the first bank in Rhode Island, incorporated in Providence and named the "Providence." (During June 1865 this institution would be reorganized as a national bank and renamed the "Providence National Bank.")

Four guys – Samuel Slater, and a woodworker, and an elderly black employee of the merchant Moses Brown, and the ironmaster David Wilkinson of Slater Mill in Pawtucket (meaning "waterfall") near North Providence, – bankrolled by a 5th guy, said Friend Moses, and using the water power of the Blackstone River, with children working his "spinning jennies" in the production of yarn made of cotton from slave plantations, were at this point able to begin the farming out the large quantities of manufactured yarn to local women who were to work in their homes for piecework wages, weaving this yarn into cloth on consignment. The English thread-spinning technology had been duplicated entirely from Slater's memory. This mill would begin to operate satisfactorily as soon as they had made a correction in the slope of the carder teeth he had specified.

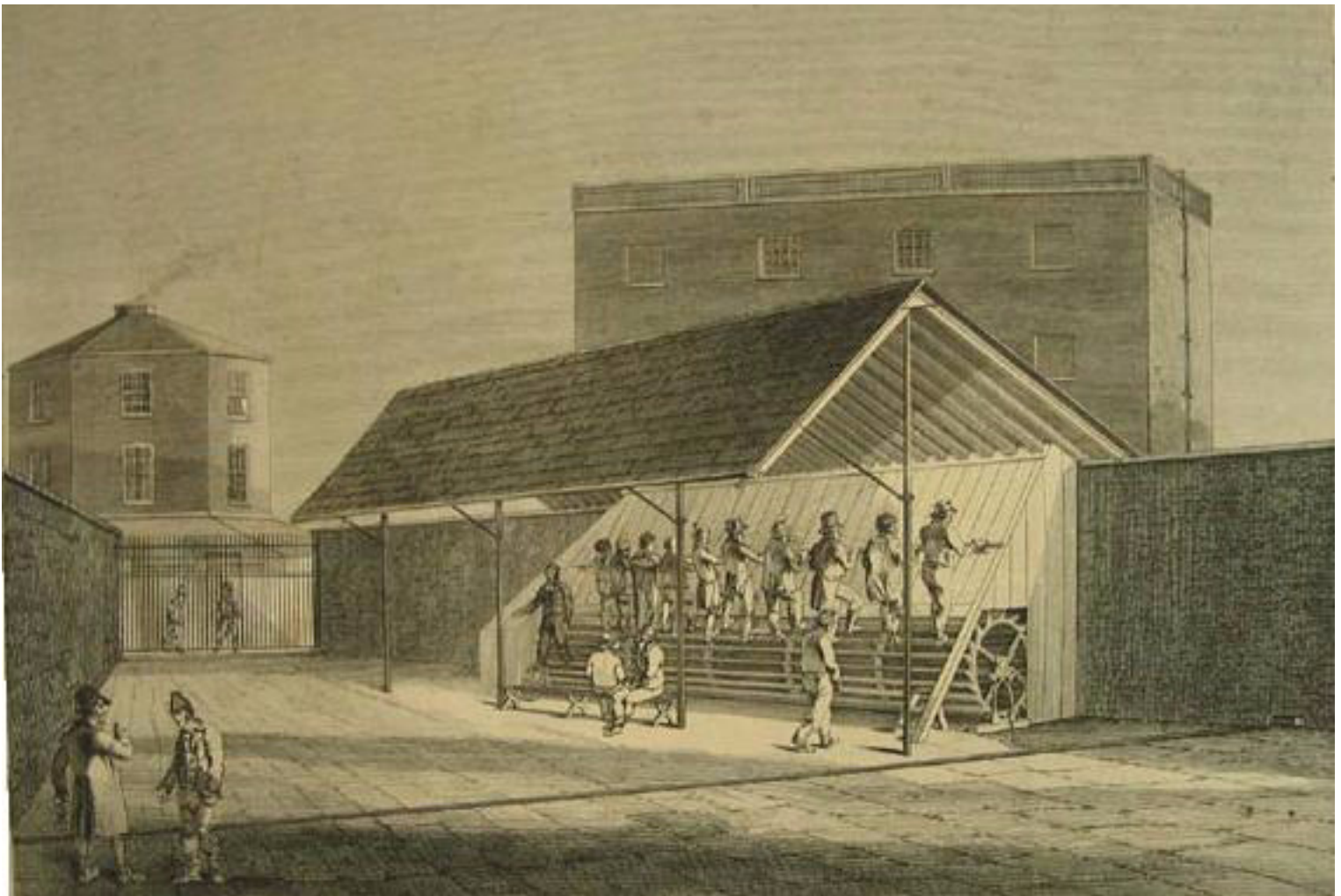


(Obviously, our Bill of Rights was arriving, in this former colony that had been the very last to ratify the

Constitution, not one instant too soon. :-)



Water power would replace at least for the most part the brute labor that had been being provided by animal and human treadmills:



(The treadmill illustrated above was one in use for punishment at the Brixton House of Correction in 1821. Prisoners walked the treadmill for ten minutes and then had a five minute breather. Talking was forbidden. Although the treadmill at Coldbath Fields prison drove a flour-mill, in other prisons the power produced was not utilized. Of course, in factories the treadmill was not for punishment and the power was always utilized.)

Mr. Samuel Slater was able to get his hands on eight children between the ages of 7 and 12 as his first work crew in his factory at Slater Mills, to tend his water-powered carding and spinning machines — machines which were utterly lacking in any safety guards over their power belts and pulleys. Clearly, the only families which would put their children to this sort of dangerous labor were families which were desperate to get food on their table and shelter over their heads. Get this, such children might otherwise be destitute and victimizable! Slater made no agreements that these children, who should have been in school, would be trained as apprentices in any craft: they were not indentured to learn a lifetime skill, but were to be mere low-wage machine fodder without a future, in his dark Satanic mill. You can visit this mill today. It's right off the freeway but now it is deceptively lovely and lonely and silent there. There is nothing whatever about the place which might cause child abuse to spring to one's mind.

Get ready, here comes the unholy alliance of “the lords of the lash and the lords of the loom”!
By 1810 the United States would boast 87 such cotton mills, able to provide employment for 4,000 workers, some 3,500 of whom would be women and children who might otherwise be destitute and victimizable.³

We owe so much to technology and the profit motive! (Don't let Adam Smith's invisible hand slap you in the face. :-)

White imitation slaves are infinitely superior to black real ones, because there's never any agitation to emancipate the imitation white ones — if they get old or sick or get caught in the machinery and injure themselves, you can just tell them to get lost!

By 1796 there would be three forges, a tanning mill, three snuff mills, an oil mill, a clothiers works, three fulling mills and two nail mills, at this falls on the Pawtucket River, all being run by water power rather than muscle power. Human workers were being allowed to use their brains rather than their brawn — isn't that superior?

March: The Providence Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade brought its first legal case. The Rhode Island owners of the brigantine *Hope* would be fined £200 for continuing to participate in the international slave trade after such participation had been outlawed by the General Assembly.

April: The Reverend James Manning, who had requested to be relieved of his duties as pastor of the Baptist Church of Providence, Rhode Island, preached a farewell sermon.



May 27: In Providence, Rhode Island, at 3PM, David Cumstock the young murderer was hanged, to all appearances unrepentant, before a crowd estimated at 10,000. The Reverend Snow prayed at the gallows.

3. As Friend Moses Brown, Rhode Island's premiere industrialist, had pointed out,

“As the manufactory of the mill yarn is done by children from 8 to 14 years old it is a near total saving of labor to the country.”

July 24, Sunday morning: While offering the prayers this morning at the family home in Providence, Rhode Island, the Reverend James Manning became stricken with apoplexy.

July 29: The Reverend James Manning died in Providence, Rhode Island.

November 12: Moses Brown and Oziel Wilkinson registered their deed to an irregular plot of seven acres,



bearing two dwelling houses, a barn, and a corncrib, with water rights (this is the essential phrase: “with water rights”), on the bank of the Blackstone River next to the steepest waterfall there, where Samuel Slater’s mill was to be constructed.



Although now this land is part of the town of Pawtucket (the town’s name meaning “waterfall”), the two capitalists registered their deed as then part of North Providence. The price paid had been “\$350 Spanish mill dollars” and Brown owned three shares in the property to Wilkinson’s one share.



1792

At Providence, Rhode Island the Congdon and Carpenter iron works was established.

February 15: On September 14, 1796, some four and a half years after the fact, Isaiah Burr of Warren and Newport, Rhode Island appeared before the Town Clerk of Providence to certify that, in consideration of a payment of sixty spanish milled Dollars received, he had on February 15, 1792 sold a piece of the property of his deceased father, to wit a black boy named Jack, to Bacchus Overing to have and to hold for and during the natural Life of Said Jack. This transaction was duly recorded on page 144 in Volume 25 of the town records:

*Know-all Men by these presents that I Isaiah Burr
of Warren in the State of Rhode Island Inkeeper [sic] for and in
Consideration of the Sum of sixty spanish milled Dollars the
Receipt whereof I hereby acknowledge have bargained granted &
sold and by these Presents do grant, bargain and sell unto
Bacchus Overing all my Right, Title and Interest in and to a
black Boy named Jack the Property of my Father deceased, and all the
Right, Title and Interest of all and any other Person claiming under
my aforesaid Father to have and to hold the said Boy Jack as the pro-
perty of the said Bacchus and his Executors and assigns for and du-
ring the natural Life of the Said Jack, and I do hereby further covenant
and agree to and with the said Bacchus his Executors and assigns
that I will warrant and defend him in possession of the said Boy
Jack and I hereby bind my Executors and Heirs by these presents
against the Claims or Demands of any Person whatever.
Given under my Hand and Seal this fifteenth Day of February
1792.
Sealed and delivered in the presence of
Rob^t T. Tuckmuty } Isaiah Burr.
Newport Rhode Island Feb^r 15th 1792.
Received [sic] of the within named Bacchus Over-
ing the Sum of sixty Dollars being the Consid-
eration within named. } Isaiah Burr.
Rob^t T. Tuckmuty.
Recorded September 14th AD 1796.
Witness Jer. Tillinghast Town Clerk*

We note several interesting elements in this record. First, would the delay of some four and a half years have been the period of time during which Bacchus Overing was coming up with the sixty spanish milled Dollars? (I cannot think of any other explanation, offhand.) And we immediately note the utterly strange fact, that within the body of the note the family name of Bacchus Overing was omitted — does this utterly strange fact signal to us that the purchaser Bacchus was himself a man of color? (I cannot think of any other explanation.) Now putting two and two together, —could it be that this Bacchus Overing was the father of this “black Boy named Jack the Property of my Father deceased”, —that he was purchasing his own son, to set his son free?

March 19 to 24: In Providence, Rhode Island, the Reverend John Pitman was noticing that his “old negro Dinah” was infested with lice. Finally he “determined to send her away.”

1793

In this the year of his death, publication in Providence, Rhode Island of Friend Job Scott's tract ON SALVATION BY CHRIST. (You can inspect this at <<http://www.qhpress.org/texts/jobscott/>>. Born in 1751, he had urged a less worldly, more inward or mystical/spiritual practice of the Quaker faith, but his disparagement of militant materialism had grown so strident that he had fallen afoul of conservative and wealthy Friends in Philadelphia. His children would become Swedenborgians and, when one of them married a Quaker, that person would be disowned.)

In Providence, Rhode Island, the Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, which had in its lawsuits experienced a little legal success and a few legal setbacks, lapsed into inactivity (until 1821, when its President, David Howell, would bring it back to life).

June: Friend Elias Hicks of Long Island visited the monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends on Nantucket Island.⁴

This was part of Friend Elias's 14th ministry journey. That summer he was traveling with the young James Mott, Jr., future bridegroom of the newborn Lucretia Coffin.



On this long journey, he had gone from the Jericho meetinghouse on *Paumanok* Long Island (still extant, pictured above) across the sound to Port Chester meeting, up the Connecticut shore to Stamford meeting, on up the shore to Stonington meeting, into Rhode Island to the Westerly meeting, up to the meetings in and around Providence and Taunton, back down and round through the Newport meeting and the New Bedford MA meeting to the Falmouth meeting, and at this point out to the meeting on Nantucket Island. He would continue back up across Cape Cod to the Sandwich meeting and on up along the South Shore to the Scituate meeting, and on to the Boston area and the Salem meeting, and north to the Newburyport MA and Hampton and Dover NH meetings, and on to the Portland ME meeting, and beyond that crossing the "great river Kennebeck" twice and reaching to the Fairfield and Winthrop meetings, and then the Pittsfield NH meeting, and then back down into Massachusetts and to Boston, visiting again some meetings already preached at and attending New England Yearly Meeting, and then striking west presumably through Concord, over to the

4. Other famous-name visitors to Nantucket Island: John Easton, former Rhode Island deputy governor, Metacom, sachem of the Wampanoag, Frederick Douglass, and Henry Thoreau.

North Adams meeting in the north-west corner of Massachusetts, and up through Vermont to the Sharon, Hanover, and Vergennes meetings, and up across Lake Champlain to the Grand Isle meeting, and then back down through Vergennes again to the meetings in Saratoga and Albany and Hudson NY, and then back home to Jericho by way of the Brooklyn meeting of New-York. Total mileage they would put on their horses during this traveling season: 2,283 miles. During this absence his child Sarah would be born, and the two traveling ministers by November had spoken at about 123 meetings.

It was at some point during this year that Friend Elias's young orphaned relative, Edward Hicks who had been taken into the Quaker household of David and Elizabeth Lewis Twining, having reached the age of 13, was being put out as an apprentice to the Tomlinson brothers, coachmakers in Attleborough.

1795

An African Freedmen's Society was formed in Providence, Rhode Island, that until the civil war would be serving as a destination point for those escaping from slavery on the Underground Railroad through Philadelphia, New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut, into Rhode Island — a center around which they might re-order their lives. A former slave, Ichabod Northrup, who had fought in the Revolutionary War, was among the founders of this association. (At first the Bethel group would meet in the homes of members and in the Quaker meeting house at the corner of North Main Street and Meeting Street. Such churches were disapproved of by the white community, but as one meeting place would be removed by the authorities, it would be replaced by another, and sometimes two or three. Eventually the congregation would be able to obtain its own building — the lot would be purchased in 1820 and a building would be constructed on it in 1866. In 1961 the building would have become so shaky that the congregation would sell the plot to Brown University in order to purchase their current Bethel Church at 30 Rochambeau Avenue and Hope Street.)

August: John Brown of Providence conspired with Captain Peleg Wood of Newport to inject another Rhode Island negrero vessel into the international slave trade.

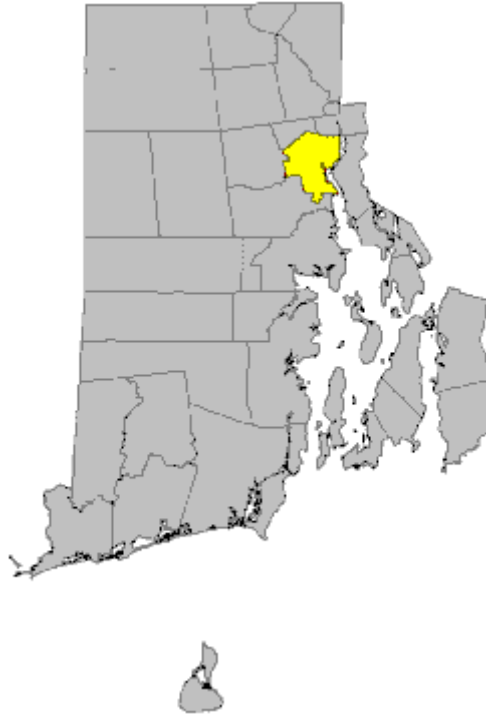


November: In August John Brown had conspired with Captain Peleg Wood to inject another negrero vessel into the international slave trade. This had turned out to be the *Hope*, an old square-rigger, fitted out in Providence. The ship's mission was to load a cargo of human beings along the Slave Coast and dispose of them for a large profit in the barracoons of Havana, Cuba, and not in secret — thus testing the Rhode Island law that had recently rendered this sort of activity very illegal.

1796

Joel Metcalf, a tanner and currier of Providence, Rhode Island, purchased a pew in the local Congregational Church. His deed to this pew is preserved at the Rhode Island Historical Society in Providence, along with his business's account books.

In Providence, John Brown took Thomas Poynton Ives as a partner. The firm of Brown and Ives would become world famous. One of their ventures would be the very successful trading ship *Ann and Hope* (named for their wives).

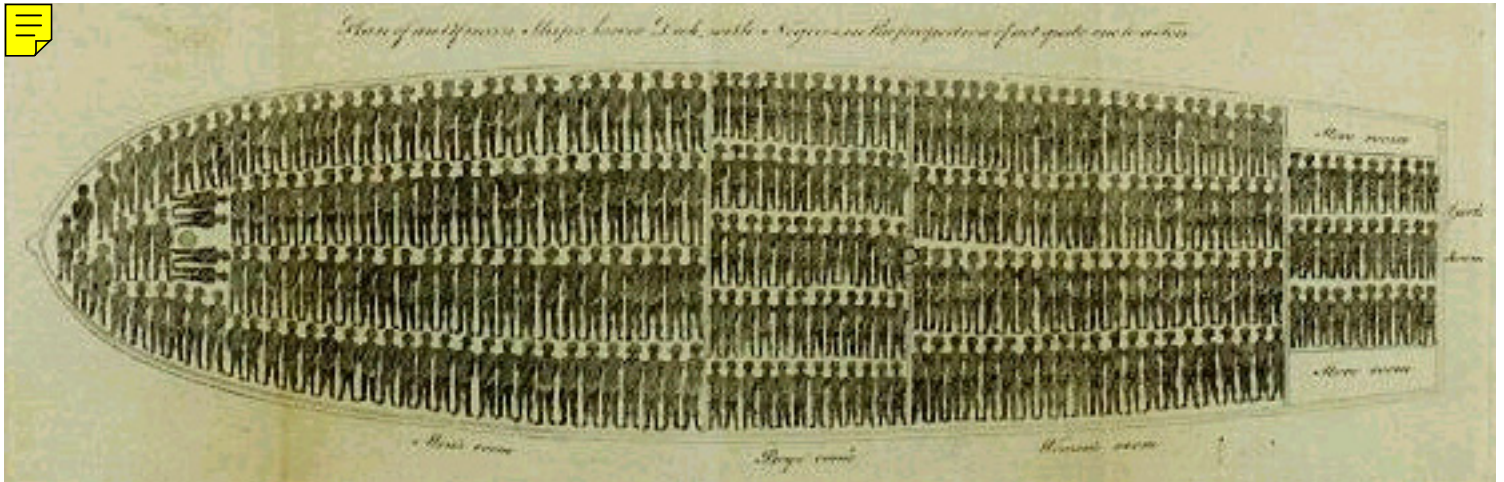


1797

October 5: The Baptist businessman John Brown of Providence became on this day the 1st American to go on trial in a federal district court under the first section of the US Slave Trade Act of 1794, for sending out his old ship *Hope* in the African slave trade. Brown had fitted out his ship *Hope* for the African slave trade and a year earlier this ship had brought a cargo of 229 slaves to Havana, Cuba.



Accusers included Brown's younger brother Friend Moses Brown, who had become a tireless opponent of both slavery and the slave trade since his conversion from the family's Baptist faith to the Religious Society of Friends. A founding member and officer of the Abolition Society chartered in 1789, Moses Brown had been fighting his state's slave traders, including his own brother, during the decade that had elapsed since the passage in 1787 of a largely ineffective state statute that had prohibited the trade to residents of Rhode Island.



The penalty, if the case was lost, would be comparatively mild: no jail time, merely the confiscation of the vessel in question, since any more substantial penalty would necessitate a jury trial and it was obvious to all that no local jury would ever convict this prominent community figure. In fact no American slave trader would meet with the death penalty for engaging in the international slave trade until the first year of our civil war, and even then, only exactly one-count-'em-one such American slave trader would actually be hanged by the neck until dead. (Isn't history interesting?)

December 21: John Clark of Providence, Rhode Island recorded that "This month has been ... exceeding cold, the thermometer in our dining room with a good fire being about 48 F."

1798

At the age of 12, Mrs. Betsey Metcalf Baker would later allege, in her family home on Benefit Street in the East Side of Providence, Rhode Island, under the encouragement of an aunt, she fashioned her 1st bonnet out of split oat straw, shaping it along the lines of an expensive imported bonnet which she had seen in a local store. She used a seven-strand braid, bleached, and lined the hat with pink silk. Later she would be teaching this craft, which she termed a God-given gift, to neighbor women, and thus helping to establish a rural New England economy termed the “straw town.”

Here is an American straw bonnet dating to about the year 1800:



The primary source of such bonnets had been the Italian peninsula (headcoverings from the Livorno area were termed “Leghorns”) — but the British blockade of Napoleonic Europe had made such commerce difficult and the President of the United States of America had been encouraging American artisans to remedy this problem.

Here is a typical “Leghorn” bonnet:



From this year into 1800, the US would be engaged in an undeclared naval war with France. This contest would include land actions, such as that of the city of Puerto Plata in the Dominican Republic, at which our marines would capture a French privateer under the guns of the harbor’s forts.

According to Frederick C. Leiner’s *MILLIONS FOR DEFENSE: THE SUBSCRIPTION WARSHIPS OF 1798* (Annapolis MD: Naval Institute Press, 1999), as the summer approached, the USA seemed on the verge of open war with France.⁵ “Egged on” by the exposure of the XYZ Affair as well as by “galling seizures of merchant ships,” the merchants and shipmasters of Newburyport began to discuss among themselves “what action they could take to help the country,” and began to solicit funds among themselves to construct, for the use of the United States Navy, a 20-gun warship to be named the *Merrimack*, for which their Moses Brown (that is, not the Quaker Moses Brown) would serve as captain. Before this frenzy was over, ten port towns up and down the coast would have not only pledged funds but also begun the construction of such warships. The idea was to hunt down the French privateers and to convoy with American merchant vessels both along the Atlantic coast and in Caribbean waters. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania would have begun the *Philadelphia*, a 44-gun ship for which Stephen Decatur was to be the captain (note, this is not at all the same ship as that monstrous boondoggle, the first USS *Pennsylvania* launched in 1836), Baltimore, Maryland would have begun the *Maryland* and the *Patapsco*, 18-gun ships for which John Rogers and Henry Geddes were to be the captains, Boston, Massachusetts would have begun the *Boston*, a 24-gun ship for which George Little was to be the captain, Norfolk, Virginia would have begun the *Richmond*, a 16-gun ship for which Samuel Barron was to be the captain, New-York, New York would have begun the *New York*, a 36-gun ship for which Richard V. Morris was to be the captain, Salem, Massachusetts (?) would have begun the *Essex*, a 32-gun ship for which Edward Preble was to be the captain, and Charleston, South Carolina would have begun the *John Adams*, a 20-gun ship for which George Cross was to be the captain. The federal Senate would initiate a bill to purchase such gunships from the subscribers using 6% certificates of obligation, and that bill would be signed into law by the end of June before even the first keel had been laid. In addition to these eight subscription ships, the *George Washington*, an 24-gun ship commanded by Patrick Fletcher that was already five years old, would be sold to the US Navy by John Brown of Providence, Rhode Island in exchange for some of these 6% certificates.

5. Alexander DeConde, *THE QUASI-WAR: THE POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY OF THE UNDECLARED WAR WITH FRANCE 1797-1801* (NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1966)

1799

January 5: The Providence Insurance Company was chartered.

May 3: On page 4 of Volume 27 of the records of deeds and mortgages for the city of Providence, Rhode Island, the heirs of Joseph Brown (to wit Obadiah, Elizabeth, and Mary Brown and Richard and Eliza Ward) prepared a Power of Attorney for Obadiah as their Lawful Attorney to show the Town Council, in order to obtain its consent for their liberating, manumitting, and feting Free a 24-year-old black Woman named Phillis, ownership of whom they had recently inherited from their father:

[flourish] *Manumission*

{{stamp}} *Heirs of Joseph Brown Deed to Phillis Brown. -*
Know all people by these presents, that W^e Elizabeth
Brown, widow of Joseph Brown late of Providence in the
State of Rhode Island &c. merchant deceased and Mary
Brown, Richard Ward & Eliza Ward, who together with
Obadiah Brown are the only surviving Heirs at Law to
the Estate of the said Joseph Brown, do authorize, constitute
and appoint the said Obadiah Brown our Lawful Attorney
for the purpose of appearing before the Honorable the Town
Council of said Providence and there according to Law to lib=
=erate, manumit and set free a Certain black Woman named
Phillis, late the servant of the said Joseph Brown and now
the servant of the said widow and Heirs; as fully + completely
as we could do ourselves if Presents. [sic]

[flourish] *And we do engage to hold firm + Valid whatsoever*
may be done by our said Attorney by Virtue hereof.

In Witness to these presents, we have hereunto set
our Hands and seals at said Providence, this third Day of
May, a D. One Thousand Seven Hundred + ninety nine.

Signed, Sealed and delivered } Elizabeth Brown ((L.S.))
in the presence of us } Mary Brown ((L.S.))
Geo. Tillinghast } Richard Ward ((L.S.))
Isaac Greenwood } Eliza Ward ((L.S.))

Providence Ye. In Providence, May 3^d a D. 1799.
Personally appeared Elizabeth Brown, Mary Brown, Richard
Ward + Eliza Ward subscribers to the foregoing Instrument
and acknowledged the same to be their free Act and Deed
with their hands + Seals annexed. Before me, Geo. Tillinghast, Jus. Peace

[flourish] *Whereas Obadiah Brown Esquire appeared before*
this Council and produced with him Phillis, servant of the
Heirs of Joseph Brown deceased for the purpose of having her
made free; the Council on due inquiry, do adjudge that
the said Phillis is under thirty years of Age, to wit, of the
Age of twenty four years, and that she is of sound Body
and Mind, and the Council do consent, that the said
Phillis be manumitted and made free.

Done at a Town Council holden [sic] at Providence
on the Sixth Day of May a D. 1799.

[flourish] *Witness, Geo. Tillinghast T. Clk.*

May 6: On page 5 of Volume 27 of the records of deeds and mortgages for the city of Providence, Rhode Island, Obadiah Brown, acting on his own behalf and on behalf of the other heirs of Joseph Brown (to wit Elizabeth and Mary Brown and Richard and Eliza Ward), and having in his hand a written Letter of Attorney, did Liberate, manumit, and fet Free a fervant Black Woman named Phillis Brown — in the fullest and completest manner that the fame may or can be done:

[flourish] *Know all Men by these Presents, that I the within mentioned Obadiah Brown for myself and also in the behalf of the within named Elizabeth Brown, Mary Brown, Richard Ward and Eliza Ward, by virtue of the within written Letter of Attorney do Liberate, manumit, and fet Free the within mentioned fervant Black Woman named Phillis, in the fullest and completest manner, that the fame may or can be done. In Witnes whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal at said Providence this Sixth day of May. aD. One Thousand Seven hundred and ninety nine.*

Signed, Sealed and delivered in presence of us } *Obadiah Brown* ((L.S.))
Geo. Tillinghast }
Jos. Balch.

Providence Yc. Providence, May 6th 1799. Personally appeared Obadiah Brown Esq^r. and Acknowledged the above Instrument by him subscribed, to be his free voluntary Act and Deed, Before me, Geo. Tillinghast, Jus. Peace
Recorded May 7th aD 1799 }
Witnes Geo. Tillinghast Town Clerk

1800

The Rhode Island General Assembly mandated that each town in the state establish a public school system. Noncompliance with this directive would be massive — but to give a little credit where a little credit is due, in this year Providence itself did begin public elementary schools. (This tiny state, with income taxes higher than those of any other state in the nation —even “Taxachusetts”!— has during the 20th and so far into the 21st Centuries become renowned for the inadequacy of the educational opportunity it provides its local children.)

January : In Providence, Rhode Island, the Washington Insurance Company was founded.

1801

January 21: At 10AM in Providence, Rhode Island, a fire in John Corlis’s store spread and destroyed “about 16 Houses 10 Stores & 11 Barns & outhouses.”

December 10: On this day, in the Quaker meetinghouse of Nantucket on Nantucket Island, Massachusetts, Friend Nathan Comstock (birthright Quaker son of Friend Samuel Comstock of Gloucester, the south side of Burrillville, Rhode Island north of Providence, and Friend Lucy his wife), and Friend Elizabeth Emmett (birthright Quaker daughter of Friend Edward Tillet Emmett of Nantucket and Friend Elizabeth Emmett his widow), “having declared their Intentions of taking each other in Marriage, before several Monthly Meetings of the people called Quakers in Nantucket, ... appeared at a public Afsembly of the aforesaid people and others, in their Meeting-house in Nantucket aforesaid, and he the said Nathan Comstock, taking the said Elizabeth Emmett by the hand, did openly declare as forthwith: Friends, I take this my friend Elizabeth Emmett to be my Wife, promising through divine assistance to be unto her a loving and faithful Husband, until it shall please the Lord by death to separate us. And the said Elizabeth Emmett did then and there in like manner declare as followeth: Friends, I take this my friend Nathan Comstock to be my Husband, promising through divine assistance to be unto him a loving and faithful Wife, until it shall please the Lord by death to separate us. — Or words of the like import. — And the said Nathan Comstock and Elizabeth Emmett, as a further confirmation thereof, have hereunto set their hands: She, after the Custom of Marriage, assuming the name of her husband. —

Nathan Comstock
Elizabeth Comstock”

1802

September: Samuel B. Comstock was born on Nantucket Island. His father was Friend Nathan Comstock, who had been born during 1776 in Burrillville near Providence, a birthright Quaker (Smithfield Monthly Meeting in what is now Woonsocket, Rhode Island). The father had gotten married with Friend Elizabeth Emmett, a daughter of Friend Edward T. Emmett who had been born during 1782. He became a teacher in Nantucket Island and also a cashier at the local bank. In 1811, while their firstborn Samuel was about 9, the family would relocate to New-York where for 40 years the father would be doing a business in whaling products in a firm at 191 Front Street. Friend Nathan must have been remarkably successful, since after losing \$75,000 –an extraordinary sum– in the failure of the business of Jacob Barker, he would manage to continue. This firstborn, birthright Friend Samuel, however, after having been a troublesome teenager, would on January 25, 1824, aboard the whaler *Globe*, disgrace himself by making himself the leader of a mutiny and by becoming a murderer. He would wind up being killed by another of the mutineers, with his body thrown into the ocean.

This couple, Friend Nathan and Friend Elizabeth Comstock, would produce seven other children in addition to their weebegone firstling Samuel:

2. William Comstock, born on April 24, 1804 on Nantucket Island, who would get married with Mary M. Davenport. At the age of 14 he would go along with his troublesome brother Samuel on the ill-fated voyage of the *Globe*, would refuse to take part in his older brother’s mutiny, and after return would twice write the story of the mutiny (THE LIFE OF SAMUEL COMSTOCK, THE TERRIBLE WHALEMAN: CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE MUTINY, AND MASSACRE OF THE OFFICERS OF THE SHIP GLOBE, OF NANTUCKET: WITH HIS SUBSEQUENT ADVENTURES, AND HIS BEING SHOT AT THE MULGRAVE ISLANDS... / BY HIS BROTHER, WILLIAM COMSTOCK, published in Boston by James Fisher in 1840, and in addition an unpublished manuscript on the same events). He would produce a son, Augustus Comstock, who would become an author in his own right, and would die on November 20, 1882.
3. George Comstock, probably born in 1808, would also sign aboard the *Globe*, would refuse to take part in his older brother’s mutiny, and would be killed by the natives of the atoll on which they landed.
4. Thomas Comstock, born during 1810, who did not marry and who would die in Brooklyn during 1855.
5. Phebe Comstock, born during 1812, who would die during 1820.

6. Martha Comstock, born during 1814, would marry first with Dr. Josiah Hopper and then with Robert Haviland, the widower of her sister Lucy Comstock, and would die in about 1892.
7. Lucy Comstock, who married Robert B. Haviland of New-York, and would die at the age of 33.
8. Elizabeth Ann Comstock, who married Joseph Comstock, son of a Dr. Comstock of Lebanon, Connecticut. The couple would have no children and she would die in 1860.

Friend Elizabeth Emmett Comstock would die during 1818 after creating the above eight children. Friend Nathan Comstock would remarry with Anne Merritt, a daughter of John Merritt of New-York, and the couple would add the following five children to the previous eight:

9. Nathan Comstock, born during January 1822 in New-York, who would be a lawyer in Brooklyn. He would get married on December 24, 1853 with Charlotte H. Cromwell, a daughter of Oliver Cromwell and Sarah Titus Cromwell. Charlotte had been born on March 31, 1832 in Canterbury, New York and would die on March 6, 1912 in Brooklyn. He would die on January 18, 1897 in New-York.
10. John Merritt Comstock, born in 1824. He would get married with Elsie W. Hoxie, daughter of Joseph Hoxie of New York, and would serve in the US Naval Office and also at the Treasury Department in Washington DC.
11. Louisa Comstock, who got married with Thomas W. Piggot of Manchester, England, would die in about 1891.
12. Mary Comstock, who got married with Dr. J. O'Brien of New-York — the couple would have no children.
13. Sarah Comstock, who got married with Theodore Moelling; in 1894 the couple would be residing in Germantown, Pennsylvania.

1803

In this year or in the following one, the mulatto Robert Voorhis went to work in the packet trade, on ships sailing up and down Long Island Sound between Providence, Rhode Island and New-York.

Friends on Nantucket Island began sending off their children for a guarded education in their faith, at the Quaker school of Friend Elisha Thornton in Providence, Rhode Island. —Except for the ten-or-eleven-year-old who would become Friend Lucretia Mott, for her family in the following year would be relocating from Nantucket Island to Boston:

In 1804 my father's family removed to Boston, and in the public and private schools of that city I mingled with all classes without distinction. My parents were of the Religious Society of Friends, and endeavored to preserve in their children the peculiarities of that sect, as well as to instill its more important principles. My father had a desire to make his daughters useful.

January 19: Sarah Helen Power was born in a Quaker family of Rhode Island. Her father, a well-connected and prosperous merchant (there's a street in the la-de-da district of the East Side of Providence named "Power Street"), would on a trip to the West Indies during the War of 1812 be briefly incarcerated by the British, would declare bankruptcy, and after release from custody, would for one reason or another elect to remain away from his home for a period of nineteen years. During this period, Sarah would be receiving a Quaker education and then the typical education for a white girl of property of the period, amounting to posture and etiquette, with a smattering of French, German, and Italian literature.

April 23: Adin Ballou was born to Ariel and Edilda Ballou on a farm in Cumberland on the border between Rhode Island and Massachusetts, descendant in the fifth generation of one Maturin Ballou who had come to America about 1640 and had involved himself, with the Reverend Roger Williams, in the founding of Providence. Ballou was instructed that his ancestor Maturin had been the descendant of a French family of Huguenots that had been driven into exile in England by religious persecution.⁶

1804

Mary Ann Angell was born in a house on Smith Street in the Fruit Hill neighborhood of Providence, east of Centerdale.⁷

Betsey Metcalf of Providence, Rhode Island was persuaded to relocate to West Dedham (now Westwood), Massachusetts to teach school.

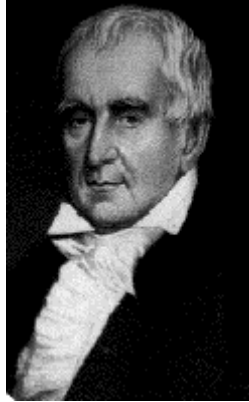
6. Later in life he would be forced to the conclusion that this family tradition was probably inaccurate, but the main thing in such influences is that an impressionable age he believed it and was thereby impressed with a putative tradition of suppression. While the Reverend Adin Ballou was creating his communitarian movement in New England, of Christian non-resistance to evil, and was lecturing on this topic before an audience including Henry Thoreau –an authentic descendant of persecuted Huguenots– in January 1841 at the Concord Lyceum, he was believing himself to be the inheritor of this sort of religious tradition. Those of us who interest ourselves in this sort of thing would be interested to learn whether Ballou recognized John Thoreau, Sr., upon his visit to Concord, to be specifically of Huguenot as well as of French extraction.

7. In 1834 her family would remove to Ohio where she would meet and marry Brigham Young.

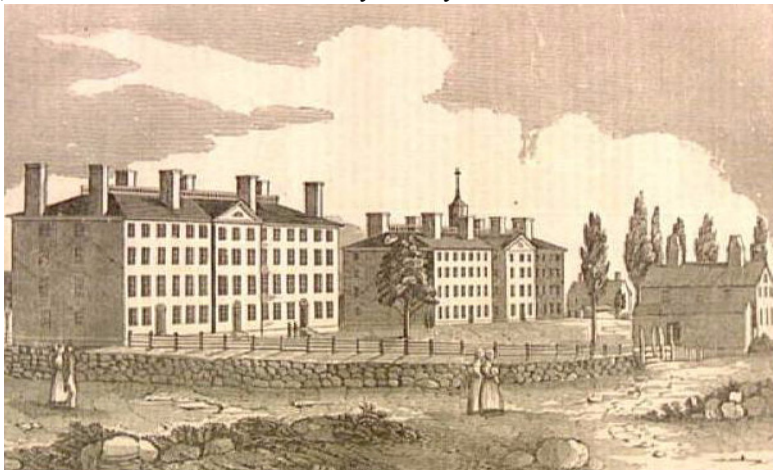
She would become known as “Mother Young” and would be his loyal supporter and aide even after he became a polygamist.



September: The College Corporation in Providence, Rhode Island had been advertising for some time that “any person giving to this Corporation the sum of Six thousand dollars, or good security therefore, before the next annual Commencement, shall have the honour of naming this University” — but there had been not a nibble. It was determined therefore that, since a chair in oratory had recently been endowed in the amount of \$5,000 by alumnus Nicholas Brown, Jr. the Rhode Island College was henceforth to be known as “Brown



University in Providence in the State of Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations.” On the existing printed forms, such as receipts for student room rent, the words “R. Island College” were to be stricken out in pen with a double line, and the words “Brown University” neatly written in above.



There’s a story floating around, that Brown University is called Brown University because the Brown family donated the money to build the first of the dedicated college edifices. That this story is utterly false may be seen from the fact that by the point at which Nicholas Brown, Jr. gave the money to found a chair of oratory, that first dedicated college edifice had already been constructed — and had already been in use for more than a full generation of human life.

I found this on page 6 of a book by David Hinshaw titled *HERBERT HOOVER: AMERICAN QUAKER*, a book that is rather problematically titled since President Herbert Hoover, although his deceased mother had been a registered Quaker minister, was definitely not himself a Quaker — was arguably himself not even a religious man.⁸

A marked Quaker characteristic is an interest in education. This has been made manifest in many ways. Ezra Cornell, the founder of the university that bears his name, was a Quaker. So was Johns Hopkins, and the Brown family of Providence, founders, respectively, of the universities which bear their names.

I don't know whether **anything** in the above snippet from the book by David Hinshaw is accurate,⁹ but for certain sure, no member of the Brown family of Providence, Rhode Island associated with Brown University, which had begun as a Baptist college called Rhode Island College, was ever a Quaker. One of the famous Brown brothers, Moses Brown, did become a convinced Friend, but the benevolent activities of Moses were more associated with the Friends Yearly Meeting School of Portsmouth, later to be renamed Moses Brown School (after his demise), rather than being associated in any way, shape, or manner with this Rhode Island College that was becoming Brown University. The members of the Brown family who (in addition to their general philanthropic activities such as providing basic free transportation for people of color, from the coast of Africa to the ports of the New World) were associating with this Rhode Island College—such as the Nicholas Brown who donated \$5,000 and (surprise!) got the college renamed in his honor as Brown University— were

8. Bert Hoover did read the entire Bible prior to age 10, and would “affirm” rather than “swear” when he took the oath of office as President. He was, however, among other things, a racist who worried about the “Yellow Tide,” as well as being a man who didn't pay his bar bills unless and until he absolutely had to. All politicians knowing how essential it is to posture religiously, a special Friends Meeting House had to be set up in Washington DC for him—a meeting which in fact had no affiliation whatever with any other Quaker group— and as President he did occasionally attend there for a photo opportunity. Hoover was, however, not particularly impressed with the Quaker peace testimony and eventually came to regard the Cold War between the US and the USSR as a religious struggle. In 1950 he would call on the God-fearing nations of the world to unite “against the tide of Red agnosticism ... against the hideous ideas of the police state and human slavery.” He would never subject himself to a clearness committee, and he would never join, even at this Washington meeting which had been set up especially for his photo opportunities, a self-originating group which in fact lacked any affiliation to any other Friends anywhere.

9. Ezra Cornell did in fact in his late adulthood contribute to the endowment of Cornell University, and he had in fact started out as a birthright Quaker, but in his youth he had forsaken the Religious Society of Friends in order to marry with an Episcopalian girl—and it is clear that he never looked back. To say that he “was” a Quaker when he founded Cornell University, therefore, may in the most strict sense not be uttering a falsehood, but this would be to rely upon a Bill-Clintonian escape clause such as “It all depends upon what ‘was’ means.”



It all depends...

from start to finish decidedly non-Quakerly. They were, indeed, regular Baptists, and descendants of the Reverend Chad Brown who came in at the 1st Baptist Church of Providence after the Reverend Roger Williams had decided not to participate, and of his grandson, the Reverend James Brown, also a pastor of that church.¹⁰



Sorry, but this is not Quaker costume.

One of the problems of the historical profession is scholars like this David Hinshaw, who in a search for greater and greater fulsomeness simply make stuff up out of whole cloth, and, because their stuff is magnificently fulsome, of course are able to find publishers, and, because their stuff is magnificently fulsome, are of course able to find readers. (Let's share this around: the publishers who are so greedy that they are willing to publish such crap are also to blame, and the readers who are so gullible that they are able to swallow such crap are also to blame.)

1805

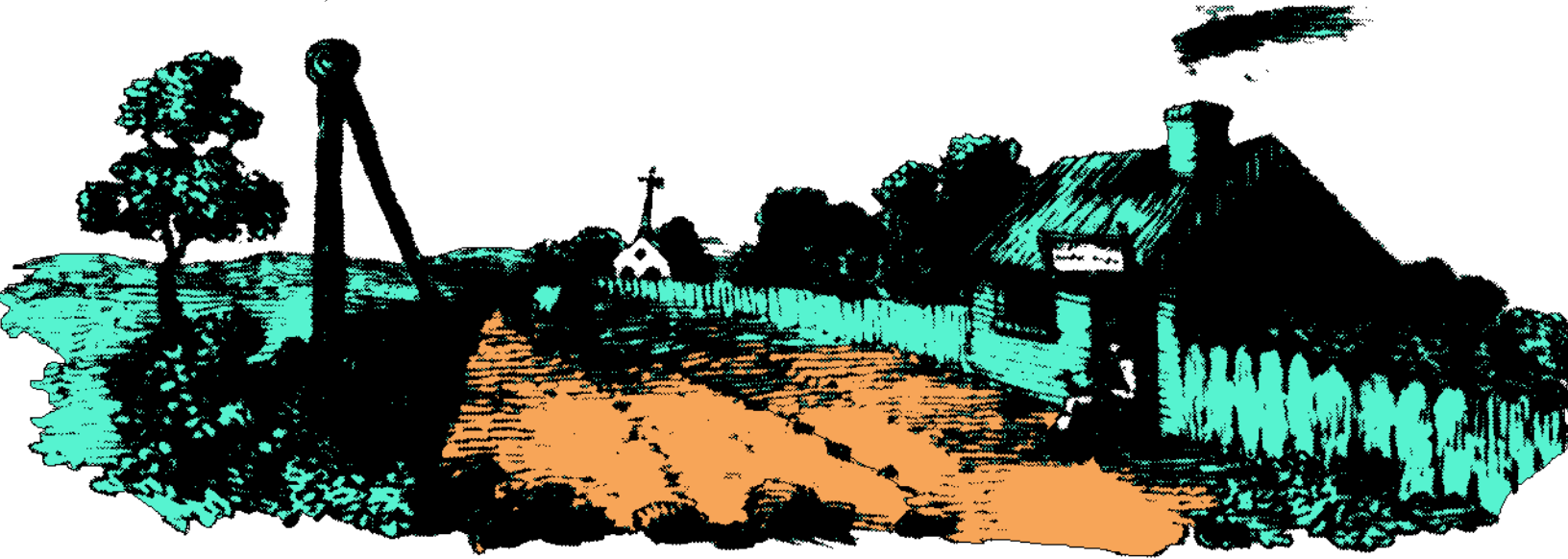
In Rhode Island, Henry Smith was Acting Governor. The Douglas Turnpike, now Route 7, was chartered to run from Providence to Smithfield. Rowland Hazard installed a carding machine at his fulling mill on the Saugatucket River in Peace Dale in South Kingstown (this marked the beginning of the Narragansett Cotton Manufacturing Company). Slatersville was developed by the partnership of Almy and Brown at Buffam's Mills on the Branch River two miles upstream from the Blackstone River. John Slater bought the land from the Buffams for \$6,035 and then enlarged the mill pond, adding to the mill, store, and worker housing.

November 5: Thomas Wilson Dorr was born in Providence, Rhode Island, the son of a wealthy businessman. He was from a distinguished family, his grandfather having been one of Paul Revere's companions on that famous ride in 1775. (His grandfather's name would be left out of the poetic, patriotic legend as it developed — because nothing much could be made to rhyme with it.)

10. Visiting the Brown Mansion in Providence, I was shown a portrait of Mrs. Brown, attired in what was described as a cashmere shawl, and informed that although her husband was Baptist, she was a Quaker. I have not checked into this allegation, but I can assure you that it was a literal impossibility that in New England during the late 18th Century and the early 19th Century, a Quaker and a Baptist could be a married couple. Marrying outside the group meant immediate disownment. This was not merely a general rule, as I am aware of no single exception to it. Mrs. Brown simply could not have been married to Mr. Brown, and been a Quaker. No matter how wealthy the family, nothing remotely like this was ever tolerated.

1806

The Louisquisset Turnpike was chartered to run from Providence, Rhode Island to Lime Rock (now Route 146A).



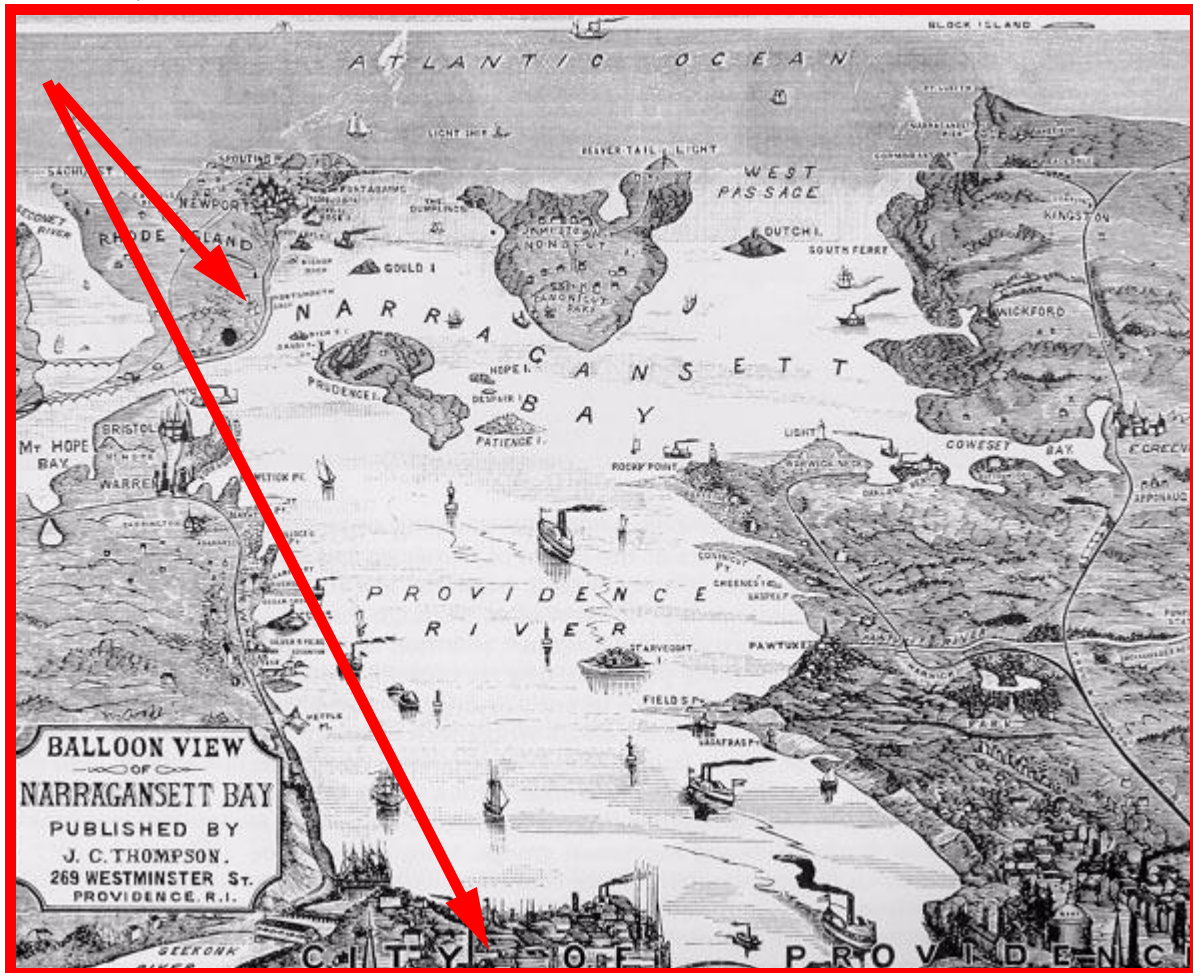
Entrance to Turnpike



A duel was fought near Providence, Rhode Island at a convenient piece of property belonging to Moses Brown.

1808

The Yearly Meeting School that Friend Moses Brown had established in Portsmouth in 1784 had closed its doors in 1788. Friend Moses at this point, however, revived this school board, and after more than another decade of planning, the school would begin anew in 1819, this time atop College Hill in Providence, Rhode Island.)



February 3, Thursday: Friend Moses Brown's family was inoculated against the "kine pox."

In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould was agonizing about his upcoming trip to Providence to attend the Quaker Quarterly Meeting there — the big city being all of 30 miles distant while he never in his 27 years had been farther from his home than to East Greenwich and to Swansea, "the distances of which is only computed 25 miles."

2nd day [Monday] 1 of 2nd M 1808 / Debating in my mind whether to go to Providence to Attend our Qrt Meeting. I want to go but dont see how to leave my buisness — really it seemes as if my way was never more hedged about with incumberances

3rd day 2 of 2 M / Still in suspense about Providence, whenever my mind has been turn'd that way there has been a thick cloud,

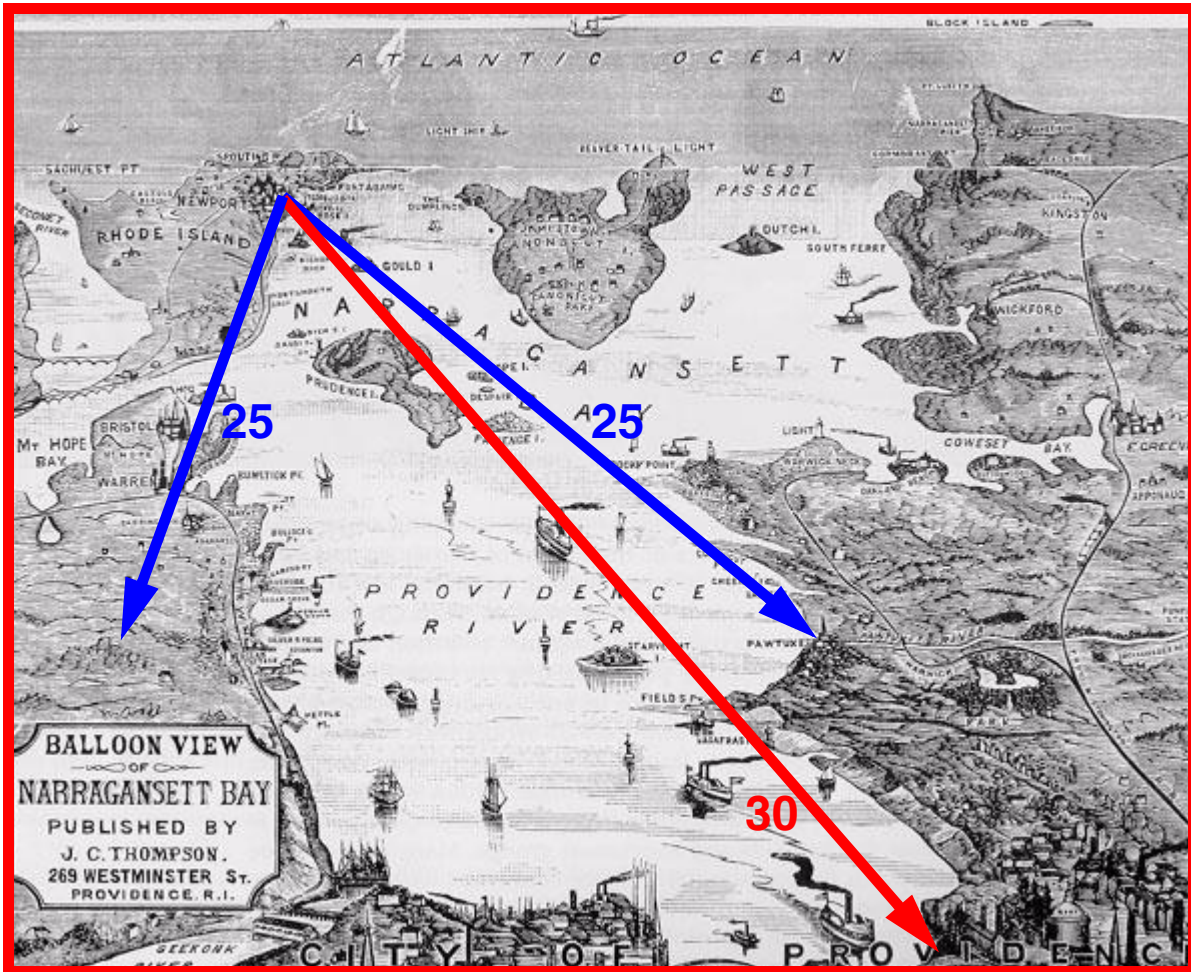
but whether the cloud is owing to the Situation of things there or at home I am hardly able to determine - The prospect however has brightened this evening & I am induced to think if it is a good time in the morning that I shall go -

4th day / This morning a little past 10 OClock went on board the packet in company with J Earle, J Rodman, E Rodman & M Buffum & after a pleasant passage arrived in Providence about sunset & was very affectionatly received by our kind friends O & D[?] Brown. J E, J R & myself lodged there & the young women at Wm Almys. I had the satisfaction of being in company with Richard Jordan, & Rowland Greene, the evening passed pleasantly & instructingly----

5day Before meeting went to Wm Almys where I had the allmost exquisit satisfaction of seeing my endeared friends Micajah Collins & Matthew Purinton - At meeting my mind was quieted in an unusual manner soon after I took my seat, & a very humbling season ensued, being favor'd with the renewal of the day spring from on high, & my soul was bowed with thankfulness to the Lord that I was there, & did not give way to the Mountains of discouragement that presented in view before I left home, which sometimes were so gloomy that I began to think there was no way to escape sudden destruction Soon after the meeting was settled James Greene stood up & expressed a few words to good satisfaction, on the necessity of our individually witnessing the resurrection unto life, then Holden Almy on the great privileges & usefulness of Silent waiting - then Micajah Collins in a very weighty manner addressed & encoraged the young people of our own Society to take up their daily cross & follow Christ, observing that he believed if the "Cross could be dressed up in something pretty to our fanciful imagination it would be much more readily embraced than it is by many" - Then Richard Jordan appear'd in a very edifying testimony endeavoring to stir up our minds to more life & dwelt considerable time on the very watering seasons experienced in the Meetings of our invaluable prediccursors. The life & power was so great that even those that came as disturbers were many times smiten by it, & convinced of the truth, but now it was very often quite the reverse we are but poor dry & barran things our meetings allmost void of the Power of divine life - much more he said which was very cordial to my mind - then James Greene appear'd in a short supplication & the meeting ended - There was but little buisness in the last & it ended about 8 OClock. I took dinner at O Browns & after dinner went to Wm Almys to spend a little time with Micajah Collins & thereat took tea -returned to OBs in the evening & wrote a little to Mary Collins at Salem from whom I receiv'd one in the morning --

6th day / Breakfasted at OB's with whom I lodged again then went to Wm Almys to have a little more time with my dear friend Micajah after setting with him a while he felt his mind drawn to the meeting house, a committee from the meeting for suffering was then sitting to revise our discipline - I walked to the meeting house with him - then took a turn among my brother watchmakers in that place, bought several necessary Articles & went to the Wharf where the Packet lies & found one hoisting sail & J Earle on board, so leaving my friends very abruptly & very unexpectedly stept on board at 20 Minutes past eleven, & arrived in Newport at about 15 minutes past two OClock making the passage a little less than three hours -My first visit at Providence has been exceedingly sweet, being favord with much

agreeable company & a very favor'd time in my mind. I desire to be truly thankful, & believe I am, even bowed in spirit for being again favor'd to experience ny inward strength renewed – This was the first time I was ever at Providence or so far from home, the extent of my journeying being only to East Greenwich & Swansey the distances of which is only computed 25 miles & Providence 30 – When I arrived in town immediately called at C R's & gave them information that – J & E had gone to Patucket & would be at home tomorrow – when I came home found all my little buisness & concerns in as good as order as I left them which is also cause of humble thankfulness, & encoragement I believe my journey was right – Spent the eveng with my precious H & gave her as interesting an account of the meeting & my visit as I was capable of



7th day / Busily at Trade with my mind often turn'd towards my late very favord visit –

August 22, Monday: On page 432 of Volume 30 of the Record of Deeds for Providence, Rhode Island there is a record of the manumission of a certain negro slave boy Robert on this date — a boy who had been promised three years earlier that, should he faithfully serve and obey his master Jabez Bowen, Jr. for those three years, he would then be entitled to his liberty and to be manumitted and forever thereafter to be made free. Robert having well and faithfully served his Providence slavemaster Bowen for the agreed three years, on this day was indeed fully and entirely manumitted and set free, and entirely released from every future claim of personal service or other whatsoever, and declared free. (In the document, the words “and doth hereby” appear twice in sequence, and are lined out in the first occurrence with a double line as shown below.) Although there is no reference in the document itself to any such person as “N. Brown,” we note that in the directory to this volume of deeds and mortgages the perpetrators of this freeing of “Robert, (Negro Boy)” have been indexed at the time as being indeed not only Jabez Bowen Jr. but also N. Brown! —There’s something of a story here, that maybe isn’t going to get told!

Whereas by an Obligation of the sixteenth of August one thousand and eight hundred and five the subscriber on condition a certain negro Boy Robert the slave of the subscriber should faithfully serve and obey the subscriber for three year [sic] from the said period, he the said Robert should be entitled to his liberty and to be manumitted and forever thereafter to be made free. Now the said Robert having well and faithfully served the subscriber for the agreed space of time the said subscriber in fulfilment of said contract on his part doth fully and entirely manumit and set free forever the said Robert, and entirely release him from every future claim of personal service or other whatsoever ~~and doth hereby~~ and doth hereby declare the said Negro Boy Robert free *Witness my hand and seal this 22^d Day of August 1808*

Recorded August 22^d 1808

Jabez Bowen Jun.^r (L.S.)

Witness Nathan W. Jackson

T. Elk



Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

2nd 22nd of 8th M / On waking up this Morning we found ourselves "in our own hired House" as the Apostle says, & not an unpleasant habitation neither [The remainder of this entry has an X over it] we found our breakfast relished well & were by the bounty of our friends & what we were able to provide ourselves, favord with a plenty of Coffee, crackers, & flour & Indian Bread, this was our first Meal & if this be a presage of the succeeding Meals of our lives we may calculate on a pleasant Passage But Alass I dare not calculate on pleasant things, but wish to keep in remembrance the Wormwood & Gall that when its draughts are administered we may not be unacquainted with its effect, of which I fully expect my full share & pray for resolution to Support --

Brother John Dined with us. our repast was a peace of Boiled Bass &c - before we finished we had some roast veal sent from father R's which was acceptable tho' not at this time necessary, that however ought not to lessen the obligation on our part. So we get along from season to season, & time alone can determine the issue

Sister Elizabeth took a dish of tea with us, & dear Aunt Patty & Hannah set in the evening

1809

December 1, Friday: Economic competition being decidedly mean-spirited and un-American, Robert Fulton, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, and Colonel John C. Stevens of Hoboken agreed to a compromise. Fulton and Livingston were to be assigned a steamboat monopoly on all New York State waters, the run to New Brunswick, New Jersey, plus all steam navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers while Colonel Stevens was to be assigned a monopoly on Chesapeake Bay, all steam navigation of the Connecticut, Delaware, Santee, and Savannah Rivers, plus the run along Paumanok Long Island Sound between New-York and Providence, Rhode Island. The division being arranged, they could proceed to soak their customers to the maximum extent feasible.

In Newport, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*6th day [Friday] 1st of 12th Mo [December] 1809// Perhaps I have
a little more Life than yesterday - Sister E spent the eveng
with us & staid all night*

1810

By this point there were over 100 mills along the Blackstone River outside Providence, Rhode Island similar to the cotton mill set up in 1791 by Samuel Slater and Friend Moses Brown.¹¹

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

A stagecoach route from Providence, Rhode Island to Worcester was carrying its passengers the 50-mile distance in no comfort at all in what amounted to a 2-day trip.



In about this year Mrs. Betsey Metcalf Baker of West Dedham (now Westwood), Massachusetts wrote, in the form of a retrospective diary, an account of her life on Providence, Rhode Island's East Side from 1798 to 1804. We do not have this writing, but she would later extrapolate from this writing a memoir of twelve pages, mostly about her education and her experience as a 12-year-old in the braiding of straw bonnets, which we do have now at the New England Historical Society. Here are some extracts:

I was then old enough to write, therefore I was sent to a Men's School, But not having patience enough to be very particular about writing, I was too neglectful and by that means never attained that art.... I do not consider that I understand cyphering, for in my opinion a person might do a thousand sums, and yet be ignorant of the first rules of arithmetic.... I never should have persevered [in the making of straw bonnets] had it not been for her [an aunt living in the home], for my mother and sisters thought I was spending my time in a useless manner, though they did not say much about it.... My sister [her sisters were Katy, born during 1780, Sophia, born during 1784, Lucy, born during 1788, and Ruth, born during 1794] then learned and we had considerable of a manufactory ... for 2 or 3 years it was

very profitable business. I could frequently make 1 dollar per day....¹² ...instead of being dressed in the apparel of their own making, they have purchased the vanities of Europe and have brought dress more in fashion when it was quite enough so before. ... The consequences I fear have been more of an injury than otherwise to the New England states, for girls forsook all other employments such as spinning, weaving and the care of a family, and because they could get more by it continued to persevere, by which means they have neglected a necessary part of a females employment.... Gentlemen say that it is almost impossible to get a girl to do housework in the country, they are so engaged in braiding straw. ... It is very injurious to the health, especially to work very steady. We used to do a great deal of business and was always hurried making bonnets. ... My father (who was one of the town council) was always anxious to have public schools. There was great exertions made by some of the opulent citizens of the town to prevent their being established.... I continued going to school until I was 17.... I then began to see the value in learning and my parents were not willing I should let work take my attention from the studies of the school. ... My father willing to give us the means, bought a right in the town library. I then began to read History and have read a number of good books. Ancient history was particularly pleasing, but they gave me strange ideas of mankind. ... I always went to meeting if I was well enough and was learned to sit still, though I think now I did not pay much attention to the preaching or I should not be so ignorant.... I used to sit with the singers in the [Congregationalist] meeting house, which made me more fond of going to public worship. [She relates how she was recruited as a school teacher in 1804 while visiting cousins in Dedham, Massachusetts:] ...they being in want of a school mistress persuaded me to stay and teach 4 months. I told them at first I would not undertake, as I was unacquainted with the business, but they insisted on my trying and I finally told them I would stay if my parents were willing.... I had about 70 different scholars, though about 40 at a time.

1811

There were 17 cotton-mills in the vicinity of Providence, and 5 more were under construction. There were 8 in nearby Rhode Island towns, and 5 more were under construction.

Brown University established a medical school of sorts in Providence, Rhode Island at which three local physicians –Dr. Solomon Drowne, Dr. William Ingalls, and Dr. William C. Bowen– could offer lectures. (It has been reported by a son of Professor Parsons that his father made certain secret arrangements to obtain the needed “anatomical material” for such studies.)

12. The fastest production of which we know is a person who was able to produce 300 such straw bonnets per year.

1812

In approximately this year Robert Voorhis built a hut on Fox Point,



a peninsula of uninhabited land about a mile south of Providence Bridge in Rhode Island, and would reside there for a number of years, until obnoxious construction work began in that vicinity. What had made this escaped-mulatto-slave-become-seaman resolve to become a hermit? —he said that had sneaked back down south via Baltimore to Georgetown in a fruitless attempt to recover his first wife and their children:

Feeling a strong inclination once more to visit the shores of the south, where I had not only been unjustly deprived of my liberty, but where I was inhumanly forced from my beloved wife and two darling children, I took passage (about fifteen years since) on board a sloop for Baltimore, and from thence proceeded direct to Georgetown. As twenty years had elapsed since I there left all that I held most dear in life — and so great a change had time effected in my personal appearance, I felt little or no apprehension that I should be recognized or molested by any, if living, who once professed a claim to me. In this I was not mistaken, for indeed as regarded the town, inhabitants, &c. so great a change had the twenty years produced, that I walked the streets at mid-day unnoticed and unknown. My old master (Voorhis and his wife had been some years dead, and the survivors of the family had removed to parts unknown— Bevins, the wretch by whom I was unjustly deprived of my liberty, and thereby forever **seperated** from my unfortunate family, had a few years previous emigrated to the west— but, the principle object of my visit was not answered— of my wife and children I could obtain no satisfactory information— all that I could learn, was, that soon

after my disappearance, their sufferings and deprivations became so great, that my poor wife in a fit of **desparation**, as was supposed, put an end to her existence, and that her helpless children did not long survive her!— this was enough! yea more than enough, to fill to the brim the bitter cup of my afflictions!— afflictions which had more less attended me through life!—I then felt but little desire to live, as there was nothing then remaining to attach me to this world— it was at that moment that I formed the determination to retire from it— to become a recluse, and mingle thereafter as little as possible with human society.

At Providence, Rhode Island, Moffitt Mill, a wooden mill powered by a waterwheel (still in part to be seen), was being built on the Great Road along the Moshassuck River. “Hearthside,” residence of the mill’s owner Stephen Smith, was being built nearby, with notable columns and ogive end elevation. During this period the Butterfly Mill was also being built on this Great Road, and the Merino Mill was being built at 61 Ponaganset Avenue on the right bank of the Woonasquatucket River near Glenbridge. (This Merino Mill structure would burn in 1841.)

There were 53 factories within 30 miles of Providence, 33 of them in Rhode Island and 20 in Massachusetts.

1813

Richard Henry Dana, Sr. married Ruth Charlotte Smith of Providence, Rhode Island.¹³

The War of 1812 was an unpopular cause in Rhode Island, which as a nautical state expected to bear the brunt of what was expected to be a largely naval war. A privateer, while being fitted out in Providence, was therefore sunk at its dock during the night, by unknown private citizens. The governor of the state, William Jones, floated trial balloons about the possibility of secession from the new federal union of American states. The state General Assembly appointed a committee to determine whether Rhode Island’s acceptance of the Constitution of the United States of America might be declared to have been in fact invalid, and therefore null.

During this war a prison hulk would be moored in the harbor, and British prisoners of war would be kept there.

13. There would be four children: Richard Henry Dana, Jr., Ruth Charlotte Dana, Edmund “Ned” Trowbridge Dana, and Susan Dana.

1814

May 4: Friend Moses Brown offered 43 acres in Providence, Rhode Island, for a Quaker Yearly Meeting School, to the New England Yearly Meeting for Sufferings.



The land is in the area now referred to as “the East Side,” but at the time was being referred to as “Providence Neck.” The land is along what is now referred to as Olney Avenue, but at the time this road was being referred to as “Neck Road.” (Neck Road ran directly up the hill along what is now Olney Avenue, turned at the top of the hill to follow what is now Morris Avenue, then turned again along what is now Rochambeau and plunged through what is now the entrance to Butler Hospital, to Swan Point and then to the Pawtucket Line. This was the track that one would follow if one wanted for some reason to, say, journey to Boston.)

1815

March: In Providence, Rhode Island, the Providence Insurance Company and the Washington Insurance Company merged to become the Washington Providence Insurance Company.

June 14, Wednesday: Per the journal of Friend Stephen Wanton Gould, the Quakers met to consider the Yearly Meeting boarding school being proposed for Providence, Rhode Island:

4th day / The meeting met at 10 OClock The subject of the Yearly meeting school occupied the most of the sitting a large committee was appointed to digest & further investigate the subject & report to the next sitting The committee on the Epistles wer engaged from half past 2 OC till 5 OC when the meeting met & tho' the epistles were not all digested before of the committee & two of them untouched yet they were all read &

passed the Meeting – there were but five of us that could attend to them Vizt Thos Howland, Abraham Sherman Jr Jas Scott & myself all new & inexpeerenced except Thos. The others of the committtee attend the School committee which met at the same time which deprived us of many experienced helpers The School committee not having fully gone to the subject, it was refer'd another year & they joined to the Meeting for Sufferings further to digest & proceed as far within the time as they may think advisable, & the meeting came to a conclusion tho' not till it was so dark that the Clerk was scarcely able to read.

September 23, Saturday: During the 18th Century there had been some 15 violent storms sweeping across New England, but none of them approached the fury of the hurricane that hit the southern New England coastline at 9AM on this day, known as the “Great September Gale of 1815.” The eye of the hurricane came ashore at Old Lyme in Connecticut and the greatest destruction was done along the path of the storm’s “eastern quarter,” such as in Providence. A large trunk of the public papers of former Rhode Island governor Stephen Hopkins were swept out of the house in which they were stored, and lost. By noon the storm had passed up into the wildernesses of the north and was breaking up, but the high winds had stalled the ebbing of the high tide, and then over these high waters came rushing the additional waters driven by the storm, pushing up Narragansett Bay and concentrating at the docks of Providence. First there had been the fury of the wind and then came the fury of the water:

Wind:

The vessels there were driven from their moorings in the stream and fastenings at the wharves, with terrible impetuosity, toward the great bridge that connected the two parts of the town. The gigantic structure was swept away without giving a moment’s check to the vessel’s progress, and they passed to the head of the basin, not halting until they were high up on the bank....

Water:

Stores, dwelling houses, were seen to reel and totter for a few moments, and then plunge into the deluge. A moment later their fragments were blended with the wrecks of vessels, some of which were on their sides, that passed with great rapidity and irresistible impetuosity on the current to the head of the cove, to join the wrecks already on the land.

Some 500 buildings were destroyed in this city. The Indiaman *Ganges* was forced all the way up Westminster Street to Eddy Street, where its bowsprit pierced the 3rd story of the city's Market House.¹⁴



In Providence, Rhode Island, Friend Moses Brown would be making a detailed tabulation of the various trees that had toppled in his yard. The salt spray was carried from the ocean 40 or 50 miles inland. Apples and other fruit were blown off the trees, the corn was injured, and fences and trees were prostrated. At the time Captain Paul Cuffe's ship was fortunately out of harm's way in New-York and Philadelphia.

In Newport, Stephen Wanton Gould recorded in his journal that:

7th day 23 of 9 M / This forenoon we had the most severe Gale that Newport ever experienced - it commenced before day break to Rain Thunder & lighten, continued to increase gradually till a little before 9 OC when it suddenly increased & the tide rose with surprising velocity such as was never seen before - The wind & tide making such devastation of Vessels houses Stores & even lives as appalled all Skill to save. The destruction of houses was chiefly on the Long Wharf & on the Point - Andrew Allens wife, three children & a girl that lived with them were all in the house when it went off into the cove & they were all drowned - Over the Beach John Irish in attempting to save his boat was drowned - & two men who lived with Godfrey Hazard in trying to save their Sheep were also drowned. - Shocking was the

14. Some 4-foot-long metal tubes jammed into the marshy soil and sediment layers at Succotash Marsh in East Matunuck, Rhode Island (at the west side of the ocean entrance of the Narragansett Bay) by Tom Webb of the Geological Sciences Department of Brown University, have revealed that there has been a series of overwash fans created by storm tidal surges, indicating that seven category-three hurricanes have struck Narragansett lowlands in about the past millennium. The 1st such overwash fan that has been revealed dated to the period 1295-1407CE, the 2nd to the period of roughly the first half of the 15th Century, the 3rd to approximately 1520CE (give or take a few decades), and the 4th to the historic storm of the 14th and 15th of August, 1635. The 5th such overwash fan obviously dates specifically to this historic storm of September 23, 1815.

*Scene I have no powers to describe it, tho' at a more leisure
Moment I intend to attempt a more full description Our cellar
was full of Water, but we lost nothing of consequence. - We were
humbly thankful it was no worse*

Many boats were destroyed at Boston wharves:



I recollect being engaged near my father's saw-mill handling lumber with my brothers [Adin Ballou was 12 years old] when the stock of boards around us, piled up to season, began to be caught away by the rising wind and blown about strangely. We endeavored to pick them up and replace them for a while, but found ourselves borne along and almost lifted from the ground in spite of our utmost exertions. We were soon in danger of limb and life from the flying rubbish and lumber, and betook ourselves to a place of safety at the substantial farmhouse, which was built heavily and strong enough to resist the stoutest storm. The wind increasing, buildings began to be unroofed, smaller structures were moved out of place or completely demolished, apple and forest trees were upturned by the roots, and even the stoutest dwellings creaked and trembled before the mighty gusts that seemed to threaten destruction to everything that happened to be in their way.

The tempest, which began about 7 o'clock in the morning, reached its height at noon, when it was little else than a hurricane. Multitudes of people were filled with terror and consternation. I confess that I was, and hastening to my chamber, obtained what relief and composure I could from the unseen world by earnest supplication. I gained something of trust and calmness, but hardly enough to overcome all my fearful apprehensions, for there seemed to be no place of refuge from impending danger and my faith was not of the surest type.

When the storm subsided, the inhabitants of southern New England looked with amazement on the devastations it had caused. Inland the noblest timber lots were covered with prostrate trees and upturned earth, the finest orchards were laid waste, rail-fences, wood, and lumber were scattered far and wide, roads were rendered impassable by accumulated debris, and incalculable damage had been done to buildings on every hand, many of the lighter ones being wholly destroyed. In seaport towns and along the shore, still greater havoc, if possible had been wrought. The ocean rolled in upon the coast its mountainous waves, which, in thickly settled localities, inundated the wharves, streets, and exposed places of business, filled the cellars and lower stories of dwellings and warehouses near the water line, causing the occupants to flee for their lives, and destroying immense amounts of property that chanced to be within reach. The wind drove before it all sorts of sea-craft, even the largest vessels, sinking some, wrecking others, and landing many high on the beach, far away from tide-water. The remains of sloops and schooners, gradually dismantled and abandoned, appeared on the sand banks and along the coast for years, victims of the Storm-King's insatiate power. Such was the "great gale" of 1815, the like whereof has never been seen by New Englanders since the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock.

Many of the trees on the Boston Common were blown down.

When, in *A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS*, Henry Thoreau would argue for the liberty to travel unnecessarily on the Sabbath, he was arguing against one of the pet projects of the very most prominent citizen of his town, Squire Samuel Hoar. For a story had it that when the great hurricane of 1815 had devastated the woodlands around Concord, one old farmer exclaimed:

I wish the wind'd come on Sunday! -Sam Hoar would've stopped it.

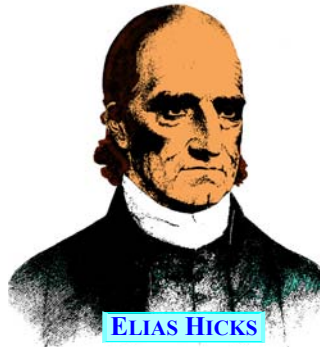
A WEEK: History has remembered thee; especially that meek and humble petition of thy old planters, like the wailing of the Lord's own people, "To the gentlemen, the selectmen" of Concord, praying to be erected into a separate parish. We can hardly credit that so plaintive a psalm resounded but little more than a century ago along these Babylonish waters. "In the extreme difficult seasons of heat and cold," said they, "we were ready to say of the Sabbath, Behold what a weariness is it." – "Gentlemen, if our seeking to draw off proceed from any disaffection to our present Reverend Pastor, or the Christian Society with whom we have taken such sweet counsel together, and walked unto the house of God in company, then hear us not this day, but we greatly desire, if God please, to be eased of our burden on the Sabbath, the travel and fatigue thereof, that the word of God may be nigh to us, near to our houses and in our hearts, that we and our little ones may serve the Lord. We hope that God, who stirred up the spirit of Cyrus to set forward temple work, has stirred us up to ask, and will stir you up to grant, the prayer of our petition; so shall your humble petitioners ever pray, as in duty bound –" And so the temple work went forward here to a happy conclusion. Yonder in Carlisle the building of the temple was many wearisome years delayed, not that there was wanting of Shittim wood, or the gold of Ophir, but a site therefor convenient to all the worshippers; whether on "Buttrick's Plain," or rather on "Poplar Hill."

Many of the local historians of Concord, and many Thoreauvian scholars, have made this sort of connection. It is the sort of connection in which they deal, between one prominent citizen of Concord MA with prominent attitudes and another prominent citizen of Concord MA with prominent attitudes. It is, I might say, an easy association. But how many such historians and scholars know that when Thoreau would grow up in Concord in the following generation, and would take such attitudes, he was seconding the attitudes of the great Quaker preacher, Elias Hicks? For Hicks had pronounced in opposition to the so-called Blue Laws, laws which for instance entitled the Quakers of Philadelphia to stretch chains across the public street during their First Day silent worship in order to prevent the noise of the passage of carriages. For Hicks, First Day was just another day, of no greater or lesser holiness than any other weekday. He would come in from the fields, change his clothing, put on his gloves, and go off to Meeting for Worship on First Day just as he would come in from the

fields, change his clothing, put on his gloves, and go off to Meeting for Worship on Fourth Day (Wednesday). But this was not merely a matter of preference for Friend Elias, any more than it was a matter of preference for Squire Hoar: it was a principle. Blue laws were laws, and laws were enacted by governments, and therefore such laws were infringements upon religion, sponsored by the state apparatus which should be allowed have no connection whatever with religion. In this direction lay a great danger, sponsored by the Squires of this world who would like nothing better than to be able to legislate the religious convictions of other people. Thus, when the Governor of New York issued a Thanksgiving Proclamation, Friend Elias was greatly alarmed, that he

*"has
by recommending a religious act
united the civil and ecclesiastical authorities,
and broken the line of partition between them,
so wisely established
by our enlightened Constitution,
which in the most positive terms
forbids
any alliance between church and state,
and is the only barrier
for the support of our liberty and independence.*

*For if that is broken down
all is lost
and we become the vassals of priestcraft,
and designing men,
who are reaching after power
by subtle contrivance
to domineer over the consciences
of their fellow citizens."*



The terminology and the cadence was not Thoreauvian, but Thoreau's attitudes as proclaimed in A WEEK would be identical with this.

1816

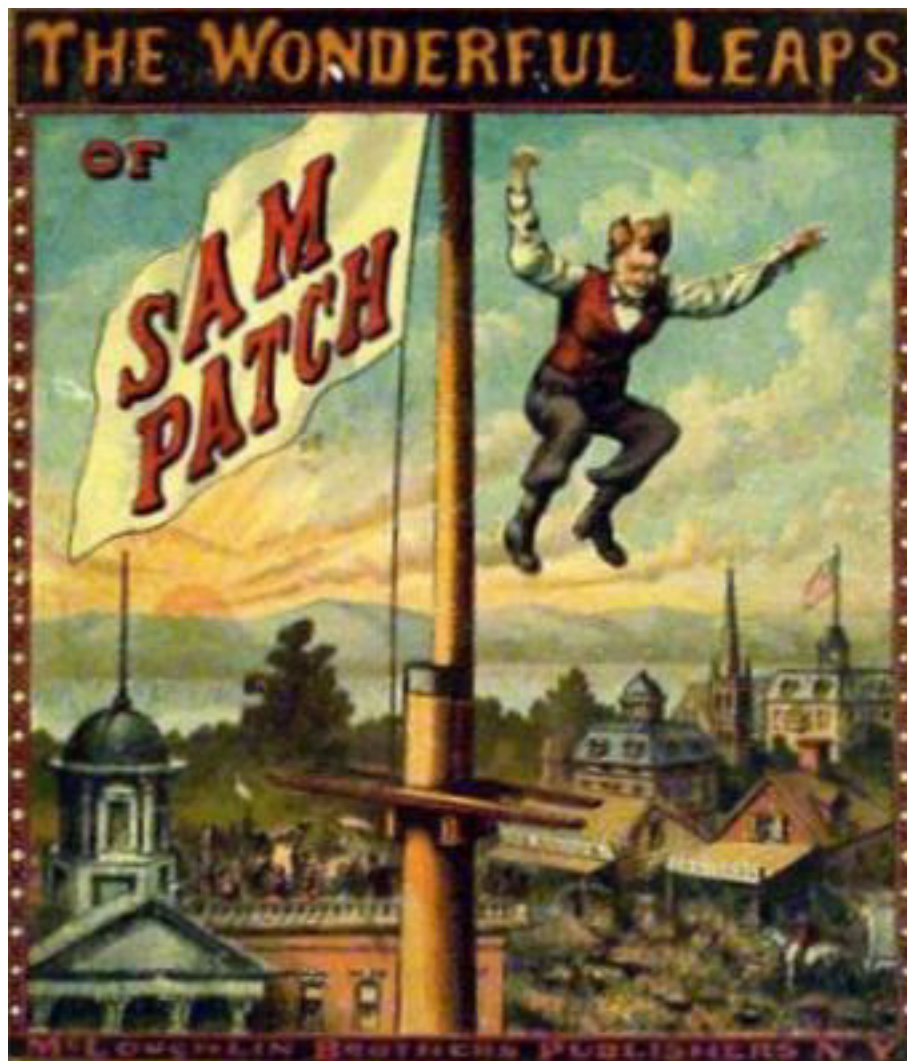
The Providence and Pawcatuck Turnpike Society was formed to shorten and straighten the road between New-York and Boston. Previously, the native American trodden path had followed the seashore east to Narragansett Bay before turning north. The new road would strike directly south-west out of Providence, Rhode Island, over rolling sandy terrain of scrub pine interspersed with bogs. The work would go on for years, before a steamboat out of New-York harbor up Long Island Sound would be able to disembark its passengers at New London, Connecticut, where these intrepid adventurers could take stages overland to Providence.

April: The building that now serves as Providence's 1st Unitarian Church would be erected during the building season, this year.

1817

After attending private schools in Ireland, Thomas Davis immigrated to the United States and settled in Providence, Rhode Island. He would engage in the manufacture of jewelry.

In Rhode Island, Nehemiah R. Knight was in charge. The *Firefly*, the first steamboat to run a regular commercial service on Narragansett Bay, carried President James Monroe and his party from Newport to Providence. (In 1825 the *Washington*, a 131-foot steamship, would begin the serious steamship competition on the bay, leading to the development of more and more advanced ships.) At this point the teenager Sam Patch was making dramatic leaps off the roof of a 4-story building into the aerated churning water below the big falls in beautiful downtown Pawtucket, so it is perfectly possible (if now unknown to us) that the President of the United States was escorted to the site to view the children at labor inside the factories and to witness such a blazing amazing feat of daring-do.



1819

According to Mark S. Schantz's *PIETY IN PROVIDENCE: CLASS DIMENSIONS OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE IN ANTEBELLUM RHODE ISLAND* (Ithaca NY: Cornell UP, 2000), there was during this year in Rhode Island a religious revival:

H-NET BOOK REVIEW Published by H-SHEAR@h-net.msu.edu (September, 2001); Reviewed for H-SHEAR by Daniel P. Jones <daniel.jones@sos.state.nj.us>, New Jersey State Archives

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In this solid monograph Mark Schantz describes and analyses the "bifurcation" of Providence's religious experience from an organic one that united rich and poor to a stratified world of opposing bourgeois and plebeian cultures. He begins by analyzing the earlier picture of Providence at the turn of the nineteenth century. The town's four churches drew members from all walks of life and considered it their duty to provide material aid to the poor in their midst; ministers sermonized on the need to temper the pursuit of individual success with attention to the needs of larger society.

In the meantime, a "plebeian" religious culture arose in Rhode Island's rapidly growing mill villages (76). There, Freewill Baptists and Methodists practiced an emotional, anti-Calvinistic faith that relied heavily on the power of individual preachers, including women, and very little on church architecture. With the revival of 1819, the plebes gained a foothold in Providence. In addition to working-class Freewill Baptist and Methodist congregations, the decade of the 1820s witnessed the formation of an all-African American church and a more middle class Universalist Church that, nevertheless, spouted radical-sounding democratic rhetoric.

Schantz rightly shows awareness of the mutability of working-class religion, as once-radical-sounding sects, such as the Methodists, became respectable in Providence within less than a generation; replacing them in the 1830s and 1840s were three disparate groups. The first, Irish Catholics, were certainly lowly in social standing, though they differed from plebeian Protestants theologically. Mormons had a theology that criticized worldliness and the oppression of the poor. And the third group, the Millerites, demonstrated an implicitly anti-bourgeois mentality by passively waiting for the millennium to come, instead of searching for riches actively in the market place.

As the working classes formed their own congregations, the traditional Calvinistic Baptist, Episcopal, Congregational, and Unitarian churches wholeheartedly embraced a "bourgeois religious culture" (p. 119). Though espousing different theologies, the four different denominations were united by: (1) the practice of selling ever more costly pews, (2) a preference for a religion of the head over the heart, and (3) an open

embrace of the individual pursuit of wealth. They were divided only by gender, as some of their women's groups criticized the evil effects of business practices on the city's impoverished. Schantz correctly points out that the feminization of religion in the 1800s has been "overstated ... inasmuch [that] the acquisition ... of property, the collection of money for church buildings, and the auction of pews, remained a masculine exercise in public institution building" (p. 106).

The two cultures came to clash during and after Rhode Island's Dorr War, which pitted popular forces seeking to eliminate the state's anachronistic suffrage requirements against a conservative "Law and Order" party. A Universalist and several Freewill Baptist preachers explicitly defended the Dorrites. Meanwhile, the bourgeois ministers condemned the rebels as anarchists and their church hierarchies expelled Dorrites as members. Interestingly, bourgeois women continued to provide a critique of their own class, organizing as "suffrage ladies" to provide aid to imprisoned rebels. But by the 1850s, the bourgeoisie had consolidated control over Providence's religious culture. Formerly plebeian churches had all become respectable; female reformers joined ranks with the men to establish quiescent shelters of moral uplift for the poor; and the Catholics were ignored by all.

The author uses a wide variety of sources and methodologies to craft his tale: church membership records, city directories, and tax figures to calculate the relative wealth and social standing of churches; anthropological analyses of parades and street theater to analyze the gendering of religious experience; and traditional literary documentation to examine the thoughts of the area's ministers, missionaries, radicals, and ordinary laypersons.

Schantz's work falters only in his chapters on plebeian culture and the Dorr Rebellion, where he relies on literary evidence almost exclusively. The analysis of plebeian religious culture provides little data on the social and economic status of the Millerites and Mormons, and their relationship to the Freewill Baptists and Methodists, who suddenly and somewhat confusingly disappear from view. Likewise, the Dorr War chapter leaves unstudied the exact identity of the mass of Dorrites (if impossible to ascertain, Schantz should say so).

More seriously, much of chapter five, "The Emergence of Plebeian Religious Culture," which covers the late 1820s through the 1840s, seems miscast. The very title suggests that this "culture" did not begin to form until the Jacksonian period, when the rest of Schantz's book argues powerfully that it originated in the early 1810s. Or are we talking about two types of cultures here, with lower- and upper-case c's? Also, rather than offering a set of similar behaviors and beliefs that arguably add up to a coherent culture, Schantz provides the reader with the following melange of poorly connected individuals and movements: Catholic immigrants, with their beliefs in miracles and the Virgin Mary; itinerant evangelical preachers who threaten the authority of settled ministers; an actor whose performance actually satirized evangelical preachers; Millerites and Mormons (whose views have been summarized above); and the religiously-tinged but mostly political views of Seth Luther, long-time labor and suffrage agitator, whose only church affiliation, ironically, was with one of the "bourgeois" churches. Schantz tries to unify these disparate individuals and groups under the rubric of the

"feminine"--their actions and beliefs tended to be disorderly, emotional, nonrational, and/or passive, even if they, themselves, were all men or were controlled by men. But somehow common sense tells me that Catholic Mary worshippers, Millerite millenarians, and anti-clerical actors do not all belong in the same culture camp. I also wonder how helpful gendered descriptions of behavior are when they are contradicted by the gender identity of those who were in control. (I know a lot of ex-Catholics who would hotly dispute the notion that the patriarchal Church was ever a bastion of the feminine.) Schantz is more persuasive when he observes that disorderly, emotional, and passive behaviors were all dysfunctional or antithetical to the capitalist economy then booming in Providence. These concerns and ruminations aside, Schantz has written a splendid local study that helps begin to answer the question, left hanging by Nathan Hatch: Who democratized American Christianity? Hatch told us much about the clerical leaders; now Schantz provides crucial information about the rank and file. The conclusion of his story, when the bourgeoisie consolidated control over Providence's religion, and the plebeian churches submitted to respectability, also suggests that perhaps the democratization of U.S. Christianity was rather short-lived. No historian of the early republic, or of religion in North America, will want to miss this thought-provoking, first-rate work.

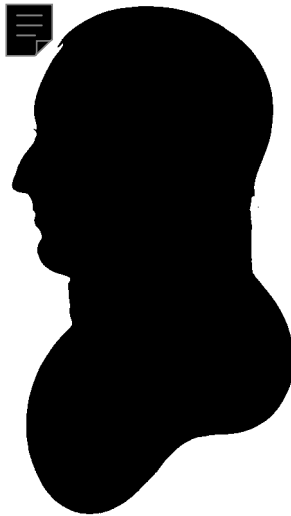
Members of the black community of Providence, Rhode Island had met at the 1st Baptist Church, the nation's oldest Baptist church, to discuss their need for an African Meeting House. In the following year the African Union Meeting and School House Society's new facility would be erected at Meeting Street and Congdon Street (this currently houses the Congdon Street Baptist Church).

January 1: New England Yearly Meeting's boarding school for Quaker youth went into operation in Providence, Rhode Island on land that had been donated in 1814 by Friend Moses Brown. When the Hicksite/Orthodox split would occur in the Religious Society of Friends, this school would remain with the Orthodox or Quietist or segregationist branch and would prosper, enrolling on an average a student body of more than 150 white students during the decade of the 1830s.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould of Newport wrote in his journal about the opening of this school (at which eventually he would teach):

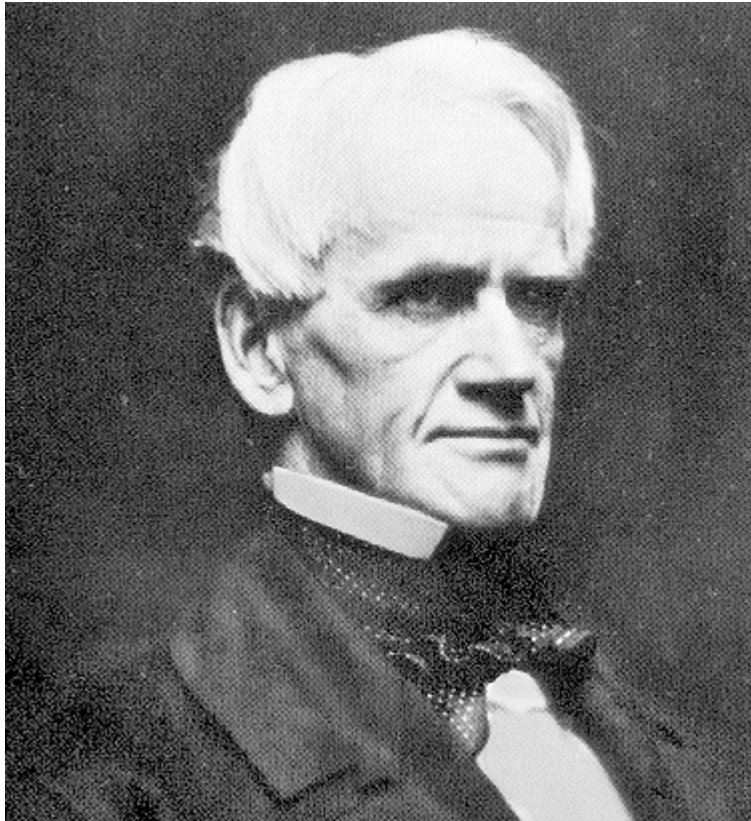
6th day 1st of 1st M 1819 / My mind under much depression, particularly from yesterdays occurrences at Portsmouth. — It is a comfortable reflection that the Truth remains to be unchangeable & that those who abide in it have nothing to fear. — I have thought much of the Yearly Meeting School which is opened this day at Providence, the day has been very clear & remarkably mild for the season, may it prove an omen of the future

*usefulness of the institution to coming generations.*¹⁵



15. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1815-1823: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 7 Folder 12 for August 24, 1815-September 25, 1823; also on microfilm, see Series 7

September 1, Wednesday: Horace Mann, Sr. graduated as valedictorian of his class at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, delivering the sort of orotund speech on behalf of progress which one might have expected on such an occasion.



Here is Horace as he would eventually be memorialized by his widow Mary, perhaps with some degree of nostalgic exaggeration:

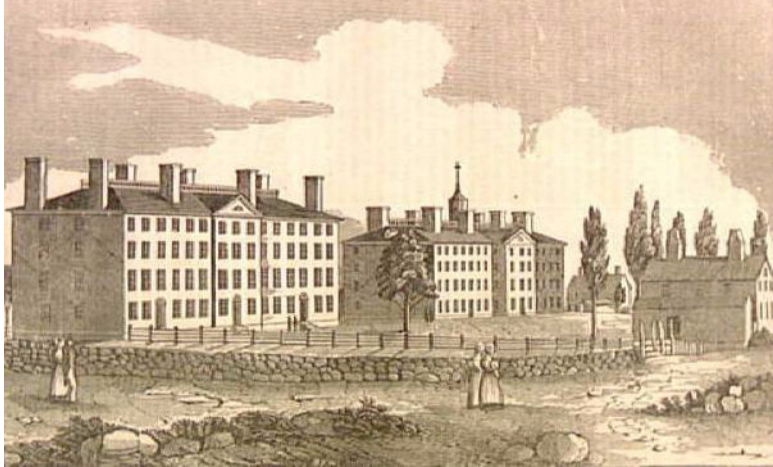


1820

The African Freedmen's Society of Providence, Rhode Island had become the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. At first the Bethel group had met in the homes of members and in the Quaker meeting house at the corner of North Main Street and Meeting Street. Such churches were disapproved of by the white community, but as one meeting place had been removed by the authorities, it had been replaced by another, and sometimes two or three. In the previous year members of the local black community had met at the 1st Baptist Church, the nation's oldest Baptist church, to discuss their need for an African Meeting House. In this year the African Union Meeting and School House Society's new facility was erected at Meeting Street and Congdon Street (this currently houses the Congdon Street Baptist Church). At this point the congregation purchased a lot on top of the hill on Meeting Street, and a building would be constructed on this lot in 1866. (In 1961 the building would have become so shakey that the congregation would sell the plot to Brown University in order to purchase their current Bethel Church at 30 Rochambeau Avenue and Hope Street.)

Early in this decade Rhode Island's black citizens would be stripped of their hard-won voting rights and segregated in the public schools. White rioters would destroy property in Providence's "Hard-Scrabble," the first separate black neighborhood, off what is now North Main Street near University Heights.

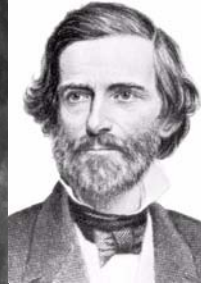
At some point during this decade the author of a number of travel books, Anne Royall, visited the campus of Brown University and expected some rather particular attention but did not attract it. She recorded that: "I called several times at the house of the President, but never found him in." (I decided to check this out, and during the Winter/Spring 2000 semester several times stopped by the home of the President of Brown University, Gordon Gee, a gregarious man in a bow-tie well known to the student body, at random intervals, and indeed I also never found him in.)



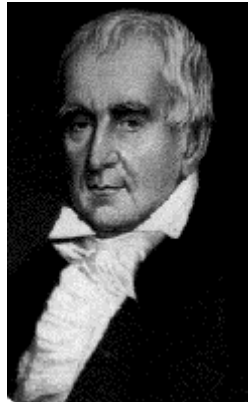
NOBODY HOME

1821

The war for liberation of Greece from the Ottoman Empire began. This would last into 1829. In Rhode Island, William C. Gibbs was in charge. Samuel Gridley Howe, who like Byron would take an active part in the Greek war against Turkey, graduated from Brown University in Providence.



During his undergraduate education, he had been notorious for his pranks, such as leading the college president's horse up the stairs to the top floor of the College Edifice. (Speaking of the College Edifice, in this year the lot adjacent to it was being purchased upon which a 3-story brick building would be constructed by Nicholas Brown and named in honor of his sister Hope.)



Friend Moses Brown wrote A SHORT HISTORY OF THE AFRICAN UNION MEETING AND SCHOOL-HOUSE ERECTED IN PROVIDENCE... (32 pages, printed by Brown & Danforth in Providence). Although he had donated land atop the hill in Providence, Rhode Island, he had rather that his name have been omitted from this document as published, "as I don't approve of Singing Meetings and some other parts yet if it suit the Coloured people I shall not oppose them."

In Providence, Rhode Island, the Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, which had been inactive since 1793, resumed sponsoring its lawsuits under President David Howell.

After the extensive slavetrading career of James DeWolf of Bristol had finally been brought to a halt by the antislavery reformers, he had founded the Arkwright Mill in Coventry and had been the owner of the most successful privateer vessel of the War of 1812, the *Yankee*. At this point he was elected to the US Senate to represent Rhode Island.

In the Hartford area of Connecticut, Sophia Woodhouse (1799-1883) developed a variant of a process for weaving bonnets, which had been available since it had been pioneered by Betsey Metcalf on the East Side of Providence, Rhode Island in the 1790s, but using native American grasses rather than cultivated straw. She managed to get a patent on this process, and the bonnet she produced would soon become known as the “Wethersfield” after her town. Various New England towns would become known as straw towns because of their heavy involvement in the weaving of hats and bonnets.

Here is a lady’s straw bonnet on a wire frame, dating to approximately 1830 and rather the worse for wear:



Here is a bonnet woven of straw and horsehair, dating to about 1840-1845:



1822

In Providence, Rhode Island, the original College Edifice of 1770, which is on the left in the depiction below, was in this year being supplemented by the Hope College structure on the right:

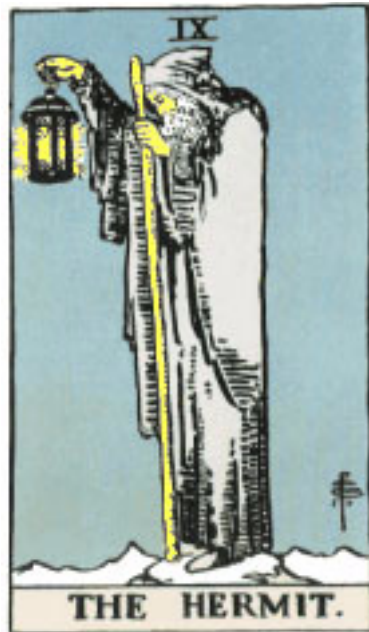


(It would not be accurate, to suspect that Hope College was so named as a truncation of the wish, “I hope they get around to paving Angell Street and Prospect Street sometime soon!”)

Here is a 20th-Century postcard, showing the iron fence which did not yet exist, and Manning Hall, which would be put between the two brick buildings in 1834:



During about this period, Tristram Brugiss granted to the hermit Robert Voorhis permission to use a small plot of land two miles from Providence Bridge, and take up his solitary existence again “in a thick pine grove, which threw its luxurious foliage over the brow of Arnold’s Hill,” a few rods east of the Seekonk River on the very border but within the state of Massachusetts rather than within the state of Rhode Island.



July 18, Thursday: At the Providence, Rhode Island meetinghouse for black people, Brother Asa C. Goldbury, “a man of colour,” was ordained.

August 8: In a renovation of the Quaker meetinghouse in Providence, Rhode Island, Friend Moses Brown reported, “what was called the Negros Gallery” had been removed.

The questions of course arises, why specifically was it that this “Negros Gallery” was constructed in the first place — and why lately had it come to be disused, so that it might at this point be demolished?

The answer, I speculate, is going to be (after adequate research has been done — research which has not yet been begun), that the Quakers had had segregated seating in their meetinghouses, with their servants of color seated away from the white people in such a “Negros Gallery,” but that by the turn of the century these slaves had all been granted manumission documents, and were therefore no longer obligated to accompany their Quaker masters and mistresses to worship. My speculation would be that with freedom had come a decision to affiliate, not with these Quakers who as white racists were never ever going to accept anyone else as a whole and genuine human being (to my knowledge not one single person of color would ever be accepted as a convinced Friend during this period, despite numerous applications for such consideration), instead along color lines with one another in the African Methodist Episcopal denomination that had been set up in 1816.

1823

Marshall Tufts entered Harvard College in the year of the Great Rebellion.¹⁶

One of the things he would do while in college was file a petition that he be excused from wearing the prescribed clothing for a student, a petition which was denied. Another such application filed by him would meet with the fate of being “indefinitely postponed.” At one point during his higher education he would be admonished for using disrespectful language to a college officer. Upon completion of his higher education, he, like Henry Thoreau later, would disdain to pay (in his case, \$2.⁵⁰) for a meaningless supplementary A.M. sheepskin.

According to the historian Robert Elton Berry, the Great Rebellion at Harvard College, in which 43 members of a graduating class of 70 were expelled, was merely an out-of-hand effort by the senior class to drive an unpopular classmate away from school.



Thomas Dorr of Rhode Island was attending during this student revolt but took no part and thus would be one of the very few in his class actually to receive a diploma. He would return to his home town of Providence to become an attorney and a member of the Legislature—then an agitator for public reform—then a “governor”—then a revolutionary with a cannon—then a “traitor”—then a life convict at hard labor—finally a person on “early retirement.” (It’s quite a different life trajectory than usual: the dude who didn’t act up at all while a callow college youth but then grew up to make a great commotion!)

16. Refer to Samuel Eliot Morison’s “The Great Rebellion in Harvard College, and the Resignation of President Kirkland” in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* XXVII (1929):54-112.

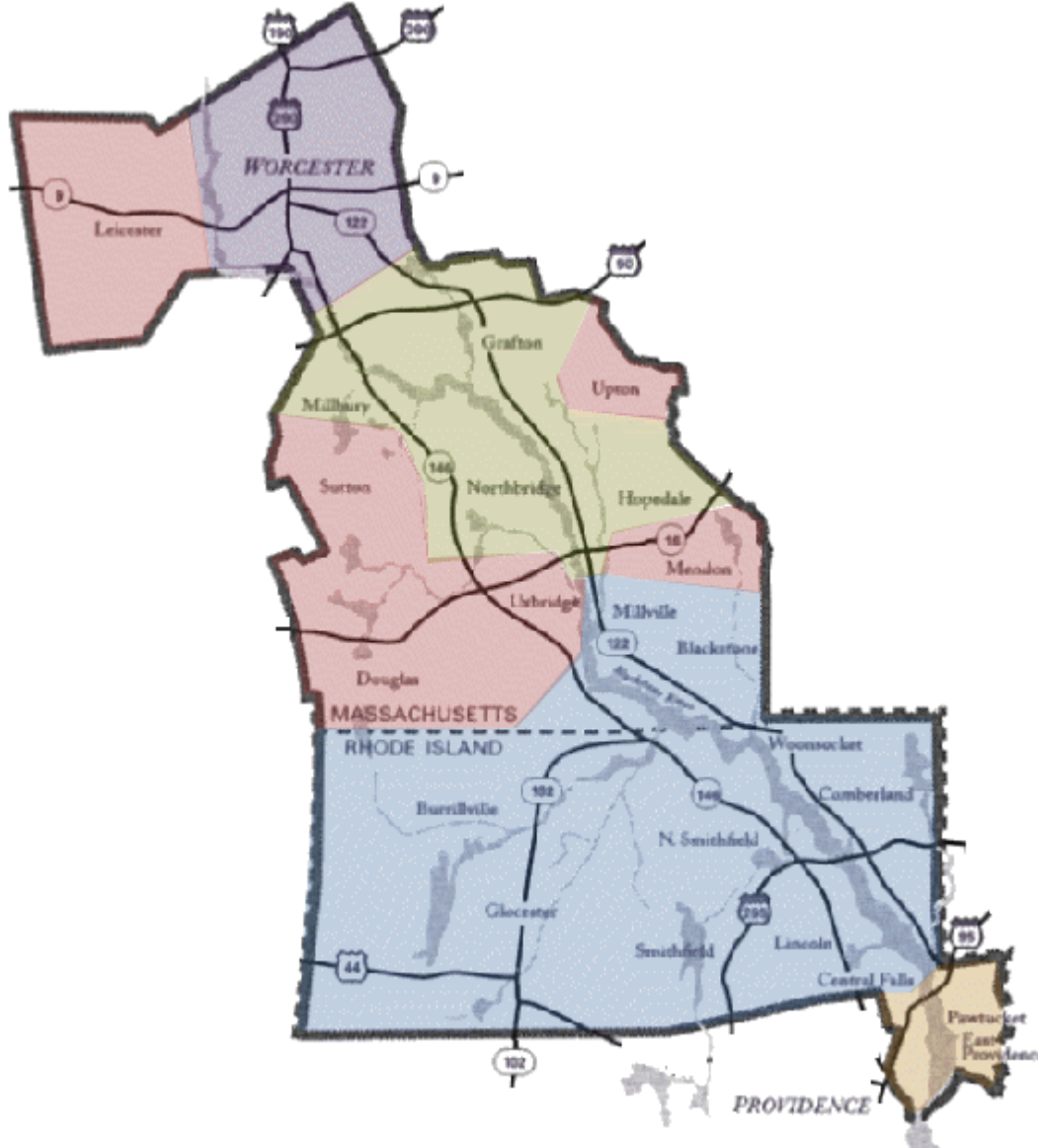
Professor Morison was the last Harvard historian to ride a horse to work. He taught the young Harvard men while attired in riding breeches. He refused to teach the Radcliffe girls because girls are so frivolous. He believed so passionately that the writing of history was an art that, when interrupted at his desk by the barking of a dog, he shot the dog. After WWII he taught while attired in an Admiral’s uniform.

1824

Friend Sarah Helen Power of Providence, Rhode Island became engaged to the wellborn Boston poet and writer John Winslow Whitman, co-editor of the Boston Spectator and Ladies' Album, a magazine in which Sarah would be able to place some of her poetry as by "Helen."



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



When Albert Brown (an older brother of Theophilus Brown) had completed his tailoring apprenticeship in Providence, Rhode Island, he established a tailoring shop, the “Emporium of Fashion,” in Worcester. This was the 1st merchant tailoring business in the town, and initially was located in an annex to the home of Dr. John Green which had formerly been in use as his apothecary, on Main Street opposite Central.

Israel Potter, a private at the “Bunker Hill” fight who had become a chair mender in London, dictated his *LIFE AND REMARKABLE ADVENTURES OF ISRAEL R. POTTER* to the Providence, Rhode Island printer Henry Trumbull. (Refer to Herman Melville’s *ISRAEL POTTER: HIS FIFTY YEARS OF EXILE*, dedicated to “His Highness the Bunker-Hill Monument.”)

After having attended village schools, at the age of 18 Friend Elizabeth Buffum Chase (then known of course as Friend Elizabeth Buffum) boarded for one year at the Quakers' Yearly Meeting Boarding School, the establishment which is now known as the "Moses Brown" School on College Hill on the East Side of Providence, Rhode Island. Friend Abby Kelley was likewise attending this Friends School during this year.

January 26: Robert Blum Woodward was born in Providence, Rhode Island. (In 1852 he would open a hotel, the "What Cheer House" at the corner of Sacramento and Leidesdorff Streets in San Francisco, and in due course, after years of taking care of business, he would retire in California rather more wealthy than not.)

Aboard the *Globe* out of Martha's Vineyard, after the previous night's slaughter of officers in their cots by the funloving Samuel B. Comstock and his accomplices, the killing was continuing. By about noon or so the three remaining mates and two others had been shot, bayoneted, stabbed or disemboweled, including William Humphries (presumably this was the ship's cook, since he was a black man). As people were being killed their bodies were being discarded overboard. Finally there was no challenge to the mutineers being in total control, and the surviving crewmembers turned to sail west toward the gorgeous tropical Marshall Islands. When they made landfall, Friend Samuel attempted to barter some ship supplies with the natives, and for some reason this irritated another of the mutineers, Silas Payne, enough to inspire him to discharge his musket and send birthright Friend Samuel to his reward.

Be careful in your choice of companions, boys and girls!

February 7: The beginning of the "Hardscrabble" rioting in Providence, Rhode Island (mobs of white citizens protected by the police while they destroyed the homes of black citizens: urban gentrification through ethnic cleansing). From the diary of George F. Jencks, a white man of Pawtucket, we learn: "A gang of Ruffins toar down & Destroyed the Negro house on the hill this evening."

February 24: George William Curtis was born in Providence, Rhode Island.



Lord Amherst, the British governor general of India, declared war on Burma.

August 10: Ebenezer Knight Dexter, a wealthy citizen of Providence, Rhode Island, had served on a town committee for poor relief. At the point of his death, those unable to support themselves due to age or illness were being cared for at town expense in private homes, by caretakers who were low bidders for that job. In his will, therefore, he designated his “Neck Farm” of about 40 acres for “the accommodation and support of the poor of said town ... and for no other use or purpose whatever.” The bulk of his estate (in round numbers, about \$60,000), he directed, was to be put into the construction and upkeep of this Dexter Asylum and the care of the poor. The will stipulated that the town was to erect a stone wall around the Neck Farm property, forbade the town ever to sell it, and specified that for any other action concerning it, a town meeting of no fewer than “forty freemen” would be necessary. A committee would quickly form to oversee this grand bequest, and town meetings from 1824 until the completion of the original building in 1828 would arrange the construction, operation, and rules of the asylum.

October 19: From the diary of George F. Jencks, a white man of Pawtucket: “Last night the Whites assembled on the bridge in Providence and went out in a body to that part of town occupied by the blacks and pulled down Ten of their houses and laid waste all there contents and this day the Governor and Council has ordered out the Light Infantry to guard the town.” In Providence, Rhode Island, a white mob, reacting to perceived economic competition from free black Americans, had demolished several houses in “Hardscrabble,” a black neighborhood along Olney Lane by what is now Gaspee street and the State House. (It would all happen again, in the Olney Lane and Snowtown district of Providence, Charles/Orms Street area, on September 21, 1831.) Although 10 of these white rioters would be prosecuted for serious offenses, their defense, provided by the prominent local attorney Joseph Tillinghast, consisting of an argument that actually they had been improving “the morals of the community” by removing a “pig-stye” of lewdness, disorder, drunkenness, and unseemly dancing, would prove to be entirely successful. The only convictions would be on minor charges, and the only punishment would be of the “slap on the wrist” variety, with leading white citizens openly congratulating them for their civic-minded destructiveness. (When the rioting would break out again in 1831, however, it would end with the militia needing to kill four white men, and afterward, in the interest of maintaining public order, voters would approve a charter for a city government with stronger police powers.)

Providence in the 1820s was a fast-growing port town, drawing on its hinterland’s farms and manufactures to overshadow Newport, once Rhode Island’s primary metropolis. Providence had about 11,750 people in 1820 (by 1825 there would be about 15,000, and by 1830 about 17,000). Of these, about 1,000 were freemen who met the property qualification to vote in Town Meetings. At the other extreme of Providence’s social spectrum were about 1,000 blacks, rising from 980 in 1820 to 1,200-1,400 in 1830. Only four people were still enslaved. Many black families had lived in Providence for generations, but others were recent arrivals from South County. About half the blacks in town lived with their employers, and the other half were generally drawn of course to neighborhoods where land and rent were cheap, at the north end of town. A proud few owned homes. Two days before the “Hardscrabble” riots, the Providence Beacon had editorialized about “Our Black Population.” (The Beacon, published almost single-handedly by William Spear, would be characterized as “a fearless paper” by a lawyer representing the white rioters, Chief Justice William Staples, in his *Annals of Providence*, but Attorney General Duttee Pearce would characterize William Spear himself as “a person of evil, wicked, and malicious mind and disposition.” Spear was the sort of person who would lament in print that local blacks were “naturally vicious and wicked,” “profligate,” and “worthless,” and spread stories that groups of blacks were forcing whites to step off the sidewalks to make way for them rather than themselves stepping off the sidewalks to make way for whites as was natural and proper.) The previous weekend the Providence Beacon had reported that local blacks had defeated a white crowd for possession of the bridge on Smith Street (were people using this bridge to cope with the heat of the season?)—since nature had given them disproportionate “physical strength”—and that a thrown stone had wounded “a respectable lady” on the breast. Spear was warning that Providence after dark was now “absolutely dangerous for females.”

Other Providence newspapers, such as the *Jeffersonian Providence Patriot*, the proto-Whig *Manufacturer’s and Farmer’s Journal*, and the old Federalist *Providence Gazette*, generally ignored the white riot. The Patriot ran a half-inch notice of the “affray,” and after a few days reprinted the Gazette’s editorial obliquely deploring “the increase of our colored population.” It noted that the Town Council had ordered a census of blacks for the purpose of expelling the “idle, dissolute” ones. After reviling the capacities of the race, it allowed that most

long-settled blacks were “sober, industrious and respectable citizens.”

Spear’s Beacon, however, was offering that while “extermination” was not indicated, at least as yet, some decent white people would need to volunteer to “rid the town of its superabundant share” of transient poor blacks. It was two days later, on the evening of October 18th, that a white mob marched north to Hardscrabble and destroyed eleven structures. Most of the structures destroyed were speakeasies, but all accounts agree that a few were the homes of “respectable” black craftsmen and their families. By some accounts, including the Beacon’s, this mob comprised 400 to 500 rioters and up to 1,000 eager spectators, although others estimated the mob at only 50 or 60 effectives, with a cheering section amounting to only about a hundred.

The next Beacon published a short account of the violence, followed by a romantic lamentation for the poor, innocent, hard-working black victims, after which Spear chastised their impudence, “idleness and vice” and proposed that Draconian controls be imposed over them. This article, entitled “RIOT AND REBELLION,” announced that Providence, known “for the purity of its morals and its domestic felicity and repose,” had been “disharmonized” by the indiscriminate “atrocities” of an “abandoned and profligate mob.”

Hardscrabble, wrote Spear, was a “hamlet” of “smiling aspect” where blacks had moved “to avoid all intercourse” with “hostile” whites. When attacked, the “unoffending and unsuspecting inhabitants” “were engaged in convivial sports and rural games.” Their “innocent festivity” may have involved rum, for the newspaper mentioned that some provident housekeepers had enough of it on hand to buy off the mob and thus preserve their homes. In the wake of the white mob, Spear found devoted mothers, an “honest sailor” and “an aged son of Africa,” mourning “with downcast countenance” their “humble cottages,” the fruits of “honest toil,” and gasping, “‘Hope forsaken!’”

Spear predicted that these wronged blacks would be righteously seeking vengeance. They were innocent as lambs, except that they were “impudent, and often offer insults to whites.” Blacks “cannot bear the luxuries of freedom,” and are temperamentally incompatible with whites. Therefore, “let their liberties be abridged.” we should put “every Negro under the immediate control of the Orphan’s Court,” and apprentice them all to “respectable Mechanics.” Some would be “susceptible of improvement,” and for others “it would be the means of driving them from our region.” This “benevolence” would benefit both whites and blacks — the only alternative would be a cycle of riot culminating in a white “war of extermination” destroying this black element in the town.

The next week, Spear’s sympathies would be even more firmly with the wronged black residents of Providence. He would be pointing out that many of the local blacks, although they had become “miserable wretches,” were actually the offspring of “noble” Revolutionary veterans.

1825

There was published, in Providence, Rhode Island, an anonymous essay on the local origins of the making of straw bonnets that alleged: “About the year 1797 straw bonnets were first manufactured in New England. To Mrs. Naomi Whipple [daughter of Thomas W. Whipple and Naomi Dexter Whipple born on October 28, 1728 in Providence] is due the credit of introducing the manufacture.... She was in the habit of receiving consignments of bonnets from a merchant in New York.... At length she conceived the idea of manufacturing bonnets herself.... She procured some straw and sent for a young lady in the neighborhood (Miss Hannah Metcalf), and they made the attempt, ... and soon found themselves successful.”¹⁷

17. The above account would in after years be controverted by Betsey Metcalf Baker, who would allege that it had been her, rather than this Mrs. Naomi Whipple and Miss Hannah Metcalf, who had in her pre-teen years been the early weaver of local bonnets in imitation of the ones that had been being imported from foreign climes such as Livorno, Italy. Betsey would allege that it had been “an aunt” who had encouraged her, and failed to specify how she, a city girl, had been able to obtain the needed straw as raw material. If the above account was a false one, no explanation has ever been offered as to the egregious inaccuracy which had been committed.

William Apess found work in Providence, Rhode Island and relocated there with his wife and children. He would become a class leader among the local Methodists. After he again began to exhort, he was granted a license by the Methodist Church to do so. At some point in the period 1825-1827 he would feel that he had been called by God to become a minister of the gospel.



The first Universalist church of Providence, Rhode Island, on Westminster Street at the corner of Union Street, was in this year destroyed by fire. (The second such structure on this site would be sold in 1870, to become the "Boston Store." The third Universalist structure, brick with stone trimmings, with stained-glass windows, would be erected in 1872 at the corner of Green Street and Washington Street.

Publication of Friend Luke Howard's "A letter from Luke Howard, of Tottenham, near London, to a friend in America; containing observations upon a treatise written by Job Scott, entitled Salvation by Christ, &c." (This treatise ON SALVATION BY CHRIST by Friend Job Scott had been published in Providence, Rhode Island in the year of his death, 1793. You can inspect it at <http://www.qhpress.org/texts/jobscott/>. Friend Job had been one to urge a less worldly, more inward or mystical/spiritual practice of the Quaker faith, but his disparagement of militant materialism had grown so strident that he had fallen afoul of conservative and wealthy Friends in Philadelphia. His children became Swedenborgians and, when one of them married a Quaker, the result was that that person was disowned.)

**A LETTER FROM LUKE HOWARD
of Tottenham, near London,
TO A FRIEND IN AMERICA;
containing observations upon a treatise
written by
JOB SCOTT
entitled
SALVATION BY CHRIST, &c.
[1825]**

Should the following sheets obtain circulation among the members of the Religious Society of Friends, (for whose use they are exclusively written,) the author entreats for his argument a patient and candid perusal. He believes that a hasty glance over the piece will by no means suffice, to put a reader in possession of what it contains: and that the same careful reference to the passages of Scripture quoted, and the same deliberate consideration of the whole, which he has found it his duty (in justice to the character, whose opinions are called in question)

to bestow, will become every one who shall incline, on this occasion to enter again into the subject. The present letter, (he must also premise,) is not the result of any correspondence previously had with any friend in the United States: and the author alone, and not the Society in England, is responsible for its contents.

London, Second Month, 1825

My Dear Friend,

Among other publications by members of our society in the United States, which have lately issued from the press, and been transmitted to this country, I observe two or three of a posthumous character, purporting to be from the MSS. of the late *Job Scott*. I have perused one of these, entitled, "Salvation by Christ," attached to which, is a kind of second part, entitled "On the Nature of Salvation by Christ" – the whole making about 88 pages, the matter of which is stated to have been penned more than thirty years ago, and left in the hands of his friends, when he embarked on his last voyage in the work of the ministry. Having heard him preach with much power and energy, when he was in England on that occasion, I was interested (I remember,) and affected by the circumstances of his death in Ireland, soon afterwards: and the regard which I have cherished for his memory, makes me a little concerned for his religious reputation. Had he lived to near the present time (as he might have done in the course of nature,) and left his MSS. revised for publication, I suppose no one could have complained that justice was not done to him, by the appearance of the present pamphlet: but my own decided opinion, after mature consideration is, *that he never would have published it as it now appears*, nor probably, at this time of day at all. The Yearly Meeting of New England therefore, or its committee, did certainly evince both a prudent care, and a due regard for his reputation, and that of our religious Society, in so long declining to sanction this piece. But it seems now to have made its appearance in opposition to their judgment.

We have extant, among us here, a small collection of "letters from Job Scott, written whilst in Europe to his relations and friends," &c. first published in America, and reprinted in England. In one of these dated 14th of 11th Month 1793, I find the following remarks. "There is scarce any thing that makes longer life desirable, [he was then within eight days of its termination,] but to finish the field of religious labour, which I had hitherto mostly thought was not yet done; especially with regard to digesting my Journal and some other writings. [Then follow allusions to the peculiar doctrine advanced in this Essay on Salvation, and which it appears he still regarded as true – but he adds,] On the ocean, I wrote over about a quire of paper, which I believe is now in my trunk at ———, respecting which, I was ever a good deal doubtful, whether some parts of it, not particularly upon these points, were not more in a way of abstruse reasoning, than might be best for a Friend to publish. Be that as it may, I am very apprehensive that most of my writings are far from properly digested, and some of them I believe might be a good deal better guarded. Our views of things do not usually open all at once: it is so in the individual – it is so in the world."

There was certainly in the character of this dear Friend, a perceptible excess on the side of the imagination and the feelings. This had been the case with many good and useful men

before him: and such a temperament makes a minister faithful, or courageous and energetic in the discharge of duty – but in measure disqualifies him from being a competent judge of doctrine and controversies. It is nevertheless, sometimes corrected by experience, and by intercourse, in a spirit of charity, with others as zealous and knowing as himself. I remember an honest man's remark, who had been hired as a "help" from a distant county, and had had to follow his employer for the first time through our crowded metropolis. "I never saw such a place as London in my life: why nobody *would* get out of my master's way!" Just so it is with powerful, but secluded minds, when they emerge from their circle of assenting hearers and weak opponents, into a wider horizon, and have to compare the contents of *their* budget, with the variety of conflicting opinions around them. It is in vain that the man says to himself and others, "I am *quite* sure of this." For, if religion, for instance, be the subject, and there be not in the Scriptures of Truth, a preponderating mass of evidence in his favour, another may soon fall in his way who is quite as sure of the contrary – and then who is to judge between them? If either of them refuse the test of the Scripture, in its plain and obvious meaning, he may indeed decide the matter *for himself*, and be quite sure in his own opinion still, but in vain will he expect to do it for the other. He may now, if he incline so to do, ascribe his own persuasion, which he calls his certainty, to the Testimony of the Spirit of Truth in himself. But then, the other may pretend to this likewise, and with as plausible appearances (it may be,) on his side, to support him in his pretensions. For this reason it is wisely proposed by Robert Barclay in his Apology, that both doctrine and practice shall be tried by the Test of Scripture. We are very willing, (he says, Prop. 3 Sect. 6) that *all* our doctrines and practices be tried by the Scriptures; which we never refused, nor ever shall, in all controversies with our adversaries as the *Judge* and *Test*. And if in controversies with adversaries, then much more in differences of opinion about doctrine, or differences of *belief*, between members of the same religious society. By this test therefore, I shall proceed to try some opinions of Job Scott – he himself having admitted, at a time when men are not used to express themselves lightly, that he was very apprehensive, most of his writings were far from being properly digested: and that some of them (he believed) might be a good deal better guarded. The subject of this pamphlet is regeneration, and the *new birth*: that doctrine which our Lord chose to propound but to one person, and that in privacy; as if on purpose to instruct us, that it should be learned in secret, and brought to the test of individual experience, not talked about in crowds, or discussed in religious assemblies – a doctrine, moreover, which would bear to be treated, in those ancient times, with a freedom of terms which does not so well comport, now, with the due restraints of Christian conversation. A subject, which he, who is clothed with right authority, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, may at times profitably impress upon the minds of serious hearers, in the solemnity of public preaching, but which, when cast before the sensual and worldly minded, is as pearls among swine; and may serve to bring the great and precious truth which lies under it, into doubt if not into derision. I shall strive not to make this letter the vehicle of improper thoughts, by quoting expressions which could not be read, I think, in a mixed company of Friends of both sexes, without bringing confusion over some

of their faces; but I *must* specify enough (and I may as well do it at once) to make myself intelligible.

The fundamental proposition then of the whole book, and which the author seems to have regarded as a special revelation to himself, is, that the human soul is in a spiritual sense, and in relation to its God and Saviour, a *female*; and that salvation by Christ consists in, or is effected by a real process of generation, conception and birth; by which it is made the mother of Christ, the only begotten Son of God! He insists again and again, that those things are *real*, which sober Christians have regarded only as lively and apposite metaphors, in the sayings of Christ and his Apostles on the subject of that change of heart and life, which all must experience, who become qualified for the kingdom of heaven. Before I proceed to show the bearings and consequences of this opinion of his, I will make some observations upon the text of Scripture, on a misapplication of which, the most part of what is *original* in his views of the subject, will be found to rest.

It is related in *Matt.* xii.47-50, and in *Mark* iii.32-35, that on a certain occasion the mother, and brethren of Jesus were without, desiring to speak with him, while he was in the house, teaching the people: and that before he went out he took occasion, as his manner was, to spiritualize the occurrence; reminding those who were about him, that there was a spiritual union and relation to be experienced, by doing the will of God, in which they should be as near to him in the inward life, as were his brother and sister, and mother naturally. In this speech he puts his mother *last*, (in both places) I apprehend as being the least appropriate in the comparison, yet not to be slighted by the want of all mention of her, now that she was on the spot. But what does Job Scott make of it – or rather what does he not make of it? Putting *mother* first (in one of his quotations) he insists that “Jesus meant as he said,” and that “had he not carefully confined his words to a strict meaning, he might have called such his father too:” “but in the spiritual sense in which he was speaking, no man can possibly be his father, but God” [only] and that “man *at most* can be his mother!” He spoke then in a spiritual sense – and yet he made these, *really* and not metaphorically his different *relations*, as *mother*, *sister*, and *brother*! But in a spiritual sense what is the distinction among these? *none at all*: The apostle Paul says, *Gal.* iii.28. “In Christ, there is neither male nor female,” alluding to the very kind of union that our Lord here pointed out. Though the meaning therefore was spiritual, and the *thing* spoken of, *real* in that sense, yet the *form of speech* was figurative, importing only a most near and intimate union in spirit: and he made no mention of his father; first, because it would have been an improper figure, or comparison, he having no natural father; secondly, because no mention was made of his reputed father to him. The expressions are encouraging when thus simply taken: but if they were really meant to convey this new doctrine, I would ask, is it likely, a thing so deep and so wonderful as this, the very *mystery of Christ*, (as this author deemed it,) should have been dropt by our Lord, in the act of rising from his seat to go out of the house, and at no other time further spoken of by him? I trust I need say no more here, for the satisfaction of any unprejudiced person, that the saying here was figurative not literal. I may just refer, however, to the expressions used in *Mark* x.30, as a proof of the freedom with which the like terms were used by our Lord on another

occasion.

Of the various figures made use of in the New Testament, to represent the great and permanent change wrought, in every person, who comes to experience "salvation, through sanctification of the spirit and belief of the truth," 2 *Thes.* ii.13, there is not any thing which is more appropriate, or more insisted on, than that of being born again, or born *from above*: but this is by no means the sole or exclusive idea, that even Christ himself presents to us, in illustration of the subject. The word and power of God entering into minds, variously disposed as to its reception, is compared, very aptly to seed sown in various soils: *Matt.* xiii. One man forgets the instruction received, almost immediately, being careless and unwatchful: another gives out in the first season of difficulty, being impatient: another prefers gain or pleasure, and so stifles conviction: but of him that prospers in religion, it is simply said, that "he heareth the word and understandeth it and *bringeth forth fruit*," according to his capacity, watchfulness and diligence. How simple, natural and intelligible is all this; which is the exposition of Christ himself.

The small portion of secret help and guidance at first afforded to believers, is pointed out (that we might not despise or overlook it in the heart,) by the parable of the grain of Mustard seed, verse 31,32, and its efficacy in producing in time a *total reformation of the man*, by a comparison with the working of leaven, in the meal of which bread is made: and the necessity, in order to success in religion, of making this our primary concern, and letting all other things give place to duty, by the treasure hid in a field, and by the pearl which would enrich the purchaser, *by taking it into another country with him*, (for such is probably the intent of the parable,) verse 44,46. In like manner, as the estates of individuals, differing in their talents and improvement, so is that of the Church at large, illustrated, by most apt comparisons in the New Testament. But in all these, there is nothing that tends to the thing so much insisted on by the author of this piece: nor is the subject, *in his sense*, so much as once mentioned or alluded to by our Saviour! In reply to a question of the apostle Peter, in *Matt.* xix.28, as to what they should acquire who followed him, as the reward of their adherence to him, he says indeed; "Ye who have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, &c." But if the English were made to agree with the construction of the text, according to the punctuation that may (and probably should) be given in the Greek, it would be seen that the term regeneration or *renovation*, belongs to the latter part of the sentence; and points to the future state of the visible church in this new and spiritual dispensation, with Christ, its King and High Priest at its head. That he could not mean any such thing as our author has attached to the term elsewhere, nor even the individual *conversion*, or change from a carnal to a spiritual state of the disciples, is plain from hence, that in *this* respect, Christ who had never sinned, had not *gone before them*; nor could they as yet have been said to have *followed*. *Matt.* xviii.3. *Luke* xxii.32.

The only occasion of our Lord's treating "of the new birth" in strict terms, (so far as appears from the New Testament,) was upon that visit of Nicodemus to him: and he seems here to have followed his own rule, as laid down, *Luke* viii.10. of speaking to them that were "without," (or who had not shown their faith

by following him) "in parables." This would humble an inquirer, if he were sincere; and put him upon the exercise of faith, instead of curiosity. Nicodemus stumbled at first upon the "stone of offence," when emphatically told this truth, that "except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God," *John iii.3.* but our Saviour in compassion, probably to a sincere but prejudiced mind, condescended to add to his statement, the terms "of water and of the spirit," (by which we may understand, the being first washed, and then *inspired*, or in other words, first purified from sin, and then filled with holy dispositions and desires,) terms from which the Jewish teacher was able to gather something; assisted as he most probably was, by the further conversation of Christ at that time and by that "*power of the Lord*," *Luke v.17*, which, when many "Pharisees, and doctors of the law" were sitting on another occasion under his teaching "was present to heal them." These terms of being "born of water, and of the spirit," are quite inconsistent with the main proposition of the pamphlet, as already stated: they are delicate and appropriate metaphors, expressive of a thing which *in itself*, is to us incomprehensible, and to be known only by its effects. *This* also Christ teaches us, by that comparison of it to the wind, which blows on in its course, and we hear the sound of it, and see plainly its effects on the bodies around; yet in itself it is invisible; we cannot tell whence it comes, nor whither it goes, as we can of visible substances. "So is the way of every one that is born of the spirit." He gives the most evident proofs of having become a new man, of a thorough change of heart, effected by a divine power within him: of the *manner, origin, progress* and *final accomplishment* of which, however, God alone is in full possession – and man (pretend what he will of spiritual discerning) can neither describe nor define it, in terms that shall apply alike to every case of *conversion*, under all the varieties of constitution, habits, character and circumstances of those who may be the subjects of it.

The metaphor *thus employed, but not first introduced* by Christ (for the Jews applied it in the case of a proselyte to their religion, whom they compared to a *new born child*) was taken up and applied by the apostles in a variety of apt illustrations; which so well suit the case, and become so natural by use, that they are ready at times to supersede the real sense, that lies underneath, unchangeable. Hence the great wisdom of the Teacher of all truth himself may be inferred, in having so set it forth under a variety of similitudes, that it is impossible for any one of these, finally to usurp the place of the *divine reality*. But the author of the pamphlet has fallen into this mistake: and in trying to establish his own views of doctrine, he has in a variety of ways wrested the sense of Scripture; of which take the following instances: –

Matt. i.1. "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." "Christ," says Job Scott, "is not only the son of David, and David the son of Abraham, but *Christ himself* is the son (strictly so in spirit) both of Abraham and of David." Is this the way to prove doctrine by reference to Scripture? The text relates, not to Christ as a "Spirit" or principle of holiness in men, but to the man Jesus Christ, whose outward descent from Abraham, by the mother's side, was in the first place to be set forth in this book. He confounds the outward *person* with the inward *life*; and then seeks the latter where it is not at all treated of.

The pamphlet says, page 19, "that babe of life, that true child

of God *that cries* Abba, Father, is never brought forth but through a union of the two seeds, the human and divine." Now it happens that in the only two places in Scripture, in which this figure of the infantile cry to its parent is introduced, each passage exhibits the infant as *an adopted child!* Rom. viii.14,17. "For as many as are *led by the Spirit of God*, they are the sons of God. [We see here, why, and how, they are sons,] For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but ye have *received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father.*" Who is it that is led by the spirit of God, but *he* that before went astray? 1 Peter ii.25. Who is it that receives the spirit of adoption, but *he*, that before was the servant of sin. Rom. vi.16,23. "And such were some of you (says Paul to the Corinthians, after enumerating different kinds of evil doers, 1 Cor. vi.9,11) but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." Is there any thing here, other than, or beyond a change of heart and life, the *same soul* being saved that sinned before? Yet these are the "common notions" of sanctification held by the Christian Church at large, that is, by the sound members in all denominations: but to proceed to the other text, — Gal. iv.1-7. It is clear from the context here, that the figure has relation to the two dispensations of the Law and the Gospel. Under the former, the Galatians "were in bondage under the rudiments of the world:" they were redeemed by Christ that they might "receive *the adoption of sons,*" the effect and consequence of believing in Him. "And because ye are sons (continues the apostle) God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father." Thus he describes, *in a figure*, that happy change which was then proceeding in them, and concerning which he was jealous, lest it should be impeded by others who were leading them back and *preaching to them "another Gospel."* Now, let these texts be fairly taken along with the context, in the full and plain acceptation of both; and it will be seen at once, that the author derives no support to his hypothesis from either of them. For generation is not adoption; nor the Law, the old man, nor the Gospel, the new man. The pamphlet says, page 54, "This is the great mystery of godliness. *God manifest in the flesh, is not confined to the flesh of that one body.*" And then it proceeds to quote John xiv.21,23. as before, verses 16,21. also Rom. i.19. and Col. i.27. But take with the first cited text, *the context also*, 1 Tim. iii.16. "And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness. God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." Observe first, that all this is said in the *past tense*, God was manifest, not *is*: secondly, that the whole is connected together as the proper attributes of Jesus Christ, even of Him that was crucified. Are we to take *these* upon us — are we preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory? Nay, says some advocate of this mystical doctrine, but Christ *within* is. But *this*, according to them, is the new birth itself, the heir of the promise, the believer *himself*: then one believer is preached to another, and believed on by him as his Saviour. Let us for argument sake transfer the meaning *in a figure*, to Christ within, or the Life which is the light of men, &c. then, what becomes of the new opinion? For *this* Christ is not an individual "production," but a Divine principle, holy and unchangeable: a light shining in darkness, and *giving power* to as many as receive

and follow it, to become the sons of God, even to them that believe in *his name*, John i. "No man (says J.S.) can receive any one that *Jesus* sendeth (observe the inaccuracy of the term, for Jesus is the man) and not as really receive *him*; I mean absolutely *him*, the only begotten Son of God: any more than we can receive Christ, and not receive the Father that *sent him*." I give this with the *italics* as I find them. It is a perversion of that speech of our Lord's, Matt. x.40. in which he confirms his disciples, then going forth as apostles, and encourages all to receive them as such, by this consideration, that the power and presence of the Father, and of the Son as *the Divine Word*, should go along with them. "It is not ye that speak, (he says, verse 20.) but the Spirit of our Father which speaketh in you:" the Omnipresent Spirit of God. It need scarcely to be added now, that the pamphlet supersedes the promised Comforter, the Spirit of Truth, John xiv. in his office of instructing and supporting believers, giving it all to the new birth; or God and man in "immediate" union, *our own spirits* being one of the component parts of this "production"!

Rom. vi.1-11. Out of this whole passage he selects the 10th verse: "For in that he died, he died unto sin, once and in that he liveth, he liveth unto God:" making it signify that Christ "died to the motions of sin in himself," (instantly, that is, "once,") and placing this mystical death of Christ by the side of the great atonement on the cross: in the same way it may be made to supersede all acknowledgment of the merit and efficacy of this sacrifice.

The pamphlet says, page 63,64. "Can a birth of real life [note, of the *Divine* and human conjoined!] be stifled and slain? It can. Was, 'the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world' — was *this* said only of what *should be afterwards*, [note, it was written by John, of what *had been before*! Rev. xiii.8.] or was it really done from the very foundation? It was really done: it is done still in thousands. In the very day that Adam ate the forbidden fruit he died. Death took instant place in him, upon that which was before alive in him, only in the life of the Lamb. Here the Lamb was slain in him, here the branch was cast forth and withered."

Is not this to assert the death, not of a creature who had sinned, but of Him by whom all things were made? For how is the life of Christ to be separated from his proper divinity, but in a figure only. John the Baptist said, pointing out the man Jesus Christ, Behold the Lamb of God! John i.29.36. According to our author this was quite in vain. It was impossible for the "man" who was to be "made manifest" to Israel, thus to be shown to them: even he then is mystical, and not to be beheld outwardly! The "common notions" of the Christian world, which I believe to be quite right here (and the pamphlet quite wrong), make the Lamb of God to be *the man Jesus Christ*, who was foreshown by the lamb in the Jewish passover; and who came accordingly, and offered up for us his most precious life, "as of a Lamb without blemish and without spot" — "foreordained before the foundation of the world," 1 Peter i.18-21.

Let us proceed. In page 58 we read thus: "The *natural man*, the mere creature, as the work of God is a created being: he never saw God, cannot know him, nor receive the *testimony* respecting the mystical union and sonship: but the *babe*, the *begotten*, that with a true and living knowledge of its sonship, cries Abba, Father, both sees and knows the Father, and receives the heavenly testimony. For Christ, speaking of this mystery, says,

'Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones, for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.' Matt. 18.10."

There are in this short passage several perversions of scripture. In the first place, I suppose it will not be controverted, that Adam "the mere creature" (for such he was in strictness, though a noble and a perfect one) saw and knew God, in some sense, while in paradise. Secondly, I have already shown who it is that cries Abba, Father, in the sense of Paul, who wrote it; and that it is *not* the "babe" of this pamphlet. Thirdly, it does not appear that Christ was "speaking of *this mystery*" in that passage: it *does* appear, from the forepart of the chapter, that he was speaking of a *converted* state, a state also of great *self-humiliation* and *docility*: in which they who abide "as little children" shall experience, notwithstanding their outward weakness, the watchful care (implied by the *ministration of angels*) of their Father in heaven. It would be tedious, and it may not probably be necessary for me, to follow the author through at least as many more unwarrantable applications of scripture, by which he endeavours to make as much as possible appertain to his "babe." of that which is written concerning the Redeemer of mankind, *in his own proper person*. Taking the author now, therefore, upon his own hypothesis, let us see what follows from it.

First; that there is no such thing as *redemption* by Christ, properly speaking, and restoration of mankind from the fall; (a conclusion which he could scarcely have intended:) for, upon his system, Adam who fell, is not he who is restored: he is a mere creature, cannot see God, nor know him. Yet, strange to tell, he was redeemed, *in and by* the very transgression by which he fell, for in that very day that he sinned, the Lamb was slain in him, being a part of himself! It is difficult to get through the labyrinth of our author's doctrine on this subject; but the result of it plainly is, that one man sins, and another being, is *born of him*, who is saved instead of him!

Secondly. If the human soul be the mother of this babe, not by a "metaphorical expression," but by "as perfect a reality as any in nature," as he affirms – and if the soul be immortal, and created for a future state of happiness or misery, which will not probably be controverted – then, upon the supposition of the salvation of the *son*, what becomes of the *mother*? This is a part of the "mystery," which he has not explained to us; though as necessary to have been made clear as any. It should seem upon this hypothesis, either that the mortal part is the mother, which would make a very strange confusion in the matter, besides that we know that "what is born of the flesh is flesh;" or that *all* human souls are *eternally lost* and perish, some leaving offspring to inherit the realms of bliss, and others not! But no – I go too fast:

For, thirdly, he says in another place, "If it be objected, that Christ is his [God's] only son, his only begotten, and that therefore none else can be his son in the same sense, I answer:

1. It is not pretended that any other visible person or human being was ever begotten in the same manner as was Jesus the son of Mary: so, *in* that respect, that was a singular and only instance of sonship.

2. But a second part of the answer to this objection is, that though the sonship as brought forth in a plurality of persons, is expressed in the plural number in relation to them; and so

is called sons, children and heirs; yet in relation to God, with whom the union is *immediately* formed in all those persons wherein the sonship takes place, the whole is but one sonship. The seed of which they are begotten is one in all, that is, 'the incorruptible seed and word of God,' of which all that are, or ever was born again of God, are begotten." Pa. 80. If we now keep still to the *real* system, it appears that the many persons constituting the visible church, as to us, are in relation to God, but one person, or no person at all: contradicting our Lord's declaration that *He is the God* of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob – not the God of the dead, but of the living. Matt. xxii.32, &c. Consequently now, instead of heaven being peopled at a double rate, as it would be on the supposition that men's souls were saved, and that our author's doctrine were also true, there will be gathered from the high and glorious mission of the Redeemer, instead of an innumerable multitude before the throne, no increase of blessed spirits at all!

In order to escape from some such inference, our author here, towards the conclusion of his work, and perhaps upon a little further reflection, begins to slide out of his realities; making the son, a *sonship*, and admitting *other scripture metaphors* into his statements; out of which metaphors others have just as much right to constitute what is *real*, as he had to make this so. If conversion and sanctification be *really* a process of generation, then it is also really a dying and rising again inwardly, a being washed from our sins in water or in blood, a being leavened with leaven, purified by fire, &c. all of which are impossible in a *real* sense. In the use of metaphors, Holy Scripture will always be found, I believe, consistent with itself. He who is "converted" becomes at first "as a little child:" the direction of his will and desire is effectually changed: and he afterwards grows in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; until he arrives at "the measure of the stature of *his* fulness." 2 Peter iii.18. Eph. iv.13. Not so the "babe" of this pamphlet. For our author seems greatly perplexed in himself, to decide whether he *be born* at all, until sanctification is fully accomplished; that is, until he be arrived at manhood! "If any man in whom this birth has some real existence, finds himself still in a degree under the power of sin, he may be assured, that so far as he is so, he is not born of God." "No man is ever *wholly* born of God, who is not brought under his rule and government *in all things*." – "That which sinneth, in any man, is not born of God; is not the *new* man, but the *old* man, which is corrupt, and in which sin yet dwelleth." Note this monosyllable yet, which at once refutes the *real* doctrine, for it would imply, in *his* sense, that there may be in us, really one man already saved, and another in a capacity of salvation! The apostle John says, "Whosoever is born of God doth not sin; for his seed [the principle of Truth and righteousness, the Eternal Word] remaineth in him." &c. 1 John iii.9. But he also says, "*Whatsoever* is born of God, overcometh the world," 1 John v.4, which is a great and self-evident truth, closely connected with the former, and, as it were, the root of it. For nothing can be "born of God" in us, but what shall be pure, holy and harmless; *Light* in the understanding and *Love* in the affections, the two great preservatives (as every child of God knows) from the act and power of sin. The apostle says also: "He that committeth sin is of the devil." [but as if to prevent the too literal acceptance (of his being *born* of him) he adds] "for the

devil sinneth from the beginning." Ch. iii.8. But our author has a person much nearer to ourselves to lay the blame upon. He imputes all the "babe's" sins, to the old man "which is corrupt [as if it were really the original principle of Evil in us] and in which sin yet dwelleth" [as if it could notwithstanding be yet purified and saved.]

Such are the consequences of affecting to be wise above that which is written – of making that real which is metaphorical; that figurative or mystical which is literal – of not being content to take the plain text along with the context, and draw from both in humility and faith the instruction they may thus well afford – in short, of rejecting, from an apprehension of our own superior attainments and greater spirituality, the doctrines deduced from scripture, by Christians in all ages, concerning *salvation by Christ*.

It is greatly to be feared, that a spirit of self-righteousness may sometimes be lurking under these exalted pretensions. For how can a man be supposed to entertain and feed his mind upon such doctrine, without *applying* it to his own case and to his neighbours? He himself, forsooth, is regenerate and born again; he has in him, the only begotten, the son and heir of the promises, who ever beholds the kingdom, and dwells in it; nay, *claims* it as his rightful inheritance! *He* is the brother, and of late, it seems, also the *mother* of Christ! He needs no teaching of man – the anointing is in him, by which he knows all things – or if not as yet so, they will in due time be revealed to him, without research or inquiry on his part. *He* can do without the scriptures: he will be led and guided into all Truth without them: *the letter kills* [a text often perverted thus] *it is the spirit that giveth life*: – with much more of the like, that may be traced in what escapes from persons in this state of mind. As to the letter killing, let us here explain the text. 2 Cor. iii.3-6. "Ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ ministered by us, [here is a strong figure!] written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God, [the same thing with 'the anointing,' 1 John ii.27.] not in tables of stone, [as was the law of Moses] but in fleshly tables of the heart. And such trust have we, through Christ, to Godward. Not that we are sufficient of ourselves, to think any thing as of ourselves, [to arrive at positive conclusions concerning your state] but our sufficiency is of God; who also hath made us able ministers of the New Testament, [or Covenant] not of the letter [to wit, the law of Moses] but of the spirit: for the letter [of that law] *killeth* [by denouncing death for the breach of the commandment, and yet providing no remedy or escape] but the Spirit [of the living God in the new covenant] *giveth life*." Now, let any candid person try for his own satisfaction, whether he can bring any thing from this, or any other part of the Scriptures of Truth, which implies that the doctrines contained in that book, which (after the subject it treats of) is called the New Testament, do *kill*, or in any way prejudice the believer in Christ, by being *simply read and received into his understanding*: It was plainly not *the letter of this book* to which *the apostle* applied the text – but mark! his words will often be found so applied by those who think themselves highly spiritual. It is true, that "knowledge" without charity "puffeth up," and that charity edifieth, or *buildeth* up: but it buildeth, in part, with the very materials that inquiry and knowledge furnish. And the apostle in the very same Epistle had said, "Brethren be not children in understanding – howbeit in [freedom

from] *malice* be ye children, [here is the 'babe' of the apostle Paul] but in understanding be *men*." 1 Cor. xiv.20. For which end he had written them so many instructive advices.

The letter, then, killeth, and the spirit giveth life: but to whom does it give life? To those exclusively who have in their minds this view of it? By no means. One man may have been taught, that he is saved by the righteousness of Christ imputed to him, and by this merely, without any respect to his works: another may have imbibed the sentiment, that what Christ did and suffered *outwardly*, (as he may inconsiderately term it,) effected nothing for his eternal good: I think them both wrong: but as I believe that men are not saved merely by a *notion* of religion, so neither that they are lost merely through it: though, when fondly cherished and uncharitably contended for, their notions may hurt them as Christians, and impede or endanger their sanctification.

Our author himself, I am sorry to have to remark, does not appear to have had his charity towards others extended, or his humility deepened, by these speculations. "No doubt (he says in his preface) *professors* will object, as they always have done, to every unfolding of truth: but what avails their cavils, or indeed what avails their quiet, with us, if it is in a way that allows them to live at ease in sin, under a mistaken notion that they are going to heaven by Christ?" – "The Lord is on his way, gradually unveiling himself to his inquiring, seeking children; and wo, wo, from an all-righteous judge, to those who dare to lift a hand against the right-timed openings and revelations of his heavenly mysteries!" This note of admiration, I conclude, is the editors – but probably not in the sense in which I *admire* at the passage. For, let it be recollected, that not fire and faggot, personal restraint, or persecution, is here alluded to, but simply the *objections* (which he calls cavils) of professors of the same religion! But he proceeds, "I care not how soon their false rest is disturbed." – "I would as soon trust my immortal state upon the profession of *Deism*, as upon the common notions of salvation by Christ." These highly improper concessions to unbelieving spirits, are found in more than one or two places in the book. "I am as sure (says J. S.) there is no salvation out of Christ, as I am of any thing in the world: I am also as sure, that the common ideas of salvation are very greatly beside the true doctrine of salvation by Christ." So much for the sweeping sentence, which the author *is made, by this imprudent publication*, to pass upon his fellow professors of the Christian religion, without distinction of name or sect. Now, let us hear him speak of himself and his own experience – which he does towards the conclusion, in the following terms: "The substance of what I have written, I have at least learned mostly of the Father. I learned the mystery of it, not of man; neither was I ever clearly and livingly taught it by man, as man; but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." Are these the terms in which it becomes a poor finite being, endued with such limited powers, to speak of the Great Author and Finisher of our faith; and of those things, which, as the apostle himself says, we now know but in part, and see as through a glass, darkly? Not one of the apostles of Christ any where mentions God the Father as his teacher, in this familiar manner. And surely he had forgotten, at the moment, that he had ever read the New Testament; from the "letter" of which, his memory at least furnished him with another man's words, in which to clothe his own thoughts of his own attainments. Let *this* source of magnificent expression (to

which preachers and disputants so freely resort) be removed, and it would soon be seen into what, both the spirit of paradoxical inference from detached portions of the letter, and an exalted, mystical mode of expounding the hidden sense (where it is not,) would degenerate! But rather let it not be removed – for it is greatly needed on these occasions, to serve as a touchstone for the false gold, and detect the fallacy.

Let it not be thought, that in thus meeting the author of this piece, or rather the piece itself, as unceremoniously as it comes, (though there is more that is exceptionable left unnoticed,) I am actuated by any degree of hostility towards the memory or character of this deceased Friend. *Truth*, and above all, “the very Truth of God,” as he has expressed it, is too precious a thing to be deserted by its advocate, were it even certain that he would lose all his friends (in this world) by defending it: the author himself would have joined me in this conclusion. I believe *him* to have been a very sincere and spiritually minded man, a fervent, and in some respects, a useful and effectual preacher, and a good example in life and conversation. With the strong perception which he seems to have had of some doctrinal errors of *others*, (such as the Antinomians, who probably came frequently in his way,) I think it quite probable that with further humbling experience of the power of Truth, and further opportunities of conference with his equals, he might have come to see and correct *his own*. That with all these strange notions about *the manner* of salvation, he was enabled, through the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, and the sanctifying efficacy of the Holy Spirit, to experience (through faith) *the thing itself*, is what I entertain no doubt of. And here I trust I may safely leave him and conclude the subject.

Were I to be inquired of, whether there be at the present time any religious society or body of men on the face of the whole earth, who are entitled to draw between themselves and other “professors” a clear line of distinction, and say, “We know the rest are ignorant; we *possess* and *enjoy*; the rest are aliens: we are *the church*, they, the world that lieth in wickedness:” I must honestly reply, that I know of no such body or society. I believe that religious knowledge, accompanied by a heartfelt experience of the great work of sanctification, has of late years greatly spread and increased among mankind; and in quite as great a proportion without, as within, the pale of our own religious society, taken in its whole extent. In forming this conclusion, I have been guided by the rule which our Lord himself lays down concerning doctrines and teachers, By their fruits ye shall know them: for men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles. Matt. vii.6. And when, with unimpeachable integrity and unquestionable piety, I see joined, in many whom I know of other denominations, a lively concern and diligent endeavour to spread the knowledge of Christ; to promote (what I hope no sound member of our society will deny to be of great importance, and of great probable future utility to mankind) the reception and perusal of the Holy Scriptures: when I am obliged to admit, on certain evidence, that these labours have been blessed, and have succeeded to the turning of many to righteousness, Dan. xii.3, who before were dark, ignorant of the true God and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, sensual and unprincipled – when I behold these things in which we (as a body) have taken hitherto so little part, I own I feel for the Christian character and reputation of that part of the visible professing church on earth, to which I belong. We are, it may

be said, a peculiar people, and have peculiar Testimonies, in some respects, to bear to the simplicity, peaceableness and purity of Christ's kingdom. Granted – no one believes this, I trust, more firmly than I do: not many, perhaps, more sincerely desire that we may be faithful to our duty in these respects. The day will come, however, soon or late, when we must merge (if we remain so long a society) into the great assembly of the visible Church. For it is said, They shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion. Isa. lii.7-10. No squinting then upon each other, for differences of opinion among sound and faithful members of the true Church: but a universal charity at least – if not a most perfect agreement in the Truth!

But, O that before that day come, we the Religious Society of Friends, who have sometimes called ourselves the Lord's people, and who believe that we have Testimonies committed unto us to bear for His name, may not, by departing from the true humility and fear of God; by letting in the wide-wasting love of this world and its treasure; and by following strange doctrines, which have no root in scripture, and which vary with the mental complexion of every teacher, be scattered and come to nought. But I am persuaded better things (though I write thus to provoke to Christian zeal and emulation) of the sincere in our own society. I trust that they will yet more and more become, and long continue, a sober yet spiritually minded, a consistent, self-denying company of believers; bearing testimony to the Truth of God; not in words alone, in which we may err from want of knowledge, but in practice, where the way is safe and plain; and where our Great Example has gone before us, leaving us his footsteps that we might follow Him. We acknowledge, that our own opinions of the Christian religion, received by others, *merely as notions*, will effect no more for them, than they could for us: will constitute but the "letter" of the New Covenant, until written with the finger of God on fleshly tables of the heart. How important is it, then, for *all*, that they thus come to feel and possess that which they hear and speak of! In order to which, let us in humility and faith, commune in private with the Blessed Saviour, in his inward appearance in our minds. Here we may learn of him, *practically*, what it is to be born again, and what is the nature of his salvation: and having received *the Truth* "as little children," grow therein from stature to stature, till being finally gathered from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, we may be permitted to sit down with the faithful and saved of all generations in the kingdom of God. I am thy affectionate friend,
LUKE HOWARD

1826

Near Providence, Rhode Island the "Number 1" mill was built on the Branch River in Slatersville at Railroad street, replacing an 1806 mill that had burned.

The Hazard brothers bought out the last nonfamily investor in their IP&RG Hazard cotton cloth company.

President Asa Messer of Brown University, its professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, who had been in the administrative office for some 24 years, had been under attack by Baptist corporation members as a closet Unitarian, and had been needing to defend himself against anonymous pamphlets alleging that he did not subscribe to the divinity of Christ. In this year, finally, in Providence, Rhode Island, the pressure got to be too much for President Messer and with great bitterness he handed in his resignation.

Prudence Crandall matriculated at the New England Boarding School of the Religious Society of Friends in Providence, Rhode Island (now known as the Moses Brown School). It seems plausible that while at this boarding school, she knew Friend Abby Kelley.

Our national birthday, the 4th of July, Tuesday: The newspapers of 1826 abounded with descriptions of solemn odes, processions, orations, toasts, and other such commemoratives of July 4th, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration. One reflection of the public conception of the Declaration of Independence was Royall Tyler's "Country Song for the Fourth of July," a poem that describes a New England celebration of the Brother Jonathan type, where neighbors gather for food, fun, and festivities. A clear view of just how the political ideals of the Declaration of Independence were received by the masses shines through Tyler's rhymed directions for the country dance. Here is how his dance appeared in an 1841 publication (although Tyler, who would die on August 26, 1826 from cancer of the face, could only have composed this in a considerably earlier timeframe).

Squeak the fife and beat the drum,
Independence day is come!!
Let the roasting pig be bled,
Quick twist off the cockerel's head.
Quickly rub the pewter platter.
Heap the nutcakes, fried in butter.
Set the cups, and beaker glass,
The Pumpkin and the apple sauce.

Send the keg to shop for brandy;
Maple sugar we have handy,
Independent, staggering Dick,
A noggin mix of swingeing thick,
Sal, put on your russet skirt,
Jotham, get your **boughten** shirt,
To-day we dance to tiddle diddle.
—Here comes Sambo with his fiddle;

Sambo, take a dram of whiskey,
And play up Yankee doodle frisky.
Moll, come leave your witched tricks,
And let us have a reel of six;
Father and mother shall make two;
Sal, Moll, and I, stand all a-row,
Sambo, play and dance with quality;
This is the day of blest equality,

Father and **mother** are but **men**,
And Sambo — is a citizen.
Come foot it, Sal, — Moll, figure in.
And, mother, you dance up to him;
Now saw fast as e'er you can do
And father, you cross o'er to Sambo,
—Thus we dance, and thus we play,
On glorious Independence Day. —

[2 more verses in like manner]

On this 50th anniversary of our American independence, which at the time we were referring to as our “Jubilee of Freedom” event, on the 22d birthday of Nathaniel Hawthorne, both former President Thomas Jefferson and former President John Adams died.¹⁸ This was taken at the time to constitute a sign of national favor from Heaven, although why death ought to be regarded as a sign of favor remains untheorized — perhaps once again we Americans were “pushing the envelope” of what it is to be a human being. At any rate, this coincidence would become quite the topic for conversation in our American republic.

FAMOUS LAST WORDS: Thomas Jefferson: “Is it the 4th?” —Ah.” John Adams: “Thomas Jefferson still survives” (actually Jefferson had died at 12:50PM and then Adams died at 5:30PM.)

Even before news of Jefferson’s demise had reached Washington DC, Mayor Roger C. Weightman was having his final letter read aloud at that city’s Independence Day national-birthday festivities. The most stirring words in that former president’s missive — his assertion that the mass of mankind had not been born “with saddles on their backs” nor a favored few “booted and spurred” to “ride” them — had of course originated in the speech delivered by the leveler Colonel Richard Rumbold on the scaffold moments before his execution for treason against the English monarchy, at the conclusion of the English Civil War, in the Year of Our Lord 1685.¹⁹ Those who noticed that the former President had intentionally or unknowingly been borrowing sentiments did not see fit to record that fact in writing.²⁰

Former president Jefferson’s death at Monticello (“All my wishes and where I hope my days will end — at Monticello.”) would be followed shortly by the auction of his 90 black slaves over 12 years of age — along with

18. At any rate, this coincidence would become quite the topic for conversation in our American republic. Refer to L. H. Butterfield, “The Jubilee of Independence, July 4, 1826,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXI (1953), pages 135-38; Joseph J. Ellis, *Passionate Sage: The Character and Legacy of John Adams* (NY, 1993), pages 210-16; Robert P. Hay, “The Glorious Departure of the American Patriarchs: Contemporary Reactions to the Deaths of Jefferson and Adams,” *Journal of Southern History*, XXXV (1969), pages 543-55; Merrill D. Peterson, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*, 1960, pages 3-14.

19. Macaulay’s *HISTORY OF ENGLAND*, Chapter V; Adair, Douglass. “Rumbold’s Dying Speech, 1685, and Jefferson’s Last Words on Democracy, 1826,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, IX (1952): pages 526, 530:

I never could believe that Providence had sent a few men into the world, ready bootied and spurred to ride, and millions ready saddled and bridled to be ridden.

Rumbold was not merely being hanged but being hanged, drawn, and quartered — the penalty for an attempt upon the monarch. This trope about horses, saddles, boots, and spurs was taken at the time to have been originated by Jefferson, in John A. Shaw’s EULOGY, PRONOUNCED AT BRIDGEWATER, MASSACHUSETTS, AUGUST 2D, 1826 and in Henry Potter’s EULOGY, PRONOUNCED IN FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH-CAROLINA, JULY 20TH, 1826 and in John Tyler’s EULOGY, PRONOUNCED AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, JULY 11, 1826 in A SELECTION OF EULOGIES, PRONOUNCED IN THE SEVERAL STATES, IN HONOR OF THOSE ILLUSTRIOUS PATRIOTS AND STATESMEN, JOHN ADAMS AND THOMAS JEFFERSON (Hartford CT: 1826). See also THE LAST LETTER OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS STATESMAN, THOMAS JEFFERSON, ESQ. AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: BEING HIS ANSWER TO AN INVITATION TO JOIN THE CITIZENS OF WASHINGTON IN CELEBRATING THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE: MONTICELLO, JUNE 24, 1826 (Washington DC: 1826).

That 17th-Century incident was not the first one in our history to conform to the dictum “there must be none higher than us, though of course there must always be some lower than us,” for in the 14th Century the Reverend John Ball had been hanged for preaching against public toleration of privileged classes:

*“When Adam dalf [digged] and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman?”*

20. Note that we have here an American author who is establishing his claim to fame upon his being the author of the memorable phrases of our foundational document, and who is attempting incautiously to do so by appropriating phrases originated by someone else. Also, we have here an American public so stupid or so patriotic that it lets him get away with it. Witness John A. Shaw, EULOGY, PRONOUNCED AT BRIDGEWATER, MASSACHUSETTS, AUGUST 2D, 1826 in *A Selection of Eulogies, Pronounced in the Several States, in Honor of Those Illustrious Patriots and Statesmen, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson* (Hartford, Conn., 1826), 163; Henry Potter, “Eulogy, Pronounced in Fayetteville, North-Carolina, July 20th, 1826,” *ibid.*, 130; John Tyler, “Eulogy, Pronounced at Richmond, Virginia, July 11, 1826,” *ibid.*, 7-8; *National Intelligencer*, July 4, 1826; *Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot*, July 12, 1826; *Philadelphia Gazette*, July 5, 1826; *Commercial Chronicle and Baltimore Advertiser*, July 11, 1826; *The last letter of the illustrious statesman, Thomas Jefferson, Esq. author of the Declaration of Independence: Being his answer to an invitation to join the citizens of Washington in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of American independence: Monticello, June 24, 1826* (Washington, D.C., 1826).

his 12 black slaves between 9-12 years of age, his 73 cows of unknown coloration, and his 27 horses also of unknown coloration— for he had been living quite beyond his means, bringing back with him for instance from France no fewer than 86 large crates of civilized goodies. Jefferson did, however, set free his mulatto blood relatives. Jefferson, one might say, in allowing that after a certain number of crosses with white daddys, an infant ought to be considered to be white, had “pushed the envelope” of what it meant to be a human being. Yeah, right.



Stephen Foster, who would compose “Oh, Susanna,” was born on the 4th of July.

Mary Moody Emerson entered into her Almanack a comment that this was the day on which her Country had thrown the gage (thrown down the gauntlet, issued a challenge to a duel of honor):

*tho' the revolution gave me to slavery of poverty
& ignorance & long orphanship, — yet it gave my
fellow men liberty*



Isabella (Sojourner Truth), who would have been approximately 29 years old, had in this year borne another daughter, whom she had named Sophia, who would need to grow up laboring as an indentured servant, by the husband Thomas to whom she had been assigned by her master who would not admit that he was a husband. She had once again increasing the prosperity of the master race! The remaining slaves of New York State were to be freed one year from this date, and John Dumont had solemnly promised Isabella in some earlier period that he would free her and her husband “a year early” and set them up in a nearby log cabin. So it had come time for the white race to be true to its word. However, since the master had made that commitment to this enslaved woman, she had carelessly chopped off one of her fingers while working for him —so he figured she couldn’t work as productively with only nine fingers as she had with ten, and so —he figured she must still owe him some work. Fair’s fair, right? No freedom, no cabin, not yet, instead work some more for nothing. (But

don't lose heart, as maybe later I'll be able to keep my solemn promise.)

In New Harmony, Indiana, Robert Dale Owen gave a speech he called his "Declaration of Mental Independence."

In Providence, Rhode Island, four of those who had participated in the capture of the British armed schooner *Gaspe* during the Revolutionary War rode in a parade.

In Newport, Major John Handy read the Declaration of Independence "on the identical spot which he did 50 years ago," in the presence of Isaac Barker of Middletown, Rhode Island, "who was at his side in the same place fifty years before." Patriotic fun and games! Friend Stephen Wanton Gould protested to his journal:

3rd day 4th of 7th M 1826 / This is what is called Independence Day - & an exceeding troublesome one it is to all sober Minded people - The expence of this day given to the poor or appropriated to public school would school all the poor children in town for some time. - Last night, we were the whole night greatly troubled & kept Awake, by the firing of squibs & crackers, great Bonfire in the middle of the Parade & tar Barrells, with various noises which were kept up all night & consequently kept us & many others awake, to our great discomfiture - in addition to which is the bitter reflection of the discipation & corruption of habits & morals to which our youth are exposed. - & today we have had numerous scenes of drunkenness both among the Aged & Youth, & many act of wickedness - besides the pomp & vain show apparant in all parts of the Town - This evening again we are troubled with noise & tumult & what kind of a night we are to have cannot be told. -

In New-York, 4 gold medals had been ordered to be struck by the Common Council: 3 were for surviving signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the 4th was given to the son of Robert Fulton as a memorial of "genius in the application of steam."

In a celebration at Lynchburg, Virginia, among the "aged patriots of '76" were General John Smith and Captain George Blakenmore.

At the South Meeting House of Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas stood on the spot from which he had read the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

The Frederick-Town Herald of Frederick, Maryland announced that it would no longer be publishing the usual round of "generally dull, insipid" dinner toasts, "about which few feel any interest."

In Salem, North Carolina, the Moravian Male Academy was dedicated.

In Quincy, Massachusetts, Miss Caroline Whitney delivered an address on the occasion of the presentation of a flag to the Quincy Light Infantry.

In Arlington, Virginia, General Washington's tent, the very same tent that the General had been using at the heights of Dorchester in 1775, was re-erected near the banks of the Potomac River for purposes of celebration.

September 26: Back in 1814, Friend Moses Brown had committed himself to donating 43 acres of his farm on Providence Neck in Providence, Rhode Island for use as a Quaker school. In 1819 the school had begun operation. On this date the details of the transaction were completed. A certified clerk's copy is to be inspected in Book 54, on page 455, of the bound copies of historical title transactions kept just under the mansard roof of our Providence City Hall. Providence Neck is now referred to as "the East Side." The land deeded as of this date was along what is now referred to as Olney Street, but at the time this road was being referred to as "Neck Road." (Neck Road ran directly up the hill along what is now Olney Street, turned at the top of the hill to follow what is now Morris Avenue, then turned again along what is now Sessions Street and Cole Street and Rochambeau Avenue, and plunged through what is now the entrance to Butler Hospital, to Swan Point and then to the Pawtucket Line. This was the track that one would follow if one wanted to, say, for some reason, journey to Boston.) The land deeded as of this date was also along what was then being referred to as "Ferry lane," which roughly approximated what is now Hope Street except that it came to an end into Olney at a point somewhat to the west of the present Hope/Olney intersection. Neither the leaky city water reservoir nor the Hope High School on the west side of the street had as yet been constructed (nor even the High School building which had preceded this current High School building, on the east side of the street where there are now doctors' offices). The 43 acres of the Moses Brown farm being bequeathed actually extended a number of feet to the west of what is now the intersection of Hope Street and Olney Street, passing underneath where the current Hope High School building now stands. Also, a portion of this Moses Brown farm being bequeathed was actually north of the present course of Olney Street. Also, to the east, the Moses Brown farm being bequeathed then extended all the way down the hill to what is now the midline of Arlington Avenue. What you see now as the Moses Brown property, therefore, is truncated, for it had in the beginning extended to include the land of the row of house lots now along the west side of the campus, the land under the two rows of house lots now along the north side of the campus, and the land under the two rows of house lots now along the east side of the campus.

The salient portions of the bequest of 1826 are to be found in the phrases "*for and in consideration of his regard and affection for the principals of truth, as recorded in the Holy Scriptures, and professed by the People called Quakers and Known among themselves by the name of Friends, and from a desire that the children and rising generations may be educated in a guarded manner, both as to their moral and religious principals, as professed by the said People and practiced by the faithful among them,*" and "*and their successors and assigns forever in Trust, for the use intent and purpose for the aforesaid People called Friends or Quakers, of the yearly meeting for New-England to erect suitable buildings thereon for a School House or Houses for the use, intent and purpose of instruction and of a guarded, religious, moral and literary education, of the rising generation of Friends, and such others as they may think best to admit in a Boarding Schoole or Schools, according to the original minutes of the intentions of Said Yearly Meeting, which said Tract of Land so conveyed to us as aforesaid was by the provisions of said Deed, to be at the sole disposal and under the direction of the said Yearly Meeting of Friends, but always in such as manner; as, that the sole interest property, rents, profits, income, and use of the same should be applied at all times forever to and for the sole use and purpose of keeping up and maintaining thereon a Boarding School or Schools for the education of the rising generation as aforesaid, and to and for no other use or purpose whatever,*" and "*To have and to hold, the said granted premisses with all the privileges and appurtenances thereof to the said Incorporated Society of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New-England, and their successors forever, in Trust for the sole uses, intents and purposes, of erecting suitable Buildings for a School House or Houses for a Boarding School or Schools, and of keeping up and maintaining a Boarding School or Schools thereof for the Religious, Moral, and Literary Education of the rising generation of Friends and such others as the present Grantees may think best, from time to time to admit into the said School or Schools. And the said granted premisses and the property, rents, income and profits thereof, are at all times hereafter, to be at the disposal and under the direction and management of the said Incorporated Society of the Yearly Meeting of Friends as for New England and their successors forever, to be applied by them for the sole use and purpose of educating the rising generation in manner as aforesaid, and for no other use or purpose whatever. And the said Incorporated Society,*

and their successors forever as aforesaid, are hereby authorized and empowered, directed and required, at all times forever hereafter, fully effectually and faithfully to fulfil, perform, and execute all and singular the uses, trusts and purposes, as set forth, expressed and declared, in the Deed aforesaid of the said Moses Brown, reference thereto being had as aforesaid, and also, as the same are in this present Deed set forth, expressed and declared according to the true interest and a meaning thereof." These are the words, manifestly, of a group of people, including Friend Moses Brown, who had close familiarity with the ways of the world, "the way the world works," and in particular had a close familiarity with the ways in which decent intentions may be subvertible over the course of time in the pursuit of expediency. These are the words, manifestly, of a group of people who were intent upon preventing, if at all possible, their decent intentions from being, in the distant future, subverted. Their voices cry out to us now:

*To all People to whom these Presents shall come. /
 Know ye, Whereas Moses
 Brown of Providence by his deed bearing date /
 on the twenty sixth day
 of the ninth month AD 1826, and recorded in the /
 Town Clerks office in
 said Town in book N^o 42 pages 400, 401, /
 and 402, for and in consid-
 eration of his regard and affection for the /
 principals [sic] of truth, as recorded
 in the Holy Scriptures, and professed by the People /
 called Quakers and
 Known among themselves by the name of Friends, /
 and from a desire
 that the children and rising generations may be /
 educated in a
 guarded manner, both as to their moral and /
 religious principals [sic], as
 professed by the said People and practiced by the /
 faithful among
 them, gave, granted, conveyed and confirmed, a certain /
 lot of land
 being the north west part of the farm, whereupon the /
 said Moses dwells
 containing by estimation about forty three acres, /
 be the same more or
 less and is bounded as follows, beginning at the south /
 west corner of the
 granted premises, and at the north west corner of land /
 late belonging
 to Knight Dexter, at the road formerly called Ferry /
 lane, thence
 along the dividing line as the wall now stands, /
 about thirty eight rods
 to a turn in the wall [the following inserted between /
 the lines with a ^ mark] /
 {then along the same about forty one rods to /
 another turn in the wall} thence /
 about twenty one rods, to the road at the
 north east corner, of land late belonging to said Dexter, /
 in said Providence
 neck, thence north about sixteen degrees west seventy /
 five rods along
 the said road as the Wall now stands, to a corner of /*

the Stone Wall opposite the Land
 belonging to the children of Daniel Brown deceased, /
 then turning and running Westward, by the
 Stone Wall and ^the Road twenty eight Rods then turning /
 at another corner of the Wall, at ^the junction
 of an other Road, and turning and running South /
 about twelve degrees West about eight and a half
 Rods, along the said Road leading from Providence /
 through the Neck to Pawtucket, then
 running Westerly about thirty seven rods towards said /
 Town till it meets Thomas L. Halseys
 Wall, then turning and running South about two degrees /
 West along said Halseys and said Moses line
 as the wall stands about Forty seven Rods, the turning /
 West about seventeen degrees South about
 twenty Rods, along the dividing line aforesaid, to /
 the first mentioned highway, then South about
 twenty seven degrees East along the said highway as /
 the Wall stands about thirty four Rods to the first
 mentioned corner, to his for Obadiah Brown, /
 Sylvester Wickes, and Micajah Collins, /
 all since deceased,
 and also to us William Almy, William Buffum, /
 Thomas Howland, David Buffum, Samuel Rodman
 and William Rotch junior and their succefsors and /
 afsigns forever in Trust, for the use intent and
 purpose for the aforesaid People called Friends /
 or Quakers, of the yearly Meeting for /
 New-England to
 erect suitable buildings thereon for a School House /
 or Houses for the use, intent and purpose /
 of instruct-
 =ion and of a guarded, religious, moral and /
 literary education, of the rising generation /
 of Friends, and such others
 as they may think best to admit in a Boarding /
 Schoole [sic] or Schools, /
 according to the original minutes of the intentions
 of Said Yearly Meeting, which said Tract of Land /
 so conveyed to us ^as aforesaid was /
 by the provisions of said Deed, to be at
 the sole disposal and under the direction of the /
 said Yearly Meeting of Friends, but always /
 in such a manner, as, that
 the sole interest property, rents, profits, income, /
 and use of the same should be applied /
 at all times forever to and
 for the sole use and purpose of keeping up and /
 maintaining thereon a Boarding School /
 or Schools for
 the education of the rising generation as aforesaid, /
 and to and for no other use or purpose whatever, /
 as is
 fully set forth expressed and declared, in the said /
 Deed, of said Moses Brown, reference thereto /

being had.
 And whereas the said Yearly Meeting of /
 Friends have since the execution of said /
 Deed become an
 Incorporated Society by the name of the Yearly meeting /
 of Friends for New-England by virtue of /
 an
 Act of the General Assembly of this State passed /
 at their October Fefsion One thousand
 eight hundred and Twenty three, entitled /
 "An Act to authorise [sic] and enable the /
 Yearly Meeting of
 Friends for New-England to receive, hold, /
 manage, appropriate and dispose of property /
 for
 charitable and benevolent and for other /
 purposes" reference to said Act being had. /
 And whereas it is
 believed by all the parties interested in said tract /
 of Land, and in the Trusts expressed and declared /
 in
 said Deed, the Trusts and purposes aforesaid would /
 be better performed, and the intentions of /
 said Moses
 Brown more fully executed carried into effect /
 by a conveyance of said Trust property /
 to said Incorpo
 rated Society and the same being conformable /
 to the provisions of said Deed and having /
 been required
 by the School committee of the Yearly Meeting of /
 Friends for New-England, by their minutes /
 bearing date
 the second day of the eleventh month one thousand /
 eight hundred and twenty seven, reference /
 thereto being
 had, it is deemed prudent, expedient and advisable, /
 to convey the said Trust property, /
 to them and their
 Succesfsors accordingly. Now Know ye, that We the /
 said Moses Brown, William Almy, William
 Buffum, Thomas Howland, David Buffum, Samuel Rodman /
 and William Rotch Jun^r in considera
 =tion of the premesis and for the further consideration /
 of One Dollar to us paid by the said Incorporated
 Society of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for /
 New-England the receipt whereof /
 is hereby acknowledged, and
 to the intent and purpose that the Trusts aforesaid /
 should be completely executed, do hereby /
 give, grant, conv
 =ey and confirm to the said Incorporated Society /
 of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for /
 New England, and
 to their Succesfsors forever, the ^afore described /

Tract of Land, with all the privileges /
 and appurtenances thereto
 belonging. ~ To have and to hold, the said granted /
 premisses with all the privileges and /
 appurtenances thereof
 to the said Incorporated Society of the Yearly Meeting /
 of Friends for New-England, and their successors
 forever, in Trust for the sole uses, intents /
 and purposes, of erecting suitable Buildings /
 for a School House
 or Houses for a Boarding School or Schools, /
 and of keeping up and maintaining a /
 Boarding School or
 Schools thereof for the Religious, Moral, /
 and Literary Education of the rising generation /
 of Friends
 and such others as the present Grantees may think /
 best, from time to time to admit into the /
 said School or
 Schools. And the said granted premisses and the /
 property, rents, income and profits thereof, /
 are at all times
 hereafter, to be at the disposal and under the /
 direction and management of the said /
 Incorporated Society
 of the Yearly Meeting of Friends as for New England /
 and their successors forever, to be applied /
 by them
 for the sole use and purpose of educating /
 the rising generation in manner as aforesaid, /
 and for no
 other use or purpose whatever. And the said /
 Incorporated Society, and their successors /
 forever as afore
 =said, are hereby authorized and empowered, /
 directed and required, at all times /
 forever hereafter, fully effect
 =ually and faithfully to fulfil, perform, /
 and execute all and singular the uses, /
 trusts and purposes, as set
 forth, expressed and declared, in the Deed /
 aforesaid of the said Moses Brown, /
 reference thereto being had
 as aforesaid, and also, as the same are /
 in this present Deed set forth, /
 expressed and declared according to
 the true interest and a meaning thereof.

In Witnefs whereof we /
 have hereunto set our hands and Seals this
 Ninth day of the Eleventh month AD One thousand /
 eight hundred and twenty seven,
 Signed Sealed and delivered in Moses Brown {LS}
 presence of William Almy {LS}
 Nathan W Jackson Thomas Howland {LS}
 Steph Hopkins. Wm Buffum {LS}

Walter Allen Sam¹ /
Mann witnefses to Wm Buffums /
signature David Buffum {LS}
Benj Cornell Stephen Goule witnefses /
to David Buffums signature William Rotch Jr {LS}
T Whitehead Joseph Rotch witnefs to /
William Rotchs ^jr signature Samuel Rodman {LS}
and also to Samuel Rodman /
signature {LS}
Providence Ye Town of Providence /
November 9th 1827
Personally appeared Mofes Brown and acknowledged /
the foregoing instrument to his free act /
and deed hand
and Seal Before me Nathan W Jackson
Town Clerk
Providence Ye town of Providence November 12 1827
Personally appeared William Almy and Thomas Howland /
and severally acknowledged the foregoing
instrument to be their free Act and Deed hand and Seal
Before me
Nathan W Jackson
Town Clerk

1827

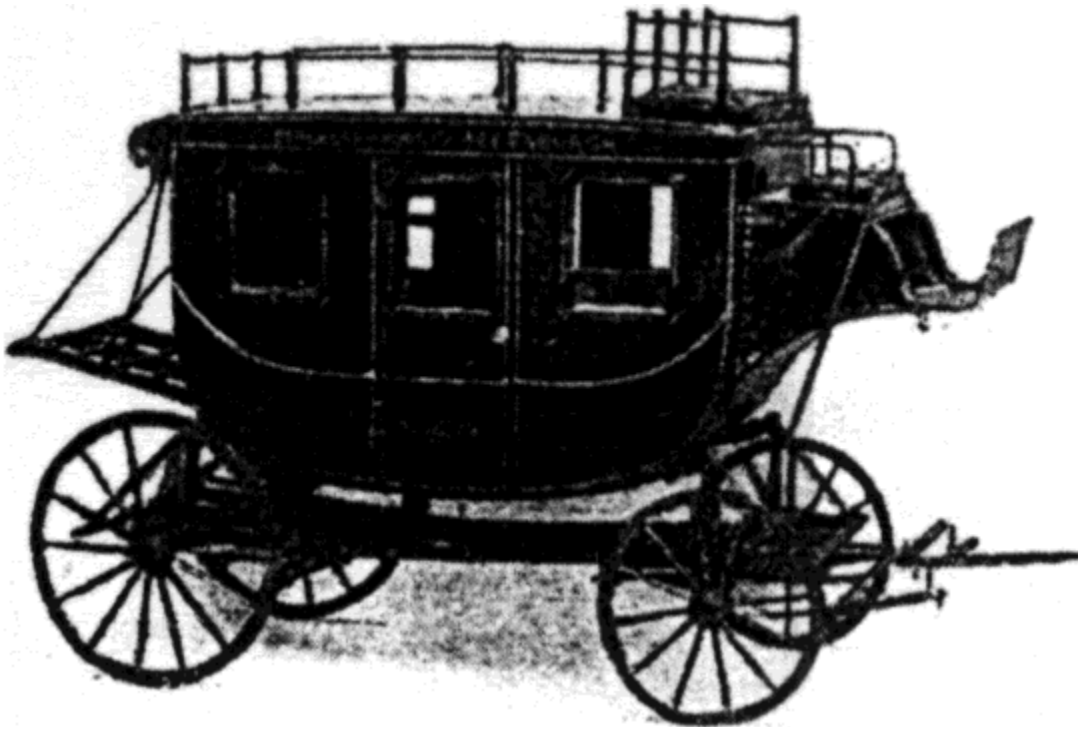
The increasing schism among Friends, between Hicksite and Orthodox, began to have a deleterious impact upon Quaker educational institutions. The secondary education that was available inside the city of Philadelphia was under the control of the Orthodox body. Hicksite Friends, therefore, in the country, had begun to have a problem in securing an appropriate secondary education for their young people. Since 1799 they had for instance been sending their young people to the Westtown School in Chester County, but in this year this school also came under the control of Orthodox Friends.



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

We may note in passing that the school sponsored by the New England Yearly Meeting, in Providence, Rhode Island, the school now known as the Moses Brown school, was firmly under the control of the Orthodox side of the schism. Hicksite Friends were not welcome, not even to visit, not even to worship. The reason for that was Friend Moses Brown himself. Moses had decided that abolitionism, the abolition of race slavery, meant segregation, the separation of the races, but the Hicksites had decided that abolitionism meant integration into a “Peaceable Kingdom” of the races: amalgamation. The two sides, Jim Crow segregationism versus liberal race mingling, had become anathema to one another.

J. Stephens Abbot, a journeyman coach body maker of Salem MA who had learned his trade with and had been at work for Mr. Frothingham, a somewhat celebrated coachmaker, had been hired by Lewis Downing, Senior to come to Concord NH and fabricate three coach bodies. He had arrived in Concord the previous Christmas Eve. During the winter and spring he fashioned the first coach bodies ever built in New Hampshire. Basically the Concord coach was an English-model carriage modified for rough American roads, with its body suspended well above its axles upon leather straps which converted much of the up-and-down jarring into a less unsettling side-to-side swaying. There would be models of this that would seat 6, 8, 10, or 12.



The first coach was completed and went out of the shop during July, and was sold to John Sheperd. One of the remaining two was soon sold in Vermont. After completing his job with Mr. Downing, Mr. Abbot went to Framingham MA and was about to form a business connection there, but this was intercepted due to friendly counsel and advice from a local tavernkeeper. He then went to Providence, Rhode Island and worked a short time, but not feeling contented returned to Concord in the fall, and would be taken in as a partner by Downing at the beginning of the following year.

Father Robert D. Woodley was sent to Providence, Rhode Island by Benedict Fenwick, Bishop of New England, and began to conduct Catholic services in Mechanics' Hall. (His congregation would not rise higher than about 200, and he would be succeeded after about 3 years by Father John Corry. They would move their worship services from Mechanics' Hall to the "Old Town House," and would erect SS. Peter and Paul Church in 1837. The Right Reverend T.F. Hendricken would be consecrated as the 1st bishop of Providence on April 28, 1872.)

The Providence Steam Mill was established by Samuel Slater and others in Providence, Rhode Island.



Professor Francis Wayland became the President of Brown University.

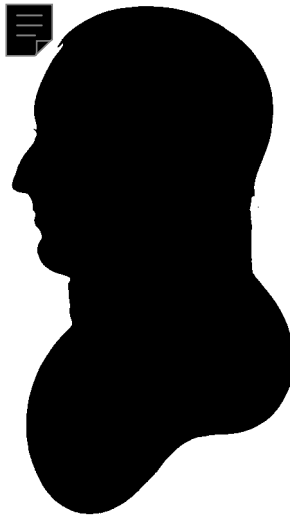


In Rhode Island, the last recorded meeting of the Providence Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade.

January 1, Monday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal about Yearly Meeting School in Providence, Rhode Island:

2nd day 1st of 1st M 1827 / This day in the Stage our dear Son John returned from the Yearly Meeting School at Providence where he has been about seventeen [smudged] 17 Months — We were heartily glad to see him. — but the rejoicing is mingled with fear & anxiety about his future welfare as his return is for a preparation for another perhaps longer separation. — his present prospect is to go to Hudson to enter a Factory there belonging to Benj Marshall to learn the Art of Making Calico & other cotton goods. — We enter the New year & I feel under solemn impressions, which

perhaps may as well be felt as expressed. —²¹



1828

Friend Sarah Helen Power of Providence, Rhode Island married with the wellborn poet and writer John Winslow Whitman, co-editor of the Boston Spectator and Ladies' Album, and moved to Boston. There she would be introduced to Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale and the Transcendentalists, and would write essays defending Romantic and Transcendentalist writers including Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Percy Bysshe Shelley, and Waldo Emerson. She became involved in the “causes” of progressive education, woman’s rights, universal manhood suffrage, Fourierism, and Unitarianism.



21. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1823-1829: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 8 Folder 13: October 2, 1823-March 6, 1829; also on microfilm, see Series 7

The Dexter Asylum began to “provide care” for the poor, aged and mentally ill of Rhode Island. The building was of painted brick, five stories in the center with three stories in the wings, and with a granite basement. Thus would continue until 1957. Ebenezer Knight Dexter’s magnificent gift to the town, though much needed at the time, later would be seen as an anachronism — a walled and isolated “poor farm” in the midst of Providence’s residential east side, where nobody wanted to be reminded of the unfortunate among us. It is evident that in the minds of the people administering the institution, this state Asylum fell into the same general category as the punitive and disciplinary and custodial facilities located more fortuitously in woebegone Cranston, to wit, the State Workhouse and House of Corrections, the State Hospital for the Insane, the State Almshouse, the State Prison and Providence County Jail, and the State Reform Schools. The general rubric under which all these state facilities traveled, indiscriminately, was “Rhode Island State Institutions.” Early inmates at the asylum farm with “no visible means of support” were indentured to labor, under threat of punishment, in return merely for their room, board, and clothing. The asylum was not only a farm but also a manufacturing facility at which junk and oakum rope products were produced for the shipping industry. Records of sales of milk, vegetables, and general produce show that, despite all this virtually free labor, expenses usually exceeded earnings. The farm had constant difficulty merely in feeding itself.



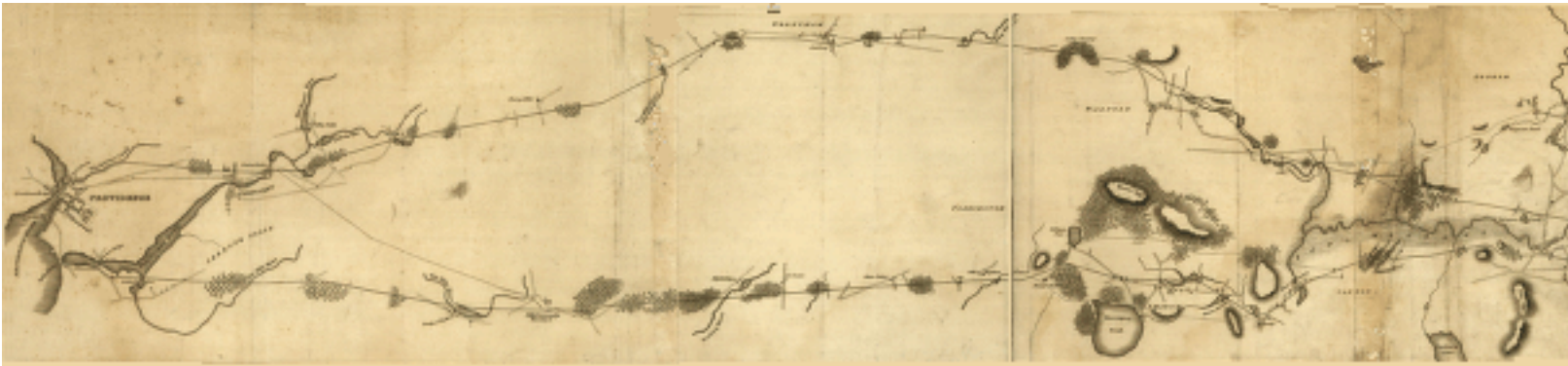
From this point forward, on each 3d Saturday in December in the Council Chamber of City Hall, a “Town Meeting” would be held by “freemen” of Providence per terms of the will, to transact business relating to the Dexter donations.

A grassy enclosure of about 9 1/2 acres, on the property, located west of Dexter Street near High Street, would be put into service as a militia training field.

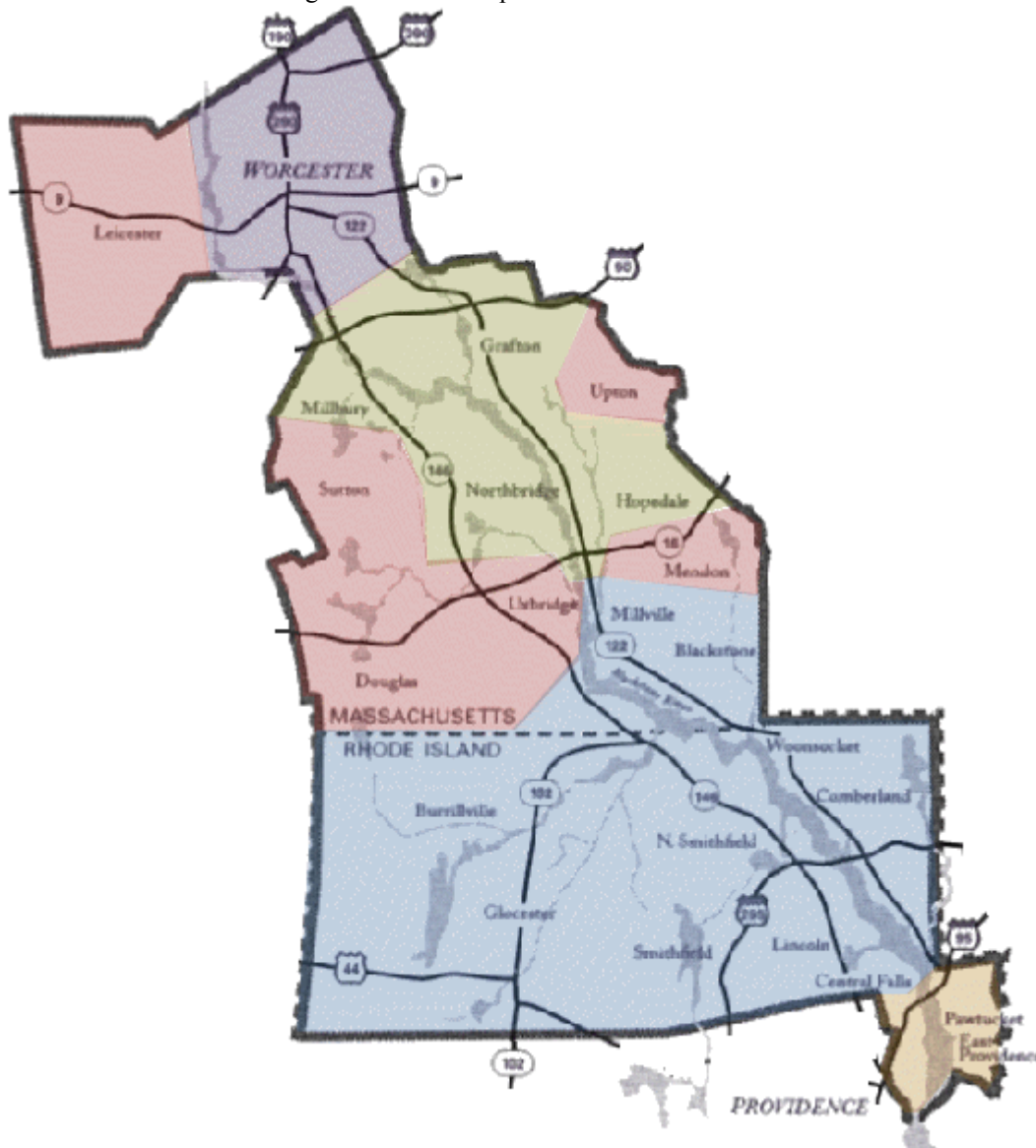
The Blackstone Canal was completed and horse-drawn barges began making daily round trips between Worcester and Providence, Rhode Island. Until this canal opened, it cost more to freight Boston goods 40 miles



overland to Worcester than it did to ship them the 3,000 miles across the Atlantic to Liverpool, England. The new canal was 45 miles long and had 48 granite locks. There not being enough water in the Blackstone River watershed to supply both the canal and the mills along the way, a river mill faction would dump boulders into the canal and a canal faction would conspire to burn down mills, until 1835 when steam power would begin to transform both river mills and canals into the irrelevant rustic raw materials for scenic postcards. However, such railroad routes were already being schemed:



Blackstone Canal resident engineer Edwin Phelps issued THE BLACKSTONE CANAL MAP BOOK.



“The Arcade” was built on Westminster and Weybossett Streets in Providence, Rhode Island at a cost of about \$140,000. The huge 21-foot tall solid granite columns were cut by Joseph Olney from the quarry at Bear Ledges, Graniteville (along the present Route 44 just east of the present Interstate 295) and hauled to Providence not on barges but by oxcart. One of these massive stone columns fractured in transit, and was used instead in the town cemetery (you can still view a repurposed section of that split column as you drive along Branch Avenue past the local cemetery). Such arcades had existed in London, by the way, since 1818, and the Reynolds Arcade would go into operation in Rochester, New York in the following year. The glass-covered central court of this granite edifice serves as a pleasant and convenient passageway from Westminster to Weybossett St. At either end of the building stairways lead to galleries around the upper floors. There are 26 retail stores on each of its three levels:



The old schoolhouse at 24 Meeting Street in Providence became the site of Rhode Island’s first public school open to its black citizens.

May: John William Davis, who would eventually become governor of Rhode Island (1887/1888, 1890/1891), would as an 80-year-old man retain a memory from his long-ago toddlerhood of having stood in a chair at a window in his home to witness, at the tender age of two years plus some months, during May 1828, a company of militia, the “Palmer’s River Company,” making their way to or from Training Day on a rural road near Providence (presumably in Rehoboth?):

The uniforms of the privates were dark dress-coats, white linen trousers and silk hats each bearing a plate strapped to the crown, in which a white plume with a red top was conspicuous. Their accoutrements were muskets, bayonets, cartridge-box and knapsacks. The officers wore tall bell crowned chapeaux, decorated with gold lace and feathers, dress coats of blue lined with buff, huge high collars trimmed with gold tinsel and cord, epaulets with gilt buttons in regulation order, with buckskin short breeches, knee buckles, and long hose with white-topped boots turned down and tassels. Capt. Bullock as I recollect wore

two epaulets while Lieut. Burr supported but one. It was to me altogether a spectacle particularly gorgeous to behold. I have seen many a parade since then but none quite so impressive. We could not then have detailed it just as now, but the image upon the mind was so fixed that it is perfect even now.

This same elderly gentleman would retain also from his long-ago toddlerhood a memory of an ebony cane with an ivory fist at its top:

The same season an uncle who had been stricken with paralysis came to our house using an ebony cane with an ivory fist upon its top. I recollect having much interest to know whose fist it was and whether or not it was alive. This uncle as may be seen by his grave tablet died in the summer of 1828, hence the date and my age at that time are known. The foregoing incidents like many other well-remembered ones all trivial in themselves are here recorded to show that two or three years is age sufficient to enable the child brain to take and hold impressions that become life long recollections and the need of great care in presenting only what is true and proper.

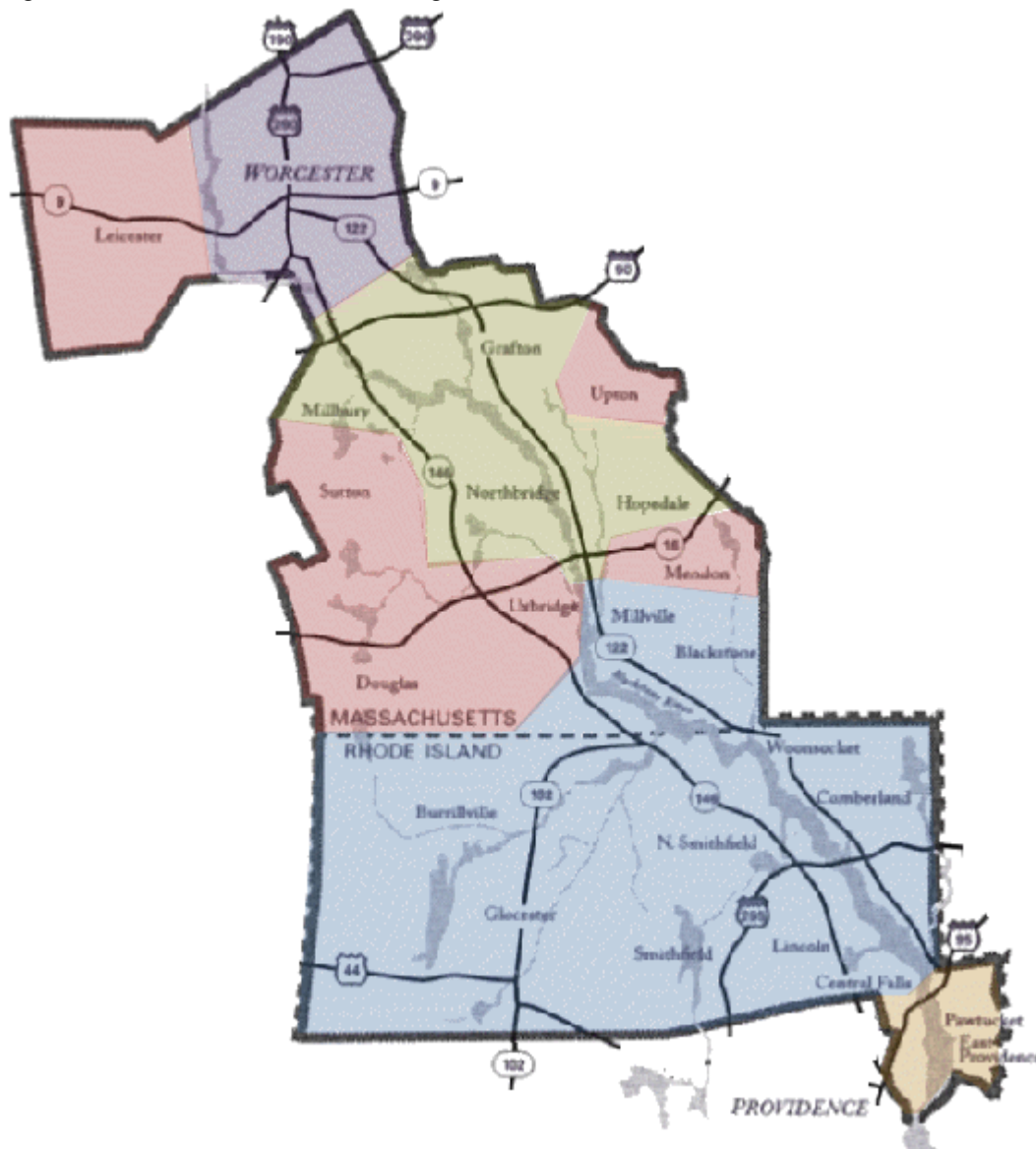
October 7: Isaiah Thomas (1749-1831), “the first American capitalist of the printing business,” witnessed the 1st canal barge from Providence, Rhode Island arriving at its Worcester dock at Thomas Street, on property which he personally had donated to the city.

The barge that was the 1st to travel the entire length of the new waterway opening up the center of Massachusetts was the *Lady Carrington*. One official guest had fallen overboard and had had to be rescued with a boat hook. The Blackstone Canal’s depth was a minimum of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and it descended $451\frac{1}{2}$ feet by way of a series of 62 locks to its outlet in Providence. Until this canal opened, it cost more to freight Boston

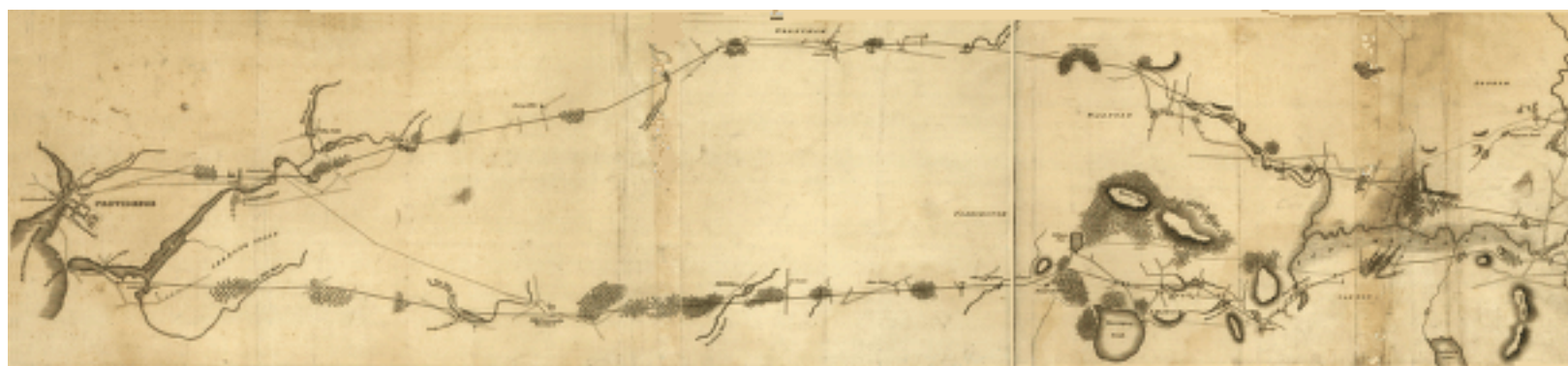


goods 40 miles overland to Worcester than it did to ship them the 3,000 miles across the Atlantic to Liverpool,

England. The new canal was 45 miles long.



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



1829

The Reverend Charles A. Goodrich's hagiographic and chauvinist LIVES OF THE SIGNERS TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, part of a developing American genre. All hail our DWM "Founding Fathers" who could do no ill.²²

The events leading to the declaration of independence ... have brought us to the more particular notice of those distinguished men, who signed their names to that instrument, and thus identified themselves with the glory of this American republic. If the world has seldom witnessed a train of events of a more novel and interesting character, than those which led to the declaration of American independence, it has, perhaps, never seen a body of men, placed in a more difficult and responsible situation, than were the signers of that instrument. And certainly, the world has never witnessed a more brilliant exhibition of political wisdom, or a brighter example of firmness and courage. The first instant the American colonies gave promise of future importance and respectability, the jealousy of Great Britain was excited, and the counsels of her statesmen were employed to keep them in humble subjection. This was the object, when royalty grasped at their charters; when restrictions were laid upon their commerce and manufactures; when, by taxation, their resources were attempted to be withdrawn, and the doctrine inculcated, that it was rebellion for them to think and act for themselves. It was fortunate for the Americans, that they understood their own rights, and had the courage to assert them. But even at the time of the declaration of independence, just as was the cause of the colonies, it was doubtful how the contests would terminate. The chance of eventual success was against them. Less than three millions of people constituted their population, and these were scattered over a widely extended territory. They were divided into colonies, which had no political character, and no other bond of union than common sufferings, common danger, and common necessities. They had no veteran army, no navy, no arsenals filled with the munitions of war, and no fortifications on their extended coast. They had no overflowing treasuries; but in the outset, were to depend upon loans, taxation, and voluntary contributions. Thus circumstanced, could success in such a contest be reasonably anticipated? Could they hope to compete with the parent country, whose strength was consolidated by the lapse of centuries, and to whose wealth and power so many millions contributed? That country directed, in a great measure, the destinies of Europe: her influence extended to every quarter of the world. Her armies were trained to the art of war; her navy rode in triumph on every sea; her statesmen were subtle and sagacious; her generals skilful and practised. And more than all, her pride was aroused by the fact, that all Europe was an interested spectator of the scene, and was urging her forward to vindicate the policy she had adopted, and the principles which she had advanced. But what will not union and firmness, valour and patriotism, accomplish? What will not faith accomplish? The colonies

22. Notice that according to Francis Jennings's THE CREATION OF AMERICA: THROUGH REVOLUTION TO EMPIRE (NY: Cambridge UP, 2000), this John Hancock fellow had decidedly mixed motives in fleeing from the army in Lexington and opting to become one of the rebels: had the British import taxes been collectable, his business as the most active smuggler in Boston would have been destroyed.

were, indeed, aware of the crisis at which they had arrived. They saw the precipice upon which they stood. National existence was at stake. Life, and liberty, and peace, were at hazard; not only of this generation which then existed, but of the unnumbered millions which were yet to be born. To heaven they could, with pious confidence, make their solemn appeal. They trusted in the arm of HIM, who had planted their fathers in this distant land, and besought HIM to guide the men, who in his providence were called to preside over their public councils. It was fortunate for them, and equally fortunate for the cause of rational liberty, that the delegates to the congress of 1776, were adequate to the great work which devolved upon them. They were not popular favourites, brought into notice during a season of tumult and violence; nor men chosen in times of tranquillity, when nothing is to be apprehended from a mistaken selection. "But they were men to whom others might cling in times of peril, and look up to in the revolution of empires; men whose countenances in marble, as on canvass, may be dwelt upon by after ages, as the history of the times." They were legislators and senators by birth, raised up by heaven for the accomplishment of a special and important object; to rescue a people groaning under oppression; and with the aid of their illustrious compeers, destined to establish rational liberty on a new basis, in an American republic. They, too, well knew the responsibility of their station, and the fate which awaited themselves, if not their country, should their experiment fail. They came, therefore, to the question of a declaration of independence, like men who had counted the cost; prepared to rejoice, without any unholy triumph, should God smile upon the transaction; prepared also, if defeat should follow, to lead in the way to martyrdom. A signature to the declaration of independence, without reference to general views, was, to each individual, a personal consideration of the most momentous import. It would be regarded in England as treason, and expose any man to the halter or the block. The only signature, which exhibits indications of a trembling hand, is that of Stephen Hopkins, who had been afflicted with the palsy. In this work of treason, John Hancock led the way, as president of the congress, and by the force with which he wrote, he seems to have determined that his name should never be erased. This gentleman, who, from his conspicuous station in the continental congress of 1776, claims our first notice, was born in the town of Quincy, in the state of Massachusetts, in the year 1737. Both his father and grandfather were clergy-men, distinguished for great devotion to the duties of their profession, and for the happy influence which they exercised over those to whom they ministered. Of his father it is recorded, that he evinced no common devotion to learning, to which cause he rendered essential service, by the patronage that he gave to the literary institutions of his native state. Of so judicious a counsellor, young Hancock was deprived, while yet a child, but happily he was adopted by a paternal uncle, Thomas Hancock, the most opulent merchant in Boston, and the most enterprising in New-England. Mr. Thomas Hancock was a man of enlarged views; and was distinguished by his liberality to several institutions, especially to Harvard college, in which he founded a professorship, and in whose library his name is still conspicuous as a principal benefactor.

Under the patronage of the uncle, the he received a liberal education in the above university, where he was graduated in 1754. During his collegiate course, though respectable as a scholar, he was in no wise distinguished, and at that time, gave little promise of the eminence to which he afterwards arrived. On leaving college, he was entered as a clerk in the counting house of his uncle, where

he continued till 1760; at which time he visited England, both for the purposes of acquiring information, and of becoming personally acquainted with the distinguished correspondents of his patron. In 1764, he returned to America; shortly after which his uncle died, leaving to his nephew his extensive mercantile concerns, and his princely fortune, then the largest estate in the province. To a young man, only twenty-seven, this sudden possession of wealth was full of danger; and to not a few would have proved their ruin. But Hancock became neither giddy, arrogant, nor profligate; and he continued his former course of regularity, industry, and moderation. Many depended upon him, as they had done upon his uncle, for employment. To these he was kind and liberal; while in his more extended and complicated commercial transactions, he maintained a high reputation for honour and integrity. The possession of wealth, added to the upright and honourable character which he sustained, naturally gave him influence in the community, and rendered him even popular. In the legislature of Massachusetts, and this event seems to have given a direction to his future career. He thus became associated with such individuals as Otis, Cushing, and Sam Adams, men of great political distinction, acute discrimination, and patriotic feeling. In such an atmosphere, the genius of John Hancock brightened rapidly, and he soon became conspicuous among his distinguished colleagues. It has, indeed, been asserted, that in force of genius, he was inferior to many of his contemporaries; but honourable testimony was given, both to the purity of his principles, and the excellence of his abilities, by his frequent nomination to committees, whose deliberations deeply involved the welfare of the community. The arrival of a vessel belonging to Mr. Hancock, in the year 1768, which was said to be loaded contrary to the revenue laws, has already been noticed in our introduction. This vessel was seized by the custom-house officers, and placed under the guns of the *Romney*, at that time in the harbour, for security. The seizure of this vessel greatly exasperated the people, and in their excitement, they assaulted the revenue officers with violence, and compelled them to seek their safety on board the armed vessel, or in a neighboring castle. The boat of the collector was destroyed, and several houses belonging to his partisans were razed to their foundation. In these proceedings, Mr. Hancock himself was in no wise engaged; and he probably condemned them as rash and unwarrantable. But the transaction contributed greatly to bring him into notice, and to increase his popularity. This, and several similar occurrences, served as a pretext to the governor to introduce into Boston, not long after, several regiments of British troops; a measure which was fitted more than all others to irritate the inhabitants. Frequent collisions, as might be expected, soon happened between the soldiers and the citizens, the former of whom were insolent, and the latter independent. These contentions not long after broke out into acts of violence. An unhappy instance of this violence occurred on the evening of the 5th of March, 1770, at which time, a small party of British soldiers was assailed by several of the citizens, with balls of snow, and other weapons. The citizens were fired upon by order of the commanding officer: a few were killed, and several others were wounded. Although the provocation was given by the citizens, the whole town was simultaneously aroused to seek redress. At the instigation of Samuel Adams, and Mr. Hancock, an assembly of the citizens was convened the following day, and these two gentlemen, with some others, were appointed a committee to demand of the governor the removal of the troops. Of this committee Mr. Hancock was the chairman. A few days after the above affray, which is usually termed "the

Boston massacre," the bodies of the slain were buried with suitable demonstrations of public grief In commemoration of the event, Mr. John Hancock was appointed to deliver as address. After speaking of his attachment to a righteous government, and of his enmity to tyranny, he proceeded in the following animated strain: "The town of Boston, ever faithful to the British crown, has been invested by a British fleet; the troops of George the third have crossed the Atlantic, not to engage an enemy, but to assist a band of traitors in trampling on the rights and liberties of his most loyal subjects; those rights and liberties, which, as a father, he ought ever to regard, and as a king, he is bound in honour to defend from violation, even at the risk of his own life. These troops, upon their first arrival, took possession of our senate house, pointed their cannon against the judgment hall, and even continued them there, whilst the supreme court of the province was actually sitting to decide upon the lives and fortunes of the king's subjects. Our streets nightly resounded with the noise of their riot and debauchery; our peaceful citizens were hourly exposed to shameful insults, and often felt the effects of their violence and outrage. But this was not all; as though they thought it not enough to violate our civil rights, they endeavoured to deprive us of the enjoyment of our religious privileges; to vitiate our morals, and thereby render us deserving of destruction. Hence the rude din of arms, which broke in upon your solemn devotions in your temples, on that day hallowed by heaven, and set apart by God himself for his peculiar worship. Hence, impious oaths and blasphemies, so often tortured your unaccustomed ear. Hence, all the arts which idleness and luxury could invent, were used to betray our youth of one sex into extravagance and effeminacy, and of the other to infamy and ruin; and have they not succeeded but too well? Has not a reverence for religion sensibly decayed? Have not our infants almost learned to lisp curses, before they knew their horrid import? Have not our youth forgotten they were Americans, and regardless of the admonitions of the wise and aged, copied, with a servile imitation, the frivolity and vices of their tyrants? And must I be compelled to acknowledge, that even the noblest, fairest part of all creation, have not entirely escaped their cruel snares? — or why have I seen an honest father clothed with shame; why a virtuous mother drowned in tears? "But I forbear, and come reluctantly to the transactions of that dismal night, when in such quick succession we felt the extremes of grief, astonishment, and rage; when heaven in anger, for a dreadful moment suffered hell to take the reins when Satan, with his chosen band, opened the sluices of New-England's blood, and sacrilegiously polluted our land with the dead bodies of her guiltless sons. "Let this sad tale of death never be told, without a tear; let not the heaving bosom cease to burn with a manly indignation at the relation of it, through the long tracks of future time; let every parent tell the shameful story to his listening children, till tears of pity glisten in their eyes, or boiling passion shakes their tender frames. "Dark and designing knaves, murderers, parricides! How dare you tread upon the earth, which has drunk the blood or slaughtered innocence shed by your hands? How dare you breathe that air, which wafted to the ear of heaven the groans of those who fell a sacrifice to your accursed ambition? — But if the labouring earth doth not expand her jaws; if the air you breathe is not commissioned to be the minister of death; yet, hear it, and tremble! The eye of heaven penetrates the darkest chambers of the soul; and you, though screened from human observation, must be arraigned, must lift your hands, red with the blood of those whose death you have procured, at the tremendous bar of God. "But I gladly

quit this theme of death – I would not dwell too long upon the horrid effects, which have already followed, from quartering regular troops in this town; let our misfortunes instruct posterity to guard against these evils. Standing armies are sometimes, (I would by no means say generally, much less universally,) composed of persons who have rendered themselves unfit to live in civil society; who are equally indifferent to the glory of a George, or a Louis; who for the addition of one penny a day to their wages, would desert from the Christian cross, and fight under the crescent of the Turkish sultan; from such men as these what has not a state to fear? With such as these, usurping Caesar passed the Rubicon; with such as these he humbled mighty Rome, and forced the mistress of the world to own a master in a traitor. These are the men whom sceptred robbers now employ to frustrate the designs of God, and render vain the bounties which his gracious hand pours indiscriminately upon his creatures." Previously to this address, doubts had been entertained by some, as to the perfect patriotism of Mr. John Hancock. It was said that the governor of the province had, either by studied civilities, or by direct overtures, endeavoured to attach him to the royal cause. For a time insinuations of this derogatory character were circulated abroad, highly detrimental to his name. The manners and habits of Mr. Hancock had, not a little, contributed to countenance the malicious imputations. His fortune was princely. His mansion displayed the magnificence of a courtier, rather than the simplicity of a republican. Gold and silver embroidery adorned his garments and on public occasions, his carriage and horses, and servants. Livery, emulated the splendour of the English nobility. The eye of envy saw not this magnificence with indifference; nor was it strange that reports unfriendly to his patriotic integrity should have been circulated abroad; especially as from his wealth and fashionable intercourse, he had more connection with the governor and his party than many others. The sentiments, however, expressed by Hancock in the above address, were so explicit and so patriotic, as to convince the most incredulous; and a renovation of his popularity was the consequence. Hancock, from this time, became as odious to the royal governor as his adherents, as he was dear to the republican party. It now became an object of some importance to the royal governor, to get possession of the persons of Mr. Hancock and Samuel Adams; and this is said to have been intended in the expedition to Concord, which led to the memorable battle of Lexington, the opening scene of the revolutionary war. Notwithstanding the secrecy with which that expedition was planned, these patriots, who were at the time members of the provincial congress at Concord, fortunately made their escape; but it was only at the moment the British troops entered the house where they lodged. Following this battle, Governor Gage issued his proclamation, offering a general pardon to all who should manifest a proper penitence for their opposition to the royal authority, excepting the above two gentlemen, whose guilt placed them beyond the reach of the royal clemency. In October, 1774, Hancock was unanimously elected to the presidential chair of the provincial congress of Massachusetts. The following year, the still higher honour of the presidency of the continental congress was conferred upon him. In this body, were men of superior genius, and of still greater experience than Hancock. There were Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, and Dickinson, and many others, men of pre-eminent abilities and superior political sagacity; but the recent proclamation of Governor Gage, proscribing Hancock and Adams, had given those gentlemen great popularity, and presented a sufficient reason to the continental congress, to express their respect for

them, by the election of the former to the presidential chair. In this distinguished station John Hancock continued till October 1777; at which time, in consequence of infirm health, induced by an unremitted application to business, he resigned his office, and, with a popularity seldom enjoyed by any individual, retired to his native province. Of the convention, which, about this time, was appointed to frame a constitution for the state of Massachusetts, Hancock was a member. Under this constitution, in 1780, he was the first governor of the commonwealth, to which office he was annually elected, until the year 1785, when he resigned. After an interval of two years, he was re-elected to the same office, in which he was continued to the time of his death, which took place on the 8th of October, 1793, and in the 55th year of his age. Of the character of Mr. Hancock, the limits which we have prescribed to ourselves, will permit us to say but little more. It was an honourable trait in that character, that while possessed a superfluity of wealth, to the unrestrained enjoyment of which he came at an unguarded period of life, he avoided excessive indulgence and dissipation. His habits, through life, were uniformly on the side of virtue. In his disposition and manners, he was kind and courteous. He claimed no superiority from his advantages, and manifested no arrogance on account of his wealth. His enemies accused him of an excessive fondness for popularity; to which fondness, envy and malice were not backward in ascribing his liberality on various occasions. Whatever may have been the justice of such an imputations many examples of the generosity of his character are recorded. Hundreds of families, it is said, in times of distress, were daily fed from his munificence. In promoting the liberties of his country, no one, perhaps, actually expended more wealth, or was willing to make greater sacrifices. An instance of his public spirit, in 1775, is recorded, much to his praise. At that time, the American army was besieging Boston, to expel the British, who held possession of the town. To accomplish this object, the entire destruction of the city was proposed by the American officers. By the execution of such a plan, the whole fortune of Mr. Hancock would have been sacrificed. Yet he immediately acceded to the measure, declaring his readiness to surrender his all, whenever the liberties of his country should require it.

It is not less honourable to the character of Mr. Hancock, that while wealth and independence powerfully tempted him to a life of indolence, he devoted himself for many years, almost without intermission, to the most laborious service of his country. Malevolence, during some periods of his public life, aspersed his character, and imputed to him motives of conduct to which he was a stranger. Full justice was done to his memory at his death, in the expressions of grief and affection which were offered over his remains, by the multitudes who thronged his house while his body lay in state, and who followed his remains to the grave.

* * *

Stephen Hopkins was a native of that part of Providence which is now called Scituate RI, where he was born on the 7th of March, 1707. His parentage was very respectable, being a descendant of Benedict Arnold, the first governor of Rhode Island. His early education was limited, being confined to the instruction imparted in the common schools of the country. Yet it is recorded of him, that he excelled in a knowledge of penmanship, and in the practical branches of mathematics, particularly surveying. For several years he followed the profession of a farmer. At an early period, he was elected town clerk of Scituate, and some time after was chosen a representative

from that town to the general assembly. He was subsequently appointed a justice of the peace, and a justice of one of the courts of common pleas. In 1733, he became chief justice of that court. In 1742, he disposed of his estate in Scituate, and removed to Providence, where he erected a house, in which he continued to reside till his death. In this latter place he entered into mercantile business, and was extensively engaged in building and fitting out vessels. When a representative from Scituate, he was elected speaker of the house of representatives. To this latter office he was again chosen after his removal to Providence, and continued to occupy the station for several successive year, being a representative from the latter town. In 1751, he was chosen chief justice of the superior court, in which office he continued till the year 1754. In this latter year he was appointed a commissioner from Rhode Island, to the celebrated convention which met at Albany; which had for its object the securing of the friendship of the five nations of Indians, in the approaching French war, and an union between the several colonies of America. In 1756, he was elected chief magistrate of the colony of Rhode Island, which office he continued to hold, with but few intervals, until the year 1767. In the discharge of the duties of this responsible station, he acted with dignity and decision. The prosperity of his country lay near his heart, nor did he hesitate to propose and support the measures, which appeared the best calculated to promote the interests of the colonies in opposition to the encroachments of British power. At an early period of the difficulties between the colonies and Great Britain, he took an active and decided part in favor of the former. In a pamphlet, entitled, "The rights of colonies examined," he exposed the injustice of the stamp act, and various other acts of the British government. This pamphlet was published by order of the general assembly, in 1765. The siege of fort William Henry, by the Marquis de Montcalm, 1767, and its surrender to the force under that general, with the subsequent cruel outrages and murders committed by the savages of the French army, are too well known to need a recital in this place. It is necessary only to state, that the greatest excitement prevailed throughout all the colonies. In this excitement, the inhabitants of Rhode Island largely participated. An agreement was entered into by a volunteer corps, couched in the following terms : "Whereas the British colonies in America are invaded by a large army of French and Indian enemies, who have already possessed themselves of fort William Henry, and are now on their march to penetrate further into the country, and from whom we have nothing to expect, should they succeed in their enterprise, but death and devastation; and as his majesty's principal officers in the parts invaded, have in the most pressing and moving manner, called on all his majesty's faithful subjects, for assistance to defend the country: - Therefore, we, whose names are underwritten, thinking it our duty to do every thing in our power, for the defence [sic] of our liberties, families, and property, are willing, and have agreed to enter voluntarily into the service of our country, and go in a warlike manner against the common enemy; and hereby call upon, and invite all our neighbours, who have families and property to defend, to join with us in this undertaking, promising to march as soon as we are two hundred and fifty in number, recommending ourselves and our cause to the favourable protection of Almighty God." To this agreement, Mr. Hopkins was the first to affix his name, and was chosen to command the company thus raised. which consisted of some of the most distinguished men in Providence. Preparations for a speedy departure for the field of action were made, but on the eve of their march, intelligence arrived, that their services were

no longer necessary, as the progress of hostilities towards the south was not to be expected.

In 1774, Mr. Hopkins received the appointment of a delegate from Rhode Island to the celebrated congress, which met at Philadelphia that year. In this assembly he took his seat on the first day of the session, where he became one of the most zealous advocates of the measures adopted by that illustrious body of men. In the year 1775 and 1776, he again represented Rhode Island in the continental congress. In this latter year he had the honor of affixing his name to the imperishable instrument, which declared the colonies to be free, sovereign, and independent states. He recorded his name with a trembling hand, the only instance in which a tremulous band is visible among the fifty-six patriots who then wrote their names. But it was in this case only that the flesh was weak. Mr. Hopkins had for some time been afflicted with a paralytic affection, which compelled him, when he wrote, to guide his right hand with his left. The spirit of the man knew no fear, in a case where life and liberty were at hazard. In 1778, Mr. Hopkins was a delegate to congress for the last time. But in several subsequent years, he was a member of the general assembly of Rhode Island. The last year in which he thus served, was that of 1779, at which time he was seventy-two years of age. Mr. Hopkins lived to the 13th of July, 1785, when he closed his long, and honorable and useful life, at the advanced age of 78. His last illness was long, but to the period of his dissolution, he retained the full possession of his faculties. A vast assemblage of persons, consisting of judges of the courts, the president, professors and students of the college, together with the citizens of the town, and inhabitants of the state, followed the remains of this eminent man to his resting place in the grave. Although the early education of Mr. Hopkins was limited, as has already been observed, the vigor of his understanding enabled him to surmount his early deficiencies, and an assiduous application to the pursuit of knowledge, at length, placed him among the distinguished literary characters of the day. He delighted in literature and science. He was attentive to books, and a close observer of mankind; thus he went on improving, until the period of his death. As a public speaker, he was always clear, precise, pertinent, and powerful. As a mathematician, Mr. Hopkins greatly excelled. Till in advanced age, he was extensively employed in surveying lands. He was distinguished for great exactness in his calculations, and an unusual knowledge of his business. As a statesman and a patriot, he was not less distinguished. He was well instructed in the science of politics; had an extensive knowledge of the rights of his country, and proved himself, through a longer life than falls to the lot of most men, an unshaken friend of his country, and an enemy to civil and religious intolerance. He went to his grave honored as a skillful legislator, a righteous judge, an able representative, a dignified and upright governor. Charity was an inmate of his habitation. To the cry of suffering his ear was ever open, and in the relief of affliction he ever delighted.

January 1, Thursday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal about attending Friends worship in Providence, Rhode Island, and there seeing Friend Moses Brown in the 91st year of his age:

5th day 1st of 1st M 1829 / In dating the New Year I sensibly feel that I have passed the old one & entered on another - & where or how situated & circumstanced We may be at the end of this, is wisely hid from us. - On entering our kitchen this morning to go to breakfast Many of the girls came up in a Sprightly manner to wish us a happy new Year innocency & sprightliness of

their countenances was striking, & evinced the sincerity of their hearts - I hope it will be a happy Year to us & to them - but ear [ere] it may be passed it may not be presumptuous to apprehend that some of the members of this numerous family may be numbered with the silent dead & wheather living or dead I cordially wish all a happy Year

After breakfast I went into town to visit James Mitchell & his sisters - I found James very low & apparantly closing on this world & all the things of it to enter a new scene— as I entered the room I felt my mind solemnized & on drawing to the bed side he put out his hand to take mine. — After sitting a little time with him I asked him if he suffered much pain, he told me he had distress at the lungs - on which I took occasion to remark to him that we were but poor creatures without divine help - Oh yes he replied poor miserable creatures indeed - I then observed that it had been a consolation to me in times of disertion & poverty to feel that we have an advocate with the Father, this he signified was his consolation. - a little more was said, in which it was manifest that he had given up the world & the prospects of it, & his sisters told me he had fully expressed that to them & his anxious desire to depart & be at rest - it seemed to me his situation was even a desirable one. & I dont know that I ever visited a person in their last moments where there appeard to be a better hope on genuine christian ground. After this satisfactory, & even consoling visit to James - I attended Meeting in Providence which was silent & rather less Sensibility in my feelings than I had reason to expect from the previous opportunity. — Our frd Moses Brown was present on the day of the New Year - now in the 91st Year of his Age. —²³

January 31: LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF ROBERT, THE HERMIT OF MASSACHUSETTS, WHO HAS LIVED 14 YEARS IN A CAVE, SECLUDED FROM HUMAN SOCIETY. COMPRISING, AN ACCOUNT OF HIS BIRTH, PARENTAGE, SUFFERINGS, AND PROVIDENTIAL ESCAPE FROM UNJUST AND CRUEL BONDAGE IN EARLY LIFE — AND HIS REASONS FOR BECOMING A RECLUSE. TAKEN FROM HIS OWN MOUTH, AND PUBLISHED FOR HIS BENEFIT. (Providence, Rhode Island: Printed for H. TRUMBELL — 1829; Price 12 1-2 Cents

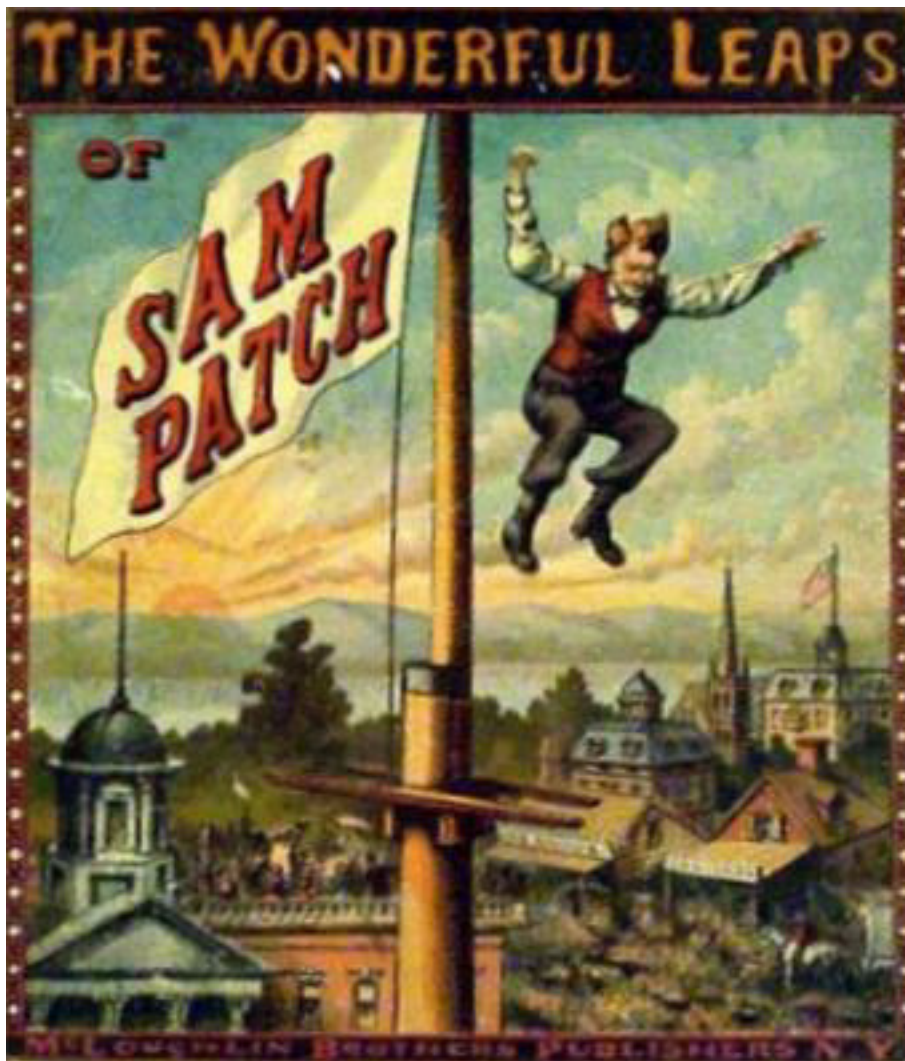
23. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1823-1829: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 8 Folder 13: October 2, 1823-March 6, 1829; Box 8 Folder 14: April 1, 1829-December 31, 1832; also on microfilm, see Series 7

May 4: In Providence, Rhode Island Jacob Wood manumitted a female of colour known by the name of Hetty and passing commonly by the name Hetty Smith, whom he had purchased from Thomas McCall for the bona fide sum of \$450 on January 8, 1828 in Georgia:

State of Rhode Island, City of Providence ~
To all persons to whom these presents may come: I, Jacob Wood of Potosi, Georgia do send greeting. Whereas James Smith esquire of Liberty County, in the State of Georgia on the _____ day of 1799 did by a deed of gift under his hand and seal and which is of record in said County, give unto his sister then Miss Eliza M. A. M. Call a girl of color known by the name of Hetty + with the same deed delivered her into possession: And whereas the said Elizabeth M. A. Smith after the aforesaid deed + having the said girl Hetty in possession, did legally intermarry in Liberty County in said State with Thomas M. Call by virtue of such ^{inter} marriage + the laws of said State all her property real + personal became vested in her husband Thomas M. Call + especially the said female of colour [sic] Hetty + was long after his marriage, in his actual possession. And whereas the said Thomas M. Call in virtue of said rights, did, for the bona fide sum of four hundred and fifty dollars to him paid by the said Jacob Wood on the eighth day of January in the year One thousand eight hundred and twenty eight, execute a bill of sale of the said female of color Hetty, to said Wood + which is recorded in the Intosh County in said State, by which all the said Thomas M. Call's right + title in her became vested in the said Jacob Wood: Now Know Ye, That I, Jacob Wood, being now the legal owner of Hetty, for good + sufficient causes + benevolent motives to me thereunto moving, and being now personally present in Providence in the State aforesaid + she the same Hetty in the said City + State, hath granted liberated, manumitted + set free, + by these presents doth grant, liberate manumit + set free the said female of color, aforesaid called Hetty (and passing commonly by the name Hetty Smith) subject to the sole + only condition + restriction, that the said female of colour [sic] Hetty, shall not at any time hereafter, go to, stay, or reside in either of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, or Louisiana, without first the consent of the said Jacob Wood or his executors in writing obtained, which may be general or special and which shall continue in force, until revoked, and any refusal to comply with such revocation + go out of the said three states, or any or all of them, makes this deed null + void ab initio to all intents and purposes + restores to the said Jacob Wood his original rights. And the said Jacob Wood for himself his heirs executors + administrators, the liberation of the said female of colour [sic] Hetty, at all time against himself or them or any claiming under them shall + will warrant + defend forever. In witness whereof the said Jacob Wood has hereunto affixed his hand and seal this fourth day of May in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty nine.
*Signed sealed + delivered
 in the presence of
 J. C. Carpenter
 Isaac Peace Hazard } I do hereby give my consent to the female of color
 called Hetty in the annexed deed returning to the State of Georgia
 whenever she pleases. Providence Rhode Island 4 May 1829.
 Witness J. C. Carpenter
 Jacob Wood
 Recorded June 10 1829. Witness Nathan W. Jackson T. Elk*

Note the interesting detail in the above document, recorded on page 158 of volume 57 of the Providence, Rhode Island town DEEDS AND MORTGAGES books, that in its body one deliberate condition and restriction is stipulated, to wit, that “that the said female of colour Hetty, shall not at any time hereafter, go to, stay, or reside in either of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, or Louisiana, without first the consent of the said Jacob Wood or his executors in writing obtained, which may be general or special and which shall continue in force, until revoked, and any refusal to comply with such revocation + go out of the said three states, or any or all of them, makes this deed null + void ab initio to all intents and purposes + restores to the said Jacob Wood his original rights,” but that immediately after the body of the document, and the witnessed signatures thereunto, there appears a signed codicil of the very same date, **revoking** that one explicit condition. Well, what happened? –Did Hetty Smith throw a fit right there in the town office when she found out that she wasn’t to be allowed to visit her relatives in the South, and did then Jacob Wood grasp the error of his ways and immediately relent? (Intriguing, isn’t it?)

November 21: New-York’s The Constellation commented that Sam Patch was “indisputably the most distinguished man of his day, with the exception of Miss Fanny Wright.” The Providence, Rhode Island Daily Advertiser outed Sam by revealing that he had been doing honest work for a day’s pay as a mule spinner in a mill in Pawtucket “until his vaulting ambition o’r-lept itself and the loss of his life has been the consequence.”



While teaching at Friends School in Lynn MA, Friend Abby Kelley met Friend James N. Buffum, father of her classmate, Friend Elizabeth Buffum Chase from Friends School in Providence, Rhode Island. Friend Buffum and Friend William Bassett, two leading abolitionists in Lynn, introduced Abby to the growing number of state and local anti-slavery societies that were beginning since the founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. Abby joined the Female Anti-Slavery Society in Lynn and began distributing petitions door-to-door, sewing and selling fancy articles at the fairs to raise money for the American Anti-Slavery Society. During her school breaks Abby was visiting Boston and Worcester to attend meetings of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, meetings which women attended but at which they were expected not to speak.

1830

Steamboats out of New-York began to bypass the port at New London, Connecticut and deliver their passengers to the docks of Providence, Rhode Island, where the passengers could take either the stage along the Lower Path to Boston, or the barge up the canal to Worcester. From this year until 1835 the *Lady Carrington*, an elegant and carefully designed barge, would be floating passengers along in comfort on a 12-hour cruise from Providence to Worcester.

Brown University's fraternity system began, with a Providence, Rhode Island chapter of ΦBK.

During the decades of the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, religious services in the Touro Synagogue in Newport, on Rhode Island's Aquidneck Island, having been long since discontinued, and the emptied building allegedly placed under the care of a Friend, that conveniently situated empty structure, which had originally been built for reasons unclear to us now over some sort of root cellar, may have been made available for use as a station on the Underground Railroad.

According to the ProJo (our local excuse for a newspaper):

Newport ... has the distinction of being the home of several stops on the Underground Railroad.... Newport's Touro Synagogue was a stop along the way.... By the early 1800s, regular services stopped and the synagogue's doors were closed. There would not be another Jewish congregation there until 1883. But from the 1830s through the 1850s, the building's Quaker caretaker offered the use of the empty structure to the free Africans living in Newport. ...it was conveniently located in the center of the free black community. Just how large that community was can be learned from the 1770 census, which reported that nearly a third of the Newport population of 9,000, or 2,800, was of African heritage, and most were free. (The Rhode Island legislature outlawed the importation of slaves to the colony in 1774, though censuses still found more than 300 slaves in Newport County alone in 1790.) ... Over the years, the story has grown that a trap door in the *bimah*, the platform where the rabbi stands to lead the service, was installed as part of the Underground Railroad. Not so. The trap door has been there from the building's beginning. "We feel it was put in by the builders of the synagogue as a symbol of their past persecution," says B. Schlessinger Ross, director of The Society of Friends of Touro Synagogue. Similar trap doors have been found in synagogues in Spain and Portugal and, Ross says, perhaps in those countries they were used as a means of escape from the Catholic church's persecution of Jews during the Inquisition.... At 54 Williams Street, at the corner of Thomas Street, is the Rice family home, Newport's third documented stop on the Underground Railroad. The house was built in the mid-1800s by free black Isaac Rice, whom Charles L. Blockson, author of *The Hippocrene Guide to The*

Underground Railroad, calls "the most prominent African-American in the state of Rhode Island." Blockson calls Rice's home "a haven" for runaway slaves. Rice was a gardener for Governor William C. Gibbs and planted trees that still grow in Touro Park. Rice was born in Providence in 1794, and his family moved to Newport when he was young. His home was visited by Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman.

Note: This structure would not be referred to as the "Touro Synagogue" until, at about the midpoint of the century, Abraham and Judah Touro, sons of the first rabbi Isaac Touro who had moved to New-York and made their fortunes, would donate the exceedingly large sum of \$20,000 toward its reconstruction, renovation, and maintenance. (For comparative purposes, the sum of money donated by Nicholas Brown in September 1804 to Rhode Island College, which had caused the renaming of that school as "Brown University," had been \$5,000.) At this point the structure that is now so lovely was just a decrepit almost-abandoned building that, after the general destruction brought to the island during its Revolutionary War occupation by the British Army, had served not only as a synagogue but also as a Rhode Island Supreme Court building, as a Rhode Island General Assembly building, and as a Newport town meeting hall — and the name "Touro" had been in no way associated with it.

We need to bear in mind that although this was a part of the world from which Jews were generally absent, this was not a part of the world from which Antisemitism was absent. This phenomenon can only be understood in terms of the blatant Antisemitism which the early Christian church had embedded into the gospels according to Mark and then according to Matthew, especially Matthew 27:25. Although this poem by Jones Very had not yet been created, I will employ it here for purposes of illustration of that sad fact:

The Jew

Thou art more deadly than the Jew of old,
 Thou hast his weapons hidden in thy speech;
 And though thy hand from me thou dost withhold,
 They pierce where sword and spear could never reach.
 Thou hast me fenced about with thorny talk,
 To pierce my soul with anguish while I hear;
 And while amid thy populous streets I walk,
 I feel at every step the entering spear;²⁴
 Go, cleanse thy lying mouth of all its guile
 That from the will within thee ever flows;
 Go, cleanse the temple thou dost now defile,
 Then shall I cease to feel thy heavy blows;
 And come and tread with me the path of peace,
 And from thy brother's harm forever cease.

Now, in regard to that trap door leading down into an underground room: this was an all-seasons building, with a wood furnace. The wood furnace was located in this underground room, along with the cords of wood that were needed to keep the building heated while it was being used for divine worship. It is as simple as that. In modern times, for fire-insurance purposes, the heating plant for the building has been modernized, and relocated to underneath a slab in the lawn. Therefore, the underground room now stands empty. However, it was never intended to serve as a place of refuge, and in point of fact, there is no evidence whatever that it ever served such a function. That is not to say that this structure never, during its antebellum period of abandonment, when a Quaker caretaker had custody of the key, while it was in the middle of the firmly black district of Newport, served as a rent-free haven for black families in need — it is merely to say that, to all intents and purposes, this stuff about the underground room being a part of the Underground Railroad is nothing but stuff and nonsense. There are root cellars all over America with quite as good, or as poor, credentials.

By contrast with this Newport fantasy stuff, we do know that an active Underground Railroad, one of the 1st in the country, would be quietly operated by Paumanok Long Island Quakers, although we do not know the date on which this activity began. They were helping slaves escape through Long Island and upstate New York.

24. Bear in mind that it is not the poet who is the speaker, but the Jew who experienced on the cross the "entering spear."

The Parsons family were particularly active in this endeavor. Friend Samuel Bowne Parsons, a member of Flushing Monthly Meeting, was later said to be able to brag that he had assisted more slaves to freedom than any other man in Queens County. A number of Quakers associated with that Meeting were both influential and wealthy. Merchants Robert Murray and his son, John Murray, Jr., (married to Friend Catherine Bowne), helped found The New York Society for the Manumission of Slaves and the Free School Society. The Free School Society provided the first public school instruction in New York City. Friend John Murray, Jr. was also known for his acts of benevolence. Both of these men are buried in the graveyard in back of the Flushing meetinghouse. Murray's brother, Friend Lindley Murray, was a well known grammarian whose publishing business was extremely successful. The Parsons family developed a thriving nursery which introduced a number of plants to America, including the Japanese Maple, the flowering dog-wood and the Weeping Beech. Friend Samuel Parsons, Jr., a partner of Calvert Vaux, became the Landscape Architect for the City of New York and provided many of the plantings for Central Park and Prospect Park. He also helped design many important parks and common areas in New York City and across seventeen states.

January 1, Friday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal in Providence, Rhode Island about being in the company of Friend Moses Brown, in the 92d year of his age:

*6th day 1st of 1st M 1830 / We commence a new Year — It has been a comfortable day to me in body & mind - I have been twice into town & transacted small concerns & feel thankful & grateful for my many favours. - I know that few who have lived 48 Years have got along more easily & pleasantly than I have tho' attended with some close trials yet I have much to be tankful for & desire to cultivate a disposition to be grateful & render the tribute of praise Where it is alone due
This eveng we had the company of our friend Moses Brown, now in his 92nd Year - he is still pleasant animated & interesting in conversation.—²⁵*

In South Carolina, meeting of merchants renounced a proposed state loan for railroad construction as inadequate, and “adopted a resolution urging the company to apply again for a congressional appropriation” — to the disgust of state's rights radicals. Senator Robert Hayne and Representative William Drayton would be willing to present the petition to Congress, but not to support it. Ironically, it would then be presented to Congress by Hayne's famous antagonist, Daniel Webster.

In Baltimore, an illustrious party, including William Wirt, rode a carriage pulled by one horse on the new railroad as far as the Carrollton Viaduct at a speed of 15 miles per hour.

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

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

3rd day [Tuesday] 8th of 6th M [June 1830] / Today Stephen Wilson & Hannah his wife from Goose Creek in Virginia called at the Institution - they are Hixites & Hannah as Preacher & has come on here to impose on Friends - She was formerly Hannah Pope of Bolton & an old acquaintance of ours as a Yearly Meeting lodger. - We treated her civilly but cool & felt grieved that one who had

25. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1829-1832: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 8 Folder 14: April 1, 1829-December 31, 1832; also on microfilm, see Series 7

once been esteemed & no doubt in good measure religious should be attached to wrong principles - they were accompanied by Anson Potter a disowned Member of the Moy [Monthly] Meeting at whose house they lodged last night - From here they went to James Scott another disowned member. -

After tea I went down to Moses Browns & sat with him & Elisha Bates. -

4th day [Wednesday] 9th of 6 M [June] 1830 / This Morning Wm Jenkins came to the Institution & suggested that Hannah Wilson & her company might impose themselves on Smithfield Meeting as it was the day of their week day Meeting & proposed that some of the committee should go out & attend it I at first felt quite disinclined to the service particularly as our friend Elisha Bates was then in the house proposing to attend Meeting at the Institution - But after weighing the subject it appeared necessary that some one should go & keep guard at least against such intruders on a peaceable Meeting & after sitting a text of Scripture which I once heard good old Mehitable Jenkins rise with in our Yearly Meeting forceably occurd to my Mind & a Willingness was wrought to attend to the opening accompanied with a feeling of quallification to act if there should be a Necessity - The Passage was "Here am I send me"

My wife & I immediately got ready & went had a pleasant ride & an interesting Meeting - No disturbance came & we afterward found they went on toward New Bedford.

E Bates Dined with us & Spent most of the afternoon —

September 26, Sunday: To Friend Stephen Wanton Gould, in Providence, Rhode Island, it was a distinctly unpleasant experience to encounter in the public street his former friend William Rotch — since he had been disowned from the Religious Society of Friends for having Hicksite leanings:

1st day [Sunday] 26 of 9 M [September 1830] / Silent & measurably favour'd Meeting. -After meeting in the Afternoon I rode into Town.- In the Street I met Wm Rotch & noded to him, & he to me - but he did not look nor feel to me, as Wm Rotch once looked & felt. - I deplore his departure from Society - but nothing can be done - he must remain as he is. -

Winter: In Providence, Rhode Island, a Society for the Encouragement of Faithful Domestic Servants was being formed, as an employment agency to encourage local blacks to be good servants to local whites. One hundred white heads of the town's most eminent families would enlist in this new society in its first year. They sought to counteract the tendency among black servants to contract odd jobs by the day, and live on their own. What they wanted was black servants bound by yearly contracts, who would live in their white homes and thus be on call at all times. They counted only 500 local blacks who were under such yearly contracts, although, they noted, the local black population amounted to 1,200.

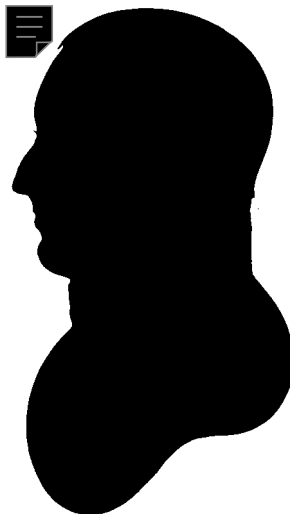
1831

The Reverend Henry C. Wright's later books would attribute his conversion to pacifism to a chance encounter he had at this point in time with some old Quaker man of Providence, Rhode Island. According to Wright's later account of the conversation, the old man's persuasive ploy in regard to the Peace Testimony of the Religious Society of Friends was to twit or tease him: were he to kill someone in self-defense, obviously as a Christian he would need to do so "with love," no? However, it is unlikely that Wright's conversion to pacifism was so sudden and single-caused as he later would make it out to have been, for in fact in the previous year he had begun a notebook on peace and war, and in this notebook we find that he was already thinking that Jesus's injunctions not to retaliate or do harm to others in response to their harmfulness to you were injunctions which applied not only to individuals but also to governments. For so long as governments maintained themselves by force, he had been theorizing, it would be improper for the Christian even to cast a ballot.

August 26, Friday: At the Quaker educational institution that eventually would become the "Moses Brown School," in Providence, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould felt unwell, so he let some leeches attach themselves to his forehead and engorge themselves with his blood and drop away. After this he felt better (you wish you could have been there with a camera).

6th day [Friday] 26th of 8 M [August 1831] / I have felt unwell today, my head much out of order, but I applied several Leeches to my temples this Afternoon & feel better -- Our frd Moses Brown & Wm Jenkins called at the Institution today.

Recd a letter this Afternoon from Sister Elizabeth Nichols giving us a pretty favourable acct of Brother David Rodman & family, in their new situation in Lynn affording some hope it may again be well with them --



August 28, Sunday night: At the Providence, Rhode Island farm home of Friend Moses Brown, a burglar or team of burglars made off with the usual sorts of portable goodies.

1st day [Sunday] 28th of 8th M [August] 1831 / Silent meeting in the Morning Enoch & Lydia absent at Smithfield Meeting -- In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & labour'd in the Gospel -- After Meeting by his invitation I went home with him to tea --& returned in the eveng & finished a letter which I had begun some days ago, to Elisha Bates.--

2nd day [Monday] 29 of 8 M / Last night some very wicked person or persons broke into the house of our friend Moses Brown & Stole his Watch from the head of his bed took some Money from his Pocket Book - opened several of his drawers & chests & rumaged over papers, & carried one of his small trunks some distance into his front yard where they broke it open, but left it & carried off his bunch of Keys. -

“Citizens” communicated with Virginia Governor John Floyd in regard to the undesirability of permitting a religious meeting of the blacks:



His Excellency John Floyd

Governor of Virginia

Sir

There is at this moment a numerous meeting of the blacks from this place & the surrounding country, at the Rural Shades, for the purpose, as they allege, of Religious worship, the propriety of countenancing such a meeting at this time is respectfully submitted to your consideration by several

Citizens

A white man would find this letter written on this date, on the road south of the city of Richmond, and forward it to Virginia Governor John Floyd:



Richmond Aug. 28, 31.

To

Joe to "brother", no date

Dear brother I send you this by brother billy who can tel you more than I can rite you must beshore to rememer The day, for al dependes on that for you now tis the last Sunday in October we are al reddy down belo you mstnot be faint harted al depends on you if you deceve us we are al lost for ever your affecionat brother

Joe Dr.

Do burne This as soon as you receve it

[in another hand] Furnished by a gentleman near Richmond city after the insurrection. It was found in the road below the city five or six miles-John Floyd

“Anonymus” to Governor John Floyd in Richmond — posted from the town of Petersburg:



To the Governor of Virginia

Sir

It has been humbly & respectfully suggested that as Nat. Turner the leader & mover of the insurrection in Southampton has not been caught or killed that it would be adviseable to offer a large reward for him if caught by a white or free man, or manumission to any slave who will bring him dead or alive so that he may be punished. It is perhaps idle to think that this insurrection is ended until the Leader is killed

Aug 28th

Anonymus.

September 21, Wednesday: Norborne E. Sutton wrote to Governor John Floyd of Virginia:



Bowling Green Sept 21st 1831

Honorable John Floyd

Sir It is now certain that the slaves in this county was apprised of the insurrection which developed itself in South Hampton. Some Gentleman have enquired of these slaves as to this fact, (Mr. Campbels) in this immediate neighbourhood all admitted that they had received information of the intended insurrection but that it commenced two soon by eight days Yesterday a faithful servant of Mr. Wm P Taylors gave him information that large meetings of slave were held in his neighbourhood for the purpose of concerting and effecting the best cours they should pursue to get clere of the whits Much excitment and much alarm has prevailed in the couty especally with the slaves of the county and it is now so obvious that the slaves design an attempt between this and the 1st of October I have concluded to suggest to you the proprity of furnishg the malitia with arms at least to some extent For one until the information in relation to Mr Taylors slaves was received I had not even had my gun in my room Because I did not apprehend any danger and I was certain it was calculatd to create a greater degree of alarm with my wife and I thought two it was giving an importance which might induce the negros in this neighborhood to imagine that I was alarmd I hope sir you will arm the Troop and a part of the companies in this county if not all I am as perfectly satisfied that those travling preachers and Pedlers have been instrumental to a great degree in producing the present state of things as that I am now addressng this letter to you And I do hope that the Legislature will at the next session at least pass a law which shall have for its object This That no man particularly a strangr shall preach in any County or Town untill he shall have produced sufficnt evidence that he has been regularly ordained and of his moral worth and standing when he was received on his last place of residence I hope I shall be excused for suggestg other civils slaves should not be permitted to have preachng at any time nor should they be permitted to go about contracting for themselves I would make the Law in relation in relation to These matters more penal and I would make it the duty of every officer to arrest such slaves as are permitted to goe at large and sell him forthwith the result to be applied to the use of the County Again Sir it is now the practice at every Court House to see large numbrs of Carts some white and some black vending and trad in various things there Sir although I have used my exertions to arrest the civil practice of court nights frequently the exhibition of whites and blacks mingling together Beggars description They have no law imposed upon them They are composed of the very dregs of the different Counties and what I ask is to be expected but disorder and consequences of the most dangerous and alarming results Last October or November Mr Blak had a valuable slave killd at these Carts white and black all engaged in the [encounter?] late at night I hope you will incur[?] these suggestions repectivly yours &c

Norborne E Sutton



P.S. I would suggest the propriety of arming the four companys immediially about this place wher information must be receve first on sight to be fully armed say Capt John Bellah Capt John Washington Captain Washington Carter and Capt W. Wrights these I think should be armed fully

N. E Sutton

In Rhode Island, as incendiary reports of this massive slave revolt in North Carolina were appearing in the Providence Journal (slaves were maybe burning down the city of Wilmington; a white army was maybe gathering in Raleigh, etc.), there was another local race riot. In the white riot of 1824, the rioters had torn down several houses in the black district of Providence by Gaspee Street and the State House that was known as Hardscrabble. Again this was happening, this time in Olneys Lane (now Olney Street) and in Snowtown, a hollow up against Smith Hill southwest of the Hardscrabble district, in the Charles/Orms Street area. The rioting was initiated by a mob of white sailors, continued with the throwing of stones between a group of blacks and a group of whites, and culminated with a black man stepping out of a house with a gun and warning the sailors away – “Is this the way the blacks are to live, to be obliged to defend themselves from stones?” – and then being forced to shoot dead one of the advancing white men. The mob, except for five sailors, retreated to the foot of the hill. After someone shot and wounded three of these sailors, the mob again advanced, and began systematically to knock down two houses and damage several others.

September 22, Thursday: De Tocqueville and Beaumont heard from Francis Lieber: “We Europeans, we think to create republics by organizing a great political assembly. The Republic on the contrary, is of all the governments the one that depends most on every part of society ... If an obstacle embarrasses the public way, the neighbors will at once constitute themselves a deliberative body; they will name a commission and will remedy the evil by their collective force, wisely directed ... For my part, I feel myself inclined to believe ... that constitutions and political laws are nothing in themselves. They are dead creations to which the morals and the social position of the people alone can give life.”

In England, a Reform Bill passed in the House of Commons.

In Rhode Island, the Providence Journal ran a very small report at the end of its news columns of this fatal local “affray” involving a “large mob.” The newspaper’s primary focus remained, however, on the larger events of the “Insurrection in North Carolina.” Although it had not been confirmed that the blacks had burned the city of Wilmington, the current estimate was that half the whites of the town had been killed. The slaves were supposedly sweeping across two counties, burning and killing as they went. The Journal reprinted a letter praising white citizens who were taking “vigorous measures” against these black “offenders.” This letter concluded with “I foresee that this land must become a field of blood.” That day’s issue of the American provided a lengthier account of the Providence “RIOT AND MURDER,” blaming white sailors for having instigated this confrontation. That day, also, the American published a letter, apparently from one of the rioters, asserting that the “Negroes armed themselves and fired upon four sailors,” and that the crowd had destroyed only the homes of these “foul-blooded” murderers. As the neighborhood was “worse than the celebrated Five Points District in New York, our populace are determined to level” the remaining houses. The anonymous writer’s main argument, justifying the demolitions, was the one that was so successful in 1824: that the neighborhood evil could be remedied only by gentrification, on a scale not contemplated since King Philip’s War. That evening a mob of 700 or 800 whites destroyed six more of the properties along Olney’s Lane while the sheriff, constables, and Town Council watched, now and again ordering the rioters to cease and desist. Governor James Fenner called out a militia company, and late that night 25 militiamen arrived. Pausing only to free rioters whom the authorities arrested, the mob finished off Olney’s Lane and proceeded to Snow Town, which most likely was somewhere near what is now the University of Rhode Island. They destroyed two houses there, dispersing around 4AM. The militia succeeded in taking only seven of the white rioters into custody.

September 23, Friday: In Rhode Island, the Providence Journal ran a two-inch article on “RIOT” at the end of its news columns, noting that a mob of hundreds had “defeated civil and military authority.” An article headed “NEGRO CONSPIRACY” revealed that actually there had been “no overt rebellion” in North Carolina at all — though most of the slaves in two counties there had indeed been plotting to embark upon such a course. This Providence newspaper offered its readers a reprint of an article from New Haven, Connecticut, to the effect that the blacks there had, notwithstanding many benevolent efforts to educate them, “imbibed the notion that they were oppressed.” Like the blacks of Providence, the blacks of New Haven had acquired this inordinate concern over their “dignity,” and they were now demanding an “equal standing in society.” They had actually purchased land in the city of New Haven, and were actually in the process of founding a black college! A New Haven city meeting had resolved unanimously that since such a black college would of course support the abolition of human slavery, for them to tolerate the creation of such a local institution would amount to violating the rights of the Southern states, for which slavery was a legal institution. Furthermore, having such a black institution in the town of New Haven would bring Yale College to ruination. The white citizens of the town were vowing to resist such nefarious activity “by every lawful means,” as well they should.

That day the seven jailed white rioters were released. However, a white mob, unaware that they had been released, was preparing to storm the jail to rescue them. There were six companies of militiamen around the jail, amounting to 130 soldiers. Finally the mob’s belligerent spokesmen were persuaded that the jail was already empty, and the mob dispersed.

September 24, Saturday: In Rhode Island, the Providence American was pleased to report that “precautions” against new riots had “proved effectual.” It enjoined “every orderly citizen” to “lend his influence” to prevent further such disorder. The Providence Journal provided at the head of its news column a short, factual account of the local rioting. It also reprinted an uncompromising defense of the New Haven Negro college. The Providence Patriot and Columbia Phenix published a relatively calm account of the “RIOT,” beginning with the “murder” attributed to “some Negro inhabitant.” That night, however, nearly 1,000 white rioters marched across the Smith Street bridge and over Smith Hill to finish off Snow Town, trailed by about another 1,000 white spectators. As the militia of 130, including some cavalry and artillery, countermarched from the bridge to the hill and back, the crowd encompassed them, swallowed them up, and all but disintegrated their ranks. At one point a white citizen snatched a militia rifle and the two men tumbled down a 20-foot bank while struggling with each other. Several militiamen and dozens of rioters scrambled down to aid them, and the militia barely fought its way out. The rioters threw every stone they could find, injuring some members. The sheriff read the riot act as preparation for opening fire on the citizens. As before, the crowd responded with various insults, including “Fire and be damned.” Firing into the air merely enabled the abuse to continue. Half the crowd turned to destroying a house, while the others tormented the militia as they tried to form a line from the bridge up the hill. When the militia pleaded that they were about to disintegrate, the governor, sheriff, and officers announced that they would fire if the mob would not disperse. Greeted only with defiance, Governor Fenner gave the order to fire. The militia fired, one volley, and four young white men fell dead: a sailor, a bookbinder, a paperhanger, and an apprentice. The crowd then dispersed.

September 25, Sunday: On a Rhode Island Sunday there were of course no newspapers, but a special Town Meeting was held in Providence that nevertheless succeeded in attracting 3,000 white citizens (most of them not property owners, and thus having no privilege to vote at such an assembly, but interested to hear anyway what was being decided by their betters).

September 26, Monday: The Providence American emphasized the overriding issue for Rhode Island, of respect for “interests and property” — even the interests and property of persons of “suspicious reputation.” The Providence Journal wrote in favor of the rule of law, and heaped praise on the militia for having restored order. The Journal pointed out that the officials and militiamen had opened fire only with the greatest reluctance, and only when the crowd seemed ready to disarm them, thereby arming itself. The rioting citizens have been provided with adequate warning, and had even shouted, defiantly, “Fire if you dare!” It was good that we had “taught a rebellious portion of our community that they owed an allegiance to the laws.” Thomas Sekell and Ezekiel Burr placed brief notices in the Journal denying rumors that they had secretly armed the mob. Burr pointed out, in proof of this, that he had himself owned one of the houses the mob had destroyed. At the convention of the Anti-Masonic Party in Baltimore, 126 delegates approved a slate of candidates for the national election. This was one of the very first experiments in such nominations by convention.

September 27, Tuesday: The Providence Journal presented only a short, platitudinous editorial on the riots. Newport, Rhode Island’s Democratic Rhode Island Republican praised Governor Fenner’s decision to open fire on the white mob, explaining that liberty, law, and authority were “intimately blended” — were indeed as inseparable as the Holy Trinity. That newspaper provided extracts from Rhode Island’s royal charter, still in effect, by which the governor had been authorized “to kill, slay and destroy, by all fitting ways” any who “enterprize the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance” of Rhode Islanders. The American’s story of “Another Riot” was truly ambivalent, for while it lamented that “this neat and beautiful village has become one mass of ruin,” and its “virtuous and orderly citizens deprived of their dwelling,” the race it denounced was the black one that had been deprived, rather than the white one that had done the depriving. Providence’s blacks, rather than its whites, were characterized as having been “unusually bold” and as having “repeatedly defied civil authority.”

September 28, Wednesday: In Rhode Island, the Democratic Patriot sadly approved of the action of the militia. It was good that they had fired on the Providence mob. However, it was also good that the white mob had destroyed the black residences along Olneys Lane, that had been an “annoyance” to “the most respectable part.”

The Anti-Masonic convention in Baltimore nominated William Wirt for president and Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania for vice president.

September 29, Thursday: Most Rhode Island papers printed with approbation the report of the investigating committee of notables that had been appointed at Sunday’s Providence Town Meeting. The committee’s report brought many facts together coherently, but cautioned that it had only heard the sailors’ side of the argument, not the blacks’ side. The setting of the riots was described as a Babylon of “indiscriminate mixtures of whites” and “idle blacks of the lowest stamp,” whose persistent “midnight revels” and “bloody affrays” had been disturbing the slumbers of the “respectable.” The report provided a list of the dead and wounded, and a list of the destroyed houses and who had owned them. One slumlord who had lost a rental property was William Staples, a lawyer who had represented the 1824 rioters and had risen to become Rhode Island’s Chief Justice. Another of the slum rental properties in question, it turned out, was owned by Nicholas Brown. A series of Town Meetings would quickly prepare and approve a city charter, with councilmen elected by ward and a mayor who could jail anyone for 24 hours, search houses, and dissolve riots.

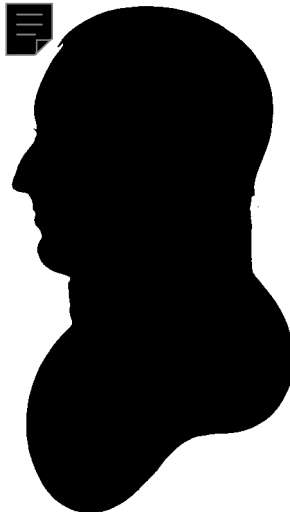
1832

There was a major race riot in “Snowtown” on Gaspee Street in Providence, Rhode Island.

January 6, Friday evening: Twelve abolitionists, William Lloyd Garrison and others, walked up “Nigger Hill” in Boston in a heavy snowstorm to meet in the basement of the African Meeting House off Belknap Street and constitute themselves as a New England Anti-Slavery Society, in opposition to the agenda of the American Colonization Society which was seeking to return Africans to Africa. There were “a number of colored citizens” present as observers as these white men filed to the front and placed their signatures in the meeting book. A number of black elders placed their names in a parallel column as a gesture of general support. Friend Arnold Buffum of Old Smithfield and Providence, Rhode Island became president. Garrison became corresponding secretary, but declined to allow the new society any control over the editorial policies of his newspaper.

June 21, Thursday: In Providence, Rhode Island, a Quaker who was a follower of Friend Elias Hicks (“the Sitting of an Hixite,” a visiting Hicksite) managed to attend a midweek meeting for worship without his or her presence having been detected in advance by Friend Stephen Wanton Gould:

5th day [Thursday] 21 of 6 M [June 1832] / Our above mentioned friends [Ann Taylor & her companions from Ohio, Margaret Parker accompanied by her Husband Benj Parker, & her Sister Sybel Allenson] attended Meeting in town - & had good service - Lydia Breed also preached acceptably. - In the Preparative Meetg we had no buisness - but was imposed on by the Sitting of an Hixite, which was not known till after the Meeting rose. -



1833

Seth Luther’s AN ADDRESS ON THE RIGHT OF FREE SUFFRAGE was printed in Providence. Luther, who had done time in a debtor’s prison during the early 1820s, was going just apeshit over an idea of taxation without representation that he had retrieved out of obsolete Revolutionary-War rhetoric, and had begun beating the drum on behalf of “twelve thousand vassals” in Rhode Island who, because they lacked \$134 worth of real property, could not be “freemen” and could not, under that state’s antique charter, be allowed to choose their own governors. The US Constitution, he averred, had guaranteed to us a republican form of government, so what ought we to do? Perhaps, he suggested with tongue in cheek, we might rewrite our Declaration of Independence, to make it read “all men are created equal, except in Rhode Island.” (Upon the failure of the Dorr Rebellion, this Luther would find himself once again in prison — and so much for empty rhetoric.)

Friend Sarah Helen Power Whitman had married a “wellborn Bostonian” writer who had helped her get some pieces published and who had introduced her to Boston intellectual society. In this year her husband died. They had had no children. The widow would return to Providence, Rhode Island and publish essays promoting a range of Transcendentalist ideas, along with some poetry. She became interested in spiritualism, seances, mesmerism, and other metaphysical topics of the time.



January : Prudence Crandall, headmistress of the Canterbury CT female academy, visited Boston, Providence, New-York, and New Haven to recruit 20 black students, and sought the counsel of William Lloyd Garrison. When she returned to Canterbury she announced that she had decided to do without the white students and instead educate free young black women: “Young Ladies and Little Misses of Color.” The town fathers of course went apeshit.



When the school reopened, some of its students were from out of state, from for instance such foreign municipalities as Boston and Philadelphia. The Selectmen of the town responded by declaring: “Open this door, and New England will become the Liberia of America.”²⁶ Merchants refused to sell supplies. The town doctor refused to treat the students. The local church refused to admit the students. Manure was thrown into their drinking water. Rocks were thrown at the school building while these “young ladies and little misses of color” were inside. The local authorities began to threaten the application of a local “vagrancy” ordinance, a law that would provide such visitors with ten lashes of the whip (to my knowledge, however, not one of these young ladies of color ever was actually whipped in accordance with this “vagrancy” idea, the idea of torturing them being, apparently, merely a nasty threat).

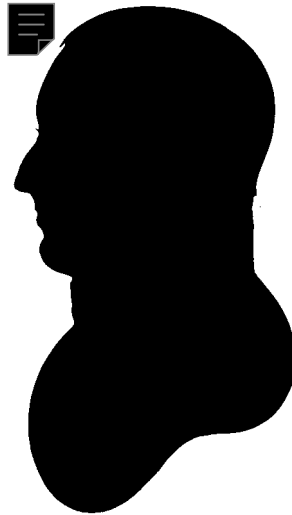
26. Had, through the efforts of Prudence, New England become the Liberia of America — this is what its currency would have looked like:



January 1: Leitch Ritchie began a Library of Romance series (Smith and Elder).

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal about his work at the Quaker Yearly Meeting Boarding School in Providence, Rhode Island:

1st M 1833 / My old Book being full, at the end of the Month [12th Month, December 1832] I have concluded to make a new one for the purpose of occasional journalizing, concluding I may be less frequent in my entrys in it than for many years heretofore. — I do not feel quite satisfied to omit it altogether. — There is much of a Sameness in my daily round since I have been attached to the Yearly Meeting boarding School where we have now lived over four Years & how much longer we shall be here is uncertain - Another week may decide that we take a residence else where - & at present I am not anxious about it, tho' I may acknowledge, our being here has been very advantageous to us in a pecuniary point of view & our outward circumstances much improved for which I desire to be thankful, & believe I am really & even humbly so. — In the course of this M we have had diverse good Meetings, & I have been out to Johnson with Wm Almy to attend the funeral of a widow Waterman Aged 88 Years, & tho' some trials await me it has been a time of favour.
 —²⁷



27. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1833-1836: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 9 Folder 15: January 1, 1833-August 28, 1836; also on microfilm, see Series 7

Spring: Friend Lucretia Mott began her travels as a “Public Friend” by making a speaking trip through the Quaker meetings of New York State, then took a boat to Providence, Rhode Island with a stop-over at her original home on Nantucket Island, then traveled up through Bedford, Lynn, and Salem speaking in the various monthly meetings.²⁸



(I don't have a record that Nathaniel Hawthorne was interested in Mott's visit to Salem. At some date in 1833, however, Andrew Jackson also visited Salem, and on this occasion Hawthorne was present and cheered with the crowd.)

July 1: The Connecticut legislature approved a merger of the New York and Stonington Railroad with the New York, Providence and Boston Railroad, which was henceforth to be known by the latter name.

December 27: Charles Brown, a man of color, was hanged at Providence, Rhode Island.

28. I do not know whether she made it to Boston or to Concord on this trip — but I would like to know.

1834

At the institution of higher education which would become Brown University, the original College Edifice of 1770, which is on the right in the postcard image below, had been supplemented in 1822 by the Hope College structure on the left. In this year Manning Hall was being added, between these two edifices.)



A Providence lawyer named Thomas Dorr was elected to the Rhode Island legislature.



February 19: The main problem of the era, in Rhode Island, was that the Charter of 1663 was being used to deny voting rights to thousands of men in the growing urban industrial areas of the state, thus retaining power for the old Yankee farmers. Faced with continuing taxation without representation, the workingmen of Providence met to choose delegates to a proposed convention. Various middle-class reformers, including Thomas Dorr, took part in this popular movement.

February 22: A convention of Rhode Island workingmen met in Providence, drafted a set of 19 resolutions for reform, and organized a political party to support candidates for the General Assembly pledged to the reform list, to be known as the Constitutional Party.



Senator Daniel Webster spoke before the Senate of the United States of America on the topic of “A Redeemable Paper Currency”.²⁹

Mr. President,—The honorable member from Georgia stated yesterday, more distinctly than I have before learned it, what that experiment is which the government is now trying on the revenues and the currency, and, I may add, on the commerce, manufactures, and agriculture of this country. If I rightly apprehend him, this experiment is an attempt to return to an exclusive specie currency, first, by employing the State banks as a substitute for the Bank of the United States; and then by dispensing with the use of the State banks themselves.

This, Sir, is the experiment. I thank the gentleman for thus stating its character. He has done his duty, and dealt fairly with the people, by this exhibition of what the views of the executive government are, at this interesting moment. It is certainly most proper that the people should see distinctly to what end or for what object it is that so much suffering is already upon them, and so much more already in visible and near prospect.

And now, Sir, is it possible,—is it possible that twelve millions of intelligent people can be expected voluntarily to subject themselves to severe distress, of unknown duration, for the purpose of making trial of an experiment like this? Will a nation that is intelligent, well informed of its own interest, enlightened, and capable of self-government, submit to suffer embarrassment in all its pursuits, loss of capital, loss of employment, and a sudden and dead stop in its onward movement in the path of prosperity and wealth, until it shall be ascertained whether this new-hatched theory shall answer the hopes of those who have devised it? Is the country to be

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

persuaded to bear every thing, and bear patiently, until the operation of such an experiment, adopted for such an avowed object, and adopted, too, without the co-operation or consent of Congress, and by the executive power alone, shall exhibit its results?

In the name of the hundreds of thousands of our suffering fellow-citizens, I ask, for what reasonable end is this experiment to be tried? What great and good object, worth so much cost, is it to accomplish? What enormous evil is to be remedied by all this inconvenience and all this suffering? What great calamity is to be averted? Have the people thronged our doors, and loaded our tables with petitions for relief against the pressure of some political mischief, some notorious misrule, which this experiment is to redress? Has it been resorted to in an hour of misfortune, calamity, or peril, to save the state? Is it a measure of remedy, yielded to the importunate cries of an agitated and distressed nation? Far, Sir, very far from all this. There was no calamity, there was no suffering, there was no peril, when these measures began. At the moment when this experiment was entered upon, these twelve millions of people were prosperous and happy, not only beyond the example of all others, but even beyond their own example in times past.

There was no pressure of public or private distress throughout the whole land. All business was prosperous, all industry was rewarded, and cheerfulness and content universally prevailed. Yet, in the midst of all this enjoyment, with so much to heighten and so little to mar it, this experiment comes upon us, to harass and oppress us at present, and to affright us for the future. Sir, it is incredible; the world abroad will not believe it; it is difficult even for us to credit, who see it with our own eyes, that the country, at such a moment, should put itself upon an experiment fraught with such immediate and overwhelming evils, and threatening the property and the employments of the people, and all their social and political blessings, with severe and long-enduring future inflictions.

And this experiment, with all its cost, is to be tried, for what? Why, simply, Sir, to enable us to try another "experiment"; and that other experiment is, to see whether an exclusive specie currency may not be better than a currency partly specie and partly bank paper! The object which it is hoped we may effect, by patiently treading this path of endurance, is to banish all bank paper, of all kinds, and to have coined money, and coined money only, as the actual currency of the country!

Now, Sir, I altogether deny that such an object is at all desirable, even if it could be attained. I know, indeed, that all paper ought to circulate on a specie basis; that all bank-notes, to be safe, must be convertible into gold and silver at the will of the holder; and I admit, too, that the issuing of very small notes by many of the State banks has too much reduced the amount of specie actually circulating. It may be remembered that I called the attention of Congress to this subject in 1832, and that the bill which then passed both houses for renewing the bank charter contained a provision designed to produce some restraint on the circulation of very small notes. I admit there are conveniences in making small payments in specie; and I have always, not only admitted, but contended, that, if all issues of bank-notes under five dollars were discontinued, much more specie would be retained in the country, and in the circulation; and that great security would result from this. But we are now debating about an **exclusive** specie currency; and I deny that an

exclusive specie currency is the best currency for any highly commercial country; and I deny, especially, that such a currency would be best suited to the condition and circumstances of the United States. With the enlightened writers and practical statesmen of all commercial communities in modern times, I have supposed it to be admitted that a well regulated, properly restrained, safely limited paper currency, circulating on an adequate specie basis, was a thing to be desired, a political public advantage to be obtained, if it might be obtained; and, more especially, I have supposed that in a new country, with resources not yet half developed, with a rapidly increasing population and a constant demand for more and more capital,—that is to say, in just such a country as the United States are, I have supposed that it was admitted that there are particular and extraordinary advantages in a safe and well regulated paper currency; because in such a country well regulated bank paper not only supplies a convenient medium of payments and of exchange, but also, by the expansion of that medium in a reasonable and safe degree, the amount of circulation is kept more nearly commensurate with the constantly increasing amount of property; and an extended capital, in the shape of credit, comes to the aid of the enterprising and the industrious. It is precisely on this credit, created by reasonable expansion of the currency in a new country, that men of small capital carry on their business. It is exactly by means of this, that industry and enterprise are stimulated. If we were driven back to an exclusively metallic currency, the necessary and inevitable consequence would be, that all trade would fall into the hands of large capitalists. This is so plain, that no man of reflection can doubt it. I know not, therefore, in what words to express my astonishment, when I hear it said that the present measures of government are intended for the good of the many instead of the few, for the benefit of the poor, and against the rich; and when I hear it proposed, at the same moment, to do away with the whole system of credit, and place all trade and commerce, therefore, in the hands of those who have adequate capital to carry them on without the use of any credit at all. This, Sir, would be dividing society, by a precise, distinct, and well-defined line, into two classes; first, the small class, who have competent capital for trade, when credit is out of the question; and, secondly, the vastly numerous class of those whose living must become, in such a state of things, a mere manual occupation, without the use of capital or of any substitute for it. Now, Sir, it is the effect of a well-regulated system of paper credit to break in upon this line thus dividing the many from the few, and to enable more or less of the more numerous class to pass over it, and to participate in the profits of capital by means of a safe and convenient substitute for capital; and thus to diffuse far more widely the general earnings, and therefore the general prosperity and happiness, of society. Every man of observation must have witnessed, in this country, that men of heavy capital have constantly complained of bank circulation, and a consequent credit system, as injurious to the rights of capital. They undoubtedly feel its effects. All that is gained by the use of credit is just so much subtracted from the amount of their own accumulations, and so much the more has gone to the benefit of those who bestow their own labor and industry on capital in small amounts. To the great majority, this has been of incalculable benefit in the United States; and therefore, Sir, whoever attempts the entire overthrow of the

system of bank credit aims a deadly blow at the interest of that great and industrious class, who, having some capital, cannot, nevertheless, transact business without some credit. He can mean nothing else, if he have any intelligible meaning at all, than to turn all such persons over to the long list of mere manual laborers. What else can they do, with not enough of absolute capital, and with no credit? This, Sir, this is the true tendency and the unavoidable result of these measures, which have been undertaken with the patriotic object of assisting the poor against the rich!

I am well aware that bank credit may be abused. I know that there is another extreme, exactly the opposite of that of which I have now been speaking, and no less sedulously to be avoided. I know that the issue of bank paper may become excessive; that depreciation will then follow; and that the evils, the losses, and the frauds consequent on a disordered currency fall on the rich and the poor together, but with especial weight of ruin on the poor. I know that the system of bank credit must always rest on a specie basis, and that it constantly needs to be strictly guarded and properly restrained; and it may be so guarded and restrained. We need not give up the good which belongs to it, through fear of the evils which may follow from its abuse. We have the power to take security against these evils. It is our business, as statesmen, to adopt that security; it is our business not to prostrate, or attempt to prostrate, the system, but to use those means of precaution, restraint, and correction which experience has sanctioned, and which are ready at our hands.

It would be to our everlasting reproach, it would be placing us below the general level of the intelligence of civilized states, to admit that we cannot contrive means to enjoy the benefits of bank circulation, and of avoiding, at the same time, its dangers. Indeed, Sir, no contrivance is necessary. It is **contrivance**, and the love of contrivance, that spoil all. We are destroying ourselves by a remedy which no evil called for. We are ruining perfect health by nostrums and quackery. We have lived hitherto under a well constructed, practical, and beneficial system; a system not surpassed by any in the world; and it seems to me to be presuming largely, largely indeed, on the credulity and self-denial of the people, to rush with such sudden and impetuous haste into new schemes and new theories, to overturn and annihilate all that we have so long found useful. Our system has hitherto been one in which paper has been circulating on the strength of a specie basis; that is to say, when every bank-note was convertible into specie at the will of the holder. This has been our guard against excess. While banks are bound to redeem their bills by paying gold and silver on demand, and are at all times able to do this, the currency is safe and convenient. Such a currency is not paper money, in its odious sense. It is not like the Continental paper of Revolutionary times; it is not like the worthless bills of banks which have suspended specie payments. On the contrary, it is the representative of gold and silver, and convertible into gold and silver on demand, and therefore answers the purposes of gold and silver; and so long as its credit is in this way sustained, it is the cheapest, the best, and the most convenient circulating medium. I have already endeavored to warn the country against irredeemable paper; against the paper of banks which do not pay specie for their own notes; against that miserable, abominable, and fraudulent policy, which attempts to give value to any

paper, of any bank, one single moment longer than such paper is redeemable on demand in gold and silver. I wish most solemnly and earnestly to repeat that warning. I see danger of that state of things ahead. I see imminent danger that a portion of the State banks will stop specie payments. The late measure of the Secretary, and the infatuation with which it seems to be supported, tend directly and strongly to that result. Under pretence, then, of a design to return to a currency which shall be all specie, we are likely to have a currency in which there shall be no specie at all. We are in danger of being overwhelmed with irredeemable paper, mere paper, representing not gold nor silver; no, Sir, representing nothing but broken promises, bad faith, bankrupt corporations, cheated creditors, and a ruined people. This, I fear, Sir, may be the consequence, already alarmingly near, of this attempt, unwise if it be real, and grossly fraudulent if it be only pretended, of establishing an exclusively hard-money currency.

But, Sir, if this shock could be avoided, and if we could reach the object of an exclusive metallic circulation, we should find in that very success serious and insurmountable inconveniences. We require neither irredeemable paper, nor yet exclusively hard money. We require a mixed system. We require specie, and we require, too, good bank paper, founded on specie, representing specie, and convertible into specie on demand. We require, in short, just such a currency as we have long enjoyed, and the advantages of which we seem now, with unaccountable rashness, about to throw away.

I avow myself, therefore, decidedly against the object of a return to an exclusive specie currency. I find great difficulty, I confess, in believing any man serious in avowing such an object. It seems to me rather a subject for ridicule, at this age of the world, than for sober argument. But if it be true that any are serious for the return of the gold and silver age, I am seriously against it.

Let us, Sir, anticipate, in imagination, the accomplishment of this grand experiment. Let us suppose that, at this moment, all bank paper were out of existence, and the country full of specie. Where, Sir, should we put it, and what should we do with it? Should we ship it, by cargoes, every day, from New York to New Orleans, and from New Orleans back to New York? Should we encumber the turnpikes, the railroads, and the steamboats with it, whenever purchases and sales were to be made in one place of articles to be transported to another? The carriage of the money would, in some cases, cost half as much as the carriage of the goods. Sir, the very first day, under such a state of things, we should set ourselves about the creation of banks. This would immediately become necessary and unavoidable. We may assure ourselves, therefore, without danger of mistake, that the idea of an exclusively metallic currency is totally incompatible, in the existing state of the world, with an active and extensive commerce. It is inconsistent, too, with the greatest good of the greatest number; and therefore I oppose it. But, Sir, how are we to get through the first experiment, so as to be able to try that which is to be final and ultimate, that is to say, how are we to get rid of the State banks? How is this to be accomplished? Of the Bank of the United States, indeed, we may free ourselves readily; but how are we to annihilate the State banks? We did not speak them into being; we cannot speak them out of being. They did not originate in any exercise of our power; nor do they owe their continuance to our indulgence. They

are responsible to the States; to us they are irresponsible. We cannot act upon them; we can only act with them; and the expectation, as it would appear, is, that, by zealously co-operating with the government in carrying into operation its new theory, they may disprove the necessity of their own existence, and fairly work themselves out of the world! Sir, I ask once more, Is a great and intelligent community to endure patiently all sorts of suffering for fantasies like these? How charmingly practicable, how delightfully probable, all this looks!

I find it impossible, Mr. President, to believe that the removal of the deposits arose in any such purpose as is now avowed. I believe all this to be an after-thought. The removal was resolved on as a strong measure against the bank; and now that it has been attended with consequences not at all apprehended from it, instead of being promptly retracted, as it should have been, it is to be justified on the ground of a grand experiment, above the reach of common sagacity, and dropped down, as it were, from the clouds, "to witch the world with noble policy." It is not credible, not possible, Sir, that, six months ago, the administration suddenly started off to astonish mankind with its new inventions in politics, and that it then began its magnificent project by removing the deposits as its first operation. No, Sir, no such thing. The removal of the deposits was a blow at the bank, and nothing more; and if it had succeeded, we should have heard nothing of any project for the final putting down of all State banks. No, Sir, not one word. We should have heard, on the contrary, only of their usefulness, their excellence, and their exact adaptation to the uses and necessities of this government. But the experiment of making successful use of State banks having failed, completely failed, in this the very first endeavor; the State banks having already proved themselves not able to fill the place and perform the duties of a national bank, although highly useful in their appropriate sphere; and the disastrous consequences of the measures of government coming thick and fast upon us, the professed object of the whole movement is at once changed, and the cry now is, Down with all the State banks! Down with all the State banks! and let us return to our embraces of solid gold and solid silver!

In Rhode Island, the Constitutional Party candidates in general lost badly, but one of them, Thomas Dorr, did manage to obtain one of the four seats from Providence.



In Rhode Island, Representative Thomas Dorr presented the 19 resolutions of his Constitutional Party, but the General Assembly was able to deflect them by initiating a "Freeman's Constitutional Convention." This convention met to repudiate the proposals and then lapsed due to lack of a quorum. He had been stymied.

1835

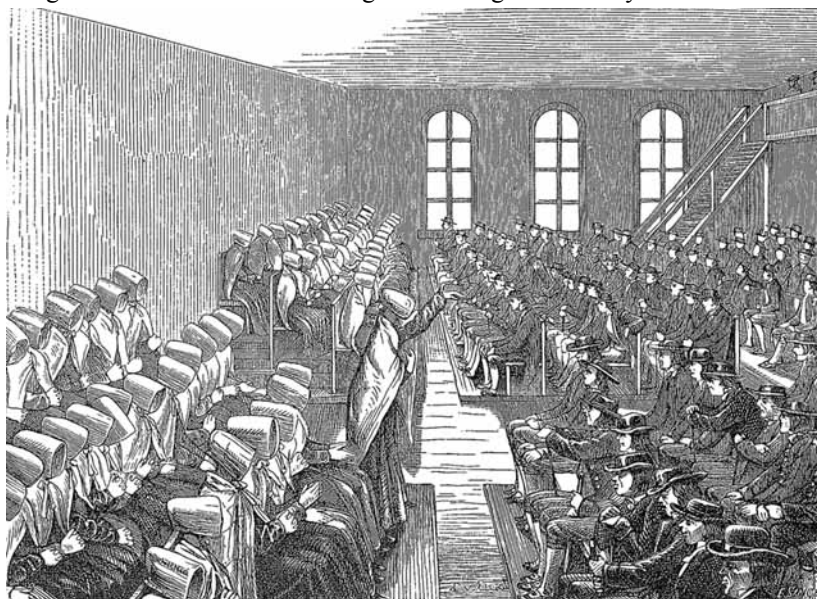
In Providence, Rhode Island, Brown University's Manning Hall was constructed, to house a college library downstairs and a college chapel upstairs. Some \$25,000 had been accumulated, with which to purchase a supply of books for this new library.

In Providence and Pawtucket, Rhode Island's mills were rapidly developing. In this year 55% of the workers were children. (Such child abuse would not be outlawed until the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.) The Children's Friend Society, an orphanage for white children, was established.

Elizabeth Buffum Chase and her sisters founded the Fall River Anti-Slavery Society, trekking door-to-door collecting signatures on petitions calling for the immediate freeing of slaves; for the following decade, until 1845, she and her husband would hide fugitive slaves in their home at the corner of Hunt Street and Broad Street in Central Falls, operating as a station on the Underground Railroad.



After much soul-searching, Chase, who lost a series of five children to illness, would leave her Quaker monthly meeting over its refusal to take a tougher stand against slavery.



Here are the Rhode Islanders believed to have been active in the Underground Railroad:

Newport:

Jethro and Anne Mitchell (related to Maria Mitchell of Nantucket? –Jethro was born on January 27, 1784 on Nantucket Island)

Providence:

Robert Adams

Arnold Buffum

William Buffum

Samuel B. Chase and Mrs. Elizabeth Buffum Chase

Daniel Mitchell of Foster and Pawtucket (related to Maria Mitchell of Nantucket? –her father’s name was William Mitchell)

Captain Jonathan Walker

June 2: The 1st test run of a train over the entire new route between Boston and Providence, Rhode Island, via Attleboro and Rumford, following the east shore of the Seekonk River and crossing that river to a terminus at Providence’s India Point.

“[The railroad will] only encourage the common people to move about needlessly.”

– Arthur Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington

June 11: The first train service was offered to the general public on the Boston and Providence Railroad.

July 22, Sunday: The balloon of the Boston master goldbeater and intrepid aeronaut Louis Lauriat rose from Providence (*Moshasuck*), Rhode Island and in one hour and 25 minutes transited to within 19 miles of Boston town.

1836

September 6: Having lived a long and productive life despite the most severe and debilitating attacks of vertigo, Friend Moses Brown died just before his 98th birthday.

This would go into Quaker records as: “*Moses Brown was born in Providence the 12th day of the Ninth month 1738 old Stile now recond the 23 day of the 9th m^o 1738. Moses Brown died the 6th day of 9th m^o 1836.*”

We now have, at the Rhode Island Historical Society, eight boxes of books said to have been in the joint library of Obadiah and Moses Brown. Here is the list of the books that are now in those eight boxes:

OBADIAH AND MOSES BROWN'S LIBRARY

TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
An Account of the Gospel Labours and Christian Experiences of <i>John Churchman</i>	John Churchman?	Philadelphia: Benj. & Tho. Kite		1818	
A Journey Through Albania	J.C. Hobhouse	Philadelphia: M. Carey and Son		1817	Volumes I and II
The Domestic Encyclopedia	AFM Willich, MD	Philadelphia: Wllm Young, Birch and Abraham Small		1804	(loose boards) Volume V of V (only)
Elements of Chemistry	James Woodhouse, MD	Philadelphia: Benj. & Thos. Kite		1807	Volumes I and II
Italy by Lady Morgan	Lady Morgan	New York: J. Seymour		1821	Volumes I and II
Junius	?	?: T. Bentley		1797	Volumes I and II (rebound)
The Substance of some letters by an Englishman written during the reign of Emperor Napoleon	?	Philadelphia: M. Thomas		1816	
Universal Biography	J. Lempriere, DD	New York: 86 Broadway, New York, F. Sargent		1810	Volume II
Varieties of Literature		London:	J. Debrett	MDC-CXCV (1795)	Volumes I and II
Voyages and Travels	Pinkerton	Philadelphia:	Kimber and Conrad	1810	Six Volumes
Brown's Answer to Nocutt, An Examination of Wllm Notcutt's Reply to H.B.'s vindication etc.	H.B.	London:	J. Sowle	1735	
A Collection of the Works of Thomas Chalkley	Thomas Chalkley	London:	Luke Hinde	1766	
An Answer to the Speech of Declaration by the Great Turk	?	London:	A. Sowle	1688	
The Modern Practice of Physic	Robert Thomas, MD	New York:	Collins and Co.	1811	
Brief Narrative of Life and Death of Gilbert Latey	?	London:	J. Sowle	170 (?)	
A Collection of the Christian Writings, Labours ... of Roger Haydock	Roger Haydock	London:	T. Sowle	1700	

OBADIAH AND MOSES BROWN'S LIBRARY

TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
Lawson's Works	Lawson?	London:	T. Sowle	1703	
Truth Exalted, Writings of John Burnyeat	John Burnyeat	London:	Thomas Northcott	1691	
The New Testament		Boston:	F. Ingraham and J. Putnam	1827	
The Book of Martyrs (abridged)		New York:	Sam'l Wood	1810	
The Design of Christianity, epistles and manuscripts of John Crook	John Crook?	London:	T. Sowle	1701	
Guthries Grammar	Guthrie?	?:	?	1782	
Life and Posthumous Works of Richard Claridge, collected by Jo. Besse	Richard Claridge?	London:	J. Sowle	1726	two copies
Edmundson's Journal	Edmundson?	London:	sold and printed by Mary Hinde	1774	
Journals and Travels of Samuel Bownas and John Richardson	?	London, reprinted in Philadelphia:	Wllm Dunlap	1759	
Kerseys Treatise	?	Concord:	Dan'l Coolege	1818	three copies
Keith's Works	Keith?	?:	?	1678	
Ellwood's Sacred History	Ellwood?	London:	James Phillips	1783	Volumes I and II
An Account of the Gospel Labours etc. of John Churchman	?	Philadelphia:	Jos. Cruckshank	1729	
Hints on Scriptural Instruction	?	Philadelphia:	T. Kite	1831	
Thorp's Letters	Thorpe?	Liverpool:	Printed by James & Johnathon Smith	1820	
The Way to Bromley on the Sabbath		London/Germantown:	?	1759	
Popery Exposed	Henry Molineux	London:	T. Sowle	1718	
Life and Labours of Samuel Neale	?	Philadelphia:	James Parke	1806	
Law's Address	Law?	New Bedford:	Benj. Lindsey, printer	1818	
Memoirs	William Lewis	Philadelphia:	B & T Kite	1821	

OBADIAH AND MOSES BROWN'S LIBRARY

TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
Catalogue of books printed and sold by James Philips	?	London:	James Philips?	?	Pamphlet
Memoirs, Isaac Penington	Isaac Penington, and Joseph Gurney Bevan	London:	Wllm B. Sewell	1807	includes review by Joseph Gurney Bevan
The Friend	?	Philadelphia:	J. Richardson	1829	
Holy Bible		Philadelphia:	Bible Association of America	1831	Volumes I, II, and III?
Life of William Reckitt	?	Philadelphia:	Joseph Cruickshank	1783	
Life of Ambrose Riggs	?	London:	T. Sowle	1710	
The Centaur not fabulous		London:	A. Millar	1755	
The Book of Disciplines	?	Providence:	John Carter	1785	
Bevans Defence of Friends	?	London:	Phillips and Fardon	1805	
Memoirs and Life of Sarah Stephenson	Sarah Stephenson?	Philadelphia:	Kimber, Conrad	1805	
History of the New York African Free Schools	?	New York:	Mahlon Day	1830	
Memoirs of Isaac Penington	William Grover	Philadelphia:	Thomas Kite	1831	Friends Family Library, Volume I
Prynne on Plays	?	?:	?	1776	
Means of Preserving Health ...	Shadrach Ricketson, Physician in New York	New York:	Collins and Perkins and Sons	1806	
An Apology for the True Christian Divinity...	Robert Barclay	London:	J. Phillips	1780	
An Essay on Slavery	Granville Sharp	Burlington:	Isaac Collins	1773	
A Confutation of the Charge of Deism wherein the Christian and Orthodox Sentiments of William Penn are ... demonstrated	Joseph Besse	London:	J. Sowle	1734	
An Introduction into the making of Latin	John Clarke	London:	Strahan, Livingston, et al	1780	

OBADIAH AND MOSES BROWN'S LIBRARY

TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
The Anthology of Religion	Jos. Butler, Bishop of Durham	?:	?	printed 1754	
Collection of some papers of William Crouch		London:	T. Sowle	1712	
John Churchman, Gospel Labours	John Church- man?	Philadelphia:	Skerret	1818	
Lux Evangelica ... A reply to George Keith's Cen- sure	Richard Clar- idge	London:	T. Sowle	1701	
Gospel Labours, etc.	Stephen Crisp	Philadelphia:	Benj. and Thos. Kite	1822	
Elwood's Life	?	London:	Luke Hinde	1765	
Cotton's Reply to Williams, 1647-1652	?	?:	?	?	
The Life of David, a sacred poem	Thomas Elwood	London:	Luke Hinde	1763	
The Foundation of Tythes Shaken	Thomas Ell- wood	London:	T. Sowle	1720	
Dictionary of the Bible		London:	Beecroft and Strahan et al	1759	Volumes I?, II?, III?
A letter to a Friend	Joseph John Gurney	Philadelphia:	Benj. and Thos. Kite	1824	
Statutes of Connecticut		Hartford:	Elisha Babcock	1786	
A Faithful Testimony ...		London:	Andrew Sowle	1689	
Works of William Dell	William Dell?	London:	John Kendall	17?3	
Treatise concerning the Fear of God	John Field	London:	T. Sowle	1713	
Treatise concerning Baptism	?	London:	T. Sowle	1695	
Life of Joseph Coale	?	London:	T. Sowle	1706	
An Account of ... Richard Davies	?	London, Phila- delphia:	Jos. Cruckshank	1770	
Principles and Precepts	Samuel Fuller	Newport:	S. Southwick	1769	
Necessity of a life of purity...	Samuel Fothergill	Philadelphia:	Cruckshank	1780	Pamphlet included
Of Religious Declention	Andrew Fuller?	Manchester?:	?	1829	
Reflections	George Dillwyn	Burlington, New Jersey:	David Allison	1815	

OBADIAH AND MOSES BROWN'S LIBRARY

TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
Sermons by Dewsberry, Barclay etc.		Philadelphia:	Benj. and Thos. Kite	1825	
Home's Principles: The Principles of Agriculture and Vegetation	Francis Home	London:	A. Millar	1762	
Degge's Law of Tythes	?	London:	Richard and Edw. Aytkins	1695	
The Trials of the Spirit	William Dell	London:	Mary Hinde	1770	
Treatise on Baptism and the Lord's Supper		London:	T. Sowle	1695	
Brief Memorials of Davidworth, being sketches of his character; Life and Death of Hannah Logan Smith by her daughter Rebecca		Philadelphia:	Sherman?	1847	
Friends' Tracts, Volume I: Memoirs and Essays		Philadelphia:	Kite, published by the Tract Association of Friends	n.d.	
Testimony concerning Sufferings and Death of James Parnel	Ellis Hookes	London:	?	1695	three volumes in one
Miscellaneous Repository	Elisha Bates	Mount Pleasant, Ohio:	?	1829	Volume 2 and 3
Compendium of the Impending Crisis in the South	Hinton R. Helper	New York:	Burdick	1860	Clearly, this has crept into the boxes while in storage
No Cross, No Crown	William Penn	Philadelphia:	Kinber, Conrad and Company?	1807	
The Correspondence between committee of the Yearly Meeting of Friends and Isaac Crowdson		London:	Hamilton	1836	
A History of the People Called Quakers, in four volumes	John Gough	Dublin:	?	1789	
An Introduction to Physiological and Systematical Botany, with notes by Jacob Bigelow	James Edward Smith	Boston:	Bradford and Ready?	1814	
Essays	Joseph John Gurney	Philadelphia:	Kite	1829	
Immediate Revelation	George Keith	?:	?	1676	2d Edition
Extracts from Letters of Jonathan Hutchinson, late of Gedney, with a Brief Notice of his Life and Character		London:	Phillips	1835	
Some Brief Memoirs of the Life of David Hall		London:	Hinde	1758	

OBADIAH AND MOSES BROWN'S LIBRARY

TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
Letters of William Grover		London:	Harvey and Danton	1828	
Catalog of the Books Belonging to the Library of the three Monthly Meetings ...		Philadelphia:		1813	
A Classic Tour Through Italy	Reverend John Chetwode Eustace	Philadelphia:	M. Curry	1816	
A View of the Prophecy by the Reverend George Stanley Faber		Boston:	William Andrews	1809	
The Public Laws of the State of Rhode Island		Providence:	Miller and Dutchers	1822	
The Public Laws of the State of Rhode Island		Providence:	Carter and Wilkinson	1798	MB stamp
Some Account of the Life and Gospel Labours of William Rickett ... also, Memoirs of the Life ... of James Gough		Philadelphia:	Joseph Cruks-hank	1783	Mary Brown signature, MB stamp
Lectures on School-Keeping, with advertisements for school books sold by A. Shearman.	Samuel R. Hall	Boston	Richardson, Lord and Holbrook	1829	MB stamp
Observations on the Religious Peculiarities of the Religious Society of Friends	Joseph John Gurney	Philadelphia	S. Potter and Co.	1825	
Observations on the Religious Peculiarities of the Religious Society of Friends	Joseph John Gurney	London		1824	2d Edition
An Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with Christianity	Jonathan Dymond	Philadelphia	I. Ashmead and Co.	1834	
Elegant Extracts		Dublin	P. Byrne	1793	Second Edition
A Collection of Memorials Concerning ... Deceased ... Quakers		Philadelphia	Joseph Cruks-hank	1787	
A Collection of the Epistles of the Yearly Meeting in London to Quarterly Meetings and Monthly Meetings ... 1675-1820		New York	Samuel Wood and sons	1821	
Extracts from Letters by Margaret Jackson		Philadelphia	B. and T. Kite	1825	
An Epitome of the History of the World	John Hoyland	Philadelphia	B. and T. Kite	1816	Two Volumes
An ... Address to the Clergy	William Law	New Bedford	B. Lindsey	1816	
Extracts from the Writings of Francis Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray		Philadelphia	Kimber, Conrod and Co.	1804	edited by John Kendall

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TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of the Yearly Meeting in London		London	James Phillips	1783	
The Christian Observer, Conducted by the Members of the Established Church for the year 1804		New York	T.B. Wait and Sond	1814	Volume 3
A Practical Treatise on the Holy Spirit	Reverend G.S. Faber	New York	Eastburn, Kirk and Co.	1814	
On the Difficulties of Infidelity	George Stanley Faber	New York	D. Cooledge	1829	
Sermons Preached by Several of the People Known as Quakers		London	Mary Heade	1775	
Works	Isaac Penington	London	James Phillips	1775	
Magnalia Christi Americana	Cotton Mather	Hartford	Silas Andrews		two volumes
Collected Writings by various authors		London	?	1690?	
A Narrative of Events that Have Lately Taken Place in Ireland	?	London	?	1804	
History of the Late War	John Entick			1766	Volumes 1-5
A Defense of the Christian Doctrine of the Friends	Elias Hicks	Philadelphia	?	1825	
Letters by Isaac Penington	Isaac Penington	London	Holdsworth and Ball	1829	
The Great Case of Tithes	Anthony Pearson	London	?	1730	
A Brief View of the Doctrines of Friends	John Bevans	Philadelphia	Kimber and Conrod	1810	
Miscellanies, Moral and Instructive ... for Schools and ... Young Persons	?	Philadelphia	Henry Sweitzer	1802	
An Account of the Life of Mary Rowlandson ...	Oliver Sanson	London	J. Sowle	1710	
A Brief Journal	Thomas Wilson	London	James Phillips	1784	two copies
The Doctrine of the Passions Explained and Improved	Isaac Watts	London	J. Phillips?	1770	
Strength in Weakness Manifest in the Life	Elizabeth Stirredge	Philadelphia	B. and T. Kite	1810	
A Scripture Catechism for Children	Ambrose Rigge	London	?	1772	

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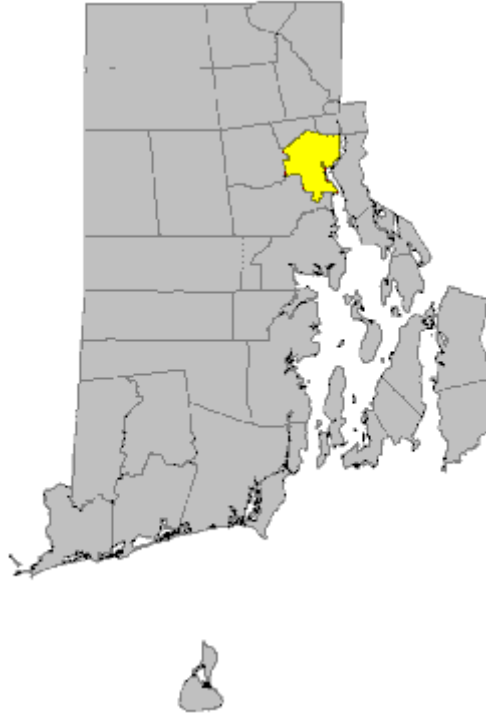
TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
Hints, Chiefly Scriptural ... Respecting Regeneration	Richard Phillips	Philadelphia	B. and T. Kite	1810	
Essays on Peace and War	Philanthropus	Exeter, New Hampshire	J. Burnham	1827	
An Abstract of ... the Spiritual Guide	Michael de Molinos	London	?	1774	
Sion's Travellers Comforted	Charles Marshall	London	T. Soule	1704	
Two Discourses and a Prayer		Bristol	S. Farley	1768	5th edition
The Great Audit, or Good Steward	Matthew Hale	London	John Kendell	1775	
A Journal of the Life	John Gratton	London	James Phillips	1779	
A Brief Collection of Remarkable Passages ...	Margaret Fox	London	J. Somes	1710	

1837

April 1837-December 1838: Margaret Fuller was teaching at the Greene Street Academy in Providence, Rhode Island.



May 8, Monday: The New England delegates to the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women that was to be held on Manhattan Island assembled in Providence for the overnight steamboat trip to a wharf at the Battery on Manhattan Island.



The steamboat had a Ladies' Cabin with two tiers of berths, but there was a problem. One of the delegates from Rhode Island was a black woman and normally the steamboat companies did not allow black passengers inside the Gentlemen's Cabin or the Ladies' Cabin. At that time black passengers spent the night on the steamboat's deck regardless of weather conditions, and if for instance a pregnant free black woman died of exposure, she died, that was all. However, in actual fact passengers were able to make their own rules. One delegate recorded later that

I was happy, in the early stages of this journey to have our feelings tested with regard to that bitter prejudice against colored which we have indiscriminately indulged, and to find it giving place to better feelings. Our colored companion slept near my side – she rode with us in the carriage – sat with us at the table of the public boarding-house – walked in company with us.

This Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women may arguably have been the first significant racially integrated meeting in the United States of America, as well as merely the first public political meeting of women in the United States of America.³⁰ The convention met in the district of New-York that is now referred to as Greenwich Village. Although, in the northern states, the black population was only one in fifty, at this convention the ratio was one in ten. In New York City, never a hotbed of miscegenation, abolitionist ministers were having their black parishioners sit in a segregated upper gallery humorously referred to by some white parishioners as “nigger heaven.”³¹ Maria W. Stewart, the 1st American woman to have lectured in public, attended, presumably unnoticed. When the colored ladies thoughtfully provided a box lunch for the assembly, one of the delegates commented

They are a race worth saving.

As a further expression of their solidarity, most of the delegates, except for some of the New York ladies, would decide to do without the divisive distinction between Miss and Mrs. The Commercial Advertiser would describe the “sweet lips” of these “oratoresses” who were depriving “the world of men of the high privilege of drinking from those rich rivers of rhetoric.” The key accomplishment of the convention would be to break the “True Womanhood” of female passivity and submission and acceptance by insisting that the True Woman, out of her native emotionality and unselfishness, would vigorously plead the cause of the oppressed, and would therefore be Anti-Slavery. —That this was not what it had been being portrayed to be, a man’s affair in which a woman was not to meddle.

From George Templeton Strong’s New-York diary:



This affair of the Dry Dock Bank has gone better than I expected, but I fear it will prove the entering wedge to split up all Wall Street. The other banks are generally blamed for not sustaining it, and justly so. Only imagine that [Uncle Benjamin] should actually have come to such a situation as to be afraid of personal insult if he go into the street! Yet so it is. What can be more dreadful? I can scarcely realize it — as kind and good-hearted and benevolent a man as ever breathed, his character unimpeached and unimpeachable, yet obliged to secure his house from attack and afraid of showing himself. These wretched banks and credit systems and paper wealth; they have done all this.

Whig bankers in Massachusetts and New York obtained gold bullion from the Bank of England to bolster Boston and New York banks and thus prevented a major financial collapse in the United States. This did not prevent many of President Andrew Jackson’s depository banks from failing in the various states. The nation would recover very slowly from this disaster, although Massachusetts would be one of the earliest states to make a comeback because of its stringent policies and enforcements of currency and bond issuing, loan control, elimination of debtor imprisonment (which had previously been a major expense for the state government), increased licensing (a major source of revenue), and liquor control as a restriction of “causes of pauperism.” The Panic, aside from these fiscal and social improvements, resulted in prolonging the controversy over the Bank of the United States, a controversy which is referred to more often in the writings of Emerson than in those of Henry Thoreau.

30. TURNING THE WORLD UPSIDE DOWN: THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION OF AMERICAN WOMEN HELD IN NEW YORK CITY, MAY 9-12, 1837. Introduction by Dorothy Sterling. NY: The Feminist P at the City U of New York, 1993.

31. The exceedingly popular evangelist Charles Finney, for instance, put his foot down when a black choir and a white choir occupied the same platform at the same time at a meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society — that was just **too much** race mixing.

June 10: Waldo Emerson gave the dedication address at Hiram Fuller's Greene Street School in Providence, Rhode Island, staffed by Margaret Fuller (this coincidence of names was just that, a coincidence).



This address would become the basis for his PhiBK speech at Harvard College, coming up that fall.

“If the Allwise would give me light,
I should write for the Cambridge men
a theory of the Scholar's office.”

The letters and journals of girls that Fuller taught in Providence would reveal an almost worshipful attitude toward a woman of great passion and intelligence who inspired despite being fiercely demanding. (While Fuller generally succeeded as a role model for girls, unfortunately the gender politics of the age meant that she couldn't be all that helpful for boys.)³²

32. Johnson, Harriet Hall. “Margaret Fuller as Known by Her Scholars.” Christian Register (April 21, 1910): 427-9

Ferguson, Laraine R. “Margaret Fuller in the Classroom: The Providence Period.” Studies in the American Renaissance (1987): 131-42

1838

Thomas Allen Jenckes, a product of the Rhode Island public schools, graduated from Brown University. He would serve as a tutor at his alma mater in Providence during the 1839-1840 school year.³³



33. This public-domain image of Jenckes was obtained from the Library of Congress by Professor Scott A. Sandage of Carnegie-Mellon University, and provided for use in the Kouroo Contexture.

There was at this point a hot debate going on in Providence as to whether the capital city of Rhode Island ought to expand its public school system beyond its existing elementary schools, by establishing a free high school. Some members of the public objected that creating such a school would encourage the dilution of the local aristocracy, by fostering onto it a bunch of people who had merely attended a free public institution. This would interfere with the apprentice system by tending to “educate children above working for their support.” The free public high school concept would be simmering on the back burner until 1843.

To supplement the facility of the Children’s Friend Society for white orphan children, an Association for the Benefit of Colored Children was organized and eventually would construct a facility in Providence, Rhode Island (the point to having such separate institutional arrangements, of course, would not have been to keep the children of different races separate, as that could easily have been accomplished within the same institutional arrangement, but would have been to ensure that colored orphans received fewer funds and were treated more poorly than white orphans. To make my point: Also, in this year, in very much the same vein, a mob of the white citizens of Philadelphia, persuaded that “nigger charity” was like throwing money away, would torch their Colored Orphan Asylum.³⁴)

The first Rhode-Island-operated prison was built, in Providence, Rhode Island. This building quickly proved to be unsuitable, and the state purchased land in the Cranston village of Howard in 1869. This land, known as the State Farm, was managed by the Board of State Charities and Corrections until about 1920. Several institutions were built there, including the State Workhouse and House of Corrections, the State Hospital for the Insane, the State Almshouse (renamed the State Infirmary in 1917), the State Prison and Providence County Jail (managed jointly), and the State Reform Schools (the Sockanosset School for Boys, and the Oaklawn School for Girls). The State Workhouse and House of Corrections building held men and women and was also the home for the women’s county jail and for state prison inmates. After the male workhouse inmates were phased out, it would become in 1924 the State Reformatory for Women. It would close in about 1968. The State Prison and Providence County Jail in Cranston would be built in 1878, and this eventually would become the Adult Correctional Institution that we hold so dear today. Federal inmates have also been bunking at this facility from time to time. The governing body for the State Institutions has changed over the years, becoming variously “State Public Welfare Commission,” “Department of Public Welfare,” and “Department of Social Welfare.” Though some of its inmates have been under federal or county jurisdiction, the institutions seem to have always been operated by the state of Rhode Island. The titles “Keeper of the State Prison” and “Warden of the County Jail” are two hats worn by the same apparatchik.

Our national birthday, the 4th of July: This was Nathaniel Hawthorne’s 34th birthday.

The balloon of the intrepid master Boston goldbeater and aeronaut Louis Lauriat graced the skies above historic Salem MA, and a good time was had by all.

In Providence (*Moshasuck*), Rhode Island, a procession included 29 veterans of the revolution.

The White House was closed to the public because “the President has lately lost, by death, a near relative.”

In Charlottesville, Virginia, the Declaration of Independence was read from an “original draft, in the handwriting of Mr. Jefferson.”

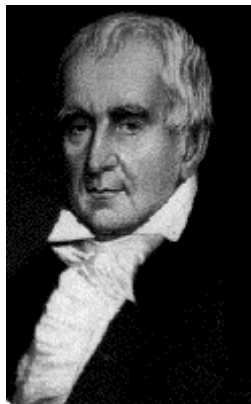
At Fort Madison, Iowa, headman Black Hawk delivered a 4th-of-July address.

At the US House of Representatives, Representative John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts continued his speech on the expansive topic of Texas for a 20th day.

34. No such faculty would be created in Boston — which is probably the single most relevant reason why no such facility would be burned by a Boston mob persuaded that “nigger charity” was like throwing money away.

1839

At Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, Nicholas Brown provided land and most of the funding for a new house of the sciences, to be known as Rhode Island Hall.



In Providence, Rhode Island, Friend Anna A. Jenkins was among the founders of an Association for the Benefit of Colored Orphans. (This institution would relocate in 1849 to a new facility called “The Shelter,” at 20 Olive Street on College Hill, that could provide sleeping areas for 50 such children. Black boys would become apprentices at the age of 10, black girls at the age of 12.)

February 21: According to Roll #12 of microfilmed records of “Inward Slave Manifests,” now available on the Internet for your ready consultation, on this day the brig *Smithfield* of the firm of Nicholas Brown & Co. of Providence, Rhode Island, a coastwise vessel, arrived in the port of Charleston, South Carolina under the command of Captain Thomas Andros or Andrews (both spellings are listed)³⁵ conveying two coffles of American slaves to their destiny on the auction block for the Southern plantation market. The coffles were divided according to their white ownership, with the consignment pertaining to the factor Alex M. Donald, a middleman, consisting of the following persons:

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

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

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

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

1840

In Rhode Island politics (with a population of more than 100,000), Samuel Ward King was during this year in charge. During this year the State Armory was being built below Benefit Street in Providence.

After studying law, Thomas Allen Jenckes was admitted to the Rhode Island bar. He would commence practice in Providence, and would serve as Clerk in the Rhode Island legislature until 1844.



Early in the year John Adolphus Etzler had returned from the West Indies to New-York. Undoubtedly to meet and suitably impress other reformers, he would there attend the Fourier Society of New York's annual celebration of the French philosopher-utopist Charles Fourier's birthday. There he would make the acquaintance of a Fourierist socialist and humanitarian, C.F. Stollmeyer, also a recent German immigrant, who was at that time readying Albert Brisbane's *THE SOCIAL DESTINY OF MAN* for publication. Stollmeyer was to become not only the publisher of *The New World*, but also a primary disciple of Etzler. This *SOCIAL DESTINY OF MAN*, seconded by the writings and lectures of such men as Dana McClean Greeley, Horace Greeley, Parke Godwin, and the Reverend William Henry Channing, would stimulate the rise of several Phalansterian Associations, in the middle and western states, chiefest of which would be "The North American Phalanx" in Monmouth County, New Jersey.

The Reverend Adin Ballou would write in *HISTORY OF THE HOPEDALE COMMUNITY, FROM ITS INCEPTION TO ITS VIRTUAL SUBMERGENCE IN THE HOPEDALE PARISH* that this year would initiate "a decade of American history pre-eminently distinguished for the general humanitarian spirit which seemed to pervade it, as manifested in numerous and widely extended efforts to put away existing evils and better the condition of the masses of mankind; and especially for the wave of communal thought which swept over the country, awakening a very profound interest in different directions in the question of the re-organization of society; — an interest which assumed various forms as it contemplated or projected practical results." There would be, he pointed out, a considerable number of what were known as Transcendentalists in and about Boston, who, under the leadership of the Reverend George Ripley, a Unitarian clergyman of eminence, would plan and put in operation the Roxbury Community, generally known as the "Brook Farm" Association. A company of radical reformers who had come out from the church on account of its alleged complicity with Slavery and other abominations, and hence called Come-Outers, would institute a sort of family Community near Providence, Rhode Island. Other progressives, with George W. Benson at their head, would found the Northampton Community at the present village of Florence, a suburb of Northampton MA.



One of the debates of the 18th Century was what human nature might be, under its crust of civilization, under the varnish of culture and manners. Jean-Jacques Rousseau had an answer. Thomas Jefferson had an answer. One of the most intriguing answers was that of Charles Fourier, who was born in Besançon two years before the Shakers arrived in New York. He grew up to write twelve sturdy volumes designing a New Harmony for mankind, an experiment in radical sociology that began to run parallel to that of the Shakers. Fourierism (Horace Greeley founded the New-York *Tribune* to promote Fourier's ideas) was Shakerism for intellectuals. Brook Farm was Fourierist, and such place-names as Phalanx, New Jersey, and New Harmony, Indiana, attest to the movement's history. Except for one detail, Fourier and Mother Ann Lee were of the same mind; they both saw that humankind must return to the tribe or extended family and that it was to exist on a farm. Everyone lived in one enormous dormitory. Everyone shared all work; everyone agreed, although with constant revisions and refinements, to a disciplined way of life that would be most harmonious for them, and lead to the greatest happiness. But when, of an evening, the Shakers danced or had "a union" (a conversational party), Fourier's Harmonians had an orgy of eating, dancing, and sexual high jinks, all planned by a Philosopher of the Passions. There is a strange sense in which the Shakers' total abstinence from the flesh and Fourier's total indulgence serve the same purpose. Each creates a psychological medium in which frictionless cooperation reaches a maximum possibility. It is also wonderfully telling that the modern world has no place for either.

According to the dissertation of Maurice A. Crane, “A Textual and Critical Edition of Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *The Blithedale Romance*” at the University of Illinois in 1953, various scholars have fingered Zenobia as:

- Mrs. Almira Barlow
- Margaret Fuller
- Fanny Kemble
- Mrs. Sophia Ripley
- Caroline Sturgis Tappan

while various other scholars have been fingering Mr. Hollingsworth as:

- Bronson Alcott
- Albert Brisbane
- Elihu Burritt
- Charles A. Dana
- Waldo Emerson
- Horace Mann, Sr.
- William Pike
- the Reverend Orestes Augustus Brownson, or maybe
- the Reverend William Henry Channing, or maybe
- the Reverend Theodore Parker

Hawthorne should really have told us more than Zenobia’s nickname, and should really have awarded Hollingsworth a first name more definitive than “Mr.”? Go figure!

Lest we presume that an association of this William Henry Channing with Hollingsworth is utterly void of content, let us listen, as Marianne Dwight did, to the reverend stand and deliver on the topic of “devotedness to the cause; the necessity of entire self-surrender”.¹

He compared our work with ... that of the crusaders....
He compared us too with the Quakers, who see God only
in the inner light,... with the Methodists, who seek
to be in a state of rapture in their sacred meetings,
whereas we should maintain in daily life, in every
deed, on all occasions, a feeling of religious fervor;
with the perfectionists, who are, he says, the only
sane religious people, as they believe in perfection,
and their aim is one with ours. Why should we, how dare
we tolerate ourselves or one another in sin?

1. Reed, Amy L., ed. *LETTERS FROM BROOK FARM, 1844-1847, BY MARIANNE DWIGHT*
Poughkeepsie NY, 1928.

During this decade well over 100 mills would be in operation on Rhode Island streams. The village of Saylesville would be established during this period at Lincoln and eventually would grow into one of the greatest textile complexes in the world. The Sayles Bleachery plants would become one of the most important examples of highly developed mill towns, with a wide range of social and educational activities for workers. The Georgiaville Cotton Manufacturing Company would become one of the many mills along the Woonasquatucket. (In 1853 Zachariah Allen would purchase this mill. His extensive efforts in the redesign of the water system there, downstream in Allendale, and at other sites would contribute to the expansion, success and stability of the local textile industry.)

During this decade, the Providence and Worcester Railroad would be building an 80-foot walkway around the Great Salt Cove at the foot of College Hill and Smith Hill (Cove Promenade, now known as Promenade Street).

During this decade the business of the Washington Providence Insurance Company of Providence, Rhode Island would begin to shift, from marine insurance to fire insurance.

At some point during the 1840s, “Charley” Parkhurst, 5 foot 7 inches and wiry, would move from Worcester to Providence and become a coachman to the upscale swells of that vicinity.



Providence workers formed the Rhode Island Suffrage Association.

March 3, Tuesday: Since 1824, the mentally ill had been being housed at the Ebenezer Dexter Poorhouse at the corner of Hope Street and Lloyd Avenue in Providence — where one may still view an utterly massive stone perimeter wall although by now it has been penetrated by various driveways.

On this day Nicholas Brown, Jr., the head of the major firm of Brown and Ives, donated \$30,000 toward the establishment in Rhode Island of a hospital for the insane.³⁶

March 20: Waldo Emerson lectured in Providence. This was the introductory lecture of what would be a total of six, from the “Human Life” series, for which he would receive \$180. He would be told that the Franklin Lyceum had made money by him. He would note that one member of his Rhode Island audience had “in good earnest defined Transcendentalism as ‘Operations on the Teeth’.”



March 23: Waldo Emerson lectured in Providence, Rhode Island. This was the 2nd lecture of the “Domestic Life” series.

March 25: Waldo Emerson lectured in Providence, Rhode Island. This was the 3rd lecture of the series: Love.

March 27: Waldo Emerson lectured in Providence, Rhode Island. This was the 4th lecture of the series: Politics.

March 30: Waldo Emerson lectured in Providence, Rhode Island. This was the 5th lecture of the “Domestic Life” series.

April 1: Waldo Emerson lectured in Providence, Rhode Island. This was the 6th and final lecture of the “Domestic Life” series.

36. Dr. Robert J. Westlake, until his recent retirement an officer and director of this institution, who had been associated with Butler Hospital since 1973, has asserted that Nicholas Brown, Jr. was a Quaker. The man had been, of course, a Baptist. Was this an innocent mistake on Dr. Westlake’s part — or does it reflect a disingenuous attempt on the part of some informant of Dr. Westlake’s, who has attempted to falsify history in order to avoid the question as to whether the originary bequest for the hospital had been made up in part of moneys obtained by the international trade in black slaves over the Middle Passage, a commerce in which many Baptist members of the Brown family of Providence actually were very deeply implicated? (It may ordinarily be dismissed as a mere error, if an institution gets the religion of its founding figure wrong, since such a detail would ordinarily be considered rather unimportant in an institutional history — except that in this case it would seem there to be a major motive, either to be certain to get this particular detail right or to be certain to get this particular detail wrong. Sometimes we can be glad something is true and it is true because we are glad, rather than the other way around.)

1841

Christopher A. Greene helped William Chace (1786-1875) publish The Plain Speaker, a Providence, Rhode Island journal of Transcendentalism: "Chattel slavery will not be abolished until heavy and earnest blows have been struck at the entire system of labor for wages."

The Committee of Incorporators for the new mental hospital applied to the state of Rhode Island for a charter for a "Rhode Island Asylum for the Insane."

A "Seamen's Friend Society" was formed in Providence, Rhode Island, to distribute religious papers aboard vessels, and to maintain a Seamen's Bethel at which religious instruction would be available.

Only two Massachusetts railroads were enforcing racial segregation. One was the Eastern line between Boston and Lynn and on to Portsmouth NH, and the other was the New Bedford line between Boston and New Bedford MA and Providence, Rhode Island. Ironically, only free black people were required to ride in the "Jim Crow" car, the "negro car" which Dickens mentioned, which was typically smaller and older and placed just aft of the engine where it would take full benefit of the engine's smoke and sparks. Southerners who were accompanied by their black slaves were of course entitled to have their servants in the white cars with them.

"In those parts of the Union in which the negroes are no longer slaves, they have in no wise drawn nearer to the whites. On the contrary, the prejudice of the race appears to be stronger in the States which have abolished slavery ... and nowhere is it so intolerant as in those States where servitude has never been known."

— Alexis de Tocqueville

Nicholas Brown, the head of Providence, Rhode Island's major firm Brown and Ives who had over a lifetime donated \$160,000 to his alma mater, died. Eventually Rhode Island College would be renamed in honor of this alumnus.

Early in this month Orestes Augustus Brownson addressed the Suffrage Association in Providence, Rhode Island in favor of an extension of suffrage. At the time Brownson was approving of the conduct of Thomas Dorr in seeking to amend a charter which allowed of no amendment, not because he supposed his activities to be legitimate, but because they were not any more illegitimate than the activities of his opposition in likewise seeking to amend that charter — and because it was generally good for America that suffrage be extended. (After Mr. Dorr's failure with the cannon at the arsenal, Brownson would discover to his considerable chagrin that the limitation of suffrage to a freehold qualification had been no provision of the colonial charter, but had been instead an act of the legislature, and so he would change sides, and disapprove of Dorr's conduct — not because Dorr had become a loser, oh no, but due to a technicality: "this changed the whole aspect of the case." He would have "no apology to offer" for shifting to the side of the triumphant Law and Order Party, because "our principles have undergone no change." "The suffrage men may have meant well, and they may have incurred no great share of moral guilt; for to moral guilt there must be a guilty moral intent, or, what is the same thing, a culpable ignorance. But they were politically rebels, and could be treated only as such by a government that respected itself, and resolved to discharge its legal functions.")


April 21: Bronson Alcott wrote a short note to Christopher A. Greene in Providence, Rhode Island while sending him a manuscript copy of ORPHIC SAYINGS; FOR THE PLAIN SPEAKER..... (seven leaves written on both sides, the verso of the final leaf addressed in the author's hand).

At this point it had been settled that the Alcotts would stay where they were and it would be Henry Thoreau who would instead serve the Emerson family as "handyman."

May: The Plain Speaker of Providence, Rhode Island published twelve of Bronson Alcott's ORPHIC SAYINGS. (This reform gazette also published several letters to the editor it had received from Alcott.)

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

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

Date of Admission	Name	Birthplace	Birthdate	Occupation
August 1842	James Curtis	Providence, Rhode Island	1824	student
September 1842	Eleanor Garrith	?	?	?
September 1842	John Brown 	?	?	farmer
October 1842	Manuel Diaz	?	?	student
December 1842	Icabod Morton	Plymouth MA	?	commercial fisherman
January 1843	Amelia Russell	Dunkirk, France	1798	teacher
January 1843	Lewis Ryckman	New-York NY	1796	shoemaker
January 1843	Jane Ryckman	New-York NY	1799	wife of shoemaker
January 1843	Mary Brown	?	?	wife of a farmer
February 1844	John Cheever	Ireland	1802	domestic servant
February 1844	Marianne Williams	England	1806	?
February 1844	John Mitchell	Scotland	1818	shoemaker
February 1844	John Sullivan Dwight	Boston MA	1813	minister
February 1844	Christopher List	Wurtemberg, Germany	1816	lawyer
February 1844	William J. Davis	Sutton MA	1816	carpenter
February 1844	Anne Dana	Gaines NY	1825	sister of student
February 1844	Charles Salisbury	Walpole NH	1819	farmer
February 1844	Deborah N-	?	?	?
February 1844	Mary Holland	Belfast ME	<i>circa</i> 1817	wife of a tallow chandler
February 1844	Mary Ann Willard	?	?	?
April 1844	William Teel	Jersey City NJ	1822	shoemaker
April 1844	Porter Holland	Belfast ME	1817	tallow chandler
April 1844	Jeremiah Reynolds	Sterling CT	1820	carpenter
April 1844	Peter Baldwin	Boston MA	1806	baker
May 1844	Ephraim Capen	Dorchester MA	1813	pewterer
May 1844	Job Tirell	Boston MA	1795	carpenter
May 1844	Charles Fuller	Boston MA	1822	shoemaker
May 1844	Frederick Burnham	Roxbury MA	1821	shoemaker
May 1844	William Cheswell	Boston MA	1818	carpenter
May 1844	Mary Ann Cheswell	Boston MA	1822	wife of carpenter
May 1844	Robert Westacott	England	1818	cabinet maker

Date of Admission	Name	Birthplace	Birthdate	Occupation
June 1844	Frederick Cabot	Boston MA	1822	clerk
June 1844	Mary Dwight	West Newbury MA	1792	mother of minister
June 1844	Marianne Dwight	Boston MA	1816	teacher
June 1844	Benjamin Fitch	Temple NH	1810	farmer
June 1844	Francis Dwight	Boston MA	1819	sister of minister
June 1844	Flavel Patterson	Lunenburg MA	1806	carpenter
June 1844	Caroline Patterson	Charlestown MA	1815	wife of carpenter
June 1844	Rebecca Codman	Charlestown MA	1798	wife of a mechanic
July 1844	Jonathan Butterfield	West Cambridge MA	1818	printer
July 1844	Nathaniel Colson	Abington MA	1815	shoemaker
July 1844	Hannah Colson	Athens ME	1821	wife of shoemaker
July 1844	George Houghton	Stillwater NY	1809	printer
July 1844	Hiram Haskell	St. Johns, New Brunswick	1823	apothecary
July 1844	Julia Whitehouse	Assumption Point NJ(?)	1799	?
July 1844	Buckley Hastings	Franklin [County?] MA	1814	grocer
August 1844	Cynthia Hastings	Votingham(?) VT(?)	1818	wife of grocer
August 1844	John Codman	Boston MA	1794	mechanic
August 1844	John Drew	Plymouth MA	1821	?
August 1844	Catharine Sloan	Dunstable MA	1822	seamstress
August 1844	Caleb Smith	Hallowell ME	<i>circa</i> 1822	?
August 1844	Benjamin Clark	Townsend MA	1822	farmer
August 1844	Edmund Farrington	Medway MA	1822	mechanic
August 1844	Thomas Blak	Hallowell ME	1823	printer
August 1844	John Orvis	Ferrisburgh VT	1816	farmer, son of Quaker
August 1844	Castalia Hosmer	Bedford MA	1819	shoemaker
August 1844	Mary Hosmer	Townsend MA	1820	wife of shoemaker
September 1844	Elmira Daniels	Keene NH	1819	seamstress
September 1844	Alex Murray	St. Johns, New Brunswick	1820	cabinetmaker
September 1844	George Pierce	?	?	?
September 1844	Peter Kleinstrup	Denmark	1800	gardener
September 1844	Charles Hosmer	Medford MA	1820	shoemaker

Date of Admission	Name	Birthplace	Birthdate	Occupation
September 1844	James Clapp	Smithfield, Rhode Island	1816	bricklayer
October 1844	Alpha Clapp	Cumberland, Rhode Island	1820	wife of bricklayer
October 1844	Caroline Clapp	Boston MA	1824	seamstress
October 1844	Augustina Kleinstrup	Denmark	1808	wife of gardener
November 1844	Granville Hosmer	Bedford MA	1822	shoemaker
November 1844	Ann Hosmer	Bedford MA	<i>circa</i> 1822	wife of shoemaker
December 1844	John Hoxie	Boston MA	?	?
December 1844	Jeanne Palisse	Switzerland	1802	manufacturer
December 1844	Eunice Macdaniel	Washington DC	1824	sister of a journalist who was not a member
December 1844	Francis Macdaniel	Washington DC	?	?
December 1844	Eliza Palisse Weymout	?	?	?
December 1844	John Sawyer	?	?	?
December 1844	Lydia Smith Lancaster	?	?	?
December 1844	Henry Trask	?	?	?
December 1844	Clinton, A	Cambridgeport MA	?	?
January 1845	Sarah Codman	Boston MA	1820	carriage maker
March 1845	Charles Curtis	?	1820	?
April 1845	Alfred Peppercorn	England	?	butcher

October: Rhode Island was in turmoil. During this month a People's Constitutional Convention met and drafted a People's Constitution to replace the old royal colonial charter which was still in effect. There were a lot of millworkers, mostly centered around a place called Blackstone Valley or Pawtucket that you can still see without even needing to get off the freeway as you drive through Providence. Almost 60% of Rhode Islanders –strike that, almost 60% of the **adult male** population of Rhode Island– were being denied the opportunity to



vote by the dominant Law-and-Order party there –a party made up to a significant degree of landowners who had inherited fortunes made in the slave trade– because they did not hold at least \$134.⁰⁰ in property and/or were not the eldest son of a Rhode Islander who held at least \$134.⁰⁰ in property. However, the workers who were fighting for universal (adult male) suffrage were also, generally, racists fighting to deny such suffrage to adult free black males. This made for an interesting politics. For instance, the Law-and-Order party of Rhode Island cut a deal with the large black population of Providence because “they would rather have the Negroes vote than the damned Irish.” (The Irish were a threat simply because, since they had been forced to flee the potatoes and the famines of Ireland, they had become susceptible to pressures to labor longer hours for lower pay.)



Outside agitators who were in favor of equal suffrage for all adult males, outside agitators such as Abby Kelley, stood accused in the newspapers of trying to “convert people to transcendentalism.” Frederick Douglass later wrote of Kelley that “Her young and simple Quaker beauty, combined with her wonderful earnestness, her large knowledge and great logical power bore down all opposition, wherever she spoke, though she was pelted with foul eggs and no less foul words from the noisy mobs which attended us.”

The Law and Order party lost the election, but it was an illegal election anyway and the Law and Order party had a promise from President John Tyler of federal troops if necessary, so they put a thousand-dollar reward on the head of the winner of the election, Thomas Dorr, and when they arrested him they tried him for treason and sentenced him to life in prison.³⁷

Population Trends

	England / Wales	Ireland
1821	12,000,000	6,800,000
1831	13,900,000	7,770,000
1841	15,920,000	8,180,000
1845	about 16,700,000	about 8,300,000 (the year of the blight, to be followed by famine and then by fever and emigration)
1851	17,930,000	6,550,000
1861	20,070,000	5,800,000
1871	31,629,299	5,410,000
1881	35,026,108	5,170,000

November 11: In Cabul, Afghanistan, the British Envoy went out on the plain towards the Seah Sung hills, accompanied by Captains Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie and a few troopers, by agreement, to meet with the Afghan chiefs. His conciliatory address was met by their professions of personal esteem and approbation of the views he had laid before them, and their professions of gratitude for the manner in which the the British had been treating Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan. The Envoy then read to them a sketch of a proposed treaty, which according to Lieutenant Eyre³⁸ amounted to the following: "That the British should evacuate Affghanistan, including Candahar, Ghuznee, Cabul, Jellalabad, and all the other stations absolutely within the limits of the country so called; that they should be permitted to return not only unmolested to India, but that supplies of every description should be afforded them in their road thither, certain men of consequence accompanying them as hostages; that the Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, his family, and every Affghan now in exile for political offences, should be allowed to return to their country; that Shah Shoojah and his family should be allowed the option of remaining at Cabul, or proceeding with the British troops to Loodiana, in either case receiving from the Affghan Government a pension of one lac of rupees per annum; that means of transport, for the conveyance of our baggage, stores, &c., including that required by the royal family, in case of their adopting the latter alternative, should be furnished by the existing Affghan Government: that an

37. It's not that bad, wouldn't you know: the Law and Order people pardoned this candidate as soon as they were firmly in control of Rhode Island again, and so actually he only spent a couple of years of his life in prison as a traitor to his country for the crime of being the political candidate who had been the best vote-getter in an election that was declared to be unauthorized.

38. Lieut. V. Eyre (Sir Vincent Eyre, 1811-1881). THE MILITARY OPERATIONS AT CABUL: WHICH ENDED IN THE RETREAT AND DESTRUCTION OF THE BRITISH ARMY, JANUARY 1842, WITH A JOURNAL OF IMPRISONMENT IN AFFGHANISTAN. Philadelphia PA: Carey and Hart, 1843; London: J. Murray, 1843 (three editions); Lieut. V. Eyre (Sir Vincent Eyre, 1811-1881). PRISON SKETCHES: COMPRISING PORTRAITS OF THE CABUL PRISONERS AND OTHER SUBJECTS; ADAPTED FOR BINDING UP WITH THE JOURNALS OF LIEUT. V. EYRE, AND LADY SALE; LITHOGRAPHED BY LOWES DICKINSON. London: Dickinson and Son, [1843?]

amnesty should be granted to all those who had made themselves obnoxious on account of their attachment to Shah Shoojah and his allies, the British; that all prisoners should be released; that no British force should be ever again sent into Affghanistan, unless called for by the Affghan government, between whom and the British nation perpetual friendship should be established on the sure foundation of mutual good offices.” After some objections on the part of Mahomed Akber Khan, these terms were agreed to by all, and it was further arranged that provisions should be supplied to our troops, and that they should evacuate the cantonment in three days. Preparations were immediately commenced for the retreat. Arms were ordered to be distributed from the stores, now about to be abandoned, to some of the camp-followers, and such of the soldiers as might require them; and a disgraceful scene of confusion and tumult followed, which showed the fearful extent to which the army was disorganized. The troops in the Bala Hissar were moved into cantonments, not without a foretaste of what they had to expect on their march to Jellalabad, under the safe conduct of Akber Khan.

What would follow this accord would, however, be that the demands of the Afghan chiefs would rise day after day. They would withhold the promised provisions, demanding that the British provide further assurance of their sincerity by giving up every fort in the immediate vicinity of the Cabul cantonment. The cantonment would thus come gradually to exist at the mercy of the Afghan forces. The animals promised to draw the wagons would never arrive and snow would begin to fall.

Frederick Douglass was in Providence, attending a two-day meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society at Franklin Hall.



November 18: From about the 18th to about the 20th, Frederick Douglass and Abby Kelley would be in Providence during the Dorrite “People’s Convention,” and would be taking part in a Rhode Island Regional anti-slavery convention in Woonsocket Falls, Rhode Island intended as a protest against the Dorr constitution.



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

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

December: The Plain Speaker of Providence, Rhode Island published seven of Bronson Alcott’s ORPHIC SAYINGS. This was the last issue of this reform gazette.

December: During this month Frederick Douglass would be traveling about Rhode Island out of Providence, speaking at various regional antislavery conventions such as in East Greenwich, in Newport, and in South Kingstown, in protest of Thomas Dorr's party's People's Constitution.

This People's Constitution would be accepted in the referendum, despite or in part because of its racism, by a landslide vote of 13,944 over 52.



December 2: Waldo Emerson's lecture "On the Times" at Boston's Masonic Temple included a quote from Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, here rendered in **boldface**:

We say, then, that the reforming movement is sacred in its origin; in its management and details timid and profane. These benefactors hope to raise man by improving his circumstances: by combination of that which is dead, they hope to make something alive. In vain. By new infusions alone of the spirit by which he is made and directed, can he be re-made and reinforced. **The sad Pestalozzi, who shared with all ardent spirits the hope of Europe on the outbreak of the French Revolution, after witnessing its sequel, recorded his conviction, that**

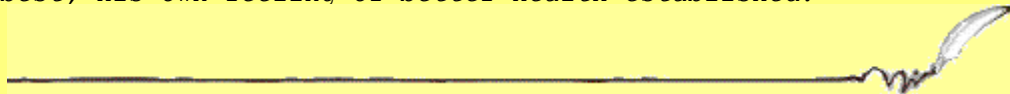
the amelioration of outward circumstances will be the effect, but can never be the means of mental and moral improvement.

This was the introductory lecture of a series of eight private ones. Emerson would be lecturing each Saturday until January 20, 1842 on "The Times" at the Masonic Temple in Boston.

"They told me in town this time that I was grown more direct & intelligible than in former years."

He would realize a net income of only about \$49.⁰⁰ per lecture, versus about \$57.⁰⁰ per lecture in a previous series in Boston, and would discover himself still about \$200.⁰⁰ short of paying his bills, and so he resolved to try Providence again, and give a series of five lectures there in the 3rd week of February (when the Rhode Island series did not meet this financial objective, his brother William arranged for him to repeat the series at the Library Society in New-York in the 1st week of March). It would be upon returning from his 8th and final lecture in Boston that he would find Henry Thoreau suffering from the symptoms of lockjaw:

My pleasure in getting home on Saturday night at the end of my task was somewhat checked by finding that Henry Thoreau who had been at his father's since the death of his brother was ill & threatened with lockjaw! his brother's disease. It is strange — unaccountable — yet the symptoms seemed precise & on the increase. You may judge we were all alarmed & I not the least who have the highest hopes of this youth. This morning his affection be it what it may, is relieved essentially, & what is best, his own feeling of better health established.

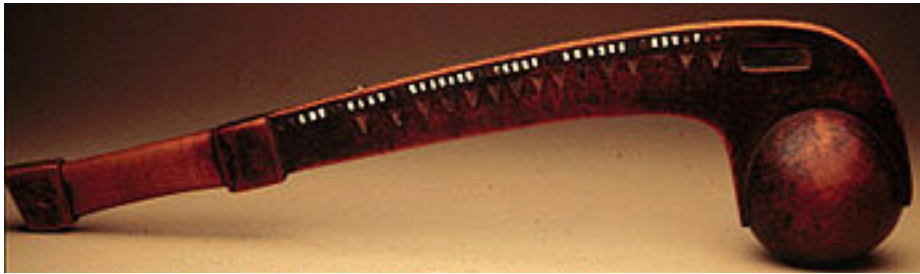


December 27, Monday-28, Tuesday: In protest of the Dorr constitution, Frederick Douglass spoke at the Regional Anti-Slavery Convention in Providence, Rhode Island.

1842

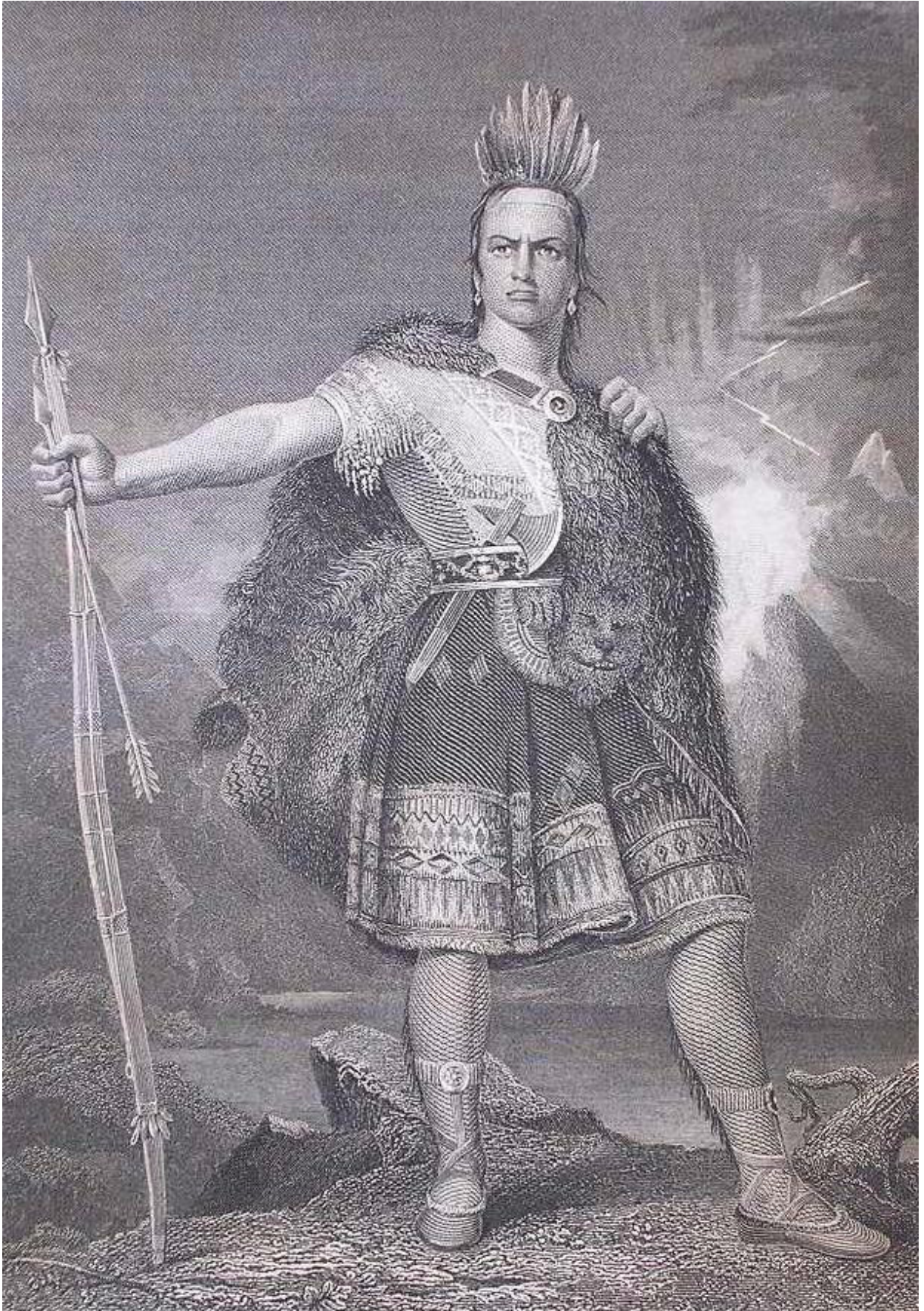
Christopher A. Greene married one of William Chace's three daughters, Sarah A. Chace (1818-1904). The couple would produce five children. For two years, Christopher and his bride Sarah Chace Greene would reside, along with Sarah's two sisters and their husbands, at what they were terming "Holly Home," a small communal farm in North Providence, Rhode Island.

Apparently an object that was being purported to have been Metacom's war club was at this point known to be in the possession of the descendants of the Reverend John Checkley of Providence, Rhode Island. Whether this object representing the gradual decay and extinction of a most marked race, recording a chapter in the world's history, that of the fate of the Indian race, than which there is no more saddening, had been inherited from the Reverend Checkley or had been acquired by some other family member from some other source is unknown. It is not known from whom the purchase had been made, or when. Whether the object in question ever was King Phillip's war club is of course quite unknown, but obviously as of 1842 it was already serving its purpose, its purpose of course being to allow members of the surviving white race, viewing it, hefting it, secure in victory, no longer under any threat, to be appropriately saddened at the slow retreat of the wigwam and the tomahawk and the onward progress of the axe and the log cabin.



In this year the actor Edwin Forrest was depicted in costume for his Metamora role in the play "Last of the Wampanoag" (on the following screen).

February 14: Waldo Emerson lectured in Providence, Rhode Island. This was the 3rd lecture of the series: "THE TRANSCENDENTALIST".



May 3: The People's Party having duly held its election and counted its ballots, it pronounced Thomas Dorr, the winner, to be the new governor of the state. The preexisting government of course would not recognize him, and thus for a time Rhode Island would have two administrations. The Charter government would lock his people out of the State House in Providence. The People's Legislature would meet elsewhere and draw up reform laws. Both sides would appeal to President John Tyler for support and recognition. Dorr would himself visit Washington DC to meet with the President. Then, a minor armed clash would occur.

During Dorr's rebellion Thomas Allen Jenckes would be serving the side of the "Law and Order" landholders both in a civil and in a military capacity. He was Secretary of the Rhode Island constitutional convention. When the governor's council was established he became its secretary. In the case of *Hazard v. Ives*, involving the right of the Rhode Island legislature to direct a new trial, he convinced the legislature and carried it against its previously expressed opinion, and against all other obstacles. He may or may not have been on the side of evil, but he was good, really good.



May 18: Governor-elect Thomas Dorr, stymied by what he took to be illegal opposition after “winning” a popular election which his group had staged for the office of governor of Rhode Island, appropriated two decrepit ornamental bronze cannon and led an assault by 234 persons upon the state arsenal on Cranston Street in Providence (a building on the flatland and no longer in evidence — the old gray turreted arsenal on Benefit Street had not yet been constructed). The attack fizzled when their cannon, which, it turned out, someone had primed with wet paper,³⁹ proved themselves “Quaker cannon” by refusing to speak — whereupon Dorr fled the state.



June 27: Thomas Dorr dismissed his “militia” and the legislature and again fled the state. The Charter government forces assaulted the town of Chepachet, Rhode Island anyway, rounding up about a hundred men they suspected of being Dorrites and marching them off to prison in Providence.

Brook Farm added the following new recruit:

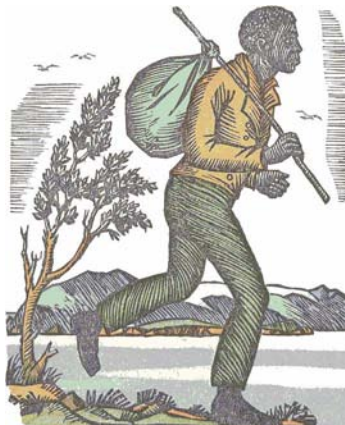
Name	Birthplace	Birthdate	Occupation
James Curtis	Providence, Rhode Island	1824	student

November 6: Frederick Douglass spoke at a Latimer meeting in the Town Hall at New Bedford MA, and then moved on directly the same day to attend the Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society in the Town Hall at Providence.

November 7: The Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society continued in the Town Hall at Providence, with Frederick Douglass in attendance.

39. Conspiracies of more than three or four people at most never work, because someone always ratfinks in order to cover all their bases, or the conspiracy gets infiltrated. In this case, clearly, the Law and Order Party had managed to insert one of their group into the Dorr group as a mole, and clearly, the priming of Thomas “Oh, Darn!” Dorr’s cannon had been sabotaged to ensure that he would be able to commit no actual outrage. What would that “wet paper” have been, chewed-up newsprint make to appear as if the flash pans of the two cannon were filled with ground-up powder? —or perhaps wads of wet paper had been tamped hard into the cannon’s blowholes to prevent the passage of a spark?

November 8: The Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society continued in the Town Hall at Providence, Rhode Island. A letter was published, allegedly by Frederick Douglass, describing his work in defense of fugitive slave George Latimer. This was his 1st such public letter.



November 9: The Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society continued in the Town Hall at Providence, Rhode Island, with Frederick Douglass in attendance.

November 10: The Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society continued in the Town Hall at Providence, with Frederick Douglass in attendance.

November 11: The Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society continued in the Town Hall at Providence, with Frederick Douglass in attendance.

November 12: The Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society continued in the Town Hall at Providence, with Frederick Douglass in attendance.

November 13: The Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society continued in the Town Hall at Providence, with Frederick Douglass in attendance.


November 14: The Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society continued in the Town Hall at Providence, with Frederick Douglass in attendance.

November 15: The Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society continued in the Town Hall at Providence, Rhode Island, with Frederick Douglass in attendance.

November 16: Frederick Douglass spoke at the annual meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society in Providence. Would this have been the occasion described by Frederic May Holland,⁴⁰ quoting from Nathaniel Peabody Rogers?

Holland, pages 63-65: Convention after convention was mobbed, but still the friends of equal suffrage went on pointing out the black spot in the Dorr constitution. Its supporters were indignant, and its opponents rejoiced to see the suffragists at war among themselves. Of the last of these conventions, and one of the noisiest, that held in Providence, while the vote was being taken on the merits of the new plan, we have the following description, from the pen of Mr. N.P. Rogers, who was making the Herald of Freedom, published at Concord, New Hampshire, a noble ally of the Liberator:

Friday evening was chiefly occupied by colored speakers. The fugitive Douglass was up when we entered. This is an extraordinary man. He was cut out for a hero. In a rising for liberty, he would have been a Toussaint or a Hamilton. He has the "heart to conceive, the head to contrive, and the hand to execute." A commanding person — over six feet, we should say, in height, and of most manly proportions. His head would strike a phrenologist amid a sea of them in Exeter hall, and his voice would ring like a trumpet in the field. Let the South congratulate herself that he is a fugitive. It would not have been safe for her, if he had remained about the plantations a year or two longer. Douglass is his fugitive name. He did not wear it in slavery. We don't know why he assumed it, or who bestowed it on him — but there seems fitness in it, to his commanding figure and heroic port. As a speaker he has few equals. It is not declamation — but oratory, power of debate. He watches the tide of discussion with the eye of the veteran, and dashes into it at once with all the tact of the forum or the bar. He has wit, argument, sarcasm, pathos — all that first-rate men show in their master efforts. His voice is highly melodious and rich, and his enunciation quite elegant; and yet he has been but two or three years out of the house of bondage. We noticed

40.  Frederic May Holland. FREDERICK DOUGLASS: THE COLORED ORATOR. Concord edition 1891. (A revised edition prepared by the author in 1895 was eventually published, NY: Haskell House, 1969.)

that he had strikingly improved since we had heard him at Dover NH in September. We say thus much of him, for he is esteemed by our multitude as of an inferior race. We should like to see him before any New England legislature or bar, and let him feel the freedom of the anti-slavery meeting, and see what would become of his inferiority. Yet, he is a thing, in American estimate. He is the chattel of some pale-faced tyrant. How his owner would cower and shiver to hear him thunder in an anti-slavery hall. How he would shrink away, with his infernal whip, from his flaming eye when kindled with anti-slavery emotion. And the brotherhood of thieves, the *posse comitatus* of divines, we wish a hecatomb or two of the proudest and flintiest of them, were obliged to hear him thunder for human liberty, and lay the enslavement of his people at their doors. They would tremble like Belshazzar. Poor Wayland, we wish he could have been pegged to a seat in the Franklin Hall the evening the colored friends spoke. His "limitations" would have abandoned him like the "baseless fabric of a vision." Sanderson, of New Bedford, Cole, of Boston, and Stanley, of North Carolina, followed Douglass. They all displayed excellent ability.... These are the inferior race, these young black men, who, ten years ago, would have been denied entrance into such an assembly of whites, except as waiters or fiddlers. Their attempts at speaking would have been met with jeers of astonishment. It would have amazed the superior race as the ass's speech did with Balaam. How they mingle with applause in the debates with Garrison, and Foster, and Phillips. Southern slavery—"hold thy own"—when the kindred of your victims are thus kindling Northern enthusiasm on the platform of liberty and free debate.



November 17: The Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society continued in the Town Hall at Providence, Rhode Island, with Frederick Douglass in attendance.

November 18: The Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society wrapped up in the Town Hall at Providence, Rhode Island, with Frederick Douglass in attendance.

End of the year: During this period Frederick Douglass was spending quite a bit of his time in Rhode Island, and we can presume that among other things he would have been lecturing from town to town.



1843

A convention on “free religions” was held at the Chardon Street Chapel in Boston. This series of meetings, The “Chardon Street Convention,” was attended by members of a “Providence Movement” of mystic anarchists led by the wealthy philanthropist Thomas Davis of Providence, Rhode Island among others. Bronson Alcott was one of the principal speakers. The Providence group invited him to come down and live at “Holly Home” and be their mentor — but he declined.

This Providence Movement was publishing a magazine called The Plain Speaker, and their principal writer, Christopher A. Greene, was declaring against the institution of private property:

Everything that is belongs to Humanity. What a man wants belongs to him to use.... And what I have in possession I hold not as mine, but as Man's or God's.... The noblest man is he who works and with his own hands ministers to his wants —the greatest he who discards wealth and aspires to poverty —the truest he who obeys the conviction of his soul.

One of this Providence Movement's members, Samuel Larned, would be won away during this year by Bronson Alcott.

Alcott's 2nd youthful convert at Fruitlands, after Larned, would be Wood Abram who preferred to be known as Abram Wood. This silent young man may have come to Fruitlands from Concord, and may have been a friend of Henry David Thoreau's.⁴¹ He is described in Louisa May Alcott's TRANSCENDENTAL WILD

OATS as being “dark and melancholy.”

Christopher A. Greene and Sarah Chace Greene left “Holly Home” north of Providence, Rhode Island to begin a school in Tyngsboro, Massachusetts, where there would develop some sort of problem: “after a tedious 3 months of vexations thought and trial, we left them -- left them to enjoy their selfishness and their passion as best they might.”

Charles Lane’s *THE LAW AND METHOD IN SPIRIT-CULTURE; AN INTERPRETATION OF A. BRONSON ALCOTT’S IDEA AND PRACTICE AT THE MASONIC TEMPLE, BOSTON* (Boston MA: James Munroe and Company; London: J. Green, 1843).

Per the terms of the Dexter will, a rubblestone wall eight feet high and three feet in thickness at the base had been constructed around the Dexter Asylum in Providence, Rhode Island. Despite the fact that fully a quarter of the persons being contained within this wall were insane, the medical records of the institution reveal that there was never any attempt at treating mental illness beyond confinement in the so-called “maniac cells.”



February 19: Frederick Douglass lectured on slavery in Providence, Rhode Island’s Franklin Hall, under the auspices of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society.

February 26: Frederick Douglass lectured on slavery in Providence’s Westminster Hall, under the auspices of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society.

March 18: Frederick Douglass took part in a meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society’s executive committee, in Providence.

41. We know of a James Barrett Wood for whom Henry David Thoreau surveyed a woodlot near the copper mines in southern Carlisle on November 30, 1850 and of a James Wood, Jr. with whom Thoreau had a conversation on January 13, 1852 and of an Elijah Wood (“... Elijah Wood / I fear for no good ...”) who was the employer of Michael Flannery in 1853. Had this Abram Wood been the son or relative of one of these?

March 19: Frederick Douglass lectured on slavery in Providence, Rhode Island's Franklin Hall, under the auspices of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society.

March 20: The first free public high school in Providence, Rhode Island opened its doors for education. At this point the public school system of Providence consisted of six public grammar schools, ten public primary schools, and one public high school. In the first high school classes there would be a few black students, but then racial segregation of educational opportunity would be imposed. Although this school was nominally coeducational, girls were to enter through a separate door into a separated area for instruction — we can see that, interestingly, the problem in regard to race relations was handled in one manner, the problem in regard to gender relations in a distinctly different manner.

March 26: Frederick Douglass lectured for the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society in Providence on the topic "Colonization and its connexion with slavery, and the degradation of the colored people of the United States."

April 2: Frederick Douglass lectured for the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society in Providence on the topic "The Progress of the Cause."

From Concord, Henry Thoreau did his duty by offering some golden reflections to the young Richard F. Fuller at Harvard College.

What I was learning in college was chiefly, I think, to express myself, and I see now, that as the old orator prescribed, 1st, action; 2^d, action; 3^d, action; my teachers should have prescribed to me, 1st, sincerity; 2^d, sincerity; 3^d, sincerity. The old mythology is incomplete without a god or goddess of sincerity, on whose altars we might offer up all the products of our farms, our workshops, and our studies. It should be our Lar when we sit on the hearth, and our Tutelar Genius when we walk abroad. This is the only panacea. I mean sincerity in our dealings with ourselves mainly; any other is comparatively easy. But I must stop before I get to 17thly. I believe I have but one text and one sermon.

To: Richard Fuller

From: HDT

Date: 4/2/43

Concord April 2nd 1843

Dear Richard,

I was glad to receive a letter from you, so bright and cheery. You speak of not having made any conquests with your own spear or quill as yet, but if you are tempering your spear-head during these days, and fitting a straight and tough shaft thereto, will not that suffice? We are more pleased to consider the hero in the forest cutting cornel or ash for his

*spear, than marching in triumph
with his trophies. The present
hour is always wealthiest when it is
poorer than the future ones, as that
is the pleasantest site which affords
the pleasantest prospects.
What you say about your studies
furnishing you with a "mimic idiom" only,
reminds me that we shall all do
well if we learn so much as to talk —
to speak truth. The only fruit which
even much living yields seems to be often
only some trivial success — the ability
to do some slight thing better. We
make conquest only of husks and
shells for the most part — at least
apparently — but sometimes there are
cinnamon and spice, you know. Even
the grown hunter you speak of slays
a thousand buffaloes and brings off only
their hides and tongues. What im-
mense sacrifices — what hecatombs and
holocausts the gods exact for very slight
favors! How much sincere life be-
fore we can even utter one sincere word —
What I was learning in College
was chiefly, I think, to express myself,
and I see now that as the old orator
prescribed 1st action, 2nd action, 3^d action,
my teachers should have prescribed to
me 1st sincerity 2nd sincerity, 3^d sincerity.
The old mythology is incomplete
without a god or goddess of sincerity, on*

Page 2

*whose altars we might offer up all
the products of our farms, our work-
shops, and our studies. It should be
our Lar when we sit on the hearth,
and our Tutelar Genius when we walk
abroad. This is the only panacea. I
mean sincerity in our dealings with our-
selves mainly — any other is compari-
tively easy — but I will stop before
I get to 17^{thly} — I believe I have
but one text and one sermon.
Your rural adventures beyond
the W. Cambridge hills, have
probably lost nothing by dis-
tances of time or space — I used
to hear only the sough of the wind in
the woods of ~~one~~ Concord, when I was
striving to give my attention to a page
of Calculus. — But depend upon it
you will love your native hills the better*

*for being separated from them.
 I expect to leave Concord, which is my
 Rome — and its people, who are my Romans,
 in May, and go to N. York to be a tutor
 in Mr William Emerson's family. — So
 I will bid you good bye till I see
 you or hear from you again.
 Yr friend H.D. Thoreau*

*P.S. Will you take the trouble to carry the inclosed
 letter to Richardson for me — and the vol.
 which Bartlett (Robert) took from
 the library for me — either to Samuel Long-
 fellow, who I believe attends to his concerns,
 or to the librarian?*

December: Amasa Sprague, one of the founders of the Sprague fortune, was murdered. A disgruntled worker, John Gordon, was convicted of the crime and duly hanged, but many suspected that he had been the innocent victim of prejudices against immigrants. (A decade later, in 1852, doubts about Gordon's guilt would help force the abolishment of capital punishment in Rhode Island.)

1844

At the foot of Meeting Street in Providence (*Moshasuck*), Rhode Island, the Friends put their meetinghouse on heavy sledges and had it tugged (by a team of horses, we are told) over snow down Town Street, then up Wickenden Street on Fox Point, and then uphill to 77 Hope Street, where it became a 2-family residence. Atop its foundation hole they erected a larger meetinghouse, their 3d in Providence.

January : Since the Dexter Asylum was incapable of offering any treatment to its insane inmates more sophisticated than simple confinement, the state of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations chartered the establishment in Providence of a "Rhode Island Asylum for the Insane." The Committee of Incorporators for this new mental hospital appealed to Cyrus Butler, who was in all likelihood the richest man in New England, for assistance in their efforts, and received a conditional pledge of \$40,000. To obtain this money, they would have to gather a matching amount from other members of the Rhode Island community. The committee would raise an additional \$54,000 by their efforts and the name of the hospital would be changed to "Butler Hospital for the Insane."

April 10: Dorothea Dix began a series of articles in the Providence Journal, describing the manner in which Rhode Island was, at the Dexter Asylum, neglecting its citizens who were victims of mental illness. These articles followed the format of thorough research and graphic descriptions of individual cases which Dix had established in dealing with the Massachusetts legislature. The Butler Hospital for the Insane would result from Dix's efforts and the philanthropy of businessman Nicholas Brown and industrialist Cyrus Butler.⁴²

42. Street, W.R. A CHRONOLOGY OF NOTEWORTHY EVENTS IN AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGY. Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 1994

November 20-22: Frederick Douglass lectured at Mechanics' Hall in Providence before the annual meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society.



In the library of the British Museum, while in London for a meeting of the Geological Society, Charles Darwin read *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*:



Large parts of what moved other readers, such as the stirring account of the nebular hypothesis or the future of humanity, were quickly skimmed. Darwin approached the text not as a sweeping cosmological narrative but as a botched version of his own manuscript.



[H]is geology strikes me as bad, & his zoology far worse.

1845

Dr. Isaac Ray, one of the founders of the American Psychiatric Association, a former classmate of Nathaniel Hawthorne at Bowdoin College, was appointed as the first superintendant of Butler Hospital for the Insane in Providence, Rhode Island and departed for a European tour on which he would examine methods of hospital construction and administration. Dr. Ray would serve until his retirement in 1867. Upon his death in 1881 the hospital would receive a bequest of \$77,000.

It was at approximately this point that George Thomas Downing, the black New-York restaurateur, arrived in Newport, Rhode Island. There, along with his business activities, he would be the operator of the local underground railroad station. In this year Ocean House, the 1st lavish accomodation in Newport for rich summer visitors, opened its doors (there wasn't as yet a line of Gilded-Age "cottages" to provide at-home services for the visiting snobs and swells).

During a visit to Providence, Rhode Island, Edgar Allan Poe, always a man with an eye for the ladies, laid an eye upon Friend Sarah Helen Power Whitman. At this time she was unaware of the attention, and he was



unaware that she was a widow possessed of funds. Poe's "The Raven" appeared, first in the New-York Evening Mirror and then in Wiley and Putnam's THE RAVEN AND OTHER POEMS, and its author was made the lead reviewer of the Broadway Journal and purchased that journal on credit. It was possibly in this year that Walt

Whitman met him:

"Specimen Days"

BROADWAY SIGHTS

Besides Fulton ferry, off and on for years, I knew and frequented Broadway — that noted avenue of New York's crowded and mixed humanity, and of so many notables. Here I saw, during those times, Andrew Jackson, Webster, Clay, William Henry Seward, Martin Van Buren, filibuster Walker, Kossuth, Fitz Greene Halleck, Bryant, the Prince of Wales, Charles Dickens, the first Japanese ambassadors, and lots of other celebrities of the time. Always something novel or inspiring; yet mostly to me the hurrying and vast amplitude of those never-ending human currents. I remember seeing James Fenimore Cooper in a court-room in Chambers street, back of the city hall, where he was carrying on a law case — (I think it was a charge of libel he had brought against some one.) I also remember seeing Edgar A. Poe, and having a short interview with him, (it must have been in 1845 or '6,) in his office, second story of a corner building, (Duane or Pearl street.) He was editor and owner or part owner of "the Broadway Journal." [Page 702] The visit was about a piece of mine he had publish'd. Poe was very cordial, in a quiet way, appear'd well in person, dress, &c. I have a distinct and pleasing remembrance of his looks, voice, manner and matter; very kindly and human, but subdued, perhaps a little jaded. For another of my reminiscences, here on the west side, just below Houston street, I once saw (it must have been about 1832, of a sharp, bright January day) a bent, feeble but stout-built very old man, bearded, swathed in rich furs, with a great ermine cap on his head, led and assisted, almost carried, down the steps of his high front stoop (a dozen friends and servants, emulous, carefully holding, guiding him) and then lifted and tuck'd in a gorgeous sleigh, envelop'd in other furs, for a ride. The sleigh was drawn by as fine a team of horses as I ever saw. (You needn't think all the best animals are brought up nowadays; never was such horseflesh as fifty years ago on Long Island, or south, or in New York city; folks look'd for spirit and mettle in a nag, not tame speed merely.) Well, I, a boy of perhaps thirteen or fourteen, stopp'd and gazed long at the spectacle of that fur-swathed old man, surrounded by friends and servants, and the careful seating of him in the sleigh. I remember the spirited, champing horses, the driver with his whip, and a fellow-driver by his side, for extra prudence. The old man, the subject of so much attention, I can almost see now. It was John Jacob Astor.

The years 1846, '47, and there along, see me still in New York city, working as writer and printer, having my usual good health, and a good time generally.

Thomas Davis, jewelry manufacturer of Providence, became a member of the Rhode Island Senate. He would serve until 1853, at which point he would be elected as a Democrat to the federal congress.

Francis Wright, the 1st husband of Paulina Kellogg (Wright), died. His widow would continue to be active in reform work, and for a time would be on tour with a lecture on physiology and hygiene.

April 22: A politician very active in the “Law and Order” party in Providence, Rhode Island commented that “I am very desirous that the General Assembly, (Law & Order as it is) should liberate Dorr by passing a general act of Amnesty & Pardon, evidently required by good policy.”



December: Charles King Newcomb had been in the Brook Farm experiment, with extended visits home to Providence, Rhode Island, since May 1841. At this point he left the community.



1846

In Rhode Island, Byron Diman was in charge. The Providence Post Office issued a postage stamp:



Some sort of apparently authentic war club, heavy pipe, and belt of beads, shells, and bones alleged to have been the ones allegedly collected by Alderman at the site of his killing of Metacom and alleged to have been passed on to Captain Benjamin Church and then allegedly to the Reverend John Checkley by Metacom's killer, allegedly in exchange for the Reverend's gold watch, were loaned at this point by Angelica Gilbert James to the Historical Society of Connecticut in Hartford. She alleged that she had inherited these items from her distant ancestor, the Reverend Checkley of Providence, Rhode Island. Eventually the Historical Society would return these three items to her but, in the process of returning them, all track would be lost of a couple of the items and only the war club is presently locatable.



The barrel of the gun with which, supposedly, King Phillip had been slain, was at this point on display in Plymouth, and this, at least, does appear to have been an authentic relic — at least in the sense that some such relic was indeed at the time on display, a physical object whatever its provenance, so described, and thus it would be glimpsed by Henry Thoreau in 1851:



July 31, Thursday, 1851: ... Pilgrim Hall— They used to crack off pieces of the Forefathers Rock for visitors with a cold chisel till the town forbade it. The stone remaining at wharf is about 7 ft square. Saw 2 old arm chairs that came over in the May flower.— the large picture by Sargent.— Standish's sword.— gun barrel with which Philip was killed — — mug & pocket-book of Clark the mate— Iron pot of Standish.— Old pipe tongs. Ind relics a flayer
a pot or mortar of a kind of fire proof stone very hard—
only 7 or 8 inches long. A Commission from Cromwell to Winslow? —his signature torn off. They talk of a monument on the rock. The burying hill 165 ft high. Manomet 394 ft high by state map. Saw more pears at Washburn's garden. No graves of Pilgrims.
Seaweed generally used along shore— Saw the Prinos Glaber inkberry at Bil. sea. Sandy plain with oaks of various kinds cut in less than 20 yrs— No communication with Sandwich— P end of world 50 miles thither by rail road— Old. Colony road poor property. Nothing saves P. but the rock. Fern-leaved beach—



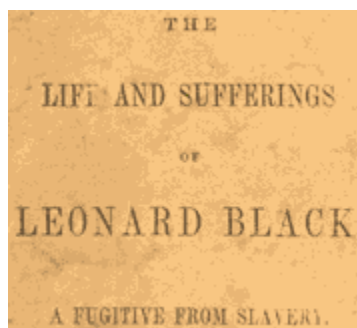
The following preposterous illustration of Metacom was prepared by Samuel Griswold Goodrich for Graham's American Monthly Magazine:



Summer: In Providence, Rhode Island in approximately this year, the masons went on strike to have a day's labor defined as ten hours. In this strike the mason apprentice John William Davis (wage 40 cents a day) joined, and his boss became so angry with him that although it was conventional for apprentices to receive an extra dollar and the day off on College Commencement day early in September, his boss would neglect to provide him with the extra dollar with which to celebrate that holiday.

1847

Leonard Black's *THE LIFE AND SUFFERINGS OF LEONARD BLACK, A FUGITIVE FROM SLAVERY* was issued in Providence, Rhode Island:⁴³



As Providence, Rhode Island grew, crowding became a problem at the Dexter Asylum. When the Butler Hospital for the mentally ill would open in this year at a pastoral setting overlooking the Seekonk River, some of the asylum's inmates would be transferred there.



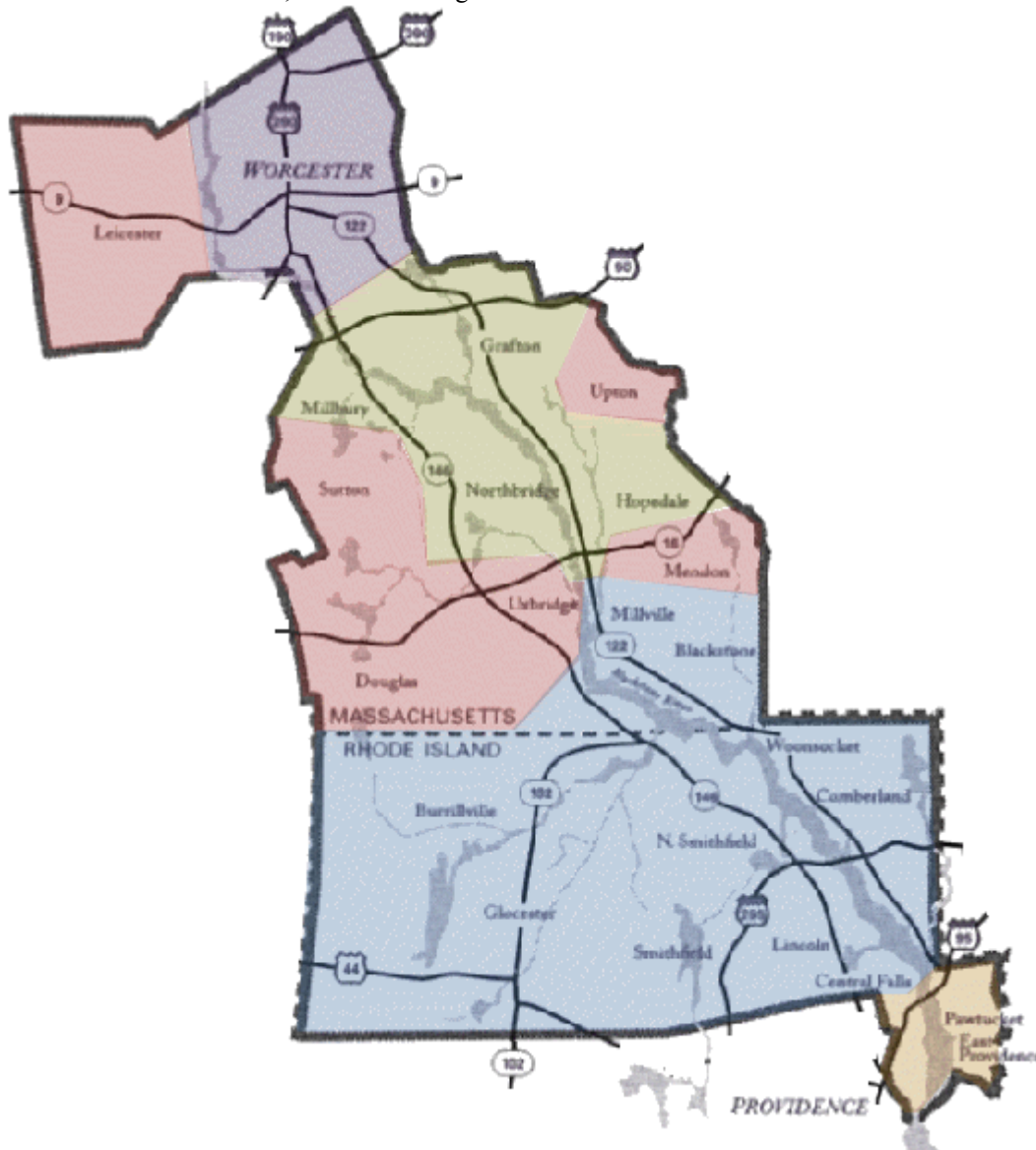
The Providence Gas Company was incorporated, to light the city streets. Mains would be laid first in the principal downtown thoroughfares, and gradually gas would be superseding whale oil for highway illumination throughout Providence and in other urban areas of Rhode Island. (Presumably the archaic fixtures along Benefit Street are intended as an architectural echo of this sort of street lighting.)

43. The book was for Black to sell to obtain funds for additional ministerial training. He told of his birth in Anne Arundel County, Maryland and related childhood experiences as a slave in Baltimore, especially emphasizing mistreatment while “owned like a cow or horse” by a series of slavemasters. He had escaped, married, and become a pastor in Portland and in Boston, as well as being an itinerant preacher.

This image was prepared of the disgraced Providence, Rhode Island politician Thomas Wilson Dorr:



October 25: The railroad carried passengers from Providence, Rhode Island to Worcester in two hours. On the inaugural run a train of nine cars was pulled by three engines. The opening of the Providence-Worcester Railroad instantly obsoleted the Blackstone Canal: “The two unions between Worcester and Providence — the first was weak as water; the last is strong as iron.”



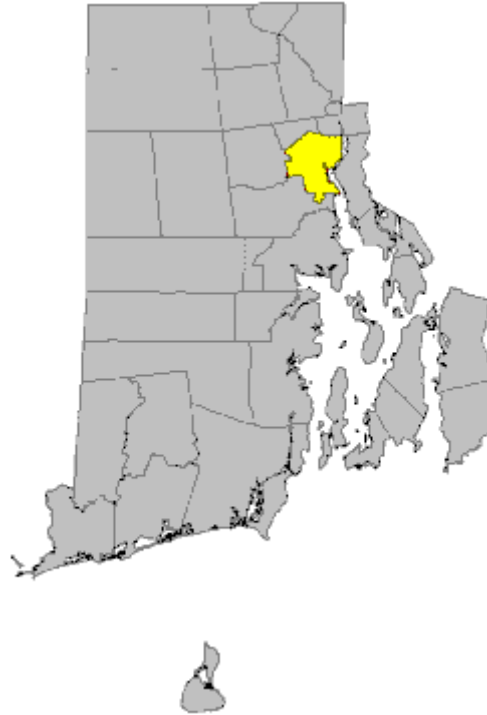
“[The railroad will] only encourage the common people to move about needlessly.”

— Arthur Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington

This railroad (which remains a major factor in the state’s economy) would in the following year construct a massive terminal, the Union Passenger Depot, in Providence.

December 1: The Butler Hospital for the Insane opened in Providence, Rhode Island on a former farm of 114 acres, the Grotto Farm with a brick house dating to 1731, to the northeast of the settlement, which had been obtained for \$6,000. The facility was an E-shaped, 3-story brick building in the Tudor-Gothic style of the day, and had rooms for 100 patients. One of the first three patients was delusional and evidently schizophrenic. Another was probably a manic depressive. The third was a former sailor who may have been a victim of neural syphilis. The cost of caring for patients at this hospital would be \$2 per day (an equivalent sum of money in that era would have minimally supported two small families of laborers). Dr. Ray would learn that:

None but those directly engaged in the service can have the least conception of the difficulty experienced in devising amusements for the insane. ...The farm furnishes employment to the patients, the effect of which in promoting the bodily and mental health of our patients is of incalculable value ... of every form. ...How much more suitable for such a purpose is a hospital furnished with the means of exercise, labor, warming and ventilation ... than a narrow room of a country jail with its irresponsible keeper.⁴⁴

**1848**

Completion of the Union Passenger Depot of the Providence and Worcester Railroad, on filled land once part of Providence's Salt Cove, as our nation's largest train station. (Eat salt, Grand Central!)⁴⁵

"[The railroad will] only encourage the common people to move about needlessly."

— Arthur Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington

44. Street, W.R. A CHRONOLOGY OF NOTEWORTHY EVENTS IN AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGY. Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 1994

45. This station would spectacularly burn on February 20, 1896.

The case of *Luther v. Borden* was based upon an arrest that had been dubious: Luther Borden, a Rhode Island military officer, had been sent, by “Law and Order” government officials who were refusing to step down although they had already been voted out of power, to arrest Martin Luther (no relation), an activist in Dorr’s new “Suffrage” government. After his arrest, this Dorr activist had objected that his arrest amounted to nothing more or less than a straightforward trespass under the criminal code. In other words, he was insisting not only that he should be released, but even that the people who perpetrated this had committed an offense for which they needed to be punished. —This would wind up being heard by the nine infallible (on a good day) justices of the Supreme Court of the United States of America.

Edgar Allan Poe, his life falling apart, wrote the poems “Ulalume” and “Annabel Lee,” and the story “Hop-Frog,” and began a long prose poem entitled *EUREKA* in which he was going to unite his consciousness with the cosmos, or, at least, with the *KOSMOS* of Alexander von Humboldt — to whom “with very profound respect” he would dedicate this work. Our poet was one guy who was going to hold it together if it could possibly be held together! As a study on the nature and origin of the universe this 150-page prose poem on what today we would term “cosmology” was remarkably prescient regardless of its author’s personal lack of qualifications to engage in scientific research. The conventional understanding of that day notwithstanding — that the universe was static and eternal— Poe depicted it as something that had exploded into being out of a “primordial particle” in “one instantaneous flash” (this, of course, is the Big Bang theory, that would not become received wisdom until the 1960s). The universe was held to be expanding, and the prospect was offered that it might one day collapse (this is the inference that Alexander Friedmann would in 1922 derive from Albert Einstein’s equations). Poe toyed with the idea of something like black holes. He provided a correct appreciation of Olbers Paradox, the issue of why the sky is dark at night rather than suffused with light: the universe is finite both in space and in time. For more of an appreciation of Poe’s musings, consult Tom Siegfried’s *STRANGER MATTERS: UNDISCOVERED IDEAS ON THE FRONTIERS OF SPACE AND TIME* (Joseph Henry Press, 2002). Poe wrote to a friend during this year that

“What I have propounded will (in good time) revolutionize the world of Physical & Metaphysical Science. I say this calmly — but I say it.”



A rich and well-connected and middle-aged Providence, Rhode Island widow and poet, Friend Sarah Helen Power Whitman, addressed a Valentine’s Day poem to this eligible widower poet cosmologist, whom she had met three years earlier — and he replied with his poem “To Helen” and they became engaged. Friend Sarah began a campaign to get her fiancée to stop drinking. Sarah’s mother, who had been burned by the behavior of Sarah’s father, insisted that her daughter protect herself by obtaining from Poe a prenuptial agreement turning her property over to her mother. Scandalous stories were at the time in circulation about the behavior of the poet, who, apparently, in the middle of all this, staged a suicide gesture. (This was the year in which he coined our term “normality,” evidently as an oppositional term to whatever it was that he personally was representing.) Poe continued to drink, so Sarah called off the wedding. Poe would level accusations against her family and, less than a year later, would attempt another such marriage, this time with Sarah Elmira Royster — and would shortly thereafter be found unconscious in Baltimore, and would die.

August 4: The Reverend Edwin M. Stone, Congregationalist Minister at Large to the poor of Providence, Rhode Island, made a record of the following thought: "Passing through Martin Street today, I saw two children — a negro & a white about four years old, walking very lovingly together each with an arm thrown over the other's neck. The scene suggests the inquiry, 'Is prejudice against color natural or acquired?'"

1849

In Rhode Island, Henry B. Anthony was in charge. The Association for the Benefit of Colored Children, in existence in Providence for a decade, constructed a facility called "The Shelter" at 20 Olive Street on College Hill that could provide sleeping areas for 50 such children. Black boys would become apprentices at the age of 10, black girls at the age of 12.

In *Luther v. Borden*, the US Supreme Court decision growing out of the Dorr Rebellion of Spring 1842, the justices refused to opinion as to which of the Rhode Island governments was the real one. The opinion of the court was that Article IV, Section 4 having assigned to the executive and the legislative arms of the federal government rather than to the judicial arm the power to guarantee republican government in the states and to recognize lawful state governments, it was up to them under the Constitution to make any such judgment calls. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney did deliver himself of an *obiter dictum*, that it was only the existing state authority, by which he meant the Rhode Island conservatives, that could legally resort to violence, terming this violence "martial law."

The widow Paulina Kellogg Wright got married a 2d time, with Thomas Davis, a jewelry maker and Democratic politician of Providence, Rhode Island.

We have a receipt from this year, for a payment that a Quaker father, Friend George G.T. Burling, made for the education of two daughters at the Moses Brown School:

Friends Y. M. B. School
Providence 9 Mo 14 — 1849

<i>John Burling</i>	<i>To School</i>	<i>Dr</i>		<i>\$</i>
<i>To Board & Tuition of his two Daughters</i>				
<i>18 Weeks each</i>	<i>37.50 —</i>		<i>75.00</i>	
<i>To use of Books</i>			<i>.20</i>	
			<i>75.20</i>	
<i>Received Payment</i>				
<i>Wm. Brown Supr</i>				

75.20	
45.00	
30.20	

Thomas M. Burgess, mayor of Providence, Rhode Island, called for either a limit on inmates or the construction of new buildings to accommodate the Dexter Asylum's 190 men and women.

**1850**

George Thomas Downing's business in Newport, Rhode Island expanded to include an establishment on Mathewson Street in Providence. The success of this Providence venture would provide the operating capital for construction of the luxurious Sea Girt House fronting on Bellevue Avenue in Newport. This 5-story building had large stores on its 1st floor and accommodations over them. Amenities included restaurant meals, game suppers in private parlors, and accommodations not only for gentlemen boarders but also for entire families. The complex included the Downing family residence. The family operated a confectionery and catering business, supplying the Newport "cottages" — their services included the providing of music. (Evidently they were too successful, for eventually they would be burned out.)

The Board of Aldermen of Providence, Rhode Island voted to limit Dexter Asylum inmates to 180.

October 23: According to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, speaking retrospectively in 1870, “The movement in England, as in America, may be dated from the first National Convention, held at Worcester, Mass., October, 1850.”



Although Angelina Emily Grimké Weld was elected to be a member for this vital convention, it would turn out that she would be unable to attend.

Why was it that Stanton, and also Susan B. Anthony, Friend Lucretia Mott, and other pioneers regarded this 1850 Convention in Worcester as the beginning of the crusade for woman's equality? Why had it not been the 1848 meeting at Seneca Falls for which Stanton had drafted the celebrated Declaration of Sentiments and in which Mott had played such a leading role?

- The gathering at Seneca Falls had been largely a local affair as would be several others that followed, whereas by way of radical contrast this Worcester convention had attracted delegates from most of the northern states.
- Seneca Falls had sparked discussion but it was not clear in its aftermath that there was a national constituency ready to take up the cause. The attendance in response to this Worcester meeting's Call of those who wanted to see a woman's rights movement, and the positive reaction to its published proceedings both here and in Europe, showed that a sufficient number of women, and some men, were indeed ready.
- This 1850 convention eventuated in a set of standing committees which marked the beginnings of organized work for woman's rights.

The records of the convention may be studied at:

<http://www.wwhp.org/Resources/WomensRights/proceedings.html>

Waldo Emerson declined to address this convention, and continued to decline such invitations until the 1855 convention in Boston, saying “I do not think it yet appears that women wish this equal share in public affairs,” meaning of course “I do not think it yet appears that we wish to grant women this equal share in public affairs.”



Were I in a sarcastic mood, I would characterize this attitude by inventing a news clipping something like the following:

His Excellency, Hon. Ralph W. Emerson, Representative of the Human Race, treated with the woman, Mrs. James Mott, for purposes of pacification and common decency.

At the beginning of the meeting a Quaker male, Friend Joseph C. Hathaway of Farmington NY, was appointed President *pro tem*. As the meeting was getting itself properly organized, however, Paulina Wright Davis was selected as President, with Friend Joseph sitting down instead as Secretary for the meeting. At least three New York Quakers were on the body's Central Committee — Hathaway, Friend Pliny Sexton and Friend Sarah H. Hallock, and we immediately note that although this Central Committee was by and large female, two of the three Quakes in this committee were male.

During the course of this convention Friend Lucretia Mott had occasion to straighten out Wendell Phillips, and he later commented that “she put, as she well knows how, the silken snapper on her whiplash,” that it had been “beautifully done, so the victim himself could enjoy the artistic perfection of his punishment.”

Now here is a news clipping from this period, equally legitimately offensive, which I **didn't** make up.⁴⁶



His Excellency, Gov. Ramsey and Hon. Richard W. Thompson, have been appointed Commissioners, to treat with the Sioux for the lands west of the Mississippi.

The list of the “members” of this Convention is of interest in that it includes Sophia Foord of Dedham MA, Sojourner Truth of Northampton MA, etc. The newspaper report described Truth’s appearance as dark and “uncomely.” Friend Lucretia Mott, a leader at the convention, described Truth more charitably as “the poor woman who had grown up under the curse of Slavery.” Those on the list, those who officially registered as “members” of the Convention, some 267 in all, were only a fraction of the thousands who attended one or more of the sessions. As J.G. Forman reported in the New-York Daily Tribune for October 24, 1850, “it was voted that all present be invited to take part in the discussions of the Convention, but that only those who signed the roll of membership be allowed to vote.” The process of signing probably meant that people who arrived together or sat together would have adjacent numbers in the sequence that appears in the Proceedings. This would explain the clustering of people by region and by family name:

• 1	Hannah M. Darlington	Kennett Square, Pennsylvania
• 2	T.B. Elliot	Boston MA
• 3	Antoinette L. Brown	Henrietta NY
• 4	Sarah Pillsbury	Concord NH
• 5	Eliza J. Kenney	Salem MA
• 6	M.S. Firth	Leicester MA
• 7	Oliver Dennett	Portland ME
• 8	Julia A. McIntyre	Charlton MA
• 9	Emily Sanford	Oxford MA
• 10	H.M. Sanford	Oxford MA
• 11	C.D.M. Lane	Worcester
• 12	Elizabeth Firth	Leicester MA
• 13	S.C. Sargent	Boston MA
• 14	C.A.K. Ball	Worcester
• 15	M.A. Thompson	Worcester
• 16	Lucinda Safford	Worcester
• 17	S.E. Hall	Worcester
• 18	S.D. Holmes	Kingston MA
• 19	Z.W. Harlow	Plymouth MA
• 20	N.B. Spooner	Plymouth MA
• 21	Ignatius Sargent	Boston MA
• 22	A.B. Humphrey	Hopedale
• 23	M.R. Hadwen	Worcester
• 24	J.H. Shaw	Nantucket Island
• 25	Diana W. Ballou	Cumberland RI
• 26	Olive Darling	Millville MA
• 27	M.A. Walden	Hopedale
• 28	C.M. Collins	Brooklyn CT
• 29	A.H. Metcalf	Worcester
• 30	P.B. Cogswell	Concord NH
• 31	Sarah Tyndale	Philadelphia
• 32	A.P.B. Rawson	Worcester
• 33	Nathaniel Barney	Nantucket Island
• 34	Sarah H. Earle	Worcester MA
• 35	Parker Pillsbury	Concord NH
• 36	Lewis Ford	Abington MA
• 37	J.T. Everett	Princeton MA
• 38	Loring Moody	Harwich MA
• 39	Sojourner Truth	Northampton MA
• 40	Friend Pliny Sexton	Palmyra NY
• 41	Rev. J.G. Forman	W. Bridgewater MA
• 42	Andrew Stone M.D.	Worcester
• 43	Samuel May, Jr.	Leicester MA
• 44	Sarah R. May	Leicester MA

46. From the Dakota Tawaxitku Kin, or The Dakota Friend, St. Paul, Minnesota, November 1850. This word “Sioux,” incidentally, is a hopelessly offensive and alienating term, for it is short for the Ojibwa term “*nadouessioux*” or “enemy.” A better term would be “Dakota,” which in the Dakota language means “union” or “ally.” It tells you a lot about the patronizing attitude of these missionaries, that they would be willing to use an offputting term like “Sioux” in this newspaper.

- 45 Frederick Douglass Rochester NY
- 46 Charles Bigham Feltonville MA
- 47 J.T. Partridge Worcester
- 48 Eliza C. Clapp Leicester MA
- 49 Daniel Steward East Line MA
- 50 E.B. Chase Valley Falls MA
- 51 Sophia Foord Dedham MA
- 52 E.A. Clark Worcester
- 53 E.H. Taft Dedham MA
- 54 Olive W. Hastings Lancaster, Pennsylvania
- 55 Rebecca Plumly Philadelphia
- 56 S.L. Hastings Lancaster, Pennsylvania
- 57 Sophia Taft
- 58 Anna E. Ruggles Worcester
- 59 Mrs. A.E. Brown Brattleboro VT
- 60 Janette Jackson Philadelphia
- 61 Anna R. Cox Philadelphia
- 62 Cynthia P. Bliss Pawtucket, Rhode Island
- 63 R.M.C. Capron Providence
- 64 M.H. Mowry Providence
- 65 Mary Eddy Providence
- 66 Mary Abbott Hopedale
- 67 Anna E. Fish Hopedale
- 68 C.G. Munyan Hopedale
- 69 Maria L. Southwick Worcester
- 70 Anna Cornell Plainfield CT
- 71 S. Monroe Plainfield CT
- 72 Anna E. Price Plainfield CT
- 73 M.C. Monroe Plainfield CT
- 74 F.C. Johnson Sturbridge MA
- 75 Thomas Hill Webster MA
- 76 Elizabeth Frail Hopkinton MA
- 77 Eli Belknap Hopkinton MA
- 78 M.M. Frail Hopkinton MA
- 79 Valentine Belknap Hopkinton MA
- 80 Phebe Goodwin West Chester, Pennsylvania
- 81 Edgar Hicks Brooklyn NY
- 82 Ira Foster Canterbury NH
- 83 Effingham L. Capron Worcester
- 84 Frances H. Drake Leominster MA
- 85 Calvin Fairbanks Leominster MA
- 86 E.M. Dodge Worcester
- 87 Eliza Barney Nantucket Island
- 88 Lydia Barney Nantucket Island
- 89 Alice Jackson Avondale, Pennsylvania
- 90 G.D. Williams Leicester MA
- 91 Marian Blackwell Cincinnati OH
- 92 Elizabeth Earle Worcester
- 93 Friend Joseph C. Hathaway Farmington NY
- 94 E. Jane Alden Lowell MA
- 95 Elizabeth Dayton Lowell MA
- 96 Lima H. Ober Boston MA
- 97 Mrs. Lucy N. Colman Saratoga Springs NY
- 98 Dorothy Whiting Clintonville MA
- 99 Emily Whiting Clintonville MA
- 100 Abigail Morgan Clinton MA
- 101 Julia Worcester Milton NH
- 102 Mary R. Metcalf Worcester
- 103 R.H. Ober Boston MA
- 104 D.A. Mundy Hopedale

- 105 Dr. S. Rogers Worcester
- 106 Jacob Pierce PA
- 107 Mrs. E.J. Henshaw W. Brookfield MA
- 108 Edward Southwick Worcester
- 109 E.A. Merrick Princeton MA
- 110 Mrs. C. Merrick Princeton MA
- 111 Lewis E. Capen PA
- 112 Joseph Carpenter New-York
- 113 Martha Smith Plainfield CT
- 114 Lucius Holmes Thompson CT
- 115 Benj. Segur Thompson CT
- 116 C.S. Dow Worcester
- 117 S.L. Miller PA
- 118 Isaac L. Miller PA
- 119 Buel Pickett Sherman CT
- 120 Josiah Henshaw W. Brookfield MA
- 121 Andrew Wellington Lexington MA
- 122 Louisa Gleason Worcester
- 123 Paulina Gerry Stoneham MA
- 124 Lucy Stone West Brookfield MA
- 125 Ellen Blackwell Cincinnati OH
- 126 Mrs. Chickery Worcester
- 127 Mrs. F.A. Pierce Worcester
- 128 C.M. Trenor Worcester
- 129 R.C. Capron Worcester
- 130 Wm. Lloyd Garrison Boston MA
- 131 Emily Loveland Worcester
- 132 Mrs. S. Worcester Worcester
- 133 Phebe Worcester Worcester
- 134 Adeline Worcester Worcester
- 135 Joanna R. Ballou MA
- 136 Abby H. Price Hopedale
- 137 B. Willard MA
- 138 T. Poole Abington MA
- 139 M.B. Kent Boston MA
- 140 D.H. Knowlton
- 141 E.H. Knowlton Grafton MA
- 142 G. Valentine MA
- 143 A. Prince Worcester
- 144 Lydia Wilmarth Worcester
- 145 J.G. Warren Worcester
- 146 Mrs. E.A. Stowell Worcester
- 147 Martin Stowell Worcester
- 148 Mrs. E. Stamp Worcester
- 149 C. M. Barbour Worcester
- 150 Daniel Mitchell Pawtucket, Rhode Island
- 151 Alice H. Easton
- 152 Anna Q.T. Parsons Boston MA
- 153 C.D. McLane Worcester
- 154 W.H. Channing Boston MA
- 155 Wendell Phillips Boston MA
- 156 Abby K. Foster Worcester
- 157 S. S. Foster Worcester
- 158 Paulina Wright Davis Providence
- 159 Wm. D. Cady Warren MA
- 160 Ernestine L. Rose New-York
- 161 Mrs. J. G. Hodgden Roxbury MA
- 162 C.M. Shaw Boston MA
- 163 Ophelia D. Hill Worcester
- 164 Mrs. P. Allen Millbury MA

- 165 Lucy C. Dike Thompson CT
- 166 E. Goddard Worcester
- 167 M.F. Gilbert West Brookfield MA
- 168 G. Davis Providence
- 169 A.H. Johnson Worcester
- 170 W.H. Harrington Worcester
- 171 E.B. Briggs Worcester
- 172 A.C. Lackey Upton MA
- 173 Ora Ober Worcester
- 174 A. Barnes Princeton RI
- 175 Thomas Provan Hopedale
- 176 Rebecca Provan Hopedale
- 177 A.W. Thayer Worcester
- 178 M.M. Munyan Millbury MA
- 179 W.H. Johnson Worcester
- 180 Dr. S. Mowry Chepachet RI
- 181 George W. Benson Northampton MA
- 182 Mrs. C.M. Carter Worcester
- 183 H.S. Brigham Bolton MA
- 184 E.A. Welsh Feltonville MA
- 185 Mrs. J.H. Moore Charlton MA
- 186 Margaret S. Merrit Charlton MA
- 187 Martha Willard Charlton MA
- 188 A.N. Lamb Charlton MA
- 189 Mrs. Chaplin Worcester
- 190 Caroline Farnum
- 191 N.B. Hill Blackstone MA
- 192 K. Parsons Worcester
- 193 Jillson Worcester
- 194 E.W.K. Thompson
- 195 L. Wait Boston MA
- 196 Mrs. Mary G. Wright CA
- 197 F.H. Underwood Webster MA
- 198 Asa Cutler CT
- 199 J.B. Willard Westford MA
- 200 Perry Joslin Worcester
- 201 Friend Sarah H. Hallock Milton NY
- 202 Elizabeth Johnson Worcester
- 203 Seneth Smith Oxford MA
- 204 Marian Hill Webster MA
- 205 Wm. Coe Worcester
- 206 E.T. Smith Leominster MA
- 207 Mary R. Hubbard
- 208 S. Aldrich Hopkinton MA
- 209 M.A. Maynard Feltonville MA
- 210 S.P.R. Feltonville MA
- 211 Anna R. Blake Monmouth ME
- 212 Ellen M. Prescott Monmouth ME
- 213 J.M. Cummings Worcester
- 214 Nancy Fay Upton MA
- 215 M. Jane Davis Worcester
- 216 D.R. Crandell Worcester
- 217 E.M. Burleigh Oxford MA
- 218 Sarah Chafee Leominster MA
- 219 Adeline Perry Worcester
- 220 Lydia E. Chase Worcester
- 221 J.A. Fuller Worcester
- 222 Sarah Prentice Worcester
- 223 Emily Prentice Worcester
- 224 H.N. Fairbanks Worcester

• 225	Mrs. A. Crowl	Worcester
• 226	Dwight Tracy	Worcester
• 227	J.S. Perry	Worcester
• 228	Isaac Norcross	Worcester
• 229	M.A.W. Johnson	Salem OH
• 230	Mrs. C.I.H. Nichols	Brattleboro VT
• 231	Charles Calistus Burleigh	Plainfield CT
• 232	E.A. Parrington	Worcester
• 233	Mrs. Parrington	Worcester
• 234	Harriet F. Hunt	Boston MA
• 235	Chas F. Hovey	Boston MA
• 236	Lucretia Mott	Philadelphia
• 237	Susan Fuller	Worcester
• 238	Thomas Earle	Worcester
• 239	Alice Earle	Worcester
• 240	Martha B. Earle	Worcester
• 241	Anne H. Southwick	Worcester
• 242	Joseph A. Howland	Worcester
• 243	Adeline H. Howland	Worcester
• 244	O.T. Harris	Worcester
• 245	Julia T. Harris	Worcester
• 246	John M. Spear	Boston MA
• 247	E.J. Alden	
• 248	E.D. Draper	Hopedale
• 249	D.R.P. Hewitt	Salem MA
• 250	L.G. Wilkins	Salem MA
• 251	J.H. Binney	Worcester
• 252	Mary Adams	Worcester
• 253	Anna T. Draper	
• 254	Josephine Reglar	
• 255	Anna Goulding	Worcester
• 256	Adeline S. Greene	
• 257	Silence Bigelow	
• 258	A. Wyman	
• 259	L.H. Ober	
• 260	Betsey F. Lawton	Chepachet RI
• 261	Emma Parker	Philadelphia
• 262	Olive W. Hastings	Lancaster MA (error?)
• 263	Silas Smith	IO
• 264	Asenath Fuller	
• 265	Denney M.F. Walker	
• 266	Eunice D.F. Pierce	
• 267	Elijah Houghton	

November: In Providence, Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, Charles Calistus Burleigh, and Charles Lenox Remond addressed the annual meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society. This would be the first of Sojourner's antislavery speeches that has been documented.

1851

In Rhode Island, Philip Allen was in charge. The General Assembly offered a blueprint for reform by promulgating a report by Thomas Hazard on the status and treatment of the poor and insane. It became possible to commit patients to the Butler Hospital for the Insane in Providence against their will. (It should be born in mind that this hospital was never guilty of the more coercive restraints. It was able to maintain a patient population of 100-150 while using restraints only once — on an inmate who could not be dissuaded from trying to open a self-inflicted wound.)

The Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy established St. Aloysius Home in their convent on Claverick Street in Providence, Rhode Island near the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul. (By 1862 this orphanage —the oldest continuous social welfare agency in the diocese— would be occupying a better building, on Prairie Avenue.)

The Merino woolens mill in Providence, Rhode Island that had burned in 1841 would be being rebuilt from this year into 1853, by the Franklin Manufacturing Company. Instead of the woolen goods that had been being produced, the new mill would produce cotton goods. (In the 1890s nearly 300 workers in this mill would be making shoelaces and similar items for the greater glory of the Joslin Braiding Company, and then in 1930 the Lincoln Lace and Braid Company would take over the mill buildings, which would at some point be abandoned — and in 1994 would be torched by vandals.)

1853

February 1: Paulina Wright Davis's The Una began publication out of Providence, Rhode Island and Washington DC:



The masthead proclaimed it “A Paper Devoted to the Elevation of Women.” This was among the 1st such periodicals (Amelia Bloomer had begun her temperance newspaper The Lily in 1849) and was definitely the



1st to be owned, edited, and published by a woman. The periodical would be printed for a couple of years before collapsing in 1855 due to lack of funds.

November 27: On or after this day, when he made his will, Christopher A. Greene, who had had some sort of serious respiratory condition ever since his military service in Florida, died in Providence, Rhode Island at the age of 37. (Sarah Chace Greene would for many years be operating a girls' school in Providence.)

1854

The Hartford, Providence, and Fishkill railroad link was completed, connecting Rhode Island with the Hudson River.

Yet another cholera epidemic in Providence, Rhode Island prompted Dr. Edwin M. Snow to characterize the condition of the Moshassuck River as “filthy as any common sewer.”

George F. Wilson and Professor Eben N. Horsford built a chemical laboratory just to the east of Providence, Rhode Island: Geo. F. Wilson & Co. They would name their chemical works, and also the village that grew up around it, in honor of Count von Rumford, because he had funded at Harvard University a professorship, and because this chair had since 1847 been held by Professor Horsford as “Rumford Professor of the Application of Science to the Useful Arts.” The factory would manufacture:

- Horsford’s Cream of Tartar Substitute.
- Horsford’s Bread Preparation.
- Horsford’s Phosphatic Baking Powder (Double-Acting Baking Powder).
- Rumford Yeast Powder.
- Horsford’s Acid Phosphate.
- Horsford’s Anti-Chlorine.
- Horsford’s Sulphite for Preserving Cider.

The previous type of baking powder (now known as single-acting) merely fizzed in the presence of liquid. Housewives had been able to make it themselves by combining baking soda and cream of tartar, but timing was critical as the mixture fizzed out rapidly while being mixed. The new “double-acting” baking powder was a convenience product: it was the old concoction plus a substance that did not begin to fizz until heated — sodium aluminum phosphate. This mixture had a good shelf life, so all the housewife would need to do would be to spoon it out of the convenient red can. Professor Horsford, who resided in Cambridge rather than in Rhode Island, would become quite wealthy.



October 14: Henry Thoreau wrote to H.G.O. Blake. Thoreau, who had at this point arrived back in Concord, was being written to by an Asa Fairbanks in Rhode Island, representing the Providence Lyceum:

Providence Oct 14[.] [1854]
[Mr.] Henry D Thoreau
Dear Sir
Our Course of Independent[.] or

*reform Lectures (ten in number) we propose
to commence [N]ext [M]onth. Will you give me
the liberty to put your name in program, and
say when it will suit your [convenience] to come.
every Lecturer will choose his own subject,
but we expect all[,] whether [Anti[S]lavery] or
what else, will be of a reformatory [Character]*

who

*We have engaged Theodore Parker[,] ^will give
the Introductory Nov. 1st[.] (Garrison, W. Phillips
[Thos] W. Higginson Lucy Stone (Mrs Rose of New York[]
Antoinett L[]Brown and hope to [have] Cassius [M]
Clay, & Henry Ward Beecher, (we had a course
of these lectures last year and the receipts from
[] tickets at a low price paid expenses and [^]
fifteen to twenty dollars to the Lecturers—we
think we shall do as well this year as last, and
perhaps better[,] the Anthony [Burns] [affair] and the
of [~~S~~]lavery Nebraska bill, and other outrages[,] has done much
to awaken the feeling of a class of [M]inds
heretofore [quiet,] on all questions of reform*

Page 2

*In getting up these popular Lectures [we]
not thought [at] first, it would[,] do us well to have [them] [,]too radical, or it
would be best to have a part of
the speakers of the conservative class, but experience
has shown us [~~St~~] in Providence surely, that the
[M]asses who attend such Lectures are better suited
with reform lectures than with the old
school conservatives[.] I will thank you for an
early reply*

Yours Respectfully for [true freedom]

A. Fairbanks

<misc nature notes on remainder of page, reading from opposite direction>

November 6, Monday: Henry Thoreau completed surveying the farm of the old General James Colburn. This farm of approximately 130 acres was near the Lee or Elwell Farm (Gleason E5) bordering on the Assabet River. Thoreau mentioned that there was a “haunted house” in this area.

View Henry Thoreau’s personal working drafts of his surveys courtesy of AT&T and the Concord Free Public Library:

http://www.concordnet.org/library/scollect/Thoreau_surveys/Thoreau_surveys.htm

(The official copy of this survey of course had become the property of the person or persons who had hired this Concord town surveyor to do their surveying work during the 19th Century. Such materials have yet to be recovered.)

Henry Thoreau was being written to again by this Asa Fairbanks of Providence, Rhode Island in regard to the proposed lecture of a “reformatory Character”:

Providence Nov. 6. 1854

Mr Henry D Thore[a]u

Dear Sir

*I am in receipt of yours of the 4th inst. Your stating explicitly that the 6th December would suit you better than any other time, I altered other arrangements on purpose to accommodate you, and notified you as soon as I was able to ac-
complish them. had you named the last Wedn[e]sday in Nov. or the second
Wednesday in December, I could have replied to you at once—or any time in
Janu[a]ry or Feb[ruary] it would have been the same[.] I shall regret the dis-
appointment very Much but must submit to it if you have Made such overtures
as you can not avoid— I hope however you will be able to come at the time
appointed[.]*

Truly

A. Fairbanks

The Reverend Daniel Foster was writing Henry Thoreau from his farm in East Princeton MA that he and friends had been reading WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS aloud “with pauses for conversation.”

East Princeton Nov. 6. 1854.

Friend Thoreau,

On my return from a

lecturing tour in the Mystic Valley

Dom informed me of your call with

your English [c]ompanion on your way

to a meeting on the summit of Mt.

Wachusett. I am glad you called but

sorry that I was not at home. I hope

you will come & see us while we

are here & get acquainted with our

pond “old crow hill,” “redemption

rock” “Uncle William” now nearly

90 [years] old, bonnie Charlie & other notables

of the place justly considered worthy

the notice of a philosopher. I shall

not tell you that you will be

welcome as long as you can stay

*with us for if you don't know that
fact the usual polite phrase of in-
vitation will not assure you.
I have read your "Walden" slowly, aloud with constant*

Page 2

*pauses for conversation thereon, &
with very much satisfaction & profit.
I like to read aloud of evenings a
book which like this one provokes
discussion in the circle of [hearers]
& reader. I was the more interested
in your book from the personal
& strong interest felt for you & for
your own sake in my soul. My in-
tercourse with you when I lived in Con-
cord & since at times when I have been in
Concord has been uncommonly useful in
aiding & strengthening my own best
purpose. Most thoroughly do I respect
& reverence a manly self-poised mind.
My own great aim in life has ever been
to act in accordance with my own convictions.
To be destitute of bank stock & rail road
shares & the influence which wealth
& position bestow through the folly
of the unthinking multitude is
no evil to that one who seeks
truth & immortal living as the greatest
& the best inheritance. In the scramble
for money in which most men engage*

Page 3

*one may fail but whoever travels the
road of patient study & self control
reaches the goal & is crowned with
the immortal wealth. I would not
be understood in this to depreciate
the value of wealth. I am working in
the hope of being rich in this world's
[gear] sometime through the ownership
of a piece of land on which shall
stand my own illuminated & happy
home. But if I do not reach the
accomplishment of this hope I will
nevertheless bate no jot of my cheer-
fulness joy & energy till the end.
I will deserve success & thus of course
I shall succeed in all my hopes*

*some time or other. I have enjoyed
the ponds the hills & the woods of
this vicinity very greatly this year.
We have nothing quite equal to
your Walden or Concord, but aside
from these our natural attractions
exceed yours. I have been farming &
preaching this summer, have reared*

Page 3

*to maturity & harvested 90 bushels
of corn one bushel beans, 8 bushels
potatoes, 20 bushels squashes &
20 bushels of apples. I cannot tell
with the same precision how
many thoughts I have called into
exercise by my moral husbandry
tho I hope my labor herein has not been
in vain.*

*Dom wishes to be remembered with
sisterly greetings to Sophia & yourself &
with filial affection to your father
& mother. We enjoyed the visit your
mother & sister repaid us very much indeed
& only regretted that Mr. Thoreau & yourself
were not with us at the same time[.]*

*I hope your "Walden" will get a wide
circulation, as it deserves, & replenish
your bank, as it ought to do. I thank
you for the book & will hold myself
your debtor till opportunity offers for
securing a receipt in full*

*Yours truly
Daniel Foster*

By way of radical contrast, when Moncure Daniel Conway read WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS, he didn't think much of the book as a guide to life. On this day he was listing his objections for Waldo Emerson's benefit:

1. That it hasn't optimism enough ...
2. That one couldn't pursue **his** Art of Living and get married.
3. That one hasn't time to spend or strength to spare from what is his work to take care of such universal rebellion.

It is clear that Conway had not been reading WALDEN "with pauses for thought." To this minister, whose ideal of Nature was frankly that it should be like a garden where everything is in its place and under control and serving a purpose, Henry Thoreau seemed like the kind of guy who couldn't live "unless snakes are coiling around his leg or lizzards perching on his shoulders." (Conway all his life had a morbid fear of and a morbid fascination with snakes: during his childhood he even had a slave walking in front of him to beat the ground with a stick and scare away these snakes. Obviously, if Thoreau wasn't afraid of snakes, there must be a whole lot of other things that were wrong with him as well!)

December 1-6: Henry Thoreau's new lecture "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" was advertised in the Liberator and in all four of Providence, Rhode Island's major newspapers—the Daily Post, Daily Journal, Bulletin, and Daily Tribune.⁴⁷

The Post and the Tribune also ran brief articles in which Thoreau was described as

a young man of high ability, who built his house in the woods, and there lived five years [*sic*] for about \$30 a year, during which time he stored his mind with a vast amount of useful knowledge—setting an example for poor young men who thirst for learning, showing those who are determined to get a good education how they can have it by pursuing the right course.

[Providence Daily Post, December 6, page 2, column 4. A slightly altered version of this sentence appeared in the Providence Daily Tribune, December

47. Liberator, December 1, page 3, column 2; Providence Daily Post, December 5, page 3, column 1; Providence Bulletin, December 5, page 3, column 1; Providence Daily Journal, December 5, page 3, column 1, and December 6, page 3, column 1; Providence Daily Tribune, December 6, page 3, column 5.

December 6, Wednesday: All week, Henry Thoreau's new lecture "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" had been being advertised in The Liberator and in all four of Providence, Rhode Island's major newspapers—the Daily Post, Daily Journal, Bulletin, and Daily Tribune.⁴⁸

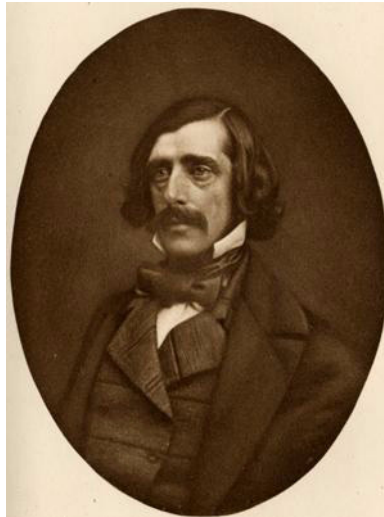


The Daily Post and the Daily Tribune had also run brief articles in which the visiting lecturer had been being described as

a young man of high ability, who built his house in the woods, and there lived five years [*sic*] for about \$30 a year, during which time he stored his mind with a vast amount of useful knowledge—setting an example for poor young men who thirst for learning, showing those who are determined to get a good education how they can have it by pursuing the right course.

[Providence Daily Post, December 6, page 2, column 4. A slightly altered version of this sentence appeared in the Providence Daily Tribune, December

On this day the lecturer arrived by train and, accompanied by Charles King Newcomb, visited the Reverend Roger Williams's Rock in the Blackstone River, and visited an old hilltop fort in Seekonk on the east side of the bay.



Beginning at 7:30 PM, at Railroad Hall, Thoreau delivered his lecture, or sermon, for the first time. Admission was 25 cents. Thoreau was impressed by the railroad depot in which he was lecturing, "its towers and great

48. Liberator, December 1, page 3, column 2; Providence Daily Post, December 5, page 3, column 1; Providence Bulletin, December 5, page 3, column 1; Providence Daily Journal, December 5, page 3, column 1, and December 6, page 3, column 1; Providence Daily Tribune, December 6, page 3, column 5.

length of brick.” The only indication of how the audience responded is Thoreau’s journal entry of that evening:

After lecturing twice this winter I feel that I am in danger of cheapening myself by trying to become a successful lecturer, i.e., to interest my audiences. I am disappointed to find that most that I am and value myself for is lost, or worse than lost, on my audience. I fail to get even the attention of the mass. I should suit them better if I suited myself less. I feel that the public demand an average man,—average thoughts and manners,—not originality, nor even absolute excellence. You cannot interest them except as you are like them and sympathize with them. I would rather that my audience come to me than that I should go to them, and so they be sifted; i.e., I would rather write books than lectures. That is fine, this coarse. To read to a promiscuous audience who are at your mercy the fine thoughts you solaced yourself with

[Various versions of “LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE”, variously titled, would be delivered:

- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on December 6, 1854 at Railroad Hall in Providence RI
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on December 26, 1854 in the New Bedford MA Lyceum
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on December 28, 1854 at the Athenaeum on Nantucket Island
- On January 4, 1855 in the Worcester Lyceum, as “The Connection between Man’s Employment and His Higher Life”
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on February 14, 1855 in the Concord Lyceum
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on November 16, 1856 for the Eagleswood community
- “Getting a Living” on December 18, 1856 in the vestry of the Congregational Church of Amherst, New Hampshire
- “LIFE MISSPENT” on Sunday morning, October 9, 1859 to the Reverend Theodore Parker’s 28th Congregational Society in Boston Music Hall
- “LIFE MISSPENT” on Sunday, September 9, 1860 at Welles Hall in Lowell MA.]



December 6: To Providence to lecture I see thick ice and boys skating all the way to Providence, but know not when it froze, I have been so busy writing my lecture.



“WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT”⁴⁹

DATE	PLACE	TOPIC
November 21, 1854, Tuesday; 7:30PM	Spring Garden Institute, Philadelphia PA	“The Wild”
December 6, 1854, Wednesday; 7:30PM	Providence RI; Railroad Hall	“WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT”
December 26, 1854, Tuesday; 7:30PM	New Bedford MA; Lyceum	“WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT”

49. From Bradley P. Dean and Ronald Wesley Hoag’s “THOREAU’S LECTURES AFTER WALDEN: AN ANNOTATED CALENDAR.”

NARRATIVE OF EVENT: On or about 18 October, Henry Thoreau received a letter from Asa Fairbanks asking if he would allow his name to appear in a program of reform lectures scheduled to commence in Providence RI, on 1 November. Fairbanks informed Thoreau that “*every Lecturer will choose his own Subject, but we expect all . . . will be of a reformatory Character*” (THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 345). After indicating that remuneration to the course lecturers would be an expected “expenses and fifteen to twenty dollars” or “perhaps better,” Fairbanks pressed the issue of reform as a required topic:

The Anthony Burns affair and the Nebraska bill, and other outrages of Slavery has done much to awaken the feeling of a class of Minds heretofore quiet, on all questions of reform[.] In getting up these popular Lectures we thought at first, it would not do as well to have them too radical, or it would be best to have a part of the Speakers of the conservative class, but experience has shown us in Providence surely, that the Masses who attend such Lectures are better suited with reform lectures than with the old school conservatives.
(THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 346)

The independent Thoreau may have bristled at the reform stipulation, as the editors of his correspondence suggest, but he responded within a short time and accepted the offer.

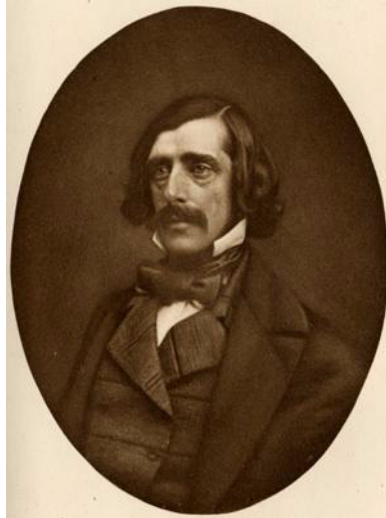
Asa Fairbanks’s letter of 6 November suggests that letters had passed between him and Thoreau in which efforts to establish a date were being made:

I am in receipt of yours of the 4th inst, You stating explicitly that the 6th December would suit you better than any other time. . . . Had you named the last Wednesday in Nov. or the second Wedn[e]sday in December, I could have replied to you at once or any time in Janu[a]ry or Feb[ruary] it would have been the same[.] I shall regret the disappointment very much but must submit to it if you have such overtures as you cannot avoid. (THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, pages 348–49)

Asa Fairbanks’s cryptic reference to “such overtures as you cannot avoid” is no doubt an indication that Thoreau’s schedule for the next four months was so full that he could not be as flexible as Fairbanks wished. He was scheduled to deliver one of his two “WALKING, OR THE WILD” lectures in Philadelphia on 21 November; and he was planning to make a western lecture tour in late December, January, and—if the demand he encountered warranted an extension—February. Very likely, then, December 6th was the only Wednesday between mid-November 1854 and February 1855 that he expected to be available. Interestingly enough, on 17 November Thoreau wrote to a William E. Sheldon announcing that he was “still at liberty” to read “a lecture either on the Wild or on Moosehunting as you may prefer” before an unspecified “Society” on the evening of 5 December, the day before his Providence engagement (THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 351). There is no record of this proposed lecture taking place (see Appendix A below). Moreover, on 27 November, Andrew Whitney wrote from Nantucket Island in response to a letter Thoreau had sent two days earlier: “We cannot have you between the 4 & 15th of Dec. without bringing two lecturers in one week — which we wish to avoid if possible” (THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 352). This suggests that as late as 25 November Thoreau did not regard the December 6th Providence engagement as firmly established.

On December 6th, Henry Thoreau took the train to Providence, where, his journal reports, he was “struck with the Providence depot, its towers and great length of brick” (JOURNAL, 7:79). The depot’s hall was also the site of his evening talk. A month earlier, on 2 November, the Providence DAILY JOURNAL had cautioned that the new building’s steep entry with no handrail was a peril, especially to ladies during the impending winter. It is not known if the problem had been corrected by the date of the lecture. Advertisements in the LIBERATOR and in all four of Providence’s major newspapers indicate that Thoreau’s lecture was the fourth of a scheduled ten, commencing with the Reverend Theodore Parker and including talks by the Reverend Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Cassius M. Clay, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and others. Tickets for the entire course cost one dollar, while single-lecture admission cost twenty-five cents. The doors to Railroad Hall

opened Wednesday evening at 6:30 for the lecture, which was scheduled to begin an hour later. Thoreau made the most of his two-day Providence visit by inspecting “Roger Williams’s Rock” on the Blackstone River and an old fort overlooking Narragansett Bay, both in the company of Waldo Emerson’s friend Charles King Newcomb, and by walking through the countryside west of Providence (JOURNAL, 7:79-80).



The only indications of how the audience responded to the lecture come, rather obliquely, from Thoreau himself. In a journal entry of that evening, he wrote:

After lecturing twice this winter I feel that I am in danger of cheapening myself by trying to become a successful lecturer, *i.e.*, to interest my audiences. I am disappointed to find that most that I am and value myself for is lost, or worse than lost, on my audience. I fail to get even the attention of the mass. I should suit them better if I suited myself less. I feel that the public demand an average man, -average thoughts and manners, -not originality, nor even absolute excellence. You cannot interest them except as you are like them and sympathize with them. I would rather that my audience come to me than that I should go to them, and so they be sifted; *i.e.*, I would rather write books than lectures. That is fine, this coarse. To read to a promiscuous audience who are at your mercy the fine thoughts you solaced yourself with far away is as violent as to fatten geese by cramming, and in this case they do not get fatter. (JOURNAL, 7:79-80)

This appraisal of what his audiences demanded of him and what he was willing to give suggests that “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” may not have been well received in Providence. Moreover, Thoreau was out of sorts from having been forced to abandon his plans for a lecture tour and from having spent most of the preceding four months at his desk writing lectures for “promiscuous” audiences. Indeed, his unusually rigorous schedule had prevented him even from seeing the winter come in. “I see thick ice and boys skating all the way to Providence,” he wrote in his journal on December 6th, “but [I] know not when it froze, I have been so busy

writing my lecture” (JOURNAL, 7:79). And two days later he complained:

Winter has come unnoticed by me, I have been so busy writing. This is the life most lead in respect to Nature. How different from my habitual one! It is hasty, coarse, and trivial, as if you were a spindle in a factory. The other is leisurely, fine, and glorious, like a flower. In the first case you are merely getting your living; in the second you live as you go along. (JOURNAL, 7:80)

Henry Thoreau’s reference to writing lectures as “merely getting your living” is a fine touch of self-directed irony, for in almost the entire first half of “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” –the very lecture he had just finished writing and delivering– he argues that “A man had better starve at once than lose his innocence in the process of getting his bread.”⁵⁰ Subsequently, in a 19 December 1854 letter to H.G.O. Blake, Thoreau punningly testified to his “truly providential meeting with Mr T Brown; providential because it saved me from the suspicion that my words had fallen altogether on stony ground, when it turned out that there was some Worcester soil there” (THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 354). Since Thoreau had yet to give his Worcester lecture, he here clearly refers to Theophilus Brown’s fortuitous presence in his Providence audience.

50. Quoted from the reconstructed text of “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” in Bradley P. Dean, “Reconstructions of Thoreau’s Early ‘Life without Principle’ Lectures,” p. 323.

RAILROAD HALL; PROVIDENCE RI

Courtesy of Bradley P. Dean

ADVERTISEMENTS, REVIEWS, AND RESPONSES: The lecture was advertised in the *LIBERATOR* on 1 December and, the day before and the day of the lecture, in all four of Providence's major newspapers — the *DAILY POST*, *DAILY JOURNAL*, *BULLETIN*, and *DAILY TRIBUNE*. The *LIBERATOR* remarked that "The people are anticipating the remaining lectures with a great deal of interest, and the names of the lecturers are a sufficient guarantee that their anticipations will not be disappointed." On the day Henry Thoreau lectured the *POST* and the *TRIBUNE* also ran brief articles in which Thoreau was described as "a young man of high ability, who built his house in the woods, and there lived five years for about \$30 a year, during which time he stored his mind with a **vast amount of useful knowledge** — setting an example for poor young men who thirst for learning, showing those who are determined to get a good education how they can have it by pursuing the right course."

In a diary entry of 11 December 1854, Bronson Alcott wrote, "*Monday 11. I pass the morning and dine with Thoreau, who read me parts of his new Lecture lately read at Philadelphia and Providence[.]*"⁵¹ Alcott was mistaken about Thoreau having read "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" in Philadelphia: Bradley P. Dean's detailed study of Thoreau's composition process for the lecture,⁵² and Thoreau's own journal remark about being extremely busy writing his lecture, indicate that he was just able to finish writing the lecture before delivering it in Providence. It is also unlikely that Thoreau would have changed the lecture topic that had been advertised in the Philadelphia newspapers (see lecture 45 above).

DESCRIPTION OF TOPIC: Using textual and physical evidence from the extant lecture manuscripts, as well as newspaper summaries of Thoreau's several deliveries of "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" and its later (1859-60, see lectures 64 and 72 below) manifestation, "LIFE MISSPENT", Bradley P. Dean was able to trace in remarkable detail Thoreau's composition process from the time Thoreau first conceived of the lecture to the time he mailed the final draft of "LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE" to James Thomas Fields, editor of *The Atlantic Monthly* magazine. "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" contained precisely one hundred paragraphs, fifty-four of which remained in the text and were eventually published in "Life without Principle."⁵³

51. Bronson Alcott, "Diary for 1854," entry of 11 December, MH (*59M-308).

52. Bradley P. Dean's study is summarized in his "Reconstructions of Thoreau's Early 'Life without Principle' Lectures," pp. 286-91; for its more detailed counterpart, see the first volume of his two-volume MA thesis, "The Sound of a Flail: Reconstructions of Thoreau's Early 'Life without Principle' Lectures," Eastern Washington University, 1984. Copies of Dean's thesis are available at WaChenE; CtU; the Thoreau Textual Center, CU-SB; and the Thoreau Society Archives, MCo.

53. Seven of these fifty-four lecture paragraphs Henry Thoreau conflated to three paragraphs in the essay. Dean's "Reconstructions of Thoreau's Early 'Life without Principle' Lectures," p. 337, contains a graph showing the structural changes between the lectures and the essay.

December 27, Wednesday: Thomas Wilson Dorr died in Providence, Rhode Island.



Henry Thoreau took a steamer out of Hyannis port for Nantucket Island, and there he spent the night at the home of Captain Edward W. Gardiner. The New Bedford Evening Standard (page 2, column 2) observed that the previous night's lecture, which it had advertised as being on the subject of "Getting a Living,"

displayed much thought, but was in some respects decidedly peculiar.



Friend Daniel Ricketson would later write to Henry Thoreau to advise that he had

heard several sensible people speak well of your lecture

but would conclude that the lecture

was not generally understood.

Ricketson's attitude was shared by Charles W. Morgan, who had been present for the lecture and who afterward wrote in his journal:



evening to the Lyceum where we had a lecture from the eccentric Henry J. [sic] Thoreau— The Hermit author very caustic against the usual avocations & employments of the world and a definition of what is true labour & true wages— audience very large & quiet—but I think he

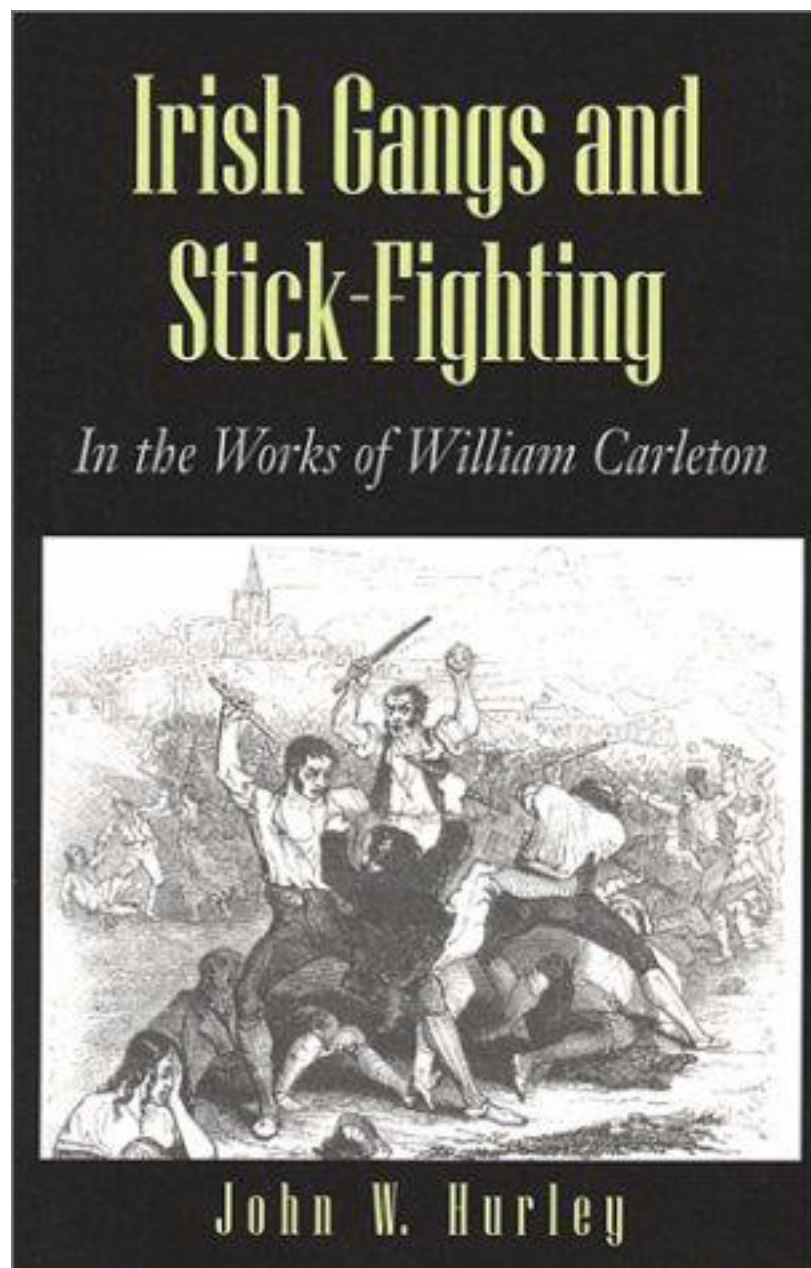
1855

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:

March 22: Prejudice toward Irish Catholic immigrants, fanned by the Providence Journal (nowadays this paper is referred to locally as the “ProJo”), was using as its vehicle the American, or “Know-Nothing” party, a secret organization that was sweeping town, city, and state elections in the mid-fifties. In this year its candidate, William W. Hoppin, had captured the Rhode Island governorship. Some of the party’s more zealous adherents even planned a raid on St. Xavier’s Convent, home of the “female Jesuits,” supported by a fake rumor they were circulating to the effect that a Protestant girl, named Rebecca Newell, was being held against her will by the nuns of Sisters of Mercy.

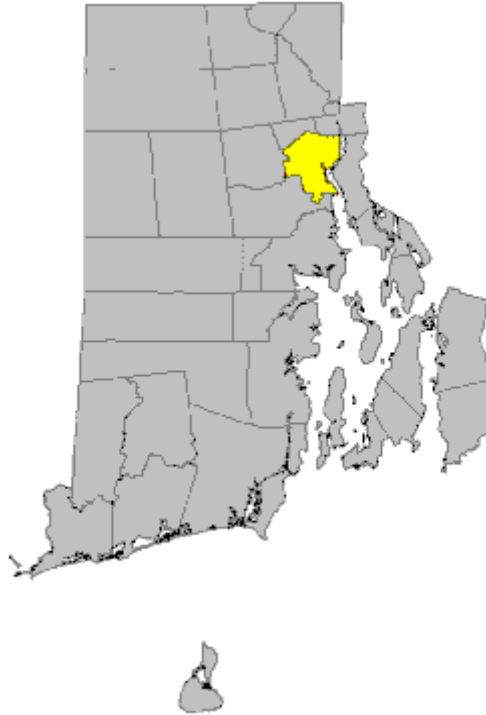
The password of these Know-Nothing Protestant rioters was “show yourself.” (Is the password of the Ku Klux Klan “expose yourself”?)

In Providence, Rhode Island on this day, an angry mob instigated by the ProJo and the Know-Nothings dispersed when confronted with Bishop Bernard O’Reilly and an equally militant crowd of Irishmen. On this day, God’s providence was definitely on the side of the big shillelaghs!



1856

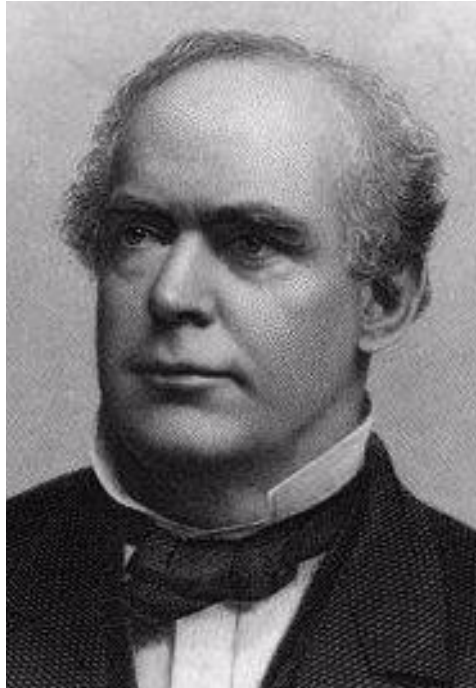
In Rhode Island, William W. Hoppin was in charge. The Providence Home for Aged Women was organized. (Its present building at Front and East streets, overlooking the harbor, would open in 1864. Elderly men in need would wait ten years longer for a comparable facility — I presume this male facility was on the ground now occupied by the Brown University Fieldhouse and its playing field surrounded by an immense stone wall, across Lloyd from the Moses Brown School.)



The Reverend Frederic Henry Hedge, who had been since 1850 the Unitarian minister in Providence, Rhode Island, at this point was called to minister in Brookline MA.



Salmon Portland Chase was elected Governor of Ohio and would serve two terms (1856-1860). Governor Chase would promote education, attempt to reform the prison system, establish an insane asylum, and promote women's rights. Chase was smitten by a lust which would characterize him the rest of his life, "presidential fever." He tried to secure the presidential nomination of the 1st Republican convention in 1856 but failed. Having the support of Rhode Island money, he would try again in 1860, but would fail even to muster the support of the Ohio delegation and the nomination would go to one of the senators from Illinois, Abraham Lincoln.



June 17, Tuesday: The Reverend Theodore Parker wrote to Dr. Fuster, a Viennese professor, mentioning news of Professor Pierre Jean Édouard Desor.

In Worcester, Henry Thoreau, H.G.O. Blake, and Theophilus Brown took a carriage when they went out to Quinsigamund Pond, because they were being accompanied by Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau.

Friend Daniel Ricketson abandoned Newport, Rhode Island to visit Concord to see Henry, unaware that Henry had gone to Worcester. The father John Thoreau, Sr. must have been very short indeed, for a man who himself stood 5'3" to have pronounced him "very short":



Left Newport this morning at five o'clock for Concord, Mass., via Providence and Boston, and arrived at C. about 12 M. The sail up the Providence or Blackstone River was very fine, the morning being clear and the air very refreshing. My object in coming to Concord was to see H.D. Thoreau, but unfortunately I found him on a visit at Worcester, but I was received with great kindness and cordiality by his father and mother, and took tea with them. Mrs. Thoreau, like a true mother, idolizes her son, and gave me a long and interesting account of his character. Mr. Thoreau, a very short old gentleman, is a pleasant person. We took a short walk together after tea, returned to the Middlesex Hotel at ten. Mrs. T. gave me a long and particular account of W.E. Channing, who spent so many years here.

August 31: From the Rhode Island diary of John Hamlin Cady (1838-1914): "Heard Lucretia Mott the Quakeress at Dr. Hedges' church in the evening."⁵⁴

September 4: Henry Thoreau was being written to in Concord by Bronson Alcott presumably from Walpole NH.

1856. September 17

Thursday, 4th

M^r. Bradford takes the morning train for Concord, and I send by him a note with my Circular to Thoreau, also a copy of the same to Emerson.

To Thoreau, I say,—

*"I am so unfortunate, I find,
as to be about leaving home for Vermont on Friday
next, the day you [purpose] coming to Walpole. I
may return Wednesday the 10—to leave on Saturday
following for Fitchburg—thence I go to Worcester,
Wolcott, New York City, and much fear I shall
miss seeing you here unless you will come up*

54. Since in this year the Reverend Frederic Henry Hedge, who had been since 1850 the Unitarian minister in Providence, Rhode Island, was being called to minister in Brookline MA, we should not take this to mean, necessarily, that the Reverend Hedge was present when Friend Lucretia Mott spoke.

(One marvels when one learns that when Friend Lucretia came to Providence, she wound up speaking at the Unitarian church, until one becomes aware that as a known Hicksite Quaker, one in favor of racial integration rather than of racial apartheid, she would have been turned away from the local Quaker meetinghouse at its door.)

Page 2

{heading on paper: 818 September. 1856.}

on Thursday instead, and give me Friday the 12.th.

You will find my house and household right glad to receive and entertain their wise guest; our hills too and streams all well pleased to second [their] hospitality.

So come if you can. M^r. Bradford, who slept here last night, will vouch for all, and my tour of talk will borrow riches from the traveller's contributions.

But whether I see you here, or in Concord, or do not see, there remains a country for me—an America—while my friends survive to think and write of England, old or new.—

Very truly Yours

Henry Thoreau was also being written to in Concord by Benjamin B. Wiley from Providence, Rhode Island.

Providence R. I. Sep 4. 1856

Henry D. Thoreau[,] Esq[.]

Concord

Dear Sir

Having read your "week on the Concord" which you sent D W

Vaughan a short time since, I enclose \$1.²⁷ for which will you please send me a copy of the same[.]

I have your "Walden" which I have read several times. If you can send me any writings of yours besides the above works I will esteem it a favor and will immediately remit you the amount due[.]

I consider that the moderate price I pay for excellent writings does not remove my obligation to their author and I most gladly take this occasion to tender you my warmest thanks for the pleasure and improvement you have afforded me[.]

Yours very truly

B. B. Wiley

September 22: Henry Thoreau wrote to Benjamin B. Wiley in Providence, Rhode Island:

Concord Sep 22^d '56

Dear Sir

I would advi[s]e not to take a revolver or other weapon of defen[c]e. It will affect the innocence of your enterprise. If you chance to meet with a wolf or a dangerous snake, you will be luckier than I have been, or expect to be. When I went to the White Mts I carried a gun to kill game with, but wisely left it at ~~the~~ Concord N.H. As for a knapsack, I should say

wear something water-tight & comfortable, with two or three pockets to keep things separate. Wear old shoes; carry no thin clothes. Do not forget needle and thread and pins, a compass, and the best pocket map of the [county] obtainable.
Yrs in haste
Henry D. Thoreau

{written perpendicular to text at bottom of page:
 Postmark: CONCORD
 SEP
 22
 MASS.
 Address: B. B. Wiley Esq
 Providence
 R.I.}

October 31: Benjamin B. Wiley wrote from Providence, Rhode Island to Henry Thoreau in Concord, asking, among other things, about mystical philosophy in general and Confucius in particular:

Providence Oct 31, 1856
H D Thoreau
Concord
Dear Sir
In Worcester I saw Theo Brown who was very glad to hear from you. In the evening we went together to see Harry Blake. Both these gentlemen were well. Mr Blake is an enthusiast in matters which the world passes by as of little account. Since I returned here I have taken two morning walks with Chas Newcomb. He suggested that he would like to walk to the White Mountains with me some time and it may yet be done. He walks daily some miles and seems to be in pretty good health. He says he would like to visit Concord, but named no time for that purpose.
I am anxious to know a little more of Confucius. Can you briefly, so that it will not take too much of your time, write me his views in regard to Creation, Immortality, man's preexistence if he speaks of it, and generally anything relating to man's Origin, Purpose, & Destiny.
I would also like much to know the names of the leading Hindoo philosophers and their ideas on the preceding topics
Is Swedenborg a valuable man to you, and if so, why?
Do not think me too presuming because I ask you these questions. I am an inquirer (as indeed I always hope to be) and have to avail myself of the wisdom of those who have commenced life before me.
Though I cannot hope that my existence will be of any direct benefit to you, yet I cannot fail to exert influence somewhere, and that it may

be of an elevating character, I wish to make my own the experience of collective humanity.

I shall leave here next Thursday Nov 6 for Chicago. My address there will be Care of Strong & Wiley. I shall undoubtedly spend the winter there and how much longer I shall stay I cannot tell.

I suggested brevity in your remarks about the views of those philosophers. This was entirely for your convenience. I shall read appreciatingly and most attentively whatever you find time to write.

Yours truly

B. B. Wiley



Dec 12th Wonderful—wonderful is our life and that of our companions—! That there should be such a thing as a brute animal—not human—! & that it should attain to a sort of society with our race!! Think of cats, for instance; they are neither Chinese nor Tartars—; they do not go to school nor read the Testament— Yet how near they come to doing so—how much they are like us who do so What sort of philosophers are we who know absolutely nothing of At length—without the origin & destiny of cats?— having solved any of these problems, we fatten & kill & eat some of our cousins!! ...Yesterday morning I noticed that several people were having their pigs killed, not foreseeing the thaw. Such warm weather as this the animal heat will hardly get out before night— I saw Peter, the dexterous pig-butcher—busy in 2 or 3 places—& in the Pm I saw him with washed hands & knives in sheath—& his leather overalls drawn off—going to his solitary house on the edge of the Great Fields—carrying in the rain a piece of the pork he had slaughtered with a string put through it. Often he carries home the head, which is less prized taking his pay thus in kind—& these supplies do not come amiss to his outcast family. I saw Lynch's dog stealthily feeding at a half of his master's pig which lay dressed on a wheelbarrow at the door— A little yellow brown dog—with fore feet braced on the ice—& out-stretched neck—he {swif} eagerly browsed along the edge of the meat half a foot to right & left—with incessant short & rapid snatches which brought it away as readily as if it had been pudding. He evidently knew very well that he was stealing—but made the most of his time. The little brown dog weighed a pound or 2 more afterward than before. Where is the great natural historian—? Is he a butcher or the patron of butchers? As well look for a great anthropologist among cannibals.

December 12: Henry Thoreau responded to an inquiry by Benjamin B. Wiley of Providence, Rhode Island about Confucius by explaining what he took to be the core of the teaching and providing Wiley with three of his own translations from *CONFUCIUS ET MENCIVS. LES QUATRE LIVRES DE PHILOSOPHIE MORALE ET POLITIQUE DE LA CHINE, TRADUIT DU CHINOIS PAR M.J. Pauthier*.

Concord Dec 12 '56

Dear Sir,

I but recently returned from New Jersey after an absence of a little over a month, and found your letter awaiting me. I am glad to hear that you have walked with Newcomb, though I fear that you will not have many more opportunities to do so. I have no doubt that in his company you would ere long find yourself, if not on those White Mountains you speak of, yet on some equally high, though not laid down in the geographies.

It is refreshing to hear of your earnest purposes with respect to your culture, & I can send you no better wish, than that they may not be thwarted by the cares and temptations of life. Depend on it, now is the accepted time, & probably you will never find yourself better disposed or freer to attend to your culture than at this moment. When They who inspire us with the idea are ready, shall not we be ready also?

I do not now remember anything which Confucius has said directly

respecting man's "origin, purpose, and destiny". He was more practical than that. He is full of wisdom applied to human relations — to the private Life — the Family — Government &c. It is remarkable that according to his own account the sum & substance of his teaching is, as you know, to Do as you would be done by.

He also said — (I translate from the French) Conduct yourself suitably toward the persons of your family, then you will be able to instruct and to direct a nation of men."

"To nourish ones self with a little rice, to drink water, to have only his bended arm to support his head, is a state which has also its satisfaction. To be rich and honored by iniquitous means, is for me as the floating cloud which passes."

"As soon as a child is born we must respect its faculties; the knowledge which will come to it by & by does not resemble at all its present state. If it arrives at the age of 40 or 50 years, without having learned any thing, it is no more worthy of any respect."

This last, I think, will speak to your condition.

But at this rate I might fill many letters.

Our acquaintance with the ancient Hindoos is not at all personal. The few names that can be relied on are very shadowy. It is however tangible works that we know. The best I think of are the Bhagvat-Geeta (an episode in an ancient heroic poem called the Mahabara-ta) — the Vedas — The Vishnu Purana — The Institutes of Menu — &c

I cannot say that Swedenborg has been directly & practically valuable to me, for I have not been a reader of him, except to a slight extent: — but I have the highest regard for him and trust that I shall read all his works in some world or other. He had a wonderful knowledge of our interior & spiritual life — though his illuminations are occasionally blurred by trivialities. He comes nearer to answering, or attempting to answer, literally, your questions concerning man's origin purpose & destiny, than any of the worthies I have referred to. But I think that this is not altogether a recommendation; since such an answer to these questions cannot be discovered, any more than perpetual motion, for which no reward is now offered. The noblest man it is, methinks, that knows, & by his life suggests, the most about these things. Crack away at these nuts however as long as you can — the very exercise will ennoble you — & you may get something better than the answer you expect —

Yrs

Henry D. Thoreau

The translations which Thoreau provided to Wiley from his Pauthier translations in his Commonplace Book are:

He also said — (I translate from the French) Conduct yourself suitably toward the persons of your family, then you will be able to instruct and to direct a nation of men."

[23.6] "Conduct yourself suitably toward the persons of your family, then you will be able to instruct & to direct a nation

of men." Thseng-tseu[^]in spirit of C.

"To nourish ones self with a little rice, to drink water, to have only his bended arm to support his head, is a state which has also its satisfaction. To be rich and honored by iniquitous means, is for me as the floating cloud which passes."

[108.15] The Philosopher^{^C} said to nourish one's self with a little rice, to drink water, to have only his bended arm to support his head, is a state which has also its satisfaction. To be rich & honored by iniquitous means, is for me as the floating cloud which passes. C.

"As soon as a child is born we must respect its faculties; the knowledge which will come to it by & by does not resemble at all its present state. If it arrives at the age of 40 or 50 years, without having learned any thing, it is no more worthy of any respect."

[121.22] As soon as a child is born (it is necessary to)^{^we} should respect its faculties; the knowledge which will come to it (in course)^{^by} and by does not resemble at all its present state. If it arrives at the age of forty or fifty years, without having learned anything, it is no more worthy of any respect.

1857

In this year the Corporation (governing board) of Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island recognized the bad direction in which the school had been heading and, to enthusiastic approval from the student body, abandoned the "New System" by which the degrees being offered had been being cheapened.

From this year into 1866, George Thomas Downing would be leading in a campaign that would eventuate in the closure of separate and unequal black public schools in Providence, Rhode Island.

In Providence, Rhode Island, at a cost of about \$225,000, a 3-story granite custom house was erected at the corner of Weybosset and Custom-House Streets. The upper floors of the structure were to house the Internal-Revenue Office, the United-States Court Room, and office space for judges and other government officials. The Post-Office Department would use the lower story. (This Post Office would in 1880 rearrange and refurbish its quarters by installing, among other improvements, over 1,500 brass letter-boxes secured by Yale locks.)

Across the street from the State Reform School in Providence, Rhode Island's Fox Point neighborhood, a Home for Aged Women⁵⁵ was established for "poor, aged, and respectable women of this city, who find themselves homeless and comfortless in the decline of life." This would, eventually, become the Tockwotton⁵⁶ Home run by "Mother Cool" (Eliza Helen Coole).

1858

In the TRANSACTIONS OF THE RHODE ISLAND SOCIETY FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF DOMESTIC INDUSTRY FOR 1858, a letter was published from a Mrs. Betsy Baker whose maiden name had been Betsey Metcalf. She confessed that it had been her (rather than Miss Hannah Metcalf or Mrs. Naomi Whipple as had been reported a generation earlier, in 1825) who had developed the art of making straw bonnets — that it had been her who had taught neighbors, so that the industry of making these bonnets had begun to spread through neighboring towns. The original of this letter is stored at the Rhode Island Historical Society in Providence, Rhode Island.

1860

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

% of Americans Enslaved

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

Another difference, and one that has been given insufficient attention, is that free blacks were a much more significant percentage of the population in Union slave states in 1860 (4.0%) than in the Confederacy (1.5%). In some states the free black percentages were substantial enough that serious resistance by free blacks could have made a difference. Delaware, for example, in 1860 while it was still a slave state, had 17.7% of its black population as free.⁵⁷

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

55. "HOME FOR AGED WOMEN, Tockwotton Street, opposite the State Reform School, is in a delightful situation, overlooking the harbor and bay. It was founded in 1856, and received inmates in a building formerly standing upon the site of the present handsome brick edifice, which was completed during November 1864. It is supported mainly by donations, collections, and from the income of an invested fund. Inmates are received upon conditions similar to those imposed by the Home for Aged Men, except that the entrance-fee is \$150, and the minimum age 65. Number of inmates, 42. Visitors admitted daily, except Sunday. Governor-st. H. C."

56. Tockwotton is a native American name. The area was originally a plateau and bluff or headland 50 feet in height, facing the Narragansett Bay.

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

people at least 35,000 would be of French Canadian descent.



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

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

In Providence, Rhode Island, Prospect Terrace was built. It would later be enlarged, and the statue of the Reverend Roger Williams would be added in 1939.

1861

March 31, Easter Sunday: The only set of chimes in the city of Providence (*Moshasuck*), Rhode Island, the set that pertained to Grace Church, were on this day played for the first time. Each bell of this set of bells, 16 in all, had been inscribed with the names of the various individuals and organizations that had donated it. Two military organizations had been involved, the First Light Infantry and the Marine Corps of Artillery. The Infantry bell had been donated with the condition that the chimes would be rung on each September 10th anniversary of Captain Oliver Hazard Perry’s victory on Lake Erie.

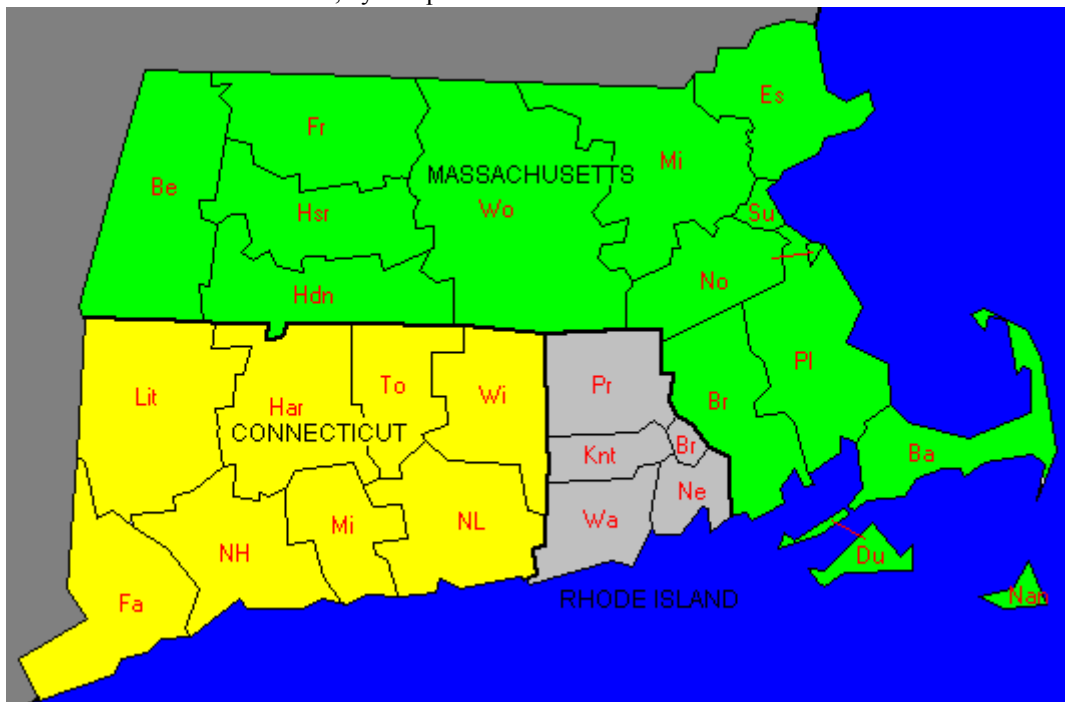
1862

In Providence, Rhode Island the Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy moved their orphanage into a newer building on Prairie Avenue.

Thomas Allen Jenckes was elected as a Lincoln Republican to represent a district in Rhode Island to the 38th federal Congress, and would be re-elected to succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1863-March 3, 1871, 38th through 41st Congresses). He would serve as Chairman of the Committee on Patents and as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. He would be for many years engaged in litigation of the Sickles and Corliss steam-engine patents, and the Day and Goodyear rubber suits. He would have an office in New-York for many years, as well as in Providence, and would be retained by the United States government in their cases brought against parties to the Crédit Mobilier.



The Massachusetts town of Pawtucket (east of the Blackstone River) was acquired by Rhode Island in exchange for the Rhode Island town of Fall River (home of the Borden family of “gave her mommy forty whacks” fame). Part of Pawtucket, the part formerly known as Seekonk, was set off at this time to form a community to be known as East Providence. Here is what the county map of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island had resolved into, by this point in time:



1863

July 13, a hot and muggy Monday morning: William Waterman Chapin (1834-1922) of Providence, Rhode Island was drafted to serve in the Union army. Lucky boy, he would serve not a day in uniform.

At 10:30AM, after several dozen names had been pulled in the draft lottery at the provost marshal's office on 3d Avenue between 46th Street and 47th Street in New-York, it became clear to the members of a local volunteer firefighting company that they had not been exempted from the military draft. The firefighting company thereupon stormed the building and set it ablaze. The fire they set would spread, and would consume not only this draft center but also neighboring stores and a tenement.

July 16, Thursday: William Waterman Chapin (1834-1922) of Providence, Rhode Island, who had been drafted to serve in the Union army, "Paid \$300 & bo't my exemption papers."

1864

Those of the Reverend James Manning's reports, letters, and addresses that could be retrieved were published by Reuben A. Guild in Boston as "LIFE, TIMES, AND CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES MANNING AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF BROWN UNIVERSITY." One of the last acts of the Reverend's life had been to draw up a plan for free schools in Providence, Rhode Island, which would form the basis of our present public school system (such as it is, given the fact of white middle-class flight to private schooling).

This is what Brown University looked like during the US Civil War:



The Providence Home for Aged Women opened its present building at Front and East streets, overlooking the harbor. (Elderly men would wait ten years longer for a comparable facility.)

There was a Wilburite worship group in Warwick (until 1881) that affiliated with the Wilburite Providence Monthly Meeting of North Providence/Pawtucket, Rhode Island.

1865

At the Butler Hospital for the Insane in Providence, Rhode Island, Ray Hall was completed.

Thomas Wentworth Higginson issued a translation of the works of the Stoic philosopher Epictetus.

As the chairman of the Newport School Committee, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in collaboration with George Thomas Downing, a local black hotel owner who was concerned for the proper education of his children, argued successfully to eliminate the system of a separate set of unequal schools there for black Americans.



During this year George Thomas Downing was one of 26 citizens of Newport, Rhode Island who made donations for the purchase of the land that would come to be known as Touro Park.

(At that time in Newport, one could still go down to the waterfront and, across from the abandoned distillery with slave quarters in its upper story, you could still see the “Long Wharf” on which slaves from Africa had been offloaded. Over near Fort Adams, one could inspect the rotting hulk of an actual slave ship, the *Jem*. The everyday presence of such a wreck must have made local issues, such as school integration, seem especially urgent and topical!)



Succeeding in this effort at school integration despite the most intense opposition, Chairman Thomas Wentworth Higginson would of course not be appointed to serve on that committee in the following term (but when the community began to elect rather than appoint the Committee members, he would win election in 1874-1876).

August 18: Since the synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island had been restored with ample funding from the Touro family, and a ministerial fund created, worship in that once-neglected building had been resumed. However, there does seem occasionally to have been something of a problem in collecting together the minimum number of Jews, ten, necessary for a proper public worship. Hence the following notice, of this date:

Should the 10th man ever be wanted please address M. Miranda,
219 North Main Street, Providence, R.I. Happy to come any time.

1866

At the Butler Hospital for the Insane in Providence, Rhode Island, a facility for “excited” male patients, Sawyer Ward, came into operation.

(Speaking of insanity, during this year the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution was being enacted by the federal Congress — and this, when ratified by a sufficient number of state governments in 1868, would amount to the 1st time that “citizens” and “voters” were explicitly being defined as “male” in that document.)

January : The parents of Maritcha Rémond Lyons had attempted to enroll her at the Girls’ Department of the Providence, Rhode Island high school on Benefit Street. She had of course been turned away despite the fact that there was no high school for black children. With the support of George Downing, the family had begun a campaign to racially integrate that one existing high school. Finally the case had wound up before the Rhode Island General Assembly — and 16-year-old Maritcha was asked to address that body. She did so bravely, and the legislature enacted Chapter 609, An Act in Addition to Title XIII of the Revised Statutes, “Of Public Instruction”:

It is enacted by the General Assembly as follows:

Section 1. In deciding upon applications for admission to any school in this State, maintained wholly or in part at the public expense, no distinction shall be made on account of the race or color of the applicant.

Sec. 2. This act shall take effect on the 15th day of May next.

Sec. 3. All acts or parts of acts inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed.

At this school, the desks were double, two students sitting at each desk. The classrooms were overflowing, with some students sitting on the window ledges and some sitting on the corners of the teacher’s platform. No student, however, was willing to sit at a double desk with Maritcha. When she would graduate in May 1869, shortly before her 21st birthday, she would be the 1st person of color to graduate from Providence High. Her graduation essay was titled “Which Furnishes the Better Subjects for Art, Mythology or Christianity?” She would become an educator.

1867

Providence, Rhode Island commissioned “alterations and improvements” to the Dexter Asylum costing \$120,000. Later sketches show that although the main building was enlarged, no new buildings were added.



The retirement of Dr. Isaac Ray, a victim of tuberculosis, as the superintendant of Butler Hospital for the Insane in Providence, Rhode Island. Dr. Ray would go to Philadelphia.



1869

The Butler Hospital for the Insane in Providence, Rhode Island would no longer provide care for patients unable to contribute to their room and board. In the future such indigent patients were to be kept at the State Farm, where care was cheaper.

In Philadelphia, although Friend Ann Preston was able to get permission for her female medical students of Female (later Woman's) Medical College of Pennsylvania to begin to attend teaching clinics at Pennsylvania Hospital, when her students arrived the enraged male students threw wads of paper, balls of tinfoil, and their tobacco quids, shouted insults, squirted tobacco juice on the women's dresses, and, as they were exiting the building, pelted them with pebbles.⁵⁸ The male faculty of the University of Pennsylvania and of Jefferson Medical College therefore summoned representatives of the medical staffs of all the hospitals in Philadelphia, and the assembly decided to discontinue “admixture of the sexes at clinical instruction in medicine and surgery.” Friend Ann issued a press release:

Wherever it is proper to introduce women as patients, there also it is but just and in accordance with the instincts of truest womanhood for women to appear as physicians and students.

By this point Dr. Preston had begun to be debilitated by articular rheumatism, to the extent that she was no longer able to make house calls to her patients.



The territory of Wyoming was, during this year, the 1st to grant unrestricted suffrage to women. Arguments over the 15th Amendment to the US Constitution, however, had led to a split in the suffrage movement: while Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony formed a National Woman Suffrage Association which allowed only female membership and advocated for woman suffrage above all other issues, Lucy Stone formed an American Woman Suffrage Association which supported the 15th Amendment and invited males to participate.

1871

Losses in the great Chicago fire caused the complete liquidation of the assets of the Washington Providence Insurance Company of Providence, Rhode Island. The business would need to be revived through the infusion of new capital.

58. In their defense, I must point out that a majority of these male medical students were privileged, armed young white gentlemen from the South, visiting the North attended by personal slaves (they were equivalently as racist as they were sexist). As privileged, armed young white gentlemen freed from family constraints, they simply **didn't know any better** than to drink, to duel, and to behave with uncouth hostility toward all persons whom they considered to be their social inferiors.

1872

During a widening of Hope Street, part of the rubblestone wall around the Dexter Asylum was knocked down. The city solicitor held that Providence, Rhode Island was not legally required to rebuild the wall, but finally the city did restore it (but lowered along Hope Street, and with a capping of granite).



It became necessary to obtain the signatures of two physicians, in order to commit a patient to the Butler Hospital for the Insane.

Providence, Rhode Island looked pretty damn nice, in an illustration by A.C. Warren:



Another view published in this same year paid more attention to the industrialization:



1874

At the Butler Hospital for the Insane in Providence, Rhode Island, a facility for “excited” female patients, Duncan Ward, came into operation.

February 11: A letter from Sarah Helen Power Whitman (1803-1878) of Providence, Rhode Island, to Ingram, in regard to Edgar Allan Poe and Rufus Griswold, as briefly characterized below:

Mrs. Whitman believes that Mrs. Clemm, not Poe, might have borrowed money from “a distinguished lady of South Carolina.” Quotes from Poe’s letter to her of November 24, 1848, explaining his conduct when Sarah Margaret Fuller and Anne C. Lynch (Botta) called on him to retrieve Frances S. Osgood’s letters. Relates a visit she had from Professor Thomas Wyatt and all she knows of THE CONCHOLOGIST’S FIRST BOOK and Poe’s part in it. Does not think Poe wrote “To Isadore,” since he did not mark it in the two volumes of the Broadway Journal which he gave to her. Tells of James W. Davidson’s attempts to clear Poe’s name. George Eveleth is a loyal supporter of Poe and thinks Rufus Griswold fabricated the letter in which Poe is quoted as calling Eveleth “a Yankee impertinent,” for Poe knew Eveleth was a Marylander and Griswold did not. Will try to recover from William F. Gill the printed account of William Gowans’s recollections of Poe. Both John P. Kennedy and J.H. B.Latrobe have assured Eveleth that they and the Committee did not award the Baltimore Saturday Visitor prize to Poe for his tale under “anything like the circumstances” given by Griswold.

1875

November 4: Thomas Allen Jenckes died in Cumberland, Rhode Island. In the New-York Times, his obit would characterize him as having been, as a legislator, more “useful” than “magnetic,” but would go on to deny that as a politician he had been “of the oily variety.” Indeed, he had gained “the implicit confidence of the people.” His body would be interred in Swan Point Cemetery in Providence (refer to “In memoriam. Thomas Allen Jenckes” — presumably published in Providence in 1876).

1876

In this year of our nation’s Reconstruction effort, Elizabeth Buffum Chase resigned from the Providence, Rhode Island Woman’s Club — over its refusal to admit a black schoolteacher.⁵⁹



August 24: Paulina Wright Davis died in Providence, Rhode Island.

59. For those of you who haven’t checked a map recently: Rhode Island is not part of the Deep South, but a northern state, indeed if you look at your atlas with a magnifying glass, you will find it is part of New England. Rhode Island had already gotten rid of its slaves, some time before the Civil War. —But, some things don’t change much, do they? In her “My Anti-Slavery Reminiscences,” Elizabeth Buffum Chase had recorded an event from before the Civil War, in the town in which she lived, Valley Falls, Rhode Island, in which some “very respectable young colored women” had caused a ruckus by attending a meeting of the abolitionists. Get this, not a meeting of the Women’s Club, but a meeting of the abolitionists! The prospect that these women of color might attempt to join the local abolitionist society “raised such a storm among some of its leading members, that for a time, it threatened the dissolution of the Society.” These black abolitionists had eventually been admitted as members, Chase recollected, but had never in her opinion been accepted as equals by some of the other, white abolitionists. (From incidents such as this, you can get my drift, when I make one of my more indecent accusations, that as a first-order approximation — what the white American abolitionists had been seeking to abolish in the antebellum years had been , not slavery, but black Americans.)

1877

Providence Gas installed gas pipes into the buildings of the Butler Hospital for the Insane in Rhode Island. After 29 consecutive years of financial deficits the hospital was able to post its first “surplus,” amounting to \$742.

During the late 1870s, the inmate population at the Dexter Asylum on Providence’s East Side had stabilized at around 100, where it would remain until the asylum’s closing. Living conditions, as depicted in early lists of rules and punishments, work records, and daily menus, were hardly desirable by present standards. Visitors were permitted only once every three weeks, male and female inmates were kept carefully segregated, the evening meal consisted merely of white bread and tea, and those found guilty of drinking, “immoral conduct,” “loud talking or disrespectful behavior,” or malingering to avoid work were subject to “confinement in bridewell [a jail cell] for a time not exceeding three days, and of being kept on short allowance of food.”



The grassy enclosure of about 9 1/2 acres located west of Dexter Street near High Street, which had been for years in service as a militia training field, was by this point no longer being required for such purposes.

1878

June 27: Sarah Helen Power Whitman died, leaving sums to the Providence Association for the Benefit of Colored Children and to the Rhode Island Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

1881

Isaac Ray died of TB in Philadelphia. In his will he had provided for a bequest of \$77,000 to the Butler Hospital for the Insane in Providence, Rhode Island.

1882

An illustration purporting to be from a balloon's point of view, a panoramic view of Narragansett Bay, was published by J.G. Thompson of Providence, Rhode Island:



This is what a Providence, Rhode Island guidebook had to say about Brown University:

BROWN UNIVERSITY was at first called Rhode Island College. Its name was later (in 1804) changed to Brown University, in honor of Nicholas Brown, who had been its most munificent benefactor. The University property lies at the head of College St. (east side), occupying extensive grounds commanding fine views. It is a liberally managed Baptist institution, was founded at Warren in 1674, and removed to Providence in 1770. Officers 22, students 275. Ezek G. Robinson, D.D., L.L.D., Prest.; F. W. Douglas, A.M., Registrar.

The college buildings stand upon the crest of Prospect Hill in the midst of some 15 acres of grounds, which are well laid out, grass-planted, and adorned with magnificent elms. Hope College, Manning, University, Slater and Rhode Island halls, form a continuous straight line bet. Waterman and George Sts., and face Prospect St. The enclosure in front of these buildings is known as the "front campus," and in the rear as the "middle campus."

Beyond this, and in the rear of Sayles Memorial Hall and the Laboratory, is a narrower strip of land, sloping toward the ball-grounds, designated as the "back campus."

Below are enumerated the buildings, laboratories, libraries, etc.

Base-Ball Grounds are on Thayer St., bet. Waterman and George Sts. The "nines" of various colleges play on these grounds frequently during the summer term.

Gymnasium: The university greatly needs a gymnasium of its own. At present the students have access to a gymnasium hall at reduced rates.

Hope College, facing Prospect St., is a brick dormitory, four stories in height. Erected in 1822, at the expense of the Hon. Nicholas Brown, and named by him in honor of his sister Mrs. Hope Ives.

Laboratory, The Chemical, on the "middle campus" of the University grounds is a brick structure, containing rooms for chemical experiments, and recitation rooms.

Library, The, Waterman St., cor. of Prospect, was erected through the munificence of John Carter Brown, who at his death in 1874 bequeathed a lot and \$50,000 to supplement a previous donation (amounting with interest to about \$26,000) for this purpose. To this amount (\$76,000) Mrs. Brown added \$20,000. The building is in the Venetian Gothic style, of pressed brick with stone trimmings. Over the porch is carved an owl with book, and above the doorway is the seal of the college. The edifice is in the form of a cross. In the centre is a reading room, 35 ft. in diameter, 68 ft. high. Two octagonal galleries run around this room, and extend into the different wings. In the basement is a neatly fitted up room containing four herbaria, which comprise upwards of 70,000 specimens. There are accommodations for 150,000 volumes; the present collection numbering more than 53,000, besides 17,000 unbound pamphlets. The building was donated Feb. 16, 1878. William R. Walker, architect.

Manning Hall, bet. Hope College and University Hall, was the gift of Hon. Nicholas Brown in 1834. It is of stone, cement-covered, and is an enlarged model of a Grecian temple of the Doric order. Height, 40 ft. Divided into two stories, the upper of which is used as a chapel, the lower for recitation-rooms. The lower story contained the library until the new building was completed in 1878.

President's House, College, cor. Prospect St., is a plain wooden edifice, with an Ionic portion. Built in 1840.

Rhode-Island Hall, erected in 1840 by subscription, stands at the S. end of the "front campus" close to George, and facing Prospect St. It is of stone, covered with cement, and divided into two lofty stories. On the lower floor are lecture-rooms, and in the upper story is a natural-history museum, containing about 30,000 specimens in zoology, 10,000 in mineralogy, 5,000 in geology and palaeontology, together with a collection of coins and medals, and a number of Indian and other barbaric implements and curiosities. Recently an ell was added to the building, the lower floor of which is used for a physical laboratory, and the upper story for a portrait-gallery. The basement is used for a zoological laboratory.

Sayles Memorial Hall, on the "middle campus," facing University Hall, is, with the exception of the Library, perhaps, the most elegant of the college buildings. It is the generous gift of the Hon. William F. Sayles of Pawtucket, in memory of his son William F. Sayles who died in 1876, while a member of the sophomore

class. The building, Romanesque in style, is of red-faced Westerly granite, trimmed with brown Londmeadow sandstone. It contains a hall and recitation-rooms. The hall is 107 ft. long and 55 wide, and seats 1,100 persons, or, at alumni dinners, about 550 persons. It is wainscoted in ash, and a trussed roof of the same material rises to a height of 65 ft. The gallery is capable of seating 100 persons. The entire front of the edifice is devoted to eight recitation-rooms. On the band of stone-work between the second and third stories of the tower (94 ft. in height) is this inscription: "Filio Pater Posuit MDCCCLXXX." A. C. Morse, Architect.

Slater Hall, on the "front campus," between University and Rhode-Island halls, is an ornamental four-story brick dormitory building, with terra-cotta trimmings, and a tiled roof; and was erected in 1879, through the liberality of the Hon. Horatio N. Slater of Webster, Mass.

University Hall is the central building of those which line the "front campus." It is of brick, cement covered, 150 ft. long, and is crowned by a small belfry. The corner-stone was laid in May, 1770, and the building constructed in imitation of the Nassau Hall, at Princeton, N. J. From Dec. 7, 1776, until May 27, 1782, it was occupied for barracks and a hospital by the American and French troops. It is now used for dormitories, offices, and recitation-rooms. It shows the footsteps of time, especially before the doors and on the stairways. The president's and the registrar's offices are on the ground floor of this building; and a room at one end is occupied by a students' reading room association.

This is what a Providence, Rhode Island guidebook had to say about New England Yearly Meeting's boarding school for Quaker youth, the Moses Brown School:

FRIENDS' BOARDING-SCHOOL is one of the noblest and most richly endowed educational institutions in New England. Its 225 pupils come from twenty states, to prepare in a literary and scientific or classical course (or a combination of the two) for mercantile life or for universities and professional schools. Its founder, Moses Brown, was also a founder of Brown University. He gave, besides his personal care, nearly \$20,000, and about 50 acres of land which are now worth perhaps \$50,000. His son, Obadiah Brown, gave \$100,000, and since then benefactors in large and small sums have been numerous in all parts of the country; among them Wm. Almy, Ebenezer Metcalf, \$30,000, and a Boston lady who in 1882 gave \$30,000. The school has been able by its ample endowment to do noble work. Its foundation might be dated 1780, when Moses Brown headed a subscription by means of which the Society of Friends in 1784 began a school at Portsmouth, R. I.; but it dates merely from 1819, since which time the school has been almost uninterruptedly conducted at Providence. The grounds, buildings, and equipment should be seen by every visitor to the city. The property is cor. Hope and Lloyd Sts., about a mile from the City Hall. The 50 acres are upon an eminence 182 ft. above tide-water, and overlook the city, the rivers, and Narragansett Bay. Nearly all the towns in Rhode Island can be seen from the cupola on the main building. The main building is of brick, 220 ft. long, and contains a dining-hall, girls' schoolroom, public reception-room, parlors and nurseries, recitation-rooms, and dormitories. An extension of brick, 76 ft. long, contains a boys' schoolroom and dormitories.

"Alumni Hall," a three-story brick structure, 126 ft. long, contains on the first floor a grand public hall, besides rooms for the scientific apparatus and cabinets, the library, and reading-room; and on the upper floors dormitories for girls. There are also two gymnasiums, -one for each sex,- an enclosed place for roller-skating, ponds for bathing and skating, and academic groves of venerable trees for recreation and retreat. The equipment comprises an abundance of approved astronomical and other scientific-apparatus, laboratories, art-models, a library of 6,000 volumes, six pianos, and other musical instruments, etc. Ventilation, drainage, and other sanitary precautions, are perceptible everywhere. The school takes only boarding pupils, and thus becomes the home of about 225 boys and girls; and here may well be studied the co-education system. The institution is owned by the New-England Yearly Meeting of Friends, who choose the "school committee" of 33 men and women. The faculty consists of 18 male and female instructors, librarians, etc., eight of whom are college graduates, and all of whom are chosen by reason of superior qualifications. The principal is Augustine Jones, A.M., who in 1851 graduated from this school, and later from Bowdoin College, and afterwards from the Harvard Law School, and who was the partner and educator of Gov. John A. Andrew, the Massachusetts "War Governor." He practised law in Massachusetts for 12 years, and served in the general court for one year, and in 1879 relinquished his practice to accept his present responsible position, and has brought to the institution its greater prosperity. It is not possible in this limited space to give the details of the workings, terms, etc., of the school, but a descriptive pamphlet can be had free by any applicant. It must be stated, however, that 25 worthy pupils receive (in scholarships) their entire board, rooms, tuition, washing, etc., free of charge; a fact which in itself indicates the character of the institution. Although managed by Friends, the school is wholly unsectarian, and one-half the pupils are of other denominations.

Since the Wilburites who had split off as the Providence Monthly Meeting of North Providence/Pawtucket had lain down this meeting in the previous year, the Religious Society of Friends had at this point two places of worship in the city of Providence, Rhode Island. One was at the corner of North Main and Meeting Streets, and the other at the Friends' Boarding-School on the ridge of College Hill. A town guidebook offers: "The first-named, a plain and unpretentious wooden structure, has been a place of worship of the Society since about 1727. An addition was made to the building in 1784-1785. The town was accustomed, for a long time, to hold their meetings in this house, and a school was for many years kept in the upper part of it. A small Friends' meeting-house was built as early as 1704."

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President's House, College, cor. Prospect St., is a plain wooden edifice, with an Ionic portion. Built in 1840.

Rhode-Island Hall, erected in 1840 by subscription, stands at the S. end of the "front campus" close to George, and facing Prospect St. It is of stone, covered with cement, and divided into two lofty stories. On the lower floor are lecture-rooms, and in the upper story is a natural-history museum, containing about 30,000 specimens in zoology, 10,000 in mineralogy, 5,000 in geology and palaeontology, together with a collection of coins and medals, and a number of Indian and other barbaric implements and curiosities. Recently an ell was added to the building, the lower floor of which is used for a physical laboratory, and the upper story for a portrait-gallery. The basement is used for a zoological laboratory.

Sayles Memorial Hall, on the "middle campus," facing University Hall, is, with the exception of the Library, perhaps, the most elegant of the college buildings. It is the generous gift of the Hon. William F. Sayles of Pawtucket, in memory of his son William F. Sayles who died in 1876, while a member of the sophomore class. The building, Romanesque in style, is of red-faced Westerly granite, trimmed with brown Londmeadow sandstone. It contains a hall and recitation-rooms. The hall is 107 ft. long and 55 wide, and seats 1,100 persons, or, at alumni dinners, about 550 persons. It is wainscoted in ash, and a trussed roof of the same material rises to a height of 65 ft. The gallery is capable of seating 100 persons. The entire front of the edifice is devoted to eight recitation-rooms. On the band of stone-work between the second and third stories of the tower (94 ft. in height) is this inscription: "Filio Pater Posuit MDCCCLXXX." A. C. Morse, Architect.

Slater Hall, on the "front campus," between University and Rhode-Island halls, is an ornamental four-story brick dormitory building, with terra-cotta trimmings, and a tiled roof; and was erected in 1879, through the liberality of the Hon. Horatio N. Slater of Webster, Mass.

University Hall is the central building of those which line the "front campus." It is of brick, cement covered, 150 ft. long, and is crowned by a small belfry. The corner-stone was laid in May, 1770, and the building constructed in imitation of the Nassau Hall, at Princeton, N. J. From Dec. 7, 1776, until May 27, 1782, it was occupied for barracks and a hospital by the American and French troops. It is now used for dormitories, offices, and recitation-rooms. It shows the footsteps of time, especially before the doors and on the stairways. The president's and the registrar's offices are on the ground floor of this building; and a room at one end is occupied by a students' reading room association.

1883

This is what Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island looked like, that summer, before the installation of the current gate and before the creation of the carillon tower:



This was Brown University's library:



September 21: There was a proposal to establish a memorial to the Narragansett headman Canonicus who had been such a good friend to the Reverend Roger Williams. One proposal was to carve a “head of an Indian” into a boulder atop Neutakonut Hill, but then during road work on South Main in Providence (the street that used to be “Town Road” when it had been just about the only road in the town), an oblong boulder was dug up which someone fancied to have once lain at the shoreline. This was erected in the North Burial Ground, in a place now referred to as “Sachem’s Glenn.” The boulder is now inscribed “Canonicus” over what is supposed to be the sachem’s mark, but the carving does not greatly resemble the mark he placed on the original papers — whoever carved this stone did not grasp that an arrow strung to the bow would indicate an intent to cause harm: Canonicus’s arrow had rested beside the bow, indicating his intent of peaceful racial coexistence and mutual benefit.

1887

Thomas Davis became a member of the Rhode Island House of Representatives. He would also serve as a member of the Providence school committee.



There are no authentic depictions of any of these persons (including Rev. Williams)

Our national birthday, the 4th of July: Yellowstone National Park hosted its 1st celebration of the 4th.

The New-York Times called for a new Declaration of Independence, this one to be for commercial freedom in world markets.

In Providence, Rhode Island, a statue of Union Army General Ambrose Burnside should have been kept under wraps, but was not.

**1890**

From the 1890s on, Franklin Benjamin Sanborn would be serving as one of Brown University's examiners.

1895

Establishment at Butler Hospital in Providence, Rhode Island of a School of Nursing.

July 26: Thomas Davis died in Providence, Rhode Island. His body would be interred in Swan Point Cemetery. His 30-acre estate would remain at the corner of Chalkstone Avenue and Raymond Street until 1947, at which point it would become the grounds of the Veterans Hospital.

1897

April 23-25: When Emma Goldman came to Rhode Island to speak at open-air meetings in Providence on such topics as “What Is Anarchism?” and “Is It Possible to Realize Anarchism?,” she found herself being held overnight in jail and then being granted 24 hours to get out of town with the suggestion that should she neglect to do so she would find herself a guest, for three months, of the state prison system.



In the Reverend John Checkley’s memoirs, belatedly published in this year (he had died in Providence, Rhode Island in 1754, just about a century and a half before), it was alleged that the Reverend had spent some time with Captain Benjamin Church. If that did indeed happen, it could only have happened long after Metacom’s death, possibly a few years after the Reverend had returned to New England in 1710 but before Church died in 1717. It is to be noted, also, that these belated memoirs say nothing whatever about any important historic artifacts of Phillip, either acquired from Alderman or otherwise acquired, and, also, that they describe Church in no such context.

1898

At the Butler Hospital School of Nursing in Providence, Rhode Island, the students took courses in massage and gymnastics.

1899

Dr. Aldus Blumer became superintendant of the Butler Hospital for the Insane in Providence, Rhode Island.

The cure by work, wisely directed and adapted to the patient's needs is very often a better thing than that by rest, which the patient may think is indicated by the supposed causation of her illness and which in her inertia she may at first prefer. ...The casual visitor to our magnificent estate, seeing the ample and well-kept grounds, the extensive buildings, the rooms attractively and in some cases luxuriously furnished, and on every hand the evidence of money and service generously extended, may very likely imagine that the institution is rich. But in fact not only does the Hospital lack sufficient funds to enable it to undertake many desirable improvements, but its expenses sometimes exceed its income. ...The pitfalls of adolescence are nowadays more readily recognized by the general practitioner, who begins to appreciate the true significance of an early mental breakdown and to realize that such cases, if salvable at all, are more likely to be readjusted in a special hospital than if left to shut themselves in and drift hopelessly at home.

1904

June 11: Completion of the Rhode Island state capital building of Georgia marble, on Smith Hill in Providence. The dome of this building is the 2nd largest of four famous unsupported marble domes in the world: largest the St. Peter's basilica in the Vatican in Rome, then this Rhode Island state capital structure, then the Taj Mahal — and the Minnesota state capital building in St. Paul, where (incidentally) my spouse took her Oath of Allegiance to the US of A. The Rhode Island dome atop Smith Hill is tipped by a gilt statue which does not seem to photograph well by telephoto close-up, known as “The Independent Man”:



1913

The 1st air express shipment on record amounted to a pot of Boston baked beans, flown in this year from Massachusetts to Providence, Rhode Island. Imagine that.



At this point Dr. Warren King Moorehead learned that Mrs. Laura Anne Fuller Daniels of Union ME believed that she had in her possession King Philip's authentic war club. Mrs. Daniels believed she was descended from the Reverend John Checkley, a Church of England clergyman who became a missionary to the Indians in Providence, Rhode Island. As the story was told, this Reverend had contact with Captain Benjamin Church and allegedly had secured this important relic from the native American named Alderman who had shot Philip in 1676. Family tradition contends that the Reverend traded his gold watch for Metacom's war club, belt, and heavy pipe. The club had allegedly been handed down in the family, from person to person to Mrs. Daniels. There is no doubt that the Reverend Checkley had worked among the Indians of the Mount Hope area, although this definitely did not happen during Captain Church's lifetime (1639-1717). There is also evidence which suggests that the Reverend was in fact a collector of Indian relics, of sorts, and that he probably handed some objects down to future generations of his family (described in his estate papers only as some "Indian toys"). Family tradition contends that there once existed a signed receipt from the native American who sold the artifacts to the Reverend Checkley. There is, however, no record which mentions these events or the club itself, until the mid-19th Century — at which time its authenticity as being King Phillip's war club was already being presumed.



1915

The Rhode Island General Assembly voted to take 14,800 acres of land in Scituate RI (38% of the town) to create a water supply reservoir for greater Providence. This would result in the condemnation of 1,195 buildings, including 375 houses, seven schools, six churches, six mills, thirty dairy farms, eleven ice houses, post offices, and the Providence and Danielson Railway, an electric railroad.

1926

The Rhode Island Supreme Court upheld the provisions of Ebenezer Knight Dexter's will, declaring that no part of the Dexter Asylum property could be sold — much to the disgust of Providence, Rhode Island Alderman Sol S. Bromson, who declared that the city could board the inmates at the Biltmore Hotel for less than it was costing the public to maintain this asylum.

**1927**

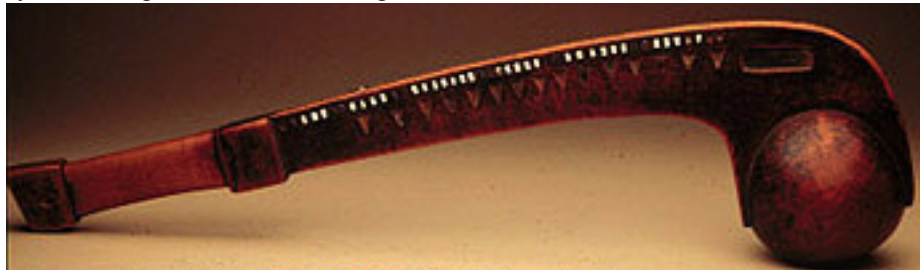
When the Independent Man atop the dome of the State House in Providence, Rhode Island was damaged by lightning, all the king's horses and all the king's men used 42 copper-plates staples to put the statue back together again.

1929

At some point in the late 1920s, vegetables were no longer being planted in the spring in the fields of the Dexter Asylum in Providence, Rhode Island's East Side, and while dairy farming would continue through the 1940s, the poor farm would never be self-supporting. With rising real estate values and open space at a premium, city officials, developers, and assorted heirs began to attempt to change the conditions of the will of Ebenezer Knight Dexter. The idea was to break up the property and sell it off as house lots, using the income from this to pay for poor care elsewhere. Then there was a proposal that the grounds be transformed into a public park. (In 1957, such efforts at divestiture would succeed when the property would be sold to Brown University for use as a gym and athletic complex.)



Warren K. Moorehead unsuccessfully attempted to negotiate the purchase, from Mrs. Laura Anne Daniels of Union ME, of the war club that was being said to have been collected by Alderman at the site of his killing of Metacom and was being said to have been passed on to Captain Benjamin Church and the Reverend John Checkley in exchange for the Reverend's gold watch.



(Mrs. Daniels's great aunt Angelica Gilbert James allegedly had inherited this antique head-basher from her distant ancestor, the Reverend Checkley of Providence, Rhode Island. Perhaps the unsuccessful Mr. Moorehead might have succeeded had he been able to offer to recover for this Mrs. Daniels her ecclesiastical ancestor's celebrated gold watch — or perhaps he ought merely to have bashed her on the gourd and made a run for it. :-)

1935

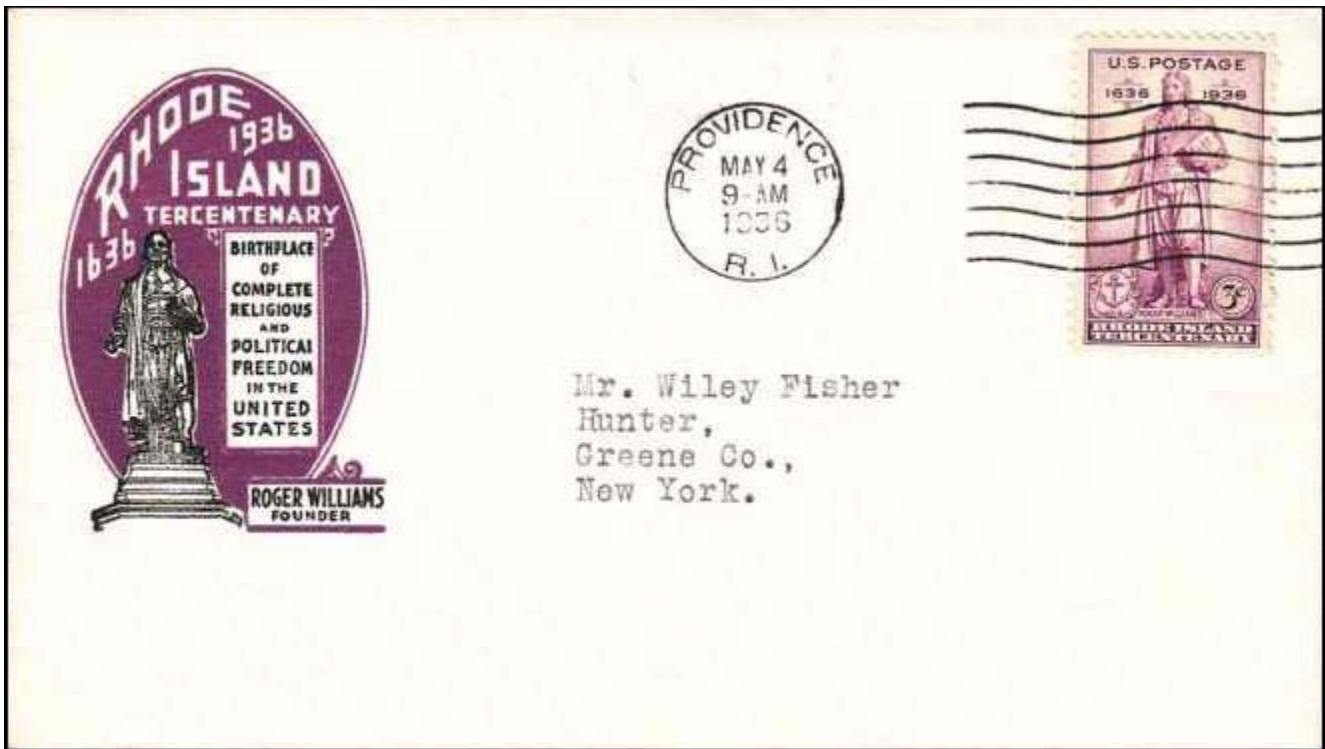
News items relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology:

- International Business Machines (IBM) developed a machine, descended from the Markograph, to score tests for the New York State Regents and the public schools of Providence, Rhode Island.
- The Kludge paper feeder, as an adjunct mechanism to mechanical printing presses. (Nowadays we term a software patch a “kludge” if it has been jury-rigged and quick-and-dirty programmed to temporarily solve a crisis situation, but can be counted on to generate problems of its own.)
- G. Domagk discovered the sulphonamides.
- At Dupont, W.H. Carothers made the 1st nylon fibers.
- As part of their attempt to intercept the constantly growing percentage of Jewish students, Harvard University began to require all candidate for admission to take the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). This, supplemented by “interviews,” ought to do the trick.

1936

In Providence Rhode Island, the remains of the Reverend Roger Williams, founding daddy DWM, that had originally been interred in the orchard in the rear of his homestead lot at Towne Street (now North Main Street), but had since been relocated into the tomb of a descendant in the North Burial Ground, were sealed within a bronze container and set into the base of the monument erected to his memory on Prospect Terrace.

May 4: From May the 4th in 1636 to May the 4th in 1936 had been approximately three centuries, give or take a February 29th. Evidently, something had happen on this day way back then — something like the colony of Rhode Island getting born as the 1st completely free venue, both religiously and politically, in what would become the United States of America (and this connected with Roger Williams, Founder):



So what was the above 1936 “Tercentenary” stamp and May 4th-franked envelope cover talking about?

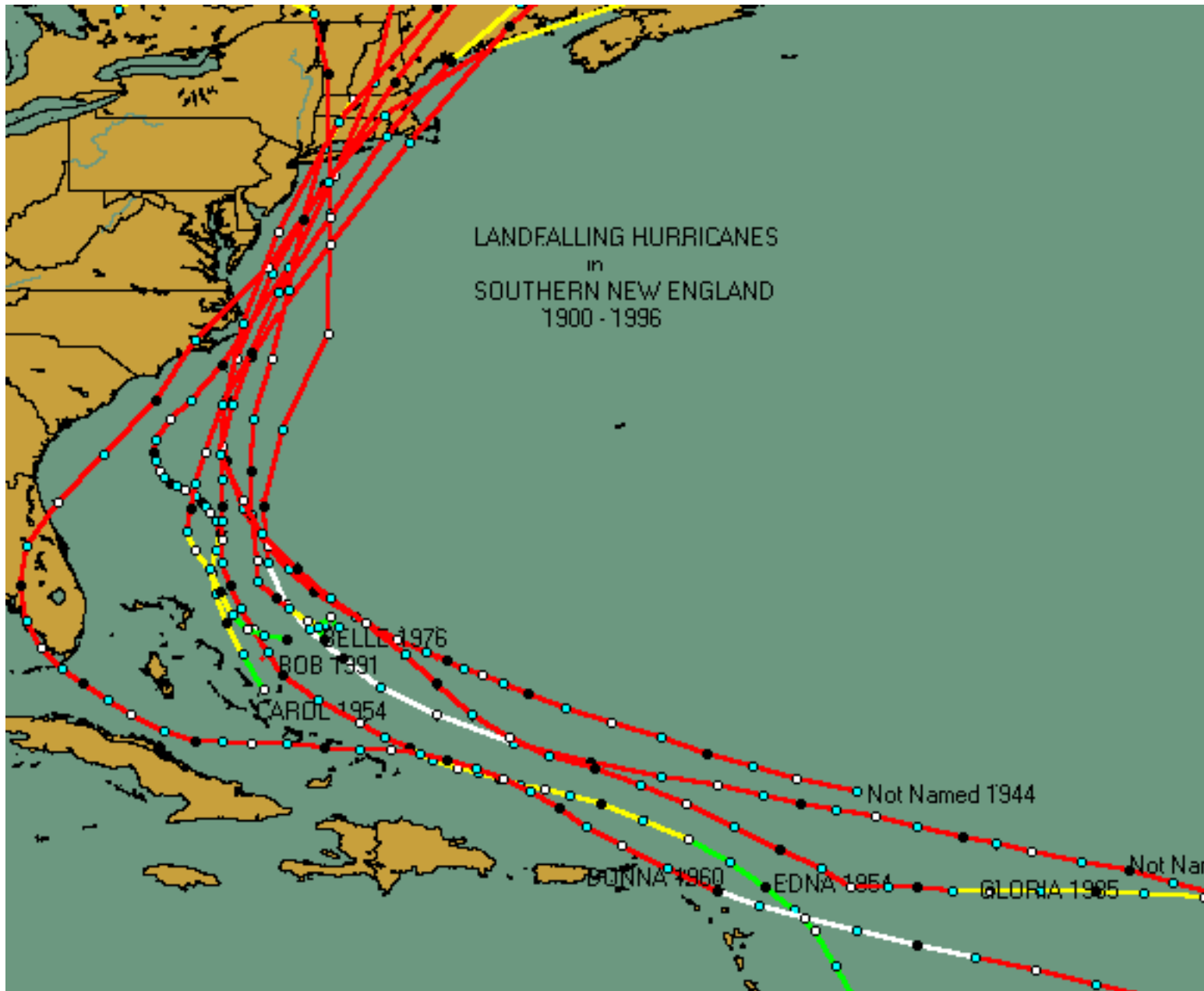
Here it is, maybe. On this date Governor Henry Vane of the Massachusetts Bay Colony gave Connecticut Governor John Winthrop, Jr. a set of instructions for the punitive expedition led by Captain Endicott against the natives of Block Island and against the Pequots, an attempt to force these natives to hand over the killers of John Oldham and Captain John Stone for white justice. No, that couldn’t be it, for such a news item has nothing to do with Founder Roger Williams, and nothing whatever to do with complete religious and political freedom in the United States! Something else, then.

In order to get a clue: In about this timeframe, what had the Reverend Williams been up to? —He had been landing near what would become Providence, and negotiating with local native headmen and being granted permissions, and then hearing from the Bay Colony that he was still within what they considered to be their current borders, and rowing across the bay and beginning again to negotiate with local native headmen and obtain permissions to set up a white settlement. —And, I hear, there was supposed to be religious freedom in this settlement, for Baptists. (There’s only a few little problems with this story, such as that the Baptist religion that we know anything about was not actually founded until a later timeframe, and such as that the Reverend Williams actually never was a Baptist minister and never delivered a Baptist sermon in a Baptist church, but instead was in his Rhode Island years a merchant and a slavetrader and a politician and an author, and such as that his kind of religious freedom —religious freedom, that is, for one persecuted minority of white adult male—actually would amount to something significantly less than complete religious and political freedom for anybody and everybody.)

I might also point out that the image used of the reverend is an utter fiction, since nobody made a painting or sketch of him while he was alive, or ever made a written record in which his appearance was in any manner characterized. Nobody actually has any idea whatever, what he might have looked like physically.

1938

September 21: In the worst weather disaster for New England in its history, the 4th most fatal in all US history, the “Long Island Express” hurricane struck seven states in seven hours and 682 died, 433 of whom were Rhode Islanders.



The drifting dead, typically wearing heavy boots, were initially estimated from the air by counting the tops of heads that could be seen bobbing along the surfline. The downtown of Providence flooded 17 feet above its street surfaces. All the enormous mature elm-trees surrounding the Newport, Rhode Island “cottage” named “The Elms” were blown down.⁶⁰ In Arlington, the steeple of the Pleasant Street Congregational Church was toppled. Most of the remaining isolated mature white pines that had been planted in the sandy loam by Henry Thoreau in what had been his beanfield in Walden Woods during his residency on Walden Pond, those that had

not burned in that railroad fire in the 1890s, isolated as they had become by fire and standing only in sandy soil, were upset by the winds — with the exception of one grand old tree which could still be seen from a distance.⁶¹

WALDEN: I planted about two acres and a half of upland; and as it was only about fifteen years since the land was cleared, and I myself had got out two or three cords of stumps, I did not give it any manure; but in the course of the summer it appeared by the arrowheads which I turned up in hoeing, that an extinct nation had anciently dwelt here and planted corn and beans ere white men came to clear the land, and so, to some extent, had exhausted the soil for this very crop.

60. Some 4-foot-long metal tubes jammed into the marshy soil and sediment layers at Succotash Marsh in East Matunuck, Rhode Island (at the west side of the ocean entrance of the Narragansett Bay) by Tom Webb of the Geological Sciences Department of Brown University, have revealed that there has been a series of overwash fans created by storm tidal surges, indicating that seven category-three hurricanes have struck Narragansett lowlands in about the past millennium. The 1st such overwash fan that has been revealed dated to the period 1295-1407CE, the 2nd to the period of roughly the first half of the 15th Century, the 3rd to approximately 1520CE (give or take a few decades), the 4th to the historic storm of the 14th and 15th of August, 1635, the 5th to the historic storm of September 23, 1815, and the 6th to the historic storm of October 4/5, 1869. The 7th such overwash fan obviously dates specifically to this historic storm of September 21, 1938.

61. Walter Roy Harding was said to be able to lead one through the woods to the base of this remaining tree.

Securely held in the root system of one of the white pines which had been blown over –although no-one would recognize this until Roland Wells Robbins, an archeologist who lived on the old Cambridge turnpike, would inspect this eroded root system on November 11, 1945– were some of the stones from the foundation of the chimney of Thoreau’s shanty:



A tree snapped and fell over the roof of the Concord bank, and one of the Doric pillars was knocked off its front portico.



The “Texas” House, already damaged by fire, was destroyed during this hurricane.



1940

The will of Ebenezer Knight Dexter had stipulated that “forty freemen” needed to be present at any meeting about the Dexter Asylum. Consequently, once per year, a meeting of “forty freemen” had been being arranged in the city council chamber to deal with matters pertaining to the Dexter donation. At this point such a subterfuge was abandoned and his will was altered by vote of the Rhode Island General Assembly to grant to the Providence, Rhode Island city council the powers originally bestowed upon this “forty freemen” conceit.



1941

An article in the Providence, Rhode Island Sunday Journal characterized the Dexter Asylum as a “well-meaning legacy of a bygone day which has made time stand still.”

1944

The Providence Rhode Island Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends was merged with the independent Providence Friends Fellowship Monthly Meeting and with the Nantucket Monthly Meeting (formerly a group of Wilburites).

1945

Members of the defunct Greenwich Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends were received in the Providence Monthly Meeting.

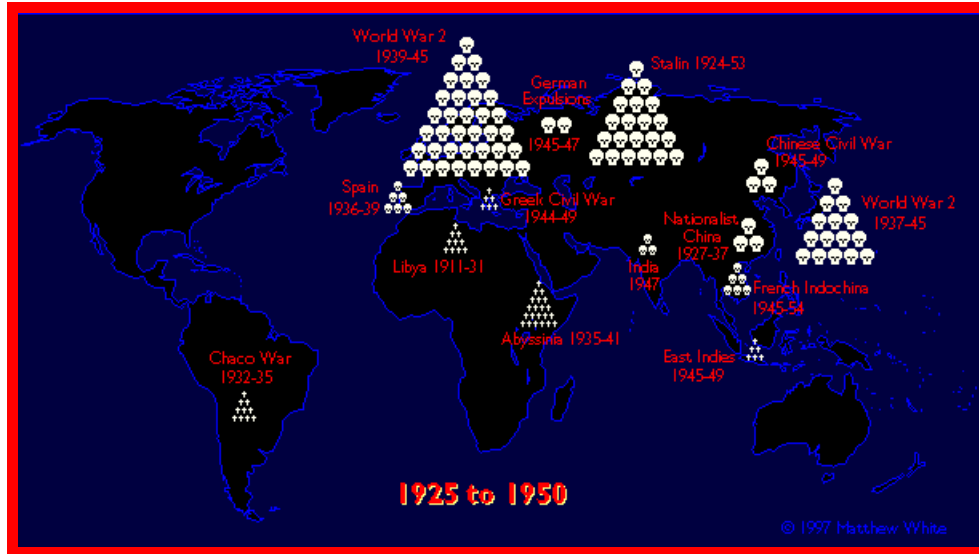
The “Gurneyite” meetings with both programmed worship and pastors of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England and the “Wilburite” meetings with unprogrammed worship and without pastors of the New England Yearly Meeting came together with the Connecticut Valley Association of Friends and the independent Cambridge, Massachusetts and Providence, Rhode Island meetings, to constitute an expanded New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends.

1947

Continuing the effort to break Ebenezer Knight Dexter’s unfortunate will, lawyers and genealogists in Providence, Rhode Island searched through old records to determine who had previously owned “Neck Farm.” Could the heirs of this previous owner legally transmit to Dexter the right to forever determine the fate of that property? Could Dexter’s heirs somehow break his inconvenient will? Could these frustrating unfortunates never be shuffled off, to somewhere else where we wouldn’t have to look at them?

1950

During the second quarter of the 20th Century, things had gotten pretty tough:



For sure, if more people had been willing like Friend John R. Kellam to do their duty, this picture would have been different. (But of course things were soon to be getting better. ;-)

While at PennCraft, Friend John circulated his resume, and finally he was able to move his family to Providence, Rhode Island and begin to engage in the profession for which he had trained.



One of the reasons I came to Providence was that Hurford Crosman had told me that the Providence Meeting, of which he had been a member years before, was in many ways very similar to the Florida Avenue group of Friends [in Washington DC]. He thought I would like it here.... Hurford had been my boss for three years when I was working at Friends' Service Incorporated, out at PennCraft, near East Millford, Pennsylvania. So when he said that, I was further confirmed in my inclination to take this job offer here in Providence. The man who was hiring me knew all about my having been a war objector. He knew there was a Friends' Meeting here. He was a member of the Episcopal Church. Episcopalians were reputed to be the best people around here! Ha-ha-ha-ha! But the vice chairman of our Providence

Redevelopment Agency was an architect who had a lot of Quakers in his own ancestry. So my hiring boss, Louis B. Wetmore, told me that if my war history were somehow to become known, and I didn't need to spread it on the record, he thought it might even improve my standing with the vice chairman; and other people might think it only interesting. Shortly before that I had applied for a planning job in Lexington, Kentucky but when I asked if it would make any difference that I was a war objector, the man who talked to me said he would have to ask around. He got the contrary viewpoint – no we don't want any draft dodgers in here. So he thought it might be better for me to look elsewhere.

Albert Harkness, the architect who was vice chairman of the Providence Redevelopment Agency hiring me, turned out to be the architect who designed our meetinghouse here later on in 1952. I was able to get for him quite a bit of detailed information and specifications for that meetinghouse in Washington. So this Friends Meeting did turn out to be the same kind of warm family for Carol and me, and by that time, our two children. When we were about to send the children into the nearest public school, down at India Point on Ives Street, Friends were kind of dismayed because they thought that school had kind of a tough reputation. It was a very old, nineteenth century school building with extremely high ceilings and tall windows. It was built somewhere around half way between the Civil War and the turn of the twentieth century. It was on a plate of asphalt and not a blade of grass anywhere on the playground. There were quite a number of tough kids who bullied little kids. So they thought that we ought to send our older girl to pre-kindergarten, or nursery school, to Lincoln School here, which was then owned by the Yearly Meeting. Friends in our monthly meeting were very much involved with their children at Lincoln School, their daughters. That was a girls' school then. Moses Brown School was by that time no longer co-educational, but had just boys. So, with very substantial scholarship aid from the school, our older daughter, Susan, and her younger sister, Wendy, after a couple of years, went in there. They had almost all of their education at Lincoln. When they were getting into the upper grades in high school, they decided they would like to attend Classical High School in Providence, which has a good academic reputation. So that's where they graduated.

Then there was a period in the mid-1950s when Carol had needed extended hospital care and I was becoming exhausted trying to cope with the parenting and the home. So one day Henry Foster, one of the old Quaker family Friends, came to me and said, "John, some of us have become alarmed at your looking pretty tired and we think that you are trying to shoulder too much of this alone. Even with some help you've been getting from the Perrys and others, you don't have any help at home. We think you should get yourself either a full time or at least a part time housekeeper. Full time would probably need to be a live-in housekeeper. Part time would be afternoon and evening. But we think that if you don't do that, you are doing yourself some harm physically."

"Well," I said, "I'm just hoping that Carol can be home again before too long and strong enough to do what she would like to do in taking care of her family."

"Well, it looks as if it may be a considerable time longer, and if the cost of housekeeping help is bothering you, there are a number of us who would be happy to chip in together and help you with at least part of that cost."

So I thought, if they are alarmed enough to be chipping in to help us, I'd better consider it very seriously. I can do it for a while and if it doesn't turn out to be too long, I might be able not to call on them for financial assistance. I'd had one or two raises by that time and was hopeful of further advancement, and maybe even promotions in my work. So I got myself a part time housekeeper and eventually switched to a full time housekeeper. It wasn't too many months after that that Carol did get home. But we kept that housekeeper for a while until Carol said that her life would be simplified if we let her go. Eventually that worked out. There were other examples of helpfulness that we received from this meeting and from the meeting in Washington earlier.

Over the years in public service, working for the government, and that was what my whole training was for, it was always a sensitive thing to know when it was safe to let anybody know, incidental to other things, about my war experience, and when not to. I tried to keep it out of my work environment as much as I could. And yet, Friends in the Meeting and attenders—casual people—would probably find out from time to time. There was always a possibility that somebody would say it in the wrong



context and, who knows, my job might even blow up in my face and I would suddenly be unable to take care of raising and financing a family. It's remarkable that in all of those thirty-one and a half years that I was working as a planner for the city of Providence, nobody once outed me in any way to put my job in jeopardy. People were so kind, so sensitive and careful to never compromise me. It confirmed the wisdom of what my first city planning boss, way back in Duluth, Minnesota in the 1930s, had told me, about ten years later.

The advice of that first planning boss, Aaron B. Horwitz, was against putting any mention of my wartime prison experience into my resume. After prison, when I had a professional job again, I was beginning to send out my resume to various planning agencies, people who might hire me, and ingenuously, I filled in all the blanks. There were no gaps in the calendar record of me on my resume. I sent one to Aaron Horwitz back in Duluth because I was wondering if he might know of some planning opening where I might fit in. Well, he wrote back to me, horrified, that I had put something in my resume that would be a real stopper for a lot of potential employers. He said, "It's good to tell only things that are true, of course, but there are situations and many different kinds of lives of people where the whole truth does not need to be stated. This is one of them." He said, "My Jewish world community knows of hundreds of others. In some cases life depends upon not letting out more of the truth than is necessary. It's usually possible, while saying only truth, to judiciously leave other things out that don't need to be

said." He was, incidentally, a very active Zionist. He was working for a new homeland for world Jewry to have as a country of their own. He was completely dedicated to that need to be answered. Eventually, in 1948, the State of Israel was born. I was working for him from 1938 to 1940. Later on, he and his wife emigrated to Israel and he taught city planning at the University of Tel Aviv, Jaffa. They visited back home here and every time they went back to Israel again they would take a houseful of furniture that they had bought here because wood was in such short supply that furniture was just too expensive. He and his wife, Bertha, contributed mightily, as many other Jews did helping the people who were going to be the future citizens of Israel. He was a very wise man and he had a deliberate way of talking. You could just see him sifting through all the angles before he would decide what was appropriate to say. He did this in his professional work and he did it in his personal life. He was probably the most thoughtful person I've ever known. All the time I was in contact with him and in occasional letters later, I always had the feeling that I would like to be as much as possible like him.

Immediately that Friend John had a decent salary, he also faced the need to rationalize how a portion of his mandatory income tax payments might get used for shameful purposes of war.

[O]ne of the mayors in the middle years of my career had so put a threatening fright into the city employees that most of them were anteing up handsomely toward the mayor's re-election campaign. The union suddenly found itself able to sign up on the first day over eight hundred of us. Eventually they had about three quarters of the three thousand city employees signed up. Under the labor laws they became our representatives. One of their agreements with the city, working from a position of power, was that the city would buy back our time, back to the day we were each hired, as if we had each been contributing union dues ever since. So, we were full fledged members of the union and we had the regular schedule of pensions due us whenever eventually we retired, with minimum age for such retirement. If we retired earlier there would be shavings off that rate, the union kind of standard contract. But this was a big windfall. I think it was enough that it ultimately compensated for the wipeout I'd had during the war. I was compensated in another way. The effective tax rate for me in the early years was about ten percent income tax. There was no Rhode Island income tax then. The federal income tax took about ten percent of my gross pay and there was no recompense for that. The government was buying bombs all the time and fighting the cold war. I felt that tax was being taken from me for purposes that I could not agree with. If I had decided to, that could have given me a feeling of quite a lot of guilt. I understood very well those people who were in occupations that gave them an income so low that although they could subsist on it, they wouldn't owe any federal taxes going for warfare and planning for future wars threatening everybody else on earth if they didn't do our bidding. If we got mad enough we could annihilate whole countries. We were not that much different from the Germans. A lot of us had the same backgrounds in countries that were chronically at war. Europe was a big crossword puzzle of ethnic types that had been displaced by war as survivors of greater and smaller holocausts. Well, along came the lottery and Rhode Island looked forward officially to getting about half of its tax money from the lotteries. Some of it was given to the cities. I remember a

bumper sticker that said, "I'm for the lottery – let the fools pay my taxes!" So I thought of a rationalization that was handy. Maybe a tenth of my salary comes federally and state, through city, from taxes that I don't approve of, paid to a government that does warfare, a federal government, state and city doesn't do it, but maybe a tenth of my salary gets paid by this awful, socially destructive lottery. So maybe my dirty money intake goes to dirty money outgo. Maybe the lottery is paying my war taxes. What a handy thought! Ha-ha-ha! True rationalization! But I could live on the clean part of my money and my family wouldn't be suffering any longer on account of my principles. Maybe I really didn't need to knock my future in the head by doing my job well, getting paid in clean and dirty money and letting the dirty part of that money get confiscated by federal taxation that I wished didn't have to go there to buy bombs.

1952

September 28: For many years, Providence Friends had worshiped in Saylesville, Rhode Island at what had been known as the "South" meetinghouse, the "North" meetinghouse having been across the river in



Smithfield (this "South" meetinghouse near Lincoln, Rhode Island has by now become the oldest surviving continuously operated Quaker meetinghouse in America). Then, belatedly, a Quaker meetinghouse had been erected within the town limits of Providence, near the town fort on Stampers Hill (at the foot of today's Olney Avenue). Then a new meetinghouse had been erected on North Main Street on the site of what is today the brick firehouse, and eventually it was expanded. When that expanded building had become old, it had in 1844 been put on heavy sledges and tugged by a team (a team of horses, we are told) over snow down Town Street, then up Wickenden Street on Fox Point, and then uphill to 77 Hope Street, where it became a 2-family residence (demolished in 1860 and now the site of an apartment building). Thus its century-and-a-quarter old foundation had been cleared, to hold up the west half of a 3d meeting house created in 1844 of plain uninsulated barn construction (the east half of the new structure would be on top of a crawl space). This newer meeting house on Meeting Street had lasted us 108 years, until the city of Providence was needing a central site for a proposed new Fire Station (another site was available to the city, but a brick building on it would have been more expensive to clear and its location between North Main Street and Canal Street had inferior access for fire equipment). So we offered our lot to the City, and it was purchased gratefully for enough money to cover 90% of the cost of erection of a better new structure.

Our very plain 1844 building was of no architectural import,⁶² so we took the benches and little else and the City razed the structure in order to erect there its new fire house. In consequence, in about this year, a 4th meeting house was erected, a brick meetinghouse with a slate roof, at the corner of Olney and Morris on Friend Moses Brown's donated property atop the hill on the East Side. Thomas Perry clerked the building committee and the architect was Albert Harkness. In September the building was dedicated, with a talk by Alexander Purdy. — That's where you can now⁶³ join us for worship:



1955

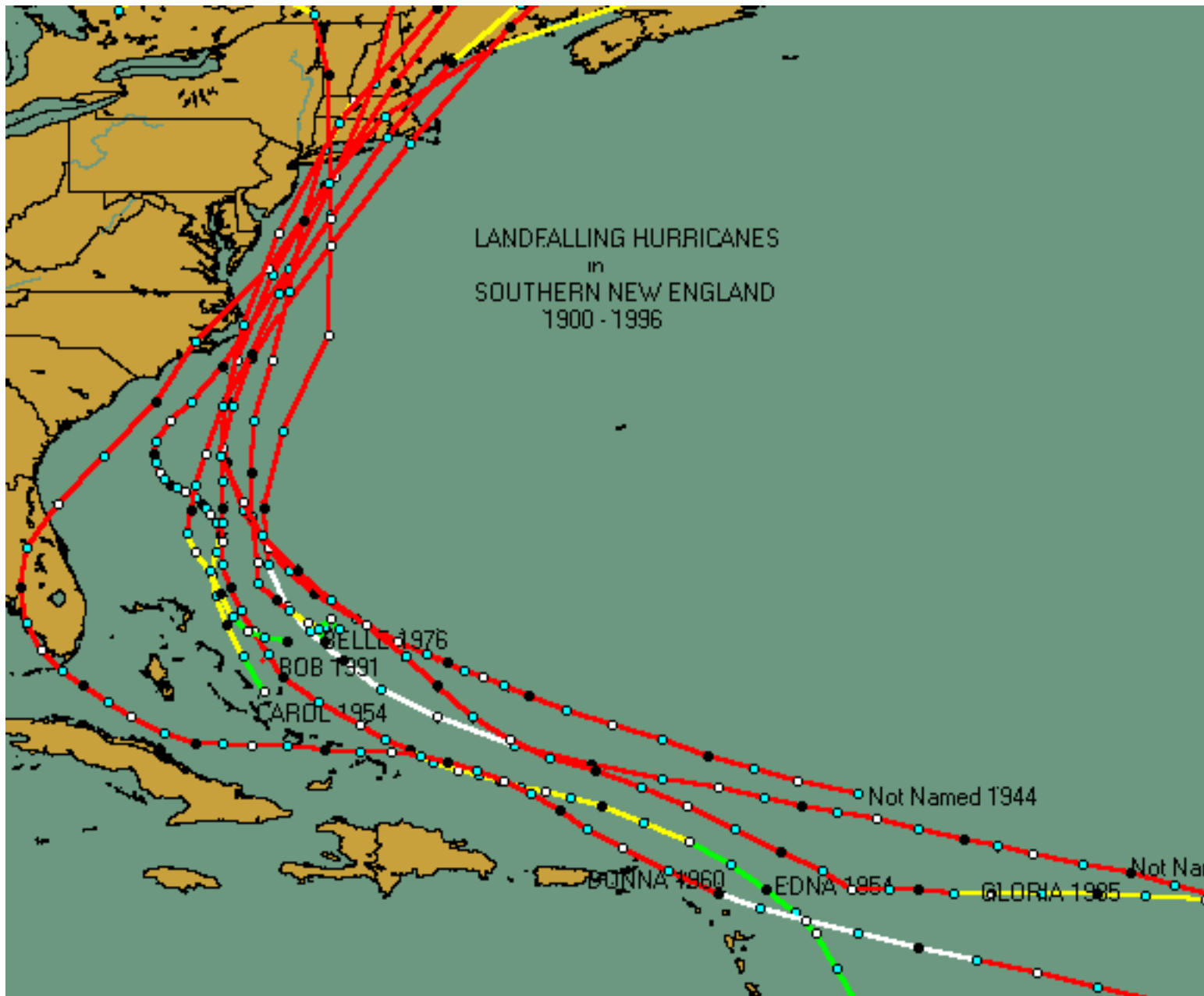
In financial difficulties, Butler Hospital for the Insane in Providence offered to sell itself to the state of Rhode Island for a token sum of \$1. The state would decline to accept the responsibility.

The inflation experienced throughout our economy has produced an enormous increase in the cost of operation. The increase in receipts from patients, though large, has not been commensurate with the increase in these costs.

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

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

During the mid-1950s, hurricanes hitting the New England coast decimated many of the vacant, decaying, flimsily constructed military structures on various of the islands of Boston harbor, such as the POW barracks of the World War II detainment camp for Italians at Fort Andrews on Peddocks Island.



During this year "Hurricane Diane" so badly damaged the ugly and inappropriate concrete bridge over the Concord River on the site of the Old North Bridge, joining the Battle Monument on the east bank to the Daniel Chester French statue of "The Minuteman" on the west bank, that the sturdy structure would need to be demolished. In the following year a replica of the original bridge would be erected, based upon the Amos

Doolittle engraving of the 1775 battle.



There is further indication of the wrath of “Diane” near the present Causeway Bridge, just below the Ox-Bow of the Sudbury River, where you can still see the remains of a stone bridge. The western end of this “Stone’s Bridge” (erected in 1857 and discussed by Thoreau in 1859 as a new bridge) was taken out, though the ox-bow upstream endured through this flood still intact.

As the waters surged down the Blackstone River they took out all its bridges except one — the stone bridge anchored in bedrock that can be seen just below the dam.

1956

An association calling itself Friends of Butler purchased advertisements, asking that the general public contribute to keeping Butler Hospital for the Insane in Providence in operation. There was a printed coupon. Some 1,200 citizens responded.

Brown University President Barnaby Keeney, acting as an angel of mercy, proposed that Providence, Rhode Island sell or lease the Dexter Asylum property on Hope Street to the university for a gym and athletic complex: "If and when the Courts permit the City to dispose of this land, it must honor its obligation to the Dexter Trust by obtaining the best possible income for the support of the poor ... the University is in a position to help." Providence Mayor Walter H. Reynolds hesitated at this face-saving deal to dispose of the inconveniently in-your-face asylum, noting that the estate could provide space for as many as 150 new home sites — but today Brown's athletic complex stands where the asylum formerly stood.

**1957**

February 18: The facilities of the former Butler Hospital for the Insane in Providence, Rhode Island were re-opened after a \$700,000 fund-raising drive, and the hospital was renamed the "Butler Health Center."

Summer: Different Quakers remember different years, but in **about** this timeframe there was a tense confrontation at the New England Yearly Meeting, over the governance of the Moses Brown School. School officials were saying that the school was no longer functioning properly as a Quaker boarding school. They were alleging that the enterprise was on the edge of financial collapse. Meanwhile, various Quakers were becoming outraged at the manner in which the governing board of the school, a committee of the Yearly Meeting, had gotten inbred, incestuous, noncommunicative, authoritarian, and, fundamentally, self-perpetuating. A decision was reached, that the Yearly Meeting's school would no longer cater to the sort of students who would come and live there separate from their families of origin, but would instead cater to students who lived in the bosoms of their families in the surrounding community, which is to say, the vicinity of Providence, Rhode Island. It is an open question whether any of the Quakers who assented to this were aware at the time that, since there were only a handful of Quaker children living within daily commuting distance of the school buildings, this decision to abandon boarding was in essence a fateful decision to start educating children of non-Quaker backgrounds in preference to the children of Quaker families.

October 4: When the Dexter Asylum of Providence, Rhode Island emptied itself and closed its doors, its records were donated to the Rhode Island Historical Society.

1959

July 9: In front of the State House in Boston, dedication of the Mary Dyer statue by sculptor Sylvia Shaw Judson. She had been the winner of the competition sponsored by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and by Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, and by the Fairmount Park Commission in Philadelphia.



MARY DYER

(The model for this statue was Friend Nancy St. John, wife of Headmaster George C. St. John at Moses Brown School in Providence, Rhode Island.)

The central inscription reads:

MARY DYER

QUAKER

WITNESS FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

HANGED ON BOSTON COMMON 1660

"MY LIFE NOT AVAILETH ME

IN COMPARISON TO THE

LIBERTY OF THE TRUTH"⁶⁴

At about this point an entirely new situation had been inaugurated at the Moses Brown School. The interests of the school as an institution had decidedly diverged from the interests of the owners in perpetuity of the Moses Brown farm bequest (the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends) when the school had left off being a boarding establishment for Quaker children from all over the New England states and had begun to cater exclusively to local students living with their local families. This was simply because these local students who had become the overwhelming bulk of the student body were not Quakers, nor had their parents any particular interest in Quakerism. What these families needed from the Moses Brown School was an affordable whitebread college-prep education that would prepare their progeny for entry into ivy league colleges. The name of their game was upward mobility over the generations.

So what was the school administration to do? The staff of the school had begun to consist, more and more, of teachers and administrators who had no connection whatever with Quakerism. They were teachers, period. They were administrators, period. —And along would come these representatives from the New England Yearly Meeting, and harass them while they were out and about in their function of prepping these upper-middle-class local kiddies for taking their ivy-league matriculation examinations. The things the Quakers wanted were utterly irrelevant — and they owned the place.

The solution was simplicity itself. The school administration delegated teachers and administrators to go turn Quaker and begin to attend the annual get-togethers of the New England Yearly Meeting, and infiltrate the committees that dealt with education issues. The Quakers of course suspected nothing. Pretty soon these infiltrators were more Quaker than the Quakers.

Meanwhile, the Friends monthly meeting in Providence had relocated its meetinghouse from Meeting Street downtown (where the city needed to erect a fire station) to a nearby lot on former Moses Brown farm land, at the corner of Morris Street and Olney Street. This meeting “on campus” would provide a perfect cover story,

64. John Greenleaf Whittier has beautifully told the story of Samuel Shattuck’s mission in his poem, “The King’s Missive.” Henry Wadsworth Longfellow has made the sufferings of the Quakers the subject of his dramatic poem, “New England Tragedies.” The story of Quaker sufferings is told in George Bishop’s “New England Judged.” The best modern book on the subject is Hallowell’s “Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts.” A total of four Friends were executed — William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, William Ledra, and Mary Dyer. Even Waldo Emerson would see a moral in this, although he would come at the facts in a simplified manner:

We are always coming up with the emphatic facts of history in our private experience, and verifying them here. All history becomes subjective; in other words, there is properly no history; only biography. Every mind must know the whole lesson for itself, — must go over the whole ground. What it does not see, what it does not live, it will not know. What the former age has epitomized into a formula or rule for manipular convenience, it will lose all the good of verifying for itself, by means of the wall of that rule. Somewhere, sometime, it will demand and find compensation for that loss by doing the work itself. Ferguson discovered many things in astronomy which had long been known. The better for him.

History must be this or it is nothing. Every law which the state enacts indicates a fact in human nature; that is all. We must in ourselves see the necessary reason of every fact, — see how it could and must be. So stand before every public and private work; before an oration of Burke, before a victory of Napoleon, before a martyrdom of Sir Thomas More, of Sidney, of Marmaduke Robinson, before a French Reign of Terror, and a Salem hanging of witches, before a fanatic Revival, and the Animal Magnetism in Paris, or in Providence. We assume that we under like influence should be alike affected, and should achieve the like; and we aim to master intellectually the steps, and reach the same height or the same degradation, that our fellow, our proxy, has done.

as the Quaker content of the education offered by the school reached a vanishing point. “Of course Moses Brown School is a Quaker school, see, it’s named after a Quaker! Of course it’s Quaker, look, its football team is named ‘The Quakers’! Look, we have a Quaker meeting on campus! Look, the children are taken over to this meetinghouse once a week, during their class day, to sit in silence for twenty minutes! Look, we actually have a Quaker teacher here, to teach the children how to build boats! Nobody can accuse us of not being a Quaker school!”

To ensure that the Providence monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends remained compliant and convenient for the school, the school’s infiltrators infiltrated its Ministry and Counsel Committee. Once ensconced in this central committee, these infiltrators ensured their continuity by arranging that the only Quaker names that could be nominated by the Nominating Committee once a year, to become new members of this all-important M&C committee, would be names pre-selected by the school’s infiltrators. Thus no “unsafe” person would ever be allowed to become a member of the controlling committee (this is called self-perpetuation). They also ensured their continuity by decreeing that the only issues that could be brought before the meeting’s monthly Meeting for Business were items on the pre-established agenda, and that the M&C committee had total control over the setting of this agenda. They also ensured their continuity by decreeing that the only way to bring an issue before the meeting was to get it on the agenda to be discussed at the monthly Meeting for Business. They also ensured their continuity by decreeing that members of M&C could serve two terms, and then if they laid off for one term, would be able to come back.

And, of course, no conflict of interest rules would ever apply. For instance, it would always be perfectly proper for paid employees of the Moses Brown School to sit on the Quaker boards that made decisions about the school, and for paid employees to serve as advocates of the interests of the school in all Quaker discussions of the goings-on at the school. Their self-interested pronouncements would always have full weight, and no accusations of conflict of interest or of concealed agenda could ever be brought. Nor would it ever be possible for the Quakers even to know who was on the school’s payroll, or the extent to which these infiltrators were being financially compensated for this infiltration efforts — since it would be a violation of their privacy to ask these people where their money was coming from, or how much was in it for them.

Thus it would come to pass, over the years, that instead of the Quakers controlling the school and its endowment, the school and its endowment would control the Quakers.

1960

During the 1960s, Friend Jeanne Whitaker would help create an American Friends Service Committee office in Providence, Rhode Island.

The Ford Foundation, concerned about the general physical unfitness of America’s youth, funded a Monsanto Corporation study of a new all-weather playing surface. Initially this new all-weather playing surface would be termed “Chemgrass,” but you are probably more familiar with the product under a later coinage, “Astroturf.” The first experimental Chemgrass playing field would be installed during this decade inside the fieldhouse at Moses Brown School in Providence, Rhode Island. The surface would hold up well for more than 25 years.

1961

The name of the Butler Health Center in Providence, Rhode Island was changed to “Butler Hospital.”

1965

Friend Jeanne Whitaker began to teach at Wheaton College in Massachusetts. She would teach there until 1999, while attending the Providence, Rhode Island monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends with her children. During this period there would be many trips to Africa and to France, where most of Jeanne's sisters are teachers.

1967

News items relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology:

- DEC introduces the PDP-10 computer.
- A.H. Bobeck at Bell Laboratories developed bubble memory.
- Burroughs Corporation shipped the B3200.
- The 1st issue of Computerworld was published.
- At the National Physical Laboratory in Middlesex, England, Donald W. Davies developed a data network and presented "packet switching" as an effective way to route data through networks.
- At an ACM Symposium on Operating Principles, a plan was presented for a packet-switching network, and Lawrence G. Roberts presented the 1st design paper on what would become the ARPANET.
- Data Corporation started, for the Ohio Bar Association, a project called O-BAR (later to be renamed LEXIS).
- The 1st book was published, that had been typeset on a computer.
- At Brown University, Andries van Dam's Hypertext Editing System and FRESS. Theodore Nelson coined the term Xanadu to refer to his hypertext publishing project intended to revolutionize data-storage worldwide. "Xanadu, a global hypertext publishing system, is the longest-running vaporware story in the history of the computer industry. It has been in development for more than 30 years.... Xanadu has set a record of futility that will be difficult for other companies to surpass." —Wolf, Gary. "The Curse of Xanadu." Wired, June 1995, page 138.
- Alan Kay & Ed Cheadle invented the FLEX machine, a very early desktop computer, the first to be termed a "personal computer" and the first to have OOP software.

1971

In Providence, Rhode Island, Butler Hospital became affiliated with Brown University's Medical School.

1981

December 31: In all likelihood Friend John R. Kellam took off early this afternoon from his work in the urban renewal, redevelopment, and long range city planning position he had held for so many years in Providence, Rhode Island — as from this point forward he would be a retired man.

I retired from that after thirty-one and one half years, at the age of sixty-five years and two months, with a pretty nice pension, more than seventy percent of the average of my final three years' salary rate.

1995

January 5: Americans who were, ostensibly, Christians, such as the good Baptist John Brown of Providence,



Rhode Island, had in antebellum years been much more heavily involved in the international slave trade than Jews such as those of the Touro Synagogue in Newport. Nevertheless, antisemitic black militants had begun to identify American Jews with slave trading — as if Jews had been primarily or solely responsible. Therefore the American Historical Association passed a resolution: “The AHA ... condemns as false any statement alleging that Jews played a disproportionate role in the exploitation of slave labor or in the Atlantic slave trade.” A Jewish source has pointed out that:⁶⁵

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

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



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

Rhode Island's non-Jewish merchants.

Lest there be any doubt about it: the Quakers of Providence want you to know that there were Quakers also who were involved in the international slave trade out of Newport, Rhode Island. We know this, not because we know the names of the offending individuals—our researches have not yet revealed these names— but because we know that our meetings had to struggle with these individuals, whoever they were, in order to clear them and our association of this fault. This was a process which involved a good deal of time and a good deal of soul-searching.

October 28, Saturday: The former site of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church at 193 Meeting Street in Providence, Rhode Island was commemorated upon its 200th anniversary. This church was the first for Rhode Island blacks, having been founded in 1795 as the African Freedmen's Society, and before the civil war this group functioned at least in part as a destination point for those who were escaping from slavery on the Underground Railroad through Philadelphia, New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut, into Rhode Island—a center around which they might re-order their lives. A former slave, Ichabod Northrup, who had fought in the Revolutionary War, had been among the founders of this association. At first the Bethel group had met in the homes of members and in the Quaker meeting house at the corner of North Main Street and Meeting Street. Such churches were disapproved of by the white community, but as one meeting place was removed by the authorities, it was replaced by another, and sometimes two or three. Eventually the congregation had been able to obtain its own building—the lot was purchased in 1820 and a building constructed on it in 1866. In 1961 the building had become shaky and the congregation sold the plot to Brown University in order to purchase their current Bethel Church at 30 Rochambeau Avenue and Hope Street. The first service at the new location was conducted in February 1962. The old site, which had become nothing but a tree-lined walkway to Brown University's Grimshaw-Gudewicz Building near the Sarah Doyle Women's Center, will now bear a commemorative plaque.

1998

At Brown University, Professor Joanne Pope Melish's *DISOWNING SLAVERY: GRADUAL EMANCIPATION AND "RACE" IN NEW ENGLAND, 1780-1860*⁶⁶ was criticized by a reviewer for having been inadequately fulsome about William Lloyd Garrison's regard for colored people and their regard for him. Here is Professor Melish's <Joanne_Melish@Brown.edu> considered response:

Although Garrison began as a colonizationist, he became a rabid anti-colonizationist after 1830, and he was a vocal supporter of equal rights. Of course, abolition and removal were not necessarily contradictory notions; Emerson said that "the abolitionist wishes to abolish slavery, but because he wishes to abolish the black man." Making a somewhat different point, I am not convinced that language and action in support of the "elevation" of free people of color, and of equality as an abstraction, did not frequently coexist with a paternalistic racial ideology that objectified people of color as "projects" as surely as slavery objectified them as commodities. While Garrison's words and actions had important positive consequences for free people of color, and while I would place Garrison at the extreme left edge of an ideological continuum from inclusive empowerment through what George Fredrickson has

66.  Joanne Pope Melish. *DISOWNING SLAVERY: GRADUAL EMANCIPATION AND "RACE" IN NEW ENGLAND, 1780-1860*. Ithaca NY and London: Cornell UP, 1998

called “romantic racialism” to outright racism and support for removal, I am not sure that he or any of his supporters were able entirely to transcend the racial ideology of his day – an investment in whiteness that I argue grew out of New England’s slow elimination of slavery.

(In regard to Waldo Emerson’s comment above, that “the abolitionist wishes to abolish slavery, but because he wishes to abolish the black man”: an exceedingly strong case could be made that Emerson was speaking here not only of wrong other abolitionists, but also of himself. That is to say, Emerson’s writings leave no question but that he was frequently irritated by the very existence of black Americans, and bore them good will only as abstractions rather than in the solid flesh.)

(In regard to this comment by Professor Melish about “New England’s slow elimination of slavery,” above: In the year 2000 there would be a ruckus in Rhode Island when someone proposed that the word “plantation” be removed from the state’s official name “Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.” There would be indignant protests in the Providence Journal (the “ProJo”) that the word “plantation” in New England had simply never implied human enslavement—that Providence’s plantations had been simple farms—and it needed to be rudely pointed out to these protesting popular columnists that at one time according to the US census there had been as many slaves on their little state’s grand plantations as in all the rest of New England put together!)

February 15: An extraordinarily different article appeared in the local Providence, Rhode Island newspaper, the “ProJo”:

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

By JODY McPHILLIPS, Journal-Bulletin Staff Writer

Steven Spielberg shot his slave-revolt film *La Amistad* in Rhode Island because the state has great Colonial architecture.

It made sense for other reasons.

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

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

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

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

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

Few actually settled in Rhode Island, which was poorly suited for large-scale agriculture with its small rocky farms and icy winters. But they were bought from the

slave fortresses of Africa's Gold Coast with Rhode Island-made rum; transported on Rhode Island-built ships to the slave markets of the Caribbean; and later dressed in Rhode Island-made slave cloth.

Why did Rhode Island get so involved?

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

And no trade was as profitable as slaving.

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

There were also coincidental connections.

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

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

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

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

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

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

– Aristotle, *POLITICS*.

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

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

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

By the 1400s, the seafaring Portuguese had begun trading with the small fiefdoms of northwest Africa. They went looking for gold, but didn't find enough; increasingly, they brought home slaves, with the blessing of the Pope. Better a slave in an advanced Christian nation than a free subject of a "cannibal" king, the reasoning went. African slaves quickly became highly prized as strong, hardy workers able to withstand punishing tropical heat. As European colonists flooded into the New World, demand for workers grew exponentially, especially in the Caribbean islands and the plantations of Central and South America.

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

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

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

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

They made no bones about why.

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

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

They made money hand over fist.

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

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

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

It was about that time that slaving voyages start showing up in Rhode Island records.

The early eighteenth century marked the end of North America's novitiate in the traffic of slaves. In the seventeenth century, too poor or too concerned with primitive agriculture, colonists there had been slow to participate in any substantial way.

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

anything like a regular trade in slaves began.

— Hugh Thomas

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

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

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

Everybody made out — except the slaves.

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

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

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

— Hugh Thomas

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

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

Ship captains were always looking for able mariners; by

1800, "black seamen made up 21 percent of all Newport crews engaged in the West Indian, European and African trades," writes Coughtry.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

La Amistad-style rebellions did occur - 17 revolts were recorded on Rhode Island slavers between 1730 and 1807 - but were about half as common as on British and French slavers, perhaps because conditions were somewhat better on the smaller boats.

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

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

— Jay Coughtry

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

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

their own ships, Coughtry writes.

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

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

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

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

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

It was clear sailing out of Bristol after that.

Although slavery was outlawed nationally as of 1808, James DeWolf continued slaving until 1820, "the period of the [Rhode Island] trade's greatest profits," writes Arline Ruth Kiven, in a history of the state's abolitionist movement called *THEN WHY THE NEGROES?*

"This was also the time of his greatest affluence," although, she notes, there are no records for the Bristol port during this period because Collins burned them all when he was finally ousted in 1820.

Slavers were pretty crafty about staying ahead of the anti-slaving laws. A 1794 law banning U.S. citizens from carrying slaves to other nations, for example, had only one real enforcement provision: much like modern-day drug laws, the government could confiscate slaving vessels and sell them at auction.

Slavers promptly rigged the auctions so they (or straw buyers) could buy back the ships for pocket change. The government countered by getting the ships assessed, and then sending an agent to the auction to enter that price as an opening bid.

Samuel Bosworth, the surveyor for Bristol, was the unfortunate soul sent to bid on the *Lucy*, a slaver confiscated from Charles DeWolf. He undertook the job "with considerable fear and trembling," writes Coughtry.

The night before the sale, Bosworth got a visit from DeWolf, his brother James, and John Brown, who advised him to refuse the assignment. He stood his ground.

The next morning the DeWolfs dropped by again, telling Bosworth that while they certainly wouldn't harm a hair of his head, if he showed up at the sale he would probably be "insulted if not thrown off the wharf" by sailors.

Bosworth never made it to the auction. "His would-be

baptizers, in nominal Indian dress and with faces blackened, seized him as he approached the wharf, and hustled him aboard a small sailboat" which took him for a pleasant two-mile ride down the bay, Coughtry writes. By the time he made it back to Bristol, the *Lucy* had been bought by a captain who worked for the DeWolfs. The DeWolfs - or their agents - at times went in for outright thuggery. In 1800 the Treasury Department sent Capt. John Leonard to Rhode Island as a kind of special prosecutor targeting slave traders. He promptly sued James DeWolf for \$20,000 over violations by DeWolf's slave ship *Fanny*.

The jury found for DeWolf. But some months after the trial, "apparently fearful that Leonard's strategy against DeWolf would become a dangerous and costly precedent, a group of civic-minded Bristolians traveled to Washington to make their own appeal at the Federal Courthouse," Coughtry writes.

When they spotted Leonard coming down the courthouse steps, "several unidentified assailants assaulted him."

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

— Rhode Island's first anti-slavery law, 1652

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

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

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

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

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

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

Three years later, Hopkins got the idea of sending two educated blacks to Africa as missionaries. To that end,

John Quamine and Bristol Yamma were sent to Princeton College to prepare.

The Revolution intervened, however, and Quamine died aboard a privateer, while Yamma apparently dropped out of school to go to work and disappeared into history. According to Kiven, the Quakers were the biggest and best-organized religious group in Rhode Island, and once they began to oppose slavery, its days were numbered.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Is it not extraordinary that [Rhode Island], which has exceeded the rest of the states in carrying on this

trade, should be the first Legislature on this globe which has prohibited that trade?

— Rev. Samuel Hopkins, Nov. 27, 1787

Other states were wrestling with the slavery issue. It proved so contentious that in 1787, when the Continental Congress adopted a constitution, it deferred any national action on slavery until 1808.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

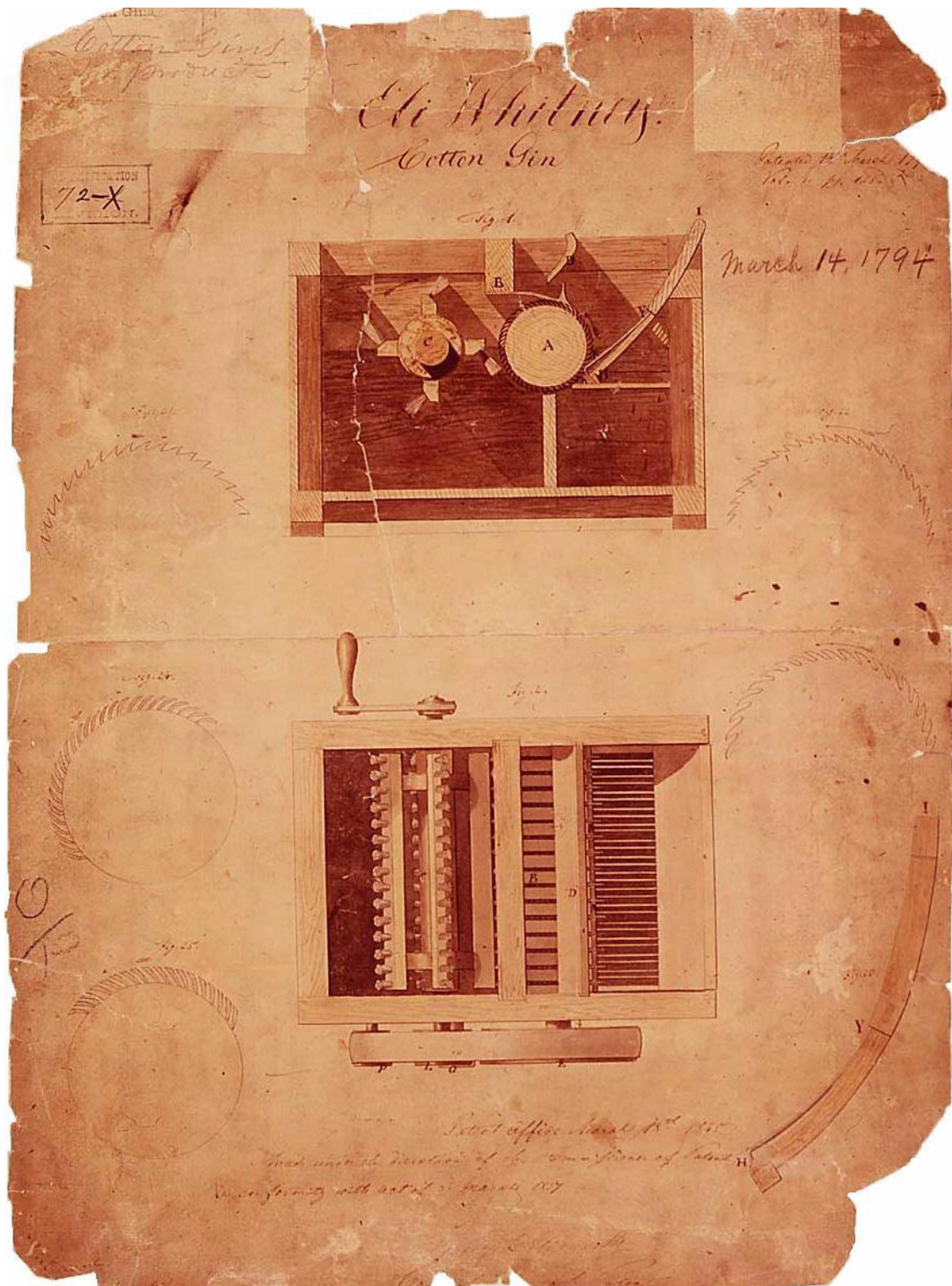
With the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, the demand for agricultural workers exploded in the south, Thomas writes. In 1792, the United States exported 138,328 pounds of cotton; by 1800, it was 17,790,000 pounds and by 1820, 35,000,000 pounds.

The planters weren't going to pick it themselves.

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

— Jay Coughtry

It looks like Rhode Island slavers began to pull out of the business after the federal ban, although it's hard to be sure since it was easy to cheat, particularly at first.



Some, like the DeWolfs, continued to slave illegally. But Coughtry concludes that "it does not appear that Rhode Island ports or individual Rhode Island merchants participated in the illegal heyday of the modern American slave trade" between 1820 and 1860. They abandoned the business sporadically, much as they had started. John Brown died in 1803. James DeWolf quit the trade in 1808, though his brother George continued

until 1820, when the sympathetic Collins was fired in Bristol; after a series of business failures, George fled the state in 1825 for his Cuban plantation.

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

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

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

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

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

He was 75 years old.

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

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1999

Friend Jeanne Whitaker retired from Wheaton College and moved to Providence, Rhode Island. She remains active in Quaker affairs, the new American Friends Service Committee Support Committee, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

2001

March: In Providence, Rhode Island, Friend Caroline Besse Webster interviewed Friend John R. Kellam as a World War II conscientious objector (CO)⁶⁷ and adherent of the Quaker Peace Testimony.

**2002**

March 31: A reparations lawsuit was filed, to obtain compensation for human slavery on behalf of the descendants of American slaves, from the inheritors of American corporations that historically had profited from the uncompensated labors of slaves or from the slave trade's dealings in human beings:

67. John Kellam has been acknowledged as a conscientious objector in two books about other matters principally: First, *UPHILL FOR PEACE* by E. Raymond Wilson, in which he wrote of John's service on the original staff of the Friends' Committee on National Legislation, FCNL, during its first year (1943-1944).

Second, *SINCE YOU WENT AWAY: WORLD WAR II LETTERS FROM AMERICAN WOMEN ON THE HOME FRONT* by Judy Barrett Litoff and David C. Smith.

John writes, "Judy was an active Providence Friend when they published the letters in 1991. Almost all of those letters were between military men of various ranks and their wives or fiancées, or other sweethearts left at home. She presented a balancing story of Carol's correspondence with me during the first few months of 1945 when I was at Milan, Michigan. I was glad that Carol's loyal helpfulness to me and her own sense of commitment for peace and against all warfare, got so well acknowledged by Litoff and Smith."

March 31, 2002

Lawsuit maintains slavery extended past plantations
Action on behalf of descendants claims companies profited
unfairly

By JEFF DONN

Associated Press

BOSTON — Imagine slavery, and you'll likely picture black workers stooped over rows of cotton in the South.

Yet lawyers who recently filed a federal lawsuit seeking corporate reparations for slavery named three companies far removed from farming, two of them based in New England.

The lawyers, suing on behalf of millions of slave descendants, may eventually name more than 1,000 companies.

But the initial defendants are FleetBoston Financial Corp., of Boston; insurer Aetna, of Hartford, Conn., and railway operator CSX Corp., of Richmond, Va.

How can this be?

Historians say the lawsuit, whatever its merits, serves as a reminder that slavery also extended into the Northern economy and, in the Old South, touched many industries beyond the plantations.

Lawyers for slave descendants picked FleetBoston because Rhode Island slave trader John Brown was a founder of its 18th century predecessor, Providence Bank.

The bank financed Brown's slave voyages and profited from them, the lawsuit says.

Brown was born in 1736 into an influential merchant family with holdings that would eventually extend into salt, meat, lumber, bricks, iron and even chocolate.

He helped charter what became Brown University (though it is named for his nephew, Nicholas Brown, Jr.).

John Brown owned or co-owned at least six ships with inspirational names like the Hope and the Providence, according to Rachel Chernos Lin, a Brown University graduate student researching the history of the area's slave trade.

Brown's boats would load up with local rum, sell it in West Africa, pick up slaves, sell them in the Caribbean or the South, and often fill up with sugar or molasses for the journey home. They would carry 200 slaves or more on a trip.

Other local merchants did the same sort of trade, but it didn't always go unchallenged. Brown's own brother, Moses Brown, was an ardent abolitionist.

He helped the Abolition Society successfully sue his brother under the U.S. Slave Trade Act of 1794, an early anti-slavery law that banned outfitting ships to carry slaves.

John Brown had to forfeit the Hope, according to Jay Coughtry, a historian at the University of Nevada-Las Vegas.

From 1709 to 1807, Rhode Island merchants invested in more than 930 slaving trips to Africa, Coughtry estimates. They wrested more than 105,000 Africans from their homeland.

Brown eventually dropped that kind of business — "not because it was immoral, but because it wasn't profitable," says Norman Fiering, a library administrator at Brown University.

FleetBoston has declined comment.

CSX wants the lawsuit thrown out. In a statement, the rail line said the impacts of slavery "cannot be attributed to any single company or industry."

Railway historians say slaves virtually built the rail network of the South from the 1830s to the 1850s.

Of nearly 120 railroads, at least 90 —and probably more— used

slave labor for construction, maintenance or other jobs, says historian Ted Kornweibel at San Diego State University.

In the peak years before the Civil War, he says, about 15,000 slaves labored annually for Southern railroads.

The companies that eventually folded into CSX are no exception. At least 37 of them used slave labor, Kornweibel says, based on his research. Sometimes they owned the slaves; sometimes they rented them from seasonal surpluses at plantations.

A contract signed Feb. 12, 1862, is typical. P.V. Daniel Jr., president of CSX's Virginia predecessor, the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac railroad, promised to pay \$160 to Mrs. B.B. Wright.

Her two rented slaves were identified only as John Henry and Reuben. They were to be returned clothed as when they arrived. Some years, individual slaves, often worth more than \$1,000 in a sale, cost up to \$200 to rent for a season.

Some railroad contracts of that era specified that they must be properly fed. If a rented slave ran away, the owner often paid for lost job time.

Slaves remained valuable economic commodities into the Civil War years. Insurers, including Aetna, began selling a new product, life insurance, to compensate owners for the loss of slaves.

In its response to the reparations lawsuit, Aetna said the "events -however regrettable- occurred hundreds of years ago" and "in no way reflect Aetna today."

Still, the company, founded in 1853, has acknowledged that it holds records of five Aetna life insurance policies on slaves and knows of at least two others. Together, they insured the lives of 16 slaves in Virginia and South Carolina. In one policy, a slave was identified simply as "James, 23, a blacksmith."

The slave owners who took out the policies agreed to pay \$5 to \$10 for a term of one-to-three months, perhaps to insure against loss during a planting season. "From their perspective at the time, they really needed that labor," says Aetna spokesman Fred Laberge.

Plantation owners mostly sought out such policies, beginning the business with other insurance companies in the 1840s. Sometimes railroads, canal builders, and others with dangerous work also insured the lives of slaves.

"Slaves were involved in almost all aspects of Southern industries," said historian Charles Dew, at Williams College, in Williamstown, Mass.

As with some policies today, the insured person had to be healthy. Slaves were rejected for coverage for such reasons as a hernia or simply being "unsound," according to Todd Savitt, a historian at East Carolina University, in Greenville, N.C.

In a review of 1,693 life policies for slaves in 1856, Savitt calculated the average payout on death at \$665. The average payout on 500 policies insuring whites during the same period was \$3,500.

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

Pollipus Hammond was dying. As a young man in Newport he had sailed wooden sloops and brigs across the roiling Atlantic. Now, at 72, he was curled up in agony. The Rev. Ezra Stiles was surprised. He had heard that dying men often stretched out. Shortly before midnight in the winter of 1773, Hammond died. Stiles, a pastor for nearly 20 years at the Second Congregational Church on Clarke Street, closed the dead man's eyes. Physically, Hammond was short and thin. But spiritually, he had been a pillar in the congregation, a sober churchgoer for nearly 34 years. A boat builder, mechanic and father of five, Hammond could have turned "his hand to any Thing," Stiles wrote in his daily journal. For a quarter of century, Hammond had turned his hand to the slave trade. Sailing from Newport's crowded harbor, he purchased hundreds of slaves from the west coast of Africa and chained them aboard ships owned by some of the town's wealthiest merchants. Hammond belonged to a group of captains who depended on the slave trade for a living. He quit the business in the 1750s, when he was in his mid-50s. He became a devout Congregationalist; he even offered his home for monthly meetings. But he never stopped telling stories about danger, even exaggerating what he had seen and heard on his African voyages along what slavers called the Guinea Coast. It was, Stiles wrote, the only "blemish in his character." "He was many years a Guinea Captain; he had then no doubt of the Slave Trade," Stiles wrote. "But I have reason to think that if he had his life to live over again, he would not choose to spend it in buying and selling the human species." If Hammond regretted his life as a slave captain, he left no record of it. When Hammond

died on Feb. 5, 1773, Newport's slave trade was booming. Nearly 30 captains had sailed to Africa the year before, ferrying away nearly 3,500 Africans to slave ports in the Americas and the Caribbean. "Our orders to you are, that you Embrace the first fair wind and make the best of your way to the coast of Africa," wrote merchant Aaron Lopez to Capt. William English. "When please God you arrive there ... Convert your cargo into good Slaves" and sell them "on the best terms you can," ordered Lopez, who outfitted four slave ships that year. The first recorded departure of a Newport slave ship was in 1709, and regular voyages from Newport to Africa were recorded beginning in 1725. "There's no Newport without slavery," says James Garman, a professor of historic preservation at Salve Regina University in Newport. "The sheer accumulation of wealth is astonishing and it has everything to do with the African trade...." It's unclear when Pollipus Hammond, born in 1701, boarded his first slave ship, but Hammond and the trade matured together. By the time Hammond turned 21, more than 600 ships a year passed through Rhode Island's busy ports. Many carried New England goods — mackerel, pork, beef, cider, beer, onions, flour, butter, candles, apples, cheese and staves — to other colonies along the Atlantic Coast. Others carried goods directly to the slave plantations in the Caribbean or in South America. These ships returned to Newport with sugar and barrels of molasses, which distillers turned into rum. Some of it was sold in New England. But Rhode Islanders soon discovered a new market for their rum: tribal leaders and European traders along the African coast, in regions known as the Slave, Gold and Windward Coasts. In all, Rhode Island ships carried nearly 11 million gallons of rum to Africa during the 18th and early 19th centuries. Tribal leaders were willing to dicker with Newport captains, turning over prisoners from rival tribes and other natives in exchange for Rhode Island rum. The African captives were then sold in the Caribbean or in the southern colonies for cash or for more sugar and molasses, creating what was known as the Triangular Trade. Rhode Islanders distilled an especially potent liquor that was referred to as Guinea rum, spirits which quickly displaced French brandy in the slave trade. As a result, slavers from Rhode Island were often called "rum men." By his mid-30s, Hammond was a rum man. In 1733, he sailed the *Dispatch*, owned by merchant Godfrey Malbone, to Africa. Six years later Malbone, who owned a house in Newport, a country estate and several slaves, hired Hammond again, this time to take 55 slaves to the West Indies aboard the sloop *Diamond*. Already, the slave trade was competitive. In 1736, Capt. John 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 made enough to invest in later trips to Africa. Many joined the Fellowship Club, a mutual aid society, established in Newport in 1752. When the club received a charter from the Rhode Island legislature, 17 of the 88 members had made at least one voyage to Africa. By the time Hammond died, slaving captains formed a third of the society. While some captains made enough money to quit the trade and move up socially, Hammond "never left the wheel," says Jay Coughtry in *THE NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE*. "Lack of capital, ambition, or, perhaps, the lure of the sea" prevented men like Hammond "from rising into the ranks of the merchant class," he says.

The Rev. Ezra Stiles arrived in Newport to assume the pulpit of the Second Congregational Church in 1755, about the time



Pollipus Hammond quit the slave trade. A bookish man who studied Latin and physics at Yale, Stiles declared Newport "an agreeable Town," a place of "leisure and books," and a choice spot to continue "my Love of preaching." He drank cider, tea and claret, and planned future books, including a history of the world. In 1761, six years after he arrived in Newport, the minister paced off its streets to map the town. Evidence of the town's booming sea and slave trade was everywhere. He counted 888 houses, 16 rum distilleries and 61 shops near the waterfront. Some of the town's biggest slave traders belonged to Stiles' Clarke Street church. Eleven members were either slave traders or captains, including Caleb Gardner, William Ellery and William and Samuel Vernon. Newport was a far cry from New Haven, where Stiles grew

up and attended Yale. While New Haven had been settled by strict religious leaders, Newport had been settled by “men who chafed at the economic, as well as religious, restrictions of Puritan society,” says historian Lynne Withey. They “wanted to build prosperous towns and personal fortunes out of the wilderness.” Those attracted to Newport included the Quaker merchant Thomas Richardson, who had moved from Boston in 1712; Daniel Ayrault, a French Huguenot, who arrived around 1700, and Godfrey Malbone, who moved from Virginia at about the same time. William and John Wanton, shipbuilders from Massachusetts, arrived a few years later. These entrepreneurs – or their sons or in-laws – added slave trading to their business ventures. Yet another group of investors arrived between 1746 and 1757, among them Ellery, the Champlins and Lopez. Stiles read the **BIBLE** in the morning and visited some of the slave traders as their pastor in the afternoon. He socialized with them, too. He dined often with William Vernon, who bought a mansion three doors down on Clarke Street. An ardent gardener, Stiles wrote his name on an aloe leaf on Abraham Redwood’s country estate. Eventually, the pastor was named librarian of the new Redwood Library. While he talked philosophy with Newport’s slave merchants, he also ministered to the town’s slaves. By the mid-1770s, he was preaching to dozens of slaves. Often, he preached to them in small groups in his home. “I directed the Negroes to come to me this Evening,” he wrote in 1771. “I discoursed with them on the great Things of the divine Life and eternal Salvation....” Three days after Pollipus Hammond died, the temperature plunged to 5 degrees. Ice clogged the harbor. That winter, the spindly trees above the waterfront were “full of crystals or frozen sleet or icy horror,” noted Stiles. It was so cold his window had frozen shut. “I can not come at my thermometer which is usually left abroad all night,” he complained. Head down, his long nose poking forward, Stiles trudged through Newport’s icy streets to attend Hammond’s burial in the Common Burying Ground, on a hill near the edge of town. A prominent stone mason had carved a final thought for the slave captain. His headstone, topped with an angel, said, “Here Lieth the Body of the Ingenious Capt. Pollipus Hammond.” It was Stiles’s habit to visit his church members and their families at least four times a year. Stiles had visited Hammond 10 times before his death. If the two men discussed slavery, Stiles did not note it in his diary. Then again, the pastor had written little about his own ties to the slave trade. His father, Isaac, had purchased an African couple to work in the fields of the family’s 100-acre farm in North Haven. And a year after he became pastor of the Second Congregational Church, Stiles put a hogshead of rum – 106 gallons – aboard a ship bound for the coast of Africa. The captain, William Pinnegar, returned with a 10-year-old African boy. Stiles kept the slave for 22 years, and freed him only after he accepted a job as president of Yale in 1777. In 1756, Stiles gave the boy a name. He called him Newport.

March 13, Monday: The ice went on Walden Pond. Although the pond had frozen over in mid-January, this winter the ice had never become thick enough to support anyone’s weight.

In Providence, Rhode Island’s “ProJo,” the Providence Journal, Paul Davis’s series about the days of slavery and the international slave trade continued:

Plantations in the North: The Narragansett Planters

While Newport merchants profited by trafficking in slaves, colonists across Narragansett Bay found another way to grow rich. They used slaves to grow crops and raise livestock on small plantations throughout South County.

For 50 years, Newport's merchants loaded the surplus farm products onto ships bound for slave plantations in the West Indies where they were traded mostly for sugar and molasses.

By 1730, the southern part of Rhode Island was one-third black, nearly all of them slaves.

The Narragansett Planters thrived from the early 1700s to just before the American Revolution, which brought trade to a standstill.

* * *

From his counting house above Newport harbor, Aaron Lopez fretted about the future.

The Portuguese immigrant had sold soap in New York, candles in Philadelphia and whale oil in Boston. But a plan to trade goods with England failed because the market was glutted. Now, heavily in debt to an English creditor, Lopez sought a new market.

He chose Capt. Benjamin Wright, a savvy New England trader, as his agent in Jamaica. From the tropics, Wright acted as a middleman between Lopez and his new buyers – slave owners too busy making sugar to grow their own food.

Don't worry, Wright told Lopez in 1768. "Yankee Doodle will do verry well here." Yankee Doodle did.

His chief suppliers were just across the Bay.

There, amid the rolling hills and fertile fields, hundreds of enslaved Africans worked for a group of wealthy farmers in South Kingstown, North Kingstown, Narragansett, Westerly, Exeter and Charlestown.

Relying on slave labor, the so-called Narragansett Planters raised livestock and produced surplus crops and cheese for Newport's growing sea trade.

As the Newport slave merchants prospered in the early 1700s, the Narragansett Planters had success selling their crops and horses to slave plantations in the West Indies.

The slaves, brought by Newport merchants from the West Indies and later Africa, cut wheat, picked peas, milked cows, husked corn, cleaned homes and built the waist-high walls that bisected the fields and hemmed them in.

So many blacks worked along the coast that, by the mid-1700s, southern Rhode Island boasted the densest slave population in New England after Boston and Newport.

While most New England communities were organized in compact villages with small farms, southern Rhode Island evolved into a plantation society. "South County was unique in New England," says author Christian M. McBurney. Cheap land made it possible, he says.

The Narragansett Indians had once ruled the region, but Colonial wars and disease had greatly reduced their number, leaving huge tracts of vacant land up for grabs. A territory dispute between Connecticut and Rhode Island scared off some timid settlers.

Investors, many of them from Newport and Portsmouth, "scrambled to the top," says McBurney. They bought land on credit, sold the unwanted lots to generate cash and started farms.

By 1730, the most successful planters –including the Robinson, Hazard, Gardiner, Potter, Niles, Watson, Perry, Brown and Babcock families– owned thousands of acres. In Westerly, Col. Joseph Stanton owned a 5,760-acre estate that stretched more than four miles long.

A typical farm had 300 sheep, 100 bulls and cows and 20 horses. "The most considerable farms are in the Narragansett Country," concluded William Douglas who, in 1753, surveyed the English settlements in North America for the Mother Country. The region's rich grazing and farm lands benefited from warm winters and "a sea vapour which fertilizeth the soil," he wrote.

The owners sometimes relied on family members and indentured Indians for help, but slaves did most of the work. The largest planters —families like the Robinsons, Updikes and Hazards— owned between 5 and 20 slaves.

Although their plantations were much smaller than those in the southern Colonies, an early historian described the area as "a bit of Virginia set down in New England."

Made rich from their exports, the planters built big homes, sent their children to private schools and carved the hillsides into apple orchards and gardens. North Kingstown planter Daniel Updike kept peacocks on his 3,000-acre farm. Framed by deep blue feathers, the exotic peafowl screeched and strutted in their New World home.

* * *

Rowland Robinson, a third-generation planter and slave holder, was one of the region's most successful planters.

In 1700, his grandfather purchased 700 acres on Boston Neck, "east by the salt water." By the time he died, the elder Robinson owned 629 sheep, 131 cows and bulls, 64 horses and eight slaves. His son, William, the colony's lieutenant governor, increased the family fortune by acquiring more land. William, who owned 19 slaves, died in 1751, and Rowland, one of six sons, settled on the family estate.

Tall and handsome, with "an imperious carriage," the younger Robinson rode a black horse and owned more than 1,000 acres and a private wharf. His farm, a mile from the Bay, gave him easy access to the Newport market. During a two-year period in the 1760s, he delivered more than 6,000 pounds of cheese, 100 sheep, 72 bundles of hay, 51 bushels of oats, 30 horses and 10 barrels of skim milk to Aaron Lopez who then shipped them to the West Indies and other markets. Most planters relied on public ferries. They hauled their cheese, beef, sheep and grains along muddy Post Road to South Ferry, the public port that was a vital link between Newport and the Narragansett country, also called King's County.

In 1748, Boston Neck planter John Gardiner urged legislators to expand the busy port at South Ferry. The current boats, he complained, are "crowded with men, women, children" along with "horses, hogs, sheep and cattle to the intolerable inconvenience, annoyance and delay of men and business."

* * *

According to one account, Rowland Robinson owned 28 slaves. Tradition says he abandoned the slave trade after a boatload of dejected Africans arrived at his dock.

But the region's planters bought slaves until the American Revolution. Even small farmers, like the Rev. James MacSparran, owned field hands and domestic servants. "My two Negroes are threshing rye," wrote MacSparran, who owned 100 acres, on July 29, 1751.

Their work had a profound effect on the economy, says historian Joanne Pope Melish.

Freed from domestic chores, white masters were able to pursue other opportunities, jobs or training. Some learned new trades, became lawyers or judges, or sought public office.

In the end, slave labor helped Rhode Island move from a household-based economy to a market-based economy, says Melish. "Slaves contributed to the expansion and diversification of the New England economy," she says.

Plantation owners, merchants, importers and retailers prospered on both sides of the Bay.

From his home on Thames Street, Aaron Lopez could walk to his private pier and a warehouse next to the town wharf. In a loft above his office, sail makers stitched sheets of canvas. His Thames Street shop supplied Newport's residents with everything from Bibles and bottled beer to looking glasses and violins. Lopez, one of the founders of Touro Synagogue, and his father-in-law, Jacob Rivera, owned more than a dozen slaves between them, and sometimes rented them to other merchants.

Lopez became Newport's top taxpayer. He owned or had interest in 30 ships, which sailed to a dozen ports.

He wasn't alone. By 1772, nearly half of Newport's richest residents had an interest in the slave trade.

"The stratification of wealth was astonishing," says James Garman, a professor at Salve Regina University. "And it had everything to do with the African trade."

Although the Narragansett Planters weren't as well off as their monied counterparts across the Bay, they took their cues from Newport's merchants and the English gentry.

Their large houses—Hopewell Lodge in Kingston, Fodderring Place at Pt. Judith—often stood more than a mile apart.

John Potter's "Greate House" in Matunuck included elegant woodwork and a carved open arch. Rowland Robinson's house featured gouged flower designs, classical pilasters and built-in cupboards adorned with the heads of cherubs.

The Reverend MacSparran described a typical day of socializing: "I visited George Hazard's wife, crossed ye Narrow River, went to see Sister Robinson, called at Esq. Mumford's, got home by moon light and found Billy Gibbs here." So much company, he confessed, "fatigues me."

Their wealth "brought social pretensions and political influence ... all without parallel in rural Rhode Island and New England," says McBurney. The elegant lifestyle did not last.

During the Revolutionary War, the British burned Newport's waterfront. Many merchants fled, and trade stalled. Lopez moved to Leicester, Mass. In 1782, he drowned when his horse plunged into a pond.

The Narragansett Planters did not recover from the loss of the Newport market. The sons of the big planters chopped the plantations into small farms. Some freed their slaves.

But before the Revolution, they lived a carefree life.

In the spring, they traveled to Hartford to "luxuriate on bloated salmon." In the summer, they raced horses on the beach and roasted shellfish, says Wilkins Updike in a history of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett.

During corn-husking festivals, men and women gathered for "expensive entertainments" in the large halls of "spacious mansions," says Updike. The men wore silk stockings, shoes with shiny buckles and "scarlet coats and swords, with laced ruffles over their hands." Their hair was "turned back from the forehead and curled and frizzled" and "highly powdered."

The women, dressed in brocade and high-heeled shoes, "performed the formal minuet with its thirty-six different positions and changes. These festivities would sometimes continue for days ... These seasons of hilarity and festivity were as gratifying to

the slaves as to their masters," Updike says.
 In the 18th century, Yankee Doodle did all right.
 On the farms and on the wharfs he made money — sometimes as a
 slave owner, sometimes as a slave trader, sometimes as both.

March 14, Tuesday: In Providence, Rhode Island's "ProJo," the Providence Journal, Paul Davis's series about the days of slavery and the international slave trade continued:

Strangers in a Strange Land: Newport's Slaves

Newport was the hub of New England's slave trade, and at its height, slaves made up one-third of its population. Yet little is known about their day-to-day lives.

Ledger documents traced to Caesar Lyndon, a slave for one of the Colony's early governors, provide one rare glimpse into the private life of an 18th-century slave. But, overall, the slaves left few, if any, journals or diaries to illuminate what they thought or how they felt.

The absence of written material forces historians to rely on tombstones, newspaper accounts, wills, court records and the documents of slave owners and abolitionists to piece together an account of their lives.

On a cold day in 1768, Pompe Stevens told his brother's story on a piece of slate. Both men were slaves.

A gravestone polisher and carver, Pompe worked for John Stevens Jr., who ran a well-known masonry shop on Thames Street in Newport.

Carefully gouging the stone, Pompe reduced his brother's life to a single sentence:

**THIS STONE WAS
 CUT BY POMPE
 STEVENS IN MEMO
 RY OF HIS BROTHER
 CUFFE GIBBS, WHO
 DIED DEC. 27TH, 1768**

Little else is known about Gibbs.

Experts say he probably came from Ghana, on the west coast of Africa. His surname, Cuffe, is an Anglicized version of Kofi, a traditional name given to Ghanaian boys born on Friday.

But it's uncertain who owned Gibbs or what he did in Newport, the hub of New England's slave trade.

More is known about his brother.

Pompe Stevens outlived three wives and eventually won his freedom.

Theresa Guzman Stokes, at work on a book on Newport's slave cemetery, says Cuffe's gravestone tells us even more.

African families "were torn apart by slavery" — Cuffe and Pompe served different masters and lived apart — and Pompe wanted others to understand that they were human, not unfeeling pieces of property, she says.

"He was trying to make it clear. He was saying, 'This is who I am and this is my brother.'"

* * *

A gravedigger buried Cuffe Gibbs in the northwest corner of the Common Burying Ground, on a slope reserved for Newport's slaves. Already, many headstones dotted the hill.

Newporters had been importing slaves from the West Indies and Africa since the 1690s. By 1755, a fifth of the population was black. Only two other colonial cities -New York and Charleston, S.C.- had a greater percentage of slaves.

Few, if any, accounts survive of the lives of slaves in Newport, but the Common Burying Ground, one of the largest and oldest slave cemeteries in the country, offers some clues. The gravestones mark the lives of Susannah, daughter of Kirby and Rachel Rodman, who died in 1831, and Thomas, servant of Samuel Fowler Esq., who died in 1786.

Twenty years later, a third of the families in Newport would own at least one slave. Traders, captains and merchants would own even more. The wealthy Francis Malbone, a rum distiller, employed 10 slaves; Capt. John Mawdsley owned 20. On Newport's noisy waterfront, enslaved Africans cut sails, knotted ropes, shaped barrels, unloaded ships, molded candles and distilled rum. On Thames Street, master grinder Prince Updike -a slave owned by the wealthy trader Aaron Lopez- churned cocoa and sugar into sweet-smelling chocolate. Elsewhere, Newport's slaves worked as farmers, hatters, cooks, painters, bakers, barbers and servants. Godfrey Malbone's slave carried a lantern so that the snuff-loving merchant could find his way home after a midnight dinner of meat and ale.

"Anyone who was a merchant or a craftsman owned a slave," says Keith Stokes, executive director of the Newport County Chamber of Commerce. "By the mid-18th century, Africans are the entire work force."

* * *

Some of the earliest slaves were from the sugar plantations in the West Indies where they "seasoned," developing a resistance to European diseases and learning some English.

Later, slaves were brought directly from slave forts and castles along the African coast. Newporters preferred younger slaves so they could train them in specific trades.

The merchants often sought captives from areas in Africa where tribes already possessed building or husbandry skills that would be useful to their New World owners, Stokes says.

Newly arrived slaves were sometimes held in waterfront pens until they were sold at public auction. Others were sold from private wharves. On June 23, 1761, Capt. Samuel Holmes advertised the sale of "Slaves, just imported from the coast of Africa, consisting of very healthy likely Men, Women, Boys, Girls" at his wharf on Newport harbor.

In the early 1700s, lawyer Augustus Lucas offered buyers a "pre-auction" look at a group of slaves housed in his clapboard home on Division Street.

Many more were sold through private agreements.

The slaves were given nicknames like Peg or Dick, or names from antiquity, like Neptune, Cato or Caesar. Pompe Stevens was named after the Roman general, Pompey the Great.

* * *

The slaves were thrust into a world of successful merchants like William and Samuel Vernon, who hawked their goods from the docks and stores that rimmed the waterfront. From their store on John

Bannister's wharf, they hawked London Bohea Tea, Irish Linens and Old Barbados Rum "TO BE SOLD VERY CHEAP, For Cash only." On Brenton's Row, Jacob Richardson offered a "large assortment of goods" from London, including sword blades, knee buckles, pens, Dutch twine, broadcloths, buff-colored breeches, gloves and ribbons.

As property, slaves could be sold as easily as the goods hawked from Newport's wharves. In December, 1762, Capt. Jeb Easton listed the following items for sale: sugar, coffee, indigo – "also four NEGROES."

Although Newport was growing –in 1761 the town boasted 888 houses– it was a densely packed community. Most homes, crowded on the land above the harbor, were small.

Slaves slept in the homes of their masters, in attics, kitchens or cellars. In some instances, African children even slept in the same room or bed as their masters.

William and Samuel Vernon made their fortunes in the slave trade and from sales at their store on Bannister's Wharf. William's house still stands on Clarke Street in Newport.

The opportunity for slaves to establish families or maintain kinship ties was almost impossible in colonial Newport, says Edward Andrews, a University of New Hampshire history student studying Rhode Island slavery.

His theory is that slaves and servants were discouraged from marrying or starting families to curb urban crowding. Also, some indentured servants had to sign contracts forbidding fornication or matrimony, he says, because Newporters wanted to restrict the growth of the destitute and homeless.

Many slaves had to adopt their master's religion. Slaves owned by Quakers worshipped at Newport's Meeting House. Slaves owned by Congregationalists heard sermons from the Rev. Ezra Stiles. The slave Cato Thurston, a dock worker, was a "worthy member of the Baptist Church" who died "in the faith" while under the care of the Rev. Gardner Thurston.

But even in religion, Africans could only participate partially; most sat in balconies or in the rear of Newport's churches.

Increasingly restrictive laws were passed to control the slaves' lives. Under one early law, slaves could not be out after 9 p.m. unless they had permission from their master. Offenders were imprisoned in a cage and, if their master failed to fetch them, whipped.

Another law, passed in 1750, forbade Newporters to entertain "Indian, Negro, or Mulatto Servants or Slaves" without permission from their masters, and also outlawed the sale of liquor to Indians and slaves. A 1757 law made it illegal for shipmasters to transport slaves outside the colony.

Some fought back by running away. In 1767, a slave named James ran away from the merchants Joseph and William Wanton. It wasn't unusual.

From 1760 to 1766, slave owners paid for 77 advertisements in the Newport Mercury, offering rewards for runaway slaves and servants.

"People sometimes think slaves were better off here because they weren't picking cotton, but on the other hand, psychologically and socially, they were very much dominated by European life," says Stokes.

While oppressed, Newport's slaves still emerged better equipped to understand and navigate the world of their masters.

They learned skills, went to church and became part of the social fabric of the town, achieving a kind of status unknown

elsewhere, Stokes says.

"You can't compare Newport to the antebellum South," he says. "These are not beasts of the field."

In fact, many in Newport found ways to forge new lives despite their status as chattel. Some married, earned money, bought their freedom and preserved pieces of their culture.

Caesar Lyndon, an educated slave owned by Governor Josiah Lyndon, worked as a purchasing agent and secretary. With money he managed to earn on the side, he bought good clothes and belt buckles.

In the summer of 1766, Caesar and several friends, including Pompe Stevens, went on a "pleasant outing" to Portsmouth. Caesar provided a sumptuous feast for the celebrants: a roasted pig, corn, bread, wine, rum, coffee and butter.

Two months later, Caesar married his picnic companion, Sarah Searing and a year later, Stevens married his date, Phillis Lyndon, another of the governor's slaves.

Slaves often socialized on Sunday, their day off.

On Walnut Street in Newport, is the home of a former African slave Newport "Neptune" Thurston, who was a cooper, or barrelmaker, by trade. He may have learned the craft from Baptist minister Gardner Thurston, a cooper and member of the slave-trading Thurston family.

And many slaves worked on trade ships, even some bound for Africa. At sea, they found a new kind of freedom, says Andrews. "They were mobile in a time of immobility."

Slaves and freed blacks preserved their culture through funeral practices, bright clothing and reviving their African names.

Beginning in the 1750s, Newport's Africans held their own elections. The ceremony, scholars say, echoed African harvest celebrations.

During the annual event, slaves ran for office, dressed in their best clothes, marched in parades and elected "governors" and other officials.

White masters, who loaned their slaves horses and fine clothes for the event, considered it a coup if their slaves won office. Historians disagree on the meaning of the elections. Some historians say those elected actually held power over their peers. Others say it was merely ceremonial.

"Election ceremonies are common in all controlled societies," says James Garman at Salve Regina University. "They act as a release valve. But no matter whose purpose they serve, they don't address the social inequities."

* * *

On Aug. 26, 1765, a mob of club-carrying Newporters marched through the streets and burned the homes and gardens of a British lawyer and his friend. A day earlier, merchants William Ellery and Samuel Vernon burned an Englishman in effigy. The Colonists were angry about the English Parliament's proposed Stamp Act, which would place a tax on Colonial documents, almanacs and newspapers. Eventually Parliament backed off, and a group of Newporters again hit the streets, this time to celebrate by staging a spectacle in which "Liberty" was rescued from "Lawless Tyranny and Oppression."

As historian Jill Lepore notes in her recent book on New York slavery, New England's Colonists championed liberty and condemned slavery. But, in their political rhetoric, slavery meant rule by a despot.

When they talked about freedom, Newport's elite were not including freedom for the 1,200 African men, women and children

who lived and worked in the busy seaport. Many liberty-loving merchants -Ellery and Vernon included- owned or traded slaves. "I call it the American irony," says Stokes of the days leading up to the American Revolution. "We're fighting for political and religious freedom, but we're still enslaving people." Some did not miss the irony.

In January 1768, the Newport Mercury stated, "If Newport has the right to enslave Negroes, then Great Britain has the right to enslave the Colonists." By the end of the decade, a handful of Quakers and Congregationalists began to question Newport's heavy role in the slave trade. The Quakers -often referred to as Friends- asked their members to free their slaves.

And, a few years later, the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, pastor of the First Congregational Church, angered some of his congregation when he started preaching against slavery from the pulpit, calling it unchristian. Nearby, white school teacher Sarah Osborn provided religious services for slaves. At one point, 300 Africans and African-Americans attended her class. By 1776, the year the Colonies declared their independence from English rule, more than 100 free blacks lived in Newport. Some moved to Pope Street and other areas on the edge of town, or to Division Street, where white sympathizers like Pastor Hopkins, lived.

In 1784, the General Assembly passed the Negro Emancipation Act, which freed all children of slaves born after March 1, 1784. All slaves born before that date were to remain slaves for life. Even the emancipated children did not get freedom immediately. Girls remained slaves until they turned 18; boys were slaves until they were 21.

That same year, Pastor Hopkins told a Providence Quaker that Newport "is the most guilty respecting the slave trade, of any on the continent." The town, he said, was built "by the blood of the poor Africans; and that the only way to escape the effects of divine displeasure, is to be sensible of the sin, repent, and reform."

After the American Revolution, Newport's free blacks formed their own religious organizations, including the African Union Society, the nation's first self-help group for African-Americans.

Pompe Stevens was among them.

No longer a slave, he embraced his African name, Zingo.

The society helped members pay for burials and other items, and considered various plans to return to Africa. In time, other groups were formed, including Newport's Free African Union Society.

In 1789, the society's president, Anthony Taylor, described Newport's black residents as "strangers and outcasts in a strange land, attended with many disadvantages and evils ... which are like to continue on us and on our children while we and they live in this Country."

March 15, Wednesday: In Providence, Rhode Island's "ProJo," the Providence Journal, Paul Davis's series about the days of slavery and the international slave trade continued:

1 Boye Slave Dyed: The Terrible Voyage of the Sally

The first ship to leave Providence for Africa was sent by James Brown in 1735, but only a smattering of ships departed from that port before the Revolutionary War. Providence never became a busy slave center, like Newport and Bristol.

Newport dominated the state's slave trade for the first 50 years. All trade came to a halt during the seven years the colonies fought for independence from Great Britain. When the war ended, Rhode Island ships again cleared for Africa. Newport continued to send dozens of ships to Africa, but Providence and Warren, and especially Bristol, became bigger players. Between 1784 and 1807, 402 ships sailed from Rhode Island for Africa.

Providence, which sent 55 of those ships, accounted for only 14 percent of the state's slave trade.

* * *

Capt. Esek Hopkins had just cleared the African coast when one of his captives died.

The young girl wasn't the first.

For nine long months, Hopkins had bartered with slave traders on behalf of the Brown brothers of Providence - Nicholas, Joseph, John and Moses. By late August 1765, he had finally purchased enough slaves, 167, so he could leave. Tarrying on the malarial coast -sailors called it the White Man's Grave- Hopkins had already lost 20 slaves and two members of his crew.

On his first -and last- slave trade voyage on the *Sally* in 1765, Capt. Esek Hopkins lost 109 slaves to uprisings and disease. The failed attempt marked a turning point for the Brown family of Providence as Moses Brown turned his back on the slave trade. Now, on board the 120-ton brig *Sally*, the deaths continued.

"1 boye slave Dyed," Hopkins wrote on Aug. 25. He kept a tally of the slave deaths in his trade book. The young boy was number 22.

The Browns had instructed Hopkins to sell his slaves in the West Indies for "hard cash" or "good bills of exchange."

"Dispatch," they reminded him, "is the life of Business."

Esek Hopkins, 46, had spent years at sea, but, until now, he had never helmed a slave ship.

At 20, he left the family farm in Scituate to board a ship bound for Surinam, a South American port favored by Newport captains and slave dealers. Two older brothers also sailed. John died at sea; Samuel died at Hispaniola, a Caribbean slave and sugar center, now known as Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

Stephen, a third brother, rose through the ranks of colonial politics and became governor of Rhode Island.

Esek married in 1741, bought a farm in Providence and also dabbled in civic affairs. But he preferred the sea. Aggressive and outspoken, he worked for more than three decades as a privateer and merchant-adventurer, sometimes for the Browns. During the Seven Years' War between England and France, he captured a French ship loaded with oil and other goods.

But commanding a slave ship required knowledge of African tribal customs and negotiating skills; he possessed neither. He wasn't even the Browns' first choice; many Rhode Island captains were already on the African coast.

Stocked with handcuffs, leg irons, chains and padlocks, the *Sally* was a floating prison.

The women, mostly naked, lived unchained on the quarterdeck. Crew members believed there was little chance they would stage a rebellion.

The males, chained together in pairs, were kept below deck, where they struggled for air in the dark humid hold. Their spaces were so cramped they struggled to sit up.

In good weather, Hopkins and his crew exercised the more than 100 African slaves on deck, and scrubbed their filthy quarters

with water and vinegar.

On Aug. 28, just eight days after leaving the coast of Africa, Hopkins freed some of the slaves to help with the chores. Instead, they freed other slaves and turned on what was left of his crew. "...the whole rose upon the People, and endeavored to get Possession of the vessel," the Newport Mercury reported later. Outnumbered, the sailors grabbed some of the weapons aboard the *Sally*: 4 pistols, 7 swivel guns, 13 cutlasses, 2 blunderbusses and a keg of gunpowder. The curved cutlass blades and short-barreled blunderbusses - favored by pirates and highwaymen - were ideal weapons for killing enemies in close quarters. "Destroyed 8 and several more wounded," Hopkins wrote. One slave suffered broken ribs, another a cracked thigh bone. Both later died.

At sea, the *Sally* creaked and rolled as the crew kept careful watch on the remaining males shackled on the decks below.

Above deck, Hopkins revised the death count in his trade book. 32, he wrote.

* * *

Back in Providence, the Browns had high hopes for the *Sally*. Among the city's richest men, they operated under the name Nicholas Brown and Company. They owned all or partial interest in a number of ships; a candle factory at Fox Point; a rope factory, sugar house and chocolate mill and two rum distilleries.

Just before the *Sally* sailed, they invested in an iron foundry on the Pawtuxet River, the Hope Furnace in Scituate. Esek's brother, Stephen, was a partner. To help raise cash for the new foundry and their candle business, the Browns invested in the *Sally* and two non-slave ships that carried horses and other goods to the Caribbean.

Sending the *Sally* to Africa marked the first time the four brothers, as a group, had ventured into the slave trade.

Their great-great grandfather, Chad Brown, had been an early religious leader of the colony along with founder Roger Williams. The brothers' grandfather, James, a pious Baptist church elder, was openly critical of Providence's rising merchant class.

Yet, his son, Capt. James Brown, rejected the pulpit for the counting house. He sailed to the West Indies, ran a slaughter house, opened a shop and ran two distilleries. Unlike the earlier Browns, James recorded his children's births in his business ledger, rather than the family Bible.

And in 1735, he sent Providence's first slave ship to Africa.

"Gett Molases if you can" and "leave no debts behind," James wrote to his brother, Obadiah. The market was poor; still, Obadiah traded the Mary's human cargo in the West Indies for coffee, cordage, duck and salt. He brought three slaves, valued at 120 English pounds, back to Providence.

When James died three years later, Obadiah helped raise his brother's sons: Nicholas, Joseph, John and Moses.

In 1759, John and Nicholas joined Obadiah and other merchants in outfitting another slave ship, the *Wheel of Fortune*. It was captured by a French privateer. "Taken" wrote Obadiah in his insurance book.

The sons were not deterred.

Abraham Redwood was one of the principal contributors to The Redwood Library and Athenaeum when it was opened in 1750. Although he made his fortune from his Caribbean plantations and the slave trade, Redwood was remembered at the time of his death

as a philanthropist and benefactor of the poor. Although the local economy had suffered during the war between France and Britain, the slave trade surged in 1763. In Virginia, plantation owner Carter Braxton urged the Browns to send him slaves. I understand, he said, there is a "great Traid carried on from Rhode Island to Guinea for Negroes." The Browns did not act on Braxton's offer. But in the summer of 1754, three of the brothers helped stock the *Sally* with 17,274 gallons of rum, the main currency of the Rhode Island slave trade, 1,800 bunches of onions, 90 pounds of coffee, 40 barrels of flour, 30 boxes of candles, 25 casks of rice, 10 hogsheads of tobacco, 6 barrels of tar, and bread, molasses, beef and pork. The *Sally's* crew included a first and second mate, Hopkins' personal slave and a cooper to make barrels for the molasses the *Sally* would receive in trade for slaves. The Browns agreed to pay Esek Hopkins 50 pounds a month for the voyage. Although it was slightly less than the wages paid the first and second mates, Hopkins was also promised a fat bonus, or "privilege," including 10 barrels of rum and 10 slaves. Most Rhode Island captains received a bonus of 4 slaves per 104 sold at market. Because hard money was scarce in Rhode Island, the first and second mates were also offered slaves as commissions. For the Browns, the stakes were high. For 50 years, Newport had been the colony's major shipping port. The Browns, along with Gov. Stephen Hopkins and a few other merchants, wanted to make Providence the political and commercial center of Rhode Island. "The Browns knew that the trade posed risks, but they also knew it could result in tremendous profits," says James Campbell, a Brown University professor. "They clearly anticipated a very profitable voyage."

* * *

Hopkins, however, fared poorly in Africa. With the end of the Seven Years' War, transatlantic trade resumed; British and New England ships jammed Africa's slave castles, trade forts and river mouths. "Demand was great and prices were high," Campbell says. "The seller had the upper hand." Hopkins had no choice but to sail a 100-mile stretch of coast, looking for deals. Worse, he didn't understand local customs, which depended on gifts, tributes and bribes. The trade, which dragged on for months, "involved an exchange of courtesies, gifts and negotiations," says Campbell. "You had to establish your credentials and character before trade actually began." By mid-December, Hopkins had purchased 23 slaves. But the trading went slowly. Hopkins gave King Fodolgo Talko and his officers two barrels of rum and a keg of snuff. It wasn't enough. The next day, he gave another leader and his men two casks of rum. On Dec. 23, he met with the king beneath a tree. He gave him 75 gallons of rum and received a cow as a present. The next day trading resumed, and Hopkins offered another 112 gallons of rum. He got one slave. Later that day, the king demanded more rum, tobacco, iron and sugar for himself, his son and other officials. Rhode Island captains spent an average of four months on the African coast; it took Hopkins nine. "Hopkins was inexperienced as a slaver," says Campbell. "You wanted to get in and out as quickly as possible. As long as a

slave ship was close to land, there was a danger of insurrection. Moreover, you die when you're on the West African coast. You're being exposed to diseases like malaria and yellow fever. Your slaves and crews start to die."

On June 8, Hopkins logged his most successful day of trading - 12 slaves. That same day, one of his earlier captives hanged herself between the decks of the *Sally*.

* * *

Now, as Hopkins crossed a cruel stretch of ocean called the Middle Passage, death came almost daily.

"3 women Slaves Dyed," Hopkins wrote in his trade book on Oct. 1. The ink had hardly dried when, a day later, he wrote: "3 men Slaves and 2 women Slaves - Dyed."

On Oct. 3, "1 garle Slave Dyed."

The family clock of Adm. Esek Hopkins sits today in an office in University Hall at Brown University, which was Rhode Island College at the time. The first building on campus, it was built using slave labor. The clock was presented by his granddaughter Elizabeth Angell in 1855.

In a letter to the Browns, Hopkins blamed the deaths on the failed slave revolt. The survivors were "so dispirited," he wrote, that "some drowned themselves, some starved and others sickened and died."

But the rate at which the Africans died "suggests an epidemic disease," probably smallpox or dysentery, says Campbell.

Amoebic dysentery, carried through fecal-tainted water, was spread by the filthy conditions below slave ship decks. It caused violent diarrhea, dehydration and death. Traders called it the "bloody flux."

The remaining Africans aboard the *Sally* were in a "very sickly and disordered manner," Hopkins wrote to the Browns when he arrived in Antigua. The emaciated slaves, fed a gruel made of rice, fetched poor prices; some sold for as little as 4 to 6 English pounds.

By the time Hopkins returned to Newport, he had lost 109 Africans. For most investors, a 15 percent loss of life was an acceptable risk; Hopkins lost more than half of his human cargo. And, the Browns lost the equivalent of \$10,000 on the voyage, says Campbell. "The debacle represented a turning point for three of the brothers -Nicholas, Joseph and Moses- who thereafter left the trade for good," says Campbell. "It would be nice to say that they quit because of moral qualms, but there isn't much evidence to support that, at least initially. More likely, they simply concluded that slavery was too risky an investment."

John invested in additional slave voyages -between four and eight more- and became a defender of the trade.

His younger brother, Moses, took another path.

Depressed, unable to sleep, he avoided the family counting house. In 1773 -eight years after the *Sally's* voyage- he freed his six slaves. He was sure his wife's death was the result of his role in the trade.

Joining other Quakers, Moses declared war on New England's slavers.

One of his first targets was his older brother, John Brown.

March 16, Thursday: In Providence, Rhode Island's "ProJo," the Providence Journal, Paul Davis's series about the days of slavery and the international slave trade continued:

Brown vs. Brown: Brothers Go Head to Head

In 1770, the Rev. Samuel Hopkins preached his first sermon against slavery and the slave trade, calling them terrible sins. His message surprised church members, some of them slave traders. One family left the church. The notion that slavery was immoral was slow to take hold.

The Quakers were among the first to question the practice and, in 1773, they asked members to free their slaves. Not everyone agreed. Wealthy businessman Abraham Redwood and even a long-term Rhode Island governor refused to free their slaves and were disowned by the group.

Although the Quakers would help federal officials prosecute slave traders in the 1790s, they were seen as a quirky fringe group. A century earlier, the Puritans in Boston hanged Quakers and Roger Williams called them heretics.

* * *

By 1797, John Brown had burned the British ship *Gaspee*, co-founded Providence's first bank, sent a trade ship to China and laid the cornerstone of Brown University's administration building.

He was, says a biographer, one of America's leading merchants. But the federal government had other words for him: illegal slave trader. Agents seized his ship, the *Hope*, for violating the U.S. Slave Trade Act of 1794. Brown was the first Rhode Islander -possibly the first citizen in the new nation- to be tried under the law which forbid the trading of slaves in foreign ports.

On Aug. 5, in District Court in Newport, Judge Benjamin Bourn outlined the reasons for seizing the *Hope*. Brown and others had "fitted, equipped, loaded, and prepared" the ship that sailed from Providence to Africa and on to Havana "for the purpose of carrying on a trade and traffic in Slaves" which was contrary to the Statute of the United States, Judge Bourn wrote.

Federal authorities learned of John Brown's activities from his own brother Moses Brown and other anti-slavery radicals.

John and Moses had been at odds over the slave trade for more than a decade. Moses, in fact, had helped push for the federal law after an earlier state law to stop the trade was not enforced.

Now, in the late 1790s, the Providence Abolition Society was suing merchants for breaking the federal law. The group's strategy was a simple one: if the slavers agreed to quit the trade, they would drop their suits.

John Brown, one of America's leading merchants in the late 1700s, vigorously fought government efforts to end the slave trade. Moses Brown, a devout Quaker after quitting the slave trade, was an abolitionist who pressed the government to end slavery.

One of Providence's biggest slave traders, Cyprian Sterry, buckled under the group's pressure, and agreed to stop selling Africans.

But John wouldn't.

After months of out-of-court wrangling, the two sides failed to reach an agreement.

In court, John lost one round but won another.

The judge decreed that the *Hope*, along with "her tackle,

furniture, apparel and other appurtenances" be sold at an India Point auction on Aug. 26.

But, in a second court appearance, John triumphed over the abolitionists. In Newport, the center of the state slave trade, jurors were reluctant to convict a vocal defender of the African trade.

In a 1798 letter to his son James, John Brown said he had won a verdict for costs against his prosecutors whom he called a "Wicked and abominable Combination."

The state's anti-slavery foes, he said, were "Running Round in the Rain.... I tell them they had better be Contented to Stop where they are, as the Further they go the worse they will fail." It wasn't the first time John Brown clashed with his brother and Rhode Island's other slavery foes.

And it wouldn't be the last.

* * *

The two brothers did not always quarrel.

As young men, they learned the sea trade and manufacturing from their uncle Obadiah. With their brothers Joseph and Nicholas, they formed a family firm, Nicholas Brown and Company in 1762. The brothers shipped goods to the West Indies, made candles from the oil of sperm whales and later produced pig iron at Hope Furnace in Scituate.

Each man brought a different skill to the partnership. Nicholas was methodical and plodding, John was bold and reckless, Joseph was a good technician and Moses was erudite, says Brown family biographer James B. Hedges.

In 1764, the four brothers invested in their first slave voyage. It was a financial disaster; more than half of the slaves died before they could be sold in the West Indies. The Browns never financed another slave trip together. But John, anxious to expand his business interests, struck out on his own. In 1769, he outfitted another slave ship to Africa.

The family dynamic changed forever.

* * *

After the death of his wife and a daughter, Moses embraced the spiritual beliefs of the Quakers. In 1773, following their example, he freed the six slaves he owned and relinquished his interest in four others who worked at the family's candle works. He invited his family and several Quakers to hear his explanation. "Whereas I am clearly convinced that the buying and selling of men of what color soever as slaves is contrary to the Divine Mind," he began, "I do therefore ... set free the following negroes being all I am possessed of or any ways interested in." Moses promised to oversee the education of the youngest slaves and he gave each of the men the use of an acre of land from his farm. Consider me a friend, he told them.

For generations, the Browns had been Baptist ministers and churchmen. But a year after he freed his slaves, Moses officially converted to Quakerism. He was sure his wife Anna's death in 1773 was God's way of punishing him for his role in the slave trade.

Almost immediately, he and other Quakers began prodding local and federal lawmakers to ban both slavery and the slave trade. In 1774, the General Assembly passed a law prohibiting the importation of slaves into Rhode Island, an amended version of a bill advanced by Moses Brown that would have ended the slave trade altogether. In fact, it included a loophole that allowed slaves who could not be sold elsewhere to be brought into Rhode Island for one year. In addition, the proposed fines for

importing slaves were omitted.

The "law proved totally ineffectual," says historian Christy Millard Nadalin.

The Brown family's influence is still evident on Providence's East Side from the stately family mansions to the university that bears their name. The institution's first building was built by slaves.

The first act calling for the freeing of slaves in Rhode Island came in 1784. But the General Assembly did not want it done quickly. Under the act, children born to slave mothers after March 1, 1784 would be free when they became adults. The law, says Nadalin, "required no real sacrifice on the part of the slave owners, and it did nothing to curb the actual trade in slaves."

In 1787, the General Assembly made it illegal for any Rhode Islander to be involved in the African slave trade — the first such law in America. But, again, it was ignored; in the next three years, 25 ships sailed to Africa. Two years later, Moses Brown, the Rev. Samuel Hopkins of Newport, and about 180 others organized the Abolition Society. Its mission, according to J. Stanley Lemons, history professor at Rhode Island College, was to enforce the laws against the slave trade.

* * *

Just as the abolitionists were organizing, a bitter attack against them erupted in the Providence Gazette.

The society, a critic wrote, was "created not to ruin only one good citizen but to ruin many hundreds within the United States" who have all or part of their property in slaves and the slave trade.

These people you are calling "Negro-dealers" and "kidnappers" are some of the "very best men" in Rhode Island, he wrote.

"This traffic, strange as it appears to the conscientious Friend or Quaker, is right, just and lawful, and consequently practiced every day."

The diatribe was signed "A Citizen."

It was John Brown.

Brother Moses and other abolitionists responded, accusing John and other defenders of slavery as selfish, ignorant and pitiful. Moses publicly refuted a number of the "Citizen's" arguments, including the assertion that Africans were better off as slaves in America because they would have been killed back home.

The "Citizen" had his facts wrong, Moses countered. But if his argument were right, wouldn't it be an even greater act of humanity to grant the captives their freedom after arriving in America?

The battle was the "most bitter and unrestrained controversy" in the state's early history, says Moses Brown biographer Mack Thompson. What started as a discussion about the pros and cons of the slave trade "soon degenerated into an acrimonious debate in which politics and personalities became the main subject." Moses eventually withdrew from the public debate.

But, privately, he continued to plead for an end to the state's slave trade. "Confronted with public apathy, inefficient state officials, and the power of the slave traders," Moses and his fellow abolitionists had little impact, says biographer Thompson.

Moses couldn't even convince his own brother that slave trading was evil. So he and others turned to U.S. Attorney Ray Greene, who dragged John and other slave traders into court.

John lost his ship but never publicly apologized.

* * *

In 1800, two years after he was elected to Congress, John Brown was one of only five congressmen to vote against a bill to strengthen the 1794 law under which he had been prosecuted. Speaking against the measure, he offered three familiar arguments. First, he said, it was wrong to deny to American citizens the benefits of a trade that was open to Europeans. Second, the trade was not immoral because the condition of those enslaved was "much bettered." Finally, he argued that the trade would bring much-desired revenue to the nation's treasury. "Why should a heavy fine and imprisonment be made the penalty for carrying on a trade so advantageous?" he asked. The abolitionist Moses, meanwhile, joined Samuel Slater and made cloth in a mill in Pawtucket. They made clothes from cotton picked by slaves on plantations in the South.

* * *

John Brown never changed his mind about profits and slavery, says Joaquina Bela Teixeira, executive director of the Rhode Island Black Heritage Society in Providence. "His sense of morality never shifted." He tried to fix tobacco prices and filed false insurance claims, she says, "yet he's touted as one of Providence's patriots." But the Browns "aren't big slave traders," says James Campbell, history professor at Brown University. They play a big role in the state's slave trading history, in part, because they are major historical figures, kept meticulous records and have a name linked to a major university. "Slavery was a fact of life. Yet, what is compelling about that late 18th-century moment is that you get this new moral sensibility. At some point, people acted against the slave trade. Not everyone did, and not everyone acted at the same time. But through the Browns you can see these deep historical currents" that ran through the era, Campbell says. It's also important to understand that, despite their public arguments, the two brothers cared about each other, Campbell says. "In private correspondence, they are very frank with one another. My sense is that they loved one another. In one letter, Moses says, 'John, I'm doing this for you.'"

March 17, Friday: In Providence, Rhode Island's "ProJo," the [Providence Journal](#), Paul Davis's series about the days of slavery and the international slave trade concluded:

Living Off the Trade: Bristol and the DeWolfs

Rhode Island outlawed slave trading in 1787, but it didn't stop the trafficking. Almost half of all of Rhode Island's slave voyages occurred after trading was outlawed. By the end of the 18th century, Bristol surpassed Newport as the busiest slave port in Rhode Island. In 1807, the United States Congress, after a bitter debate, banished the slave trade and Rhode Island's 75-year reign sputtered to an end. Rhode Island's rum mills were gradually replaced by cotton mills. Bristol was broke, Newport was struggling and Providence merchants turned to manufacturing.

* * *

Samuel Bosworth was scared. He was ordered to buy a ship at auction to keep it out of the

hands of its owner, Charles DeWolf, one of Bristol's biggest slave traders.

Federal officials had just seized the *Lucy*, which they were sure DeWolf planned to send to Africa on a slave voyage – a clear violation of a 1794 law that prohibited Americans from fitting out vessels “for the purpose of carrying on any trade or traffic in slaves, to any foreign country.”

U.S. Treasury officials wanted to send a message to Rhode Island's slavers so they instructed Bosworth, a government port surveyor, to outbid competitors. In the past, slave traders caught violating the law simply repurchased their ships at auction, often at a fraction of their value.

Keeping the *Lucy* from DeWolf would not be popular.

Charles and his brothers had prospered from trafficking in human cargo since the 1780s and the town's residents depended on them for their livelihood. Bristol's craftsmen made iron chains, sails and rope for the slave ships; farmers grew onions and distillers made rum – all items needed to support the trade. The night before the auction, three of Rhode Island's wealthiest men appeared at Bosworth's home. Charles and James DeWolf and John Brown, a Providence merchant who had just been elected to Congress, warned Bosworth not to go, saying it was not part of his job as a surveyor. But Bosworth had little choice. He had been pressured by William Ellery, Newport's zealous customs collector, a “straight-gazing patriot” who had signed the Declaration of Independence 23 years earlier. Although his father had been a slave trader, Ellery regarded smuggling slaves as “nothing short of treason,” writes George Howe, a DeWolf descendant.

On the morning of the auction, July 25, 1799, Charles DeWolf approached Bosworth a second time. If he tried to buy the *Lucy*, he would likely be “insulted if not thrown off the wharf by some of the sailors,” DeWolf warned.

Bosworth continued on his way. But he never reached the town wharf.

As he neared the *Lucy*, eight men in Indian garb and painted faces grabbed him and pushed him into a sailboat. The black-faced men sailed Bosworth around Ferry Point and dumped him at the foot of Mount Hope, two miles from the auction site. With Bosworth out of the way, a DeWolf captain bought the *Lucy* for \$738. “The government had found the slave traders more than a match on their home turf, and never tried the tactic again,” says historian Jay Coughtry.

The DeWolfs were just getting started.

* * *

Already, the clan owned a piece of Bristol's waterfront.

The brothers William and James DeWolf operated from a wharf and a three-story brick counting house on Thames Street, overlooking the harbor.

At the turn of the century, the family founded the Bank of Bristol, chartered with \$50,000 in capital. Among the chief stockholders in 1803 were two generations of DeWolfs – John, Charles, James, William, George and Levi. The clan also started the Mount-Hope Insurance Co., which insured their own slave ships.

When slave merchant James DeWolf traveled to Washington as a senator, he rode in the ornate carriage that is kept at Linden Place, in Bristol, the George DeWolf family mansion.

Business was good.

Before the American Revolution, Newport merchants dominated the

slave trade. But from 1789 to 1793, nearly a third of Rhode Island's slave ships sailed from Bristol. By 1800, Bristol surpassed Newport as the busiest slave port. The DeWolfs financed 88 slaving voyages from 1784 to 1807 – roughly a quarter of all Rhode Island slave trips during that period. Alone, or with other investors, the family was responsible for nearly 60 percent of all African voyages that began in Bristol.

"This will inform you of my arrival in this port safe, with seventy-eight well slaves," wrote Jeremiah Diman to James DeWolf on April 1, 1796. Writing from St. Thomas, Diman said he'd lost two slaves on the voyage from Africa, and promised to leave soon for Havana to sell the others. "I shall do the best I can, and without other orders, load with molasses and return to Bristol." The DeWolfs owned five plantations in Cuba –among them the Mary Ann, the New Hope and the Esperanza– where their slaves grew sugar cane and coffee. The DeWolfs also brought some slaves back to Bristol, where they were "sold to some of the best families in the state," says historian Charles O.F. Thompson. In 1803, James DeWolf gave his wife an African boy and girl for Christmas.

* * *

They were self-made men. The DeWolf family crest, shown here as painted on the door of the carriage, above. Too poor to stay in school, they took jobs on ships. Their father, Mark Anthony DeWolf, was a slaver and a seaman, too. But he never made any money from it.

He married the daughter of wealthy privateer Simeon Potter, moved from Guadeloupe to Bristol and sailed on Potter's ships. After years of scrambling to make a living, he died, broke, of a "nervous fever" in 1793.

Between voyages he sired 15 children. Three of his sons died at sea. But five –James, John, Charles, William and Levi– survived. The "Quakerish" Levi quit the slave trade after a single voyage, but the others prospered from the trade, privateering, whaling and other ventures.

Each son worked a different part of the family business. Charles, the oldest, acted as the family's financial consultant. William ran the Mount-Hope Insurance Company, which insured ships and their cargoes against "the dangers of the seas, of fire, enemies, pirates, assailing thieves, restraints and detainments of kings . . . and all other losses and misfortunes." Ships and their cargoes were insured at up to \$7,000.

In 1804, Henry DeWolf moved to South Carolina to handle the family's slave sales in Charleston. The move was typical; the family placed relatives or in-laws in every part of their slaving enterprise from Bristol to Cuba.

At the urging of the DeWolfs, Congressman John Brown helped establish Bristol and Warren as a separate customs district where slave traders could operate away from "the prying eyes" of William Ellery in Newport, says Coughtry. A few years later, the family successfully lobbied President Thomas Jefferson to name Charles Collins, a slave trader and DeWolf cousin, as head of the new district. Collins had been captain of the seized ship, the Lucy.

The family's hold was now complete.

From 1804 to 1807, the prosecution of slave traders ceased, and the number of Africa-bound ships from Bristol soared.

"The DeWolf family monopolized the slave trade," says Kevin E. Jordan, a retired professor at Roger Williams University.

To keep an eye on their trade, the DeWolfs built huge homes near the harbor. Charles hired ship carpenters to build the Mansion

House on Thames Street before 1785. It had four entrances, with broad halls running north to south and east to west. Wallpaper in the drawing room featured exotic birds with brilliant plumage.

Two decades later, James hired architect Russell Warren to build The Mount, a white three-story home with five chimneys, a deer park and a glass-enclosed cupola. Each day, his wife's slave washed the teak floors with tea leaves. In 1810, George hired Warren to design a \$60,000 mansion with fluted Corinthian columns, a three-story spiral staircase and a skylight. The estate is now referred to as Linden Place.

* * *

James DeWolf was the most extraordinary of the brothers. His life, says historian Wilfred H. Munro, resembled "the wildest chapters of a romance." Born in Bristol in 1764, he boarded Revolutionary War ships as a boy, and was held prisoner by the British in Bermuda. The cruelty and hardship he experienced as a young prisoner "made him a man of force and indomitable energy with no nice ethical distinctions," says one biographer.

In his early 20s, he sailed aboard the slave ship Providence, owned by John Brown; he bought his own slave ship, a 40-ton schooner, in 1788.

Tall, with gray-blue eyes, he had big sailor's hands – and a Midas touch, says Munro.

While his fellow merchants "were cautiously weighing the possible chances of success in ventures in untried fields, he was accustomed to rush boldly in, sweep away the rich prizes that so often await a pioneer, and leave for those who followed him only the moderate gains that ordinary business affords," writes Munro.

Some called his boldness cruel.

In 1791, a grand jury charged James with murdering a slave aboard a bark the year before. The woman, who had smallpox, had to be jettisoned before she contaminated the other slaves and crew, some sailors testified in his defense. But jurors said the slave ship captain did not have "the fear of God before his eyes." Instead, he was "moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil" when he threw the woman from his ship. She "instantly sank, drowned and died ..." the jury said.

Although an arrest warrant was issued, the federal marshal from Newport reported twice annually that he couldn't find James. After four years, the charge was dropped. Whether James was in Bristol during these years or, as one historian writes, hiding out in the Danish West Indies, is unclear.

It wasn't the only time James flouted the law. After it became illegal to sell slaves in foreign lands, he and his captains disguised their mission by equipping their ships with slave quarters after they left Rhode Island waters. Others simply sailed past Newport in the dark.

James DeWolf, left, served as a senator while he profited from the trade; William, center, ran the Mount-Hope Insurance Company that insured the slave traders' ships and Charles, right, the oldest son, was the family's financial consultant.

Before he turned 25, James had accumulated considerable wealth. His 1790 marriage to Nancy, the daughter of Deputy Gov. William Bradford, brought him more money. During the War of 1812, he sent out his own 18-gun brig with the government's blessing and captured 40 British vessels worth more than \$5 million, says Ray Battcher III, curator of the Bristol Historical & Preservation Society.

He emerged, according to Battcher, as one of the richest men in the United States.

When the federal government ran low on credit, James DeWolf loaned the nation money.

He built the Arkwright Mills in Coventry, where workers made cloth from cotton grown by southern slaves. He also converted some of his ships into whalers, took up farming and traded with China.

In his late 30s, he entered politics. In 1802, he won a seat in the state legislature and later became speaker of the House. Locally, he was town moderator. In 1821, he went to Washington to serve in the Senate.

DeWolf's reputation as a slave trader followed him.

During a Senate debate over whether Missouri should be admitted as a slave state, a senator from South Carolina noted that some Rhode Islanders opposed the move and were bitter toward slaveholders.

But such a sentiment could not be widespread, he said with sarcasm.

After all, Rhode Island voters elected James DeWolf to represent them — a man who "had accumulated an immense fortune by the slave trade."

The southern senator noted that of the 202 vessels that carried slaves to South Carolina from 1804 to 1807, 59 were from Rhode Island — and 10 belonged to DeWolf. DeWolf left the Senate before his term was up — one biographer said he was bored.

* * *

After 1807, a much stronger federal law ending the slave trade was passed, and the DeWolfs' hold on Bristol began to unravel. They moved their slaving operation to their Cuban plantations. In 1825, when George DeWolf's sugar cane crop failed, he defaulted on a business bank loan, bringing three banks to near collapse. The reverberations hit the other DeWolfs and much of Bristol. "The family went bankrupt. They couldn't pay the farmers" or other suppliers "so the people all went bankrupt," says Jordan. Among them was slave ship Capt. Isaac Manchester, who lost \$80,000 and turned to clamming to earn a living. According to one account, women wept and even churches closed their doors. "General DeWolf has failed utterly!" wrote Joel Mann to his father on Dec. 12, 1825.

"All night and yesterday officers and men were flying in all directions, attacking and securing property of every description. All classes of men, even clergymen and servants, are sufferers. Many among us are stripped of everything. Honest merchants and shopkeepers have lost all or nearly all," the pastor of the Bristol Congregational Church wrote.

Although the DeWolf family was responsible for much of the early wealth of Bristol, modest homes line the street that bears their name.

"The banks are in equal distress. A director has just told me that the General is on paper in some way or other at all the banks ... The Union Bank is thought to be ruined — perhaps others."

Six months later, the directors of the Bristol Union Bank, Eagle Bank and Bank of Bristol asked the General Assembly for tax relief because DeWolf's failure had cost them more than \$130,000 in capital.

James lost money, too, but died, in 1837, a millionaire. His estate included property in Ohio, Kentucky, Maryland, New York and Bristol.

To avoid Bristol's creditors, George DeWolf left his Bristol mansion at night, just before Christmas. Eight years earlier, he had entertained President James Monroe there. "All the creditors stormed the place and looted it," says Jordan. "They pulled out everything that wasn't nailed to the walls. They took the chandeliers from the ceilings."



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Prepared: July 26, 2006

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