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MOWRY TAVERN, WHERE WILLIAMS HELD MEETINGS. BUILT ABOUT 1653.

EARLY RHODE ISLAND

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE

BY

WILLIAM B. WEEDEN, A. M.

Author of "Economic and Social History of New England,"
"War Government, Federal and State," etc.



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FOREWORD

MUCH has been written concerning the disputes between Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The character of the technical rights of Roger Williams in the Bay, and whether such a seditious outcast could have rights, created volumes of discussion. These questions have lost interest in the new perspective of the twentieth century.

Mr. Richman, inspired by Bryce, and coming from the great West, set forth the world-spirit of Roger Williams. Moreover, he brought forward Jellinek's testimony to the world-wide importance of our Magna Charta "only in civil things," which he terms the first "unrestricted liberty of religious conviction." In the recent celebration of the memory of Calvin at Geneva, Professor Borgeaud, of the University, said: "We had above all to call up the vision of an American idea. . . . That part which is not sufficiently known in the Old World is magnificent. The man to whom it is due is Roger Williams." In his "Modern Democracy," he said long ago that the acceptance of the Rhode Island charter in 1647 was the "first great date in the history of modern democracy."

The solid work of Arnold sufficiently treated the politico-theological principles of our State, and Brigham brought up the history to our day. I have freely used his authorities.

In these pages, I have studied to find out how the outcasts lived. Isolated without church or school, with few men educated by system, how did the exiles in this

narrow territory build up a new civilization, sufficient to attract the notice of Europe two centuries later? Liberty of the soul based on law formed a new citizen, freed from feudal restraint and ecclesiastical heredity. Charles II. gave Williams and John Clarke for their "lively experiment" a new standing place, from which to overcome the world.

Information is meager concerning the early ways of living in the society developed on Narragansett Bay; but enough exists to enlighten the story, as heretofore told, of theological controversies and political evolution. The old records both in print and in manuscript yield much that is significant of the thought and action of these striving citizens. One of the rare and very valuable collections of papers, descended from Nicholas Brown & Co., is now in the John Carter Brown library. It yielded much for our use, as shown herein. I have grubbed considerably in the inventories; for whether important or not, they are certainly true.

Let us try to comprehend the social life of our forefathers!

W. B. W.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., *January 1, 1910.*

EARLY RHODE ISLAND

EARLY RHODE ISLAND

CHAPTER I

FOUNDATIONS OF RHODE ISLAND. 1636.

THE long controversy between advocates of Massachusetts and of Rhode Island is losing interest by reason of the change evolved in the relative importance of the issues. The principles of Roger Williams have become so much more weighty, while the world has been advancing three centuries in a political development not much affected by governmental control of religion that the details of his disputes with Massachusetts Bay are of less account. However the technical rights of the disputants may be made out, the fact remains that Williams was banished from his political home and deprived of his spiritual privileges.

Massachusetts made an absolute theocracy.

Connecticut made a limited theocracy, which conducted a much better developed and more orderly Puritan system of living than prevailed in Massachusetts.

Rhode Island constituted a limited democracy freed from theocratic control.

These are the great historic landmarks; to ascertain and to mark out this development in the events of the time is the true historic question. To appreciate the changes of sentiment concerning these great functions of government, let us compare the present conception¹ of

¹ Century Dictionary defines toleration to be "the recognition of private judgment in the matter of faith and worship. . . . The

“toleration” with the idea held in New England in the days of Williams.

Thomas Shepard in 1645 knew what was wanted among his brethren and his deep emotion revealed itself as he named his discourse “Lamentations.” He says “to cut off the hand of the magistrate from touching men for their consciences (a boundless toleration of all Religions, Hubbard, 1676) will certainly in time (if it get ground) be the utter overthrow, as it is the undermining of the Reformation begun. This opinion is but one of the fortresses and strongholds of Sathan.”²

“Touching the conscience,” that is the root of the theocratic system, which separated Williams and his followers from the government founded on it. However great and splendid the organization of the state, man was born first. Roger Williams saw, not only thought, but saw with inward vision that man should look through organized government directly, to the author and ruler of his being—to God.

Toleration was the main doctrine, but the same habit of mind and view of practical government ran through

effective recognition by the state of the right which every person has to enjoy the benefit of all the laws and of all social privileges without regard to difference of religion.” The high-minded Paley about 1800 had not quite risen to this elevation. “Toleration is of two kinds; the allowing to dissenters the unmolested profession and exercise of their religion, but with an exclusion from offices of trust and emolument in the state, which is a partial toleration, and the admitting them without distinction to all the civil privileges and capacities of other citizens, which is a complete toleration.” Morley gives the present conception of this historic term in treating Cromwell (*Century Mag.*, LIX. 575) “Toleration has become a standard commonplace, springing often from indifference, often from languor, sometimes from skepticism, but rooted among men of understanding in the perception that the security for a living conscience is freedom, not authority.”

² Cited C. F. Adams, “Massachusetts Historians,” p. 16.

the consciousness of the average Puritan. The Durfees, father and son, true descendants of Rhode Island, comprehended the large differences between Massachusetts Bay and the outcast colony on Narragansett Bay. Job Durfee said the Puritan understanding "was not the freedom of the individual mind from the domination of the spiritual order, but merely the freedom of their particular church; and just as the English government had thrown off the tyranny of the Pope, to establish the tyranny of the bishops, they threw off the tyranny of the bishops to establish the tyranny of the brethren."³

Thomas Durfee⁴ defined that soul-liberty was not secured by grant, but by limitation, being "the constitutional declaration of the right in its widest meaning, covering not only freedom of faith and worship, but also freedom of thought and speech in every legitimate form. The right has never been expressed with more completeness. 'Only in civil things' was no lucky hit, but the mature fruit of life and experience."

It is well to seek for the birth of "civil things" the assured conception of the "limitation," as Judge Durfee expresses it. Early in 1637 Williams writes⁵ Governor Winthrop, "the frequent experience of your loving ear, ready and open toward me (in what your conscience permitted) as also of that excellent spirit of wisdom and prudence wherewith the Father of Lights hath endued you, embolden me to request a word of private advise." There was a broad difference at this moment in Williams' mind between masters of families and proprietors deriving from Williams purchaser from the Sachems, and seller of the land to his companions; and "those few young men"

³ Cited Straus, "Roger Williams," p. 43.

⁴ Historical Discourses, 1886.

⁵ Narragansett Club, VI., 3.

who were coming in to be admitted as residents and citizens. He was contemplating in this letter two subscriptions: the first for the proprietors, and it was somewhat elaborate, for "late inhabitants of the Massachusetts (upon occasion of some differences of conscience) being permitted to depart from the limits of that Patent." The other subscription for the young men and others, was in substance the compact afterwards adopted, except that it does not reach the apothegm, "only in civil things."

Showing that he had not begun to consider (he never did enter into and fully comprehend) the difference between a patriarchal bargain or proprietor's sale and a political solution which might embrace a world-state, he asks, "whether I may not lawfully desire this of my neighbors, that as I freely subject myself to common consent, and shall not bring in any person into the town without their consent; so also that against my consent no person be violently brought in and received." All these meditations and queries he had not suggested to his neighbors, but waited until he "can see cause upon your loving counsel."

In May of this year he wrote Winthrop⁶ again, "notwithstanding our differences concerning the worship of God and the ordinances ministered by Antichrist's power, you have been always pleased lovingly to answer my boldness in civil things." He asks what he shall answer to "one unruly person" who has proposed often in town meeting, "for a better government than the country hath yet, and let's not to particularize by a general Governor, etc."

These debates and doubts were solved on the 20th of August. The "second comers" by political action put

⁶ Narrangansett Club, VI, p. 23.

into definite shape the simplest possible form of government⁷ "only in civil things."⁸

Years ago Mr. Straus brought forward the statement⁹ of the eminent Gervinus in 1853, showing that Roger Williams has established a "small new society" based on "entire liberty of conscience and the uncontrolled power of the majority in secular affairs. The 'theories' of Europe were here brought into practice." It was freely prophesied that these democratic movements would soon end themselves. But the institutions have not only maintained themselves, but have "spread over the whole union." They have given laws to one-quarter of the globe, and "they stand in the background of every democratic struggle in Europe."

Mr. Richman called attention to Dr. Borgeaud, of the Faculty of Law in Geneva, a more recent authority in this domain of history. His view of Roger Williams is that his "mind was at once enthusiastic and systematic; he was a theologian who had been brought up by a lawyer."¹⁰ The disciple of Coke, an Anglican lawyer, took on the beliefs of Brown,¹¹ the separatist theologian. Williams pushed these views further, even to the complete separation of civil and religious matters, and to an absolute democracy. In Rhode Island his community afterward became the "Kernel of a State." It accepted the charter granted by Parliamentary England. Citing from

⁷ "But 'only in civil things,'—religion was to be in no way a subject of legislation. Here for the first time was recognized the most unrestricted liberty of religious conviction, and that by a man who was himself glowing with religious feeling."—Jellinek: "Rights of Man and of Citizens," p. 66.

⁸ *Infra*, p. 31.

⁹ Straus, "Roger Williams," p. 234.

¹⁰ Borgeaud, "Modern Democracy," p. 156.

¹¹ Cf. Carpenter, "Roger Williams," p. xix.

the records of the acceptance, Borgeaud says, "these texts bear date 1647. If we compare them with what was taking place in Europe during this memorable year, we shall be ready to allow that this is the first great date in the history of modern democracy."¹²

When Williams was in London¹³ procuring this charter, he was associated with Milton, Vane, and especially with the great revolutionist, Cromwell. He kept up his personal and friendly relations with him.

We are not to assume that Rhode Island was the sole source of democracy in New England. It simply carried the European movement—through the inspiration of Williams—to its highest end and legitimate outcome in practical political government. Connecticut and Massachusetts were one to two centuries in arriving at equivalent results. The imagination can hardly set forth what might have been, if Massachusetts had grasped her whole opportunity in the seventeenth century.¹⁴

Borgeaud says, "if we trace the origin of American democracy among the charters and constitutions of the New England States, we find a startling proof of the close connection, which we must recognize between the two great movements (Reformation and Democracy) of modern thought."¹⁵ Again he defines the influence of Cal-

¹² Cf. "Modern Democracy," p. 161.

¹³ Mr. Albert Mathews calls attention to Sir Thomas Urquhart's expression of his obligations to Roger Williams for interceding in his behalf with the "most special members both of the Parliament and Council of State." . . . "He did approve himself a man of such discretion and inimitably sanctified parts that an Archangel from heaven could not have shewn more goodness and less ostentation."—Urquhart: "Works," pp. 408, 409. Ed. 1834.

¹⁴ Witness Doyle: "The colony was only saved from mental atrophy by its vigorous political life."—"Puritan Colonies," I, p. 187.

¹⁵ "Modern Democracy," p. 10.

vin, "Presbyterianism is Calvinism tempered by aristocratic tendencies of Calvin. Independency, or as first called, Congregationalism, is Calvinism without Calvin." ¹⁶

The German, Jellinek, sets forth the germinal idea inhering in the final principles of our community. It interests us, as being essentially the same as that propounded earlier by our own citizen, Thomas Durfee. As we cited from Durfee, it was "not only freedom of faith and worship, but also freedom of thought and speech in every legitimate form." Jellinek says the Americans gradually acquired a constitutional recognition of the principle that "there exists a right not conferred upon the citizen, but inherent in man, that acts of conscience and expressions of religious convictions stand inviolable over against the state as the exercise of a higher right." ¹⁷

Probably all will agree that however great and magnificent the organization of the state may be, that man is yet greater. The state, through Magna Charta and other great political monuments, has brought down the statutes of freedom. But freedom of conscience was not enacted by statute, it was the fruit of the Gospel. The inherent and sacred right of the individual as established legally was not the work of any revolution in Europe. "Its first apostle was not Lafayette, but Roger Williams, who, driven by powerful and deep religious enthusiasm, went into the wilderness in order to found a government of religious liberty." ¹⁸

¹⁶ Prof. H. L. Osgood in *Pol. Sc. Quarterly* virtually agrees with Borgeaud, "Calvinism in spite of the aristocratic character, which it temporarily assumed meant democracy in Church government. It meant more, for its aim was to make society in all its parts conform to a religious ideal."

¹⁷ Jellinek, "Rights of Man and of Citizens," p. 74.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 77.

It was not holiday work in the plantations on Narragansett Bay, as the following pages will make manifest. The German philosopher states, "to recognize the true boundaries between the individual and the community is the highest problem that thoughtful consideration of human society has to solve."¹⁹ That this people kept unimpaired the precious "kernel of a state," as the Genevan doctor terms it, through all the turmoil was a marvel of the moment and a permanent boon to mankind.

This seething democracy of Providence, which impresses European scholars so forcibly, was established in the middle seventeenth century, and was nourished by the informal parliament in almost constant session at John Smith's mill,²⁰ as well as in irregular conferences that were ante-chambers of the town meetings. In these disputations and debates, the public business was threshed out, before formal political action was instituted. Like many incipient communities in history, this democratic government might have come to naught, had it not been anchored to the state and fastened to the crown by the charter of Charles II. There is a divinity doth hedge a king, which prevailed in those days. This was plainly apparent to Roger Williams. We are obliged to criticise him often for his communistic vagaries and his inconsistent ways in mere statecraft. But he was well-grounded in the great principles of authority underlying all practicable government. In 1654-5 there was a party pushing soul-liberty and the power of the individual toward anarchy. A paper was sent to the town asserting that "it was blood-guiltiness, and against the rule of the Gospel, to execute judgment upon transgressors against the private or public weal."

Williams wrote to the town a masterly letter, defining

¹⁹ Jellinek, "Rights of Man and of Citizens," p. 98.

²⁰ *Infra*, p. 42.

individual liberty and the limits of governing power in the state. "There goes many a ship to sea, with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or a human combination, or society. Both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked in one ship. . . . I never denied that, notwithstanding their liberty of conscience, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course, yea, and also to command that justice, peace, and sobriety, be kept and practiced, both among the seamen and all the passengers. . . . If any shall mutiny, and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any should preach or write that there ought to be no commanders because all are equal in Christ, I never denied, but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel, and punish such transgressors." ²¹

In a noble letter to Major Mason, of Connecticut, June 22, 1670,²² Williams sets forth his own story with an account of his sufferings in settling the plantation. And he pictures in most graphic style the truly great concerns of citizens, in particular his consciousness of the high mission of himself and his fellows. "To mind not our own, but every man the things of another; yea, and to suffer wrong, and part with what we judge is right, yea, our lives and (as poor women martyrs have said) as many as there be hairs upon our heads, for the name of God and the son of God his sake. This is humanity, yea, this is Christianity. . . . The matter with us is not about these children's toys of land, meadows, cattle, government, etc. But here all over this colony a great number of weak and distressed souls, scattered, are flying hither from Old

²¹ *Ibid*, Nargt. Cl., VI., 278.

²² VI., "Narragansett Club," 344.

and New England, the most High and Only Wise hath, in His infinite wisdom, provided this country and this corner as a shelter for the poor and persecuted, according to their several persuasions.”

Mr. Richman considers Williams' system to have been religious in his own view, but not so according to the prevailing opinions of the time. He prefers to class his opinions as “ethico-political.”²³ We are to remember in placing a principle and in making categories that, nearly three centuries of progress—which the opinions of Williams and those like him have greatly affected—have passed since these colonies were struggling to begin political life. Some plain facts of the case have been neglected, both by the persecutors of Williams and by his advocates. Reformers must offend against the established order, by which and in which they are conditioned. The radical must go to the root of existing things, or he cannot grasp or even touch the evil he would combat.

Williams struck at the foundations of the Puritan church, and the social system carried with it. It was absolutely necessary that individuals should revolt against the old before a starting point for new life could be attained. Williams was literally a voice crying in the wilderness—so far as a representative of the individual soul was concerned. To him, his idea, his daimon was the simplest principle possible—and two and a half centuries of progress have proved that he was right. To them, this simplicity was complex beyond measure, and destructive of established order.

Greece, Rome, Teutonic mark and meeting penetrated by Hebrew insight, political England, are engraved deep in the lines of our heredity. But it is in the enlarging growth of the modern mind after the Reformation that

²³ Richman, “R. I., Its Making,” I., 22.

Rhode Island has an especial place in history, as my citations from European scholars have shown. As Roger Williams led in soul-liberty, so with his fellows he developed a community, a possible state, giving superiority to the individual man—practical democracy in short. Rough in poverty, rude in education, these pioneers kept their individual entity springing from Williams, Harris, Gorton, Coddington, and Clarke, as the following pages will show; which individual spirit finally pervaded and flavored the peoples roundabout. The most stormy town meeting, the boldest privateer, the stoutest Revolutionary soldier, the most adventurous merchant, carried forward this principle of expanding growth, proceeding from Williams' discovery and the struggle of pioneers for political life. A soul freed from ecclesiastical oppression and the bonds of expiring feudalism, must possess at last material things. Progress was slow in attaining such wealth and culture as the surrounding colonies inherited passively. But through every political and social movement a discerning eye can trace the individual man forming a larger community of individuals; thus lifting his own life and social opportunity into a freer atmosphere. If this were not so, how could the little state acquire wealth relatively equal to the most favored quarters of the Union. How else could a modern republican state be formed on accidental charters of the commonwealth and of Charles II.; which latter charter should essentially outlast two centuries, unchanged.

Wherever we turn in the record of the past, signs of representative government appear, as a great controlling principle seeking expression as history opens out. Japanese scholars claim that this is not confined to Anglo-Saxon nor even to Aryan nations; but prevails East and West. "I believe that the seed of representative govern-

ment is implanted in the very nature of human society and of the human mind.”²⁴

So far as our own part of the large question is concerned, let us look into the course of affairs in Massachusetts and Connecticut, to learn by contrast the true essence and the essential characteristics of our own institutions here in Rhode Island.

The colony of Massachusetts existed for fifty-five years under a royal charter granted to the “Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in England.” The charter empowered the freemen of the Company forever to elect from their own number, a Governor, Deputy-Governor, and eighteen Assistants, and to make laws “not repugnant to the laws of England.” The executive, not including the assistants, was authorized, but not required, to administer to freemen the oaths of supremacy and allegiance.

Winthrop, the Governor, with Deputy-Governor and Assistants, had been chosen in England. There were some preliminary meetings at Salem, but the first American Court of Assistants was convened at Boston, August 23, 1630. Some one hundred and eighteen persons gave notice at this Court asking admission as freemen. There were eight plantations or towns that participated in this assembly. The Court voted that Assistants only should be chosen by the Company at large, and that the Assistants with the Governor and Deputy-Governor, elected from themselves, should have the power of “making laws and choosing officers to execute the same.” This movement, erratic in a democratic government, lasted only about two years. May 9, 1632, the freemen resumed the right of election, limiting the choice of Governor to one of the existing Assistants.

²⁴ Iyenaga, “Constitutional Development of Japan,” J. H. U., IX., 20.

These issues are interesting as revealing the tides of public sentiment for more or less aristocratic restriction in the process of government.

In 1634 there were about three hundred and fifty freemen, more than two-thirds of whom, according to Palfrey, had been admitted since the establishment of the religious test, some three years previous. It was "ordered and agreed that, for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same."²⁵ As Borgeaud²⁶ remarks, "by law the civic government was distinct from the ecclesiastical, but in fact was strictly subordinate. The pastors and elders spoke in the name of the Divine Will revealed in the Bible." Compare the opinion after more than three-score years' experience of a sufficiently orthodox interpreter, Cotton Mather,²⁷ given below.

A curious side-light is thrown on the working of democracy in New England, by the aberrations of the freemen in creating and abolishing a "Standing Council for life." It was a new order of magistrates not contemplated by the charter, constituted March 3, 1636. Winthrop, Dudley, and Endicott only were appointed under this authority "for term of their lives, as a standing council, not to be removed but upon due conviction of crime, insufficiency, or for some weighty cause, the Governor for the time being to be always President of this Council and to have such further power out of Court as the General Court

²⁵ "Mass. Col. Rec." I., 87.

²⁶ "Democracy in Old and New England," p. 148.

²⁷ "The civil magistrate should put forth his coercive power, as the matter shall require, in case a church become schismatical, or walke incorrigibly or obstinately in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the rule of the Word."—"Magnalia," Book V., Part II.

shall from time to time endue them withal.”²⁸ It was claimed that this movement proceeded from Cotton, who derived his inspiration from Lord Sayand Sele.²⁹ The act lasted only two years, and Mr. Savage³⁰ claimed that this institution was the only example of a political election for life in our country. It was a bone of contention until 1642. The extraordinary tenacity of this socio-political barnacle shows that Cotton, not to speak of Winthrop, did not easily give up the hope of bringing some of the ragged offshoots of feudalism across the Atlantic, to be planted in the soil of the new Puritanism. Winthrop treats the affair earnestly, though patiently. His caustic sagacity in construing popular characteristics speaks forth in the following general consideration. “And here may be observed how strictly the people would seem to stick to their patent, when they think it makes for their advantage, but are content to decline it where it will not warrant such liberties as they have *taken up without warrant from thence*, as appears in their strife for three deputies,” etc.³¹

These are small matters, but they were beginnings of popular government and they indicate one set of conditions which hampered Roger Williams in any search after soul-liberty. Puritans like Winthrop and Dudley were not only church-bound, they were so wrapped in the panoply of a feudal aristocracy that they could not con-

²⁸ “Mass Col. Rec.,” I., pp. 167, 168, 178.

²⁹ “Palfrey,” I., 442.

³⁰ He was completely honest and judicious in interpreting history. Rufus Choate had humor and was examining Savage once, in some casual matter, wherein he treated the witness most courteously. Then in a stage whisper, delighting the hearers, he said, “Now I have him under oath, I would like to ask him why he hates Cotton Mather so thoroughly.”

³¹ “Winthrop, N. E.,” I., 303.

ceive of freedom—whether ecclesiastical or political—in any modern sense.

In 1643 the Magistrates and Deputies established bicameral legislation, the great modern improvement adopted by all the colonies and by the Union of the States. As Winthrop states, "there fell out a great business upon a very small occasion." Mrs. Sherman's sow, or her claim for one, became the occasion of a suit against Captain Keayne. The suit went through the inferior courts, and coming into the General Court set Magistrates and Deputies at variance, and in a most unseemly way. Sympathy for the poor woman against a rich man affected the more popular representatives—the deputies—and jealousy between the two classes of legislators or judges confused the whole matter. The judicious saw that opportunity for such disputes must be stopped, and henceforth the two houses held their sessions "apart by themselves." Moreover, according to the Governor, "this order determined the great contention about the negative voice."

Without doubt the simple trading corporation, while making plantations, put forth more essential powers than was ever intended in England; whether in controlling the souls of men, or in extending the ground-work of a state. But such was inevitable. A corporation puts forth suckers of sovereignty, and these branch out into more and more power, as contingent life forces the issues.

Mr. Charles Francis Adams sums up his conclusions, "the organization of the Massachusetts colony was distinctly and indisputably legal, commercial and corporate; and not religious, ecclesiastical or feudal."³² In this he is supported by Professor Parker and Judge Chamberlain and by Doyle in his *Puritan Colonies*. Others have viewed the matter differently, and much learning has been devoted

³² *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, VII., pp. 196, 205.

to this historic question. We may be content with the poetic rendering and rare insight of James Russell Lowell, as he interprets the founding of Massachusetts Bay through "the divine principle of Authority based on the common interest and common consent."

A definition of an ordinary charter prevailing in the seventeenth century runs thus: The owner does what he will with his cattle "only by virtue of a *grant* and *charter* from both his and their maker." A royal charter, based on land and the feudal tendencies then inhering in land, conveys legal and commercial privileges; but in the hands of an active, intelligent body of freemen, it conveys much more. The Frenchman De Castine says "a charter cannot create liberty; it verifies it." No words could more clearly explain the legitimate course of the chartered colonies of New England.

It has been customary to treat Massachusetts Bay as the headquarters and general source of Puritanism in New England. But Connecticut was a better example in applying the principles of the Puritans to every-day living; it was more advanced, and, so to speak, more civilized in the application. This was not by chance, but by natural political evolution. The Connecticut men fully believed in theocracy; in a state governed by the immediate direction of God; yet this principle was to be in some degree regulated by the action of the people, and not absolutely controlled by the "inspiration" of certain pastors and elders of the church rendering the will of God.

Let us examine the beginnings of government in this colony. Hooker's migration from the Bay had occurred in 1636. A commission issued from the General Court of Massachusetts, March 3, 1636, to eight of the persons who "had resolved to transplant themselves and their estates unto the River of Connecticut." This commission

was plainly limited, in that it took "rise from the desier of the people whoe removed, whoe judged it in Convenience to goe away without any frame of Government, not from any clame of the Massachusetts Jurisdiction ower them by virtew of Patent."³³

This was manifestly a semi-political and not a corporate and commercial evolution of power. The forthcoming Yankees were careful to take to themselves only one side of the obligation; to profit by receiving the attributes of power, without rendering any allegiance in return. But they took a political prerogative, not a commercial privilege; a function of government and not a function of trade. Just as the colony of Massachusetts, based on territorial grants with trading privileges from the British Crown, made war and peace or coined money if necessary, so it put out a sucker of practical sovereignty which rooted in the Connecticut valley.

The planters met January 14, 1638-9, and adopted the "eleven fundamental orders,"³⁴ by which the colony was substantially governed until the year 1818, though it obtained legitimate authority by charter from the British Crown, as we shall see later on. This is an early record of a "frame of government." The men of Connecticut claim it to be the first written constitution in history.

The germ of constitutional government in Connecticut, whether it was by a formal constitution or otherwise, is justly considered by investigators to have been in a sermon of Thomas Hooker preached before the General Court in May, 1638, viz., "The foundation of authority is laid, firstly, in the free consent of the people,—The choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance,—They who have power to appoint officers and

³³ Cited Trumbull, "Constitutions of Connecticut," p. 1.

³⁴ Baldwin, "Constitutions," p. 180.

magistrates, it is in their power also, to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place into which they call them.”³⁵

These views, as has been stated indirectly, were advanced to a higher ground than that held by the rulers of Massachusetts Bay. They were still entangled in those jungles of sovereignty—where church members only administered the state—jungles which easily put forth essential tyranny. The Connecticut men found it better to get out and move on. As above stated, it was not chance, but political sagacity which precipitated the issue. We should study Hooker’s *Survey of Church Discipline*,³⁶ published after his death in 1648. As cited below, we find a dim recognition of the absolute difference in administration of spiritual and temporal things; and this perception of Hooker’s brought about important results in Connecticut. It is true, the freemen were practically church members, but pastor or elder could not go into town meeting and cry out in form or substance “thus saith the Lord” after such teaching as Hooker gave them.

Hooker was thoroughly Puritan, and believed in theocratic ascendancy. Yet though he might be loyal to the dictates of conscience, he perceived that the will of the

³⁵ *Col. Conn. Hist. Soc.*, I., 20.

³⁶ At page 4 we read, “Men sustain a double relation. As members of the Commonwealth, they have civil weapons, and in a civil way of righteousness, they may and should use them. But as members of a Church their weapons are spiritual, and the work is spiritual, the censures of the Church are spiritual, and reach the souls and consciences of men.” He did not hold and is careful at page 14 to guard himself from religious toleration. In the passage he farther elaborates the idea of separation. “No civil rule can properly convey over an Ecclesiastical right. The rules are *in specie* distinct, and their works and ends also, and therefore cannot be confounded. . . . But the taking up an abode or dwelling in such a place is by the rule of policy and civility. Ergo this can give him no Ecclesiastical right to Church fellowship.”

citizen and his political action, whether as ruler, judge, or constable, must be firmly set within the "bounds and limitations" of power constituted in a legitimate way. This is of the essence of constitution-making.

If we adopt the large historic view of Bancroft in regarding the Puritan, these beginnings of government in Connecticut are worthy of constant notice. He says, though the superficial may sneer at their extemporaneous prayers and other formalities, if we look to the genius of the sect itself, "Puritanism was religion struggling for the people." Great England—freed in parts—absolutely persecuted Nonconformists, until the repeal of the penal statutes in 1690; driving two thousand ministers out of their livings in 1662. Even after that repeal some statutes had to be "liberally interpreted" through the nineteenth century to give Nonconformists practical religious and political liberty. Puritans might live, as it were, in a detached and drained receiver, but the atmosphere around was not free. Occasionally now an unscrupulous politician sneers at the "nonconforming conscience." A disinterested critic might remark that, it may prove to be quite as important in England's future as the betting-book or tennis-racket. As Emerson remarked, it would be well to stop the people from doing many things, before stopping their praying.

On the other hand, Puritanism proscribed in England was virtually established in Massachusetts, where it blocked religious liberty until well into the nineteenth century.

The development of Connecticut was not toward liberty of conscience, but along the lines of a modified theocracy. By a series of legislative acts in 1697, 1699, 1708,³⁷ the colony riveted an ecclesiastical system firmly on the necks

³⁷ "Col. Rec. Conn.," IV., 198, 316; V., 87.

of all citizens. The act of 1708 was very positive, approving "the confession of faith, heads of agreement and regulations in the administration of discipline agreed to by the synod at Saybrook and enacting that all churches thus united in doctrine, worship, and discipline, should be owned and acknowledged established by law."³⁸ Political government might proceed without interference from church or clergy, as Hooker had laid down. But the conscience of the individual must be held by the church. Provision was made "for the ease of such as soberly dissent from the way of worship and ministry established." But however the dissenter might think, he must³⁹ pay as ordinary citizens did and could not be excused "from paying any such minister or town dues, as are now or shall be hereafter due."⁴⁰

After much discussion of these questions in the agitation for the constitution which replaced the charter in 1818; these restrictions were swept away and religion was left entirely to voluntary support. With all his powerful eloquence, Dr. Lyman Beecher preached against this, declaring "it would open the floodgates of ruin on the state." Connecticut writers have called this condition of things "complete religious liberty." Their conception of liberty within the bounds of Connecticut assumed in naïve manner that this was equivalent to liberty everywhere. Their society being homogeneous and sufficient unto itself, liberty of opinion elsewhere did not enter into consideration. This quietism is finely expressed in the words of one of her ablest sons, Leonard Bacon, uttered in 1859. He claimed that Episcopal, Baptist and Methodist churches formed there were of the Connecticut sort, and

³⁸ Trumbull, "Historical Notes," p. 30.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Bacon, "Historical Discourse," p. 70.

“is there no meaning in the fact that not one of our churches, and only one of our parishes fell in the Unitarian defection?”⁴¹

The excellent political system of Connecticut created a thriving and contented community under the charter, as well as under the constitution. Perhaps no people in the world were more happy. But such closed circuits and local districts of universal truth could not survive the free communication and exchange of thought prevailing in modern times. The “land of steady habits,” like other parts of the United States, has become free in thought and the open ground of liberty of conscience.

It is fair to observe that Thomas Hooker was the greater statesman, while Roger Williams was the greater prophet. Hooker brought a candle into state management that lighted a community through peaceful life for one or two centuries. Roger Williams kindled a flaming torch⁴² in the fire of truth, which burned through the fierce democratic disputes and town-contentions of the plantations until its serene beams are now shed abroad through the civilized world.

If we revert to the main colony, the home of Pilgrims and Puritans, the early political aspirations of Massachusetts can be hardly separated from the strong theocratic tendency which moved her in applying a religious test to practical government. There are not only the promi-

⁴¹ Rhode Island was moving in the opposite direction. In 1716 an act was passed preventing churches from using “the civil power for the enforcing a maintenance for their respective ministers.” Support “may be raised by a free contribution and no other way.”—“Arnold,” II., 58.

⁴² In the words of Doctor King “he became not only an orthodox Puritan, as Mr. Bryce calls him, but an intense logically consistent ultra-orthodox, radical Puritan, outstripping his human teachers, a Pilgrim of the Pilgrims.”—“The True Roger Williams,” p. 11.

ment proceedings like the banishment of Williams and the Antinomians, the expulsion of Baptists and Quakers, but other incidents, which show a constant administration of affairs on the narrow lines held by the Independent Congregational churches. In 1629, Endicott sent out John and Samuel Browne, because they insisted on using the Prayer Book. "New England was no place for such as they." The case of William Vassall in 1646⁴³ is very interesting.

It is pathetic to enter into the doings of Massachusetts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and to perceive the struggles of well-meaning men trying to work out their idea of good, yet producing only evil. The ecclesiastical politicians of that time were centuries behind either Connecticut or Rhode Island; but they fancied they were the Lord's anointed. From John Cotton and Hubbard, through Cotton Mather to Quincy and Palfrey, one story filled the ears of these men and colored their imagination, when applied to the facts of history and government. In their distorted vision, an inevitable, providential necessity⁴⁴ forced the administration of their state from one form of bigotry to another, until the widening political and social activities of the community compelled her into a complete separation of church and state.

When the nineteenth century was well advanced, Massachusetts finally swept away the despotic foundations of

⁴³ "Winthrop," II., 261

⁴⁴ "But to excommunicate an Heretick is not to persecute; that is, it is not to punish an innocent, but a culpable and damnable person, and that not for conscience, but for persisting in error against light of conscience, whereof it hath been convinced." Cotton's answer to Williams.—"N. Club," III., 48, 49; also II., 27. The back action of the conscience of a theocratic persecutor could turn any evil into good, or *vice versa*.

her religious system. In the words of Mr. C. F. Adams, "a modified form of toleration was grudgingly admitted into the first constitution of the state in 1780; it was not until 1833 that complete liberty of conscience was made part of the fundamental law."⁴⁵

The Puritans of the Bay fondly fancied that they were creating a commonwealth, which through the support and interaction of the churches should absorb the old political functions of a state, and thus turn the world at large into a kingdom of heaven. Orderly political development was impossible under this fanciful ideal; it was the lack of such development that kept Massachusetts seething and vibrating in political unrest. The actual movement developing a modern state was in the opposite direction, just as Mr. Doyle⁴⁶ viewing us from Europe, clearly comprehended. The "worldly people," the men in the street in Massachusetts as in other states, worked out a political freedom culminating in the American Revolution; this finally penetrated the congregations of the churches and converted them to practical Christianity. No episode in history indicates more clearly the large currents of evolution, which turn the swirling eddies of theocratic culture to wider political development. As the eighteenth century moved on, America discovered, by the second quarter of the nineteenth she had developed into practical politics, the large idea that a free democratic expression at the polls was better political freedom and even better religion than imperial decree, mandate of synod or papal bull.

It is often asserted in apology for the early rulers of the Bay that, their course was inevitable—under the tacit assumption that theocratic absolutism was the only pos-

⁴⁵ "Mass. Historians," p. 33.

⁴⁶ "Puritan Colonies," I., pp. 187, 188.

sible working government. But the Netherlands had a comparatively liberal administration, and Connecticut, as we have shown, under Hooker was adapting theocracy to democratic representation without persecution. We need not change the colors of the rainbow to justify Cotton and his fellow managers. At least, we can go as far as Winthrop in his confession that there was "too much" theocracy.

There are two constant marvels in this bit of history, as especially developed in these three colonies of the new and newest England. 1. That, the idea of Roger Williams once formulated, worked itself so slowly into the consciousness of other communities, even in the adjoining districts of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

2. That a civic principle deemed so revolutionary in the seventeenth century should have affected the political and social development of Rhode Island so little, as the principle emerged from theory and was adopted into the life of a state. Rhode Island has been noted for oddities and particular individualities. Yet these personal differences have affected very little the steady development of the community along the lines inevitable to the progress of America. In increase of population it has averaged with the whole Union, surpassing most Eastern states. In industrial progress and in acquisition of property, it is equal to any district of the United States. It is true that the infant colony suffered from the vagaries of wild theorists; Samuel Gorton and those like him who drifted into these open harbors. But there came with them much free thought which grew and prospered. Political order in some way established itself over and through these chaotic elements of life.

The individual man may be odd in that he is uncommon, but he must be strong, whatever his social condition and

environment. In all the military development of our country—that superior test which welds the right arm of individual men into the true consolidation of the state—Rhode Island has shown that individual liberty works toward the highest patriotism. In the old French and Spanish wars, in the struggles with Great Britain, in our tremendous civil war, Rhode Island, notwithstanding her strong Quaker heredity, was ever at the front.

We could not fully comprehend the historic foundations of Rhode Island, without considering the relative bearing of the neighboring governments. We would submit that Massachusetts is set forth as an absolute theocracy. Connecticut starting under a theocratic impulse, limited that form of rule by the first practical democracy in representative action the world had known. Rhode Island after turbulent struggles and contention, was brought by her charters into civic life, based on soul-liberty and protected by the crown. This new form of democracy, the achievement of men freed from every form of absolutism—whether ecclesiastical or feudal—lived unto itself, and now attracts the attention of the civilized world.

Roger Williams stands out in these studies, larger and more heroic as time goes on. He did not create or invent soul-liberty. The great impulses of humanity spring forth as the occasion ripens, and seldom can be wholly attributed to any one man. But some one man gives effective life to each and every one of them. Primitive men could conceive of a hero only in a demigod. We find the man in history heroic, who had the courage to enforce a great principle. Williams could brave power and place, in his assured conviction that his soul was bound to its Creator, by ties that neither law nor custom, neither priest nor magistrate should any longer control.

Williams was not skillful or wise in politics. He was a good man of business in his private affairs. Mr. Dorr comments on this, as we know that he was so poor in the first home on Towne street, that Winslow, visiting them, gave Mrs. Williams a gold piece. He did not profit by selling lands to the first settlers, but he acquired in trade an independent property. He sold his trading house at Wickford to get funds to pay his expenses in London, while procuring the charter. So, he was ready always to sacrifice himself for the community. But in developing a state out of turbulent, democratic town-meetings, in disputes with Harris and others, he was not able to separate the body politic from his own communistic bent, or the vagaries of his individual will.

The little community of the plantation appreciated him according to its own fashion and circumstance. He was buried with military honors, and his fellow soldiers of the Indian war fired a volley over his grave. Yet there were no inscriptions over this grave for three generations.

Thomas Durfee states that "historians urge that he was eccentric, pugnacious, persistent, troublesome. Undoubtedly he was." With all his failings he was the trusted and beloved friend of Winthrop, the best of the Puritans. His nature was large enough to recognize in the Governor of the Bay "that excellent spirit of wisdom and prudence wherewith the father of lights hath endued you." Urquhart could say⁴⁷ "he did approve himself a man of such discretion and inimitably sanctified parts that an archangel from heaven could not have shown more goodness and less ostentation." This might indicate a defective man; but not a worthless man even by the standards of Massachusetts Bay.

Whatever the limitations of his personality, whatever

⁴⁷*Ante*, p. 6.

petty ordinances and powers of state the rulers of Salem might bring against him, in historic perspective these facts and proceedings fade like rushlights in the rays of the sun. He was driven from home and the body politic for conscience's sake. In this sublime offering of himself on the altar of conscience, he made the principle sacred and appealed to the hearts of men. No longer a mere disputant in theology, he became a heroic leader of men. The founder of Rhode Island becomes greater in history as the principle he embodied spreads its influence far and wide in the world's development.

CHAPTER II

PLANTING IN PROVIDENCE. 1636-1647.

IN the spring or early summer of 1636, Roger Williams with his five companions, William Harris, John Smith (miller), Joshua Verin, Thomas Angell and Francis Wickes, pushed out a canoe from the east side of the See-konk, crossed into the cove southwestward, and landed upon "the Slate Rock." An Indian on the hill above saluted them "What Cheer, Netop!" It was a significant and potential welcome. The peaceful and numerous Narragansetts under the judicious direction of Canonicus and Miantinomi had refused the passionate appeals of warlike Sassacus and his Pequots to join in a confederated effort to expel the English. The native on his own shore spoke in effect for the great Narragansett people; as the friend of his sachems, and these exiles from Puritan civilization, approached this new territory. Continuing around the peninsula and Fox's Hill—which will after appear in surveyor's lines and boundary-disputes—these six voyagers paddled up "the great salt river." The land fall was made near the mouth of the Moshassuck, just below the site of the present St. John's church, where a fine spring of water tempted them to found the first plantation, which the devout Williams named Providence.

Williams located his house across the way from the spring, and immigrants from Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay soon joined the planters. In the year 1638,¹ twelve proprietors received from Roger Williams, in con-

¹ The dates are somewhat confusing, as proceedings of the town sometimes preceded the formal conveyance.

sideration of £30. for his expenses, all the lands deeded to him by Canonicus and Miantinomi. These lands upon the Moshassuck and Seekonk, and on the Woonasquetucket southward to the Pawtuxet, had been obtained in gift from the sachems; though there had been nominal consideration, the transaction was something that "monies could not do." Williams, when pressed by the planters to part with his title and convey to the first proprietors, consented, intending a shelter for "persons distressed for conscience." By conveyance he made "proprietors" of the twelve associates and "such others as the major part of us shall admit into the same fellowship of vote with us." This "initial deed" was reinforced by documents in 1661 and 1666 intended to amplify and secure the title. The thirteen proprietors, for convenience, divided their territory into the "grand purchase of Providence" and the "Pawtuxet purchase." This division according to Judge Staples² caused much difficulty and dissension. The vague boundaries of the deeds and the equally vague conceptions of rights of grantees and qualifications of subsequent purchasing proprietors alike confused the issues—whether fiscal or political—and agitated the town-meetings of Providence for half a century or more. Williams, pure in intention, was poorly equipped for politics. Conscience and will worked together in complex personality; until a controversy became polemic or fancied inspiration, as the occasion prompted. Like many reformers, he conceived that the "freed" citizen and upright believer should be benefited not only in his conscience, but in his financial conditions.

The first record of a town-meeting is intensely interesting, for these steps and fossil tracks were in the noble

² "Annals of Prov.," p. 34.

path of soul-liberty. "16 die. 4 month³ the year not given, after warning to attend towne-meeting," "whoever be wanting, above one quarter of an hower after ye time" was to pay two shillings fine, and the same for departing without leave. The other entry provides for electing a town treasurer monthly; two significant facts that, they met each month and kept a close grasp on the public purse.

This was doubtless in 1637, as will appear below from more important proceedings. In the beginning, "masters of families" had met fortnightly to consult "about our common peace, watch and planting," choosing also an "officer" to call these meetings. But in the first year, several young men admitted "inhabitants," yet discontented politically, sought equal representation and freedom of voting. This shows a variance between family organization and freedom for the individual to act under the state. Williams prepared a "double subscription,"⁴ one for masters of families, the other a sort of indenture for young men, admitted as "inhabitants." These incidents are most interesting, as throwing light on the next procedure; a momentous step and degree in the world's progress toward individual freedom.

Aug. 20, 1637, the "second comers," thirteen in number, subscribed to the following "civil compact." Thomas Harris (brother of William), Benedict Arnold, Richard Scott, Chad Brown and John Field were included among the signers. This document has been interpreted frequently as a special instrument to admit "young men." But there was more conveyed in the procedure than such purpose would account for. Richard Scott, John Field, Chad Brown, Thomas Angell, Thomas Harris, Wm. Wick-

³ "Early Records Town of Providence," VI., 2.

⁴ Cf. "Narr. Club Pub.," V., VI., 3.

He whose names are
deprived to inhabit in the towns.
Providence - a promise in substance
in action or passive obedience. no
such order or agreement as shall
be published of it body to an order
made by the major consent of the
Inhabitants may be of families in
together into a town for lawship
others whom they shall admit
only in civil things.

RIT, with 200

RHODE ISLAND'S MAGNA CHARTA.

Here occur the words, "Only in Civil Things."

enden, as well as others, were in no sense "young men." They were among the most responsible settlers. Williams had even conceived, though it came to nought, as shown in his letter to Winthrop, a "double subscription," one for masters of families, one for young men. These thirteen signers were "second comers," and the adoption of our famous Magna Charta indicates that it was an evolution from the actual proceedings of the previous government. Whether these proceedings were based on a written agreement we do not know. Certainly in their actual experience they worked away from the Judaic conceptions prevailing at the Island. Witness below the "Saints of the most High" embodied in the Code of Laws. Providence developed out of this and put civic government on every-day living, squarely down on the foundation of "civil things."

"We, whose names are hereunder, desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active or passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for the public good of our body in an orderly way, by the major assent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a town fellowship, and others whom they shall admit unto them, only in civil things."⁵ The positive matter of this compact differed not from the *Mayflower* compact and numerous other Anglo-Saxon conventions. The limitation "only" marks the new development outward and upward. That order in civil government could be⁶ organized in material form, leaving each individual free in his conscience before his own Heavenly Father, was a discovery for human intelligence, an invention in governmental procedure.

⁵ "Early Records," Vol. I., 1.

⁶ "Narr. Club Pub.," Vol. VI., 3.

No property qualifications were directly instituted, but divisions of land went with most early proceedings of the "proprietors." At first, fifty-four settlers received "home lots," a six-acre lot and additional tracts of meadow land. The home-lots of five acres ran in narrow strips from the "Towne Streete"⁷ (now North and South Main) to the present Hope Street, and the six-acre lots were in the southerly part of "Providence Neck," bordering on the Seekonk, or upon the Woonasquetucket River.

The government was the simplest form of democracy, and it could not last long. All functions were lodged in the town-meeting; for which a quorum was not easy and difficult to manage, when it was assembled. In 1640, the freemen tried to institute a choice of five men, arbitrators or "disposers," to "be betruſted with diſpoſals of land and alſo of the town's ſtock and all general things." A town clerk was to be choſen, who ſhould call the diſpoſers together every month, and call quarterly town-meetings. Former grants of land were to be valid. Mark this eſpecial provision as "formerly hath been the liberties of the town, ſo ſtill to hold forth liberty of conſcience."

This might mitigate ſome illſ, but it created others, for the executive force of the diſpoſers was almoſt fruitleſſ. Roger Williams' pungent pen put it "our peace was like the peace of a man who hath the tertian ague." Diſorder and in one inſtance bloodſhed occurred. The oppoſition of Samuel Gorton and his fellows prompted thirteen coloniſts to appeal to Maſſachuſetts Bay for intervention.

⁷ This name was not local or fortuitous—rather, it reverted to old Engliſh cuſtom dear to the hearts of theſe wayfarers. Juſt as in Boſton Sewall notes "the houſe that was ſometimes Sr. Henry Vanes' bounded with the Towne Street on the Eaſt."—"Maſſ. H. C.," Sewall, VI., p. 59.

The reply called for absolute submission of the plantation to the Bay or to Plymouth. Though Winthrop confessed to a sneaking fondness "for an outlet into the Narragansett Bay," and forcible intervention was afterward attempted at Warwick, no practical change was effected in the external affairs of the Plantation. But this movement of the Pawtuxet men aggravated the internal discord for many years.

While the socio-political structures were being forged out, a serious rift in the lute had been made by a certain domestic discord. Joshua Verin, an original companion, had his backyard next and adjoining Roger Williams'; whence the good Verin dame found it easy, too easy, to flit across to hear the prophet's sermons and exhortations. Mr. Dorr suggests that the Verin stew-pot suffered in the too frequent spiritual aberrations of the housewife. However it might be, Verin's soul could not stomach wifely absence, and more disobedience, for he forbade her attending the meetings.⁸ Winthrop, our sole authority, rejoicing in these practical restraints of liberty of conscience, with "grim humor" dilates on the proceedings of the Providence council before the "disposers" attempted administration. The motion to censure Verin would virtually establish that "men's wives, and children and servants could claim liberty to go to all religious meetings, though never so often, or though private, upon the week days." In the debate "there stood up one Arnold, a witty man of their own Company, and withstood it, telling them that when 'he consented to that order, he never intended it should extend to the breach of any ordinance of God, such as the subjection of wives to their husbands,' etc., and gave divers solid reasons against it. Then one Greene replied 'that if they should restrain their wives, etc., all the

⁸ "History of N. E.," VI., 283.

women in the country would cry out of them, etc.' Arnold answered him thus: 'Did you pretend to leave the Massachusetts because you would not offend God to please men, and would you now break an ordinance and command of God to please women?' Arnold was a vigorous contestant and he claimed that the desire to be gadding was not prompted altogether by the woman's conscience; that Williams and others persuaded her. Arnold was of the "Pawtuxet men," and these bickerings indicate the early differences which were to harass the Plantation most seriously. Roger Williams' influence appears in the final action, which condemned Verin, May 21, 1638.⁹ "It was agreed that Joshua Verin, upon the breach of a covenant for restraining of the libertie of conscience, shall be withheld from the libertie of voting till he shall declare the contrarie." He soon left Providence. Much has been written, to make of this affair a state question, but to little purpose. The "woman question" inevitably leaves unsolved elements in a political situation—whether the time be of Solomon, of the seventeenth century, or of the all-confident twentieth century.

We are neglecting the local habitation, which made possible these domestic and social doings. The "Towne Streete" wavering in outline, as it went up the valley toward Constitution Hill, was in its name, according to Mr. Dorr's sympathetic analysis, one of the earliest Eng-

⁹ It is proper to consider Williams' account and his view of Verin, as given in a letter to Winthrop, "Narr. Club," V., VI., 95, "He hath refused to hear the word with us (which we molested him, not for this twelvemonth), so because he could not draw his wife, a gracious, modest woman, to the same ungodliness with him, he hath trodden her underfoot tyrannically and brutishly; which she and we long bearing, though with his furious blows she went in danger of her life, at the last the major vote of us discard him from our civil freedom, or disfranchise."

lish traditions accepted by the roving community gathering around Williams. Home-lots along this thoroughfare were laid out by John Throckmorton, of the original thirteen, Chad Brown, who came from England in 1636, and was to be a pastor of First Baptist Church and ancestor of "the Four Brothers" in the eighteenth century, with Gregory Dexter, who appears as town clerk in 1651, and became President of the Assembly in 1653. There were five-acre lots appropriated to settlers along the way; a narrow front with area stretching up the hillside and eastward. Each settler persisted until he got his quota. Thomas Olney, Jr., had his "house lot or home-share" made up in 1661. The "Spring Lot" was retained by the proprietors until July 3, 1721, when it was deeded to Gabriel Bernon.

Opposite lived Williams, and he held religious meetings in his house, as we have noted. Above were Verin and Richard Scott, below was John Throckmorton. According to Dorr, one of the strongest of this disputing neighborhood was Gregory Dexter, who dwelt up the hill at the turn of Dexter's Lane, now Olney Street. William and Mary Dyre settled at Portsmouth, but removed to Providence. Ultimately the martyr went from Towne Streete to meet her doom on Boston Common.

On the irregular lines of this street, houses were built hastily, and generally of logs, the yards closely adjoining. A narrow strip of green separated the dwelling from passing traffic. The homesteads crept up the sloping side and unyielding grades of the ridge, which made the peninsular conformation of the early plantation. Barns sheltered the cattle for a generation and orchards soon gave plenty of fruit for the clustering families. Above and often in the orchard preserves, burial grounds soon attached the planter yet more closely to his homestead, where

the individual literally stood and lived, as never before in the history of the citizen. Along the middle of the hillside, the patriarchs of the plantation were laid at rest, and these particular personal burying grounds could not be disturbed by any communal or social wants for a full century. On the plateau above, home-lot pastures stretched over to a highway (the modern Hope Street) called Ferry Lane, after Red Bridge was opened across the Seekonk River.

And we perceive here the meaning of the English term plantation, as it developed under the necessities of varying colonies. The settlers did not merely drop seeds in the ground. They planted institutions in germ, which grew into communities at Plymouth, Boston, Hartford and elsewhere, as the occasion made new citizens in new homes. The close affinities cultivated in the Plantation at Providence were powerful in affording stay and support for a new religious life. Likewise, this close and intense method of living bred certain difficulties of its own, as we shall see when social and political life expanded.

After the home, a church was instituted, though the apostles of the Bay had assured themselves no Christian society could exist in a government based on "civil things." The particular steps in organizing this church have been matter of dispute. Winthrop's account¹⁰ that Richard Scott's wife, a sister of Anne Hutchinson, influenced Roger Williams to become an Anabaptist, has been criticised. Williams was baptized by Holyman,¹¹ and then baptized a dozen communicants. He remained as leader only three or four months, leaving the organization to become a "Seeker." By some accounts he was a

¹⁰ Brigham, "Rhode Island," p. 38.

¹¹ Cf. Carpenter, "Roger Williams," p. 164, for Holyman and Anabaptists.

Seeker before he left England, though he kept membership in the Congregational church at Salem before his banishment. Whatever the detailed steps may have been, certainly the First Baptist Church was formed about the end of the year 1638, attended to worship and Christian culture, without meddling with civil government, and became a thriving influence in the community. That it survived the defection of the powerful Roger Williams proves that it met the positive wants of its members.

We should now consider a matter—the beginning of disputes—which will vex the colony for more than two-score years. Said Williams, “W. Harris and the first twelve of Providence were restless for Pawtuxet.” In 1638 all the meadow ground at Pawtuxet had been “impropriated unto thirteen persons being now incorporate into our town of Providence,” a consideration of £20 being paid to Roger Williams. Uncertain and without boundaries, this deed bred many controversies, not finally settled until 1712. The “Pawtuxet purchase” conflicted with the “grand purchase of Providence.” Notwithstanding the rebuff from the Bay cited above, William and Benedict Arnold, Carpenter and others resident at Pawtuxet submitted to the government of Massachusetts. Samuel Gorton and his companions considered that this movement affected them, and they moved to Shawomet, buying land from the Indians and settling Warwick.

The plantation as it grew consisted of proprietors, additional settlers, and those admitted to be freemen. Nineteenth of eleventh month, 1645,¹² twenty-eight persons received “a free grant of twenty-five acres of land apiece, with the right of commoning according to the said proportion of lands.” They agreed in positive terms “not to claim any right to the purchase of the said plan-

¹² “Early Records,” Vol. II., 29.

tations, nor any privilege of vote in town affairs until we shall be received as freemen."

Irritant and counter-irritant Samuel Gorton appeared in Providence, probably in the winter of 1640-41. We shall treat him in connection with Portsmouth and the Island. We must consider him now in the early troubles of the Plantation. Poor Williams wrote Winthrop, "Mr. Gorton, having foully abused high and low at Aquidneck, is now bewitching and madding poor Providence . . . some few and myself do withstand his inhabitation and town privileges." Wm. Arnold was also opposed to admitting Gorton. With his followers Gorton removed to Pawtuxet, where they built houses and cultivated the land. Massachusetts, availing of every pretext to obtain a foothold in Narragansett Bay, now accepted the submission of the Pawtuxet men. Gorton made a vigorous protest, and would acknowledge only "the government of Old England." In their favorite scriptural invective, he fully equalled the Bay parsons, but they could rejoin by calling his arguments "blasphemies." A more effective argument was put forth through the sword of the state. Massachusetts sent an armed force and there was bloodshed. Gorton and his companions were taken to Boston and to the common jail. Carried to meeting on the Sabbath, he was indulged after service in a theological discussion with Cotton. They chopped metaphysics to their mutual delight. The tyrannical court had caught a Tartar. They thought Gorton ought to die, but did not dare to kill him. They made a curious sentence for dispersion of the culprits "into several towns" with "irons upon one leg," etc. This wonderful product of the Bay civilization may be best comprehended in the terms of the candid Savage, a descendant of these same Puritans. "Silence might perhaps become the commentator on this lamentable delusion; for this narrative almost defies the power of

comment to enhance or mitigate the injustice of our government." ¹³ The prisoners were actually sent around into different towns, but the ingenious magistrates at last discovered that they had sapiently arranged for the prisoners to "corrupt some of our people by their heresies." The bolts were filed off, and the authorities got rid of the offenders against the inspired government of the Bay, as they might.

The Gortonists went to Aquidneck again, and the leader went to England, where he found much favor with the powerful Earl of Warwick and his Parliamentary Commission. In 1643, as above stated, they named their settlement for their English benefactor, and in their leader's words, lived peaceably together, "ending all our differences in a neighborly and loving way of arbitrators."

A most romantic incident in the growth of our Plantations grew out of Gorton's trial in Boston and his visit to England. The Narragansetts conceived in some way that a man or company who could overcome the English in Boston and gain direct authority from the British Government—source of all power—must possess a great "medicine." Accordingly, Gorton, with a half-dozen companions, visited Canonicus.¹⁴ April 19, 1644, they obtained from all the chief sachems a formal cession of the Narragansett lands and people to England. The instrument says directly they have "just cause and suspicion of some of his Majesty's pretended subjects. . . . Nor can we yield ourselves unto any, that are subjects themselves." Perhaps Gorton built better than he knew, but this movement with the Indians was an element in excluding Massachusetts and confirming the territory of

¹³ "Winthrop," Vol. II., 177.

¹⁴ Brigham, "Rhode Island," p. 70.

Rhode Island; as it was consolidated in the Patent of 1644 and the Charter of 1663.

We must glance at "Simplicities Defence against a Seven Headed Policy,"¹⁵ published in London, 1646; wherein Gorton gives the full history of these painful proceedings, assuming the offensive-defensive in a most vigorous fashion. The title-page is an essay, and we extract briefly. "A true complaint of a peaceable people, being part of the English in New England, made unto the State of Old England, against cruel persecutors United in Church Government. Wherein is made manifest the manifold out-rages, cruelties, oppressions, and taxations, by cruell and close imprisonments, fire and sword, deprivation of goods, Lands, and livelyhood, and such like barbarous inhumanities, exercised upon the people of Providence plantations in the Nanhygansett Bay by those of the Massachusetts, with the rest of the United Colonies."

Massachusetts never caught a worse tiger in the field than this fierce contestant. In logic and metaphysical acumen, he was the equal of the Boston theologians; in matters spiritual, the illumined mystic could reach far beyond their ken. In the forum of England he appealed against them to the best men and won. Sufficient evidence that he was not the mere railing "blasphemer" described by the magistrates of the Bay.

Mr. Dorr thinks the main highways laid out at first show that the early planters conceived their work to be a new creation and must partake of "the flavour of its own soil." English as they were, they knew that the social and political institutions inherited and transported, must be adapted to a new life, enforced by new conditions. Nowhere was this inevitable tendency more manifest than

¹⁵ Original in R. I. H. S.

in Rhode Island. We have seen the Towne Streete and the home-lot worked out together. Dexter Lane went over to the Ferry across the Seekonk, for communication with Plymouth and Boston was by that route. Above Dexter's corner a way ran from the main thoroughfare down to the Moshassuck, where a bridge was thrown across. Gaol Lane (now Meeting Street) had not developed, but Chad Brown lived at the corner of the present College Street and Market Square. A bridge was ultimately thrown over at ancient "Weybosset," which means stepping stones. Here the "great salt river" disputed with the waters of the Moshassuck and Woonasquetucket, as the tides flowed in from the lower bay. Below, Wickenden and Nicholas Power lived on the main highway; between them Power Lane stretched over for another connection with Ferry Lane. Yet lower, lived Pardon Tillinghast and Christopher Unthank. Across from the latter's homestead was a landmark which has totally disappeared. The "Streete" wound round "Mile End Cove" to reach the point below Foxes Hill. This cove was filled in long ago.

The broad religious liberty of the Plantation brought a good increase of population. Turbulent and difficult neighbors, who agreed easily with Williams in "not doing things," but were always ready to disagree and strive against positive action. But they were generally of strong character; stiff timber for the framework of a state. In 1646 there were in Providence and its vicinity—including Warwick probably—one hundred and one men capable of bearing arms, according to the diary of President Stiles. John Smith, one of the original six, was granted land at this time for a town mill. An obsolete, upright, plunging mill, that broke the grain as rice is treated, gave the name of Stampers Street to the locality. At a small fall on

the Moshassuck, Smith set up his useful occupation. A volume might be written on the natural affinities of social and political influence. A miller, tavern-keeper, or socially inclined storekeeper in these primitive creative days immediately radiated influence and power. The "Town-mill" was an instituted force long before the jail or meeting-house gave opportunity for a regular town-meeting. It was like a club-center or exchange. Here was a parliament "in perpetual session," and minute regulation of town affairs was conceived and worked up in these friendly debates.

Living was hard at first, in the homes along the Moshassuck and Great Salt River. Fish and game were plenty, but provisions for ordinary fare were scarce. Williams' friendly connections with the Indians helped in obtaining meat and corn from them. Labor being scarce and vitally necessary in every new settlement, the producing power of the natives—brought in by exchange of wampum—was a strong economic element in starting the new life.

Moses Brown cites a sheet ¹⁶ written by his grandfather James, which records traditions received from James' grandfather Chad. This is fairly direct testimony. A cow sold at £22 in silver and gold, which corresponds with prices prevailing in Massachusetts in 1636—a little earlier—a pair of oxen at £40, and corn at 5s per bushel. At a feast in the early days the chief luxury was a boiled bass without butter. There were numerous swine and goats running on the commons, with few cattle. About 1640 there was a great decline in cattle throughout New England. In 1641-42 cattle became plenteous in Providence, Warwick, and especially in Aquidneck.¹⁷ Even then farm-

¹⁶ MSS. materials for "History of Prov., P. R. I. H. S.

¹⁷ Dorr, "Planting and Growth of Prov.," pp. 58, 59.

ing proper was in a crude state, for they worked with "howes" instead of plows.

The three independent colonies of Rhode Island, feeling their lack of sovereign power and in their detached weakness, had sent Williams to obtain recognition from Old England. He found favor, and through his powerful friends secured from the Parliamentary Commission a "Free Charter of Civil Incorporation and Government for the Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New England." This was not a "mere land patent," nor a trading charter like that of Massachusetts. It was a real, effective government charter, bestowing upon the grantees the power "to rule . . . by whatever laws they desired."¹⁸ Vane's name appears among eleven signers. The exiled Williams returned through Massachusetts—his passage being exacted by the authorities of England—and bearing this precious document—a triumph for civilization. At home his arrival was occasion for the greatest communal expression the little commonwealth had put forth. Fourteen canoes met him at Seekonk and the voyagers filled the air with shouts of welcome.

The enthusiasm did not crystallize immediately and form a government. No organization was provided in the instrument and one must be made. Independent communities acting or disputing through town-meetings with jealous neighbors and some doubt as to the stability of the home government—all combined to delay union under the charter. Finally Providence, Portsmouth, Newport, and Warwick sent committees to Portsmouth, May 18, 1647, to arrange for a General Assembly and to accept the charter. Some facts should be noted, which indicate deep principles underlying the formal proceedings of the time. The Assembly finally acted on a Code of Laws,

¹⁸ Brigham, "Rhode Island," p. 75,

which had been formed and submitted to the towns. In adopting it, Providence happily called it the "model that hath been lately shown unto us by our worthy friends of the Island." The code as relating to offenses ends with the following expression, which Judge Staples well calls "significant": "These are the laws that concern all men, and these are the penalties for the transgression thereof, which, by common consent are ratified and established throughout the whole colony and otherwise than thus what is herein forbidden, all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, everyone in the fear of his God. And let the Saints of the Most High, walk in this colony, without molestation, in the name of Jehovah, their God, forever and ever."

The Puritan walked with God literally, and his conduct purified human history. But the process, as rendered into common living, bred a more than doubtful civic efficacy. A class of worthy men like Endicott, Welde, Dudley, in a degree Winthrop—while they walked, were much more seriously concerned for the walk of other men. Each troubled his conscience for the acts of another fellow. This was not a merely personal exertion, for it was a natural result of theocratic, irresponsible power diffused among common men.¹⁹ Hooker getting partially out of this thralldom, founded a stable government in Connecticut—theocratic in origin, but democratic in practice. Massachusetts labored for a century and a half in throwing off theocratic limitations that Hooker avoided practically in his Church Discipline. He did not, like Roger Williams, free the soul absolutely, but he forged out a working form of democracy from its theocratic antecedents.

¹⁹ "The New England Puritan desired to force his own profession of faith on his fellowman, till it had become a morbid and overwhelming passion."—Doyle, "Eng. Col. in Amer.," Vol. II., 245.

CHAPTER III

THE ISLAND. 1635-1663

BEFORE treating the settlements of Portsmouth and Newport, we should consider the general significance of the various proceedings in the colony of the Bay, which compelled the migrations to these places. There was a certain compulsive unity and largeness of principle involved in or evolved from all the jarring discords, proceeding from vagaries of theocratic government and the resultant consequences. Some two and one-half centuries have been required to grasp these occurrences, and to interpret them according to the accepted principles of enlightened history.

The banishment of Williams, the condemnation of Anne Hutchinson, the expulsion of Coddington—fellow of Vane—with a large company drawn from the better citizens of Boston, all these movements tended in one direction. On the other hand, the reversion of Coddington and the islanders toward conservative government evinced the constructive sagacity of English commons, the hereditary reverence for English law. Mrs. Hutchinson could not align herself with any established government, and soon migrated again to the Dutch settlements. Samuel Gorton's career and his whole political action embraced both characteristics of this developing polity. Again, when Coddington's judicial prejudices would have ended in actual "usurpation," the sturdy, practical sense of these come-outers—whether from Massachusetts or Europe—repudiated him and reset the government on the concurrent action of the citizens.

Here was an idea, tending outward until held in and controlled by traditional law and its attendant institutions. It fermented again and again, leavening what it touched, until Roger Williams' soul-liberty at last established itself under an orderly government, which was based on representation of the people.

Anne Marbury, of Lincolnshire, a parishioner and beloved disciple of Rev. John Cotton, in Boston, England, soon outgrew the parson's teaching, for she assimilated theology and philosophy as readily as she took her mother's milk. Moreover, according to Winthrop, she was a "woman of ready wit and bold spirit." In intellect and vigor of temperament she would have been remarkable in any time or place; she was extraordinary when women were expected to listen humbly, and in no wise to create any function of their own. Nothing astonished her prosecutors and judges in Massachusetts more than her mastery of a situation, her speaking at will or holding her tongue under provocation.

She married William Hutchinson and migrated to the Bay in 1634. They occupied a house where the Old Corner Book Store now stands, and the dame's parlor was soon a literal center of light and leading. Meetings and talks were held sometimes for women and sometimes for both sexes; illuminated gatherings, such as the Puritan world had never known. The Hutchinsons were "members in good standing" of the Boston Church, and the whole community were much exercised in controversy about "faith" and "works." Governor Vane, John Cotton, with a majority of the Boston Church, Mrs. Hutchinson and her brother-in-law, Rev. John Wheelwright, upheld the former doctrine. Against them, there stood for "works," Winthrop, Wilson the pastor (Cotton being preacher or teacher), and virtually all the clergy of the

colony, outside of Boston. Frequent disputes, intense excitement prevailed, yet the sensible Winthrop could say of the doctrines, "no man could tell, except some few, who knew the bottom of the matter, where any difference was."

Any powerful current opinion tends to differentiate metropolitan and country politics. In December, 1636, Vane, claiming that the religious dissensions had been charged falsely to him, announced that he must return to England. The court arranged for a new election, when he changed his mind. In May following Winthrop and the "implacable" Dudley¹ were elected Governor and Deputy. Boston could only return Vane and Codrington as Deputies. Vane could not withstand the strong and sagacious Winthrop, and sailed away for England.

The partisans of "faith" were now classed as Antinomians, and those of "works" as "legalists." Agitation was developing new lines of division. Mr. Richman² considers the crisis most interesting. "Was not the covenant of Works—*i. e.*, Puritanism challenged to the death by the covenant of grace—*i. e.*, by Antinomianism and Anabaptism; by the doctrines of the inward light, by the very spirit of Roger Williams, now in exile?"

The legalists determined to crush their opponents. In August, 1637, a synod at Cambridge condemned eighty-two "erroneous opinions" and nine "unwholesome expressions"; nice discriminations in heresy. The agitators conformed to the new phases of affairs, or were reformed

¹ Dudley was technical Puritanism incarnate. In the "Magnalia" Cotton Mather says he had in his pocket these delightful verses:

"Let men of God, in courts and churches, watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch."

The rhyme halts, but mark the exquisite harmony of church and state; and consider whether Roger Williams and a new state were not needed.

² "Rhode Island—Its Making," p. 46.

altogether. Vane, as we have noted, wobbled and quit. Cotton, anxious for "his former splendour throughout New England," ranged himself with the strong party in the state. Winthrop, too large a man not to love Roger Williams, was too fond of statecraft to be left outside the ruling element.

In the spirit of Dudley's blessed harmony, the Court followed the action of the Synod. Wheelwright was banished. Then petitioners, who had dared to approach the authorities in his favor, were duly punished. Aspinwall was banished; Coggeshall having merely approved the petition, was disfranchised; Coddington, with nine others, was given three months in which to depart; others were disfranchised and fined; later, seventy-one more persons were disarmed. Note the bigness and the degree of the differing vials of wrath. Was the majesty of the great Jehovah ever more minutely parceled out, against his loving, if erring, children?

The trial of Anne Hutchinson in November, 1637, included all of this and more; as Mr. Brigham³ shows, the proceedings accorded better with "a Spanish inquisitorial Court" than with the ways of English law, for common forms were disregarded. Judge, prosecutor, and jury, if not always one, moved invariably as one against the unfortunate culprit, ordained and doomed to be a criminal. If a witness dared to speak for the defendant he was speedily intimidated. The moral atmosphere was fetid with despotic oppression. But Anne triumphed over all in the visible world. So long as she trod the firm earth she dominated Puritan parsons and ecclesiastical lawyers. She was passing through the ordeal—unscathed—when on the second day, unfortunately, she ventured into the unseen world of inward revelation and claimed to be

³ "Rhode Island," p. 44.

directly inspired. This boundless, infinite realm belonged to Puritan orthodoxy. Neither Anne Hutchinson, Roger Williams, the Pope, Mahomet, nor Buddha had any business in this exclusive precinct. Welde and his fellows of the prosecution seized this new and welcome opportunity. Then Coddington protested in a largely human way. "Here is no law of God that she hath broke, nor any law of the Country that she hath broke, and therefore deserves no censure."⁴ All opposition was useless, and the sentence was banishment, to be deferred until May, 1638, when it was executed. Meanwhile the criminal was confined under the care of Joseph Welde.

The thorough and absolute working of the methods of the Bay is indicated in Cotton's discussions with Anne's son. He had protested that his mother was accused "only for opinion"; hence he was included with his brother in her sentence. Cotton amplified the judgment in this conciliatory preachment: "You have proved Vipers to eate through the very Bowells of your Mother to her Ruine."⁵

The capable, illumined and virtuous woman was "excommunicate and delivered over to Satan." We are not concerned with the success or failure of Antinomianism in Massachusetts. The matter is amply discussed by Charles Francis Adams.⁶ For the relation of such agitation to the history of the world we may cite Mr. Doyle, a competent observer: "The spiritual growth of Massachusetts withered under the shadow of dominant orthodoxy; the colony was only saved from mental atrophy by its vigorous political life."⁷

⁴ "Prince Soc. Pub.," Vol. XXII., 280.

⁵ Richman, "Making of R. I.," p. 123.

⁶ "Three Episodes," p. 574.

⁷ "Puritan Col.," Vol. I., p. 140.

The story of Anne may be completed here, for it has little further bearing on our theme. Exiled from the Bay, she went through Providence, with her family, and settled at Aquidneck. Her husband died in 1642. She soon removed to a spot near Hell Gate, controlled by the Dutch. With her household to the number of sixteen, she was murdered by the Indians in 1643; only one daughter survived.

We do not part so easily with our good friend Welde. He did not cease ministrations with Anne's life, and we must study his enlightened narrative of God's land in this "heavie example." I said these ministers possessed the infinite; witness how they entered into the inmost purposes of the Almighty. "I never heard that the Indians in those parts did ever before commit the like outrage upon any one family or families, and therefore God's hand is the more apparently seene herein, to pick out this woful woman to make her, and those belonging to her, an unhearde of heavie example of their cruelty above all others."⁸ This is not reporters' talk; Welde and those like him were the interpreters of the religion of the time. There is in this epic, a bitterness of bite, a certain vitriolic essence of conviction that bigotry might admire in any age. We are forced to dwell on it, for some vagaries of the citizens of Rhode Island can only be imagined and apprehended when light is thrown on the shadows of their persecutors.

Some 200 persons were either exiled or laid under ban by the prosecutions against Antinomianism at the Bay, and they must seek a new home. Winthrop speaks of those "of the rigid separation and savoring of anabaptism, who removed to Providence." Some were more conservative. John Clarke, an educated physician and very

⁸ Cited "R. I.—Its Making," p. 151.

able man, with others, was deputed to explore. They contemplated Long Island or Delaware Bay, but halted at Providence, where Roger Williams received them "courteously and lovingly." Under his advice, they chose Aquidneck, after ascertaining it was not claimed by Plymouth. The Island was purchased March 27, 1637, by William Coddington and his friends from Canonicus and Miantinomi for forty fathoms of white peage, with five fathoms paid to a local sachem, together with ten coats and twenty hoes distributed to make diplomacy easy. The exodus stopped at Providence to make this civil compact: "The 7th day of the first month, 1638. We whose names are underwritten do here solemnly in the presence of Jehovah, incorporate ourselves into a Bodie Politick, and as he shall help, will submit our persons, lives and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and to all those perfect and most absolute laws of his given us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby.—Exod. xxiv., 3, 4; 2 Chron. xi., 3; 2 Kings xi., 17."⁹ It was signed by nineteen persons, including Coddington, Clarke, William Hutchinson, William Dyre, Henry Bull and Randall Holden.

In the eighteenth century Callender, in the nineteenth Arnold, agree that this body at that time were "Puritans of the highest form." It is interesting to trace this migrating development. For if a state poised half way between the orthodox Bay and heterodox Roger Williams had been possible, it would have reared itself on the island of Aquidneck. This community had much that was lacking in Providence, as we shall perceive. The solid Judaic principles, affiliated by the Puritans and so important historically, are plainly visible. The King of

⁹ "Arnold," Vol. I., p. 124.

Kings was to govern by absolute laws in his holy word of truth. Evidently, a purified and sublimated theocracy was contemplated. There is nothing to show whether the compact at Providence based on "civil things" was considered—probably it was not. It had existed only about six months—moreover, it was not german to the dearest convictions of the Aquidneck settlers. Clarke and Coddington—large men for their time—would "tolerate" Christians. Roger Williams—large for all time—had beaten through the jungle and undergrowth of sects, out into God's open—where Jew or Gentile, Christian or Pagan could breathe freely. Likewise, all societies have based their institutions on property as well as on the activities of persons. Roger Williams in the turbulent community of Providence, had avoided as far as possible the limitations of property; in consequence much trouble resulted from neglect of some simple obligations of possession. Liberty—suddenly emancipated—had not learned that its best exercise was to be in and through the outcome of highly civilized social institutions. At Pocasset on the island, the settlers, especially those most influential and represented by Coddington, established necessary laws for maintaining the solid order of society.

We repeat that, if any half-way house in reaching a body politic had been possible, the Pocasset or Portsmouth settlement would have afforded proper opportunity. These men, bred as Hebraists and Puritans, driven out from strict Puritan lines, halted in their journey toward soul-liberty. In some respects their practical abilities surpassed Roger Williams; for their old and established principles of law, he was obliged finally to adopt into his colonial government. But the problem of a democracy administered according to liberty of conscience was not solved; it was only scotched at Portsmouth. It was

necessary to descend to the depths of no government with Roger Williams; and thence build solidly on the foundation of "only in civil things."

The first settlement was at Pocasset, now Portsmouth, in 1638. Under the first compact, a complete democracy had enacted laws in the general body of freemen, the "judge" merely presiding. As in Providence, and before a year elapsed, this cumbrous democracy creaked. January 2, 1639, the freemen delegated power to the judge, assisted by his three "elders," who should govern "according to the general rule of the word of God." Reporting quarterly to the freemen, their administration could be vetoed thus: "If by the Body or any of them the Lord shall be pleased to dispense light to the contrary of what by the Judge and Elders hath been determined formerly, that then and there it shall be repealed as the act of the Body."¹⁰ This system lasted four months; a most curious formulation of *vox populi*. This modulation of theocratic principles—whether autocratic or democratic—is most instructive.

The ultra democratic proceedings had offended Coddington and those who wanted an effective working government. A minority in numbers, which constituted the major strength and substance of the community, arranged to secede. The mother settlement at Pocasset, April 28-30, 1639, made a new compact as the "loyal subjects of King Charles in a Civill Body Politicke," and elected William Hutchinson judge, with eight assistants. A quarterly court and jury of twelve was provided. This was the first government in the colony, moulded according to English law, and subject to the King. Theocracy and democracy were gradually being shaped to the common law, with its inherent obligations.

¹⁰ Brigham, "R. I.," p. 47.

Portsmouth preserved good records, and some details of the life there are interesting. As usual, the matter is chiefly of land conveyance, highways, administration of rates and such municipal affairs, with an occasional record of marriage, birth or death, but we get now and then a glimpse of something which interests more directly. For example:¹¹ May 15, 1649, Adam Mott, having offered a cow forever and five bushels of corn by the year, "so long as the ould man shall live," the neighbors, "every man that was free thereto," made it up to forty bushels. Mr. William Balston, a prominent citizen, in consideration, agreed to give "onto father mott" for a year "house rome dyate lodging and washings"—quite an instance of social co-operation. Ear marks of cattle were frequently recorded, especially after 1650. The first entry is Sept. 1, 1645, of Edward Anthony—"a hind gad on the left ear."

The immortal Pickwick was anticipated in debate July 16, 1650. In an action for slander before the town Court brought by John Sanford against Captain Richard Moris, the latter said "he had not nor Could not Charge the plaintiff to bee a thief in any Pticuler, and further sayd that if any words passed from him at Which Jeames Badcock (*sic*) tooke offence the said Captaine professed he knew not that he did speake any such words nether would he deny that he did but said if he did speake any such words it was in a passion and desiered m^r Sanford to pass it by." After such lucid apology everybody was satisfied.

In 1651, the "Clarke of the measuers" was ordered to inspect once per month that the "to peny white loafe way 16 ounces and beere bee sould for two pence a quarte." For offense, forfeit 10s. In 1654 William Freeborne was

¹¹ "Records of the Town of Portsmouth," p. 40 *et seq.*

allowed ten pounds "at the Rate of silver pay," besides the cow and five bushels corn to "keepe ould mott" for the year. This included clothing for the beneficiary.

A prison was ordered to be built near the "Stockes" and a "doppinge stoole was to be sett at the water side by the po[]de." This year was memorable in supervising and correcting the morals of this simple community. "In respect of several inconveniences that have 'hapined,'" it was ordered that no man sign a bill of divorce, unless the separation be allowed by the Colony; if offending, he should be fined £10. sterling. More significant was the ordinance that no man should harbor another man's wife "after waringe," and in case of offense, he should forfeit £5. sterling for every night.

Manners as well as morals were overlooked by these worthy burghers. In 1656 a committee, Mr. William Balston, chairman, was appointed "to speake with shreifs wife and William Charles and George Lawtons Wife and to give them the best advise and Warning for ther own peace and the peace of the place." We do not envy the selectmen for their responsibility in adjusting the disputes of these jangling females. Of larger public concern was a committee to procure the powder and shot ordered by the "generall Court" for Portsmouth. Roger Williams' constant service in Colonial affairs appears; for the committee were to pay him for getting the ammunition. There are frequent admissions of persons as "freemen" or as "inhabitants." There was also much detail in the management of the common lands; provisions against cutting timber, handling of cattle, etc. In 1660 William Baker petitioned the town to take his sheep and "Contrebutte to his Nesesaty"; for which there was appropriated £8, "after the Rats of wompom 8 per peny," for one year.

In 1662 at a meeting of "the free inhabitants of the Towne" a curious form of citizenship was made manifest. Peter Folger, late of "martin's Vinyard, presented to the free inhabitants of this towne" a lease of house and land from William Cory, the said Folger shall have "a beinge amongst vs during the terme of the said lease."

Adam Mott, who so thriftily arranged in 1649 for "ole father Mott" by giving a cow and five bushels corn per year toward his support by the town, died in 1661. His inventory showed £371.6, besides some land previously conveyed to his sons—a good estate for that time. Careful provisions were made to equalize the shares of the sons. The executors, Edward Thurston and Richard Few, were to receive each an ewe sheep for services. The widow was to have the "howsage and land" for life. The executors were to persuade her at her death "in y^e disposing of mouables with in howse or abroad to give it to them accordinge, to discrecion whom beest desearues it in there Care and Respect to hir while she lives, vpon which my desseir is you will have your Eyes as my ffrinds, and harts Redey." He instructs further "if my Children should be Crosse to there mother so y^t it should force hir to marey againe. I give full power to my Executers to take good & full securitie for the makinge good of y^e Estate so longe as she lives that my will may be performed." This provision might cut both ways. Evidently, Mott's immortal, marital obligations were to be as scrupulous as was his economic bargain with the town for supporting his father in old age.

Some prices may be noted, 4 oxen, £28; five cows and one bull, £30; one horse, one mare and colt, £36; 32 ewes, 2 rams, £32; 6 swine, £4. Wearing clothes, books, two suits, two doublets and breeches, one gown of gray cloth, and every day clothes, in all £11; 4 yards coarse

Kersey, £1; 8 pair stockings, £1.12; 1 feather bed and furniture, £6; various beds not included; 1 brass kettle, £1; 6 pewter dishes (14 lbs.), 1 quart, 2 pint pots, £1.6; iron pots, pans, etc., £3.14; 7 pair sheets, 2 table cloths, 6 napkins, pillowbers, £4; 2 tables, 1 joint stool and chair, £1.4; 1 cart and plow, 2 chains, £3.10; 1 hoe and axe, 2 scythes, 10s. The whole inventory indicates a comfortable household. And chairs were a luxury, as they were in Providence at the same period, where people were not as well off.

These proceedings are worthy of study. Doubtless, Newport was living in similar fashion, though the records are lost. Providence hardly shows so close, domiciliary superintendence; and there was no ecclesiastical interference whatever, such as generally influenced New England towns. The Portsmouth dwellers were Puritan in spirit and brought their lives to as rigid civic regulation as was possible. The common poor were cared for as usual, but the especial responsibility for those only half pauperized is very interesting. The minute discussions of these freemen and selectmen look petty now, but the whole way of life was hard and petty.

April 30th, Nicholas Easton voyaged around to Coaster's Harbor, now the United States Naval Station. Following him, the seceders located southward, immediately erecting a house or houses. May 16, 1639, the first order recorded "the Plantation now begun at this Southwest end of the Island shall be called Newport." The body politic of the new plantation, now established at Newport, negotiated with the more imponderable spirit hovering at Portsmouth. November 25th, after some communication back and forth, the Newport settlers made an order for courts, adopting the Portsmouth principle of allegiance to King Charles. They appointed two men

also to obtain "a Patent of the Island from his Majestic," styling themselves as "the Body Politicke in the Ile of Aquethnec." March 12, 1640, union between the two plantations was effected and the "brethren" at Portsmouth came in. Coddington was chosen Governor with William Brenton as Deputy. In the union, Newport took the initiative, and her political ascendancy prevailed in the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations for a century and a quarter.

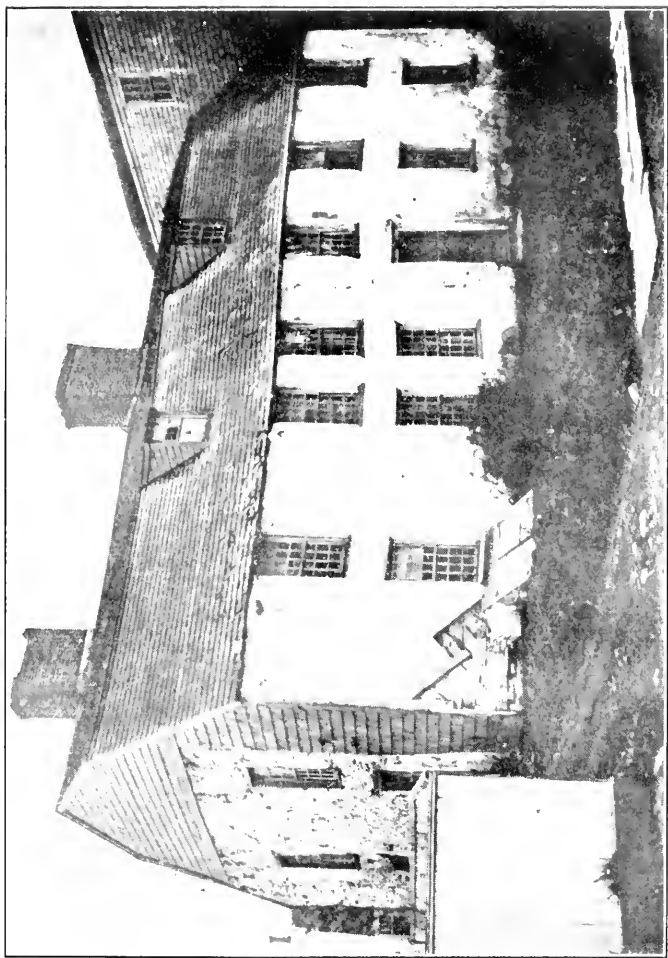
The tendencies of the Coddington party toward strong government did not immediately affect the Newport plantation. In March, 1641, they could enact sensibly "the Government which this Bodie Politick doth attend unto in this Island, and the Jurisdiction thereof, in favor of our Prince is a Democracie, or Popular Government."¹² This democracy lasted until the union of the towns under the royal charter in 1647. In 1644, they adopted the name "Isle of Rodes, or Rhode Island."¹³ The name according to Williams, as confirmed by the best modern research, is "in Greek an Isle of Roses."¹⁴

The land system of the Island was like that of Providence generally, and an important act ordained in 1640-41 that, "none be accounted a delinquent for Doctrine: Provided it be not "directly repugnant to the Government or Lawes established." The settlers at Portsmouth would have been Congregationalists had the ruling powers at the Bay permitted. Winthrop says, in 1639, "they gathered a church in a very disordered way; for they took some excommunicated persons, and others who were members of the Church at Boston and not dismissed." And the lawyer Lechford, more orthodox than the par-

¹² "R. I. Col. Rec.," Vol. 1, 112.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁴ Cf. Brigham, "R. I.," p. 51.



THE BULL HOUSE, NEWPORT. BUILT ABOUT 1640.

sons themselves, said, "no church, a meeting which teaches and calls it Prophesie."¹⁵ John Clarke preached to the meeting. Winthrop said Anne Hutchinson broached new heresies each year, Anne being "opposed to all magistracy." Yet in fact her husband was a magistrate at Portsmouth. As noted, a court in regular form was instituted there. Newport soon followed the example, and stocks, whipping-post and prison—the enlightened accessories of justice—were soon provided. The Puritans of the Bay could not report exactly matters which they in no wise comprehended. Richman thinks the impelling latitudinarianism fast drifted the would-be Congregationalists toward the Baptist or at least the Anabaptist view. Independency—little comprehended then—impelled Christians toward freedom for the believer and the separation of church and state. Roger Williams, "the time-spirit"¹⁶ was helped by unwitting instruments like Anne Hutchinson and Samuel Gorton.

Further evolution was going forward at Newport. In 1640, a "church fellowship"¹⁷ was gathered under the leadership of Dr. John Clarke and Robert Lenthall. This effervescing, doctrinal fellowship disagreed, Coddington and his friends adopting views which were to end in Quakerism, while Clark, and his followers formed a Baptist church in 1644.

In fact, the Island early developed stable institutions, which Providence lacked from the beginning. The Providence planters sought freedom of conscience, it is true; but historians sometimes forget that no community can live by spirit exclusively. So the old Massachusetts fisherman interrupted the exhorter, claiming that the English

¹⁵ "Plain Dealing," p. 41.

¹⁶ "R. I.—Its Making," p. 136.

¹⁷ Keayne MSS., "Prince Soc. Pub.," Vol. XXII., p. 401.

emigrants crossed the seas to worship God, saying, "No, we came to live." The land system at Providence afforded a good opportunity for new planters to become independent. Having acquired this material security, their varying views in theology tempted differences in social action. Some four-fifths of the community for many years would not directly assist the only church.¹⁸ Dissent apparently agreed only in further dissent. Political and social development necessarily halted. The desiderated pure democracy failed for lack of legislative and executive power,—whether in initiative or in restraint. Town meetings made poor substitutes for courts of law. As late as 1654, Sir Henry Vane remonstrated to Williams, "How is it there are such divisions amongst you? Such headiness tumults, injustice. . . . Are there no wise men amongst you, who can find out some way or means of union and reconciliation for you amongst yourselves, before you become a prey to common enemies?"¹⁹

The Plantations north and south were unlike as a yeast cake varies from a wholesome loaf of bread. Williams, educated and lofty—but not a political and social organizer—was alone in his university training; his neighbors, many of them able, were not instructed men. In Newport, Coddington, Clarke, Coggeshall, Jeffries, the Hutchinsons, were men of wealth and culture, eminent before they emigrated to New England. Among the very first schools supported by taxation in America was Lenthall's "publick school" at Newport in 1640. In formal legislation, in courts, church and school, Newport was in advance of Providence. But let us remember, the yeast

¹⁸ Brigham, p. 55.

¹⁹ "R. I. Col. Rec.," Vol. I., p. 285.

cake has potentiality far beyond that of the developed bread.

It was in the future, in the domain unknown, that Providence was to excel.

None of the founders had more yeast in his make-up than Samuel Gorton, who was introduced in the Pawtuxet controversy and the interference of Massachusetts.²⁰ In nature he was modern—if not the most modern of all the Puritan counter-irritants. We must now trace his first relations with our Plantations. Morton called him “a proud and pestilential seducer.” Perhaps it would be too much to say that condemnation by agitators at the Bay would now be sufficient praise, but all Morton’s direct charges have been disproved.²¹ The prosecution of Antinomians at the Bay was not agreeable to him, and he left for Plymouth. He defended a servant girl, whom he believed to be unjustly accused, and he was banished from Plymouth in December, 1638. The offense was mainly technical, for beyond all theological or legal differences, was his “exasperating spirit of independence.” True to the essence of English law—though an obstinate extremist—he protested against the methods of the court “let them not be parties and judges.” Driven out in a heavy snow storm, with his wife nursing an infant, he joined the exiles at Portsmouth. In defending a suit against another servant he fared no better, for he insisted that this court had no authority from the Crown. After much controversy, Governor Coddington summed against him. When he resisted, the Governor said, “All you that own the King, take away Gorton and carry him to prison.” Then Gorton exclaimed, “All you that own the King, take away

²⁰ *Ante*, p. 38.

²¹ Brigham, p. 57n.

Coddington and carry him to prison." This retort direct could hardly accord with any course of law then possible on the Island. If the transcendentalist were the one individual in the universe, he would be complete. It has been urged reasonably ²² that Gorton would rebel against any legal system the colonies could maintain; but we must consider his whole career and not any one technical point. He was a sincere individualist before the legal and social rights of such a creature were known—not a mere outlaw. In his letter to Morton ²³ he said simply, "I would rather suffer among some people than be a ruler together with them, according to their principles and manner of management of their authority." He has outdone the patience of all historians; but let us handle him tenderly. It was this self-centered adamantine firmness in him and those similar—if not so able—which made of Rhode Island a rock in a shaken world; or a resisting government against theocratic systems and encroaching neighbors.

Coddington, supported by institutions, was not much intimidated by the remonstrant. Gorton influenced a few comrades, and they migrated together to Providence, probably in the winter of 1640-41. He made some proselytes there, but the town would not grant him the privileges of a proprietor and citizen. Williams bewails the situation to Winthrop. "Mr. Gorton having foully abused high and low at Aquedneck, is now bewitching and madding poor Providence ²⁴ . . . some few and myself do withstand his inhabitation and town privileges." ²⁵ He finally joined the Pawtuxet settlers and became a leading founder of Warwick, as has been noted.

²² Sheffield's "Gorton," p. 38.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁴ Cotton taunted Williams as being superseded "by a more prodigious minter of exorbitant novelties than himself."

²⁵ Brigham, p. 61.

Mystics rarely found sects and Gorton could not perpetuate himself. Yet, in himself he will always interest all students of individual development. Dr. Ezra Stiles heard and recorded the testimony²⁶ of his last disciple, John Angell, in 1771. The actual memorials of Gorton's life are not as important as the traces of his inevitable influence, as it affected other lives in the generations following him. We cannot read the poetic utterance of Sarah Helen Whitman, descended from Nicholas Power, an adherent of Gorton, or the philosophic writings of Job Durfee, as well as others, without recognizing that Rhode Island has drawn intimately and effectively from the sources of eternal truth. Mr. Lewis G. Jaynes has lately asserted²⁷ sensibly that Samuel Gorton was the "premature John Baptist of New England transcendentalism," the spiritual father of Channing, Emerson and Parker. When a mystic doctrine has penetrated and impressed a people, it needs no ecclesiastical formula or dogmatic foundation on which to rest. Active theology is the passing record of the time-spirit.

The winter of 1639-40 was memorable for the Island

²⁶ "The Friends had come out of the world in some ways, but still were in darkness or twilight, but that Gorton was far beyond them, he said, high way up to the dispensation of light. The Quakers were in no wise to be compared with him; nor any man else can, since the primitive times of the Church, especially since they came out of Popish darkness. He said Gorton was a holy man; wept day and night for the sins and blindness of the world; his eyes were a fountain of tears, and always full of tears—a man full of thought and study—had a long walk out through the trees or woods by his house, where he constantly walked morning and evening, and even in the depths of the night, alone by himself, for contemplation and the enjoyment of the dispensation of light. He was universally beloved by all his neighbors, and the Indians, who esteemed him, not only as a friend, but one high in communion with God in Heaven."—*Col. R. I. H. S.*, Vol. II., 19.

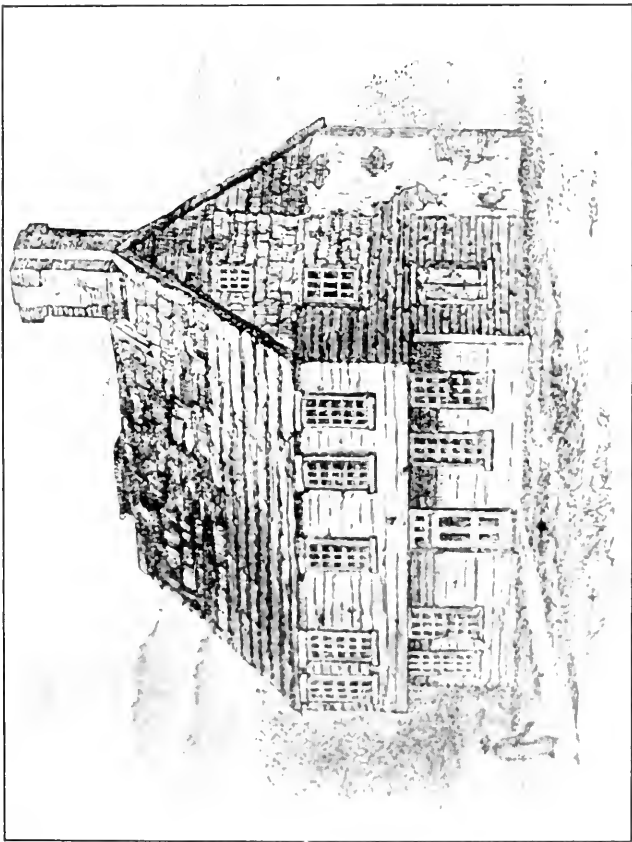
²⁷ Richman, "Rhode Island—Its Making," Vol. I., pp. 108, 109.

in scarcity and privation. For 96 people there were only 108 bushels of corn to be divided. Lechford visited in this or the following year and estimated the population at 200 families. Mr. Richman thinks 200 persons would be more likely and considers that Providence had about one-half as many.²⁸ At this time the Bay sent three "winning" men to negotiate with members absent from the Boston church and sojourning on the Island. The settlers refused to treat, as one Congregational church had not authority over another.

Coddington tried to obtain recognition from the United New England Colonies in 1644 for the Island government. The United Colonies would receive the petitioners only as a portion of Plymouth Colony. He failed as an executive and direct leader of men, as we shall see in the "Usurpation." He could not comprehend the people as it existed in any form of popular expression. Mr. Richman terms the government sought by Coddington an "autocratic theocracy." Perhaps the record justifies this discrimination, but it is hard to treat Coddington justly from the records existing. He was a man of substance materially and mentally. He could not follow Gorton or even Williams in their efforts for social order—all of which were disorderly vagaries to him. Judge Durfee considers that the well-organized judiciary of the Island, locally adapted "betokens the presence of some man having not only a large legal and legislative capacity, but also a commanding influence."²⁹ It was probably Coddington. "Whoever he was, he was certainly after Roger Williams and John Clarke" a principal benefactor of the infant colony. It is more than doubtful whether Rhode Island could have attained a stable gov-

²⁸ "R. I.—Its Making," p. 131.

²⁹ Durfee, "Judicial History of R. I.," p. 6.



CODDINGTON'S HOUSE AT NEWPORT, ABOUT 1650.

ernment without Coddington's effort or something equivalent.

Coddington and Captain Partridge made a definite proposal in 1648 to the Commissioners of the United Colonies to submit the Island to them, and would even place it under the jurisdiction of Plymouth. This scheme did not succeed. Coddington, according to Doctor Turner,³⁰ would be a monarch, and, going to England, strangely succeeded in obtaining from the Long Parliament a commission, making him "in effect the autocrat of the fairest and wealthiest portion"³¹ of our territory. In 1651 he established himself in his "Usurpation," and this constitutes a remarkable episode in the history of our state.

Shipbuilding began early at Portsmouth, and there was built there or at Newport in 1646 a ship of 100 to 150 tons for New Haven. She made an ill-fated voyage under Lamberton and was lost. In 1649 Bluefield, with his crew of Frenchmen, came into Newport and sold a prize. The authorities would not allow him to purchase a frigate of Capt. Clarke, as they feared the pirates would attack our coastwise commerce. These transactions show that a commercial market was well established already.

The West Indies needed the products of any rich agricultural region, and the fertile lands of the Island furnished the required exchanges. The sugar-mills used horses and these appear in Coddington's exports in 1656.³² These West India goods were sold to Connecticut and to the Dutch at Manhattan. Then as always, the central port of Manhattan affected all American trade.

³⁰ Brigham, "R. I.," pp. 87-89.

³¹ Arnold, "R. I.," Vol. I., 238.

³² "R. I. Col. Rec.," Vol. I., 338.

Our commercial intercourse was important, and the name "Dutch Island," at the mouth of the Bay, leaves a trace of it. Cross marriages occurred, and an occasional Dutch name in early Providence indicates the intercourse.

There was considerable trade with Connecticut, and the influence of this intercourse is shown by Isham and Brown in the type of houses adopted at Newport. The Coddington House, built possibly in 1641, and certainly before 1650, was an example of the comfortable dwelling which succeeded the early log house of New England. Though rude in appearance, it was certainly substantial and serviceable, or it would not have survived until 1835. It had an end chimney and the second story overhung, as in houses at London and elsewhere in England in the early seventeenth century. The Henry Bull house, dating from 1638-40, had the central chimney, distinctive of the better class of houses in Connecticut.

This early commerce of Newport, exchanging the rich products of the Islands so profitably, promoted comfortable living for the settlers accordingly. When Providence had no blacksmith, Newport had three, with masons, joiners, coopers and cordwaniers. Jefferay's *Journal* notes that the houses in Newport about 1650 were as "yet small with few good ones." Some had glass from England, with furnishings like the "old home," but inferior. They had a few books, a little plate, and their dishes were mainly of wood or earthenware. Their tables, chairs and beds were rude, excepting the few brought from over sea.

During some two years of the "Usurpation," there were virtually two governments in the colony, often conflicting with each other.³³ Coddington's commission was revoked in England and the formal news was brought by William

³³ Brigham, "R. I.," p. 93, a full account.

Dyer to Rhode Island in 1653. Among other negotiations for a suzerain, the usurper had coquetted with the Dutch at Manhattan. This proceeding materially helped Williams and Sir Henry Vane in their efforts with the Parliamentary Commission for the revocation.

Perhaps nothing more clearly reveals the strangely inhuman and ferocious sentiment prevailing in Massachusetts at this period, than their wanton persecution of the Quakers, or Society of Friends, as they finally became. Such cruelty was not a necessary outcome of the Puritan spirit of government, for Connecticut, an orderly commonwealth, did not actively persecute in the name of Christianity. That community was unfriendly and banished Mary Dyer from New Haven for preaching in 1658; but they did not whip nor hang these heretics. Bradstreet and the Commissioners of the United Colonies in September, 1657, addressed this gentle request to the Governor of Rhode Island: “. . . to preserve us from such a pest the Contagion whereof (if Received within your Collonie were dangerous, &c., to bee defused to the other by means of the Intercourse, especially to the places of trad amongst us; which wee desire may bee with safety continued between us; Wee therefore make it our Request that you Remove those Quakers that have been Received, and for the future prohibite their coming amongst you.”³⁴ The conscience of Rhode Island was hardly worth considering by Boston magistrates. But evidently these governors thought that a direct thrust at the pocket by threatening “trad” might touch an universal passion and move the deepest springs of civilized feeling. The Rhode Island outcasts did not regard the appeal to covetousness, but answered immediately through Governor Benedict Arnold, “We have no law among us

³⁴ “R. I. C. R.,” Vol. I., p. 374.

whereby to punish any for only declaring by words their minds concerning the things and ways of God.”³⁵

Fines, the jail, whipping-post and gallows were used to reform these simple believers, and they throve upon such severe regimen. Mary Dyer, a devout and much respected woman of Newport and Providence, was arrested in Boston and executed on the Common, June 1, 1660. When expecting death, she said, “It is an hour of the greatest joy I can enjoy in this world. No eye can see, no ear can hear, no tongue can speak, no heart can understand, the sweet incomes and refreshings of the spirit of the Lord which now I enjoy.”

The large incoming of the Quakers was an important factor in the early prosperity of the colony. Many leading men like Coddington embraced their doctrines, and their social influence can hardly be exaggerated. Anabaptists and Antinomians, all ready for assimilation, often adopted the better formulated ideas of Fox and Barclay. While the majority of Friends were not learned in the schools, their whole system was a severe method of mental discipline. Their complete self-repression, their close study of the Bible, their gentle manners, all affected profoundly the ways of a new community. Rhode Island lacked the regulated ecclesiastical methods of Massachusetts and Connecticut. But we may remember that, while it lost much in a positive way, it gained somewhat by not having to unlearn. Compare the above utterances of Bradstreet and Mary Dyer. For a century, until the schools of our colony were regularly developed, the culture of the Friends was education in the concrete.

Significant evidence of the increasing trade of Newport appears in the immigration of wealthy Jews, the harbingers of active commerce throughout the world. A

³⁵ “R. I. C. R.,” pp. 374-380.

large immigration from Lisbon came in 1655 and fifteen families came from Holland in 1658.³⁶ They brought besides capital and mercantile skill, the first three degrees in Masonry. Religious freedom admitted them, but they would not have settled where there was not an abounding trade. Their people were to become an important element in our colonial life, and they appeared before the General Assembly by petition in 1684.

John Hull, the mint master, Major Atherton and others purchased of the Indians the southeastern portion of the Narragansett lands, to be known as the Pettaquamscutt Purchases. John Winthrop, the younger, obtained a charter from King Charles II., giving Connecticut jurisdiction over all Southern Narragansett. This movement in London was checked and reversed by the timely, discreet and vigorous action of John Clarke, our agent there. He convinced the King's advisers, the Earl of Clarendon especially, of the injustice to Rhode Island, in this contemplated extension of Connecticut over her territory. Clarke obtained the liberal charter "to hold forth a lively experiment," which was adopted by the whole colony in 1663.

This royal patent became the basis of colonial government and carried Rhode Island through the struggle against the Crown of Great Britain. Then the independent state went into the American Union, and the Charter lasted until 1843. Granting liberty of conscience to its citizens, it governed first a remote colonial dependency, then a state warring for independence, then a commonwealth merged into a great republic. In all, this document stood for one hundred and eighty years, certainly establishing a brilliant chapter in political history. Whatever the vagaries of the small commonwealth—and

³⁶ "Mag. Amer. His.," Vol. VI., p. 456.

they were many—it pursued an onward political development, proving that an orderly state might exist without theocratic control of the individual citizen. Person and property were safe.

Our charter³⁷ with its fellow given Connecticut in the previous year formed a new departure in royal government. The early colonial charters, following the example of Spain, had been commercial adventures. It is at least doubtful whether any political initiative was intended in the incorporation of Massachusetts in 1629. Massachusetts assumed such power, organized towns and courts, levied taxes and enacted laws for persons and property, most efficiently, even if done in a way only half legitimate. The American political efficiency—superior to every emergency or accident—showed itself in the germ.

Recognizing these great facts, the revolutionary parliament, influenced by Vane and the personal persuasion of Roger Williams, granted Rhode Island in 1644 splendid powers for political initiative and religious freedom. The King was very liberal to Connecticut in 1662 and went farther in the Rhode Island patent of 1663. In this negotiation, John Clarke, more practical than Williams, seized every opportunity to ally himself with the most liberal religious thought of continental Europe, as well as of England. There was not religious toleration at home, but for his distant colony the King pronounced this extraordinary manifesto:³⁸ “Our royal will and pleasure is that no person within the said colony at any time hereafter, shall be anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, and do not actually disturb the civil

³⁷ Brigham, “R. I.,” p. 102 *et seq.*

³⁸ Cf. “R. I. C. R.,” Vol. II., pp. 3-21.

peace of our said colony . . . any law, statute or clause therein contained, or to be contained, usage or custom of this realm, to the contrary hereof, in any wise, notwithstanding." The divine right of Kings for the nonce justified itself, for here was perfect religious liberty bestowed through an executive decree. Simple and natural as the King's action appears to-day, it seemed almost revolutionary to statesmen then, as Roger Williams reported in plain terms:³⁹ "This, his Majesty's grant, was startled at by his Majesty's high officers of state, who were to view it in course before the sealing, but, fearing the lion's roaring, they crouched against their wills in obedience to his Majesty's pleasure." Sagacious as Charles was, he built better than he knew, when he allowed absolute freedom of conscience in the little dependency of Rhode Island.

John Clarke laid his topographical lines as skilfully as he negotiated politically. Wisely basing his claims on title by Indian purchase, he kept the land away from Massachusetts and Connecticut, seeking to encroach on either side. The north boundary was the south line of Massachusetts; the west along Connecticut and downward to Pawcatuck river; on the south the ocean including Block Island; the island of Rhode Island and three miles to the east and northeast of Narragansett Bay—substantially our present territory. Great disputes with the larger Puritan colonies concerning boundaries on either side, distracted the next half century; but Clarke's positions were so well chosen that they held the territory.

If George Bancroft was correct in affirming that more ideas finally becoming national have proceeded from Rhode Island, than from any other colony, we should consider well the "livelie experiment" in John Clarke's

³⁹ "Letter to Mason," Narr. Club. Pub., Vol. VI., p. 346.

charter. In the process of organization and development, Mr. Foster's dates and definitions are significant.

1636-41. Providence, Portsmouth, Newport were distinct sovereignties.

1641-47. Providence, Aquidneck, Warwick were distinct sovereignties.

1647-51. Colony Providence Plantations was a distinct commonwealth.

1651-54. Providence, Warwick (the mainland), Portsmouth, Newport (the island), were a distinct commonwealth.

1654-86. Colony Providence Plantations was a distinct commonwealth.

Mr. Richman ⁴⁰ remarks that Providence disliked authority from any source. Newport sanctioned authority only when it proceeded from itself. Portsmouth was like Providence. Warwick varied, but approached Newport in theory.

We dwell on these features not so much for the technical divisions, as to mark the distinguishing characteristics of the novel ways of state-making. Williams, Clarke, Coddington, Gorton all appear in the varying life of the towns. The planters, seeking a civic structure, forced their will into submission to the larger principles of government and gradually methodized a citizenship under the royal government.

⁴⁰ "R. I.—Its Making," p. 309.

CHAPTER IV

THE COLONY AND THE TOWN OF PROVIDENCE.

1648-1710

WE may turn back to the story of Providence after the adoption of the first charter in 1647, when discussions around the town-mill, where there was "a parliament in perpetual session," were developing new communal life. The first houses about Roger Williams' Spring and along the Towne Street without doubt were of logs halved together at the corners.¹ Having only one room they were roofed over with logs or thatched on poles. The chimney was probably of logs, outside at the end and plastered with clay. The houses succeeding these log huts were similar—they being a single or "Fire Room." One end was almost given up to the stone chimney and cavernous fireplace. These conclusions of Isham and Brown correspond with those of Mr. Dorr, though the architects investigated independently and by different methods.

There were no larger houses of the comfortable type introduced from Connecticut, as we have noted at Newport. Mr. Dorr found in the probate records that houses until the last decade of the seventeenth century had two apartments only, a "lower room" and a "chamber." Often there were no stairs, and a ladder communicated. Most dwellings were destroyed in 1676 by the Indians, and the pioneer work of our plantation had to be repeated. One of the most interesting dwellings built about 1653 sur-

¹ Isham and Brown, "Early R. I. Houses," p. 16.

vived the ravage of King Philip's War, and until our own time. It was known as the Roger Mowry house, or tavern, and recently as the Abbott house. It was a small building, and originally had a huge stone chimney. It was the first licensed tavern, where town meetings were held and the council assembled. Roger Williams gathered people there for worship.

To enter into this pioneer living we must remember that these planters made their habitations and the furniture chiefly with their own hands.² They framed the solid chests and tables—rude but strong—which stood on the sanded floors. The clumsy but hospitable old English settle³ lifted its high back at the family table; then by the fireplace it afforded a room and partial exclusion from the fierce wintry drafts. In summer it was moved out of doors, and helped to make the evening cosy and agreeable. Regular chairs were a luxury—many having none, some possessing one or two. John Smith, the miller and town clerk, had four. The inventory of John Whipple, innkeeper, recorded in 1685 “three chaires.” The way of living and the comforts were such as English yeomen of the period enjoyed. There was little table linen. The ancient wooden trencher held its place—little disputed by earthen ware or “puter.” Culinary utensils were limited, and the ancient iron pot served in many functions. No early inventories carried silver plate or carved furniture, as in Massachusetts; for Providence was striving hard to maintain life by agriculture alone.

Living was very simple, except when some large political

² “R. I. Hist. T., No. 15,” Dorr, p. 28.

³ “It is, to the hearths of old-fashioned cavernous fireplaces, what the east belt of trees is to the exposed country estate, or the north wall to the garden. Outside the settle candles gutter, locks of hair wave, young women shiver, and old men sneeze. Inside is Paradise.”

question involving colonial administration forced the little community to go beyond its own narrow affairs.

An ordinance⁴ in 1649 compelled every man to mend and make good the highway "before his house Lot or Lots." Suits at law regulated differences, for the attorney's fee for preparing a cause and pleading was fixed at 6s. 8d.; "if any man will have a lawyer he shall pay 1s."

We have noted the secondary proprietors, who received a gift of twenty-five acres, and they are voted in from time to time. In 1650 it was enacted⁵ that in future all men received should pay for their "home-share 1s. per acre and 6d. per acre for the rest not exceeding twenty-five acres." Outside their lots and farms, privilege of pasture on the common lands helped the semi-pastoral cultivation. Rates were 3d. for cows, 1d. for swine and 1d. for goats on the common, assessed in 1649, and collected by the town constable. There was much legislation concerning the commons, and in 1650, it was forbidden to take off lumber or timber. As the cattle ran in a common herd literally, marks identifying the ownership were quite important. These were formally enrolled on the records of the town. Many only cropped one ear in some way, but others introduced an elaborate device; as a crop from the top of the right ear, and a halfpenny behind under the ear. Another has a flower de luce on the left ear. The sale of liquors, to Indians especially, caused constant annoyance and tinkering of statutes. Entertainment of travelers and strangers seemed to be a burden requiring supervision, before taverns were regularly installed and maintained. An ordinance in 1650 allowed any one to sell "without doores"; but if "any man sell Wine or strong Liquors in his house, he shall also entertaine strangers to bed and

⁴ "Early Rec.," Vol. II., 44.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

board." Notice for sale ankers (10 galls.) liquors by sundry persons appear from 1656 to 1664. In all American hostelry, while the weary and hungry traveler might need rest and food, the necessary profit has come from the alcoholic thirst of the majority.

At the only town-meeting when Roger Williams appears as moderator June 24, 1655, the sale of wines or liquors to Indians was absolutely forbidden, under a penalty of six pounds, one half to the informer.

In 1657 Mr. ffenner was allowed by vote to exchange a six-acre lot at Notakonkanit bought of "Goodman lippet" for — acres. The distinctions Mr. occasionally old English Goodman and Yeoman frequently were used, but the differences marking the titles were not altogether clear.

In common names, English uses prevailed. As might be expected Gideon, Daniel, John, James, Simon, Zachariah; Mary, Rebecca, Esther, Ruth were frequent. A person might be denominated or designated by these familiar words, but the extraordinary fashion of the Puritans appeared occasionally. What conceit, fancy or ideal spelled out Mahershalalhashbaz? It might be considered unique, were it not recorded twice before 1680. A name preserved through many generations of honorable men, according to tradition, marks an event in colonial history. Richard Waterman set to keep the garrison at Warwick "firmly resolved" to hold out to the last. In reminiscence he named his son "Resolved."⁶

The apprentice system was important in this period of colonial life. When unkindly fate had left lad or girl without parental care, he or she was bound out in order to learn. We shall note many interesting examples in the life at Portsmouth. In 1659 at Providence

⁶ Moses Brown MSS., "R. I. H. S."

William Field took in charge William Warner, who was bound "his Secretes to keep and not to frequent Taverns or Ale-Houses, except about my said master's bussenes." At the end of his subjection, he was to receive the customary freedom suit of clothing.

The community of interest and feeling which makes a state, appears to have been of slow growth in our plantation of Providence. Clarke was not fully paid for his proper expenses. Roger Williams was obliged to berate the town they "ride securely by a new cable and ankor of Mr. Clarke's procuring" and refused his just claims. In 1660 when the charter had been working a dozen years or more, a petition was sent to the commissioners at Portsmouth asking release from an assessment of £30 toward building a common prison at Newport, which "will be in no ways beneficiall to us." Moreover, Providence was expending £160 for a bridge over the Moshasuck which was completed in 1662. The colony would not relieve the plantation from its proper burden and a tax for £35 was laid in 1661 to discharge the responsibility.

The community of the plantation at Providence grew out of the determination of Williams and his near associates to have absolute freedom of conscience. They must live, whether worshipping freely or under theocratic tyranny as they conceived it. Williams' own views of practical government were simple and notably naïve, whenever he came into conflict with the proprietors. Without doubt, he had expected greater practical authority in the town than had fallen to him. He attempted in that time to assert political influence in a community which had no religious establishment. Mr. Dorr⁷ sagaciously points out that he expected substantial

⁷ "R. I. H. S.," New Series, IV., p. 81.

results without due causes. He forgot that a theocracy plants its feet on the earth and that the civil power made John Cotton the foremost man in Massachusetts. Yet Williams in inmost conviction, cared far more for the spiritual than for the material conditions of life. This appears in most striking form, as he writes his friend Major John Mason in Connecticut in 1670.⁸ Whatever might be his deficiency as statesman and executor of civil law, certainly the seer and prophet spoke in him.

A controversy in the turbulent winter 1654-1655 suggests much in the development of our early history. We should bear in mind that two main parties at this time were constantly struggling for control of the town meeting. One led by William Harris and Thomas Olney represented the Proprietors or original purchasers under Williams' "Initial deed." The other led by Roger Williams and Gregory Dexter generally consisted of small freeholders admitted afterward.⁹ All these men had resolute wills, while Harris and Olney had much executive ability. This difference began early, and for some two-score years, disputes growing out of these peculiar, differentiated land-titles convulsed the little plantation. Many small freeholders believed with Williams that the lands bought from the Indians were a virtual trust for the whole body of freemen. Proprietors on the contrary held that the lands were administered by the central authority in town meeting, for the benefit of private owners who had paid for them. The economic principle of ownership and the larger political motive involved in government, did not coincide in practical action.

Williams was never able to induce the town meeting to decide on any definite and particular sale of lands.

⁸ *Ante*, p. 9.

⁹ Cf. "R. I. H. S.," New Series, Vol. III., Dorr, "Proprietors and Freeholders."

The Proprietors insisted on their view and they alone acted on such propositions. It appears from Williams' own writings¹⁰ that the smaller freeholders came to Providence with no clear understanding of their relations to the first Proprietors. The "Initial deed" created no definite trust. Instead of such legal obligation, there was in Williams' mind a moral duty—an inference. In the absence of coercive judicial power, this was "the weak point of all Williams' machinery."

The first organization of our Plantation in Providence—a voluntary association or "town fellowship," without coercive force—was ill adapted for the political regulation of a community, in which there were many discontented people. The small freeholders were hazy about rights in public property and they fed their goats and swine on the common; taking thence, timber, firewood and other supplies. "Common" in Providence was not in the legal sense an "incorporeal right" of pasturage or other profit on land of another or of the town, but it meant unenclosed or nonimproved land claimed by the Proprietors.

There was a process of development going on step by step, as was indicated in the twenty-five-acre agreement of 1645. Then the pressure of Massachusetts and the fear of intervention on the part of England, warned both proprietors and freeholders that mutual concession must be made. Whatever the technical proprietary right might be, the sensible forecasting American saw that a monopoly could not avail, when the whole institution of property was supported only by voluntary association. The disputes tended toward settlement, by the creation of new classes of citizens, who, though they might be lower in property qualification, could vote if respectable.

¹⁰ Cf. Mr. Dorr.

By 1649, there were oxen enough in use to compel the dwellers on Towne Streete to make a good highway before each estate. In the autumn of 1654 there was a tumult occasioned by a voluntary training. The record says Thomas Olney, John Field, William Harris and others were implicated. In the names reported, we see the proprietary party, striving for order according to their own notion. Those remonstrating against their action sent a paper to the town asserting "that it was blood-guiltiness and against the rule of the gospel, to execute judgment upon transgressors against the private or public weal." This not only rebuked a particular executive act, but would have upset the authority of all civil society. These aberrations of his followers drew from Williams an expression which the learned and sedate Arnold well defines to be a "masterly" analysis of the limits of civil and religious freedom. It shows moreover that though executive facility might be lacking in Williams, the preacher and prophet yielded in him, to the greater powers of the civilized man.

¹¹ This admirable statement sufficiently rebukes the main detractors of Williams. A society based on these divine principles, could never go far astray though it might indulge individual aberrations. A generation later, Cotton Mather busied himself in slurring Rhode Island for its many social defects. He wrote like one blind, who had never seen the light.

Reinforced by this moral support of Williams, the party in power—the proprietors—forebore wisely and condoned the civic offense. It was voted, "that for the Colony's sake, who have since chosen Thomas Olney an assistant, and for the public union and peace's sake, it (the tumult and disturbance) should be passed by, and no

¹¹ *Ante*, p. 9.

more mentioned.”¹² Thus, the temperance and compromise of true politics worked itself out, among these hardy exponents of the human will.

The effect of such disputes on practical politics and daily living was shown in the matter of Henry Fowler's marriage. For the greater part of the seventeenth century, there was so little religious organization that banns could not be published before a congregation.¹³ Accordingly, notice of this ceremony, so dear to all Anglo-Saxons, was literally civic, and was made to the town meeting, June 4, 1655.¹⁴ Fowler was warned to the Court to answer for his marriage without due publication. He answered that, “the divisions of the town were the cause,” and the town remitted the penalty. Mr. Dorr considers this a “bold and successful answer.”

As bearing on industries we may observe that Thomas Olney, Jr.,¹⁵ was granted a house lot in 1655 “by the Stampers” provided he would “follow tanning.” This lot gave water power which was not all used until sixty years later in 1705.

There was constant difficulty through sincere effort to reconcile communistic (in our phrase) desires with proprietary rights in the growing settlement. We may well study the meager records of divisions of land, so far as we can. We remember¹⁶ that in 1645, twenty-five-acre or quarter-right purchasers were admitted to “equal fellowship of vote” with the first purchasers. This class received in every division of land one-quarter part as

¹² Staples, “Annals,” p. 113.

¹³ Marriage was legally a civil contract throughout New England. Generally the statutes required the banns to be published at two town meetings.

¹⁴ Early Rec. Prov., Vol. II., p. 81.

¹⁵ Dorr, “Planting and Growth,” p. 50.

¹⁶ Cf. *Ante*, p. 37.

much as a full purchaser. The number of purchasers of both kinds never exceeded 101 persons. They were admitted at various times on various terms; the date of the last admission cannot be determined. March 14, 1661-2, an act¹⁷ was passed to divide the lands "without the seven mile line." In this outside division the "twenty-five-acre men" were allowed each "a quarter part so much as a purchaser," paying one-quarter of the charge for confirmation. The right arose from "commoning within the seven mile bounds," only those having full right of commoning within, being equal to a purchaser. The grant was allowed on condition that each should break up one-half acre of "his home lot before next May 1^o mos."

The communistic sentiment noted in the original allotment, was manifest in various movements for democratic equality. The home-lot of five acres, the distant meadow or six-acre lot, the "stated common lot," together with land-dividends among the proprietors, all resulted in numerous small estates, widely separated. Economically, the yield was not equal to that of the Pawtuxet settlement, where the methods were more like those of ordinary pioneers. Pawtuxet for the first eighty years, paid nearly as much tax as the much larger Providence. And the effect on the future development of the plantation was more important and far reaching. While the elaborate system of home-lots created strong local attachment it cultivated prejudice as well. All the limitations of farming life, extended into, warped and biassed a community, which should have grown into a commercial center two generations before it actually did. The proprietors clung to every habit and privilege, driving the settlement outward and westward, as the

¹⁷ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. III., 19.

expanding commercial life compelled progress of some sort.

Let us remember that, then nowhere in the world perhaps were the two greatest motives affecting human society at work so freely and practically as in the little colony and especially in the plantation at Providence. Freedom of conscience and desire for land animated the settlers there, and often struggled for mastery. The individual sacrifices of Williams, Gorton and the Quakers for soul-liberty are well known.

Religious organization among the planters at Providence had little influence until commerce had fairly begun in the eighteenth century. Politically the associated religionists acted in the town meeting as proprietors or freeholders. There was nothing like the direct influence of a Puritan congregation, or its indirect movement, in what we call public opinion. About twelve families sympathized with Williams in forming the early Baptist society, but the majority refrained from all religious association. William Harris, after Williams the most influential citizen, belonged to no religious body after seceding from the Baptists. Williams kept on with the Baptists only about three months, and was known as a "Seeker." Mr. Dorr, a conservative churchman, severely criticised all these movements, but we must consider his facts.¹⁸ He said the worshipers of Liberty had some noisy declaimers like Hugh Bewett, and some political agitators like Gregory Dexter who were revolutionary in England. There were two Baptist churches in Providence as early as 1652;¹⁹ one of the six and the other of the five principle Baptists. The First Church kept its continuous life. It differed from the communion in New-

¹⁸ "R. I. H. S.," New Series, Vol. III., 204.

¹⁹ Staples, "Annals," p. 410.

port. July 10, 1681, the record²⁰ is preserved of a long disputation based on scriptural texts between Pardon Tillinghast, Gregory Dexter and Aaron Dexter of Providence and Obadiah Holmes of Newport. Providence contended, whether "repenting believing Baptized Disciples are visible members of Christ's body and have right to Fellowship breaking of bread and prayer, we deny according to our understanding of your sense."

Political force as embodied in citizens, is necessarily wiser and more enlightened than the mere grasp of a landholder. It was obliged to recognize that man as well as property must join in making a state, and that actual freemen must be encouraged. At an early (unknown) date, the suffrage had been restricted to married men. The young men—probably then in the majority—were discontented under the restriction for nine years. In the fifties it was decreed that "all inhabitants not as yet accounted freemen should be liable to do service not only military but mending roads and like hard work." In the mid-century, the plantation had three distinct classes of voters not sympathizing,²¹ proprietors, quarter-rights men, and small freeholders at large. These divisions not only marked estates, but social distinction and privilege as well. The newest freeholders were smallest in estate and least in political influence. Meetings sometimes included proprietors in the same persons. In later days, only proprietors could vote on questions involving "common lands."

Inevitably there was political agitation and social friction between these varied and variable persons seeking liberty and the practical privileges of freemen. Each home-circle was a debating school where talk served instead

²⁰ Moses Brown MSS., Vol. XVIII, p. 247, R. I. H. S.

²¹ Staples, p. 218.

of books to draw out the mind. As an ample fire roared in the massive chimney, or a blazing pine knot lighted the eager faces, all contemporary history, all theology in fixed fate or foreknowledge absolute, was discussed by these new Americans. But at the town mill these educated wranglers met in more serious controversy. The intense English ambition for possessing land, the political passion of a freeman, were here exercised in exciting discussions. Sometimes opinion degenerated into license, as we have noted at the training in autumn 1654. But generally questions were threshed out in these wholesome if exciting discussions, and were decided in some fashion at the turbulent town meeting.

Manners as well as morals and statutes were matter of lively interest. The natural man was disciplined in some way, and reduced into new forms of social order. To wit "that they that whisper or disturb ye Court or useth nipping terms, shall forfeit six pence for every fault." More strenuous was it, when if "any man shall strike another person in ye Court, he shall either be fined ten pounds or whipt."

We cannot repeat too often, nor mark too forcibly, these new and complex modes for educating and evolving a citizen; for forging out a working member of the body politic. All these moral and political influences acting on the first generations of planters, positively affected their descendants. State heredity is even more powerful than individual descent. Roger Williams, Gorton, George Fox, Coddington and William Harris in the seventeenth century, issued in Stephen Hopkins of the eighteenth, and Thomas W. Dorr, of the nineteenth. The latter, a conscientious patriot in theory, in practice became a civic rebel.

The pregnant disputes between proprietors and free-

holders were gradually wearing out and a final process of economic adjustment prevailed over the crude communistic theories, which had vexed the life of the early plantation. The date is not positive, but about 1665.²² A town ordinance laid out a four-mile line within the old seven-mile line. A second or "50 acre division was made by lot to every 'purchaser.'" Lime rock was to be left in common. As usual, discussion outside had prepared the voters for these propositions. The result in town meeting was concord and not the strife of old time. The day arrived, with no lack of quorum at the inn, where the freemen assembled; while intense curiosity preserved order. Before formalities began "arose the gaunt and picturesque figure of the founder." Williams' stock arguments against the "usurpation of the proprietors" would not hold now, for he was partaking as a "purchaser." He "witnessed" against the "prophaning of God's worship by casting lots." The stalwart prophet had nothing more to say of "up streams without limits" or of the "fellowship of vote."

We may note a very interesting episode in crude law-making. May 27, 1667,²³ in town meeting a will was made for Nicholas Power, who died intestate some ten years earlier. Endeavors had been made meanwhile to settle the estate under the general laws of the colony; but the widow would not consent and the council had not power to compel her. At last a will was made as above stated. As Judge Staples²⁴ remarks, where the power was obtained, does not appear, but it was exercised repeatedly, not only in Providence, but in other towns,

²² "Early Rec.," Vol. III., 93.

²³ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. I., 31.

²⁴ "Annals," p. 124.

“Wills so made were not simply divisions and distribution of the intestates’ estate among heirs, but in some instances specific bequests and devises were made, and estates for life, in tail and fee created, as the council supposed the interests of all concerned required.” This practice continued into the nineteenth century in the smaller towns. It was a return to social ethics, when the law for individuals failed to award justice. It served the time well, and was almost never abused.

Staples²⁵ cites in 1662 a privilege given one Hackleton to burn lime, from stone taken from the commons, as the earliest notice of that manufacture. The kiln was near Scoaquequanoisett. All lime rock was for some years kept in common, but was ultimately conveyed with the lands. Mr. Bowditch thinks lime from shells or probably from stone was made as early as 1648. There was little lime produced until brick building was introduced a half century later. Probably the earliest list of tools belonged to John Clausen, a Dutch carpenter, about 1660.²⁶ Froe, bench hook hammer, 1½ x 1 inch augers, narrow axe, hallowing plane, cleaving and moulding do, three other sorts, chizells, gouge, three Brest wimble bitts, a joynter plane. This list shows the condition of carpentry. Wm. Carpenter, an English-bred carpenter, came from Amesbury and built a house for Wm. Harris before 1671 (probably).

The authority of the crown was demonstrated for the first time, by the visit in 1665 of a royal commission—Nicolls, Cartwright and others. The commissioners met a better reception than in Massachusetts, and their proposals for the general guidance of the General Assembly

²⁵ Staples, “Annals,” p. 613.

²⁶ Field, “Providence,” Vol. III., 583.

were promptly accepted, as being "in perfect unison with the principles of Rhode Island."²⁷

Much controversy with Connecticut for possession of the Narragansett country, vexed the colony for several years. Connecticut was favored by some of the local residents about Wickford and incidentally by William Harris. He offended his own colony so much by this action that he was imprisoned at Newport and not allowed bail. He was finally released and restored to office, when the Quakers controlled the politics of the colony in 1672.

An indication and permanent sign of progress in the plantation was in the erection of Weybosset Bridge in 1672. This was a great effort for the little community. Expedients for a bridge had been maintained by tolls from strangers and contributory work from townsmen; one day's work of man and team per year, for each family. Roger Williams showed his customary public spirit,²⁸ by assuming the burden of the bridge under these conditions in 1667-8. A committee had previously failed in getting support to care for the bridge.

After Williams and Gorton, the most positive and formative influence in early Rhode Island, was the society of Friends. The "cruel and sanguinary laws" of Massachusetts drove out these pilgrims—harmless in our view—and they flocked into Newport. Here they found a free atmosphere and many people with minds open for the reception of their ideas. In England, the seventeenth century had gathered from Geneva and Holland the most illuminating as well as the most vague doctrines of the Protestant faith. Anabaptist and Antinomian—though frequently used—were vituperative names, rather than

²⁷ Brigham, "R. I.," p. 113.

²⁸ Staples, "Annals," p. 144.

terms philosophical and descriptive. In England and America, these floating doctrines were best represented by the society of Seekers with which Roger Williams finally associated himself. But Williams never could formulate his own large conceptions into dogmas capable of founding solid societies.

These elevated incorporeal ideas possessing the individual soul were gradually concentrated in the "inner light" of George Fox. This asserted a constant communion of the spirit with its creator—moving independent of all constraint and of all ecclesiastical control. That mere crotchets should incumber these true spiritual conceptions was inevitable. But notwithstanding some individual vagaries, the Friends or Quakers as then called were an immense influence for good, and especially in our colony. As above indicated in treating of education,²⁹ the Friends self-regulated in themselves were especially beneficent in a self-governed community that lacked self-control.

At Newport, the seed sown by Anne Hutchinson had prepared ample growths for the Quaker propaganda. In the course of development the Baptist church had been separated, a part holding to regular ordinances under John Clarke, and others like Coddington and Easton adopting Quaker tenets. The great apostle of the "inner light," George Fox, visited there in 1672, and was the guest of Governor Easton. For the reasons stated, he found himself quite at home and the "people flocked in from all parts of the island." When he came to consider Providence, though it had no established church and no hierarchy, he soon discovered theological wheels within wheels, and that every man his own priest may become a very priestly factor. On his visit there

²⁹ *Ante*, p. 68.

the reformer said the people "were generally above the priests in high notions." They came to his meeting to dispute and, in his own words, he was "exceeding hot, and in a great sweat. But all was well, the disputers were silent, and the meeting quiet."³⁰ The silence could not last long, for the storm was gathering. Williams challenged Fox on fourteen points of doctrine; seven to be publicly discussed in Newport and seven in Providence. Williams rowed himself to Newport in one day—a wonderful feat for a man over seventy. Fox had departed, but his followers debated with Williams for three days and then concluded at Providence. The result was an easy victory for each, in the opinion of both. Williams summed up in a volume, whose title "George Fox digged out of his Burrowes" shows the cheap controversial wit of the time. Fox with his disciple Burnyeat replied in "A New England Firebrand Quenched."

The arguments and figures of rhetoric stand to this day, but the propaganda then went with the Quakers. Men like William Harris in Providence took up the doctrines. A week-day meeting was established in Providence in March, 1701, and a "fair large meeting house was built in 1704."³¹ From 1672 to 1676, the colonial politics were controlled by the Friends, and it was mainly due to their non-combative policy that the colony was so poorly prepared to meet King Philip's War.

In 1665, the controversy began in 1657,³² between William Harris and the party of freeholders was much aggravated, and it lasted until his death in 1681, at times convulsing the whole colony.³³ As has been noted,³⁴

³⁰ Brigham, "R. I.," p. 117.

³¹ Staples, "Annals," pp. 423, 424.

³² Staples, "Annals," p. 118.

³³ Brigham, pp. 113-116.

³⁴ *Ante*, p. 79.

the Proprietors and Freeholders were generally at variance, but these contests involved great personal bitterness as well as self-interest.

William Harris with his brother Thomas came in the ship *Lyon*. According to tradition, the family were "harsh and irregular of feature, brawny, resentful and pertinacious in temperament, and, in speech rasping." Harris' own writing is preserved; it is most individual, thoroughly his own and is even more difficult of interpretation than the ordinary chirography of the seventeenth century. It is thoroughly elegant, as would hardly be expected from the above rendering of the family traits.³⁵ Like many strong men of his time, he was educated by affairs and not by the schools, had great facility in business and a fair knowledge of English statute law. His books³⁶ were few but useful; bibles, concordance, dictionary, surveyors learning and legal treatises including Coke on Lyttleton, medical treatises, several on "faith," "nature's Explecation," "the effect of war," "contemplation moral and devine." Evidently this was a collection much used by a busy man of affairs who thought for himself.

The main contention of Harris was that the "initial deed" in its clause "up the stream of Patuxet and Patuckett without limits we might have for our use of cattle" gave not only a right of pasturage, but the land in fee simple. To further this the contestants bought "confirmation deeds" both for lands and rights of pasturage of the degenerate sachems coming after

³⁵ "He brought to whatever he undertook the resources of a great mind and, to all appearance, the honest convictions of an earnest soul. On this account he was a more dangerous opponent and required stringent measures to suppress the errors of his political creed."—Arnold, Vol. I., 262.

³⁶ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. VI., p. 75.

Canonicus and Miantinomi, extending twenty miles westward from Fox's hill. Roger Williams always solemnly protested that possession of the land was never intended by the great sachems in the conveyance for the "use of cattle." This seems reasonable either in the seventeenth or twentieth century.

In 1667, the quarrel broke out anew in the town meeting, the factions being led by William Harris and Arthur Fenner. The two parties chose contesting delegates to the General Assembly. If our forefathers had not reporters and newspapers, they revelled in pamphlets, fiercely polemical. The Fenner party issued a most bitter one, "The Firebrand Discovered."³⁷ This fiery distinction was a customary title, eminent, but not honorary conferred on William Harris. As this contestant was strong in law as well as in language, he induced the Governor to call

³⁷ We may cite a few sentences from this dissertation, written by Williams doubtless, for they correspond with his statements in "George Fox digged out of his burrowes." These phrases show the way of thinking and method of expression among neighbors in the Plantation. "first his nature, he is like the salamander always delighting to live in ye fire of contention. 2, his nature qualities and conditions doth further appeare, he is a Quarilsome man (beat Adam Goodwin, an officer). 3, he is like the raging sea casting forth mire and dirt. Men of high degree or lowe degree; he casth on them foole, knave, base fellowe, scunderill or the like. 6, you question with ahasuerus who is he, we answer with Queen Esther, the enemie (Esther, VII., 5-6). The firebrand is this wicked Harris, commonly called Mr. William Harris."—R. I. H. S. Col., Vol. 10, p. 78.

In this Pawtuxet controversy involving Proprietors' interests, a whole literature was developed. In 1669 Harris took part by protesting against a paper presented by Gregory Dexter "an instrument and a soveren plaister or against our Rights in lands, lawes, ye Common law, statut law of England, and our rights in Magna Charta soe soundly confirmed by 32 parliaments. . . . I not only take myself bound to protest against ye said poysonous plaster but also to complayne of Gregory Dexter for his notorious crime against ye King's law and peace."—"Mr. Harris."—*Ibid*, pp. 93, 94.

This list of Inhabitants was cast up to
 4th 16th 10: but amounteth
 to more y^r money pay Comy
 Considered & balkanced
 There was also m^{ore} Chest a
 Parcell of prag^{18th} wth John Whip
 J^h said was to pay Tho: Ward
 & if it w^{ere} ours it must be
 taxed.
 There was m^{ore} money also 16^d paid to
 James Olney upon y^e Sabth of the
 Indians & this John Whip said
 he was forced to pay out for
 washing of James Olney's Linen
 before & at his Death & other
 necessary charges
 Attested by Mr Roger Williams
 Town clerk: ~~at this~~ ~~apit~~ ~~then~~
~~19th 10th 10~~
 this & necessary list in our cust

COPY OF THE RECORD SIGNED BY ROGER WILLIAMS
 IN HIS ONLY SERVICE AS TOWN CLERK.

a special session of the General Assembly, which was the court also, and lodged a suit against his opposers. But the legislative and judicial petard gave him a sorry "hoist"; for the tribunal chose Fenner's delegates from Providence, cleared the charges against him, and discharged Harris from the office of assistant. In addition, on petition of the town of Warwick, the assembly fined Harris £50. for imposing an extra session on the colony in the busy season of the year. Harris was chief of the committee to collect from the colony the tax to pay John Clarke's expenses in England, while procuring the charter, and had made himself especially obnoxious to Warwick.

The town of Warwick was particularly delinquent in this affair; one of the most discreditable episodes in our colonial history.³⁸ Doctor John Clarke's expenses in England, while procuring the royal charter, the secured foundation of the colony, had been slowly paid and never were fully liquidated. Yet no one deserved more from the planters than this esterprising, wise and forecasting statesman. Roger Williams berated Providence that, they "ride securely by a new Cable and Ankor of Mr. Clarke's procuring" and refused his first just claims. He wrote Warwick a letter, powerful and befitting in our view,³⁹ but "pernitious" in the view of the town, who protested against it unanimously. Warwick had some reasons for objecting to its proportion of the tax. But these reasons did not prevail with the General Assembly, which ordered a letter "to provoke and stirr them up to pay." This caused some noteworthy proceedings—curious even for Rhode Island. Warwick considered a letter from the committee on tax in 1669 "as if it had

³⁸ Durfee, "Judicial History R. I.," p. 124.

³⁹ "R. I. H. S. Pub.," Vol. VIII., 147.

been indicted in hell." Unanimously the town ordered the "Clarke to put it on a file where impertinent papers shall be kept for the future; to the end that those persons who have not learned in the school of good manners how to speak to men in the language of sobriety (if they be sought for) may be there found."⁴⁰ This sublime courtesy from a debtor who was arraigned "out of hell" might have graced a Chesterfield. This "impertinent file" became a customary parliamentary instrument. That it was lost, is a misfortune; for its peremptory and excellent system of classification might have enlightened these modern times. In another connection this remarkable instrument appears as "the dam-file."

The disputes of Warwick with the colony were contingent to the constant controversy of Wm. Harris against Williams and his associates. Harris availed of every circumstance to push his own polemics. Now in 1672, he became the ally of Connecticut⁴¹ in her attempts to get possession of the Narragansett country. The planters there inclined toward the movement of Connecticut. The government of the colony was changed on this issue, the moderate Quakers joining with the Narragansett planters who favored Connecticut; Easton becoming Governor in place of Arnold. But subsequently the people checked this unwise movement, and repelled the action of Connecticut. Harris was styled "traitor" and imprisoned by his opponents, after the controversial methods of the time; but he hardly committed overt treason. These transactions in town and assembly meetings seem very petty now. We are to remember that, not only was the citizen uneducated in the modern political sense, but he had much to unlearn that had been

⁴⁰ Arnold, I., 336n.

⁴¹ Brigham, p. 121.

forced into him by feudal usurpation and ecclesiastical oppression. The democrat was coming to his own through all sorts of vagaries. The process was petty and defaced the body politic on many occasions, but it formed a practical working democracy.

We should notice the social function of the colonial tavern, everywhere necessary and nowhere more important than in the little community at Providence. The intense individuality of the planter must have some social vent and opportunity for expression. The modern club, caucus and festive church meeting were anticipated mostly in the taverns of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The first inn in the colony was licensed to William Baulston at Portsmouth in 1638.⁴² In March, 1655-6, the colony passed an ordinance, closing bars at nine o'clock. But the Assembly probably found that taverns were better regulated by local authority, for in 1686 all laws relating to excise on liquors, keeping taverns and selling arms to Indians were repealed.

Gatherings at the town mill and later at the better taverns afforded a constant round of discussion and gave play to social excitement. A very curious sidelight is thrown on Providence society by a town ordinance in 1679. The religious excommunication of Rhode Island imposed by the other colonies of New England was so severe that the planters were often impelled to impose ordinance and law to maintain public decorum. Others thought so ill of our colonists it was necessary to show that they thought well of themselves. This act enjoined employment of servants for labor on the first day of the week; all sporting, gaming or shooting was likewise forbidden—simple and proper, civic regulation. But for

⁴² Arnold, Vol. I., p. 129.

taverns all tippling was suppressed on the Sabbath "more than necessity requireth." We may readily imagine that a fierce discussion on proprietary rights or an evolution of Calvin's institutes might produce a stomach ache requiring necessary flip or toddy.

The acrimony of the town meeting was lighted up by an occasional joke. Regulating the Common lands was a constant annoyance. Pigs especially disturbed the over-burdened administration. In debating an ordinance to fence them out, Wm. Harris said, "I hope you may goe looke as Scoggine did for ye haare."⁴³ Scogan's Jest Book was one of the most popular chap-books in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The regulation of traffic in liquors was a constant source of trouble. An act July 3, 1663,⁴⁴ declared some sellers to be so "wicked and notorious as to deserve to be Branded with the name of Jaackes Cleansers." Circumstantial evidence and the testimony of Indians have always troubled jurists. In these cases the planters made one positive good out of two possible evils. For it was provided at this time that the testimony of "an Indian, circumstances agreeing with such testimony" should convict under the ordinance of 1659.

In 1675 and the year following, Rhode Island was shaken to its foundations and the plantation of Moshassuck at Providence was destroyed for the time. The concentrated Indian uprising known as King Philip's war, greatly injured Massachusetts and Rhode Island, while it ruined the native Indians. There were grievances on both sides, as always when barbarism encounters civilization. Philip and Canonchet in no wise equalled old Canonicus, one of the greatest North American aborigines.

⁴³ "R. I. H. S. Col.," Vol. X., p. 75.

⁴⁴ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. III., p. 38.

We shall never know what might have occurred in the thirties, had the Indians resisted the English outright; but in the seventies to hurl savages against the solid growth of English civilization as Philip did, was simple madness. These desperate contests have been amply recorded and we may only refer to the voluminous history. Ellis and Morris⁴⁵ have shown that the slaughter of the Narragansetts at the swamp fight was not as complete as was formerly imagined; but the impairment of the nation caused by the whole war was thorough. Scanty remnants finally settled in Charlestown, leaving the rich territory of aboriginal thousands. The mainland, about and through which the Indians lived, was a very theater of war. The power of government and administration of affairs was on the island controlled by the Quakers, and it was five times as wealthy as the other plantations. Whatever place—and it should be a very worthy place—we may assign the Quakers, in the building of individual character and in religious development, their function and their doings in political government have brought failure, wherever their principles have been enforced. According to Richard Smith, a prominent settler in Narragansett, “the Governor of Rhode Island being a Quaker, thought it perhaps not lawful either to give commission or to take up arms; so that their towns, goods, corn, cattle were by the savage natives burned and destroyed.”⁴⁶ Governor Coddington was old and the ruling citizens comfortable, quite willing to rest and be thankful. Moderate garrisons would have saved Providence, Warwick and outlying Narragansett, but the mainland was left to sorry fate.⁴⁷ Narragansett and Pawtuxet were cleared;

⁴⁵ King Philip's War.

⁴⁶ “R. I. C. R.,” Vol. III., p. 51.

⁴⁷ Brigham, pp. 125-129.

Warwick kept one house, while Providence had not above three.⁴⁸

The wretched and monotonous litigation over proprietary rights and disputing plantations was not lessened by conflicting titles, left by the devastation of fire. Wrangling disputes over rights to the land continued to vex the community for some ten years.

“Whatever may have been their motive in deserting the mainland towns—whether it was political enmity, Quaker antipathy against war in general, or a selfish desire to preserve their homes—such action did much to foster an alienation between the mainland and the Island which hindered a united colony growth for many years.”⁴⁹ In 1676 died John Clarke, scholar, physician, minister and statesman; above all a pure patriot. Always in public affairs, his “blameless self-sacrificing life” left him without an enemy, although in these times strife everywhere prevailed.

Woman, the true helpmate of those days, was not in the best position when she was “unattached.” The maiden, the unmarried female or spinster, was not in the best circumstances when she did not spin at her own wheel. The wills show many curious arrangements, where the maidens were controlled by a rigid family discipline.

⁴⁸ Rates assessed in 1678 show the relative conditions of the towns. Newport £136, Plymouth £68, New Shoreham and Jamestown each £29, Providence £10, Warwick and Kingston each £8, East Greenwich and Westerly each £2.

A flotilla of sloops and boats was employed by the General Assembly to sail around the Island and defend it. “This is the first instance in the history of the Colonies where a naval armament was relied upon for defence. It was the germ of a future Rhode Island squadron, one century later, and of an ultimate American navy.”—Arnold, Vol. I., p. 409.

⁴⁹ Brigham, p. 127.

Zachary Roades, in 1662,⁵⁰ able to give his daughters handsome legacies for the time, bound the will of the spinsters in summary fashion. To his eldest daughter Elizabeth he gave £80 at 21 years, or at marriage. To Mary and Rebecca £60 each on same conditions. But, if either "shall Marry or match themselves with any Contrary to ye Mind of their mother or of my two overseers (executors), then it shall be in their Mother's what to give them, whether any thing or No." Independent but not free spinsters; if concord followed there must have been some forbearance among those many wills.

Sometimes consent of parents was advertised in the notice of banns. Feb. 1, 1680,⁵¹ it comes from another colony, "I, John Wooddin of beverly in the covnty of essex in New England doe not see now anything but that lawrence clinton and my daughter may proceed in the honorable state of matrimony," cited from the "second publishing."

The hardest municipal task—beyond early theological differences or proprietors' disputes for lands—was in the control of sexual immorality. Persons offending in one town were handed over to the next *en route*. June 17, 1682,⁵² Ephraim Prey and Elizabeth Hoyden of Braintree were caught *in flagrante delictu*. The father of the girl agreed to remove her with Prey to his home in Braintree by June 22, at sunset, or both culprits would have been delivered to the next constable (at Rehoboth) "to be Conveid to their dwellings."

In some cases, proceedings were very dilatory. Richard Bates⁵³ appears April 25, 1683, having "a woman

⁵⁰ "Early Records Prov.," Vol. IV., p. 80.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., p. 27.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 107, 113.

abideing with you" and both were ordered off July 25. With his "pretended wife" he was questioned for contempt and obtained a stay of execution until Oct. 21. In December he was granted further courtesy until March 31. We can only suppose that the facts were not positively as bad as the judgments specify. Meanwhile the offenders must have gained some kind of better recognition from the neighbors, or this lax procedure would not have been allowed.

Mary Bellowes having come into town with a young child and "no bond for town's security," was ordered off in four weeks. This sentence was afterward extended about 8 months, July 12, 1683. Abigall Sibley,⁵⁴ with her child, was ordered off. Thomas Cooper published his intention of marriage with Abigall, which was forbidden, because he had "manifested himself a person infamous in that he hath forsaken a sober woman, who is his wife." Mistress Abigall, with her child, appears again, Dec. 13, "entertained by Thomas Cooper." Her time of removal was extended to the first Monday in March, "not to live with Thomas Cooper" meanwhile.

Mr. Dorr notes the increase of creature comforts after King Philip's War. Kitchen utensils and other improvements in the household showed more abundance. Frying pans, gridirons, spits and skillets manifested the departure from the boiling pot, and to some housewives these utensils appeared to be extravagant. Abigail Dexter, administratrix, valued in 1679, "a frying pan, a skillet and other trumpery," at 10s.

There were few candles to burn, some of them being made of bayberry tallow. In 1681 the town-meeting forbade making tar from pitchwood beyond ten gallons per man for his own use on his own land. Pitchwood was "a

⁵⁴ "Early Records Prov.," Vol. IV., pp. 109, 114.

great benefit for candle light." As naval stores were then greatly desiderated in all countries, this shows how little the agriculturists appreciated the commercial possibilities of their own land.

Tobacco was generally raised by the farmers and appeared upon the inventories in small quantities. Mostly for domestic use, in some instances it was gathered for export. Ephraim Carpenter, probably a small shop-keeper, had in 1698, 313 lbs. at 3d. £3.18.3. In "cotten wooll," which was always coming from the West Indies, he had a value of 3s. 6d. Flax was grown as table linen became a necessary comfort. Linen-wheels for spinning were common.

Mr. Dorr notes that long after King Philip's War there were meetings of the town held under the buttonwood tree opposite Crawford Street.⁵⁵

We may note rates of taxation and prices of commodities. In 1663,⁵⁶ £36 was levied toward the expenses of John Clarke, while procuring the charter in England. Pork was received at 28s. per cwt.; wheat at 4s.6 per bu. ; peas at 3s.6 ; butter at 6d per lb. In 1664,⁵⁷ the rate was £130, levied according to the apportionment of the General Assembly. Wheat and peas were unchanged and pork was at £3.10 per bbl. Horses and cattle were received at prices equivalent.

In 1678-9⁵⁸ for a rate of £20, the prices were for oxen £4; cows and 3 yrs. old, £3; horses and mares, 4 yrs. old, £3; swine, 15s.; sheep above 1 yr., 4s. Improved planting land was at £3 per acre and vacant land not improved 3s. per acre. Mr. Richman⁵⁹ records the positive fall in

⁵⁵ "Planting and Growth," p. 94.

⁵⁶ "Early Records Prov.," Vol. III., p. 91.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII., p. 41.

⁵⁹ "R. I.—Its Making," p. 537.

prices of food from 1676 to 1686, after the ravages of King Philip's War had passed away. Good pork was at £2.10 per bbl.; good beef, 12s. per cwt.; peas, always a staple, 2s.6. per bu.; wool, 12d. to 6d.; butter, 5d. to 6d. The abundance of other articles shows agricultural increase, and the relatively small decline in butter indicates a demand produced by more comfortable living.

Sept. 1, 1667,⁶⁰ the rate was £33.9.6. Silas and Benjamin Carpenter jointly paying £1.3 and Stephen Arnold £1.1.10, the highest individual taxes. Oct. 31, 1687, for another rate of £16.12.2. Indian corn was taken at 2s. per bu.; rye, 2s. 8; beef at three halfpence per pound; pork, 2d.; butter, 6d. For the rate of £37.12.3 in August, 1688,⁶¹ apparently they had rated more persons or had increased the portions of the majority, for Silas and Benjamin Carpenter stand at 16s.9 and Stephen Arnold at 17s.6; these magnates being reduced.

The disputes about land titles between Providence and Pawtuxet⁶² complicated the struggles of Proprietors and Freeholders, besides creating every possible difference among the direct contestants. Suit and cross suit, writ of ejectment with timid ineffective service, embarrassed these times and convulsed the community. The vigorous William Harris generally got his verdict, but failed in obtaining practical execution from the feeble administrators of law. This shows that public sentiment leaned against him.

We ought to look into the "Plea of the Patuxet Purchasers," before the King's Commissioners, Nov. 17, 1677.⁶³ This whole document illustrates the curious

⁶⁰ "E. R. Prov.," Vol. XVII., p. 103.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶² Arnold, Vol. I., p. 432-438.

⁶³ "R. I. H. S. Pub.," Vol. I., 185 *et seq.*

compound of English law and judaic interpretation which prevailed in the mind of New England . . . "The said discomposed Soules that so Object, do not believe such a bound. If any, my Charity toward them, as to their Actions or wisdom not being so simple in doing as Saying." The essential argument is given in summing up. "That the words (might have for our use of cattle) doth give a property in a sound sense by words of Scripture 35 of Numbers and 3d verse, 'And the City's shall they (have) to dwell in and the suburbs of them shall be for their Cattle.' Verse 3d."⁶⁴ This was the outcome of the simple privilege "up streams for cattle" given by Canonicus to Roger Williams.

But in this fishing upstream for land, both parties went into muddy waters according to Mr. Richman. By "erratic and erring process in the field" seeking "where is the head of the Wanasquatucket," Roger Williams and Arthur Fenner in 1678 surpassed William Harris "that master of tergiversation at his own game."⁶⁵

At Christmas in 1679, Harris, in pursuit of "more specific execution," went to England for the fourth time. On his passage he was taken by Algerine corsairs, who were even more ferocious than the Christians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the summer of 1681, he was ransomed, released and went to London, where he died in three days from debility induced by his captivity. The ransom was mainly paid by the colony of Connecticut, for which he was acting abroad in the disputed Narragansett boundary. The ransom was afterward repaid by his family. In 1680 he wrote, "Deare wife and Children let us Cast our Care on god without distracting feare, thouh I should here dy yet god lives, and I am not

⁶⁴ "R. I. H. S. Pub.," Vol. I., p. 211.

⁶⁵ "R. I. H. S. Col.," Vol. X., p. 19.

without hope but that I may see you againe, let us pray fervently and Continually to god that is able to deliver and soe I commend you all to god all way."⁶⁶

Could there be a more pathetic situation? Bad, as were the greedy claims and angry quarrels of Pawtuxet and Providence—the barbaric Saracen was worse. And the fierce individual contestant out of this turbulent colony, was nevertheless in his heart the gentle Christian father commending all to his heavenly Father in pure faith.

Mr. Richman⁶⁷ has studied the Harris and Williams controversy in every detail and probably knows more about it than any one. He is severe in his view of Harris. Let us quote the words of Arnold, whose judgment cannot be neglected, "Thus perished one of the strong men of Rhode Island. He filled a large space in the early history of the Colony, as an active, determined man, resolute in mind and vigorous in body, delighting in conflict, bold in his views of the political dogmas of his time, fearless in his mode of expressing them, striking always firmly, and often rashly, for what he believed to be the right. His controversy with Roger Williams was never forgotten, and scarcely forgiven, by either of these great men, and presents the darkest blot that rests upon their characters."⁶⁸

Mr. Dorr's general view of these differences and conflicts is just; for the system was more at fault than the men. Lack of legal knowledge, still greater lack of judicial organization and executive power, inevitable in a

⁶⁶ "R. I. H. S. Col.," Vol. X., p. 321.

⁶⁷ Cf. "R. I. H. S. Col.," Vol. X., pp. 11-127, for his study with original documents.

⁶⁸ Arnold, Vol. I., p. 437.

colony forced by circumstances into irregular existence; noble motives struggling with ordinary greed and necessity of living—all these compelling forces produced the disputes of Providence Plantation, too often ending in a quarrel.⁶⁹ But let us not dwell on these minor shadows. These individuals were great as a whole, if faulty in detail, and they wrought even better than they knew. While recognizing the smaller defects, let us cherish the grand result.

In the years 1677 and 1678—contemporary with the withdrawal of Harris—there occurred the deaths of three most prominent citizens. Samuel Gorton,⁷⁰ one of the most remarkable “men that ever lived,” passed away. With the vision of a seer, his mental astuteness, his scriptural learning, his deep reverence for established law, made of him an extraordinary conserving radical.

Quite unlike was Governor Benedict Arnold, who had lived at Newport twenty-five years, removing there from Providence. He was not moved by the arguments of George Fox and followed John Clarke politically, opposing the usurpation of Coddington. President of the colony under the patent, he was named governor in the second charter, and was elected by the people seven times. The confidence of his constituents proves his integrity and political sagacity. One act alone—his reply to the inhuman and arrogant demand of the United Colonies, for

⁶⁹ Cf. Chief Justice Thomas Durfee, “Judicial History,” p. 18. The influence of Newport in the early history of the State has not been appreciated. The rest of the colony was very heterogeneous, the home of soul-liberty being the home of rampant individuality. Newport had “higher civic or communal sentiment, a more educated public spirit, a profounder political consciousness.” The best lawyers, ablest politicians and public men lived there. Sectional, local “Rhode Island men” broadened out at Newport, as government went on.

⁷⁰ *Ante*, p. 40.

the expulsion of Quakers from Rhode Island,⁷¹—would give him a high, permanent place in history.

Governor William Coddington died in office. As he built the first brick house in Boston, so he laid the foundations of Newport on a solid basis, being pioneer in her commerce. In his course as judge, he probably made the first code of laws, which lasted for generations, and without which we may safely assume, Rhode Island never could have been developed. But in the significant words of a judicial descendant, "he had in him a little too much of the future for Massachusetts, and a little too much of the past for Rhode Island, as she then was."⁷² This tendency resulted in the vagary of "Usurpation." He became a Friend and in his latter years was again active in public affairs, in a legitimate way. As we have noted above,⁷³ Rhode Island owes him a great debt.

When life was monotonous and news-prints were unknown the talk of Towne Streete was of constant interest. Beyond this, scandal, slander and gossip too often filled the air and occasionally went on record. August 27, 1684,⁷⁴ S. Bennett was obliged to retain John Whipple, Jr., an attorney to defend him against the suit of Bridget Price. In September, Bridget signing with an X declares that the said Bennett in his own home charged her with being "a thiefe, a —, and a vagabond." Even Boston furnished its share to these proceedings, for Thomas Clarke in "his pewtour's shopp" there, had an altercation with one Mary Brattle (not connected with Brattle Sq. probably) and followed her to Providence, where he arraigned her through the busy attorney Whip-

⁷¹ "R. I. Col. Rec.," Vol. I., pp. 376-380.

⁷² C. J. Job Durfee, "Historical Discourse," p. 16.

⁷³ *Ante*, p. 64.

⁷⁴ "E. R. Prov.," XVII., p. 41.

ple, Nov. 24, 1684.⁷⁵ Whipple deposed for Clarke that in the said shop Mary Brattle demanded the "key of a house of office." Clarke refused and Mary gave him "very Taunting speeches." In answer, Clarke said, "prateing hossey." Then Mary called Clarke "Beggers Bratt, and Cheate, and sayd shee kept a better man to wipe her shoes." Then the said Clarke bid her get out, "for yov are prateing hossey, for yov had need to have had a hundred pounds Bestoed upon you at a boardeing scoole; to learn manner and breeding then shee ye said Brattle called ye sayd Clarke Rouge and soe went out of ye shopp." The views of Clarke on education indicate the standard of culture prevailing among Boston pewterers.

However simple the social proceedings of the plantation, man and woman were sometimes unaccommodating in their vital intercourse. Whatever Margaret Abbott's faults may have been, her explicit consort Daniel shines forth in no favorable light. Aug. 7, 1683,⁷⁶ Abbott records his woes. "Through her Maddness of folly and Turbulency of her Corrupt will, Destroying me Root and Branch, putting out one of her owne Eyes to putt out Both mine. And is since departed takeing away my Children without my Consent and plots to Rifle my house to accomplish her Divilish Resolution against me."

The spirit of peace hovered over another couple even in temporary estrangement. In this methodical fashion, they wore no sackcloth, but coming before their townspeople, they laid these substantial foundations for new marital relations. It is to be hoped that gay Cupid smiled on sober Justice, Dec. 29, 1699.⁷⁷ Agreement be-

⁷⁵ "E. R. Prov.," XVII., p. 53.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, Vol. XVII., p. 37.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, Vol. V., p. 9.

tween George Potter of Mashantatuck and Rachel his wife. She had with his "Consent and in hope of More peaceable living; withdrawne herselfe and removed to Boston for sometime; and now finding it uncomfortable⁷⁸ so to live and I being desireous to Come together againe, doe here for her further in Couragement and to prevent after Strifes and Alienations propose these Artickles. 1. She has given some things to her children. I shall never abraid her or seek a return to them. 2^{ly}. Our house and land, if I dye before my wife she shall have it during widowhood and bearing my name. In case of Marriage, she shall enjoy 1-3, other 2-3 to my nearest Relations—at her decease her 1-3 to return. 3^{ly}. I will not Sell or Mortgage any house or lands. 4^{ly}. I promise to dwell in all loveing and quiet behaviours. All Moveables as Cattell and household goods vessels or Boates she shall possess solely at my decease."

The wife on her part appreciated such liberal treatment and showed that she was not making a merely formal or ineffectual contract.

"5^{ly}. I Rachell Potter if it appear I have disposed of more than one bed since our departure, said bed shall be returned."

In treatment of the poor, especially those fallen from a better estate, the finest qualities of the planters stood out in full relief. The support of the poor caused a substantial portion of every rate assessed. Once within the town, the poor were well cared for, though the burghers were constantly struggling against tramps, vagabonds and persons whom they did not choose to admit as citizens.

⁷⁸ Mark the delicate variations and subtle suggestion in this renewed courtship. Both "uncomfortable" and he ready to give further encouragement. Modern Newport might learn some things of old Providence.

However illiberal or undesirable this municipal hostility appears to be now; then it seemed to be the only mode of ruling a plantation.

We cannot follow in detail the administration of particular cases, though they are interesting and often pathetic. A negro, not enslaved, had rights, for Samuel Reep's servant appealed to the town, Feb. 19, 1672,⁷⁹ Reep having refused to "Receue him or Releauē him for his presant nessety." John Joanes⁸⁰ frequently appears, declining into the vale of years, and always as "our Ancient Neighbour." Dec. 24, 1677, repairs were ordered for his house to make it "comfortable for the winter." Nov. 24, 1680, the same ancient neighbour is allowed maintenance according to "his minde and will." The old gentleman's will could still prevail over the committee, for he repudiated their arrangement Dec. 15, and asked for an inventory of his estate. In April the poor "neighbour" submitted to the inevitable resigning estate to the town. House and lot were sold by "inch of ye Candle, highest bid, £17.6. May 3, 1684.⁸¹ His inventory showed £8.4.1, of which £2.4. was in wearing apparel. Jan. 27, 1682-3, Joseph Smith received a grant of forty feet square on Towne Streete—as they were constantly being made—on condition that he lay a row of "steeping's stones along the fence of John Joanes' lot."

Wm. Harris died in London, but we may cite from his inventory, January 21, 1681,⁸² some items which are interesting from every point of view. He had a story and a half house, with many barns and cribs well stored and perhaps the largest estate in the colony, leading a

⁷⁹ "E. R. Prov., Vol. VIII., pp. 23, 88, 89, 123.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., p. 227.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., p. 122.

⁸² "Early Rec. Prov., Vol. VI., p. 75.

most active and enterprising life. Pewter was the main article in the outfit of table and kitchen, and his stock was worth £2. 0. 4., including syringe at 5s. 6d., and a chamber pot at 1s. 6d. These durable conveniences were common and in this instance coincided in value with a copper candlestick. This metal was unusual, and the porringer—a dish so much used in pewter—stood at 1s. Brass kettles and candlestick £1. 0. 6., and this metal as well as iron was used in almost every kitchen; there was also wooden and earthen ware. We have referred to Harris' library, which was then far better than that of the ordinary man of affairs. Fortunately, the list may be given in detail. 1 Dixonary 6s.; London Despenctorey 8s.; Chururgion's mate 10s.; Norwood's Tryangles 5s.; 1 Bible 2s. 6d.; 1 Great do 5s.; 1 Contemplations Morall and devine 2s. 6d.; Cooke's Commentarey upon littleton £1. (this was given to Thomas Olney); The Compleat Concordance Clarke 8s.; Touchstone of wills 2s.; 3 bookes 1s.—1 naturs Explecation; 1 treatise of faith; 1 ye effect of warr; 5 books 6s.—Gentleman Jockey, Gospel Preacher, New England Memorial, Method Physic, Introduction Grammar, Lambath's perambulations, not valued; Statute poulton £1. 15.; Declarations and Pleadings 3s.; The Executors Office 2s.; Exposition law terms 2s.; layman's lawyer 2s.; Saw juryers 1s. 6d.; Justice Restored 1s. 6d.; Dallon's Country justice 5s. A set of surveying instruments.

A collection of books in a community where they were scarce; it was very strong in law, moderate in theology and ethics, sufficient in medicine and surgery, useful in surveying; altogether the mental nutriment of a powerful citizen who touched life on all sides.

As Wm. Harris was in the way of the time a statesman, Thomas Olney, called Senior in distinction, was a poli-

tician and manager of men. One of the original thirteen proprietors with Williams and Harris, the first treasurer of the town; he was often town clerk, when the clerk was the mainstay of order, and of such propriety as prevailed. He was very acrimonious in the dispute with George Fox and the Friends. His disputation mingled politics with doctrine in a manner worthy of an ecclesiastic. He was always prominent in the affairs of plantation and colony. October 9, 1682,⁸³ his inventory showed the moderate personal estate of £78. 9. 5., of which only £3. 17. was in wearing apparel. There was a change in the dress of this class of citizens in the next score of years. In the pioneer period and until after King Philip's War, the planters were homely in all their habits of life. Brass was represented in 3 kettles £1. 6.; in a candlestick and other articles 5s. Pewter dishes £1., with 1 dozen trenchers 6d. The furniture was meager, 2 old joynt chairs and a joynt stool 3s. 6d.; 1 great chair 1s.; 1 "fourme" 6d.; 1 small table 4s. There was no loom or spinning wheel, but considerable evidence of home-made cloth. As 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ yds. Carsey 13s.; 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ yds. blanketing £1. 5.; 4 yds. woollen homespun 7s.; 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ yds. home-made cloth 4s. 2d. Almost 2 yds. white full'd cloth 4s. Dry hides, including what Thomas Olney took to tan; £2. 14. in money and 4 cows at £10. Evidently he farmed only for his own household, and commingled other interests, as in tanning, weaving, etc. He did not read as Harris did, for his library was small, even in a small environment of books. One bible 4s.; 3 old pieces bible 2s. Three books—Ainsworth's Annotations, a Concordance, "fisher's Ashford Dispute"—were valued at £1. 10. Though church connections were few and not very binding, the Scriptures were clearly used in a practical way. In the

⁸³ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. VI., p. 90.

dearth of printed matter, pieces and bits of Bibles and Testaments were appraised in many inventories.

In the same month passed on John Smith, the miller; not so conspicuous or famous, but an influential factor in the communal life of the early plantation. Before there was a room of size in a dwelling, or a tavern to accommodate loiterers and talkers, the town-mill gathered a throng who discussed the whole affairs of those concerned—political, religious, or social. Seated on bags of grain, they did not mind the rumbling of the stones, as they disputed and threshed out matter for a future town meeting. John Smith, of the widely extended name, hospitable and hearty, must have made happy the early townsmen assembled for these rare opportunities. His estate was £146. 5. 3.,⁸⁴ the corn-mill, house over it and all appertaining was valued at £40; one-seventh part of the saw-mill adjoining £3. 10. The furnishings were simple, 2 bedsteads and bedding £2.; 1 do and bedding “in ye lower Roome” £3; Brass and copper kettles £2. 16.; 2 tubs and tobacco 5s. 6d. Flax 10s. Cattle with 2 mares, 3 young horses, 16 swine £22. 9. “Ye Booke of Martirs” 15s. Old bible, “some lost and torne, 9d.”

In 1683, died Roger Williams the founder. He built the state even better than he knew—and his knowledge was great for his time and opportunity. The principles he conceived and set forth were larger than any man; as the centuries have shown.

An important function in the early life of New England lay in the making of apprentices; binding out a minor to learn an “art or mystery.” When children were bereaved, it often created a temporary home for a waif, and finally gave him capacity for a good livelihood.

After the vocation of a smith, one of the greatest

⁸⁴ “Early Rec. Prov.,” Vol. VI., p. 72.

needs was for a weaver. Cloth making was carried on in nearly every household, and sometimes experts went about using the family looms. Again, there were shops for weaving yarn taken from farmers who carded their own wool and spun it on domestic wheels.

July 3, 1674,⁸⁵ there appears a name well known in textile industry. Moses Lippitt, with the consent of his father-in-law, Edward Sairle, and Anna Sairle, his mother, was apprenticed to William Austin for fifteen and one-half years and two months to learn the "art and trade" of a weaver. There were the usual covenants and at majority he was to have his freedom and "two sufficient Suites." If Austin should die, he could assign Lippitt for the balance of his term.

March 30, 1696, John Sayles took Job Liddeason for 14 years, who promised to keep his master's secrets, not to contract matrimony, nor frequent taverns or ale houses, nor absent himself night or day. Sayles on his part was to give the "Necessaries to an apprentice doth belong" and to "endeavour to learne him to Read and write."⁸⁶

Jan. 11, 1708-9,⁸⁷ Thomas and Hannah Joslin took Jerusa Sugars from her mother; who was to pay them £8 in silver and 40s. in a yearling heifer. The payment was changed Jan. 20 to £10. silver. The child was about one year old, and was to receive sufficient board, lodging and apparel for a servant. The Joslins were "carefully her to keepe" and to learne "the said Jerusa Sugars the art and mistry of a Tailor, well and sufficiently to make apparill both for Men and Women and to learne her to Read well." At eighteen years of age, she was to receive two sufficient sutes."

⁸⁵ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. V., p. 292.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Richard Arnold in his will, 1708, directed his son Thomas to free the negro Tobey in February, 1716-7, when he would be 25 years of age, and should receive two suits of clothes.

Nov. 25, 1687,⁸⁸ Gideon Crawford, a Scotchman, was granted liberty to "Reside and here to follow his way of dealeing in goods." This was a memorable event, for he was the first to develope an orderly trade among the not too liberal planters of Providence. Commerce was not unknown, for William Field, in his will, May 31, 1665,⁸⁹ gave to his "cousin Thomas now at Providence, all that Cargo that is now upon sending to the Barbados." And in further bequest gave to his wife "that which is as Yett coming to me from the Barbados." But the traces of exports are few, and though Mr. Dorr excludes them altogether in his view of industrial progress in the latter seventeenth century, commerce prevailed, if it was not important. The community pursued agriculture too closely, and suffered from the contracted ideas prevailing in consequence. It was not until 1711, when Crawford and his imitators had taught the value of enlarged intercourse with the world that Nathaniel Browne established ship-building at the head of the "Great Salt River."

The most definite account of Rhode Island exports appears in William Harris' testimony in London before Sir J. Williamson,⁹⁰ in 1676. This was carried on from Newport, but Providence must have profited indirectly through the demand created for produce. There were more sheep in Rhode Island than anywhere in New England. Wool was exchanged with France for linen. Deer-

⁸⁸ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. V., p. 170.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII., p. 225.

⁹⁰ "Col. Br., State Papers, 1675, 1676," pp. 221, 222.

skins, sugar, and logwood went to England for cloth and iron ware. Horses, beef, pork, butter, cheese, flour, peas, and biscuit went to Barbados for sugar and indigo. There was "a great trade" in cod, haddock, and mackerel with West Indies, Barbados, Spain, and the Straits. I think much of this fish came from Massachusetts in exchange for West India goods. He mentions obtaining linsey-woolseys and other coarse cloths from Massachusetts.

Citizens of another sort were admitted occasionally, though many were refused. William Ashly and his wife were driven out from "Wels" by Indian depredations to Boston. Then they came to our plantation, where Abraham Hardin permitted them to unload their household goods, "which I took to be a loving-kindness in distress."⁹¹ He asked for a habitation in 1693.

The Indians, though much weakened, were a factor and caused alarms in the quiet life of the plantation. April 23, 1697,⁹² there had been "a late in Curtion and invasion by the Cruel and Barbarous Indian Enemies." The Council appointed twenty prominent citizens to command ten men each, and to "scout, kill and destroy."

We have noted the political organization of government under the charter. Quite as important was the character of the judicial system introduced then.⁹³ The chief officers were a President and four assistants—one from each town—making a General Court of Trials for the Colony. This was the origin of our present Supreme Court; lesser tribunals appealing to it. As showing the curious interplay of English legal procedure, with the planters' notions of independence and town government,

⁹¹ "Early Rec. Prov., Vol. XVII., p. 146.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁹³ Durfee, "Judicial History R. I.," (Tracts), p. 11, *et seq.*

there had been a mingling of the head officers of a town with the Court, and they had sat together. This was remedied after 1647 by rules "to add to the comely and commendable order of the Court."

The General Assembly had full governmental powers, and consisted of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, ten assistants, and a body of deputies. The deputies, or house in modern parlance, were a purely legislative body; the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and assistants (senate) had magisterial duties as well. After the old court became mainly a tribunal for appeals, the new court exercised original jurisdiction.

In 1749 a change in organization was effected. From the Governor, Deputy and ten assistants, five judges, a chief and four associates were selected. In 1781 final separation was made between legislature and judiciary, for members of either house of the Assembly were forbidden to sit as justices of the Supreme Court.

The earlier judges included Roger Williams, Samuel Gorton, John Clarke; not lawyers, but men of broad culture for the time. Perhaps they were quite as useful in a common world as the strictly trained Puritanic jurist, steeped in Judaic precedent and tradition. The whole system was a local and essential outgrowth of the soil. The orderly sense of law, transported with every English immigrant, was incorporated with an intense individual desire of the citizen to imprint his own ideal of immediate justice on every public act. Some of the most vital issues of Rhode Island life—potential for good or evil—were born just here.

We should note that this remarkable creation of a substantial judiciary out of very rough material, which worked out justice according to English law, was accomplished by men outside the lines of Catholic or Protestant

education. Churches do much good, as well as some ecclesiastical harm. In Massachusetts and Connecticut they educated the people. Outcast Rhode Island must educate itself, not by academic forms, but through the business of a hard, stringent life. A university was impossible, but nature lived and moved all about these men. After all, to do is better than to construe or to imitate. William Harris, Thomas Olney, Arthur Fenner, Pardon Tillinghast, the cooper-preacher, and many less conspicuous, took and assimilated life from the kernel.

A record book of the "Ancient Court of Last Resort" has been preserved fortunately at Newport.⁹⁴ All the cases are curious and some indicate remarkable efforts to apply a large humane spirit to the inevitable burdens of the law. In the period 1672-1678, Stephen Sabeere, of Newport, obtained judgment against Wm. Blandin £7. 14. 6. N. E. silver. However modern civilization may err in treatment of the debtor, its humane intention is a great gain over the severity prevailing two centuries since. In the procedure with Blandin, clumsy though it was, the Court was trying sincerely to distinguish between a disaster and a crime. It laid down the general proposition "poor persons that have not to pay their debts, shall not lie languishing in prison." The Court adjudged, considering "the debtor's poverty, and creditor's due debt, not for profuse expenses, but for diet for himself and wife, do order." Blandin was to work out his debt "on carpentry upon this island, being boarded by the creditor." And there were minute provisions for valuing work and trading in Sabeere's timber to help "work out." Altogether, it was a careful finding of justice in the concrete, and in advance of the times in procedure, whether of Massachusetts, Connecticut, or England.

⁹⁴ Durfee, p. 124, *et seq.*

Indictments for the "vague misdemeanor denominated contempt of authority" were common. Theft was severely punished. Uriah Clemence, for stealing a watch, was sentenced to be "severely whipped and if the fine of £12. be not paid" the general treasurer was directed to "sell him for a servant for the full term of 7 years." It was the custom of the time to impose heavy fines, and the alternative of servitude was occasionally enforced. Whipping was imposed for various crimes, and the punishment for theft generally included a twofold restoration of the property. There are traces of the Talmudic method, in trying to pry into the intention of an offender.

Sexual offenses prevailed abominably; thirteen indictments being recorded in one term, 1672. The same tendency appeared in other colonies, especially on the records of Plymouth. As Judge Durfee remarks, they were largely due to the "vacuity of life."

The execution of the law appears to have been quickened in general about 1685.⁹⁵ In Providence the "towne was destitute" of stocks. It ordered Samuel Whipple to provide lumber and John Dexter to finish them. In 1687 Anne Waters, a married woman, was "transported" for felony. The care of her young child was assumed by the town.

In 1684 and 1685 there appears an interesting instance of law changed and formed anew out of public opinion, in the loss of Wm. Dyre's suit. A public officer, he had seized the estates of eight Jews for "alienage," but the verdict was rendered for the defendant Jews. The Jews petitioned the General Assembly for relief. It voted that they "might expect as good protection here, as any stranger, not of our nation, ought to have, being obedient to 'the laws.'" As the Jews had been most useful resi-

⁹⁵ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. VIII., pp. 142, 174.

dents largely engaged in commerce at Newport for more than thirty years, their questionable position under the law shows the generally eccentric treatment of this remarkable race.

We may cite the words of C. J. Thomas W. Durfee,⁹⁶ whose learned, calm, and judicious conduct in its turn, duly contributed to the results achieved. "Step by step the judiciary has gone on gradually consolidating and developing itself to answer to the growing and varying needs of the state. Our ancestors held that a judiciary like any other political institution exists not for itself, but for the work which it has to do. Such a growth is according to the law of evolution, by progressive adaptations."

In 1663 the proprietors passed an ordinance reserving 106 acres land for the maintenance of a school. It does not appear that action followed. The first schoolmaster was Wm. Turpin, who became representative to the General Assembly in 1722; town clerk in 1727. June 11, 1684, he agreed to furnish Peregrine Gardner with board and schooling for one year for £6. The record referred to the grant of land for the "use and benefit of a schoolmaster," which was the "occasion of my settling at this town." He maintained the "worthy art of learning," but there was no transfer of land. In 1694 John Dexter and others obtained a grant for a schoolhouse on Dexter's Lane (now Olney Street), but no action is recorded. Judge Staples⁹⁷ found no evidence of a public school in the seventeenth century.

Soon after the middle of the century, planters built a "house in the woods," even when they had regular residence in town. Arthur Fenner⁹⁸ has a house of this kind

⁹⁶ "Judicial History," p. 153.

⁹⁷ "Annals," pp. 492-494.

⁹⁸ Isham and Brown, p. 24.

in 1655 at Cranston, near the village of Thornton. After King Philip's War he could safely build a comfortable one in 1677; and the first shelter probably survived in the lean-to. The first type of houses described on Towne Street, in the period of building toward the end of the century, grew along the ground, before rising into a full second story. Generally there were four apartments. Chimney in the center or at the side, and more or less chambers. There were also a few narrow ones of two stories, with two rooms on each floor, a garret above and a lean-to. Thomas Olney, one of the most wealthy planters, dying in 1682, had a "parlour," a kitchen "and chamber."⁹⁹ There were evidences of comfort, not only in the massive chimney and occasional end wall, but in windows placed irregularly, yet showing better—the active life therein.

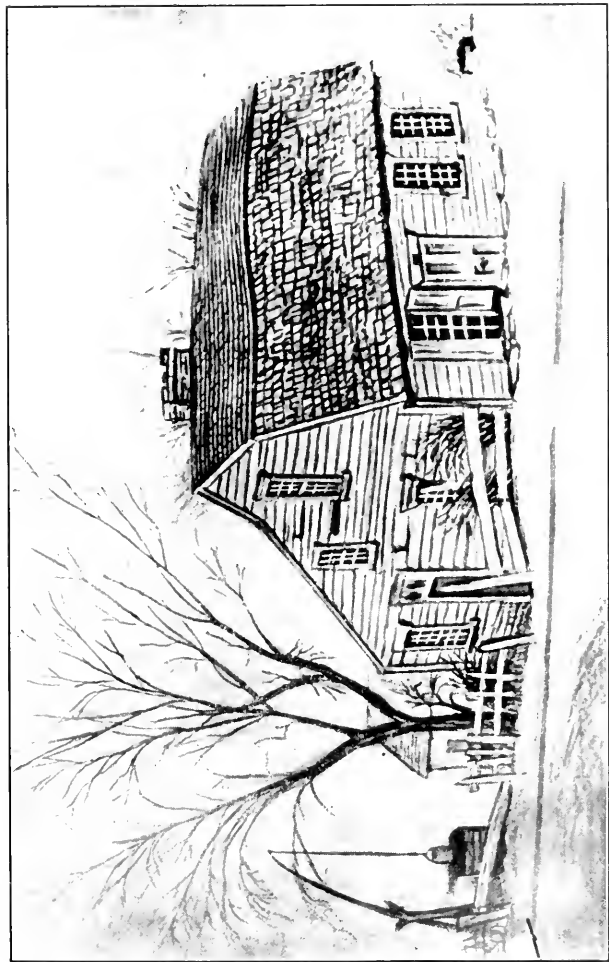
It is unfortunate that we have not better records of an annual fair in Providence. September 23, 1696,¹⁰⁰ one was held and Captain William Hopkins was appointed "Clarke of the Market." Olney's, Turpin's, and Whipple's inns were centers of public excitement throughout colonial times, where people gathered and information was circulated. By these resorts the temporary market-place was constituted and stalls were set in the public highway. It was an interesting phase of early communal life, and doubtless took effect in the habits and manners of the rural citizens.

December 12, 1699,¹⁰¹ the inventory of Stephen Arnold, a wealthy man in Pawtuxet, is worth noting. The lands do not appear, but the personal estate was £495. 11. 1., of which £130. was in gold and silver, £146. 5. 3. in "money

⁹⁹ Probate Rec., Vol. I., p. 33.

¹⁰⁰ Dorr, "Planting and Growth," p. 190.

¹⁰¹ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. VI., p. 207.



CÆSAR HOUSE.

Type of the houses built in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

due by bills." Plate now appears worth £17. Pewter and Glasses £4. 5. His wearing apparel, better than the average, stood at £12. Books £6. In cattle and sheep he had £76. 10., without horses; £10 in home-made cloth, and two stocks of bees at £1.

In a personal estate of £68. 16. 2. four years earlier the male apparel was £5. 11., and the wife's adornment only £3. 3.

In rebuilding the town after King Philip's War, there was a decided advance in the architecture and provision for comfortable living. William Harris' house, one of the better sort, was a story and one-half high. His barns were even more ample than his dwelling. The confined, rough structure of the early pioneers had been succeeded by a house of several rooms, and in many cases the peculiar leanto (often called "linter") was added. The chimney was large and usually at the end;¹⁰² at this time and in the beginning of next century. There were several historic houses of this period which lasted well into modern times. T. Fenner's at Cranston, built in 1677, Eleazer Whipples at Lime Rock, built in 1677, Edward Manton's at Manton, built in 1680, Eleazer Arnold's at Moshassuck, built in 1687, Thomas Field's at Field's Point, built in 1694.

There were horse carts and wheeled vehicles in wealthy estates before 1700;¹⁰³ but they were little used. Saddle and pillion were better adapted to the bridle-paths, which Madam Knight found so difficult when she journeyed through our colony from Boston to New York on horseback in 1704. She came with the post-rider from Dedham, Mass. "We found great difficulty in Travailing,

¹⁰² Isham and Brown, "R. I. Houses," pp. 16, 30.

¹⁰³ Dorr, p. 123.

the way being very narrow, and on each side the Trees and bushes gave us very unpleasant welcome with their Branches and bows." ¹⁰⁴

Intercourse in the seventeenth century tended toward canoes and boats along the waters of the Bay, rather than to bridle-paths on shore.

Toward 1700 and thereafter, we have ample inventories of the planters' estates; which will assist in working out the change of living, as we pass from agriculture to commerce. Shipbuilding, begun in 1711, marks this passing of a community.

The peculiar probate customs have been noted. ¹⁰⁵ A practical illustration is recorded in 1676. ¹⁰⁶ Resolved Waterman, of Providence, had died intestate at Newport in 1671. The Town Council then "made a will," allotting to the widow Mercy the enjoyment of the house and lot, other lands and meadows, with the cattle for her "maintenance and ye bringing vp of ye orphans five small children." Samuel Windsor had persuaded the widow Mercy to reinforce her lone estate, and "publication of marriage" was made. As the former council did not formally "perfect their agreement," this council virtually confirms the former action. It also voted to carry out the items in will of the grandfather, Richard Waterman.

Silk grass beds were frequently used. One appears in 1695 ¹⁰⁷ with a feather bolster and pillow "much worn," all to the value of 16s. All the money found in this case was laid out in the funeral, but the party was respectably dressed, for his apparel was valued at £8. 5. Outfits of tools showed the improvement in carpentry in the

¹⁰⁴ Journal, p. 30.

¹⁰⁵ *Ante*, p. 87.

¹⁰⁶ "Early Rec.," Vol. VIII., p. 227.

¹⁰⁷ "Early Rec.," Vol. XVII., pp. 63, 159.

second generation. Wm. Carpenter, of Pawtuxet, had £2. 16. worth, including "tenn ogegers Greater and Smaller" at 12s. in 1685.

The most careful provision was made for widows, and minute changes were prescribed in case they married again. August 21, 1694,¹⁰⁸ Thomas Man devised various legacies of lands and goods to his sons and daughters. To the widow was given the use of all the household goods, while she remained a widow. In event of marriage three-quarters of the household goods was bequeathed to the five daughters and one-quarter to their mother. The personal estate amounted to £149. 11. 6.

February 1, 1695-6, Wm. Vincent left £4. 6. in wearing apparel, £1. 10. in pewter, 12s. in bookes, out of a personal estate of £63. 2. Explicitly and with excellent brevity the appraisers recorded:

"As to debts wee know not
"As to money wee find not."

The prudent Ephraim Carpenter¹⁰⁸ had only £3. in wearing apparel, with "Boots and Portmanle" 7s. 6d. He was a small shopkeeper, probably, having 313 pounds tobacco at 3d., £3. 18. 3. and 3s. 6d. in "Cotten Wooll." Shortly after, Valentine Wightman appeared, leaving wearing apparel at £4.2. "Kash" in N. E. Coyne £38.6. "Kash" in Spanish Money £42. 8. One testament, part of a bible and another small book, in all only 3s.

Curious and interesting forecast was often manifest in arrangements for inheritance between parents and children. June 26, 1701,¹⁰⁹ Joseph Aldridge and J. A., Jr.,

¹⁰⁸ "Early Rec.," Vol VII., 185.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 177, 195, 202.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p. 206.

both signing with marks make over "to son," the house-lot and orchard of about 20 acres, retaining the use of one-half the orchard. The son was to maintain three cows for the use of his father and mother for life and to plow one acre for them. Aldridge had other property and other children.

Arthur "ffenner," a country gentleman, residing on his estate in Cranston, died in 1703. His inventory is worth considering, as he was a military man in public life, as well as a farmer. The personal estate was £166. 8s. He had 3 shirts, 5 waistcoats, 7 pair breeches, 1 pair drawers, 3 loose coats ; and he walked bravely in boots and spurs with a buff belt, and he could adorn himself with 3 pair silver buttons. There were some shoes and other articles bringing up his wardrobe to £8. 6. In money £2. 15. The great bible stood at £1. 18., a statute book £2. 10., 7 small books 19s.; a respectable library for such a man in times not given to much reading. Bridle, saddle, port-mantle and "male pillion" £1.; 2 guns and 1 pistol £2. Warning pan 8s., 3 greatchairs and 7 small at 12s.; 2 spinning wheels and cards 8s. In cattle and horses £49. 16., with some horses and mares "not yet found," being on the common. In farm produce 29 loads hay and 1 stack stalks £20. 12.

A fair supply of chairs was common now for well-to-do people and they were a comparative luxury a generation earlier. In a small farmer's estate, where the personal was £93. 3. with wearing apparel at £4. 2., there were 4 chairs at 5s. and a small table at 3s.; 1 joynt-stool at 1s. 8. The "joynt-stool" was almost invariably represented from the beginning. It was made of parts morticed and inserted together, and probably was of home construction.

Major John Dexter had the large personal estate of

£757. 19. 6., in 1706. His wardrobe was £9. 1. 6., reinforced with a cane when he walked, worth 14s.; and he could choose between a sword and belt at £4. 6., and another at 16s. When he mounted his horse, saddle, bridle, boots, spurs and portmantle stood at £11. 10. This was a brave outfit for a farmer, but he was forehanded, having in cash £168, and in bills for money lent £343. 8. 6. A concordance and several books £1. 17. Now appears silver in 2 "Dram Cupps" 15s., and "some glass cupps." Without doubt silver plate was used early in Newport, and it appeared in a Portsmouth inventory in 1667. Dexter had a moderate farming outfit, including 25 goats and 7 kids (unusual as this period), with 56 sheep and 30 lambs.

August 9, 1711, William Turpin died "intested," and the more delicate problem, occasioned by a mother-in-law, must be met. These settlements of intestate estates are especially significant, for they directly indicate the state of public opinion. There were the widow Anne and three children, one a son. Wm. Turpin, the son, agrees¹¹⁰ with his mother-in-law to allow her the room now occupied by her in his father's house for life, with one good bedstead, 1 good feather bed and bolster, 2 pair good sheets, 1 pair good blankets, "cuple" good pillows, 2 pillow beers, 1 good coverlid, to be "her own estate." To maintain her for life, with sufficient victuals and drink and washing and suitable attendance. The benefit of the fire to go to and from and abide by it, with "free Recorse to and from said Roome." To allow her £40. current silver, to be paid £10. annually for four years. If she be sick so that "she must Improve a Plisitian," that charge to be borne out of her own estate.

In the seventeenth century, feather beds were of the

¹¹⁰ "Early Rec.," Vol. VII., p. 180.

very most important personal effects. After a roof for shelter and a fire in the chimney, the best comfort was to be found in a good nest of feathers. Samuel Whipple's inventory ¹¹¹ affords an example, for it contains 4 feather beds and complete outfit £38. 5., and one flock bed complete £3. 10. Wearing apparel averaged £6. to £7. for the ordinary citizen. Unless there was positive poverty it did not generally fall below, and the well conditioned man seldom wore better clothing in the agricultural period. After commerce widened out, we shall see a change. Military men had swords, belts, etc., in addition. Elisha Arnold left £4. 2. in 3 small guns, sword, "bagginit and cadous box." He had more than the usual number of 5 spinning wheels with old cards and "woosted" combs, all worth £3. 1. His brass ladle, pots and kettles of iron and brass, with dripping pan and frying pan, stood at £11. 12. In cattle, horses, sheep, and swine he had £78. 5., with "money and Bills and Plate" £25. 1. 4. in 1711. ¹¹²

February 27, 1710, 1, Thomas Harris, ¹¹³ a leading citizen, divided his estate between five sons and three daughters. To his other sons he gave outlying lands; to Henry one-half of his homestead house and 120 acres, the other half to Elnathan, his wife, for life, and afterward to Henry. Three "purchase rights of common" were given to the five sons. To his daughter, Amity Mors, £20. in money. To his two daughters unmarried, Elnathan and Mary, he gave each one feather bed and furniture, £20. in money, one-half a weaver's loom with its tackling. His wearing apparel was appraised at £7. Henry Harris and the widow were executors, receiving the personal

¹¹¹ "Early Rec.," Vol. VII., p. 25.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

property, cattle, one negro at £10. and they were to liquidate the debts.

Occasionally we perceive the infelicity of common life. December 30, 1711, ¹¹⁴ Thomas Cooper gives his son Robert 5s. and no more "by Reason he has disobeyed my Commands and left me in a strait of time before he was of age." There was a Bible at 4s., and there were very few books in the earlier inventories. Three spinning wheels and a pair of cards at 10s. Many inventories have flax and small quantities of tobacco, as grown by the farmers. Cooper's whole personal estate was £96. 11. 5.

The men usually signed their names, and the women as generally signed with a mark X. They were educated, or rather brought up in conspicuous families. The men got their training from everyday life; but women employed at the dairy, the spinning wheel or the loom, had not as good an opportunity. In provisions made for apprentices, ¹¹⁵ we have seen how much reading and writing was desiderated. The inventory of Solomon Thornton dates two years later than our period, but it reflects so fully the life of this time that we may study its details. His personal estate was £147. 5. 2., of which £1. 8. 6. was in money, and in wearing apparel he had expended £8. 5. One loom and its tackling stood at £2. 10. A small parcel of worsted with "other yarn," flax, wool, and 1 woollen wheel was worth only 4s. Probably Thornton bought yarns to supply his weaving. Worsted combs appear in many of the farmers' inventories. There were three pieces "new cloath" 9½ yards—"Cursey and plaine fulled," 3 yds. ozen brigs, 14 yds. tow cloth, in all £4. 9. 6. In yarns 7½ lbs. worsted £1. 11. 6.; 3 lbs. hose do with 19½ lbs. colored £1. 13. In wool 9½ lbs. worsted £1. 3. 6.;

¹¹⁴ "Early Rec.," Vol. VII., p. 123.

¹¹⁵ *Ante*, p. 113.

17 lbs. "sheep's wool"—. There was a large supply of pewter in lots, as a pewter "Tanker" and two beakers, two dram-cups and a salt cellar, "9 spoones being one occamy (alchemy) and the Rest Pewter," all valued at 12s. Some wooden and a lot of earthen ware, a cream pot, 3 earthen pans, an earthen jug and 5 glass bottles, all worth 5s. Six new pewter platters were appraised at £2. 8., with a small quantity of flax and tobacco at £2. 1. Glass bottles appear frequently, but no drinking glasses as yet. Wooden and earthen ware served for kitchen utensils, with pewter for the better table service. A few years later we shall see a more elaborate arrangement and a better service for the table.

In 1695,¹¹⁶ apparently the first monthly meeting of the Town Council was ordered by the Town. The ferry at the narrow passage over the Seekonk was in the possession of widow Mary Edmond in 1696, when the "King's Post" was permitted to pass free of ferriage. This was the first public post and marks the increase of intercourse in the developing plantation. Prisons were erected in 1698 and 1705 northwest of the present Benefit Street. The year 1700 marks a most significant departure from the individuality shown in burial customs of the early settlers. Nearly every family had a burial-ground of its own—generally in or near its home-lot in our plantation. The parish churchyard of England had been followed in the other colonies by common burial places, attached or at least near to the meeting-house. It was a feature of communal life and partook of the ecclesiastical sanctity descended from the Roman through the Protestant church. In Providence, death even could not end separatism; and a common burial-ground could not be attained until commerce began to relax the prejudices

¹¹⁶ Staples, p. 184.

of the individuals, whose ancestors had been driven out from Puritan commonwealths. Now the land on the Moshassuck and eastward to the Pawtucket highway by Archibald Walker's was appropriated "for a training field, burying-ground and other public uses." The present North Burial Ground is a part of this tract and gradually the family cemeteries were abandoned in favor of it. Of the colony tax of £400 ordered in 1701, £65 was assigned to Providence, showing complete recovery from the depression after King Philip's War. A subscription amounting to £21. 9. was opened for rebuilding Weybosset Bridge in 1705. Gideon Crawford subscribed £6. This method of raising funds must have been abandoned, as only fourteen citizens responded.

Weaving was recognized as an important function in colonial life.¹¹⁷ Land was assigned early to "a weaver," and we have noted that Wm. Austin took an apprentice in 1674 for the "art and trade." "John Angel, weaver," was appointed by the town to serve in place of the "Towne Sargant,"¹¹⁸ an important official early in the eighteenth century.

An interesting instance shows custom and the interplay of necessary regulations in a farming community. Stray cattle and horses were a constant trouble. Often impounded, sometimes they were sent to Rehoboth or elsewhere, and the charges collected. There are nearly one hundred pages of record, 1678-1746,¹¹⁹ devoted to cattle

¹¹⁷ Division of labor began to manifest itself as the century went out. In 1700 Joseph Smith was granted 3 acres near Wanskuck for a weaver's shop. A fulling mill had then been operated for some time. Jan. 27, 1703-4 ("R. I. H. S.," New Series, Vol. IV., p. 214) Wm. Smith was granted a lot 40 ft. square for a "weaver's shop." He was to build within one year and follow his trade.

¹¹⁸ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. XVII., p. 291.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX., pp. 103-197. Enrolment of Deaths, Marriages, and Births, 1679-1724 appears in "Early Records," Vol. V., p. 203.

marks and the taking of strays. Valuations of horses varied from £1. when afflicted with the pole evil, to £6. and £7. July 7, 1909,¹²⁰ occurs a case which shows the conflict of rules. James Thornton, of Providence, complains that a sorrel white face jumped fences and continually damaged his grass. There being no pound, he was obliged to "secure him in my yard." He learned the owner had gone to Block Island, "a Souldiar, therefore could not proceed against him as a stray, but as a 'Trespasser.'" Thornton would keep the horse, valued at 25s. for one year, when, unless the damages were paid, he would ask the authorities to dispose of him.

The century did not exhaust the pest of wolves, for the bounty was paid for killing fourteen in 1687.

Gradual increase of commerce is indicated by the frequent grants of "ware house lots" about 1697-1698. The proprietors, acting slowly, as always, took each to himself a lot for a warehouse and sometimes a wharf in Weybosset or on the Towne Streete. These were not distributed by the favorite lottery, but the petitioner generally took the water lot opposite his own homestead. February 17, 1703-4,¹²¹ the influential Thomas Olney, town clerk, obtained a resolution which attempted to check the granting of these lots and confine them to "those who may legally vote."¹²²

¹²⁰ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. IX., p. 177.

¹²¹ "R. I. H. S.," New Series, Vol. IV., p. 211.

¹²² A resolution was enacted by the Purchasers & Proprietors July 27, 1704 (E. R., Vol. XI., p. 88), that no more wharf lots should be granted on salt water, north of Town Wharf (about present Crawford St., and west of the River), "Because there is so Constant a Passing to cross the Water (and back) from Wayboysett side to the Towne with Cannoes and Boates, Rideing and Carting and Swimming over of Cattell from side to side; and the streame often times Running so swift, and many times Rough water by Reason of stormy Winds."

Farming life still encumbered the ways of the settled plantation. So late as 1715, goats, swine and horses belonging to the freeholders "ran riot in the woodlands." The dread of absorption by Connecticut had kept back westward communication. The Plainfield highway voted in 1706—begun 1709-10, showed the passing of this prejudice.

Movement for a road to Woodstock and Killingly, Conn., indicates progress. But the backward condition of Providence is clearly shown by the fact that they still sent for medical and surgical aid to Rehoboth, then including a part of Attleboro.¹²³ But as the century turned the old "tumults and heats"¹²⁴ of town meeting ended. The seething and fermenting process of the early plantation had worked out a community, not of the most orderly kind, but sufficient for tolerable government. Institutions were established slowly; but the time had passed when an individual—however great—might be an institution unto himself. Mr. Dorr's significant phrase, "the planting and growth of Providence," may be considered as worked out and completed with the century. The greatest personal influences like Williams, Gorton, and Coddington had long passed by. The secondary men also had finished their work. William Harris was far unlike the men bred at Cambridge or the new order being formed at Harvard; but he had grown up in the school of affairs, and had been much in England, engaged in large transactions. He read not only law, theology and medicine, but turned the pages of the "Gentleman Jockey." There was something cosmopolitan in this hearty pioneer. Most planters read Scripture and concordance, but Thomas Olney, manager of meetings and incipient ruler of men, could unbend,

¹²³ Dorr, "Planting and Growth of Providence," p. 77.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

while soothing his politician's spirit with the Independent Ainsworth's "Annotations" on the Psalms and Song of Solomon.

Coddington was on the whole the largest and most effective link between the practical life of the Old World and the forming growth of the new community on Narragansett Bay. Commerce at Newport, introduced by him and powerfully conducted by the Quakers, was opening the way for the very best colonial life of the next century. The most casual survey of this developing commonwealth should include the remarkable outgrowth of the judiciary. It moved on the old lines of established law, but administered penal measures in a humane spirit—far advanced over the olden courts or ecclesiastical procedure.

Meanwhile the poorer agriculture of Providence Plantation was painfully expanding toward a larger development, as commerce should widen out the little community in the early eighteenth century. The forming period had passed with scanty help from the learning of Europe; such as this was, it would be had no more in the expanding period next to come. Men like the cooper-preacher Pardon Tillinghast carried over the average citizen until new American life could produce the Hopkinses, the Browns, and their fellows.

CHAPTER V

KING'S COUNTY, THE PATRIARCHAL CONDITION.

1641-1751

THE southwestern portion of our mainland contained the larger part of the Narragansett nation. Roger Williams, whose instincts for business were better than his political understanding, early saw the economic importance of the Narragansett¹ Country, and he built a trading-house near the present Wickford. It is claimed by some² that his adventure was even earlier than that of the actual settler, Richard Smith, who afterward added Roger Williams' possessions to his own, when the proprietor needed the funds for his expenses in London, as he was getting the first charter.

About 1641, Richard Smith, who had been a resident of Taunton, bought land from the sachems and began "Howsing lands and meadow." In the words of Francis Brinley, "among the thickest of the Indians (computed at 30,000) he erected a house for trade, and gave free entertainment to travelers; it being the great road of the country."³ The "Pequot Path" became a bridle path in the seventeenth century; in the eighteenth it was a link in the "Post Road," then the most traveled way between Boston and New York. Smith's settlement did not attain a permanent character, until the Pettaquamscutt purchase made by John Hull and others of Boston in 1658.

¹ For the name cf. Rider, "Indian Lands," p. 203.

² Brigham, p. 98n.

³ Updike, "Narragansett Church," Goodwin's Ed., Vol. I., 13.

The next year Major Atherton and his partners acquired the second purchase, covering Quidnesset and Boston Neck, the southeastern corner of our mainland.

Richard Smith deserves notice from his association with Roger Williams, and in that he was an important pioneer in the settlement of Rhode Island. In the words of his memorial tablet, "He lived near Wickford at Cocumscussuc commonly called Smith's Castle and there Roger Williams often preached to the Indians and William Blackstone held the first regular services in the colony of Rhode Island."⁴

At this period, contemporary with the coming of numbers of Quakers to Newport, our colonists were firmly established in the Narragansett country, until the Indian war of 1675 and 1676 should harass and interrupt them for a time. The "Swamp Fight" abolished this constant if latent source of peril. The Narragansetts were destroyed as an organized nation or political force, though the individual barbarians lived alongside our colonists. This early interim of occupation—peaceful so far as the red proprietors were concerned—did not mean that aggressive Puritans would leave the government of Rhode Island in peaceful possession. Massachusetts reached through Warwick, and down to Pawcatuck, arresting the citizens, Burdick and Saunders, for imprisonment in Boston in 1661. On the other side, the strong colony of Connecticut claimed jurisdiction by the King's grant as far eastward as Narragansett Bay. John Crandall and others were seized and imprisoned in Hartford in 1671.

Misquamicut or Westerly had been purchased from Soso, chief of the Niantics, in 1661 by William Vaughn Stanton and others of Newport.

Proprietors from Newport bought lands across the

⁴ Urdike, "Narragansett Church," Goodwin's Ed., Vol. I., p. 330.

Bay, and the estates improved under their care developed a social atmosphere differing from that of other parts of the colony. The merchants—as in the fable of Antæus—enjoying their return to mother earth were not quite like citizens of towns struggling to establish a new civic life. We shall see early in the eighteenth century how this social life affected the community at large.

Along with this patrician culture, there was another element in the life of the Seventh Day Baptists, a denomination very strong in Hopkinton and Westerly. The meeting of John Clarke and of Henry Collins, who was called a “Medici,” waned in Newport, in the latter eighteenth century; but it waxed strong in the western towns and by emigration into western New York. Seven persons seceded from the First Baptist Church at Newport in 1671 and organized the first Sabbatarian Church. A few of these soon joined the first freemen at Westerly. Their first meeting house was built about 1680, between Shattuck’s Weir and Potter Hill in the present town of Hopkinton.

When Mr. Prince of Cambridge visited Westerly in 1721, he reported “the Sectaries here are chiefly Baptists that keep Saturday as a Sabbath.” They were very liberal and catholic in their treatment of Prince. Earnest and conscientious, excellent citizens, the main tenet of this division of Baptists was separative rather than conciliatory, and they were protestants of the Protestants, tending toward isolation.

The Indian and negro population—well mixed after the abolition of slavery—was a drag on the best life of the time. Some colored families emerging from the mass, became landowners or mechanics and were most helpful citizens.

When Winthrop and Clarke negotiated in London for

agreement in securing the charters of both colonies, the latter obtained a favorable position for Rhode Island, which Winthrop undoubtedly yielded lest he might lose the Connecticut charter altogether. Connecticut claimed that he exceeded his powers and asserted her sovereignty over the Narragansett country as has been noted. Twenty of her armed men crossed the Pawcatuck. On her part, Rhode Island seized John Greene of Quidnesset, who favored Connecticut, and carried him to Newport, threatening others with arrest.

The Narragansett proprietors, including Richard Smith and Increase Atherton, met July 2, 1663.⁵ They recorded that as "Poynt Juda" had no harbor and could not be improved for farms and plantations, for the present it should lie common to the twenty-two proprietors for their "Drye Cattle" and that two houses should be built. The next day they voted to place themselves under the protection of Connecticut Colony in preference to that of Rhode Island.

King Philip's War in 1675 and 1676 laid waste the dwellings of the Narragansett Country, but the settlers soon recovered from these disasters. Industries were started in Westerly on the Pawcatuck River before the eastern part of the county had advanced so far. Joseph Wells at that point, built vessels for buyers in Connecticut as early as 1681.

We have details of the schooner "Alexander and Martha," built by him and which sailed from New London, and the builder was to own at least one-eighth part. She was forty feet long, her deck falling by the main mast, and had a cabin, cook room and forecastle.⁶

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes sent out an emigra-

⁵ "Fones Record," p. 23.

⁶ Field, "Providence," Vol. III., p. 579.

tion, which became an important element in the population and in the life of America. No community then existing more effectually developed arts and crafts with corresponding culture than the Huguenots. Rhode Island gained much thereby and might have profited more had not the turbulent neighbors oppressed the first Huguenot settlers. In 1686, some forty-five of these French families settled in northern Kingstown and southern East Greenwich, buying a large tract of the Atherton proprietors.⁷ Unfortunately this land was claimed by adjoining English settlers, with some show of right. In 1687, these contestants carried off forty loads of hay from the meadows of Frenchtown, as the hamlet was called. Governor Andros could not finally adjudicate the matter, and ordered a division of the hay, half to the English and half to the French. Two dozen dwellings had been occupied and a church built. Such oppressive treatment crushed this settlement and scattered the inhabitants. The Ayraults went to Newport. Many of the names, slightly Anglicized, remained in the South Country, and we may note the Mawneys (LeMoines), Chadseys, Tourgees, Tarboxes, Frys, and Nicholsons. Remains of the original French orchard on the Mawney farm were visible in the nineteenth century.⁸ Current tradition attributed to the French the introduction of many fine varieties of the apple, pear, peach, plum and cherry and of choice flowers. The influence of these interesting pilgrims was an abiding one.

A horse-ferry was established between Kingstown and Conanicut, continuing to Newport in 1700. A new ferry from Kingstown to Conanicut was instituted in 1707. The Queen's, afterward the "Post Road," was laid out

⁷ Brigham, "R. I.," p. 150.

⁸ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. I., p. 365.

about 1703. It was still a bridle path when Madam Knight went over it in 1704. This indicates the settlement and improvement of the South County. The first bridge over the Pawcatuck at the old ford "Shaw's" on the "Indian Trail" was built by contribution about 1712; the next in 1735, was one-half at the charge of the Rhode Island colony, and one-half was paid for by the town of Stonington. The fact that Stonington did so much, shows how important was this communication with New York and Boston.

Proprietorship in lands by the seashore influenced the community and carried it along lines differing somewhat from the ordinary town in New England. The Puritan element existed, but it proceeded differently. Prior to 1700, there came to this region, families attached to the worship of the Church of England. They were few in number, but "They were very earnest"⁹ for that faith. According to Doctor MacSparran, Trinity Church was built at Newport in 1702, and St. Paul's, his own, in Narragansett in 1707.¹⁰ The first existing record of the latter is dated April 14, 1718,¹¹ and Gabriel Bernon was a vestryman. He was a Huguenot refugee from Rochelle and, soon removing to Providence, became very prominent in founding King's or St. John's Church there. He possessed a keen intellect, was liberal minded for his time and a firm believer in self-government. His positive views were formulated according to the time, but they were explicitly free and adumbrated the modern citizen. "Roger Williams and all those, that have settled in our Providence town, have been persecuted, bruised and banished out of Massachusetts government, for not submitting

⁹ Updike, Goodwin's Ed., Vol. I., p. 337.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

themselves to the arbitrary power of the Presbytery and we fear nothing more than this arbitrary power of the clergy. Power before Popery did ruin the world, and, since Popery, the arbitrary power of the clergy hath ruined Europe.”¹² An early effort to aid the woollen industry dates from 1719, when Col. George Hazard gave Thomas Culverwell one-half acre of land for a fulling-mill for “Promoting ye Wooling Manufactuary which may be for my benefit and the Publick Good.”¹³ The land was to be “drowned” in making the dam. These central fulling mills were essential for converting the homespun fabrics into substantial cloth. A fulling mill was established at Hamilton, then Bissell’s Mills, in 1720.¹⁴

One of the earliest inventories recorded is that of George Cook Feb. 3, 1703-4.¹⁵ His wearing apparel and arms stood at £14. Of the great household staple, the feather bed, he had two at £40, together with one silk grass and one wool bed at £. Six pair sheets and one pair pillow beers at £6.10. One dozen napkins and one table cloth were appraised at £1.10. Brass, iron and pewter appropriated £8. In silver plate there was one cup and six spoons at £4.6. A fair line of cattle and sheep with ten of horsekind worth £40.16 comprised his stock; cared for by one negro at £30. The personal estate was £342.19.

There seemed to be a large proportion of horses in the different estates, caused by the demand for export probably. James Wilson with personal property at £367.7, in the following year had 31 horsekind at £74. Cattle and sheep at £187.5. He spent £20 on wearing apparel,

¹² Updike, Goodwin, Vol. I., p. 60.

¹³ “So. Kingstown Rec., Vol. I., p. 101.

¹⁴ “Hazard Family,” Robinson, p. 29.

¹⁵ Council Records So. Kingston, Vol. I., p. 3.

while his household furnishing was narrow; the pewter, earthen ware and three candlesticks being worth only £3.10. One negro woman £15.

Robert Hannah in 1706 held the same tenets concerning corporeal immortality, we have noted elsewhere in the colony. "Nothing doubting but at the general Resurrection I shall receive the same (my body) again by the mighty power of God." He was a thrifty man with £378.12 personal estate, and having left his sons provided with lands, cattle and negroes. His stock was worth £157.14. A negro woman and five children were valued at £110; three feather beds and one flock with furniture £26.

Almost everybody had spinning wheels and cards or combs, for woolen, worsted or linen yarns. There were many personal estates about £360 to £375. Young negroes appear to have been valued at prices relatively low. In 1710, one negro of 17 years, one boy of 4 years, one girl of 2 years, were lumped with a cart; yokes and tools at £93.18. A different class of society is represented in the property of Bethiah Collvill, widow, altogether £28.15. Her cow, swine, mares and eight sheep were worth £16.17. She had one bed and 7s. in pewter; two wheels and one pair cards at 8s. And in 1713, Katharine Bull had one new "sute uper clothing" £4.12. In head linen and rest of the wearing apparel £7. In pewter and tin £1.14, in iron and brass 9s., in wooden ware, etc., 7s. Her total personal estate was £30.16.

There were very few books mentioned. Rowse Helme in 1712, with personal estate of £284.17.1, had one bible and small books at 10s. His outfit indicates the slightly better style of living which was creeping in. Four feather beds, bedsteads and furniture stood at £30.9. One table cloth, 7 napkins, 1 sheet were valued at £1.11; nineteen

napkins and two table cloths at £1.7; one bolster and nine pillow cases at £1. In pewter there was £4.1. There was £1.17.6 in 12½ yards new "flannen" and some cotton and woolen yarn. A negro man at £30, a woman at £15.

Samuel Perry in the year 1716¹⁶ marks a social lift in the various items of his personal estate £730.16. He not only dressed better but he displayed a watch and cane in his outfit of £53. The household furnishing was decidedly better; five feather beds and hangings with furniture at £100, one flock bed and fittings at £6, three beds and bedding for servants at £13.10. In cattle and cows £129.10. In horses, one three years old, five two years old and a yearling represented £62, with six mares and three colts at £52. The table and cooking service showed considerable betterment; £6.11 in tin ware, £11.5 in pewter, in brass ware including a warming pan £2.8; a bell metal skillet, a teapot and quart pot in copper £1.10; four brass candlesticks and snuffers £1.16. A chafing dish with box iron and heaters. One chest "draws" one "ovel" table (so much prized in Providence) all at £5.10. Chairs, two tables, joynt stool £2.16. One clock £18, (the first mentioned). One dozen silver spoons 8s. All his books £7. Smith's "voyce and gleaszer's" tools £5.5. Two negro slaves £130.

Perry was a considerable manufacturer for the time, having 8 looms and tackling at £20; two coppers one pair clothier's shears, two press "plaits" and press papers, all at £21.15. If we compare the style of living indicated here, with that prevailing in Providence at the same period, we shall find it similar except in the table service of china and glassware.

Rowland Robinson, the father of Governor William,

¹⁶ Council Records So. Kingston, Vol. I., p. 79.

was a large landholder in the tract extending from Sugar Loaf Hill to the present Narragansett Pier and into Point Judith Neck. His house was on the site now occupied by Mr. Welch as "Shadow Farm" easterly from Wakefield by "Kit Robinson's Pond." The Robinson inventory was dated in 1716, the will having been made in 1712. He bequeathed his wife for life the house and 80 acres of land. To three married daughters he gave £40 each in money.

At his home farm, there were 462 sheep, 266 lambs, valued at £304.12. Fifty cows and a bull at £254, four oxen at £27. Horsekind worth £142, and 53 swine at £33.5. At the Point Judith farm there was £304.2 in cattle, sheep and horsekind. Nine negroes at £375, furnished the labor.

The feudal proprietor dressed about as well, expending £31.19, as the incipient manufacturer Perry, though he did not affect a watch and cane. The house furnishing was moderate, in four feather and two wool beds and furniture £47.6, in servant's bedding £7. In table linen £4.18, and £24.19 for 21 sheets and 21 bolster and pillow cases. £5.9 was in 12 chairs, 1 table, 1 wheel, etc. Again 6 chairs stood at 14s. and one looking glass at 8s. There was an entire absence of the better class of furniture appearing elsewhere in the estates of wealthy men. In pewter ware, there was the respectable and usual supply, costing £10.16, and there was £5.12 in silver spoons. The great bible, other books and a desk were appraised at £2.16. The total personal estate was £2166, the largest recorded as yet.

Robert Hazard in 1718, left a personal estate of £748.9, and had expended £17 for wearing apparel. There were the usual moderate comforts.

In the case of Nathan Jakwise, 1722, we have an ex-

ample—difficult to trace—of the laborer's condition in an estate of £28.19. Wearing apparel was 12s., about the lowest recorded. A woolen wheel 9s., a linen do. 7s., and one pair of cards 2s. A beetle ring indicating a chopper's work out of doors 12s. Some wool and 8s. in woollen yarn. In linen he had 4s., and £2.14 in pewter; £1.13 in iron ware, and 10s. in wooden vessels. He had one cow at £5 and thirty bushels of Indian corn at the same value.

Ephraim Smith in 1722 left a moderate estate and farming outfit. He had one loom and tackling at £1.15. Looms were not as common as spinning utensils. Though he had expended only £13. in wearing apparel he had 11 oz. of plate at £4.8, in buttons, buckles and money. He enjoys the distinction of wearing the first recorded silver shoe buckles. Most people had a few silver spoons and 1718-9 there appears a silver drinking cup and spoons at £8.7. Another cup is found in 1721.

There were records duly kept of ear marks of cattle, and of births and deaths among the people. The wearing apparel of the citizen—excluding laborers generally—ran from £10. to £20., with an occasional outlay of £30. to £40. We have not enough data to average the expenditure of the fair sex, even if such mathematical adjustment were proper.

Slavery was closely intertwined with life on the plantation or farm, and with domestic service. About every person living comfortably had more or less slaves, if only one woman. There were a few independent white laborers, and we have cited some instances, but the work—especially out-of-doors—was done by slaves. The average price of a mature and able negro man was about £50.; of a woman, about £40. The largest number so far was the nine men owned by Rowland Robinson. Prob-

bly he had given away his women slaves. There were all sorts of fractional ownerships and time valuations. The service of a negro boy for six and a half years was appraised at £19.10. Three Indian children servants were worth £23. Two-thirds part of a negro boy was put at £15. Indian slaves appear under various conditions, and they must have been descended from the captives in King Philip's War.

This period in Narragansett corresponds with the third social condition in Providence, though nearly a score of years behind in its development. Necessaries in the colonial home were served by means of earthen ware and wooden trenchers; comforts by the useful pewter; luxuries came in with silver, china and glass. There were few forks used until after 1700. In the seventeenth century a family beginning to live comfortably increased its supply of napkins.

Madam Knight in 1704 complained of the familiarity with slaves along the Connecticut shore.¹⁷ The horse-woman struck the poorest homestead¹⁸ at Shaw's Ford, now Westerly, "This little Hutt was one of the wretchedest I ever saw a habitation for human creatures." It was clapboarded, with no windows and an earthen floor. No furniture, but a bed with a glass bottle hanging at the head, an earthen cup, a small pewter "bason." A board "with sticks to stand on" served for a table, and a block or two for chairs. This was a poor evolution from a loghouse. "Notwithstanding both the Hutt and its

¹⁷ "They Generally lived very well and comfortably in their famelies. But too Indulgent (especially ye farmers) to their slaves: suffering too great familiarity from them permitting y^m to sit at Table and eat with them (as they say to save time), and into the dish goes the black hoof as freely as the white hand."—"Journal," p. 53.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

Inhabitation were very clean and tydee." The philosophical traveler depicted in verse the relative lot of mortals:

“Tho’ ill at ease, a stranger and alone,
All my fatigues shall not extort a grone.
These Indigents have hunger with their ease,
Their best is wors behalf than my disease.”

Dr. MacSparran settled at Narragansett in 1721, was a man of parts and of ardent Celtic temperament, a strong ecclesiastic. He was not as considerate of the unchurched at Newport or Providence, as Rev. Mr. Honeyman, of Trinity, or Gabriel Bernon; but he was much respected as a man, and was quite a factor in the life of early Narragansett. Mr. Updike considered him “the most able Divine sent over to this country by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.”

In 1722, Mr. MacSparran was sent for to visit twelve men of the Church of England imprisoned by the Bay Government at Bristol for refusing to pay rates for support of the Presbyterian minister.¹⁹ Bristol, R. I., was then under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. This year the worthy rector confirmed and extended his social opportunities by marrying Miss Hannah Gardiner, of a large and influential family in South Kingstown, allied to the Robinsons and Hazards. She was beautiful and her spouse enthusiastically characterized her as “the most pious of women, the best of wives in the world.” Among his early converts the rector baptized in 1724, Thomas Mumford, of Groton, Conn., and Captain Benoni Sweet, of North Kingstown. The captain had been in the British army, was well informed and polished in manner. He was reputed a “natural bonesetter,” and his descendants prac-

¹⁹ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. II., p. 469.

ticed largely in repairing dislocations. Colleges of physicians have never recognized this sort of heredity, but numbers of people in southern Rhode Island and eastern Connecticut trusted it implicitly for a century and a half.

An effort in 1726 was made to maintain a parish school at St. Paul's Church. The London Society for Propagation of the Gospel sent out Mr. James Delpech, paying him a salary of ten pounds to serve as schoolmaster of the Society. Such schools hardly met the colonial spirit, and this lasted only about two years.²⁰

An epoch in the history of Narragansett occurred when Dean Berkeley in 1729 or soon after his arrival in Newport, began his visits to the Glebe-house. He preached for Doctor MacSparran once by record, and quite likely at other times. Familiar intercourse with the Dean and his accomplished fellow-travelers was one of the forming influences of the period in the society about Pettaquamscutt. It gave a cosmopolitan outlook to the quiet neighborhood. It would be superfluous to dilate upon the influence of such a man as Berkeley. Among his companions was Smibert, the founder of portrait painting in America; and he painted Doctor MacSparran and his wife. Perhaps Smibert, when depicting the ladies of Narragansett, did not contribute much to ethnographic science, but he must have intensely stimulated the gossip of the neighborhood when he recognized the Indians around Tower Hill as veritable descendants of the Siberian Tartars, transposed by the way of Behring Strait. While in Italy Smibert had drawn the Tartars from original pictures belonging to Peter the Great. The imagination of the artist could easily transport the Tartar lineaments and locate them anew in Narragansett. With the Dean came Peter Harrison, assistant architect

²⁰ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. II., p. 489.

of Blenheim Palace. He built the Redwood Library and other notable buildings.

The Doctor built the "Glebe House" on Pettaquamscutt or Narrow River, accessible from, but not near, St. Paul's Church. The church has been removed to the village of Wickford, and is a most interesting memorial of the times. The parsonage was of good size, two-storied and gambrel-roofed, with a narrower wing on the southern end. There was a long family room, where Sunday services were held in very wintry weather.

Host and hostess, both social and hospitable, though without children of their own, gathered young people about them. In the "Great Room" on a rainy day of October the Doctor would busy himself with writing, while his wife put her "Rev. Durance petticoat" into the frame, which was a most necessary domestic equipment. Here she quilted, assisted by her niece, Miss Betty Gardiner. Robert Hazard, her nephew in another line, was "reading Physic," as faithfully as the distractions of such agreeable company would allow. The Doctor favored marriage and domestic life. Out of his respectable and useful library, he loaned Christopher Fowler a volume on "Religious Courtship." It would seem that Venus must be approached and sued in an ecclesiastical way.

The life was plain, but generous and comfortable. The occasional discomforts of crowds of guests show the pleasures of a hospitable household. Once when more than fifty years old he named a full dozen of visitors "all here at once." Weary for the moment, he remarked, "so much Company fatigues me at one time."

The Quakers were strong socially and absolutely opposed to an ordained and settled ministry. Some Baptists and Congregationalists partook of this feeling. Our priest went to the other extreme. Like all functional wits,

he was sometimes upset by an opponent and prostrated among his own witticisms. A poor Quaker neighbor was a famous preacher, who maintained himself by labor of his hands, and at the time was laying stone-wall. The Doctor elate at least, if not inflated, from his easy seat on horseback said, "Well, James, how many barrels of pudding and milk will it take to make forty rods of stone-wall?" James dropped his stone into place, looked squarely at his bumptious questioner, answering, "Just as many as it will take of hireling priests to make a Gospel minister." If the answer was not Homeric, it was because Homer did not know priests who preached.

Like many of the most useful missionaries in various parts of the world, our rector ministered to the body as well as the spirit. He often acted as physician in this new country, where such service was in demand.

North and South Kingstown were set off from the original town in 1722. The western territory of the county was divided as settlement moved forward. Charlestown being taken from eastern Westerly in 1738. The new town, in its turn, lost Richmond on the north in 1747. Hopkinton, the northern part of Westerly, was made a town in 1757.

The great estate of the Champlins, originally coming from Newport, fell into Charlestown. There were 2000 acres and the homestead farm contained seven or eight hundred. The proprietor kept thirty-five horses, fifty-five cows, six hundred to seven hundred sheep, and slaves in proportion. A large mansion-house stood well into the nineteenth century. Captain Christopher Champlin and Hannah, the daughter of Captain John Hill, were married by Doctor MacSparran in 1730. Their son Christopher, born at the homestead, went to Newport to become an enterprising and successful merchant. He was president of the Bank

of Rhode Island and the first Grandmaster of the Masonic Fraternity in the State.

Colonel Daniel Updike, the son of Lodowick and grandson of Richard Smith, spent his youth at Cocumscussuc or Smith's Castle. He removed to Newport, where he practiced law and was Attorney-General of the colony twenty-four years. He was county attorney for King's, the present Washington County; and was prominent in founding the Literary Society at Newport. The relations between the Colonel and the Dean were most friendly and cordial; on the departure of the latter for Europe, he gave his friend an "elegantly wrought silver flagon," now in the possession of Daniel Berkeley Updike. Though strict in some ecclesiastical canons and practice, the Doctor was liberal in administering baptism. He immersed Colonel Updike and frequently used that form of the rite. Moses Lippet, of Warwick, he dipped "above his own Mildam." In another account he says, "at the Tail of his Grist Mill," showing that facts are difficult as well as doctrine in ecclesiastical history.

The Updike library, descending from Daniel to Wilkins,²¹ is of interest. The collection was strong in Latin classics, with Hesiod in both Latin and Greek, and rendered into an English translation. All the good readers had Pope's Iliad. Books on law were represented, as a matter of course. Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary, Dryden's Plays, with Defoe's History of the Devil, indicate some variety of culture. Leslie against the Deists would confirm the orthodoxy of these good Episcopalians, if such support could be needed. According to Hallam the Short and Easy Method was as able as it was popular. Erasmus's "Colloquia Selecta" was considered by the author "a caprice of fortune" in being his most popular

²¹ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. I., pp. 126, 422.

work, "full of foolish things and bad Latin." But in our generation it would pass for a learned book. Young's Night Thoughts was a frequent book in those days. The works of Nicholas Rowe found place, and Molière relieved the somewhat somber shelves. The collection was considerable and we have given but few titles.

Matthew Robinson, born in Newport, studied law in Boston and practiced in Newport. He removed to South Kingston in 1750 and bought a large farm west of the present station of Kingston, naming his residence Hope-well. His legal practice was extensive, and he was a student and zealous antiquarian. "He had a large and well-selected library in law, history, and poetry, probably the largest of any individual in the colony at that time."²²

The drawing of portraits introduced by Smibert was kept up among the wealthy families. Later in the century Copley practiced his art, and put the stately dames of Narragansett and Newport on his excellent canvas.

There were many notable families in this precinct, which included the Champlins in Charlestown and the Wards of Westerly. Locally, the Browns, Hazards, Robinsons, Willets have been well known. The Gardiners became famous in Boston and in Maine, while the sea-going and mercantile Minturns were transferred to New York.

In the middle eighteenth century, the estates of the large landholders were extensive and deserved their local designation of plantation, though the system of farming by slaves was unlike that practiced in the South. Ordinary farms contained about three hundred acres; the plantations coming over from the seventeenth century were much larger.²³ Robert Hazard owned sixteen

²² Updike, Goodwin, Vol. I., p. 14.

²³ *Ibid*, Vol. II., p. 14.

hundred acres on Boston Neck and about Pettaquamscutt.

The wealthy Robert Hazard, father of College Tom, made a will, though he did not execute it, in 1745.²⁴ It shows the way of living, especially in the provisions for his dearly beloved wife. Fifty pounds a year, four cows to be kept through each year. A negro woman Phebee. One riding Mare, the best, with new saddle and bridle. Wood, beef and pork; the beef to be dressed and brought into her house. Fowls and geese. One feather bed and six chairs, two iron pots, one brass kettle, two pair pot-hooks, two trammels. Pewter dishes and platters, basins and silver spoons. One piece "Camblitt," one of linen called the "fine piece." Forty pounds wool yearly, two wheels linen and woolen. She was to have two rooms, one "a fire room, the other a bed room such as she shall chuse in either of my two Houses." The improvement of a quarter acre of land. The upper part of the Neck, occupied by the Willets, was the home of Canonicus and Miantonomi. Colonel Joseph Stanton's property in Charlestown was said to be four and one-half miles long by two miles wide. Governor William Robinson's land on upper Point Judith was subdivided and inherited by descendants. Samuel Sewall, son of the Judge, succeeded to the John Hull purchase on Point Judith, of sixteen hundred acres, finally divided into eight farms.

The number of slaves, generally overestimated, was 1000, according to Updike in 1730, and it was about equal to that of the horses employed in tilling the land. The Indians settled through these districts and most numerous around the reservation in Charlestown were valuable auxiliaries, especially in haying and other periods requiring extra labor. Corn, tobacco, cheese and wool

²⁴ "Hazard College Tom," p. 31.

were the chief staples sustained by hay; and horses were exported largely. Vessels were despatched from the South Ferry direct for the West Indies. They were loaded with cheese, grain, beef, and pork in the hold, and with horses on deck.

Douglass in 1760²⁵ says, "Rhode Island Colony in general is a country for pasture, not for grain; by extending along the shore of the ocean and a great bay, the air is softened by a sea vapour which fertilizeth the soil; their winters are shorter and softer than up inland; it is noted for dairies, whence the best of cheese made in any part of New England is called (abroad) 'Rhode Island Cheese.' The most considerable farms are in the Narragansett country. Their highest dairy of one farm, ordinarily milks about one hundred and ten cows, cuts two hundred loads of hay, makes about thirteen thousand pounds of cheese, besides butter, and sells off considerable in calves and fatted bullocks. In good land they reckon after the rate of two acres for a milch cow."

Fortunately, Doctor MacSparran left a Diary and Letter Book for the years 1743-1751, which has been amply edited by Doctor Goodwin. We may cite some facts and matters of experience, which will serve to illustrate the general accounts of Narragansett life, which will follow.

Though the worthy parson was strictly ecclesiastical, severe in any point of discipline, separative where any difference obtained with "the Conventicle which is the sink of the church,"²⁶ he was reasonable in the substantial practices of religion. For example, he occasionally preached at Conanicut. July 5 he did not go, as the "drought and worms" compelled the farmers to attend

²⁵ "Hazard College Tom," p. 217, citing D. Mr. I. F. Hazard, p. 218, gives details of farming.

²⁶ MacSparran Diary, p. 8.

to their harvest even on Sunday. Wheat was still raised now and then in the Colony of Rhode Island. July 19th, "with moonlight" the Doctor's two negroes and his brother-in-law's oxen, mare and cart, carried the wheat into the barn. A pretty pastoral picture. The threshing and winnowing was quite a circumstance in farm life. August 8th, he turns the cows into the "after feed" and sends Stepney to Town (Newport) with a packet of letters and to buy nails and salmon, likewise a pound of chocolate. The latter was a frequent necessity at the Glebe house.

Our diarist's duties extended as far as Providence sometimes. He went to Moses Lippett's in old Warwick in "the great tempest" to marry his daughter Freelove to Samuel Chase in the midst of the storm. Moses was grandson of John Lippett, an original settler in Providence.

The "Great Awakening" under Whitefield's preaching excited New England and penetrated this corner of our colony. In 1750,²⁷ the "Hill Church" in Westerly and the Indian Church were formed, largely under this influence. Now in 1743,²⁸ our Doctor labored with one Avery " & a new light," saying something to "do him good." We may well imagine this wholesome counsel contained no heresy.

We may sympathize with the parson and the head of a family in the complicated duties June 25, 1745. Harry was hilling corn. George Fowler was bled by the amateur surgeon. He gave Maroca (a negro girl, who had had two illegitimate children), one or two lashes for receiving presents from Mingo. But the sequel was worst of all.²⁹

²⁷ "Westerly Witnesses," p. 69.

²⁸ Diary, p. 12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

“I think it was my duty to correct her, and w^tever Passion passed between my wife and me on y^s occasion, Good L^d forgive it.”

Our worthy parson was like many who have been seriously affected by dreams. He frequently underwent nocturnal imaginary perils in boats, and always regarded such conceptions as warnings of accidents to come by water. Perhaps the experience in 1751, to be cited, carried an absurd dream as far into historical exegesis as was ever done. He had been reading a tale and next morning he sets forth his “ugly dream” with a full diagnosis as follows: “I believe y^t reading the Life of Cleveland nat^l son to Cromwel gave me all y^{se} Distresses. The whole is certainly a Fiction, y^{re} never having been such a man, nor such occurrences as it relates. I believe it is wrote to blacken y^e Stuart Family, to raise men’s Esteem of y^e Revolution w^{ch} seems now to be sinking; But Romance can’t, ought not to discredit Reality.”³⁰ The Doctor’s high Tory proclivities shine forth admirably. But how imagination by night or day runs riot; while romance and reality dance in and out!

It might have been fancy farming, but “my two Negro’s” were plowing in buckwheat in 1751, for manure for English wheat.³¹ MacSparran was more practical in teaching morals to the negroes by admonition and by lash than in inveighing against lay-reading in the church. He writes freely against this practice, which he abhors. “Peter Bourse read Prayers and preached in y^e c^{hh} there (Newport) last Sunday w^{tht} any kind of ordination. May God open y^t young man’s eyes y^t he may see y^t he has transgressed against y^e Lord in offering up y^e Publick Prayers, w^{ch} is y^e Same in y^e Xⁿ Ch^h y^t offering Incense

³⁰ Diary, p. 45.

³¹ *Ibid.*

on y^e Altar was in y^e Jewish.”³² On the next Sunday, he preached against this irregular practice. He then regaled himself with “suckatash” or succotash, also in Indian *msick quatash*, the excellent corn and beans adopted from the natives. A comber was at the house, for all these small proprietors combed or carded, spun and wove at home. The cloth was scoured, fullled and pressed at a fulling establishment. Sheep marks were recorded as for example: “Crop the right Ear, and a gad under the Left Ear.”

Hanibal was a most obstinate and intractable servant; finally sold, after domestic discipline had been exhausted. Rising early, the master found Hannibal “had been out,” and stripping, whipped the negro. In this case feminine sympathy did not affect Mrs. MacSparran, as in the case of Maroca, for as the man was being untied “my poor passionate dear,” saying he had not had enough gave him a lash or two. He ran away and two chasing him, brought him home at night, having put “Pothooks” about his neck. “So y^t it has been a very uneasy Day with us o y^t God would give my Servants—the Gift of Chastity.” With such real troubles abounding in daily life, one would think lay-reading might be let alone. The worthy parson’s relations to negroes were both clerical and patriarchal. He tried to do his full duty. It was his custom to catechize them and once there were present fully one hundred. It seems eccentric to baptize Phillis, the daughter of his slave, before selling her, but that was incidental to the social situation. On more than one occasion he records attachment to Stepney, drowned in Pettaquamscutt Pond, “the faithfulest of all servants.” The baptism of one Freelove, “a Mustee by colour and her child Katharine Lynalies Gardner” is

³² Diary, p. 46.

recorded with the note that Gardner was the master's name.³³

There were more Irishmen among the settlers of New England than is generally estimated. Doctor MacSparan was Irish and at the harvest in September he mentions Johnson and Kerigan, two young helpers. Next day "y^e 3 Irishmen took y^elr leave"; two were going to South Carolina, but Kerigan intended to stay and peddle. Another day one Shirley, an Irish peddler, called. There are many indications of good relations and pleasant living with the slaves in the harvest time. "I gave 4 of Bro^r Jn^o's negro's 10^s among them, and 2^s between Pompey and Jemmy Smith."

Travel by land was not easy, and it was worse by water. The Doctor late in October, 1751, went by the Conanicut ferry to Newport, and by Borden's or Bristol ferry to Bristol to preach. Fearing a storm he hurried home, though the ferries were troublesome. Next day he records "Cold and windy with y^e wind at Northwest. I thank God I came yesterday since I could not have crossed y^e Ferrys with so much wind agst me." November 1st he notes for a fine day, "but I fear a weather breeder, as y^e wild Geese flew to Day."

The wife of Richard Smith, the first settler, brought from Gloucestershire to Narragansett, the recipe for making the celebrated Cheshire cheese, hence the quality and just repute of our product. Rents of farms were payable in produce. From the time of the French Revolution to the general peace after Napoleon, the United States were the neutral carriers for Europe. This favorable position gave great advantage to our farm products. Cheese brought ten dollars per hundred, with corn, barley, etc., in proportion.³⁴

³³ Updike, Goodwin, II., p. 467.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

The Narragansett pacer, exported so freely to the West Indies, should be noted. According to Mr. Isaac P. Hazard,³⁵ Governor Robinson imported the original stock from Andalusia, Spain. The breeding extended, and the horses being greatly appreciated in the West Indies were regularly sent out; Robert Hazard exporting about one hundred annually. Their gait was marvelous, affording comfort in the saddle, which we can hardly conceive. The purely bred could not trot at all. According to authorities of the eighteenth century, the horse's backbone moved in a straight line, without swaying to either side, as in the pace or racking gait of this day. We have Mrs. Anstis Lee's account³⁶ of a journey into Connecticut in 1791, when she rode the last mare "of pure blood and genuine gait." She went thirty miles, lodging at Plainfield, next day forty miles to a point near Hartford, where she stopped for two days. Then she made forty miles to New Haven, thence forty miles (*sic*) to New London, and forty miles more to reach her home in Narragansett. Such endurance, whether in horse or rider, has gone out of fashion.

There might have been some local exaggeration, but the remarkable powers of the horse are well attested. They were obtained for racing in Philadelphia. In South Kingstown they raced on Little Neck Beach, and Doctor MacSparran said they went with great "Fleetness and Swift Pacing." From any point of view we may wonder that such valuable powers in a horse could have been allowed to pass away and disappear. Mr. I. P. Hazard said a chief cause proceeded from the extraordinary West Indian demand. Sugar brought sudden wealth, and the planters could not get pacers fast enough for their wives

³⁵ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. III., p. 37.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

and daughters. An agent stayed at Tower Hill, and from season to season he would never "let a good one escape him." This affected the general breeding. Also, they were not adapted to draught and farm work. Losing the jennet descended by crossing from a Barbary horse was an incident in the passage from slave-holding habits to the more moderate ways of a farming people.

Old Narragansett was famous for its hospitality. Inns were poor, as Madam Knight depicts in her journey in 1704, and they continued relatively the same through the century. Strangers and gentlemen traveling were introduced by letter and they were welcomed as guests by the free living residents of the country. Doctor Franklin, a frequent traveler, always arranged to spend the night with Doctor Babcock at Westerly. "Well-qualified tutors emigrated to the colonies, and were employed in family instruction, and to complete their education the young men were afterwards placed in the families of learned clergymen.³⁷ Doctor MacSparran received young gentlemen into his family to be instructed. Thomas Clap, the able president of Yale College, was a good example of his work. Doctor Checkley, a graduate of Oxford, located as a missionary, taught several sons of Narragansett. Residence in such families was an excellent school in manners, as well as for improvement of the intellect. Young ladies were taught by tutors at home and "finished" at schools in Boston. Books were not common in those days, but there were good private libraries, as we have cited; and paintings, if only portraits, indicate culture.³⁸

³⁷ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. I., p. 222.

³⁸ Professor Channing, in a discriminating study of the Planters (J. H. U. Studies), says, . . . "a race of large land-owners who have been called the Narragansett Planters, unlike the other New England aristocrats of their time, these people derived their wealth from the soil, and not from success in mercantile adventures . . .

We have cited freely from Professor Channing, for it illustrates completely from another point of view the essential character of this society, "an anomaly in the institutional history of Rhode Island," as he terms it in another connection. The same cause produced the aristocracy³⁹ of Narragansett, the ultra-democracy of early Providence, and the modified representative government of Newport. That great cause was freedom. The privilege granted by Charles II. was developed by Roger Williams and John Clarke into power to make a free man into a political being—a citizen. A new political entity was born into the world, as European scholars are coming to recognize.⁴⁰

For further elucidation, compare Doctor MacSparran's view in the opposite direction in *America Dissected*. The Doctor in the eighteenth century shows by his shadows⁴¹ deep-drawn of the body politic, the features which have become the high lights of history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The ecclesiast, by his own showing,

the routine of their daily lives was entirely unlike that of the Virginia planters. . . . In fine they were large—large for the place and epoch—stock farmers and dairymen. . . . It has been claimed that the progenitors of the Narragansett farmers were superior in birth and breeding to the other New England colonists, and that to this the aristocratic frame of Narragansett society is due. I do not find this to have been the case. . . . This refinement, however, belongs to the best period of Narragansett social life. It was the result of a peculiar social development and not a cause of that development."—*Ibid.*, pp. 529-531.

³⁹ Aristocracy and democracy, as usually held, are conventional expressions. I knew a sagacious old son of Rhode Island, a Jacksonian and democratic follower of Dorr. Arguing with him on some political matter, I used the first term when he answered emphatically, "Aristocracy! a woman who seeks work with her own wash-tub is one thing, she who washes clothes in somebody else's wash-tub is another thing—that is aristocracy!" My friend personally was an aristocrat, Doctor Eliot was a democrat.

⁴⁰ *Ante*, pp. 6, 8.

⁴¹ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. II., p. 556.

had neither lungs nor gills and could not breathe on land or water that was free. He could not conceive of religion without some sort of worship on Sunday.⁴²

The franklins and manorial gentry of Narragansett were a picturesque feature in the more sober life of New England. Rowland Robinson,* father of the "unfortunate Hannah," in the middle eighteenth century, was a type of these citizens. When in full dress he usually wore a dark silk, velvet or brown broadcloth coat, light yellow plush waistcoat, with deep pockets and wide flaps resting partly on the hips, short violet colored breeches buckled at the knee, nicely polished boots with white tops, or silver-buckled shoes, a fine cambric shirt profusely ruffled at the bosom and wrists, with silk neck-tie to match. On his head was set a looped-up triangular hat, and in hand he carried a stout gold-headed cane.

Dr. MacSparran visited England in 1754 with his wife, where she died of small-pox. He was much affected by the loss of this "most pious of all women, y^e best wife in y^e world." He came back to his home in 1756, his health broken and his constitution failing under his sorry bereavement. He performed his clerical duties as far as he could. He died in December, 1757, and was buried under the Communion Table of the church he had created. "There was Rings mourning weeds & Gloves gave to y^e Paul Bearers." While rector he had baptized 538 per-

⁴² "Besides the members of our Church, who I may say are the best of the People, being Converts not from Convenience or Civil encouragement, but Conscience and Conviction; there are Quakers, Anabaptists of four sorts. Independents, with a still larger number than all those of the Descendants of European parents, devoid of all religion, and who attend no kind of Public Worship. In all the other Colonies, the Law lays an Obligation to go to some sort of Worship on Sundays; but here, Liberty of Conscience is carried to an irreligious extreme."—Updike, Goodwin, Vol. III., p. 36.

* Thomas R. Hazard, "Reminiscences," p. 19.

sons, besides receiving many from other churches. For thirty-seven years he served the parish faithfully; while he led in spirit, he ministered in all ways of living to his trusting followers. Southern Rhode Island will always hold his memory dear.

Going back to the beginning of the second quarter of this century, we find the comforts of living enlarging as the county improved its agricultural condition. Samuel Tiftt,⁴³ in 1725, with a personal estate of £947. 12., is a typical example. Wearing apparel at £27. 19., his gun, sword and razor stood at £1. 11., his saddle, bridle and male pillion at £1. 10. The household furnishing included five feather beds and furniture at £58. 12., one old flock bed and furniture £1. 2. and 13 chairs at £1. 14. Of the desirable warming pans, he had two at £1. 10., in other brass ware £1. 12., in pewter £7. 1. 8., in silver plate £5. 12. and bottles were frequently valued in the various estates. In the humble tin ware there was 1s. 2d. and the early wooden trencher was still used to the number of two dozen, valued with other pieces at 6s. Books were represented by two old bibles at 4s. and a moderate farming outfit nourished the family. More or less butter and cheese—the latter in larger quantities—was in the inventories. He had cards, spinning wheels and worsted combs; and as an example of home industry 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ yards “whome spun” broadcloth at £10.7., 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards cotton cloth and linen cloth at £6. 10., 3 yards linen do at 9s. and 20 yards “corse” cloth at £3. 15.

Stephen Hazard was slightly better off, as befitted an owner of £2760. 15., in personal property. His best suit was adorned with silver buttons and he wore a beaver hat—all costing £19. 5., while his wear for every day stood

⁴³ These inventories are from South Kingston MS. Probate Records, Vol. II., p. 34, *et seq.*

at £10. 5. In a pair of silver shoe buckles and two buttons there was £1. 3. 6. and in a silver seal 5s.; 4 silver spoons were valued at £5. 8. 2. Mr. Hazard owned the first silver tankard on record, costing £24. 18. 8. One case bottles and metheglin was appraised at £1. 10. There were 36 milch cows at £193., 4 working oxen at £35., besides 22 fat Cattle on Great Island. He had 29 yearling neat cattle at £72. 10., 32 two and three years old £144, turkeys and fowls at 6s., with 24 geese at £8. Geese were very common.

Caleb Hazard lived on 160 acres land, valued with his dwelling at £1400. He had moderate stock and furnishing out of doors and within. Two small tables and a high candlestick were valued at £1.; a case of drawers with the inevitable oval table £6. 15.; one looking glass £5. 10., another £4. 10. A linen wheel employed the feminine spinners. For kitchen and table service there was iron ware £3. 1. Tin do., £1. 4. A brass kettle, skillet and pepper box £6. 2. 6., a slice, chafing dish, etc., £4. 12. 10., wooden ware and trenchers 6s., pewter platters and other ware £6., 5 silver spoons £3. 16. He worked his farm with one old negro at £20., a better one at £70., a young negro girl at £35., two Indian boys at £20. and £15. His wearing apparel cost £23. 11., and he was a type of the smaller land holders to come in a generation or two later.

Another class in society was represented by N. Osborn, dressed in wearing apparel at £7. 1. 6., and with a personal estate of £64. 12. 6. This included one feather bed (not the best of the time) at £17. 26.; tin and brass ware with pepper box at 2s. 6d. and a warming pan at 5s., one knife with fork and tobacco box at 2s. He was a spinner and shoemaker.

Daniel Landon was a working carpenter, possessed of

£22. 14. in personal estate. His woollen clothing and hat were worth only £1. 15., a very low outlay for any man. A "whone, razor" and penknife were 11s., wooden ware 6s. 6d., pewter and earthen ware 14s., five old chairs 10s. No books and they were rare generally; in another case the library was valued at 10s., in yet another 14s. There was often a family bible, but it was not as general as in Providence. The old-fashioned joynt stool was often used, and razors had become almost universal in this century.

It was not often that feminine dress had developed to its proper superiority over the male. In 1730 Josiah Sherman, with a personal estate of £188.9., expended £17. 3. on his clothes. His wife was allowed £26. 8., an appropriate difference, further accentuated by a gold ring and three ribbons, costing £1. 4.

Gold Rings were becoming common, as in 1732 Thomas Raynolds had three at £3. He was a tailor probably, having a goose and shears, a thimble and needles. Expended moderately in clothing £17. 11., including gloves and garters and a "Rokelo." We should not neglect one silver buckleband and a bottle at 11s. or two links of silver buttons at 6s.

Wm. Gardner was of another class, with £897. 4. in personal property in 1732. He walked bravely, clad at a cost of £33. 16., carrying a cane and a gold ring. His riding horse, saddle and bridle, holsters, pistols and powder flask were worth £40. Knives and forks at 15s., tin ware at 11s. 6d., silver plate £7.5. His farming outfit was small, worked by a negro woman at £90, a boy at £30. and two girls at £65. and £45. In books he had £3. 5.

A still is mentioned valued at £11. Christopher Helme Yeoman from a personal estate of £1274. 19. had ex-

pended £37. 9. for his wearing apparel. His cattle and swine were worth £497. 1., and his four negroes £195. This title of yeoman was occasionally used; if used at all, why should it not have been used more frequently?

Wm. Gardner, of Boston Neck, had the large personal estate of £4945. 17., as well as his valuable lands. Dr. MacSparran married into this family. Mr. Gardner's clothing was valued at £78. 10., and his "Rought plate" £92. 8. Three beds and furniture at £40., one warming pan at £3. Pewter at £13. 7. There were spinning and linen wheels—no loom—and a large number of cattle, sheep and horses. The force of slaves was large, three Indians at £175., six negroes at £470., three negro women at £420.

Occasionally we get the details of a funeral. Caleb Hazard's was in 1725-6, and the cost of the coffin was £1., with stones to mark the grave at £2. The expenditure for rum at the ceremony was £1. 10. His son died soon after and the expenses were very closely scaled to mark two ranks of men. For the young man's coffin they paid 17s., and for the gravestones £1. 5. For rum to ameliorate the condition of the sympathizing neighbors, the family allowed only 6s.

Silver plate was becoming diffused among people of moderate means. The majority of inventories had a few spoons. In 1733, Jeremiah Clark, in a personal estate of £285. 10., had a small farming outfit, a loom and a spinning wheel, £8. 10. was in pewter. In plate, there were 10 silver spoons, a silver cup, one piece silver, two pieces gold (possibly coin), all valued at £20. The most expensive silver seal at a cost of £14. was worn by George Belfore. He was a trader, having £1350. in shop goods, in a personal estate of £4499. 9.

The widow Knowles, of moderate circumstances in 1734,

allowed herself £25. 16. in linen and woollen clothing and in three beds with furniture £48. 14. In table linen and pewter ware there was £. 6. 6., in iron ware £5. She had a large bible at £2. 19., and her personal property was £167. 5. Bibles were becoming more frequent; in another case in 1734, there was £4. 5. in a bible and other books. Probably Doctor MacSparran would have said this improvement was due to the good influences of St. Paul's Church.

It is interesting when we can get at the details of a personal wardrobe. In 1735, George Webb⁴⁴ had a suit of "full cloath" at £5. 10., a suit of Duroy £4. 10. and other apparel costing £18. 10. In five pairs of shoes and one pair old boots, there was a value of £2. 13. His large bible was £3., but he was a citizen of the church militant, having two old cutlasses, a pistol and two guns. His personal estate was £253. 18.

Josiah Westcott, in a personal estate of £543. 16., had carpenter's and glazier's tools. With moderate furnishing in his house, he kept one cow and one mare without. He expended £40. upon his wardrobe, and better £5. for books.

Charles Higinbotham in 1736 varied somewhat from the customary dress of the small proprietors. To his apparel at £30. he added a hat and cane at £3., a pair of spectacles "sliper" and boots at 15s. He possessed the first recorded wig at £1. His riding horse, saddle and bridle were appraised at £25. and there was added £1. for portmanteau and bridle bits. Knives and forks were 15s. He had £36. in 36 ounces of silver plate and £8. 10. in books, a respectable library for the time. Notwithstanding a comparatively small personal estate of £446. 2. he had in slaves a mulatto woman at £70., a "mustee" boy

⁴⁴ South Kingston MS. Rec., Vol. III., p. 2.

at £30., a similar girl at £20. Robert Hannah sported a watch at £10. He had silver plate, gold and silver buttons and shoebuckles, with a snuff box. There were four negroes at £225. in the personal property of £1207. 15.

John Smith, of the universal name, was evidently a poor person, though he lived in comfort on personal property of £55. 10. His apparel cost £2. 10., a small amount even for a laborer, and he had £3. 3. in pewter. One cow, four pigs and poultry afforded the basis of a good living, while two spinning wheels gave employment.

Elizabeth Gardner in 1737, a modest widow with property of £111. 17., expended on her wardrobe only £11. In pewter she had £2. and in one bible £3. ; in an old settle 12s., in a spinning wheel £1. There were four cows and one heifer at £44., and three mares, old and young, valued at £5. Mary Bunday's was one of the smallest estates recorded, with wearing apparel at £2. 16., buckles at 5s. and a testament at 4s.

In 1738 we have John Jullien, with a personal estate of £1605. 18. He had a watch and cane with hatter's "utentials" at £16. 13.

Honorable George Hazard in 1738, with a personal estate of £6288.16., brings us back to the semi-feudal proprietors. His house, built about 1733, was at the "Foddering Place" on the northeast shore of Point Judith Pond. Existing until a generation ago, it was a type of the good houses of that period. It was two stories high on the front of fifty feet, slanting to one story at the rear. Over the entrance was a fan light and above this a large arched window, giving light to the hall. This square hall had a handsome staircase of oak and a balustrade. At the south end was the parlor, a very large room with the favorite Colonial buffet, where the silver

plate was displayed. In the better houses these buffets were ornamental as well as pretentious, scrolled at top and back with quaint carvings. The house was given to his son George, Mayor of Newport.⁴⁵ One suit of his clothes cost £61. 5. and other apparel £71. 2., while a sword, cane and horsewhip stood at £12. 10. Hazard was generally the name best dressed. In silver plate he was well supplied, including a tankard at £30., two porringers, salt cellar and 11 spoons at £49. 10. Of pewter articles he had the value of £8. 18., and in 11 silver buttons there was £1. 16. The clock was valued at £35., thirteen chairs, the first mentioned of leather, were £27., two oval tables £5., the inevitable joynt stool £1., a high case of drawers £9., a looking glass £6., and two more at £3. The general housefurnishing was ample. The first specified "drinking glasses" stood at 13s., with other glasses at the same rate. "Pipes and glasses also were 3s. Five punch bowls were £1. 15. Glasses again and stone ware were £3. 9. Teacups and saucers 10s. Bohea tea 14s. The honorable gentleman had books at £38. 6., as he should have had. A sailing boat and canoe were appraised at £41. There was a large supply of cattle, sheep and swine. Eight acres in corn stood at £44., one acre in wheat at £8., nine acres in oats at £27. In slaves there were four negro men at £440., one girl at £90., the time of a "mustee" boy at £25., do. of an Indian boy £28.

Betty Heeth, 1738-9, owned a pair of worsted combs at £2. 5., without spinning wheels. Evidently she combed and carded; if she spun also, she used her employer's wheel. In another case a spinner and weaver with linen wheel at £1. 10. and loom at same price, owned a "natural pacing" mare and colt at £26., a low price. Her wearing apparel cost £15. 7. Silver shoe buckles and but-

⁴⁵ Robinson, "Hazard Family," p. 24.

tons, as well as the "wigg," were common, and punch bowls went along with tea cups and saucers. Ichabod Potter in 1739 had a fancy for "lingomvata," for a punch bowl of this with a sugar box was only 5s., while the two regular punch bowls were at £1. He had the favorite mortar of the same hard wood costing 15s.

A large bible with "y^e Hypocriphy," one colony laws and other small books were worth £5.

Elizabeth Tefft, in 1740, with personal estate of £401. 12., was a typical woman in moderate circumstances. Her wearing apparel with two beds and bedding at £30. 10., showed that she cared more for silver than for dress and furniture. For in silver plate there was 7 oz. 3 pwt. 7 grains at £9. 17. 10., while in gold not specified there were 52 grains at £1.6. In brass ware she had £6.3., in iron £9. 11., in pewter £6. 11. Her stock comprised four cows and a calf at £51., one mare and yearling colt at £25., and three swine at £4. 5. She was a sensible and economical manager.

In 1738, we noted the effects of Hon. George Hazard, his elegant attire as he walked abroad; his fine display of punch bowls and drinking glasses at home; with a library suitable for a gentleman. Sarah his widow died in 1740 and her equipment was worthy of her station and her personal estate of £5324. 12. The comparative wardrobe of this husband and wife, enjoying what they wanted, shows clearly that the men dressed better than the women. Mrs. Hazard's clothing at £59. 12. was less than half the value of her husband's. In jewelry she excelled, though the outlay was not excessive. Her gold necklace and locket cost £10. These gold beads—afterward so common in women's wear—were the first recorded. A gold ring, jewels and snuff box stood at £6. 10. Apparently gold rings were more often worn by

men than by women. The snuff box was a necessity; for nearly a century ago everybody, men and women together, took snuff. The lady's riding horse, saddle and bridle cost £70. 12.

At the same time Toby Champlin, "an Indian man," stood at the other end of the social scale with effects at £36. 13. It was the humblest sort of an outfit, including scythes, tools, fishing gear, oyster tongs and an old horse at 5s. Ann Kelly was not as provident as Elizabeth Tefft, for in an estate of £16. 16. 6., she left £12. 7. 6. in wearing apparel. In 1741 a negro girl about two years old was valued at £40. In most cases the fair sex took care of their persons, though they were relatively more moderate than the wealthy men. In 1743, Mary Vileat,⁴⁶ single, invested £33. 16. in her wardrobe from an estate of £113. 4. In one case we find 2160 lbs. of cheese at £135. The proprietor had 12 negroes. A negro boy nine years old was worth £70. Hour glasses appeared occasionally. In 1744 a chamber pot was appraised with a warming pan at £1. 7. It does not appear whether the convenience had changed from pewter to white stone ware, as was occurring elsewhere. A silver watch comes in at £25., with a pocket compass at £1. In 1746, Simon Ray was recorded "Gentleman" with one of the largest collections of books worth £32. 18. Courtesy treated him more kindly than circumstance, for his estate was only £74. 9. A clock at £55., with a better looking glass at £18., shows an advancing scale of housekeeping. Silver buttons increase, and were needed to match the shoe buckles. And wigs were well established. Silver plate was the frequent luxury turning into comfort, just as pewter was two generations previously.

In 1746-7 Jonathan Hazard Yeoman, with an estate

⁴⁶ S. K. MSS. Rec., IV.

of £7971. had £78. in wearing apparel, while "the weoman's" was £22. 8. Only £2. for the bible and other books. He had twelve negroes to do his work and stored £100. worth of cheese in his "Great Chamber bedroom." In another inventory we may note the first definitely indicated white "stone chamber pot" at 5s., about one-quarter or one-fifth the value of the article in pewter. A small farmer wearing silver shoe buckles had £40. in carpenter's tools. In 1748, Benjamin Perry, with estate of £2935., gets a detailed record of his wardrobe, the first whole suit standing at £39. 10., the second at £32. 10., the third at £20. 17., with a pair of boots at £2. His walking stick was ornamented with an ivory head, and cost him 5s. His riding mare, saddle and bridle were £60., and his hunting saddle and bridle £5. There was a set of glazier's tools and "a still which goes by the name of Limbeck" at £10. Equipped with silver spoons, he had the somewhat unusual earthen-porringer, three at 3s., and a wooden candlestick at 3s. His were the first noted "beaker" glasses, two at 4s. Altogether, his life was out of the common way of a Narragansett proprietor.

In another case, the estate was £9943., the wearing apparel £142., with one looking glass at £20., another at £15. There were earthen cups and saucers and other articles, including porringer, at 16s. Here was found the first recorded "Chany" ware, four bowls, four saucers, seven cups at £8. 10. Silver, as usual, with books at £3. Earthen ware in some degree took the place of pewter; very likely it served for the slaves, of whom there were seven in this instance. Wm. Gardner Yeoman had an estate of £1604. in 1749, while Ebenezer Nash Labourer had £48. 9. Another laborer was well to do with an estate of £310., of which £41. 8. was in his wardrobe, £9. 11. in carpenter's tools, and £1. 10. in a linen

wheel. John Taulbary, mulatto, left estate of £35. 17. distributed in a significant manner. Against a gun at £4. 10. may be set two wheels at £2. A bedstead and bedding at £3., made him comfortable, as it was reinforced in cold weather with a warming pan, which was valued with "a how" at £2. 10. A fiddle at 10s., a teapot and drinking glasses at £1. 10., provided for the æsthetic sense of a lone darky, who was probably not lonesome.

After studying these varying grades of social development we rise to Governor William Robinson. His life was the culmination of the mid-century system of living in this nook of Rhode Island. Quaker by connection, born in 1693, dying in 1751, he inherited land and bought largely, leaving some 1385 acres to be divided among his sons. He had previously given them farms at their majority. In public life for 24 years he held responsible places; being Speaker of the House for four years and Deputy-Governor 1745-1748.

Hon. William Robinson⁴⁷ inventoried a personal estate of £21,573. 5. to his widow and executrix Abigail. Here were large affairs entrusted to a woman. He dressed well for a Quaker from a wardrobe at £130., though not as well as his neighbors, the Hazards, such as were not Friends. His large house was on the site of the Welch villa just east of Wakefield. On the first floor were the great-room, great-room bedroom, dining-room, dining-room bedroom, store bedroom, northeast bedroom, Kitchen, closet, store-closet, cheese-room, milk-room, etc. There were sleeping-rooms corresponding above, but from the number of these accessible bedrooms, we may perceive that our ancestors did not like to climb stairs. In the open attic, weaving and spinning were carried on. There was

⁴⁷ S. K. MSS. Records, Vol. IV., p. 335. Robinson, "Hazard Family," p. 34.

ample bedding, and two beds and bedding at £150. stood in the "Great Room Bedroom." A clock at £145. and a large looking glass at £45. 14 chairs at £20. helped the furnishing. The silver plate "in the bowfatt" of the Great Room was worth £374. 8., the largest so far recorded. The table outfit was sufficient, but not equal to that of the better sort of neighbors. "Chané" ware £25. Pewter plates £36. 10. Knives and Forks £4. Tin ware £1. 10. Iron £22. Earthen £5. Note four "small mapps" and one set "bruches" at £3., while the library and an old desk were appraised at £5. Evidently this planter and statesman did not trouble himself with book learning.

There were 4060 lbs. of cheese at £558. 5. and a good line of cattle and horses in the stables. He bred the pacers largely and always rode one when he superintended his farming. These fleet creatures took water readily. There were many streams to be forded, and after a storm the Pettaquamscutt especially would change its fords. If a slave could not find a safe footing, a good woman rider would swim the turbid stream. The Governor had 20 negroes, the largest number found in King's or the South County. The highest value for a negro was £500., and two more were £450. each, the highest woman stood at £320. There were debts on his books due him for £1316. The funeral charges of this magnate were £269. 17.

The wearing apparel of the respectable citizen in 1725 to 1750 cost from £14. to £40. in the depreciating currency. It very rarely dropped below the first sum. As prices expanded under the inflation the amount went up to £75. and £95.; for the Governor £130. and two of the well-dressed Hazards appropriated £142. and £184. The women dressed less expensively, expending generally less

than £25. The most extravagant only spent £59. and £70. We have noted the estates of George Hazard and his widow, for relative expenditure of the man and woman. This outlay for dress was materially lower than that prevailing in Providence at the same time. Books were scarce and little used among the people at large.

The price of slaves in King's County responded to the inflation of the paper currency in the second quarter of the century, quite as rapidly as any kind of property. There were more men than women enslaved, and descendants of the old Indian captives often appear. The rough average value of men and women was curiously equivalent, running from £107. to £108. for either sex. The number of slaves has been greatly exaggerated by tradition. Mr. Updike⁴⁸ says about 1730, "families would average from five to forty slaves each." The greatest number I have found in any inventory was twenty—in Governor Robinson's. Other wealthy estates had about a dozen each, never more.

The whole scale of living in the Narragansett country at this period has been equally exaggerated by tradition. They hunted foxes occasionally, raced their pacers on the smooth beaches and had good times as compared with Puritan colonists. They lived handsomely, even luxuriously, if we consider other agricultural communities in New England. But tradition has outrun the facts. Mr. I. P. Hazard and Shepard Tom having a fine romantic vein in their imagination, sketched freely. We should imitate their admirable romantic spirit, as far as we are able, in contemplating this interesting social period. But for digits and calculations, we must study the inventories and such absolute facts as remain.

⁴⁸ Goodwin, Vol. I., p. 208.

CHAPTER VI

PERIOD UNDER CHARTER OF CHARLES II.

1663—1730

THE inherent fundamental right of religious liberty, for which Roger Williams had striven so earnestly, found also in the seventeenth century its official recognition in law, first in the laws of 1647 of Rhode Island and then in the charter which Charles II. granted the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in 1663. The wide separation of the colonies from the mother-country did not make this liberty appear dangerous, though it was in such contradiction to the conditions in England. "Charles II. sought further in his aversion to the Puritans to favor as much as possible the colonies that had separated from Massachusetts." ¹

The English commonwealth did much for our colony, but perhaps the easy-going King Charles did more. The definite promulgation of religious liberty in the charter adopted in 1663, with practical provisions for maintaining it as a common right of the citizen, placed the colonial government on a new basis. The crown being the necessary center in the course of legitimate government, it had come to be regarded as the source of polity. In Rhode Island, loyalty to the crown carried the right of freedom of conscience as well. This great principle gave power and progress to the little community. Whatever might be the defects in organization of such a heterogeneous people, they were gradually overcome by the new unify-

¹ Jellinek, "Rights of Man and of Citizens," p. 69.

ing principle.² The results of the visit of the Royal Commissioners in 1665 justify this statement. Their welcome was better here and they found a more concordant administration than in the neighboring colonies. The constant pressure of the neighbors on Rhode Island had been severe. The legitimate authority of the crown seemed light in comparison with the Massachusetts effort for dominion, regarded as tyranny.

Prosperous Newport was moving on. Coddington in his "True Love" mentions the good business of the Island shipping carried on with the Barbados. The enforced immigration of the Quakers gave economic progress to Newport, as the direct result of persecution in Massachusetts and antipathy in Connecticut. A vigorous and thrifty element in the population, they "set up" their Yearly Meeting as early as 1661. By 1666 they received John Burnyeat, a distinguished missionary, and by 1672 George Fox and others³ came to look up these prosperous brethren. In 1672 one of their number, Nicholas Easton, was elected governor.

Better houses of the type of Coddington's were being erected in 1665 to 1670. The pioneer or end-chimney design was giving place to the central chimney or more prosperous Connecticut form, with two or four rooms on each floor. The population of the colony in 1675 was 2500 to 3000. Providence and Portsmouth had about 200 houses each, Newport having as many as both.

² Up to 1663 Rhode Island had been only a confederation of towns; Clarke now made it a kind of federal republic under the name of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

³ The point of view controlled the conception and portrait of a Quaker in those days. Roger Williams set forth one Edmundson, an ex-soldier, then a Quaker preacher, "a flash of wit, a face of Brass and a Tongue set on fire from the Hell of Lyes and Fury."

About the same time Pardon Tillinghast was building the first wharf in Providence; the beginning of an important commerce a generation later. Meanwhile the rich fields of the Island and afterward the Narragansett country were furnishing large exports for the West Indies and even for Europe. In 1674, Governor William Brenton bequeathed 1500 sheep. As William Harris reported,⁴ Newport could furnish wool to Europe. The Brentons farmed on a large scale, and the larger proprietors lived in a manner more manorial than was customary in New England. Elizabeth C. Brenton describes the outdoor equipment of the family in the spring of 1675. Six large riding-mares came to the door, three bearing side saddles. Three tall young women, daughters of the late Governor Brenton, prepared for the mount. Each lady wore a broadcloth riding habit, with high-heeled shoes. Her beaver hat was adorned with black ostrich plumes, and was turned up to show roached and powdered hair.

We have more detailed information of the smaller way of living among the farmers at Portsmouth. In 1667,⁵ Restand Sanford, a bachelor, with five brothers and one sister, makes his brother Samuel and sister Eliphel Straton his heirs. He gives legacies to Samuel, the executor, one mare, one silver cup, a bed and bolster, to sister Sara wife of Samuel a mare-colt and a five-shilling piece of gold, to each of her children a ewe lamb. To his brother Esbon, absent, he gives 4 ewe sheep; but if he is not heard of in one year, the ewes should go to brother Samuel and sister Eliphel. Should Esbon finally return, he was to receive the ewes. The inventory summed up £35.3.10. Among the items were Indian corn on the ground £2., ten ewes and four lambs £5.16. Woollen apparel stood

⁴ *Ante*, p. 88.

⁵ Records Portsmouth, p. 405.

at £5., three hats at 16s., four neckcloths and a cap at 7s. The library consisted of three books at 6s. 8d. One old bed and bolster was worth £3. and three small sheets and two shirts 4s. A bridle and saddle were valued at 16s., a mare and colt £7. One silver cup and spoon stood at £1.15.9.

Silver utensils came into use on the Island earlier than they were used in the Plantation of Providence.

Joseph Wayte, who was drowned, left a better estate amounting to £89.15.10. His woollen and linen clothes with his hats were appraised at £10. In pewter ware he had £1.10., in tin and brass £1.2., in iron £1.5., in wooden ware £1. A smoothing iron was 7s., a spinning wheel 8s., and four pounds of cotton yarn 10s. The comfortable feather bed and bedding was worth £16., and a cup and six spoons 4s. Two guns and a pair of "Bandaliers" stood at £2., and two peaceful scythes at £2.16.

The bequest of Alice Conland⁶ shows the growing interest in the Society of Friends, Ninth month, 1664. Her husband approving, she gave a stone house and land for "friends in the ministrey Cauled Quakers by the world, that they may be entertained therein, in all times to come Even for Ever." She gave also a featherbed, two pillows, three blankets and one coverlet, two pairs of sheets, two "pillowbers," two towels, one basin, one candlestick and one chamberpot.

Apprentices of both sexes were bound under conditions of all sorts. Mary Holson in 1668 was not to "keep company with deboyst or vncivell Company," and at the end of five years was to receive a new suit of apparel suitable for holidays or other days. Henry Straight in 1667 contracted with a most particular master, Gershom Wodell. There were all the customary stipulations for six

⁶ Records Portsmouth, p. 403.

years; moreover he was "neither to buy or sell" nor to "Commit fornication nor Contract matrimony." Woddell contracted for the usual support and to give "next Spring one ewe lamb and all increase," but Woddell was to retain the wool. These provisions conveying increase of animals are interesting, for they strengthen the social bonds between the haves and have nots.

Woddell was an omnivorous buyer of labor. He bought in 1676⁷ an Indian woman, Hannah, condemned to perpetual slavery by New Plymouth. The bill of sale to her original proprietor, Adam Right, of Duxbury, was "under the hand of Captain Benjamin Church." It would seem that the town had reversed its policy. For in 1675, several persons having purchased Indians "which may prove very prejudicial" were given one month to dispose of them.

In 1665, William Earle and William Correy were granted $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres of land to maintain a wind-mill. In 1668, the lot was increased to 2 acres. This was the customary method for encouraging industries. In 1670 Thomas Brooke received a grant of land "for his trade beinge a Lether dresser."

Alas! all these simple people were not industrious, for a sufficient pair of stocks were ordered by the town.

There were occasional votes admitting "an Inhabitant" without conditions. In 1672⁸ the prices fixed for produce to be received for taxes were, corn at 3s., peas at 3s., pork at 3d., beef at 2d., wool at 12d., peage at 16 per penny for white, cheese as agreed upon. In 1675, the rate assigned to Newport and Portsmouth amounted to £400., and the share of the latter was £120.

We must consider larger matters, for Rhode Island and

⁷ Records Portsmouth, p. 434.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

Providence Plantations was to feel now a stronger hand, and to come under immediate control of the Crown of England. The Provisional Government of New England under Dudley, of Massachusetts, and Randolph had not accomplished much in the way of executive effort. June 3, 1686, Sir Edmund Andros, formerly governor of New York, was appointed Governor of all these provinces, including ours. He was directed to demand surrender of our charter, but this was not effectively carried out.

Mr. Brigham properly points out,⁹ though he attempts to prove too much in consequence, that Rhode Island suffered more in the seventeenth century, from the fierce differences between her own parties than from attempted oppression on the part of the neighboring colonies. At the time of this new movement, six factions were sending memorials to London asking for something especial as a privilege. Naturally so many opposing variances neutralized themselves.

However, this new period was to open practical rule by the home government in the colonies. Theocracy might dread this, but representative government would not suffer so much. Theocratic advocates have always treated the movements of such times, as if they were the expression of the people. But in fact, the theocratic functionaries represented a small, though able, function of the state. Progressive government has been constantly expanding to embrace all, as well as the wiser or better portions of the people. In Rhode Island then, the governing force issued from the very basis of the towns. Turbulent and often irregular as it was, it came nearer to representation than anything the world had known previously. The action of these towns as well as their aberrations were civic and politic; they were not theocratic.

⁹ "Rhode Island," p. 141.

Notwithstanding disorderly factions and powerful oppressive neighbors, an incipient state was being formed around Narragansett Bay. The population was nearly equal to that of Plymouth, amounting in 1686 to about 4000.¹⁰ Of these, some 2500 were on the Island, 600 in Providence, and the remainder settled in the other towns.

Andros established himself in Boston in December, wrote a very friendly letter and demanded our charter of Governor Walter Clarke. The reply was urbane enough for a more polite community, though it did not answer directly to the autocratic deputy. The charter "was at their Governor's house in Newport, and that it should be forthcoming when sent for, but in regard to the tediousness and bad weather, it could not then be brought." The precious document was never obtained by the Royal Governor, though he took the colony seal and broke it. He attempted to collect taxes, excise on liquors and occasional quit-rents on lands; ¹¹ little money was received. When William invaded England in 1689, Massachusetts was quite ready for revolution and drove out Andros.

Rhode Island resumed her charter government, and adopted a new colony seal with the motto of "Hope." The charter was finally confirmed under the opinion of the English attorney-general in 1693, and the governor was appointed by the Crown. A small party, chiefly of landholders in Narragansett, led by Francis Brinley, who hated the towns and democratic government, opposed as far as possible. Brinley threatened to remove and withdraw from the control of the "Quaker mob government." As his land could not move with his ideas, he remained and bitterly opposed the government.

While these great political changes were occurring, the

¹⁰ "Rhode Island," p. 142.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

commerce of Newport was going ahead on an enlarging scale. In 1682 a naval office was opened there to register all "deck vessells." This was concurrent with an extension of commerce throughout New England. Salisbury on the Merrimac became a port of entry in 1684, and Ipswich in 1685. The Navigation Acts abhorred by many American historians injured the Dutch, but actually helped the commerce of New England; which traded largely in smuggled goods, carried in ships of its own building. Boston had much more wealth and established trade, but was not as enterprising. Maverick wrote in 1669, "shipg & stirringe merchts are the only want heare."¹² John Hull would not even receive wines on consignment nor ship lumber and fish to the Canaries, preferring the West Indian trade.

We may note some items from the interesting records of Portsmouth. The power and scope of domiciliary supervision was beyond any civic function conceived of in our day. We have given instances, as it was exerted over the household. With travelers and interlopers it was even more remarkable. The stranger, if not suspected, must be watched and attended carefully in any sojourn. An ordinance in 1671¹³ provided that "Islands prudence & patience shall not receive nor entertaine any Strainger without the consent and aprobaton of the Towne (Portsmouth"). William Cadman was to be notified of the order forbidding entertainment for more than one month, and to be forewarned in the case of William Maze to apply the restriction. On the other hand, hospitality must not be affronted. "Several countrymen" in a particular instance had arrived "exposed to some present hardships." Anybody was authorized to entertain these, orders to the

¹² 4 M. H. C., VII., p. 318.

¹³ Records Portsmouth, p. 158.

contrary notwithstanding. Anyone not especially licensed to sell strong drink to Indians was liable to a fine of 20s. Ordinary tavern licenses were 10s. per annum.

Regulation of the common lands was a fertile source of trouble, as it was elsewhere. The "Newport men" were particularly debarred from cutting and carrying wood away. In the troublous times of 1675, 100 acres of the common was set off for those driven from their homes by Indians. The land was "lent for two years," to be sowed or planted. The customary industrial privileges were allowed. Richard Knight, a weaver, was granted a residence for four months. Land was awarded one acre in extent to W. Ricketson and liberty given for dams and trenches for a "water mill for public use."

Prices for rates were fixed in 1680, land at 40s. per acre, horses and cattle over one year old 40s. ea. Swine over one year 6s. each, sheep £4. the score. In 1688 Indian corn was at 2s. per bushel, barley 2s. 6d., oats 12d. and wool 7½d. per lb.

Pay in kind for all sorts of public service often appears in these times, when actual money was a very scarce article. T. Jennings was awarded six pounds of wool to pay him for "warning of a town meeting." A register of marriages was kept. In all the towns, recorded cattle marks were important factors in regulating this species of property. Fancy and caprice were freely put forth, in getting some characteristic mark, which might assure possession. For example, let us look in upon Thomas Cook, Senior, as he wrought at the ears of his cows. He made a crop on the left ear and "a hapeny" under the lower side of the same ear and a slit on the right ear. This was entered March 9, 1667-8, having been in use about twenty-six years.

If Nature was bountiful, giving soil and sunshine for

the corn, she sent her own busy blackbirds to exercise their privilege and take toll away from the toiling farmers. The town compelled every householder to kill 12 blackbirds before May 10 or to forfeit two shillings. Those killing more were to receive a bounty of one penny each.

In 1699 Newport was to be brought to account by Lord Bellomont—one of the few active and sensible royal governors—for transactions with pirates. The Board of Trade two years before had cautioned Rhode Island that it was “a place where pirates are ordinarily too kindly entertained.” Probably these diplomatic words express an exactly just view of the situation. Plunder on the high seas then ran along with irregular commerce. Governors in America and in the West Indies were negligent, and sometimes were interested and implicated. The people wanted to buy the prize cargoes¹⁴—cheap in the sudden abundance—the sailors wanted the prize money. So an irregular traffic thrived; and whatever the moral principle involved, it enriched the colonial ports, especially at Newport and New York. No port was exempt. If caught on the wrong tack an enterprising rover might be condemned as a pirate. Or if lucky, he might live out his days in the character of a “rich privateer” like Thomas Cromwell of Boston.¹⁵

Bellomont inspected and reported,¹⁶ severely condemning the administration of Rhode Island, and the whole character as well as conduct of the people. The “assistants are generally Quakers, illiterate and of little or no capacity.” Bellomont, if able, was a courtly official, and sojourned with the small aristocratic element, chiefly repre-

¹⁴ Cf. Weeden, “E. and S. N. E.,” Vol. I, p. 342, for an example of a pirate's cargo.

¹⁵ 5 Mass. H. C., Vol. VI., p. 48.

¹⁶ Cf. Brigham, pp. 155-158, for these interesting proceedings.

sented by Brinley. The virtues of a democracy would appear to Lord Bellomont not much better than its defects and vices. Mr. Brigham holds that our government though censurable for irregularity and laxitude was never absolutely at fault. "Actual complicity between the colony as a government, and the pirates, as so often charged, was never shown by any letter or report submitted to the English authorities."¹⁷

The next distress our vexed colony suffered from a royal governor, befell at the instance of Joseph Dudley, of Massachusetts. This Puritan with the royal power at his back, naturally was not a friend of Rhode Island, nor an easy ruler. His report ran that "the government of Rhode Island is a scandal to her Majesty's Government." The Board of Trade did not consider the colony's direct denial of many of Dudley's charges, but sought from the attorney-general his assistance to obtain revocation of our charter. That official held that the matters proven did not warrant a forfeiture of the charter. The bureau officials of the Board of Trade were firmly convinced of "the advantages that may arise by reducing the chartered government" in the colonies. They strengthened their movement in 1706 by a bill for "regulation." By good fortune the measure was lost between the two Houses.

We bring out these details in that they are essential parts of our history. The charter was obtained through the fact that both the English Commonwealth and the sagacious Charles II. comprehended the large personality of Roger Williams and of John Clarke. When the irregular and inconstant government of the colony two generations later was misrepresented by virulent parties and tenacious officials in London, there was still welfare and prosperity enough realized in our little territory to con-

¹⁷ Cf. Brigham, p. 160.

vince the more sensible statesmen of England that the colonial government should be let alone. The pressure against the charter helped to enlarge the spirit of our colony and force her out of narrow provincialism. Though she as well as Connecticut was not exposed like Massachusetts and New York to French and Indian attack, she began to recognize a national responsibility. In 1707 and 1710 she acted efficiently, sending ships and soldiers for the expedition against Canada at heavy expense.

In 1712 Dudley reported about 2500 fighting men in the colony.

The English law of primogeniture was repealed in 1718.¹⁸ It was readjusted ten years later. The substantially equal distribution of estates has continued to the present day. The change of the eldest son's position most affected the ways of the Narragansett country. Probably the social changes there occurring late in the century were magnified and accelerated by the equal system of inheritance.

The first official census taken in 1708 showed a population of 7781. Newport had 2203, Providence 1446, Kingston 1200, and six other towns 200 to 600 each. The planters around Narragansett Bay were becoming more and more amphibious with every generation. Governor Cranston set forth the inclination of the youth of Rhode "Island have to the sea." Families increased, while the land did not, and the boys went into a larger world both physical and mental. As we have noted in Providence there was great activity in business of all kinds at the turn of the century. The General Assembly encouraged several kinds of manufacture, as hemp, duck, nails, cordage, etc. Production on shore fostered commerce at sea.

¹⁸ Arnold II., 61.

Commerce increased largely after the peace of Utrecht. Our vessels traded with both British and Dutch West Indies, Bermuda, the Bahamas and Surinam, with Madeira and the Azores and especially with our middle and southern colonies. They carried out rum, lumber, staves and hoops, horses and provisions; they brought back salt, rice, sugar, molasses, wines, cotton, English woollen and linen goods. Flour and often Indian corn came freely from our own colonies.

Here was not only trade and commerce, there was the development of a people. The vessels were small—sixty tons or less—and they required wary and skillful navigation in seas always liable to tempestuous weather. War and piracy brought especial risks. Bold and ready seamen with adventurous traders flourished in this hardy and stimulating life.

This lively commerce was carried on by paper money. "Banks" or bills of credit were continually being issued by the General Assembly, which in the most reckless way took little care for their redemption. Depreciation naturally followed and was almost constant. Yet the currency in some way went, and business went with it. Governor Richard Ward held the same opinion with the present writer, that an active community must have a working currency; if it be not good, then it will have a poor one. The governor said in 1740, "we never should have enjoyed this advantage had not the government emitted bills of credit to supply the merchants with a medium of exchange. In short, if this colony be in any respect happy and flourishing, it is paper money and a right application of it that hath rendered us so."¹⁹ The historical question is not, how it might have been better, with better legislation, but to narrate what was done.

¹⁹ "Rider Hist. Tract," Vol. VIII., p. 158.

The most important—indeed the controlling—factor in Newport commerce ^f fully half a century was the African slave trade.²⁰ The mother country led the way in this unsavory traffic and the colonies followed. Newport was the leading port for New England, though most ports were somewhat interested. In 1708 the British Board of Trade addressed a circular to all the colonies relative to trade in negro slaves. To stop such iniquity says the twentieth century inquirer—far from it! “It being absolutely necessary that a trade so beneficial to the kingdom should be carried on to the greatest advantage.” Governor Cranston replied that from 1698 to December 25, 1707, no negroes were imported into Rhode Island from Africa. This must have been a technical statement. The privileges of the Royal African Company underlaid these investigations. In 1696 the report said the brigantine *Seaflower*, Windsor, master, brought from Africa 47 negroes, sold 14 in our colony at £30. to £35. each; the rest he carried by land “to Boston, where his owners lived.” In 1700 one ship and two sloops sailed directly from Newport to the African Coast; Edwin Carter commanded the ship and partly owned in the three vessels. With him sailed one Bruster and John Bates, merchants of Barbados, and “separate traders from thence to the coast of Africa.” All these vessels carried cargoes to Barbados and sold them there. It is evident that our commerce was ramifying and that the capital of West Indies availed of the advantages of Newport. Governor Cranston carefully limited his statement. In February, 1707-8, the colony laid an impost of £3. on each negro imported. In April the tax was allowed in drawback if the negro was exported. The act was tin-

²⁰ Cf. Weeden, “E. and S. N. E.,” Vol. II., pp. 449-472, for a full account.

kered in 1712, and again in 1715. The impost was of such consequence in 1729 that it was appropriated one-half toward paving the streets of Newport, one-half toward "the great bridges on the main." The tax was repealed in 1732.

Judge Sewall in Massachusetts was about the first to speak out concerning the ethical bearing of slavery. The Quakers instituted the first practical opposition, which became quite effective a half-century later. Moses Brown²¹ cites from the Yearly Meeting Record in 1717, "the subject of Slaves considered, and advise given that Letters be Written to the Islands & Elsewhere not to send any more slaves here to be sold by any Friend."

The African trade from Newport and Boston was conducted in small craft, usually of 40 to 50 tons burden, never over 60. Small vessels were considered most profitable, and were handled generally by a captain and mate with a crew of two or three men and a boy. When the voyage was by way of the Islands, a cooper was included, who made bungs, heads, etc., on the outward voyage, to be set up with staves from Taunton or elsewhere, and bound by Narragansett hoops, into barrels and hogsheads, when he came into port. White-oak staves went into rum casks and red-oak into sugar hogsheads.

The West Indies afforded the great demand for negroes; the climate rather than the morals of New England kept away the blacks. The Islands also furnished the raw material for the main merchandise, which the thirsty Gold Coast drank, when bartered for its poor banished children. Governor Hopkins stated that for more than thirty years prior to 1764, our colony sent to the Coast annually 18 vessels carrying 1800 hhds. of rum. It displaced French brandies on the Coast after 1723. The

²¹ MSS. R. I. Hist. Soc.

commerce in rum and slaves afforded about £40,000 per annum for remittance from Rhode Island to Great Britain. Molasses and poor sugar distilled in Boston and Providence, and more in Newport made the staple export.

The most important change in the manufactures of the early eighteenth century was in the introduction of distilleries for rum; Massachusetts and Connecticut participated, but Rhode Island surpassed them in proportion. Newport was growing rapidly in wealth and commerce and had twenty-two still-houses. Massachusetts held the fisheries by preoccupation and advantage of natural situation. Newport found outlet for its increasing energy in import of molasses, in manufacture of spirit, and the daring voyage for slaves. The consumption of beer or ale—the favorite drink of the seventeenth century—apparently diminished. Lumbermen and fisher-folk demanded a strong stimulant to ameliorate their heavy diet of pork and Indian corn. The trade in negroes from Africa absorbed immense quantities of spirit. Rum from the West Indies had always been a large factor, impelling trade. Distilling in New England brought far-reaching consequences, social as well as economic. It was found that molasses and sugar could be transferred here and converted into alcoholic spirit more cheaply than it could be done in the lazy atmosphere of the tropics.

The African demand was very importunate. Captain Isaac Freeman with a coasting sloop in 1752 wanted a cargo of rum and molasses within five weeks from Newport. His correspondent wrote that the quantity could not be had in three months. “There are so many vessels lading for Guinea, we cant get one hogshhead of rum for the cash. We have been lately to New London and all along the seaport towns, in order to purchase the molasses but cant get one hogshhead.” Let us remember

how rare cash was in the operations of those days. In 1740 Captain George Scott tried some dry goods with most pathetic experience; they left him dry, and were hardly touched by the dry savage. He lost one-third of his 129 slaves, while waiting to trade off his goods. He sailed, carrying off a third of his stale cargo of goods, believing that if he had stayed to dispose of them, he would have lost all his slaves. "I have repented a hundred times ye bying of them dry goods. Had I laid out two thousand pound in rum, bread and flour, it would purchase more in value than all our dry goods." Certainly the thirsty Guinea man had keen and sympathetic interpreters of his appetites.

Bristol followed Newport closely in the latter half of the century. Captain Simeon Potter, the famous privateersman in the Spanish and French wars, appears as early as 1764 investing his profits drawn from the Spanish Main in outfits for the Guinea coast. Forceful as he was on the Main, he was even more crafty in circumventing the poor Africans. His instructions are most naïve. "Make y^r Cheaf Trade with the Blacks and Little or none with the white people if possible to be avoided. Worter y^r Rum as much as possible and sell as much by the short measuer as you can." Again, "Order them in the Bots to worter thear Rum, as the proof will rise by the Rum Standing in y^e Son." ²²

These were the doings of the rough privateersman; but what shall we say of the pious and most respectable "elder" of Newport, who sent slavers with uniform success from Newport? On the Sunday after arrival, he always returned thanks "that an overruling Providence had been pleased to bring to this land of freedom another cargo of benighted heathen to enjoy the blessing of a

²² Weeden, Vol. II., p. 465.

Gospel dispensation." And Peter Faneuil, builder of the "Cradle of liberty" in Boston, had actual ventures on the Gold Coast, planned and sent direct by him.²³ Everything is not better than it was in the olden time, but we have improved some things.

Governor Samuel Cranston died in 1727 after an administration of thirty successive years, under his wise and efficient headship. That the turbulent colony of the seventeenth century should move steadily in any one direction so long, is remarkable from any point of view. It is significant that the satisfactory ruler of a people holding so many beliefs was an "impartial and good man not assembling with any sect." Even Cotton Mather, who in the *Magnalia* expressed his horror concerning the "coluvies" in Rhode Island, admitted in 1718, a condition of efficient Christianity. Not only had toleration in worship established itself, but it was proving that an organized state, with its varied interests, could thrive politically and economically, under liberty of conscience for each individual citizen.

In 1729 the colony was divided into three counties, with corresponding courts. Newport County comprised the Islands with New Shoreham; Providence included the town, Warwick and East Greenwich; King's North and South Kingston with Westerly, the shire centering at South Kingstown. In 1730 a census ordered by the Board of Trade showed a population largely increased to 17,935, which included 1648 negroes and 985 Indians. Newport had 4640, closely followed by Providence with 3916; North Kingstown 2105; Westerly 1926; South Kingstown 1523; East Greenwich 1223; Warwick 1178; Portsmouth 813; Jamestown 312; New Shoreham 290. The growth in Narragansett was remarkable. The

²³ Weeden, Vol. II., p. 468.

Indians were nearly all settled there, in the district now known as the town of Charlestown. Of the 1648 colored slaves Newport had 649 and the two Kingstowns 498. The colony owned about 5000 tons of shipping and employed 400 sailors.

CHAPTER VII

THE COMMERCIAL GROWTH OF PROVIDENCE.

1711-1762

HISTORY is imbedded in chronology; though dates are more significant of superficial events than of the deeper causes which produced those events. Even the death of a king or a change of dynasty is but a way-mark indicating the origin of changes in government. The course of events proceeds from subtle causes, making changes on the surface of affairs which we can only follow through dates.

It is convenient to fix the passing of the plantation from agriculture to commerce at the coming of the ship-builder, Nathaniel Browne, in 1711, though the trade which should employ his prospective vessels had been long growing. Pardon Tillinghast was granted land January 27, 1679-80,¹ opposite his dwelling place, twenty feet above high-water mark for a store and wharf. This was below the present Power Street and across the Towne Streete, being the virtual shore of the Great Salt River. The "town wharf" was subsequently established a little farther north. It is hard to believe that a ton of tobacco could be exported so early as 1652. But the record² in two places states that Wm. Almy shipped this quantity to Newfoundland. Placing the wharf was a momentous step, for it was to wake up the torpid, inert planters and send their produce down the Salt current into Neptune's domain. The voyagers halted at the West Indies, often went on to Gibraltar and ultimately rounded the

¹ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. VIII., p. 62.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XV., p. 591; again at p. 55.

great southern capes, seeking the wealth of Ormus and of Ind.

The bold, farseeing cooper, Tillinghast, was only making a way-mark, as has been described. For New England commerce³ showed many signs of increasing activity, profiting largely—and not losing, as is often stated—by the Navigation Acts of Charles II., which checked the Dutch. In Newport a naval office was opened in 1682. Salisbury on the Merrimac became a port of entry in 1684. Ipswich escaped the leading-strings of Salem and got its port in 1685. All around our Bay at Bristol and Wickford as well as at Newport, transport was seeking convenient carriage by water, and venturing out into the larger sea.

The coming of Gideon Crawford, a trained Scotch merchant, in 1687, gave stability and due direction to the rising trade. The movement toward commerce was so zealous that Thomas Olney tried to check the granting of land for wharf lots about the end of the century. However, the internal life of the plantation had not been much affected by the outward commerce. For the water-power on the Moshassuck, granted in 1655, had not been all employed in 1705. Then a lot for a saw-mill was assigned to Richard Arnold.⁴

The population of the colony trebled itself in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. But the whole economy of life in the plantation was stimulated and developed by the ship-building instituted in 1711. A new industry applying native material and employing a variety of workmen increased the wealth and stimulated the intelligence of a community in equal proportions. It was said that the "intolerance of Massachusetts" drove Nathaniel

³ Weeden, "E. and S. New England," Vol. I., p. 264.

⁴ Dorr, "Planting and Growth," p. 50.

Browne⁵ from Rehoboth. January 28, 1711, the town granted him one-half an acre on "Waybosset Neck on salt water," so long as he shall use it for building vessels. He was an Anglican and the ground was afterward made the site of King's, now St. John's Church. He had sufficient means as well as skill, and built sloops and schooners up to sixty tons in size. These vessels carried horses as well as other farm-produce, with timber, staves and hoop poles to the West Indies. The common lands were now to afford exports as well as pasturage. It will be observed that the early planters lack the enterprising element bred in the fisheries of Massachusetts.

Great interest attaches to pioneers in all new movements in civilization. When Gideon Crawford settled in the little farming hamlet of 1687 he married ffreelove Fenner, a daughter of Arthur Fenner, the strongest friend of Roger Williams and the granddaughter of Wm. Harris, his strongest opponent. Such stock gave heredity and fitly endowed the mother of a race of enterprising merchants. Crawford died in 1709, having impressed his methods on the community for about a score of years. To such a wife a good merchant could be literally a good husband. Accordingly, he left his whole property to her for life—after her death to be divided in halves between the sons William and John. She survived her husband five years, carrying forward the business in all its details; and the results justified his prudent confidence. The mother was to elect which son should live with her. If William be chosen, at twenty-one years he was to pay John £100. His daughters Anne and Mary were to receive each £50. whenever married. The whole "moveable" estate (household goods) was given to his wife.

⁵ Dorr, "Planting and Growth," p. 58.

The personal estate, November 5, 1707,⁶ was £1556.12., not including book debts, of which £775.10. was in "bills and bonds," £16.9.10. in silver, in shop goods £355.9. Two negroes were valued at £56. Sheep were £13.10.; 2 horses £18.; hogs £3.4. In furniture, the feather bed always was the first choice of rich or poor and 5 good examples with equipment stood at £60.15. Tablecloths and napkins £2. Chairs £4. Pewter and brass £10.17. Books could only muster £2.12., showing that the new merchants and the granddaughter did not read as much as William Harris did, two generations earlier. Plate was valued at £15.11., not equal to the £17. belonging to the wealthy farmer, Stephen Arnold, in 1699.

But the wearing apparel showed the greatest change, as it proceeded in the habit of living. For the time in 1699, £12. was a large outfit for a rich farmer like Stephen Arnold. Eight years later the record shows £20.17. for the merchant as he walked "on change," and his ways were far from extravagant. In swords, pistols and small arms, he had £10.18.

June 17, 1712,⁷ ffreelove Crawford, the widow's inventory is set forth. We cannot compare the two estates precisely, but from other sources learn that her management had been very energetic and successful; increasing the property. The personal estate was £947.1., of which £188.4.6. was in shop goods, £642.12. in "bills, bonds and mortgage deeds," £26.15.6. in paper and silver, £12.17.6. in gold. Clearly, the mercantile business was conducted largely on credit, as considerable evidences of debt appear in nearly all estates of any size.

There is a moderate increase in the plate, £21.5.6. over

⁶ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. VII., p. 271.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII., 117.

the amount left by her husband. It consisted of a silver "Tankard," salt seller, 2 porringers and 7 spoons. £34. in three feather beds and outfit; two having been given to John and Mary, the daughter; 5 pewter and 1 basin, 1 "alequart" £2.5.; 5 platters, 5 basons, 10 porringers, 11 plates, 1 alepint, 2 plate rings, 1 alequart and small pewter, altogether £3.19. Evidently the merchants, as well as the farmers, ate from pewter. The utensils at £11.13. were chiefly in brass and copper, with a few in iron. In wooden ware and 6 spoons £6.8.2. For her business and her pleasure, the feminine merchant had five of the "horse kind" at £24.16. Other animals have disappeared.

She gave to her son, Wm. Crawford, her part in the sloop *Dolphin*. To Wm. and John Crawford $\frac{1}{8}$ part of the sloop "now building" by Nathaniel Browne to be finished and rigged by the estate. To Wm. and John £137. each in merchantable shop goods or current money of New England. To her daughter, Ann Carr, £100. in money or goods, and the same to Mary. In wearing apparel the wealthy widow left £47.7. If her widow's weeds were duly maintained it was done in the spirit of the Quakers, with enforced humility. Like the modest Friends, her costume, if not brilliant, was rich and royal.

At the same date Nathaniel, one of the solid family of Watermans, left £1019.3.7.⁸ in personal estate and a moderate outfit. His wearing apparel was £12., befitting a proprietor who lived quietly.

A steady-going farmer, Obadiah Browne, rich in lands with £377.0.1. in personal estate September 12, 1716,⁹ had felt the social changes sufficiently to expend £17.5. in dress. Adding a pair of shoe buckles 11s. and eleven

⁸ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. VII., p. 102.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., p. 187; again Vol. XVI., p. 6. ⁸

“black doggs”¹⁰ 6s. we have about as good a wardrobe as the first merchant Crawford allowed himself. For his wife’s apparel, including 2 table cloths, napkins and a child’s “stifen coate,” only £15. was estimated. Observe the contrast with the widow Crawford and the social position of the two dames must have been about the same in the plantation. Two years earlier Benjamin Greene, Jr., a bachelor apparently and something of a “swell,” arrayed himself at a cost of £18., though his personal estate was only £88.17.4. He improved his mind by reading two bibles, a testament and Hodder’s arithmetic, costing 15s.

Browne’s library contained only 1 bible and other books at 11s. 6d. He had a good stock in cattle, £98.5., the cows appraised at £3.10. each, 2 mares £19., 30 loads English hay £30., 16 loads meadow hay £10., 2 linen wheels and 1 old woollen 8s., 1 pair worsted combs 2s. Hemp on stalk 18s., 6 lbs. dressed hemp 5s., 17 lbs. dressed flax 14s. 2d. Flax in Sheaf £1. “Hatchel sum tow geame and feld hemp 9s. 6d.” There was a moderate supply of pewter £3.17.10., including the durable chamberpot at 4s. Brass kettles £4. A table with the inevitable “Joynt Stool” 12s. and 7 chairs at 10s. But now appears a Looking Glass and hour glass at 4s. Quite often scales for weighing money are found in the inventories; in this case they were appraised at 6s.

Another vocation is represented by Captain John Dexter, Mariner, August 3, 1716,¹¹ in a personal estate of £297.11., with 1599 gallons molasses at 1s. 8d., £133.5., sugar £17.1. and a negro woman and boy appraised at

¹⁰ These canine names appearing now and then trouble a social investigator until he perceives that they describe an article of dress.

¹¹ “Early Rec. Prov.,” Vol. VI, p. 180.

£60. His wearing apparel was £10.12. and probably he went where other fashions prevailed, for two wigs, a rare article, appear at £1. A pair of shoe buckles 11s. 8. and two gold rings at £1.0.3. completed the sailor's adornment. His ten books were estimated at £1.12. and the "English Pilatt" at £1.8.

Occasionally a woman's + is found in the records of this period. The culture of English descended ladies in the West Indies hardly exceeded that of Rhode Island. In 1719,¹² Agnee King, wife of Thomas, a planter in Barbados, conveys the estate of Joshua Verin in Providence, signing with a +.

As Pardon Tillinghast closes the régime of the seventeenth century, we may note his inventory, February 15, 1717-18,¹³ for our interest in one so much identified with the plantation, rather than for its particular details. The personal estate was £542.4.3. and his sober apparel only £10.19. Beds and bedding £32.7. Table cloths, napkins and towels £2.10. A bell metal mortar 8s. Glass bottles and a glass cup 5s. Bottles are valued in nearly all the households, but seldom a cup of that material, which was to become so useful. "Hatt Paper" and Pillion 12s. In books and 1 silver spoon £1. The cooper-preacher took his "learning" direct from the Scriptures and rendered it into wisdom, through discreet intercourse with busy men. Silver plate was coming in slowly. The well-to-do Thomas Fenner had only £1.5.

Negroes appear in many estates, in moderate as well as large fortunes. The women are valued from £10. to £40.; doubtless their use in house service increased the prices. Men are valued generally at £40., in one instance £47.

¹² "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. IX., 29.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI., p. 26.

The lowest wardrobe recorded was 8s. in an estate of £11.9.7. Samuel Wright, a spinner certainly, a wood-chopper probably, spent in clothing £4.10. out of his £13.12.6.

Flax appears in many of the farmers' stores, and table linen was spun and woven at home, or in the "shops," we have noted it found a loom. Mary Borden had wearing apparel at £18.10.6. Beds, etc., £41.7. £5.10. in 7 small table cloths, 14 napkins and 11 towels. Mary Inman spent £21.2. for her wardrobe out of a property of £128.8.1. Books and Looking glass 14s.

The Crawford sons did not long survive father and mother. Captain John died in 1718-19, leaving in personal estate £1614.2.11., in lands £1665.¹⁴ In wearing apparel £41.2.9. he far surpassed his father's outfit; 2 canes, sword, belt and a pair of pistols added £6.3.6. to the captain's attire. The books were few. More substantial furniture was coming in. Chest, Drawers and 19 Chairs £9.14. Again, Chest, Drawers and Looking Glass £8.10. "One ovell table and Iron bach, 2 Jappame tables £14." "Campine" Bedstead and furniture £12. Table linen £3.5. Desk, Pewter, Glass bottles, spoons and pepper box £22. Pewter, "suger," knives and forks, "salt seller" £9.15. Earthen and glass ware £1.13. Iron ware £9.15. Kitchen ware, earthen and wooden £1.10. Bottles, wine glasses and brandy £4.2. This is the first mention of a wine-glass. Previously drinking vessels of glass were called "cups." The inevitable "joynt stoole" was not absent. Silver spoons, porringers, cups, pepper boxes and grater £30.10. The porringer, a very convenient dish, was appearing now in silver. It was used constantly for a century, and many Rhode Island families have these heirlooms.

¹⁴ "Early Rec.," Vol. XVI., pp. 507, 517.

In tobacco the merchant had £24., a pocket book silver clasp and pencil 10s. One new sloop on the stocks, nearly finished, was valued at £82., 2 boats "as are" £10. Sloop *Indian* and appurtenances "as is" £210.

August 31, 1720,¹⁵ we find the inventory of Major William Crawford. The estate £3551.19.6. was all personal and larger than his younger brother's. As the Captain doubled the wardrobe of his plain Scottish father, so the Major surpassed the Captain more than twofold. The militia-officer walked brave, having apparel to the value of £83.15. In plate he was moderate, with 22 oz. in spoons and porringers, 29 oz. 7 dwt. 12 g. in a tankard; the whole at 12s. per oz., £17.12.6. There was 1 oz. 3 dwt. 18 g. in gold—probably plate—at £8. or £9.10. Two plates and 7 porringers were probably in pewter, with 12 "picturs" valued at £1.6. Again 12 "picturs" £2.9. 2 great glasses £10. One great glass £10. A limited supply of books valued with other articles at £13. Perhaps they were merchandise, for they come between dry goods and 3 hhds. tobacco at £7.10. For the first time a valuable "clock and case" appears, appraised with 20 chairs at £27. 5 Chairs separately 18s. 3 negroes, a woman, man and boy, at £120.; an Indian girl's time £6. Sloop *Sarah*, boat and appurtenances £400. "All the lumber of all sorts and masts" £136.8.

The household goods of the planters were almost always bequeathed to the widow for life, and to the daughters, after their mother. The daughters received land but seldom, and masculine heirs had a preference generally. We may note some prevailing prices. One-quarter part of the sloop *Dolphin's* "cargo and her disbursements" was valued at £60.17.10. A loom and tackling at £2.15. A spinning wheel and 4 pair of cards 14s. A warming

¹⁵ "Early Rec.," Vol. XVI., p. 148.

pan 16s., a luxury fast becoming necessary. Tin ware appears occasionally. In an estate of £495.4.5. personal, we find an outlay of £21. for silver plate. Stephen Arnold, a wealthy landholder with £608.1. personal property, more consistently invested £4.11. in plate—one silver cup—and £20. in books. Thomas Olney was conspicuous in the number of his volumes, though we do not know the quality; there were 55 bound and 23 small and not bound at £14. Solid Resolved Waterman, in this generation an "Ensign," had "a considerable estate," the personal being £445.16.1. His library consisted of a Great bible, little bible and several small books at £5.15.6. with a bible and testament "by first wife" at 12s.

We should study the inventory of Captain John Jenckes, June 30, 1721,¹⁶ for it throws light on many customs of the period. Not all the men of affairs could be landholders or merchants, and the Captain managed a small shop. All the physicians were apothecaries then, and made up their own prescriptions. Jenckes kept drugs and the miscellaneous articles pertaining to that trade. Roger Williams prescribed minor remedies for his friends and was obliged to send his own daughter to Boston for medical treatment. There must have been practitioners of some ability in the plantation. Frequently in wills of the seventeenth century, provision was made for an aged person; if needing a "phisitian," then the expenses were to be borne by the estate. The first physician of record found by Mr. Dorr,¹⁷ was in 1720, when the town voted to Dr. John Jones £1.10. for the cure of Richard Collins. Prudently, the municipality was to pay the money when "he is well." Soon after this Dr. Jabez Bowen moved from Rehoboth, where better comfort had prevailed in the

¹⁶ "Early Rec." Vol. XV., p. 180.

¹⁷ "Planting and Growth," p. 121.

agricultural period. His removal to Providence marks social improvement. He was a skilled physician and an example of those able professional men devoted to public affairs, and who served the colonial communities in all capacities.

Captain Jenckes' estate in personal was £544.3.10. and there was no farming outfit such as generally belonged to villagers a generation earlier. His apparel at £11.16. was reinforced by a broadcloth suit at £8. and a pair of silver buckles at 12s. A suit of "Duroy, a hat and a grate Coate" at £12. may have been his own clothing or merchandise. A clock at £5. interests us. Phisick books 18s. Bible £1.1. 4 books £1.2. One pair candlesticks 15s., two pair do. 13s. One pair brass snuffers at 5s., the first recorded. One copper coffee pot £1. One tea pot 9s. A knife and fork at 15s. Table knives were used here in the seventeenth century, but forks were not to be had in Boston until after 1700.¹⁸

Such were the personal belongings, while in merchandise there was £60. in "apoticary drigs," £5 in "Cheriorgiry instruments," £1.15. in books, £2. in 14 "Roles salve gallepots and drigs." In fanciful articles 15s. in 2 doz. necklasses, 12s. in six do. and 15s. in silver lace. Chief of all the goods for sale was the first recorded toothbrush, there being one dozen with 600 needles, valued at £1.10. The Captain and his friends could have hardly foreseen the civilizing mission¹⁹ of these bits of bone for the coming two centuries. If dress makes a habit and nine tailors make a man, the incoming of this little utensil is important. The personal mark of an individual is pretty well defined by this symbol of cleanliness.

¹⁸ Weeden, "E. and S. N. E.," Vol. I., p. 415.

¹⁹ Booker Washington says the first practical step in lifting the negro, is to teach him the use of a tooth-brush.

Perhaps the clearest evidence of change and enlargement in the community of our plantation is in the new religious movements instituted about this time. The Baptists had tended toward narrowing their basis of fellowship. According to Governor Jenckes, there had been fellowship in the original church with those believing in "the laying on of hands." These separated under Thomas Olney (probably the Junior). After his death there was probably²⁰ only one church under Elder Pardon Tillinghast. He built the first meeting house on the north side of Smith Street at his own expense about the year 1700. In 1711 he conveyed the house and lot to the church or society. He described the church as "Six Principle Baptists."

Our century vainly tries to comprehend the dismay and detestation possessing all established order in New England, when outcast Rhode Island was considered. Cotton Mather was not a fool or mere vilifier. A grave and learned scholar, he was only setting forth the ideas of his time. In 1695 he found²¹ a "colluvies of Antinomians, Familists, Anabaptists, Anti-Sabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters, everything in the world but Roman Catholics and real Christians."²² Somewhat later in 1718, he had come to recognize that Calvinists with Episcopalians, Pedobaptists, with Anabaptists, "beholding one another to fear God and work righteousness,"

²⁰ Staples, pp. 411, 414.

²¹ "Magnalia," Book VII., p. 20.

²² The worthy expounder is neatly satirical in excepting Catholics, whom he hated as much as any of the outcast dissenters. A clause in the *Digest* of 1719—mooted earlier—did debar Catholics from political rights. Doubtless it was prompted by severe legislation in England ("Rider Hist. Tract," 2d Series I.). The colonists were trying to save their charters. No one suffered by the R. I. Act and it was afterward repealed; but it is a technical blot on the colonial record.

could delight to sit at "the same table of the Lord." Even in 1738 the genial Baptist Callender referred to the "terrible fears" of the previous century, which were at last dismissed, that "barbarity would break in" where church and state were positively separated.

The rigorous ice was broken in 1721 when Thacher, Danforth and Belcher, a distinguished committee of the "Presbyterian Ministry" in Massachusetts, addressed a civil and respectful note to "fifteen leading citizens" and others, "proposing a new meeting for their own faith." Their clergy as well as those of Connecticut had preached there and prompted by "the freedom and safety they have enjoyed under the wise and good government of the place . . . we hope and pray that ancient matters, that had acrimony in them, may be buried in oblivion; and that grace, and peace, and holiness, and glory, may dwell in every part of New England."²³ All happily conceived and expressed. The wide-eyed, perspicacious eighteenth century had penetrated Massachusetts.

Whatever the Baptists and Quakers of Rhode Island learned of Puritan Massachusetts—and they learned much—it did not include tolerance or Christian peace and holiness. Whether the men responsible for government in Providence thought a theocratic *quid pro quo* should reward inter-colonial courtesy in theology, or whether mere pride of controversy prevailed, we do not know. After waiting four months, February 23, 1722, Rev. Jonathan Sprague,²⁴ for the inhabitants, answered at great

²³ Staples, "Annals," p. 433.

²⁴ Came to Providence in 1675 (Goodwin's, Updike, Vol. I., p. 356). In 1687 he was fined for refusing the oath as a juryman. He was a fair example of the men qualified all around for public duty. He served as a deputy, a justice of the peace, a speaker of the House of Deputies, and as Clerk of the Assembly. He also preached as an exhorter, but was not ordained.

length,²⁵ with arguments direct if not gracious. "We take notice, how you praise the love and peace that dissenters of all ranks entertain one another with, in this government. . . . We answer this happiness principally consists in our not allowing societies to have any superiority one over another, but each society supports their own ministry of their own free will, and not by constraint or force upon any man's person or estate. . . . At this very present you are rending towns in pieces, ruining the people with innumerable charges, which make them decline your ministry, and fly for refuge, some to the Church of England, and others to dissenters of all denominations, and you, like wolves, pursue. . . . Since you admire the love and peace we do enjoy, we pray you to use the same methods and write after our copy. . . . And so hoping, as you tender the everlasting welfare of your souls and the good of your people, you will embrace our advice. We your friends of the town of Providence bid you farewell."

We cite freely, not merely for the points of delicious sarcasm, but from a deeper motive. There was something more than mere ecclesiastical sharp-shooting here. The American idea, rooted in soul-liberty, was beginning to sprout and overspread the harsh theocracy of Massachusetts. Jonathan Mayhew, born in 1720, in the mid-century from the West Church pulpit in Boston, supported Otis and put forth the new ideas of freedom—strange in a community based on authority and organized by the close embrace of church and state. Whether he learned from Spreague and those like him, we know not; but he might have learned. And the marvel is that these homely Protestants—spawned by Roger Williams—could and did work out such great ideas, with so little of the world's

²⁵ Staples, "Annals," pp. 434-438.

learning to aid them. As Wm. Harris, a half-century earlier, became a statesman, through the vigorous education of affairs; so Spreague put soul-liberty into the common formulas of freedom, by life and contact with individuals freed from outworn trammels, who were conserving the true principles of order.

Diplomatic controversy with Massachusetts produced little direct effect. An abortive attempt was made in 1721 when a meeting house was begun. This movement was abandoned from local differences. In 1723,²⁶ the First Congregational Society erected a house for worship at the corner of College and Benefit Streets; occupying it until 1794, when it was sold to become the "Old Town House."

As the Quakers formed a constituent element in the seventeenth century and much influenced the whole community of Rhode Island, so in the early eighteenth century, the Congregationalists and the Episcopalians became an important factor in developing the outcast colony, now coming to its true place in civilization.

There had been missionary meetings for the Episcopalians at Providence conducted by Mr. Honeyman, of Newport, and Dr. MacSparran, of Narragansett. The former said there was no house and he was obliged to "preach in the open fields." Dr. Humphries, an Episcopal historian, gave a most pessimistic account of the social condition of the plantation.²⁷ "The people were negligent of all religion, till about the year 1722; the very best were such as called themselves Baptists or Quakers, but it was feared many were Gertoneans or Deists." The people raised £250., obtained £200. more in Newport, £100. in Boston, borrowed £200. more, and

²⁶ Staples, p. 438.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 443.

in 1722 built King's, now St. John's, Church. It was placed on the lot given by Nathaniel Browne, an active co-operator, who had had his shipyard there.

The most efficient helper was Gabriel Bernon, a character who deserves more than passing notice. The Huguenots contributed forcibly to the race amalgam which was forming the larger citizen of Rhode Island. Bernon was a Protestant merchant of an "ancient and honourable family of Rochelle," who emigrated to escape the Edict of Nantes. He was in Narragansett, sojourned at New Oxford, Mass., and at Newport, settling in Providence in 1721. Active in founding the churches at Newport and in Narragansett, he was probably as good a churchman as Dr. Humphries and a far better philosopher. Writing Mr. Honeyman and canvassing for the new movement in Providence, he said: "We have in our town, learned men. Let them be Popish Churchmen, Presbytery, Protestant Quakers or Gartonian—and if there be some Profanes that call them to hold no religion at all—we have a great many worthy gentlemen that make their application to read the Holy Scriptures and are very well able to give an account of their faith."²⁸

We may continue Mr. Bernon's account of the "learned men," as "Mr. Jenckes, our Lieutenant-Governor, by his answer to Wm. Wilkinson, the greatest preacher among the Quakers, and Mr. Samuel Wilkinson, the old man, (a Quaker had edgetools, worth 21s. taken in 1707 to pay a fine of 12s. for not training) deserves dignity for his erudition in divine and civil law, historical narrative, natural and politic; and you may see by the letters of Mess. Jonathan Sprague, Richard Waterman, Harris and several gentlemen, by their answers to Mess. Danforth,

²⁸ Goodwin's, Updike, Vol. I., pp. 53, 54.

Thatcher and Belcher of the Presbyterian Ministry. We have also Mr. Winsor, Mr. James Brown, Mr. Hakin, of the Anabaptist Church, and great preachers; and their auditors, Mr. Outram mathematician, Mess. Filliness, Power, good Harris, merchant—all sober men, that can learn and teach things by true demonstration.”—*Updike, Goodwin, I., 54.*

There are churchmen and churchmen. Compare this account of Bernon's with the ecclesiastical Humphries' idea that the people were “negligent of all religion until about the year 1722.” Bernon was bred in wise old Europe, whence he fled to preserve his faith. He had sacrificed in every way to promote the church holding his own tenets, yet he found in these dwellers at Providence “sober men that can learn and teach things by true demonstration.” Nothing could more clearly prove the growth of citizens of the world out of the narrow opportunities of Providence Plantation, than this disinterested testimony of a Frenchman and an Episcopalian. Gideon Crawford, the Scotch merchant, worked on the cooper-preacher Tillinghast's wharf to open the little settlement on the Great Salt River to the world of commerce. The merchants traded in produce, while making men. In a score or two of years, the accomplished Huguenot could recognize “sober and learned men” in the representatives of this same narrow district.

In the second decade, commerce was well established on the wharves of the Great Salt River. To the West Indies the exports were salted beef and pork, peas, butter, boards, staves and hoop poles, while horses were in frequent demand. Cider was made in large quantities for domestic use, as well as peach brandy, for in any good orchard “apple and peach trees fruited deep.”

Tobacco was generally grown by the farmers in the

seventeenth century, and we have noted a somewhat mythical large shipment in 1652. But it was a very thrifty illicit trade, which avoided the heavy English revenue taxes. Nine New England vessels were selling tobacco at New Amsterdam in one week in 1669.³⁰ Sometimes only a four-shillings' worth appeared, but the most of the farmers raised it, generally in quantities of 100 to 400 lbs. E. Carpenter inventoried 313 lbs. in a small shop in 1697-8.³¹ The Olneys were said to have 400 lbs. in barn at the same time. John Crawford, the merchant, had in stock £24. worth, about a ton.

Sloops were employed in the foreign trade and sixty tons burden was the largest size. Ketches and snows were used in other parts of New England, but we find no trace of them in the upper Bay.

There seems to have been a new impulse in the foreign trade in 1717 and 1718, for a new demand sprung up for warehouse lots and wharves. Probably this was one of the first results following the issues of paper money. A momentous step was taken in both political and economic affairs when the first paper was issued by the colony in 1710. Paper currency, properly controlled, is a great blessing to civilization. But unlimited public credit carries evils far surpassing any possible good to be derived from it. It overstimulates industries and demoralizes the citizen. This departure was occasioned by the great effort made by the little colony to join in the expedition of 1710 against Port Royal.³² It raised 200 men and the proportion of Providence was 40 with 8 Indians. There was no actual money to be had, and the paper substituted was issued in this and the following year for

³⁰ Weeden, "E. and S. N. E.," Vol. II., p. 262.

³¹ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. VII., p. 195.

³² Staples, p. 188.

£13,000 to £14,000 in "bills of public credit." In 1715 the issue began again and continued until the state's credit was overwhelmed in 1786.

Trade and commerce brought necessity for increase in outward communication with the town. No seine was to be set or drawn on the great river above Weybosset Bridge after 1716. A vote of 30s. for repairs to Weybosset Bridge, October 28, 1717, was a petty expedient until "some more Legal method be taken for repairing." The colony had appropriated out of its treasury for this and other bridges in 1711.

The main travel in or across the colony came over the upper ferry at Red Bridge in Seekonk, and passed over the bridge at Weybosset. Captain Scott was allowed as late as 1716 to fence with gates across the "Country Roade (main highway) over Pawtucket River," for four years, provided "Pawtucket Bridge is passable so long."³³ Fences with gates were allowed on Hernden's Lane and thence to Pawtucket, January 20, 1720-1.

In providing new highways and caring for the poor, the town had run in debt. The tax had rarely exceeded £60., but £150.16.3. was assessed March 20, 1718,³⁴ and the apportionment by districts is interesting:

The Towne's part.....	£56. 0.11.
The Northern woods.....	55. 4.10.
The Southern woods.....	39.12. 3.

In early times the valuation of the rich fields of Pawtucket, which included the "southern woods," was greater than that of Providence proper. This is the first rate in

³³ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. XIII., pp. 4, 42.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

which the homestead and commercial part exceeded the agricultural division of the northern woods.

A bounty of 20s. was paid in 1719,³⁵ for a wolf's head which had been delivered to Major Thomas Fenner living in the present town of Cranston. The premium offered for gray squirrels was 3d.; this was made equal for Rats (muskrats probably) and afterward reduced to 2d.; 5s. raised to 10s. in 1729, was offered for a wild cat's skin; £16. was once raised for bounties on squirrels. These struggles with Nature's last representatives entertain us now, but another side of the cogitations of the town council is more than diverting. When the Puritan-bred citizens who were not Puritans give themselves to strict reverential decorum, the legislative result is something grotesque. For example, January 27, 1723-4, the petition of several leading citizens represented that the municipal act for squirrel bounties had no restriction. There was an act of the General Assembly preventing "Sports" and pastimes on the first day of the week, and these citizens asked for restriction of squirrel shooting on that day, or the municipal act would be an "Encouragement to vice and Immorality." The leading citizens ask for the "Encouragement of Good Manners." When the pence ran up into pounds, the canny burghers asked themselves whether the farmers' hunting of vermin was not turning into "Sport." Civic economy concurring with the ethical and respectable observance of the Sabbath is most delicious as well as suggestive. The bounty for squirrels was soon repealed.

Public offices were seldom sought for in those days, and were held to be a burden, even when the service was paid for. Robert Curry was chosen Town "Sarjant," a responsible post, but he was not a freeman in 1718.

³⁵ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. XIII., pp. 17, 20, 28, 30, 64.

Lieutenant James Olney engaged in town meeting to pay all damage to the sheriff or any person, incurred by Curry's not being a "freeman or of a Comptent Esstate."

The detailed expenses of the growing town may interest, as they were audited May 29, 1725.³⁶ The expenditure in transporting criminals to Newport for the colonial prison was very large, and was later replaced by the still greater expense of a prison at home. At this time there was paid:

Sergeant Westgate for keeping and carrying one Corrill to Newport.....	£10.13.
Laying two highways, one "from Town to Bay Line," one from Pawtucket to Jeremiah Browne's	4.
Repairing Weybosset Bridge, 1 year, £2.7.6., R. Curry, T. Sergeant, 1 year, £4.....	6. 7. 6.
For Poor, Mary Marsh, M. Owen, "Marjary Indian," Mary Pettes child.....	14. 6. 4.
	<hr/>
	£35. 6.10.

Crime cost more than constabular service and roads, while poverty cost more than either.

The burdensome care of the poor, as shown in the expenses of the town from time to time, sufficiently explains their jealous watchfulness of citizenship and dread of intrusion into their community.

In 1717³⁷ the Council was ordered to "vse all Lawfull Means" to compel the town of East Greenwich to assume the support of Mary Marsh. In 1721 the Council summoned before it "several forriners Lately come into this

³⁶ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. XIII., pp. 14, 23.

³⁷ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. XIII., p. 10.

Towne in a disorderly manner without Leave and Likely to be chargeable if not Removed." In 1720³⁸ Blackstone's wife not being well, Joseph Woodward's wife took her home out of "Piety" (pity?). Captain Wilkinson told Woodward, if he entertained Blackstone and his wife, he ought to give bond for him; which request was refused. Individual charity could not be crushed out practically, though Woodward was technically at fault, and municipal organization had to bear the consequences.

Later, September 24, 1722, the Council recorded that John Blackstone's child, born here, then in Attleboro, was apprenticed there to R. Wickes "to be learned to Reade and the art of husbandry." Judging from other contracts binding infants, the town paid something to Wickes for bringing up the child. The poor waif and stray, once attached to the soil, had a better parent than Nature gave, for it became a constituent part of the community. Some of the practical measures regulating citizenship seem petty to us. But the general sense of municipal responsibility was praiseworthy.

The system of apprenticing young persons was working constantly and apparently with the best social results. It was education in the family, through the steady business of life. In 1713-4³⁹ Susanna Warner (writing her name) was bound for six years by her father, John Warner (also writing), to Thomas Olney (weaver), of Providence, to learn the "Trade and occupation of a Tailor." She was not to frequent Ale Houses or Taverns except about her Master's or Mistress's business, "ffornication shée shall not Comitt, neither shall she Contract Matrimony with any Person." These obligations were generally laid on both sexes alike. The master was to endeavor

³⁸ "Early Rec. Prov." Vol. XII., pp. 20, 39.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX., p. 5.

to teach her to read, and finally to give her two suits of apparel. This dress was known as "the freedom suit," and was often given any minor on coming of age. In 1715⁴⁰ Thomas Olney, "weavor," signed as a witness to the contract binding Wm. Potter for five years, his father having died. The master agreed to teach him to "Reade English, and wright and Cypher so far as to keepe a Booke." He was to be freed at twenty-one years, in the "same apparill as he is now in." The list of original clothing shows the habits and dress of laboring youths at that time. "A Loose bodyed Coate, a streight bodyed Coate and Jacket all Casy and faced with soloone; a wosted Coate and two wosted jackets all lined the Coate and one of the jackets lined with solloone a pair of druget Briches lined; a washed Paire of Leathor Briches a Caster hat, three shirts two homespun ones and one fine one, three pair of stokins one pair wosted, three neck Clothes two of them silk and a pair of washed Leathor Gloves: next his wareing apparill now worn but whole: a hatt Coate briches stokins and shoes. Memo that Clothing which was Casy (kersey) was homespun." We remark that homespun cotton or flax would do for common, and that "fine" cloth must be had for a dress shirt. For a youth of sixteen he was certainly well clothed, having clothing not only for work-a-days, but for occasions and social gatherings.

The grain crop must have failed in 1724, for the General Assembly forbade exportation of corn until the price should be 5s. per bushel. It directed the General Treasurer to buy 2000 bushels and to sell it in small quantities.

The inventories show no great changes in a decade. The farmers grow rather more tobacco than the previous

⁴⁰ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. IX., p. 13.

generation produced. Forks are increasing in domestic use. In 1723,⁴¹ two spinsters, Joanna and Tabitha Inman, died within four days. One had £32.8.6., the other £37.5.6. in wearing apparel; side saddle pillions, loom, cards and combs, spinning wheels, etc. There was a moderate amount of plate in most estates. An Indian servant girl's time for two years and ten months was valued at £5.10. Edward Manton,⁴² whose personal estate was £373.13.8., with a farmer's outfit on a small scale, had 100 books at £17.15., with two maps of the world at 10s. Cows were £4. each and two yokes of oxen £22.

In 1723-4 John House⁴³ gives us £18.12. in dress, with an interesting detail of prices. Coate 40s., 2 pair briches 28s., 2 pair leather do £1.10., Brown cloth coate, black gloves and dark jacket £4.4. Druggett coate, yellow trimming, 25s., yallowish jacket 10s. Loose coate 12s., two linen westcotts and two pair briches £1.10. Two hats at 12s., hdkf gloves etc. with an extravagant pair of garters at 17s., all amounted to £6.9s. One gold ring 40 grains, another 25 grains, were not valued. Silver buckles and buttons 10s. 9d. A moderate amount of silver plate and the usual pewter. The "wareing clothes that ware his first wives and bonnet £3.11." Some "black lat" and 5 chamber potts at 12s. Earthen punch bowl, pitcher, 3 earthen cups, glass bottle 7s. Porcelain ware, as shown in the chamberpots, was coming in gradually. One barrel "peach juce" 11s. Negro woman £22. Sorrel horse £18. Bed pan 18s. High house, land, stables, 2 acres land on "Waybauset plaines" $\frac{5}{16}$ Right Common East of 7-mile line was valued at £255., and the

⁴¹ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. XVI., p. 236.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 263.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

total estate was £524.12.3. Being an innkeeper and a considerable dandy, his way of living is interesting.

Copper pennies appear frequently, sometimes more than 1000 at once.

Prices of realty are rare and should be noted. October 16, 1724, Thomas Williams' ⁴⁴ homestead of 100 acres, housing, barn and improvements stood at £445. Adjoining the homestead 44 acres at £88. Meadow on "Pachaset River," 10 acres at £35. Land on Common west of 7 mile line £70. One-third of 40 ft. lot in rear of house lots in "2d devison" £3. One-thirteenth part of Starve goat Island 13s. Land sold and money received for second 40 acre "devison" and pine swamp £5.6.8. One hundred acres formerly given son Joseph, except labor bestowed on it.

Razors are coming in; and it is doubtful if any shaving of beards prevailed in the seventeenth century. Breeches were sometimes adorned with plate buttons. A set of plate buttons and buckle was valued at 6s. In land 40 acres east of 7 mile line stood at £12.⁴⁵ "Amber beedes," Glass Bottle and Needles at 9s. 3d. Glass must have been prized, as every bottle was carefully valued.

Signatures of women of good families with a † appear on documents, and more rarely the men sign in that way.

November 6, 1724,⁴⁶ Jabez Browne's homestead, estimated at 80 acres, was appraised at £350. Land n. w. from homestead 78 acres at £110. Adjoining homestead 30 acres at £25. Some curious prices appear the next year. Plowing and planting 10 acres Indian corn £5.9. Sowing 8 acres with rye and the seed £2.15. One acre with oats 6s. In an outfit of £15. for dress, a set of

⁴⁴ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. XVI., p. 330.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

silver shirt buttons stood at 5s., a pair of silver shoe buckles at 16s.

In 1725,⁴⁷ Arthur Fenner had a full outfit for spinning and weaving, 4 spinning wheels and "Clock Reale" £1.8. A pair of looms, and furniture £3. One looking glass and 2 pair "specticles" (first mentioned) 5s. 6d. The dames were wearing better toiles, and Abigail Hopkins spent £30. for dress in an estate of £98.5.8. Under beds are mentioned for the first time. A pair of "sizers" and a silver Chaine therewith £1. Butter was 10d. per lb.

In 1725-6⁴⁸ a watch (of silver probably) appears at £4., but these did not displace sun-dials until about 1750.⁴⁹

Wm. Roberts'⁵⁰ homestead and house were appraised at £420. and one share of "Meadow" £30.

Wm. Harris had a silver "Tancord," 2 silver cups, 10 spoons, all weighing 46½ oz., valued at £34.17.6. His negro man stood at £70., the highest price attained, and probably inflated somewhat by paper money.

Joseph Jenckes was elected from Providence to be Governor of the Colony in 1727. Previous governors under the charter had been taken from Newport. This election indicates the rise of commercial Providence. Newport still kept its supremacy as the capital, for the Assembly granted Governor Jenckes £100. to make his residence and remove his family there.

In 1727 the long boundary dispute with Connecticut, which had threatened the very existence of our colony, was brought to a close by a decree of the Privy Council. This fixed the western boundary on the Pawcatuck River

⁴⁷ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. XVI., p. 384.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 440.

⁴⁹ Dorr, p. 170.

⁵⁰ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. XVI., p. 456.

and thence north to the Massachusetts line.⁵¹ The Board of Trade had previously shown its sapient management of colonial affairs by recommending to the Council that both Connecticut and Rhode Island be attached to New Hampshire. The disjointed geography of the territories apparently never entered into the Board's ideas of convenient government. Such wiping out of the two governments—which are now admitted to have added the most practical national ideas to the United States—would have created a suggestive historical speculation.

A King's census of the colony⁵² was taken in 1730, showing a population of 16,935; Whites 15,302, Negroes 1648, Indians 985. Providence had, Whites 3707, Negroes 128, Indians 81; total 3916. Newport had, Whites 3843, Negroes 649, Indians 248; total 4640. The figures do not agree in themselves, but the main fact is that Providence had nearly as large a white population as Newport; yet the latter was far better developed in prosperous industries.

A prison was built in 1733 on Jail Lane, now Meeting Street.⁵³

The taverns continued to be places of great resort, especially before the building of the county courthouse in 1729. Those of Whipple and Epenetus Olney were famous, and Wm. Turpin left his profession of school-teaching to become a popular landlord and town officer. Turpin's Inn on Town Street was the largest house in the town until the State House was built and was a favorite place of meeting for the Assembly and courts. Built in 1695, it survived until 1812. A high roof had heavy projecting eaves and dormer windows. A huge stone

⁵¹ "R. I. C. R.," Vol. IV., p. 373, and Brigham, pp. 171-174.

⁵² Staples, p. 194.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

chimney allied it to the dwellings around. On the green in front was the unfailing elm. The "great room" served either for a senate house or dancing hall. Such centers of influence conferred social and political prestige on the landlords, who were not slow to avail of it. As the Assembly, Courts, Town and Council meetings always sat in central taverns, the landlord often became the oracle of his neighborhood. Sometimes chief of local militia and representative in the Assembly, he "enjoyed prominence which in Massachusetts belonged to the Puritan minister."⁵⁴ Although this way of living could not and did not suit the omniscient Cotton Mather, it had due effect in developing citizens of the world who were willing to accept a cheery existence here on earth. A curious incident in 1713⁵⁵ reveals the jealousy of country proprietors, toward these innkeepers and town agitators. Major "thomas ffenner," Assistant, protested against the election of Wm. Smith, Jas. Olney, Wm. Harris and Silvanus Scott, to be members or Assistants in the Town Council, because they kept Public houses of Entertainment and retailed strong drink. They rejoined that Major Fenner kept a public house and retailed strong drink for several years. And insisted "wee are freemen of the Towne and Collony and the Towne's owne Election, and ought not to be debarred of our Privilidges." Apparently the election did not fail.

In 1720 the licenses were £2. each. Thomas Angel, John House, Josiah Westcot, James Olney, William Turpin, William Edmunds, all prominent citizens, were grantees.

In 1732⁵⁶ a change of habit and way of living is indi-

⁵⁴ "Early Rec. Prov.," Vol. XI., p. 170.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII., p. 92.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

cated in a grant of licenses at a less rate, 10s., for a limited privilege to merchants and shopkeepers, for one year. They could retail, but not allow "any Drinking or tipling in their houses shops or Kitchin. Nor Mix any sort of Liquor." Captain Joseph Roades, Esq^r., Mr^s. Mary Burnoon, Mr. John Angel, Capt. James Brown (first spelled without an e), "Co^l" Joseph Whipple each paid 10s. The scrupulous use of titles among these plain people, with every possible variation and significance is always suggestive.

The houses inhabited by the denizens of the new century belong to the third period of architecture as interpreted by Isham and Brown.⁵⁷ They were often of two full storeys and varied somewhat from those built in the latter seventeenth century. Frequently built of brick or partly so. In one direction after 1725 there was an elaborate "mitre-like" chimney. After 1730 the pre-revolutionary style called "colonial" was developed.

The chimney was brought nearly into the middle of the house. And in large rooms like those of the Turpin Inn, above noted, massive beams sustained the ceilings. The rooms around the double chimney of this period varied in size. The "great room" descended from the single room of the first period as that came from the old English "hall." This room in the Tillinghast house on Town Street, built about 1730, has two windows. The staircase was still next the chimney. Soon the rooms on either side of the chimney became equal. Next, there were four rooms with four chimneys outside the house.

Distilling molasses and sugar into rum was perhaps the most important of the New England industries in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. It was not only the main element in the slave trade, but was powerfully sup-

⁵⁷ "Early Houses," pp. 15-18.

ported by the local demand and by the consumption in the Newfoundland fisheries. Distilling had become well established in Providence, and still-houses were along the Town Street; Antram's as far north as Smith Street, Abbott's was on the s. e. corner of Market Square; Angell's was near the present Thomas Street. Shipping was built freely and the keels plowed the West Indian seas in frequent voyages. The trade of Providence with Guinea for slaves is obscurely recorded, but it had begun. The larger merchants traded with Bordeaux. Smuggling sugar from the islands was so common that it was hardly noticed. In 1733, by the sugar or "Molasses" act, the House of Commons laid a heavy duty on products imported from foreign islands into the northern colonies. This began the troubles ending in the American Revolution. Smuggling mitigated the evil consequences, until George Grenville proved to be too good an administrator.

Some ledger accounts, 1723-1738, and a priceless letter-book, 1736-7, of James Brown, father of the "four brothers"—preserved in the manuscripts of the R. I. Historical Society—give us interesting details of the commerce of this period. Nicholas Powers' accounts in 1723 became "Father Powers'" in 1731-2.

Distilling is an important function, and a curious joint ownership is shown where the mason is credited 10s. for "mending my firm's mouth under my Still." He offers 100 gallons good rum, "our own Stilling," for a horse. The Dutch process for separating oil and spermaceti was not yet introduced, and candles were still occasionally made by hand. Brown credits in 1736, one lot of 494 lbs. at 4d., made by Hartshorne, the mason, and probably in his kitchen.

Providence was becoming a great mart for molasses.

When accumulated here, it often went on to Nantucket or Boston. One lot of 41 hhds. is mentioned in 1737 as transhipped to Boston. It belonged jointly to James Brown, Daniel Jenckes and Job Arnold. Coffee, as well as salt, was constantly moving and sometimes consigned to Boston. Large freights went by water, but small lots of merchandise were sent by Rehoboth to Boston. Noah Mason, living there, is asked in 1737 to carry "four tun wate" to Boston.

As noted above, the reports of the importation of negroes are generally obscure. May 26, 1737,⁵⁹ Mr. Brown records, "My Gineman is arrived. You may have A slave, if you cum or sand Befoar they air Gon." March 10, 1737. He had advised his Loveing Brother Obadiah in the West Indies on the sloop *Mary* of Providence, "if you cannot sell all your slaves to your mind, bring some home. I believe they will sell well. Get molasses or sugar. Make despatch for that is the life of trade."

Brown had much intercourse with Uxbridge and Worcester, with Plainfield, Killingly and Pomfret. He is constantly calling for "fatt" cattle, pork, beef or any produce. These transactions show that Providence must have been for some time the mercantile port of the valleys of the Blackstone and of eastern Connecticut.

Business was conducted with the Atlantic ports as far away as Charleston, S. C., where the correspondent was Mr. Verplanck. When commerce with the West Indies was not available for the moment, vessels were occupied in the local trade of Boston. July 2, 1737, after the sloop *Mary* had disposed of her black freight, she was sent to the Bay of Andros for a load of logs to be carried to Boston. Newport was a secondary market for almost everything. Henry Collins, the distinguished merchant there,

⁵⁹ R. I. H. S. bound MSS. State Reports, Vol. 8.

had a rope walk. Brown asked him in 1736 how much good rigging or cash he can have for 1000 lbs. hemp.

Politics were generally seething in our little colony. The Hopkins-Ward controversy a generation later was to engage the Brown family and keep them very busy. Now February 1, 1736, the representative writes to Richard Ward, the father of Samuel, in rather pungent style, "Your Chief friend in Government affairs. I am affraid he had rather be Governor himself. You may see by enclosed, that he is able to Govern his purse (if not his word)."

The evolution of the first caterer in Providence was a way-mark in civilization; and we must anticipate a few years to explain the beginning in 1736. The negro always played a considerable part in the social life of Rhode Island, after the colonists had means enough to own him. A new kitchen was instituted by the skill of the house mistress working with the negro's aptitude. The freedmen of the period frequently left little estates.⁶⁰ Jack Howard in 1745 had £145. in colonial bills; John Read, "free negro," had £100. in 1753. Emanuel ("Manna") Bernoon in 1769 had a house and lot, with personal estate inventoried at £539. He was emancipated by Gabriel Bernon in 1736 and then began his regular business. The freedmen generally took the master's name and Manna distinguished his with an additional vowel. His wife, Mary, had been selling liquor without tipping on the premises for four years, competing on a ten-shilling license with Captains, Colonels and Esquires.

Manna now or soon established the first oyster house on Town Street near the location of the subsequent custom house. The rude English-descended efforts in cookery were far surpassed by Huguenot skill and refinement.

⁶⁰ Dorr, p. 177.

Manna sought the heart of the softening town by way of a gratified and contented stomach. His outfit included 23 drinking glasses, 4 "juggs," pewter plates, spoons and cooking utensils in proportion. Best of all was his jolly smile as he clinked these glasses in the midst of descendants of Roger Williams and William Harris.

The English declaration of war against Spain in 1739 vitally affected our colony. In the next February the General Assembly prepared against possible invasion. Fort George was garrisoned and provision was made for Block Island. In May 200 men were sent to join the unfortunate attack on Carthage. Privateers⁶¹ swarmed out from Newport and were very successful. Captain Hull, of Newport, took one prize that afforded every man of his crew 1000 pieces of eight. These adventurers in privateering in some degree influenced the character of the colony and certainly prepared the way for her naval exploits in the Revolution. The sea-rover's life well fitted the man brought up on the shores of the Bay and the Great Salt River. It was not only the bold, dashing career bringing out the Norse blood of the race; it was the desperate call for initiative at any moment. Outcast on land, the Rhode Island man was the more at home on the sea. In storm or calm, in shock of battle or the exigency of flight, the man had to put forth the best in him, and he became a hero.

One of the surveyors to define the eastern line of the colony under the royal commission in 1741 took a more cheery view of the outcast colony than Cotton Mather set forth in the seventeenth century.

"Here's full supply (food and drink) to cheer our hungry souls.

⁶¹ Weeden, "E. and S. N. E.," Vol. II., pp. 601, 602.

Here men may soon any religion find,
Which quickly brought brave Holland to my mind,
For here, like there, one with the greatest ease,
May suit himself, or quit all if he please."

Better at triangles than at verse, the surveyor was broad, if not graceful.

The public Lottery has been regarded as a source, as well as a chance of either good or evil in early times. It began for us in 1744 in the grant for a scheme of £15,000, out of which was to come £3000 for the rebuilding of Weybosset Bridge. That it was public business is further demonstrated in the fact that the town subscribed for 400 tickets to encourage the movement.

Communication eastward was enlarged by a public ferry at India Point where Washington Bridge now stands. There had long been ferriage at "narrow passage" or Red Bridge and a bridge "was at Pawtucket." The new ferry for the southeastward connection was regulated by an act in 1746, having been established a few years before.

The population of the colony in 1748 was 41,280. The voters in Providence were 96, with 13 justices of the peace and 4 companies of militia. In 1749 there were 31 licensed tavern keepers; in 1750 there were 30. The highest licenses were at £8. each. The colony tax in 1748 was £5000., of which Providence paid £550. and Newport £825. Our town spent £1165.5.5. in 1748, and ordered a tax for £1600. the next year. We must remember that paper money affected these figures.

February 19, 1748,⁶² we have an account of the entry of the privateer sloop *Reprisal*, Captain W. Dunbar, as she brought in her prize, the French ship *Industry*. It

⁶² "Early Rec.," Vol. IX., p. 97.

interests, as showing how the parts were divided and how many persons participated in these fascinating enterprises. According to Moses Brown at a later day, the losers must be reckoned as well as the fortunate ones. Three Lippitts had each $\frac{1}{3}$ part in the sloop. Ann Lippitt signs for a negro man in the crew, one share. One owner holds $\frac{1}{24}$ part. David + Swanton, mariner, sells "all his share" to John Andrews and Darius Sessions.

France had joined in the Spanish war in 1744, and our privateers severely punished her commerce. It is estimated⁶³ that over 100 French prizes were taken with rich cargoes, some of over \$50,000 value. Captain John Dennis was a terror to the French and they sent from Martinique a strong war-vessel to pursue him especially. They misapprehended the Rhode Island rover; for the pursued turned fiercely and after four hours of hard fighting made the Frenchman his prize.

The colony aided stoutly in the expedition against Louisburgh, and Captain Fones, with his sloop *Tartar*, headed a small fleet doing much execution.

In 1754 the old householders' provision of fire buckets, with the line of men passing them to and fro, was found insufficient to protect the property in the growing town. Obadiah Brown and James Angell were commissioned to buy a "large water engine." The Boston machine was a small beginning toward the steamer and hydraulic hydrant of to-day, but it was a great advance over lifting water by hand. According to Staples, in 1755 the colony taxed Newport £14,000, South Kingston £5200., Providence £4900.

James and Obadiah Brown, brothers, descended from Chad, the early proprietor and minister, were largely engaged in commerce in the second quarter of the century.

⁶³ Brigham, "R. I.," p. 186.

James was father of the "four brothers," of whom we shall hear much in the development of the larger Providence. "Nicky, Josey, John and Mosey" were household words for a century. According to Moses Brown,⁶⁴ "My Father's Books shews eight vessels under his management, viz., Sloop *Dolphin*, Obadiah Brown, master, sloop *Mary Godfrey*, schooner *Ann*, sloop *Rainbow*, sloop *Pellican*, schooner *Ann*, Sam Gorton, master, sloop *Mary Gould*, John Hopkins, master, sloop *Shearwater*, John Hopkins, master—all West India vessels, some to Surinam with horses &c. From 1730 (or 1738) to 1748 (*sic*) I find 15 and from 1748 to 1760 I find about 60 vessels by my Father, Obadiah Brown Books owned by him Stephen Hopkins, David Jenks, Nathan Angell and many others."

In another connection he says: "I find in our Books only 84 vessels before the year 60, with their names and mostly their masters."

Obadiah Brown was the younger brother and in partnership with James, who died in 1739. Nicholas, the nephew, was received into the partnership, and all the brothers were trained in business by their Uncle Obadiah. Moses married Obadiah's daughter and ultimately inherited his property.

This period brings us to the consideration of, not a new, but newly developed kind of citizen in Providence Plantations. The original and truly educated immigrants—trained in an English university like Roger Williams, or in large affairs like the men of Newport—had long passed by. Their descendants included in Providence Bernon's "learned men," who were not learned as we understand the term. Now comes a citizen, born and trained on Rhode Island soil, who was, if not academic, a largely learned man. Stephen Hopkins was born March

⁶⁴ MSS. R. I. H. S.

7, 1706-7, at Massapauge, in the district now known as South Providence. His father, Major William Hopkins, farmer, surveyor, etc., shortly removed to the bridge paths of Chapumscook, now Scituate, where our subject was reared and his essential character was formed. His grandmother was a daughter of Captain John Whipple, above noted, very prominent in plantation life about 1660-1685. Carpenter, innholder, surveyor, member of town council and of General Assembly, he acquired finally a considerable practice at law. He traded likewise in a large way for his circumstances. We can easily account for the mercantile bent of our subject.

Samuel Wilkinson's daughter was Stephen's mother, contributing not only the blood of that vigorous stock, but the "inner light" of the individual derived from the Society of Friends. Captain Samuel Wilkinson was commended by Bernon for "his erudition in divine and civil law, historical narrative, natural and politic,"⁶⁵ taught our subject mathematics and surveying. In this vocation, like Washington, the youth learned men as well as lands. The best instruction of all came from his mother, and it was "thorough and comprehensive." There were in the Hopkins home and in Grandfather Wilkinson's "circulating libraries" used among the families and neighbors.⁶⁶

Stephen Hopkins' writings show that he studied the great English classics. All accounts indicate that he was a deep reader, as long as life lasted. Such men lacked the scholastic method, but they read and thought seriously, developing the powers of the individual mind. President Manning, of Brown University, said of Hopkins in 1785,⁶⁷ "Possessing an uncommonly elevated

⁶⁵ Updike, N. C. Goodwin, Vol. I., p. 54.

⁶⁶ Foster Hopkins, p. 46.

⁶⁷ *Prov. Gazette*, July 16.

genius, his constant assiduous application in the pursuit of knowledge" rendered him distinguished. But the most significant testimony came from the trained and eloquent John Adams, showing how one untaught in the schools could teach the teachers themselves. "Governor Hopkins had read Greek, Roman, and British history and was familiar with English poetry, particularly Pope, Thomson and Milton, and the flow of his soul made all of his reading our own, and seemed to bring to recollection in all of us, all we had ever read."⁶⁸ Strange that, out of the wilds of Scituate, there came a "flow of soul" which could enthrall the best scholars and highest spirits of America. In considering university education or lack of it, let us remember Jowett said one was fortunate who could pass through the Oxford courses without impairing his mental powers. But Jowett was in himself a schoolmaster, and accordingly we must weigh his judgments carefully.

The ability of young Hopkins was soon recognized by the townspeople. When twenty-four years old he was Moderator; at the next regular meeting in 1732, he was placed in the influential position of town clerk—held for ten years, or as long as he remained in Scituate. He was sent to the General Assembly in 1732, and became Speaker in 1741. His powers were valued wherever known, as appears in his engagement in 1737 to revise the streets of Providence and to project a map extending over Scituate.

As the Browns led the merchants on land, so the Hopkinses and their kindred led sailors on the seas. According to Moses Brown, 17 vessels on his list were owned or commanded by these natural seadogs. Esek, the most distinguished in this respect, left his home to enlist as a com-

⁶⁸ Foster, p. 48n.

mon sailor in 1738, soon becoming captain. He resided at first at Newport, removing to Providence in 1755.

Stephen, this sturdy son of Rhode Island—bred from her innermost stock—came to Providence Plantation in 1742. A generation had been sending abroad the vessels built by Nathaniel Browne and others, loaded with produce yielded by the fertile lands around the Great Salt River. The Bay, Long Island Sound, the mighty Hudson, all had helped to bring Newport and at last Providence into closer contact with all the seaboard markets, as well as ocean commerce. The shell encasing the early plantation was bursting outward into open and freer life, through its communication with the great world outside. Poverty, says Chaucer, is a “gret bringer-out of bisyness.” And it has been often said that men of studious habit seldom acquire knowledge of affairs. In Stephen Hopkins we have a remarkable example of education by contact with affairs, enlightened by his own constant use of books. It has been noted⁶⁹ how the “learned men” of the little plantation impressed Gabriel Bernon, coming from the larger opportunities of Europe. Their “learning” was far from academic. It came from the open-minded school of experience. Hopkins entered into commercial ventures, especially in joint interest with the Wantons at Newport. He must have been largely acquainted at Newport, for his visits there began as early as 1732, when he went as a member of the General Assembly.

The enlargement of the plantation in a social sense is indicated by the course of religious opinion. Four buildings, maintained for religious worship, existed in 1742; the old Baptist meeting-house at the corner of Smith Street, the Friends’ on Meeting Street, King’s Episcopal

⁶⁹ *Ante*, p. 209.

at Church Street, and the Congregational at the corner of College and Benefit Streets. There was one mill and three taverns. A draw in Weybosset Bridge enabled vessels to pass to and from Nathaniel Browne's old shipyard, just above the bridge on the west side. Roger Kinnicut had succeeded Browne in the business about 1730.

The tide of life and trade had been surging down the "old Cheapside" midway in Town Street, and keeping with the current of travel from Boston to New York; it was now turning over the "Great Bridge" toward larger territory across Great Salt River, and along the roads leading to the southwest. Weybosset (sometime Broad) Street, a landmark of this movement, was not approved by "The Neck" when it was opened. The Hayward or Haymarket had opened about 1738, a space for the present Market Square, which gave a center for increasing business.

The narrow lanes from Town Street to the waterfront, curiously named for coins, were matter of contest between the old proprietors and the freemen at large. Now in 1738, the freemen outnumbered the old proprietors, and the latter lost their control of town affairs.

The Lottery system was a crude method for bringing out the social energies of those days. The universal gambling spirit, potent individually, was forced outward into social channels, and made to support all kinds of enterprises good in themselves and desired by the public. It was initiated here in 1744,⁷⁰ when a lottery was granted by the General Assembly to rebuild Weybosset Bridge.

Commerce proper, since Gideon Crawford, the merchant, in 1687, and Nathaniel Browne, the shipbuilder in 1711, had developed sufficiently on the Town Street wharves to draw downward from the northern districts all the produce

⁷⁰ Staples, p. 197.

intended for export. By 1745 northern Rhode Island and the Blackstone valley of Massachusetts were sending farm products to the Providence merchants for exchange into West Indian and European wares. These larger movements were encouraged and more or less initiated by Stephen Hopkins. In the middle of the last century, a capable investigator, William Hunter, said,⁷¹ "Stephen Hopkins taught Providence her capabilities and calculated rather than prophesied her future growth and prosperity." The inevitable superiority of a port at the head of navigation was beginning to tell in competition with richer Newport; though the latter had a century of advantage in enterprise and development. By the close of the French war in 1763, the larger commerce was well established.

In 1747 Robert Gibbs, Stephen Hopkins and some forty of the most forecasting citizens obtained an ordinance for Back Street, the present Benefit. The proprietors of old home-lots contending for their graveyards, had vainly opposed the movement. Hereafter the term in deeds and wills was altered to "house-lot." The Fenner estate looking out on Market Square threatened violent resistance. Gradually compromise prevailed and the most radical change of the eighteenth century was instituted,⁷² reconstructing the "East Side." The members of the First Congregational Church had not been able to get to their location, the site of the present county courthouse.

The large commerce for which the West Indian ventures had prepared the way, made a significant advance in 1751 or about that time. Theretofore the shopkeepers of our little plantation had been middlemen or jobbers, as

⁷¹ Newport *History Mag.*, Vol. II., p. 142.

⁷² Dorr, p. 150.

we say. They were tributary to Newport directly—to Boston, New York and Philadelphia for the abundant European goods a higher civilization was demanding. Now they were to become importers; for Colonel Edward Kinnicut—brother of Roger, the shipbuilder—loaded a vessel in the Seekonk with timber and took this first direct cargo to London. He brought back goods enough to furnish three shops; his own, Obadiah Brown's and Daniel Jenks'. The vessel was owned by the two latter jointly, with Stephen Hopkins. Kinnicut finally died in London in 1754.

In 1757 Captain Esek Hopkins brought in a valuable prize, the snow *Desire*. This was among the early prizes for our port, which, according to Moses Brown, were captured "during the (French) war, to the making of many rich and some poor." The shrewd Quaker correctly estimated the speculative risk of this business; but it stimulated enterprise and developed brave and venturesome seamen.

When Hopkins settled in our plantation he found the scale of living advancing rapidly. The personal apparel and household goods which had been luxurious for the Crawfords in the second decade, had become customary and necessary for a well-to-do community much increased in numbers. Captain James Brown, father of the "Four Brothers," died in 1739; a fair type of the merchant bred out of West Indian commerce. He appointed his "Relict Widdow," Mrs. Hope Brown, one of his three executors,⁷³

His wearing apparel was valued at £92., with Books at £10.10. In bonds, "bills of credit" (paper currency), etc., £1656.0.8. appeared, in book debts £416.2.4., in gold and silver £126.10. The domestic outfit included £6.15. in table linen, in brass and copper £19.10., in iron ware £31.1., in pewter £18.18. Two small looking glasses with

⁷³ MSS. Probate Rec., Vol. III., p. 357.

16 earthen platters and a cannister amounted to £6.6. Ten "Baker" glasses with two sets China dishes and bowls stood at £12.10.

The beaker was a distinctive wine-cup, originally of earthen ware in England. Such vessels were not mentioned in our colony, but made of the incoming glass, they frequently appear in the inventories of this period.

In household furnishings we find 6 feather beds at £129.19.; 15 chairs, 1 looking glass, 2 oval tables at £28., and one clock. There was a considerable stock of merchandise for sale in English and other goods. The distilling apparatus on sale indicated the importance of that business. Two stills and worms, tubs, cranes, pumps and troughs were valued at £800. Four negroes £300. Two yoke of oxen £66. Two cows and calf £26. One horse, saddle and bridle £54. The total personal estate amounted to £5653.14.4.

Next the feather bed, perhaps the most constant and significant unit of domestic comfort in the previous half or three-quarters of a century, had been in pewter ware. In the early days of Town Street the table service had been of wooden ware, reinforced with occasional earthen pieces. Pewter in plates, platters, cups and spoons usurped the place of these humble vessels; and even chamberpots became almost universal.

The ware of our colony and the more lofty plate of Europe was variously compounded; but generally of tin, with lead in smaller proportion. Between silver on the one hand and glass ware on the other, pewter has lost rank in our time, but enthusiasts still admire its modest character. They claim that the soft pearl-gray color is more beautiful than the brilliant white of silver; which must always be rather harder to an eye seeking quiet.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Massé, "Pewter Plate," p. 8.

As mentioned, pewter was preceded by platters and even porringers of wood; and it went out of general use when porcelain and stone-ware became sufficiently cheap in price. The ware was manufactured by casting or hammering, or by both processes united. The necessary molds used in casting were always expensive. The articles were finished by hand or on a lathe and then burnished. Pewterers had shops in Boston.

Doubtless many of the shoe-buckles, so generally worn, were made of pewter; there were inkstands and a covered tobacco-box. The necessary punch-ladle abounded at this period; frequently oval and deep in the cup, with a slender handle of turned wood. Our colonists generally had the tankard; a term loosely applied, but commonly a covered vessel, holding a quart or more.

It is difficult to adjust actual values and nominal prices in these records. When the common currency is not redeemable, prices vary, but do not respond absolutely to the fluctuating standard. Labor and articles of merchandise in common domestic use, do not oscillate in price as rapidly as the currency varies. Imports and foreign trade must closely follow the true financial barometer.

The wars compelled the poor American colonies to use public credit, the only available substitute for money. Rhode Island blundered worst in issuing paper money and in not redeeming it. Unlike Massachusetts, she had no Hutchinson to repair in some degree the consequences of her legislative folly. Hutchinson, though a Tory in the Revolution, literally forced the Bay to place her currency on a specie basis; for this he deserves eternal gratitude.

It is better to have too much currency than too little. It is often assumed that paper money of necessity brought evil and disaster; but it is untrue. Bad as a bad cur-

rency is, it is better than none. No other principle can explain the extraordinary instinct of producers, demanding more and yet more money. Merchants, and especially bankers, see the constant evils of redundant money, but producers still cry for more. While this depreciated money existed in our period, affairs were expanding and the community was prosperous. History must relate what was, and not try to interpret what ought to have been.

Let us refer to the meager records for some estimate of values. In May, 1726,⁷⁵ a judgment was awarded in court of £181.10 in "bills of credit" to liquidate a claim of £100. in silver, showing a depreciation of about 55 per cent.

By 1740 the depreciation in Old Tenor had proceeded so far that the General Assembly created a grade of New Tenor in bills for £20,000, bearing four per cent. interest for ten years. The nominal rate fixed for silver in this medium was 9s. per ounce, and in Old Tenor 27s. per ounce.⁷⁶

February 27, 1748-9, a committee of the Assembly passed bills of credit at the rate £1050. in paper for £100. sterling. A few months before exchange had been at the rate of 570 per cent. This rapid fall of paper indicated a coming crash in business, to be caused by this depreciating currency. The bills of the various issues or "Banks" were being burned at periods of ten years; but the process was not fast enough.

The colonies of Massachusetts and Rhode Island were destined to part company in finance. In April, 1751, their bills of credit were equal in value. In September those of Rhode Island had fallen 20 per cent. below her

⁷⁵ Arnold, Vol II., p. 82.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

neighbor's. Bills on London sold for 1100 per cent. premium in Old Tenor. The New Tenor had fallen to less than half its nominal value. Generally, prices and contracts had been quoted in Old Tenor. In 1763⁷⁷ the General Assembly attempted to bring order out of the confused currencies by enacting that silver and gold should be the legal tender, unless contracts should otherwise specify. A scale of depreciation to guide the courts was applied to transactions of the previous thirteen years. This placed the Spanish dollar at £5.7. in 1751, and at £7., Old Tenor, in 1763.

We have given this sketch of fluctuating values to explain as far as possible the social relations of expenditure and of prices.

If we look closely into the inventories we shall perceive the effect of such fluctuating currencies, in the prices caused by better ways of living required in the growing commercial community.

Hon. Joseph Jenckes, Esq. (*sic*), had wearing apparel worth £84.13. and books to the value of £15. The worthy gentleman made up in redundancy of titles what he lacked in substance, for his personal estate was only £124.1. Captain Abraham Angell had £108.10. in wearing apparel; and £12. in books and mathematical instruments. He must have been frequently thirsty, for there were 8 China punch bowls at £9. The domestic outfit included one dozen China plates at £6., earthen ware at £4.10.6., silver spoons at £12.5. There was a horse, saddle and bridle at £50., with $\frac{2}{7}$ parts and $\frac{1}{4}$ part of a two-mast boat at £20. His total personal estate was £851.10.4. Some occasional prices interest us. A punch bowl and cover—probably of pewter—was appraised at 8s., a pair of leather breeches at £1.8., a pair of boots and an old

⁷⁷ Arnold, Vol. II., p. 244.

wig at £2.10. Knives, forks and razors were common, and the inevitable joynt-stool stood at 20s.

January 12, 1741-2,⁷⁸ Thomas Harris's inventory shows wearing apparel at £50. Coke upon Littleton, a great Bible and several books at £25. He walked out in a large pair of silver shoe buckles worth £4.15., and carrying either a cane or a walking staff with silver ferrule and ivory head—the two valued at £1.16. His four swords stood at £4. Seven and one-half yards "bought" broad cloth was appraised at £32.5., and thirteen and one-quarter yards of "Home Made" at £13.5. Four feather beds at £110., with the furnishings, 1 warming pan £4. Case of Drawers £7. Large round table £3.10. Great table £7. He had a moderate farming outfit in a personal estate of £839.4.6.

October 23, 1742,⁷⁹ Captain William Walker died in Narragansett intestate; Mrs. Hope Browne being "Biggest Creditor" to his considerable movable estate, was appointed administratrix. He owned but one feather bed, and for a sober married citizen was a very extravagant fop. In wearing apparel he left £166.13.16., and in "Plate" £43.18. On his finger he flourished a gold ring with "five sparks supposed to be dimonds," valued at £20. His "carnelian seal" was in gold at £2.10.; his highly decorated person was supported by a "gold cane" worth £15. His house was amply furnished and contained 21 pictures in frames at £5.5. A small time piece was appraised at £10.; a China punch bowl £2.5.; sundry glasses £2.8.; 16 spoons, tongs, strainer—probably of pewter, with case at £1.; earthen ware 5s. Snuff-boxes were rarely mentioned and Captain Walker's toilet included one at £1.5. He had one burning and one spy glass at £2.2.; a hunting horn at £2.; one pair polished

⁷⁸ MSS. Probate Rec., Wills, Vol. IV., p. 25.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

nut crackers £3.; one coffee-mill £1.4. We may note a knife and fork, the first described with a carved handle at £1.10. And a knife with one "totam" to pour rum was valued at £2. A doctor's saw and "Checkard Bord" stood at £1. He was a trader, dealing in drugs and carrying a small stock of dry goods. The negro's bed and bedstead were appraised at £3.5.; one wine press £1. and two negro men £300. In books he had £46.14.1., but very likely they were for sale. The whole personal estate was £2498.18.

In contrast we may take account of the way of living of a farmer, Pardon Sheldon, whose personal estate was £1063.7.3. His wearing apparel was £61.10. Books £1. and table linen £3.10. His kitchen furniture included iron ware at £10.15., brass at £13.10., and wooden ware at £5.5. There was earthen ware and glass at £3.10. The hetchel, the useful wool-cards, with wheels for spinning wool and cotton, all appeared. Ten loads of good hay with some "ruff" were appraised at £45.10., and 700 lbs. of tobacco at £23.

Thomas Taylor,⁸⁰ a "gooldsmith," had in wearing apparel £74.9., and in books £2. The tools of his trade were worth £11.11. There was 2 oz. 8 dwt. in gold at £48.; 64 oz. 8 dwt. 9 grains in silver and "fashioning" at £100.5. In stock were 15 pair shoe buckles at £1.5., and "steel flucks and tounges for buckles" at £2. A parcel of glass sleeve buttons stood at £1.5. One teapot, some China and earthen ware were valued at £6.15. This shows how the use of "China" or fine porcelain was creeping in. His 6 knives and forks were valued at 15s. and his pewter ware at £4. Table linen £2., one feather bed and furniture at £3.5. and £11.16. in bed linen.

Amos King represented the artificer and man of all

⁸⁰ MSS. Probate Rec., Wills, Vol. IV., p. 73.

work, with wearing apparel at £17.5., books at £1. and one bed. His carpenter's tools stood at £8.15. and a shoemaking outfit at £1.10. He had 1 pair of "woosted" combs at £3., with 2 spinning wheels, worsted and woollen yarn. One loom and gears were valued at £6.10. In live stock he had 3 cows, 13 sheep, 1 mare and 2 shoats. His total personal estate was £244.13.8.

In another instance, a cooper, had £43.10. in wearing apparel, £2.10. in books and £14. in 7 silver spoons about 11 oz. The owner had a few shoemaking tools and a small farming outfit.

Stephen Arnold,⁸¹ of a well-known family, indulged in wearing apparel at £121.9., with sword and cane at £16. His "plate" weighed $54\frac{3}{4}$ oz. at £82., and there is the first mention of a "cradle" and furniture at £2.5. His books were £2.10., and pewter ware £13.4. Glass, China, earthen ware and one teapot stood at £9.7. Additional earthen ware £1.3. Carpenter's and other tools, one canoe, sail and oars £23., four pair oyster tongs £4., in 3700 shingles £9.5. and a negro boy stood at £140. Evidently he did not improve much land, for his animals were one cow at £14. and two swine at £10. The total personal estate was £2251.4.6.

William Turpin—whom we may presume to be descended from the school and innkeepers—was entitled "yeoman," though he kept a shop. His wearing apparel was £62.3. and in silver spoons and "other plate" he had £30.2. His books were valued at £3.5., with one bible additional. He had a stock of hardware, with an assortment of dry goods. The usual housekeeping outfit was liberal.

The old custom was continued which circumscribed the widow's property in case of future marriage.

⁸¹ MSS. Probate Rec., Wills, Vol. IV., p. 101.

Epenetus Olney bequeathed to his loving wife Mary, his house with the adjoining meadows, orchards and fencing. She was to have the "whole command, management and improvement for support of family, and bringing up of small children, until Charles, the youngest, should be twenty one." If she remained unmarried she was to inherit one-half of the above property for life; and Charles was to inherit one-half. Should she marry again, Charles was to inherit her one-half. Olney was a farmer and his personal estate was £1010.19.3.

Men rarely signed now with a mark; this manual appeared more often in documents executed by women. Sarah Carpenter used the + and had no books. Her modest apparel, valued at £20., was equaled in a gift of the same amount toward a "Friends' Meeting house being built in Pautuxet." Her silver plate was £54., and her pewter £16. In tin ware she had £1.15., in earthen £1.17., in wooden £1.10., in "tea ware" £10.5. Her table linen was £6.15., and a loom with gears was appraised at £9. There was a considerable amount in notes and bonds in the personal estate of £1245.0.8.

Mary Rhoades, widow, was rich, with a personal estate of £3636.9.11. Her wearing apparel was £77.15. and her books £7. She possessed the largest amount, £90., in "plate," noted so far and it was set forth on table linen worth £27.4. There were four looking glasses at £30., £6., £2.10. and 5s., respectively. In pewter and tin £23.15., in earthen ware £3.2.6., with a warming pan at 30s. Two linen and woollen wheels. One apple mill £2.10., with cider. She had no farming outfit, but there was 2800 lbs. tobacco valued at £93.6.8. A negro and his bed stood at £160.

Experience Salisbury, a single woman, did not possess a large estate; but out of the £103.5.7., she expended

£50.7.2. in ordinary wearing apparel, and £12. in a gold necklace.⁸²

There is recorded among prices, $\frac{1}{8}$ part of the brig *Providence* at £412.10.; a boat and appurtenances at £325., a canoe at £4. A set of saddlers' tools was appraised at £12. The wearing apparel of a poor man, in one instance, was £3.

General prosperity in the community did not exempt those catering to its wants from occasional failure. October 12, 1742,⁸³ Arnold Coddington, a descendant of Governor William, died insolvent. His inventory, £3640.0.3., was the longest recorded so far. He dealt freely in luxuries, including colored broadcloths, callimancoes, shalloons, camlet, crape and buckram, and stockings with clocks. Silk gloves, linen and silk damask and "gorgeous" ribands appear. For the maidens, there were "Girls' fans" of black gauze. For males Mr. Coddington provided buckles—gold and silver for shoes—and "for all the other emergencies of human life." This latter omnibus clause doubtless contemplated something beyond buckles. Miscellaneous wants were not forgotten, for the stock included not only hardware, but razors, tooth-brushes, mouse traps and "sliding perspective glasses." A little creative fancy may scatter these luxuries among the various accounts of wearing apparel, shown in our inventories. The eighteenth century reflected itself outwardly in the dress of the colonies, as well as in the capitals of Europe.

Although Gabriel Bernon about 1721 could call the leading citizens of Providence "learned men," their peculiar

⁸² These ornaments became almost universal. A century ago in the South County, a woman bewailed, "I am so poor, I have not a bead to my neck."

⁸³ MSS. Probate Records, Prov., Vol. IV., p. 60.

learning could have been hardly obtained directly from books. The inventories indicate that there were fewer books owned by individuals in the early eighteenth than there were in the latter seventeenth century. Possibly there were small circulating libraries about, as certainly they were used by the Hopkins family in Scituate.

About 1750⁸⁴ Chief Justice Cole, Judge Jenckes, nephew of the Governor and afterward a bookseller, Col. Ephraim Bowen, Nicholas Brown and others, formed the "public subscription library"; obtaining from the General Assembly, the council chamber in the courthouse, for storing the books. Boston and Newport, then, had the only public libraries in New England. This library was finally merged in the Providence Athenæum. Stephen Hopkins catalogued the first collection, which was mostly burned. The list of 1768 shows standard classics, both ancient—and the English, which included Milton, Hooker, Spectator, Guardian, Bacon and Locke. There was Prince's N. E. Chronology, and, Herrea: La Hontan stand for American history. Political science was represented by Coke, Vattel, Puffendorf and Grotius.

The old plantation, expanding its commerce, and crowded against the hilly peninsula, could not be restrained within the limits of the Great Salt River. Yet the passage and improvement beyond was very slow. The marshy soil and scant supply of fresh water repelled settlers. A plat of 1753⁸⁵ shows a street from J. Whitman's house across Waterman's marsh to Mathewson's land, now occupied by the street of the same name.⁸⁶ It has been stated that Beneficent Congregational Church

⁸⁴ Foster Hopkins, p. 128.

⁸⁵ Dorr, p. 127.

⁸⁶ Mr. H. R. Chace has contributed much to the knowledge of this district by his thorough studies.

dates from 1743, but the street westward was not improved until a lottery for £600. started it in 1763. A new town, Westminster, projected in honor of Charles J. Fox, had been defeated in the General Assembly by votes of Newport and the South County; a rare instance when the southern hostility actually forwarded the development of Providence. Westminster Street was named about 1769. There were only five houses on it in 1771.

Another indication of progress in the mid-century was in the better attention given to public schools. After an arrested movement in the latter seventeenth century, there was a strange and dark period, when nothing is recorded concerning schools. In 1752,⁸⁷ a strong committee was empowered to "care for the town school house, and to appoint a master." The house was then leased to Stephen Jackson, schoolmaster, and it was leased again in 1763. There had been schools meanwhile, for George Taylor had a chamber for a school in the state house in 1735. In 1751 permission was given for a schoolhouse on the west side. In 1767 a movement for genuine free schools, according to Moses Brown, "was rejected by the POORER sort of people."⁸⁸ At that time there were on the west side 102 houses, having 911 inhabitants fit for schooling; of whom 189 were between the ages of 5 and 14 years.

After this failure, in 1768 the town partially erected a brick schoolhouse on the old court house lot. It was completed by individual proprietors, who had possession of the upper story. As was inevitable, this mixed municipal and proprietary control produced unsatisfactory results, until it was changed in 1785.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Staples, p. 495.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 500.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 502.

Another reminiscence of Moses Brown's concerned the matter of marine insurance, made necessary by the enlarged commerce, and especially by direct shipments to Europe. By 1756,⁹⁰ and probably earlier, Stephen Hopkins had an office of his own, for insuring risks at sea. Others underwriting on this system were John Gerrish and Joseph Lawrence.

In 1758 Benjamin Franklin's post-office—a harbinger of American unity—established its station in Providence, under the administration of Samuel Chace. The office occupied several points—at one time opposite St. John's Church, until in 1768 it was moved into Market Square. At this period the water by the present Steeple Street was deep enough to send brigs and barks to London and Dublin. The enterprising merchants, John Innes Clark and Nightingale, were located on the long dock there. Joseph and William Russell were the chief importers of English and Irish goods. This extensive trade compelled the merchants to publish important advertisements in the Boston newspapers. Cotton Mather's critical spirit was laid, so far as trade and commerce were concerned. The Providence *Gazette*, issued by Sarah and William Goddard in October, 1762, afforded opportunity for publishing this intelligence at home. It was issued at the Sign of Shakespeare's Head in 1763. After November 12, 1768, it was assumed by John Carter, a pupil of Doctor Franklin and an excellent printer. Under his management the *Gazette* was equal to the best colonial newspapers.

There were a few books sold by the general traders, but Daniel Jenckes opened the first regular book-shop at this time at his place of business. The larger culture of the new and growing community involved a new use of

⁹⁰ Foster Hopkins, p. 117.

books. The best current English literature was freely imported and sold. This Sign of Shakespeare's Head was just above the Great (Weybosset) Bridge.

These signs marked some important phases of social history; one of the many correspondences between mind and matter. The sign informed not only by legend, but by symbol and significant association. For our colonists, the love of home and old English associations was fostered by these symbols and swinging signs, which were in full use in the eighteenth century. They were in all the busy portions of Providence, while the Bunch of Grapes and Turk's Head signs were famous for generations.

The new court (or state) house was built at this time on Town Street just above Meeting or Jail Lane. Town meetings were held in the hall or lower story. Here exhibitions and dramatic performances found audience, Franklin's book on electricity had been read, and one Johnson advertised lectures on the new discoveries, March 1, 1764.⁹¹ We may perceive that even heretical Providence must provide against the subtle ways of Satan, for the orthodox scientist had to specify that the "guarding against lightning is shown not to be chargeable with presumption, nor inconsistent with any of the principles of natural or Revealed Religion."

We may now consider Stephen Hopkins, the citizen of Providence, in his political functions. No one was so often moderator of the town-meeting. He represented the town almost constantly in the General Assembly, and was its Speaker in 1744 and again in 1749. He became Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Rhode Island in 1751. In Judge Durfee's opinion, for ordinary judicial business at that time, "honesty, good sense, diligence and

⁹¹ Dorr, p. 157.

fair-mindedness were tolerable substitutes for professional learning." And in his judgment "Hopkins, though not a lawyer, was doubtless a good judge."⁹²

In 1754 he was to pass upward and outward, from town and colony toward the larger representation which was to form the American Union. Chancellor Kent held that the leaders of the Albany Congress prepared the way for the future independence and expansion of the Republic. Our subject was a delegate and no one entered more fully into Franklin's ideas and purposes. Proceeding from opportunities and acquaintances began here, he commenced correspondence with many men of power throughout the country. These were the beginnings of that wonderful system conducted by committees of correspondence, which ultimately so underran the colonies and prepared them for the eruption of independence.

Hopkins was elected Governor in 1755.⁹³ The "seven years" or "old French War" oppressed the colonies. Little Rhode Island made tremendous exertions, issued paper money and tried her credit to the utmost. Lord Loudon, the English commander-in-chief, complimented the Governor on his prompt support, and General Winslow, commanding for Massachusetts, said that our colony "comes nearest up to their quota." The Governor's opponents charged him with nepotism and special commercial regulations for his private advantage during the war. As he was re-elected in 1756, we may conclude these were the administrative methods of the time, rather than any personal fault of Hopkins.

In 1750 Kent County was detached from the northern country. Bristol County included the southeastern territory which had been detached from Plymouth colony.

⁹² Durfee, "Judicial History," p. 93.

⁹³ Cf. Brigham, pp. 200-203.

Newport was the center of business, wealth and culture at this period. King's, our familiar "south" county, was cognate in many characteristics, and Higginson considered that it added features of the country life of Virginia.⁹⁴ The commercial interests of the port of Bristol allied it politically to growing Providence, but the southern part of the colony opposed the north.

This sectional diversity culminated in the canvass of 1755-1767, which was the fiercest controversy known in a controversial community. Stephen Hopkins led the north, winning over Samuel Ward, of the south. We must study the character and circumstances of Ward, as this contest reflects social conditions affecting the plantations then, and possibly now. Ward's grandfather had been attached to the Commonwealth in England; emigrating to Newport, he was much respected there. The son Richard was a merchant and held many offices in the colony. Samuel was born in 1725. He went to the grammar school at Newport, then one of the best in the country. Doubtless he was tutored by his brother, a Harvard graduate.⁹⁵ Certainly, he grew up in Berkeley's community, where, for the moment, light and leading was as good as anywhere in the world. At twenty-one years he was both merchant and farmer, for Richard's estates westward in King's took him out and mounted him as a country squire. Marrying Anne Ray, of Block Island, they were dowried with a farm in the southern part of Westerly and settled there. He kept a store in the village and was engaged in commerce, both at Newport and Stonington. He practiced farming—high for the time—improved the breeds of animals, succeeding especially with Narragansett pacers for export. Consider-

⁹⁴ *Harper's Mag.*, LXVII., p. 439.

⁹⁵ Gammell, "Samuel Ward," p. 237.

ing the average life of New England, we may say that he represented both patroon and patrician. Ward was a fruit out of the world at large; Hopkins, his opponent, was the product of Rhode Island.

Mention has been made of the four brothers Brown. Their father, James, died in 1739. Their mother, Hope Power, descended from Pardon Tillinghast, was left a widow with six children under fifteen. Living to be more than ninety, she saw her four sons accomplished in various industries, and ranking among the foremost men of their time. This best of mothers bred them within the home, while without their Uncle Obadiah trained them in severe integrity and the better mercantile methods of the time. Schooling was limited, but these men were educated through strict conduct of affairs. The brothers were now operating with Obadiah or as Nicholas Brown & Co. They distilled rum and manufactured candles of spermaceti, traded to the West Indies and turned their merchandise at home.

John, the third brother, should be noticed especially, for after Hopkins, he was the leading and essential Rhode Islander of the latter eighteenth century. The present writer was lucky enough to find ⁹⁶ his first memo. or pocket day-book, running from October 23, 1755, to November 19, 1758. He was then nineteen and traveling on his brother's or his uncle's affairs. These shrewd entries picture the life as well as the ways of business in the Plantation of Providence. John could spell a piece of crockery ware into a "point boal," but his self-taught English was sufficient for the largest affairs and always clear. He appreciated academic education for others, laying the cornerstone of Brown University, and serving as its treasurer for twenty years. His first entries show

⁹⁶ In MSS., N. Brown & Co.

that he was keeping accounts, posting books for Esek Hopkins and others, chiefly at "nite"; 10s. to 15s. being charged for each service. The entertaining punch appears frequently, and occasionally "my club" costs 1s. to 6s. at a tavern; once we have "Club at 6d. a dame." Again "Punch, playing Catt 19s." Abraham Whipple is often loaned a few shillings. "Watermillions" down the river ameliorated a hot day in August, when George Hopkins "overpaid your part of Expenses at the prudence frolick." Probably the clam was too common to be noticed. A curious transaction shows that Benjamin West paid £15. "for which I am to stand his chances of being Drafted out of the Melishe." Doubtless, the meaning was—drafted out to serve in the militia. Many supplies are furnished the brig *Providence*, including one pair Swivel Guns £100. by John Brown.

In May, 1757, he took the sloop *Mary* to Philadelphia, being furnished forth with a most varied list of family wants; earthen tea pots for Aunt Brown, "Tea Board to set wine glasses &c" for mother, "1 set Chaney" for Mrs. Angell. The sloop carried out candles, oil, whalebone, rum, fish and two passengers at £1.7. and £2.0.6.; returned with flour and other merchandise. An "Alle blaster Babe" (again "Babey") was ordered and he booked for himself "Franklin on Electricity." Proceeds of a cheese from Mrs. Angell was to be laid out in Brushes. Geese feathers were often ordered from Philadelphia. No narrow home-territory could furnish enough ganders and goslings to fill the ever-increasing feather beds. Aunt Corlies replenished her "Chaney" by this convenient opportunity. He bought a horse and rode home.

There was much intercourse with Nantucket where our manufacturers obtained their oil and "head-matter." In an interesting list of goods carried on one of his many

trips, there are coats, jackets, "Briches," stockings, checked and white shirts; and for fair and feminine customers silk and linen handkerchiefs, "7 white Nachlasses, 4 White Caps, 1 Wigg, 1 Hat, 1 white Jackett." Captain John Beard paid four pistoles for \$400 insurance on his sloop to Mountchrsto "Clere of all seasurc." There are constant entries of sugar, rum, head-matter and goods of all sorts. Generally the prices are in lawful money, but all sorts of currency are used as in the above agreement for insurance. Providence and Newport, Warren and Bristol prosecuted whaling to some extent; but Nantucket far surpassed them.

Joseph and Moses Brown might have been of the type of Gabriel Bernon's "learned men" of a generation earlier. But Nicholas and John were educated by the great current of affairs. Born of the best stock in narrow circumstances, these youth were thoroughly disciplined in a Puritan home. Without, they took in large ideas from the mariners, who carried their small craft through the stormy subtropical seas, going sometimes to Europe, and traded their cargoes skillfully with Frenchmen and Spaniards. James Brown, the father, and Obadiah, the uncle, began as captains in this traffic and ended as merchants. These mariners afloat or ashore were intelligent, enterprising men, dealing in the world's commodities, and sensible of the expanding opportunities of colonial Englishmen. Sufficient attention has not been given to the circumstances of our community now looking outward, and comprehending the encircling world of commerce. A century earlier these protesting Puritans had been shut within themselves, indulging their freedom of conscience in petty struggles of common life, or in speculations on a future life and world beyond. In the atmosphere of the eighteenth century, the descendants of these idealists went

abroad and, expanding in a wider existence, became large men for the time.

John Brown especially could enjoy at nineteen a tavern-punch or a Prudence Island frolic with vikings like the Hopkins' sailors or Abraham Whipple. But his leisure never wasted, was at times and at evening employed in writing up accounts and regulating business for these fellows and companions. At twenty-one he was fitted for mercantile travel by land or sea, taking a vessel to Philadelphia, converting her cargo, riding home on his newly bought horse; a merchant finished and accomplished in the ready school of experience. Ultimately as large in body as in mind—for he filled the wide seat of a common chaise—he was the most sagacious and enterprising citizen of the growing community of Providence.

As we turn into the middle decade of the century, we find great increase of comfort in the households. Besides the merchants, traders and mariners, commerce had created artisans and workmen, who worked the still-houses, coopered the casks and ministered to the personal wants of the new population. Many of these owned houses and eked out the living of the family on the homestead.

As an example of the man of moderate affairs, we have the inventory of Peter Thacher,⁹⁷ owner of $\frac{1}{2}$ Sloop *Dolphin*, worth £350. He had a small stock of dry goods and a personal estate of £1121.12.4. His household goods included 15 teacups at £5.10., a box and 2 drinking glasses at 10s., a comb and tobacco pouch at 12s., a silver watch at £30. We seldom get the detailed prices of a wardrobe. Let us quote, 1 frock coat £1.10., 2 jackets, 1 coat £3., 1 great coat £2., a fustian waistcoat £2., a black suit of clothes £11., two old "wiggs" £2.5. Leather breeches and cape coat £8., ticket No. 2939 in

⁹⁷ MSS. Probate Rec., Vol. IV., p. 287.

Pemberton's Lottery. He wore shoe and knee buckles. His fancy was not wholly engrossed by voyages of the *Dolphin* or chances in a lottery, for he played on a flute worth 10s., read "Poems on general occasions" at 15s. Ovid's epistles at 15s., and two Spectators at 10s.

William Dyer, of the historic name, had books at £25. and wearing apparel at £110., with sword and spurs at £70. Silver tankards begin to appear, and Dyer's, with the spoons, cups, etc., was worth £355. A warming pan and "Chamber Utinels" stood at £12. A negro woman and girl were valued at £600. The personal estate was £2081.

We may compare Captain William Tillinghast's manner of living with these, though his estate, £4290.3.8., was somewhat larger. His wearing apparel at £180. was reinforced by a pair of gold buttons at £12. "Sundry silver vessels" were valued at £356. Glass and China ware "in ye Boaufat" stood at £33. The table linen was £36.16., glass and earthen ware was £9. Pewter was £36.; tin ware £1. Iron ware £6., wooden ware £2., three brass kettles £14., two bell metal skillets £8. Knives and forks £2., old brass Chafing dish and kettle £2.10., one looking glass £25., and three were appraised together at £85. The clock and case were £200. One box iron heaters, two flats and a bread toaster were £5. These useful heaters were becoming common; likewise cradles, and the Captain's with the bedding was worth £5. The negro man stood at £500., and the girl at £350. His sea chest, "quadrant book" and spy glass amounted to £20.

Wigs were common as well as knee buckles, while buckles for shoes seemed to be indispensable. The buckles were generally of pewter, often of silver and rarely of gold. They were more common than silver spoons. There was

no positive custom assigning the quality of the buckle to one's condition in life. A farmer, modest in other things, had a gold buckle. John Whipple, a shoemaker, with an estate of £1132.9., had "plate buttons and buckles" at £12. An estate of £483.9., with wearing apparel at £50., pewter ware at £14.4., had one pair shoe buckles at £10., one pair knee buckles at £6.

Hezekiah Smith, a farmer, with ten cows at £26. each, forty sheep at £2.10. each, in the good personal estate of £6600.3.6., was extravagant in his way of living. His wearing apparel at £200. was of the most expensive, and his watch and cane were £62. The value of 20 silver spoons was £77., and he had a silver cup. There were wheels, combs and cards with yarn at the weaver's.

In 1754,⁹⁸ living under different conditions, was George Dunbar, of Bristol. He had much real property and £2261.17.2. in personal. With his wearing apparel at £150.5. he wore two gold rings at £8.4. Silver weighing 111 oz. 1 pwt. stood at £355.7.2. The library included 76 folios, quartos and octavos with 26 pamphlets, worth £85.10. A dressing box was 35s., and a turkey leather trunk was 15s. A shoe brush was recorded for the first time. Two diaper table cloths were £13. and two dozen napkins £2. In furniture there were 9 tables, large and small, at £59., with 28 chairs of all sizes at £42.10. and 18 pictures at £85.5., one looking glass at £30. Dutch tiles were to be much used in the coming half-century, and Mr. Dunbar had 1 dozen and 19 at £3.3. Clock £90. Snuff was plentiful beyond measure; a chalk and snuff mill at 5s., the stock in 7 bottles at £7., and for ready reference 5 boxes at 10s.

The table service was comfortable, but not excessive; 11 saucers and 6 cups at £4., 8 china plates at £6. and

⁹⁸ MSS. Probate Rec., Prov., Vol. V., p. 13.

two china flower pots at 30s., the first mentioned. A pewter platter and 6 plates were £5.2. In glass were three decanters at £2.5., two cruets at 10s., two large beakers at 30s., a sugar dish and two glasses at 10s. A teapot was 40s., another with cup was 6s., a creampot and mug 10s., a mustard pot and salt cellar 10s., a sugar pot and jug 10s., an earthen platter 20s., an earthen cistern 5s. Tin ware was largely represented at £45., and the bell metal skillet at £5. was a favorite article in many households. A brass skimmer and chafing dish stood at 40s., five candlesticks at £9.10., and the snuffers and dish at 25s. A dark lanthorn was 20s. and 118 lbs. "coco" £42.8. Not readily comprehended now was a "pot conzino Roses" at 30s.

He bequeathed to his wife, Sarah Dunbar, directly for her life, one-third part of his lands and houses in Bristol, together with all the household goods "she brought me." It is likely these personal articles were not inventoried, and the fact accounts for the above fragmentary list of furnishings.

The wills of this period generally assigned the body to the earth, trusting that it would be returned to the testator at the resurrection, through the "almighty power of God." Mr. Dunbar asserted the same faith in rather less material form. He was "expecting through the merits of my saviour Jesus Christ a Joyful Resurrection."

In contrast with this comfortable estate and circumstance, we may note the belongings of a poor man; which show how close to the bone he lived. John Road⁹⁹ was a laborer and wood-chopper, with a personal estate of £100.6. He wore clothing of the value of £4. and slept on bed and bedding worth only £5. His vocation appears in "awls, beetle rings, etc.," at £2.15. in a "raiser" (a

⁹⁹ MSS. Probate Rec., Prov., Vol. V., p. 10.

forester's implement probably) at £3.16. His avocations are indicated in two pairs woolen cards at £2., in a scythe and tackling at £1. He might have worked about, living with his employers; as he owned a pig at £5., with a cow and hay at £30., it would appear that he owned or hired a small homestead.

We have three widows signing with the +. Prizilah Westcot left a small farming outfit, and her wardrobe amounted to £70. Elizabeth E. Arnold was better off in 1756, with a personal estate of £808.9.11. Her wearing apparel was £142., and ten small beaker glasses stood at £2. The beaker glass, which came in a decade or two earlier, was then specified as "large." Glass was being used much more frequently, especially for drinking vessels. Hannah H. Smith was the third relict making her mark.

Bethiath Sprague, a widow, had in personal property £615.17.11., and she expended £103.7. in her wardrobe. Now the record gives for the first time a silver chain for "sizzors" at £4. A silver girdle and buckle with one pair silver sleeve buttons at £2., one silver spoon at £5., Bible at £1.10. Eight Napkins at £5.10., one table cloth at £1.10. Mrs. Sprague had the unusual ornament of a string of small amber beads at 15s. There was the usual pewter ware, worth £2., including a chamber pot. The inevitable joynt stool stood at 15s.; in another instance one was valued at £5. Mary Dexter, widow's condition was essentially similar; estate £522., wearing apparel £90., two books £5., two silver spoons £11., two knives and forks 4s. She wore a gold ring at £9.3. Her warming pan was worth £3., as compared with £6. for Mr. Dunbar's. These two inventories indicate, as has been observed, that silver spoons were still a luxury. In another instance one gold necklace and two gold rings were valued at £27.17.6.

Widow Mercy Tillinghast again had an estate of £733.8., with wearing apparel at £105.10., and one small pair gold buttons at £3. Her books were £12. and silver ware £79.12., table linen £21. Almost all the estates were amply equipped with feather beds. Two looking glasses and 16 small pictures stood at £16., the china and glass ware "in Beaufait" £26., pewter and tin ware £35. The prevalence of small pictures may be noted.

This beaufait, bo-fat or buffet came into frequent use in the latter eighteenth century. The cupboard, generally built into the wainscoting of a corner, was handsomely filled with china and the superior wares. In the better houses, the structure was ornamental in design, standing open or protected by glass or wooden doors.

In 1754 we have John Mawney¹⁰¹ with a personal estate of £9050.7.8., including a large amount of notes and bonds. There was a small farming or village outfit, 1 pair of oxen, 1 cow, 1 horse, a negro man at £500., a woman at £300.; but nothing indicating active business or trading operations. His condition appeared to be that of wealth or affluence. Certainly his wearing apparel at £333., with watch, cane and whip at £50., was profuse enough; and he wore a gold stock buckle. Silver plate was amply represented, 1 silver tankard, 1 do. teapot, 2 large "canns," 13 large spoons, 1 silver . . ., 12 tea spoons, 7 porringers, 1 sugar dish and cover, 2 pepper boxes, 1 cream pot, 2 salts, 1 pair tea tongs, 1 small bowl, 1 small spoon strainer, altogether weighing 214 oz. 9 dwt. at 85, making a value of £911.8.3. Here we perceive a great advance in luxurious living in a half-century.

One coffee mill and a three-legged copper coffee pot stood at £8. The first tea cannister on record was worth £4. In China, 6 plates, 2 small dishes and 4 punch bowls

¹⁰¹ MSS. Probate Rec., Prov., Vol. V., p. 30.

were appraised at £12., 6 "Burnt China" cups and saucers at £5. Again 12 cups and saucers were £5.9. 1 dozen plates £9., 2 large and 1 small bowl £10. In pewter the large quantity of 86 lbs. 12 oz. at £51.12. In tin and earthen ware £6.

All these dishes interest us in the development of the household, but for our present purpose the most important crockery is the two "white stone" tea pots, strainer and mustard pot at £1.10. This is about the first mention of this ware, which was manufactured in England before 1750. A little later the production was to be stimulated and immensely increased by the discovery of "China stone" clay in Cornwall. This common pottery was to supersede pewter ware, and become the universal table and chamber service of the American people.

The furniture was of the best then prevailing; a mahogany desk £40., a small scitore £3., a looking glass, walnut framed and gilt, £45., a large black-framed glass at £40., a glass at £30., another at £12. Art did not interest the comfortable Mr. Mawney visibly, for he had only 4 small pictures at £2. and no books. In chairs there were new departures; in the first mention of leather bottoms, 12 examples at £40., again with flag bottoms, 11 examples at £5.10. In a chamber set were 7 maple crooked backed chairs at £18. Tables were not remarkable, one black walnut folding at £12., one mahogany oval do. at £6. The negro servants were of the aristocratic sort, for their cradles and bedding were valued at £10.

In 1755¹⁰² we are made grateful to Nicholas Tillinghast, council clerk, for the first legible and elegant handwriting. A great boon to posterity was the deft hand of Nicholas. While the wealthy inventories above represent

¹⁰² MSS. Probate Rec., Prov., Vol. V., p. 71.

the expensive livers of the mid-century, we may study David Vanderlight's for traces of the best culture of that day. There were not many college graduates in the plantation; Dr. Bowen represented Yale and Dr. Robert Gibbs Harvard. Even these accomplished physicians prescribed some unmerciful remedies, including the Bezoar stone. Mr. Vanderlight was graduated from the University of Leyden, and thoroughly bred in his profession of apothecary and chemist. He married the sister of the four brothers Brown, and taught in their factory the Dutch process of separating oil and spermaceti. This change instituted a great industry for making candles.

The Vanderlight personal estate was £4375.14.4.; including £200. in wearing apparel, £10. in shoes and boots and £30. in silver buckles, clasps, gold ring and silver money, with £1. in three seals and black buttons. Professional decorum was amply supported by "wigg" in a box at £12. Plates, basins, dishes, porringers in pewter probably stood at £80. There was £57.8. in 7 silver spoons and £15. in 8 silver tea spoons and tea tongs. A hard metal teapot was £2.15. He had a fair amount of China and glass, with white "stone ware" at £2., as above mentioned.¹⁰³ In 18 pictures with black frames was £4.10., in sundry books £20. in Dutch books £7., in a violin and flute £5. Altogether a sensible outfit whether Dutch or colonial English.

Books were few in number, as a rule. Shadrach Manton had 40 bound volumes and some in paper valued at £35. Richard Waterman had the value of £26. Silver watches were becoming common, say at £25., £50. and £80. It was pathetic that the first exporter and explorer in the London market, Edward Kinnicut, afterward died there. His personal estate was valued in Providence in

¹⁰³ "Delph ware" is first mentioned in 1755.

1755 ¹⁰⁴ at £15,033.1.2., including a stock of dry goods. Of this £45.6., a sterling value, was advanced 1700 per cent. to meet the wretched depreciation of our paper money.

Andrew Frank, a "negro man," showed a comfortable way of living with personal estate at £229.0.6. He was forehanded, possessing a note of hand worth £60. His modest wearing apparel was £20., and we may presume he read his "old bible," which was valued at £2.10. In hay he had 2400 lbs. at £17., to keep 1 cow and 2 calves. The most curious item is "1 gun pressed for the war and went" ¹⁰⁵ £16. The bounty for said gun was £5. He had an hour glass at 10s.

Joseph Kelton, "cordwainer's," condition shows that the artisan's occupation was no barrier to a good marriage connection. In wearing apparel was £197.12., a silver pepper box, 16 silver jacket buttons, 1 pair shoe, 1 pair knee buckles, 1 neck buckle (the first mentioned) were all valued at £453.17.6. 19 Brass coat, 4 breeches buttons at £12.; 13 catgut eyes do. at 10s. A shoemaker's bench and tools at £6.10. "Some Christian Hair" at £1. would indicate that the hair used in wigs so frequently did not go into this category. This personal estate, £343.19.6., was his own before marriage. His wife brought him £3163.3.10., including 4 feather beds and furniture at £678.8., one pair table coverlids at £10.10. There was plenty of gilt china and punch bowls; with "flint" wine glasses at 30s., the first mentioned.

The use of titles at this time was persistent and quite confusing. Mr. Kelton, "cordwainer," was living above the average condition of the community. Edward Kinnicut was denominated Esquire; Samuel Winsor in 1758

¹⁰⁴ Prob. Rec., Vol. V., p. 57.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V., p. 114.

was the first recorded Elder; in 1759 we have a Merchant Taylor; the term mariner was often used; in 1760 we have Merchant simply, and Husbandman. But the fullest record embodying the serious ideas of the community in this respect occurs in 1756¹⁰⁶ when the commission for probating wills and making administrators on intestate estates was appointed. This was an important public function and the intention was to record each participant under his proper designation. We have accordingly George Brown, Esquire, Jonathan Olney, Gentleman, Barzillai Richmond, Gentleman, and Isaiah Hawkings, Yeoman, all of Providence. They appointed an administrator for "Mr. Robert Avery, Merchant," who died at sea, intestate.

In 1757 Captain Thomas Manchester's inventory affords some interesting information. He had much furniture of mahogany and 16 "Banister Back" chairs at £30., the first mentioned. This was an important article in colonial living. Upright banisters often fluted with curved arm-rests made a comfortable and not too easy seat. The slat-back used also, was more simple in form and finish. Here were the first blue and white earthen plates, twelve at £4., and five finer do. at £2. A white counterpane at £15. The feminine element appears in a gold necklace, a locket, and gold ring, altogether worth £50. Insurance was written for £1400. on the sloop *Providence*, and the total personal property was £4089. 13.6.

In 1758 the sloop *Sally* and her appurtenances were valued at £3000. In the following year one-half of the sloop "*Daulfin*" was sold for £1800.

If they had the means, they lived well, whatever their occupation. A farmer in 1759, with £2692.11.8. in per-

¹⁰⁶ Prob. Rec., Vol. V., p. 144.

sonal estate, had 50 oz. of plate at £6.13.4., or a value of £333.6.8.

Obadiah Brown, descended from Chad, an early settler, died in 1762, leaving real property and the large personal estate of £93,220.16.1. Old Tenor.¹⁰⁷ His way of living was easy, but moderate. Two large looking glasses at £265. went beyond those of his neighbors. Beds and bedding were ample, with four blankets at £60. and two at £40. We have 12 white stone plates at £10., 6 china cups at £7. (a small outfit), two large Delph bowls and four beaker glasses at £6. Among the first recorded earthen teapots are two at £2.10., and the first "stone chamberpott" at £1.10. There was the usual pewter, tin and wooden ware, with ten iron candlesticks and four brass at £17. The negro woman Eve and the girl Peggy at £1400., served in the house. His library was business-like, rather than literary, consisting of Gordon's Geographical Grammar at £8. and Brown's Estimate at £1. A large stock of goods in almost every variety met the wants of his customers at retail. He owned five negroes, two at £1000. each, one at £1050., one £1100. and one at £1250.

Mr. Brown succeeded to the joint business conducted with his brother James, and brought up his nephews, the four brothers, in the best mercantile ways of the time. In a distillery and in the manufacture of oil and candles, assisted by Dr. Vanderlight, he obtained merchandise for exchange with Philadelphia and other domestic ports. This interchanging commerce became more and more important and increased largely. Beginning as a captain in the West Indian trade, on shore he continued in commerce with those seas, becoming the largest merchant of Providence.

¹⁰⁷ Prob. Rec., Vol. V., p. 312.

In contrast to the opulent merchant was "Manna Burnon"—Gabriel Bernon's freedman—the first caterer and signing with a +. He left wearing apparel worth £100. and £36. in pewter ware. Twenty-three drinking glasses afforded supply for his thirsty customers.

The Peace of Paris brought to an end the Seven Years' War, and it had been a most important period for the colonies. Rhode Island in particular—bad as was her financial management—was impelled by a great patriotic purpose in issuing her paper money. Larger ideas of government were fostered by such enforced experience. Trained by the sacrifices of war, by the severity of camp life, and in the ways of new taxation at home, the planters were coming to be citizens. The time was fast approaching when Englishmen migrated across the seas would assume new relations toward the home government, for the British administration could not learn that they were dealing with brothers and not with aliens.

Business in Rhode Island had profited largely through the war. Smuggling was greatly stimulated, and privateering increased commerce through the inevitable trade it brought to our ports. A natural reaction followed the peace, but business soon adapted itself to the new conditions.

CHAPTER VIII
NEWPORT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
1700-1776

AT the opening of the eighteenth century, the world was growing weary of war. The brutal rule of Spain had been overcome and the aggressive ambition of Louis XIV. was checked by the diplomatic skill of William of Orange; while the increasing sea-power of Great Britain was beginning to balance the continent.

The divine mission of Grotius in the previous century was bearing fruit, and, though France and England contended here and there, these struggles were not wars of extermination. Forces other than warlike were getting exercise and practice, and where was the opportunity better than in a new world, in Aquidneck, the isle of peace by the sea? Where did the new forms of civilization assert themselves better and in a more graceful form?

New England was just passing out of the ebb. The later seventeenth century had not developed citizens equal to the pioneers who had led the way, but stronger men were coming. In the eighties there was a marked increase of commerce, of which a large share came to Newport. With commerce came the opportunity for that expansion which the conditions of the place greatly favored. In his Century Sermon of 1738, Callender cited Neale in the statement "this is deservedly esteemed the Paradise of New England for the fruitfulness of the soil and the temperateness of the climate." Enthusiasts for this landscape and climate have magnified and illumined their theme, with every resource of rhetoric, as time has

gone on. "It appeals to one's alertness rather than to a lazy receptivity. You miss its quality entirely if your faculties are not in a state of real activity. This does not exclude composure or imply excitement."

In winter, there might be difference of opinion. Mr. George Bradford, a true lover of nature, told me there was all the capricious, beguiling promise of the New England spring with double disappointments in effect. Yet a fine day can tempt a zealot in this wise. "The lotus-eating season is over, plainly, yet there is the same agreeable absence of demand on any specific energies as in summer. The envelope of color—that delightful garment that Newport never puts off—is as evident to the senses as in midsummer, though more silvery in quality." Richard Greenough claimed it to be the American Venice, according to Dr. Hale.

Newport furnished the colony with one of its best governors, Samuel Cranston, an officer who would have been eminent in any country. Chosen in 1698 and at thirty successive elections, he was probably longer in office than any man ever subjected to an annual popular election. It was a season of severe trial, when the colony was exploring unknown paths of government and the executive head was sorely tested. His just views and inflexible firmness kept his constituency well in hand and gave him deserved popularity. In the paper money vexation, he acted as best he could. Toward the opposing religious sects he was judicial. He did not join or attend meeting with any sect, being in the words of Dr. Turner¹ a "Keep-at-home Protestant, an impartial and good man." In his administration the colony was threatened at home and abroad; he assured and protected the public weal.

In 1708, as he reported to the Board of Trade, the

¹ Two Governors Cranston, p. 50.

commerce of Newport was growing, and after the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 it increased rapidly. "The metropolis of the government" then had a population of 2203, about half as many again as the town of Providence.

Conscious enlargement and the spirit of growth records itself in 1712, when John Mumford was ordered to survey the streets and number them. "The town had grown to be the admiration of all and was the metropolitan," said the fond record.² For the first three decades the expanding community was being prepared for the event which was greatly to affect it, and to influence all New England. Rev. George Berkeley, Dean of Derry, had put forth his "Principles of Human Knowledge" in 1710. Flippant writers in these two centuries have laughed at the transcendent principles of Berkeley, but those laugh best who laugh last. The Dean only held firmly that the "universally acknowledged ultimate cause cannot be the empty abstraction called Matter. There must be living mind at the root of things. Mind must be the very substance and consistence and cause of whatever is. In recognizing this wondrous principle, life is simplified to man."³ Certainly the world of Knowledge has moved toward rather than away from the philosopher, since this was written. Here was the creative and impelling idea needed to lift commercial and material Newport out of pioneer life, and into communion with an older civilization and a more refined culture.

Berkeley, on his way to found a college at Bermuda, landed at Newport, January 23, 1729, by accident or design, as is disputed, and remained there about three years. Rev. James Honyman was preaching in Trinity church, founded at the beginning of the century, when

² Rhode Island *Historical Magazine*, Vol. VI., p. 216.

³ Life and Letters of Berkeley, p. 41.

the letter from Dean Berkeley, proposing to land, was received. He read it to the congregation, dismissing them with a blessing. The pastor and flock repaired to the wharf in time for the landfall. In this dramatic manner, the ideas of the old world were received into the new.

The philosopher confirms all our reports of the beauty and extraordinary, progressive character of the place, with its 6000 inhabitants. "The most thriving, flourishing place in all America for its bigness."⁴ We shall note the sectaries, who "agreed in a rage for finery, the men in flaming scarlet coats and waistcoats, laced and fringed with brightest glaring yellow. The sly Quakers, not venturing on these charming coats and waistcoats, yet loving finery, figured away with plate on their sideboards."⁵

Graduates from Harvard College were frequent, with an occasional native who had been educated at an English university. The girls were often sent to Boston for their schooling.

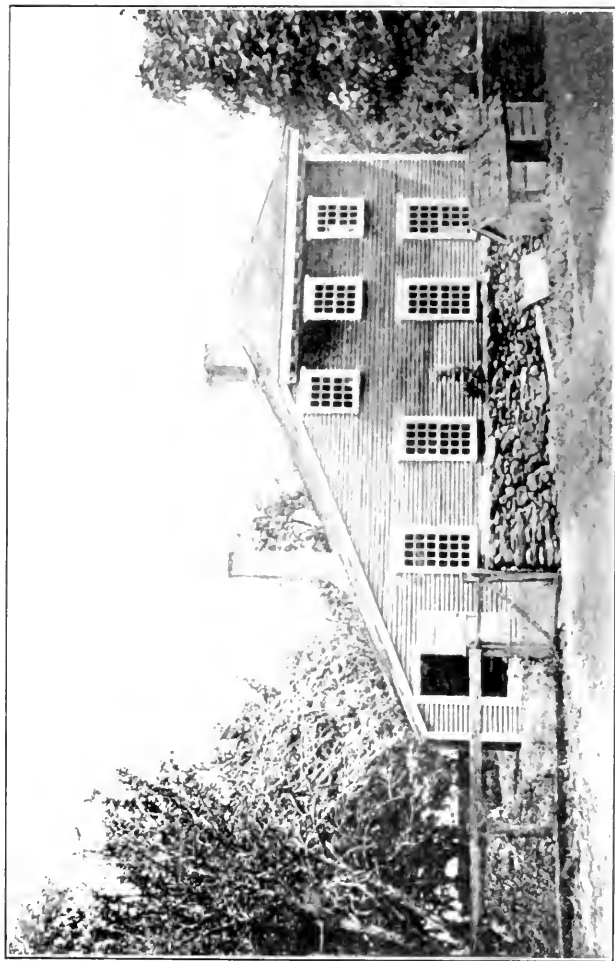
Dissenters naturally attracted the notice of this good-humored ecclesiast. "The inhabitants are of a mixed kind, consisting of many sorts and subdivisions of sects. Here are four sorts of Anabaptists, besides Presbyterians, Quakers, Independents, and many of no profession at all. Notwithstanding so many differences, here are fewer quarrels about religion than elsewhere, the people living peaceably with their neighbours of whatever profession. They all agree in one point, that the Church of England is second best."⁶

This accommodating spirit noted by the Dean was enforced in most piquant manner by Captain William

⁴ *Life and Letters of Berkeley*, p. 160.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 160.



RESIDENCE OF DEAN BERKELEY, MIDDLETOWN (NEAR NEWPORT, R. I.),
Built in 1730.

Wanton, a Quaker and a son of a preacher. He courted Ruth Bryant, the beautiful daughter of a Presbyterian deacon in Scituate, Mass., who would not hear of such laxity in marriage, but the ardent groom solved the difficulty. "Ruth, I am sure we were made for each other; let us break away from this unreasonable bondage. I will give up my religion and thou shalt give up thine and we will go to the Church of England and the devil together."⁷

Lodowick Updike gives his boyish impression of the liberal Dean in Trinity pulpit. "All sects rushed to hear him; even the Quakers, with their broad-brimmed hats, came and stood in the aisles."⁸ In one of his sermons he very emphatically said, 'give the devil his due, John Calvin was a great man.'⁹

Rev. James MacSparran, settled at St. Paul's Church in Narragansett in 1721, was not as tolerant toward the "pestilent heresy" of the Quakers. He stated that there was no established religion, "but the Quakers are, for the most part, the people in power."¹⁰ George Fox came in 1672, on his powerful mission. William Penn said of him that he was "civil beyond all forms of breeding." His influence, working on the radical settlers of the Island and their descendants, must have had gracious effect. Historians and critics rooted in the established order of the sixteenth and following centuries, when judging dissent, can only see jangling differences; for they are blindly

⁷ Annals of Trinity Church, p. 52n.

⁸ "In 1700, one-half the inhabitants were Quakers." Annals Trinity Church, p. 10. Roger Williams affected the Island settlement indirectly. He differed in doctrine from the Friends; while on the other hand, the system of laws established by Coddington and Clarke was adopted by the whole colony and enabled Providence to maintain a cohesive government.

⁹ Updike, Narragansett Church, p. 120.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 510.

unconscious of the indestructible elements of beauty, growing out of freedom from arbitrary control in religious and social matters. Good Dean Berkeley cited four varieties of Anabaptists among his new friends and neighbors. Anabaptism simply meant the worst form of anarchy to an ordinary Catholic or Calvinist of the differing centuries. Yet the conservative Erasmus could term them "a people against whom there is very little to be said." In some cases, goaded by severe laws, they were wild and fanatical, but were in general mystically sincere and pious. They were not necessarily historical Baptists, though the rite of baptism usually distinguished them.

In the great social influences forming the Newport of mid-eighteenth century, the Literary and Philosophical Society with the Redwood Library were powerful factors. The first institution was formed in 1730; some claiming that it was originated by Berkeley. Mr. Mason, a competent and sympathetic authority, says it "owed something of its influence to him we may readily admit; but when he came to Newport, intellectually, he found it no barren wilderness."¹¹ The people were chosen and elect, whether we consider Coddington, John Clarke and the disciples of Anne Hutchinson, or the friends of Roger Williams, or the converts of George Fox, or the enterprising spirits gathered into "the most thriving place in all America." The Quaker Wanton and the high Puritan Ruth Bryant molded into genial Episcopalians were fair examples of this annealing culture.

They had books already, as will be shown later, and representatives of all the sects, Jacob the Quaker scientist; Collins and Ward, Seventh Day Sabbatarians; Callender, a Baptist; Leaming, a Congregationalist; the Episcopal Honyman and others banded together. There

¹¹ Annals Redwood Library, p. 2.

was an elaborate set of rules, with forfeits and fines for all sorts of neglect and misfeasance, as was common then; some showing the earnest spirit of life prevailing.

The Society was to consider "some useful question in Divinity, Morality, Philosophy, History, etc.," but "nothing shall ever be proposed or debated which is a distinguishing religious tenet of any one member. . . . Whoever shall make it an excuse to avoid giving his opinion, that he has not thought of the question, or has forgot what the question is, shall forfeit one shilling. Whoever is unprovided of a proper question, on his turn to propound one, shall forfeit one shilling."¹²

The first "authentic paper" is dated 1735, though there must have been earlier examples. The Society was conducted vigorously and continued until about 1747 and had some occasional members, among whom was Stephen Hopkins, of Providence. Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, another participant, lived at Stratford, Conn. He was an ardent disciple of Berkeley, visiting him soon after his arrival. As he was invited to the rectorate of Trinity in 1750, it shows the permanence of Berkeley's influence in the colony. Afterwards he was president of King's College, New York.

Newport was a favorite destination for Scotch immigrants, and accordingly their influence was strong in the community. We get an inkling of the relative importance of the port from this statement of Dr. Waterhouse: "Between the years 1746 and 1750 there came over from Great Britain to the English colonies a number of Scotch gentlemen. Some settled in Philadelphia, some in New York, but the greater part sat down in that pleasant and healthy spot, Rhode Island."¹³

¹² Annals Redwood Library, p. 14.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Edward Scott,¹⁴ the grand-uncle of Sir Walter, was for more than twenty years master of the grammar and classical school. He was an active member of the Philosophical Society and librarian of the Redwood.

There had been collections of books all through the century. Regulations of the Library of Trinity Church were recorded in 1709. Some of those volumes exist in fair preservation, stamped in gold letters "Belonging to y^e Library in Rhode Island."¹⁵ Bequests down to 1733 show small collections of good books. John Clarke in 1676 left a Concordance and Lexicon written by himself, also a Hebrew Bible. Benedict Arnold in 1733 left, besides Quaker books, Milton, Quarles, Fuller and Plutarch. In 1747, the Redwood Library was engrafted on the stock of the Philosophical Society. Abraham Redwood, a wealthy merchant and liberal Friend, gave £500. Henry Collins, a Seventh Day Baptist, furnished the land on which the Library stands. Born in 1699, he was a product and a maker of the culture we are studying. Doctor Benjamin Waterhouse, a close friend of Gilbert Stuart,—himself a graduate of the University of Leyden, finally professor of Medicine in Harvard College—called Collins the Lorenzo de Medici of Rhode Island. Hon. William Hunter said of him, "He loved literature and the fine arts; had the sense of the beautiful in nature conjoined with the impulse to see it imitated and surpassed by art; he was a merchant, enterprising, opulent and liberal. Smibert was the father of true painting in this country. . . . Collins was fortunate enough to engage his earliest labors . . . his own portrait, Clap, Callender, above all Berkeley himself."¹⁶

¹⁴ Annals Trinity Church, p. 55.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

The list of books ¹⁷ ordered from London is interesting, and we may glance at a name here and there, for we have the spirit of the time in black letter. There were 114 titles in folio. Barclay and Penn, Barrow, Burnet's Reformation, a general dictionary of ten vols., Grotius, Wood's Laws of England, Sir William Temple. In quarto 73 titles, include dictionaries, Cudworth, Eusebius, Fluxions, Boyle, Bacon, and Rowe on Wheel Carriages. The octavos cover 95 standard classics, with an occasional Erasmus, Puffendorf or Johnson. History took 73 titles, Divinity and Morality 48, which varied from Sherlock, Butler, Warbuton to Mrs. Rowe's "Friendship in Death" or "Young Gentleman and Lady Instructed." Forty titles were in Physick, 24 in Law, 54 in Natural History, Mathematics, etc., 55 in Arts, Liberal and Mechanical, 37 in Miscellanies, Politics, etc. In duodecimo, there were 135 examples of very good general reading, as we should phrase it.

These names embody the books they desired; perhaps we should scan more closely those given by several gentlemen; for the volumes are such as they had. In folio 28 titles show Baxter, Beaumont, Fletcher, Chaucer, Herodotus, Homer, Justin Martyr, the Rambler, Spenser. In 22 quarto, 54 octavo were Descartes, Middleton, Addison, Bolingbroke, Calvin's Institute in Latin, Douglass' Summary from the author, Gentleman's Magazine for two years, twelve magazines from Philadelphia, Grey, Young's Night Thoughts, Roderick Random, Pope, Erasmus.

In a thriving and progressive community, accidents as well as incident, contribute to the vital increase. As the Scotch "Forty-five" sent out emigrating rebels to give needed strength to the new world, so the earthquake at Lisbon in 1755 sent more than sixty families of accom-

¹⁷ Annals Redwood Library, p. 494.

plished Jews ¹⁸ who were generally wealthy merchants, attracted by liberal government and commercial opportunity, to our little isle by the sea.

The Jew first embodied and represented in an individual the creative power of industry, flippantly characterized as the "Almighty Dollar." It is a fructifying idol, not almighty indeed, but powerful to enlist man with man, and to hold him subjected—not to a greater and sovereign man—but to citizen and people embodied in the State. Feudalism had been tested and found wanting, as it has been recently outgrown in Japan. Greater than the universal imperial power of Egypt and Assyria, greater even than Rome, was the economic force of industry; pledged to the State as a whole, but returning to each man in his own pocket, a universal tribute of mankind to man—the dollar. The philosophy of the eighteenth century, baptized in the blood and sacrifice of French feudal privilege, was necessary to garner in and bestow on each peasant or householder, this new tax, toll, impost and assessment of society, payable to its least and lowest member.

Meanwhile, England was so far ahead of its compeers in modern development that it had cut off the head of a king in the seventeenth century, by way of showing privilege and blind despotism, what was meant by the awakening of the human mind. All this is frequently treated as being absolutely involved in constitutional government, expanding suffrage and parliamentary representation. Truly, it is a part of these great categories of human progress, but it is even more part and portion of the larger social movement; by which not only is government parceled out by King, Kaiser and cabinet, by parliament, democratic party or aristocracy to render political rights fairly; but also by which the economic dollar flowing out

¹⁸ Newport *Historical Magazine*, Vol. IV. p. 162.

of capitalist's coffer or laborer's pocket can renovate and fructify the whole movement.

By this extraordinary exercise of social force in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the face of the world was rapidly changed, Napoleons being elevated, or in turn crushed, by the way. The greatest exponent, the largest interpreter of this universal social force, working through particular individuals, was the historic Jew. He was little comprehended then, he is not wholly understood today. Anyone can see that the new economic dispensation did not endow the feudal descendants of fabled Roland or historic Richard with new privilege; nor did it relegate to the robber dynasties of Napoleonic marshals the administration of the new powers of society. It went to the Ghetto for new administrators, in the persons of shivering Shylocks and abject Isaacs of York. The scions and representatives of these new social financial administrators came out on the enlarged Rialto, the modern Bourse.

I hinted in the beginning, rather than affirmed, that Newport was a wayside product of the whole social eighteenth century. The Jew, with his enlarged intelligence and creative skill, went into an appreciative and responsive atmosphere.

The "metropolitan" community, as it called itself in 1712, had come to be an important mart. Dr. MacSparan and Douglass substantially agreed in reporting the commerce of 1750 to 1760. Butter and cheese, grain, fat cattle, fine horses, pipe staves and lumber were among the exports, largely to the West Indies. The Narragansett pacers were famous, pacing "a mile in little more than two minutes, a good deal less than three,"¹⁹ according to the worthy parson. There were above 300 vessels of

¹⁹ Updike, Narragansett Church, p. 514.

sixty tons and more, including coasters, in the export trade. In 1749, there were 160 clearances for foreign voyages.²⁰ In 1770, there were at least 200 vessels in foreign and 400 in the coasting trade,²¹ the population having grown to 12,000. After 1707, trade in sugar, rum, and negroes grew rapidly. Sugar and molasses were distilled at Boston and more at Newport. The slaves were generally carried to the West Indies, sometimes to Newport or Boston. Much capital from Boston assisted in the business at Newport.²² Privateering in the French and Spanish wars was a stimulating element in commerce. Wantons, Ellerys, Malbones, indeed almost all the names are represented in this warring commerce.

Rev. James Honyman,²³ Scotchman and rector of Trinity from 1704 until 1750, was conciliatory in his ministry, drawing hearers from all the surrounding country. Dr. MacSparran, Irishman of Narragansett, learned, acute, disputatious, was a keen sectarian, believing in anybody's establishment, if he could not have his own. He found in 1721 "a field full of briars and thorns." . . . "Here liberty of conscience is carried to an irreligious extreme."²⁴

We get a wider outlook and more judicial report from Arthur Brown, son of a rector of Trinity. He lived in Newport until seventeen years old, then entered Trinity College, Dublin, becoming Senior Proctor and Professor of Greek. He wrote:

"The innocence of the people made them capable of liberty. Murder and robbery were unknown. During

²⁰ Rhode Island *Historical Magazine*, Vol. VI., p. 310.

²¹ *Ibid.*, V. 7, p. 47.

²² Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England*, Vol. II, pp. 455-469.

²³ *Annals Trinity Church*, p. 94.

²⁴ *Updike*, pp. 511, 514.

nine years at Newport from 1762 to 1771 ²⁵ (I speak of my own knowledge) only one person was executed, a notorious thief and house-breaker, one Sherman. . . . The multiplicity of secretaries (*sic*) and strange wildness of opinions, was disgusting to a reasonable mind, and produced as great a variety, though with no such pernicious effect, as in the reign of Charles the First; upon the whole, however, there was more genuine religion, morality and piety diffused than in any country I have ever seen. . . . The state of literature in America was by no means contemptible.” ²⁶

The refined culture of such a people must find expression in art, though the century was not fruitful in the plastic arts. John Smibert, another Scotchman, is considered to have been the first artist of note in America. He came to Newport with Dean Berkeley and painted many portraits there. Robert Feke, little known, but one of the best colonial artists, practiced there in the mid-century. Gilbert Stuart, the marvelous delineator of Washington, born in Narragansett, educated in Newport, was formed at the beginning by these collections of pictures. Cosmo Alexander, an artist of repute, spent two years in America, mostly on the island; he taught Stuart and first took him to England. Washington Allston was fitted for college in Newport. Edward G. Malbone, born at Newport in the revolutionary time, was self-taught, and the atmosphere of the island-paradise lighted up his palette. Benjamin West said of his “Hours” that “no man in England could excel it.” There is in the delicate lines of this bit of ivory a “dignity, character and expression” ²⁷ inspired by the whole ideal life I have attempted

²⁵ It will be remembered the population was 12,000. And we should compare the legal and criminal experience of England at the same period.

²⁶ Rhode Island *Historical Magazine*, Vol. VI., pp. 161, 168-171.

²⁷ Arnold. *Art and Artists in Rhode Island*, p. 9.

to set forth. We have in these words, the criticism of a sympathetic artist. I would note also a certain grace which is the refining excellence of beauty.

The grace of culture may be rendered in a picture; its strength and force must be represented by a man or men. Ezra Stiles, though not the outgrowth, was a collateral product of our island. Coincident with the Jewish immigration, he became minister of the Second Congregational Church in 1756, at twenty-nine years of age, influenced "partly by an agreeable town and the Redwood Library." He was Librarian during most of his twenty years' sojourn. Corresponding with European authors, he solicited books for the Redwood. His folio Homer is preserved, fully annotated by him in the original Greek. He became President of Yale College, the natural precinct of Jonathan Edwards,²⁸ who had told the previous generation that the "existence of all exterior things is ideal."

Stiles formed Chancellor Kent, and Channing, inheriting his Newport teachings, said, "In my earliest years, I regarded no human being with equal reverence." If he had done no more than to affect seriously these two men, America would owe him a great debt.

This happy community was fatally damaged by the Revolution, when its commerce fled to the safer port of Providence. Many of its citizens were loyalists, and the armies of both contestants trampled over the city. The society created by its peculiar culture was scattered, and the true "Paradise of New England" ceased to be.

²⁸ We should note the sympathy, correlative though not derived, between Edwards and Berkeley. "The soul in a sense, has its seat in the brain; so in a sense, the visible world is existent out of the mind; for it certainly in the proper sense, exists out of the brain. . . . Space is a necessary being, if it may be called a being; and yet we have also shown, that all existence is mental, that the existence of all exterior things is ideal." Cited from Edwards by Sercno E. Dwight. *Life and Letters of Berkeley*, p. 182.

CHAPTER IX

THE SOUTH COUNTY. 1758-1787

THE name of King's County was changed to Washington during the Revolution, but it has generally been known by the familiar term we have given it. The characteristics of the region changed as slavery went out. As the estates lessened, the patrician owners were succeeded by farmers employing fewer laborers, and their habits were more in accord with other parts of the colony and state. We must take up and describe Rowland Robinson,¹ for the story of his daughter, the "Unfortunate Hannah." He was a type of the old landholders, "constitutionally irritable, rash and unyielding" by one account. In Mr. Isaac P. Hazard's² rose-colored glass, he was "a noble, generous-spirited man by nature, passionate, but not vindictive." All agree that the daughter was "the most perfect model of beauty." She was known in Philadelphia and throughout the colonies. One of her suitors, Dr. William Bowen, was most enthusiastic in his description. "Her figure was graceful and dignified, her complexion fair and beautiful and her manner urbane and captivating; that she rode with ease and elegance." Doctor Bowen proffered his affection, but the beauty was already engaged. The refusal came with "such suavity and tenderness, united with personal respect," that the disappointed suitor was consoled.

The favored swain was Peter Simons, of Newport, who

¹Updike, Goodwin, Vol. I., pp. 230-234.

²*Ibid.*, p. 546.

was a music-master at the dancing school, where they met. Notwithstanding the most violent opposition from Mr. Robinson, they eloped and were married about 1760 in Providence, where they settled, living in very poor circumstances. The neglect and dissipation of the husband, and possibly the uneasy conscience of the bride, made her ill. She was assisted by her mother, who finally persuaded the passionate, but affectionate, father to have her conveyed in a litter to his home in Narragansett. It was too late, and she died on the night of her arrival.

This was purely an old-fashioned romance, with all the elements needed by Miss Porter for a ravishing tale. A century ago, sympathy was altogether with the "Unfortunate Hannah." As the shadows lengthen, the high lights are not so strong on the figures of the lovers, and bring the father into more favorable perspective. The outcome of the worthless character of Simons proved that the sensible father was correct in estimating the youth. Doubtless, Robinson's conduct was passionate and unreasoning; that was the way of the time. He was putting forth all his powers to save his daughter from a fate which was literally "unfortunate."

The excellent care of the Hazard family has preserved the account books of College Tom, kept in 1750 to 1790, with their invaluable records of Narragansett life in the middle of the century. He was son³ of the large landholder, Robert Hazard, graduating at Yale College, and lived the life of a planter, gradually merging into that of a farmer. He charged farm produce to his debtors

³ "He married Elizabeth, daughter of Governor Robinson, was comely in person, large in stature six feet, and of great physical strength; a forcible speaker, he was deservedly popular in his denomination, and was the first in his denomination that advocated the abolition of negro slavery."—Updike, Goodwin, Vol. II., p. 65.

and also small articles obtained in trade,⁴ as shoe buckles, skeins of thread, a thimble, etc. Evidently the proprietor procured these things in the markets around the Bay, and they served in discharging his obligations, instead of money or currency, which was scarce. Some entries are equivalent to the exchanges in modern banking. John Mash was debtor for 30s. in cash, paid to Thomas Sweet, blacksmith; it was due from John Nichols to said Sweet and from John Mash to said Nichols. A charge to his brother-in-law carries a "Felt Hatt for Dick at £1. Casteel Sope, Handkerchiefs at 14s. Callominco at 18s. Sugar, Indigo and salt." Thomas Hazard at Newport was debtor for £55., to be paid in three months "on Swop between Two Horses." Prices were generally in Old Tenor, though occasionally specified in Lawful Money.

George Ireish bought a famous Narragansett "Natural pacing Horse, dark coloured with some White in his face," at fifty-five silver Spanish milled dollars. The transaction reveals a curious course of trade and indirect balancing of values.⁵ "I am to take 1 hoggshead of molasses, 1 barrell of Sugar at £70. old Tenor per Hundred, the Molasses at the value of 36/- old Tenor, a Doller being considered at the Value of Eight Pounds old Tenor the Remainder in Tea at y^e Rate of eight Pounds old Ten^r, and in Indigo at the Rate of Twelve Pounds, old Tenor; to have one half of y^e remainder in Tea, & the other in Indigo." If they lived a simple life in the olden time the simplicity did not extend to the ways of trade and the adjustment of values.

Tea appeared in the first accounts, 1750, at £3.4s., 1766 at £8. O. T., and chocolate comes in 1754 at fourteen shillings a pound. In 1771 Powel Helme was

⁴ "Hazard College Tom," p. 58, *et seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

charged for Keeping the Coddington horse seven weeks and six days in summer at one pound of chocolate per week. Mr. Helme was credited by "thy instructg" young Robert Hazard in the art of navigation at 5s. 6d.

Each homestead manufactured most articles needed for use in the family. The most important process was in carding, combing, spinning and weaving. There is hardly any mention of carding in these accounts, but combing occurs frequently. Valentine Ridge is credited with combing "at my house 40 lbs. of wool" and "at thy house 33 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. wool." The comber was probably son of Master Ridge, the Irish schoolmaster at Tower Hill, of strong character and "courtly bearing." Miss Hazard thinks "there was no apparent descent in the social scale from a physician to a weaver, or a schoolmaster to a wool comber."⁶ This hardly corresponds with the present writer's observation, which has been that there was distinction between those who employed and those who were workers. Landholders, clergymen, physicians and lawyers made the upper ranks. Teachers were between-classes; they were not ranked in a profession, as they are to-day.

Ridge received 14s. per lb. O. T. for combing the "worsted." It was spun on a "woolen wheel." Both worsted and linen were spun at six shillings O. T. per skein in 1761. James Carpenter spun both linen and tow yarn, and wove the latter into diaper; but generally the yarn was spun by one and woven by another person. In 1753 linen was woven at seven shillings and ticking at the same price. The latter was needed for feather beds, the greatest comfort of the eighteenth century, and too common to be a luxury. Half Duroy is mentioned, a modification of corduroy, probably. Gardner, "ye weaver

⁶ "Hazard College Tom," p. 96.

at Tower Hill," and two others were employed by Thomas Hazard from 1756 to 1760. They were charged with wool at twenty shillings O. T. per pound, "to be paid for in weaving; Tow at 3s. 6d. Flanning 3s. Worsted at 5s. and other cloths at the same rate." Benedict Oatley was skillful, for he could weave striped cloth and made one piece "Chex." An entry is for dyeing, scouring, pressing and shearing one piece of "Sarge" and for scouring and fulling one piece of "Cersey." The blue colors were dyed in indigo.

Martin Reed, "a remarkable man,"⁷ left an orphan, served an apprenticeship of fourteen years at weaving (probably in Newport) until he was twenty-one. With one quarter's schooling, he read all the books accessible on his art, until he had mastered it. He married Mary Dixon, a diaper weaver, and began living in a simple way with the plainest furniture and a single loom. He succeeded so well that he soon became the manufacturer for all the principal families around. This shows that the division of labor was begun. He became a member of St. Paul's Church under Mr. Fayerweather and always led the singing. In the Revolution and afterward, while the parish had no rector, he read the service in the church and at funerals.

There were numerous hand weavers for plain cloth, but Reed was the most skilled, being the only one who could weave calimanco. Wool and flax were constantly manufactured; some linen was spun by the weaver, James Carpenter, in 1768, at eight shillings and woven into diaper at ten shillings per yard. In 1761 "linnen yarn" is recorded at six shillings the skein. Astress Crandall was a famous spinner for all kinds of work. She spun "card-work" as well as worsted; and there is an entry

⁷ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. II., p. 18.

for "spinning, doubling and dressing 1 skain of stocking worsted three double." The dressings seem to have consisted in boiling and washing the yarn. Stockings are seldom mentioned; a pair in 1756 cost 35 shillings and a "Linning Handkerchief" 22 shillings.

It shows how nearly self-furnishing and consuming Hazard's estate was that his largest sale of wool was only 100 lbs. at $14\frac{1}{2}$ d.; though he kept a good flock of sheep.

Andrew Nichols, the tailor, was frequently employed, and his wife Eunice was a "tailoress." He was a good Friend, and bought the "Principles & Precepts of y^e Christian Religion &c. at 10s. Old Ten = $4\frac{1}{2}$." In 1769 his account credited with £139. O. T. showed a balance due Nichols of only 11s. $8\frac{1}{2}$. Thomas Hazard's one hand nearly washed the other, so to speak.

The shoeing of horses and oxen was a constant necessity, and the blacksmith was an important character throughout early New England. Shoeing the family was likewise an intimate necessity. The leather used was tanned near home, in one instance the skins being "dressed to y^e halves"; but generally the share of the tanner was one-third. All sorts of skins—even including a skunk's—were converted into leather. In 1768 John Sherman made twelve pairs of shoes for £24. and apparently did all the work of the family. For that year his bill, including some Women's Hats, amounted to £75. O. T. Often the shoemaker went about from house to house, and this custom continued well into the nineteenth century.

In 1750-1755 hay was £20. per load, and a pair of oxen £130. In 1765 beef was 4s. 6d. per pound. Milk was one shilling a quart in 1752 and some time after. Butter was 5s. 6d. in 1750 and 7s. the next year. Cheese was the important product, and in 1754 3627 lbs. were made at 3s., amounting to £545.17.

An interesting entry occurs in 1773, when a load of "cole" was carted from the Ministerial Farm. Nova Scotia coal was then used in Boston, and probably this came in at the South Ferry or at Robert Hazard's wharf on Boston Neck. Mr. Hazard's chaise is mentioned in 1779 and it was said to be the first in the county.

Our settlers derived one of the largest factors in their living from the native Narragansetts. Indian corn was and is a most important element in the agriculture of this district. The rich soil along the ocean shore affords a good support for this excellent food. On Broad Rock farm near Peace Dale, which was a part of College Tom's estate, there were recently to be seen two of the Indian *caches*^s for storing it. They were small hollows in the ground, some three feet long, two feet wide, and one foot deep, roughly lined with stone. When the tribe was driven into Massachusetts in the time of Philip's War, they came and carried away these deposits for subsistence. Several modes of cooking were inherited with the precious cereal. Shepherd Tom Hazard, in his Johnny Cake Papers, is most enthusiastic in his accounts of the old colonial bread. The corn must be ground by fine-grained stones, which would make "flat" meal instead of "round." The meal should be made into dough and spread on the middle board of a red oak barrel head. Only walnut coals were worthy, and the crust as it browned should be basted with cream. Hasty pudding and "them porridge" were viands from the same source.

College Tom had a few slaves. His father, Robert, dying in 1762, by tradition, left 24. It does not appear that the slave-owners took many apprentices, though they had some. Priamus, a negro boy, came to Mr. Hazard at six years and lived out a term of apprentice-

^s "Hazard College Tom," p. 111.

ship until of age, either with this employer or in the immediate neighborhood. He took another, Oliver Smith, at eight years from his mistress, "for his Bringing up until he may have an advantageous opportunity to go apprentice." There are scarce any traces of Indian labor, though we know they were often employed. There are many curious contracts for labor of the better class, which should work between the black slave and the white master. In 1763 Henry Hill agreed to "Labour at Husbandry" for ten months and was to receive £400. O. T.⁹ In his account he was charged 34s. for half a quire of paper, and 10s. "Paid Fox the scribe"; a function seldom recognized in colonial life. Another husbandman was to make shoes in wet weather; and still another to "labor at carpentry" when the skies were not propitious.

The admirable domestic system of labor was further reinforced in 1762 by Jacob Barney—mark the Irish name. He was to work four months at journey-work in hatting, and to teach "my son Tommy" the trade, together with another lad. He was to receive the common wages, by the hat, and to be found his board for instruction of the lads. Hats sold at £40. in 1763, and this must have been a thrifty saving. John Dye, "y^e gardner," was a superior laborer, receiving £3.0.5. a day in 1764.

In such a household female labor is scarcely less important than that of the male. Their work was even more carefully planned and parceled out than that of the men. Martha Nichols—the surname of the tailor—had 20s. for "making 1 gound." "Sempstry" was done by Joanna Dugglass, single woman, in 1764, for eleven

⁹ In Bristol the value of Old Tenor was in 1758-1760 £6, in 1761 £6 10s., in 1762-1763 £7 for one Spanish milled dollar. The pound was 20s at 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ c=£3.33.—Munro, p. 164.

weeks at 72s. per week. Quilting was as important a process in household manufacture, and for overseeing at "the bee" otherwise she received 18s. per day. Sometimes a bee lasted ten days. Mary Chase, for "housewifery, spinning, etc.," had 50s. O. T. for the summer and 40s. for the winter season. Amy Shearman had one pound in cash to pay for "making her Bonet." A woman was charged £8. in cash to "go to Tower Hill." In this case she was to have the pleasure of "shopping" instead of the mere solace of a book entry.

Going to Tower Hill¹⁰ meant to trade with James Helme, and most transactions with the women were recorded in cross entries on College Tom's books. Tower Hill was the emporium and department store where the wants of the community were satisfied. James Helme was "a gentleman of mild and urbane manners, of estimable character and of considerable wealth," in the words of Updike.¹¹ He was an example of the all-around men of fair abilities, who in conjunction with the landholders carried on a community like this of Narragansett. In 1767 he was elected by the legislature to be chief justice of the Superior Court of the colony.

Lowes Jakeways, spinster, is recorded in an outing of

¹⁰ "In the latter part of the Eighteenth century Tower Hill was a prosperous place; the situation was incomparable, and nearly all of the wealthy families had representatives established there in younger sons or married daughters. It was the 'Court-end' of the town. There were fourteen houses, six of them with large gambrelled roofs, which were erected by wealthy and enterprising men who spared no pains to make them attractive. There were also several inns or taverns. A coach passed through twice a week from the South Ferry to New London, and returned carrying passengers and mails; as many as eight coaches have been known to arrive in one morning. Balls and dances were of frequent occurrence, guests coming from Newport and the neighboring plantations of Boston Neck."—Robinson, "Hazard Family," p. 61.

¹¹ Goodwin Ed., Vol. I., p. 186.

another sort than the desiderated shopping at Tower Hill. She was charged with 20s. cash "when she went to the New Light meeting" in 1756. We have referred to the Great Awakening in the forties, which profoundly moved King's Cousty. The numerous sects, so vexatious to Dr. MacSparran, were stimulated anew and they affected the orderly circles of the Friends. One was excluded from membership in 1748 because he suffered the Friends' meeting "to be disturbed & broken up by the afores^d Wild & Ranting people, which meeting was in his own house."¹² Twenty years later the sect was active and another Friend was expelled, having joined the New Lights, and "pretended to Justifie himself in being Dipt^d in outward water." Many cultivated and socially gifted families were in the communion of St. Paul's Church with Doctor MacSparran, as we have seen. The majority of the substantial citizens were Quakers, and their staid habits were a powerful influence in the community until the middle of the nineteenth century.

The labor of slaves administered by such judicious economy as has been described, makes a prosperous community. The course of affairs on College Tom's homestead was a good example of semi-patriarchal principles worked out in a community of strong individual men and women. There was the underlying force of slave labor, the organizing power of the Society of Friends, the thrifty economy of the best householder anywhere; all combined to promote a well-balanced family life. It is easy to perceive the reasons why South Kingstown became the most wealthy town in the state at the time of the Revolution.

The first brass fender was mentioned in the mid-century, costing £18.; and the largest value in pewter was £87. Gold beads strung into necklaces were gradually being

¹² *S. K. Monthly M. R.*, Vol. II., p. 269, cited by Miss Hazard.

worn. The usual minute care of the poor was carefully worked out; as well as provisions for regulating apprenticeship in both sexes. There was a complicated outfit for a barber's shop in 1756, with five blocks on which to make wigs; and including three "hetches to hetchel hair." The artist must have been well employed, for he left a personal estate of £1142.16. In 1758 a large bible had come to £15. in the money of the time. A negro man at £1000., a woman at £800., indicate the fluctuating pound in paper. Two "stone boles" at 30s., a stone pickle pot at 15s., a teapot at same price, and at the same three "stone sassers and dishes" show the increasing use of common white porcelain, along with the more luxurious China ware.

Jeffrey Hazard¹³ in 1759 had a large number of cattle, sheep and swine, with a great breeding stock of horse kind. A "stone horse" at \$400.; with 37 mares, 3 colts, 3 geldings at £2010. His own "riding beast" with saddle and bridle stood at £300. His wardrobe cost £268. He had twelve negroes—four as high as £1000. each. A large amount was charged in book account £13,188., and he held notes of hand for £5110. The total personal estate, £57,403., was the largest of the period. Everything indicates the increase of active capital, though values are complicated, owing to the fluctuating currency.

To go out of the world has never been easy, whatever the conditions of life—barbaric or civilized. Peter Ginnings, December 19, 1758, passed through the prevalent difficulties. The friendly nurse furnished two quarts "rhum y^e night he dyed" at £2.10. Then he charged £4.10. for "my cost and trouble to invite his friends and others at his Death and Buriel."

¹³ S. K. MSS., Probate Rec., Vol. II., p. 107.

We may note the changes of value in standard feather beds, in the case of Wm. Congdon in 1762. Wearing clothes costing £84. and a new beaver hat at £40., he had one feather bed and furniture at £345., two do. at £300. each, another at £200. and again at £160., again £190. and a trundle bed and bedding £180. The negro's bed and blankets cost £30., a single blanket £6.10. In the table and kitchen service we find £105., in silver £97., in pewter £16., in earthen ware £4., in stone £25., in brass with a warming pan £6. He had two woollen wheels, one horse and three cows. In this moderate estate of £3443. there was comfort, but not luxury.

Benjamin Holway,¹⁴ "Cordwainer's," affairs in 1762 show something of the incipient division of labor. With his stock of leather he had 70 pairs women's shoes at £288., with 242 pairs double channel pumps at £1331. He must have employed slaves, as he had one negro at the high value of £1500. and a boy at £900. Only two horses, one cow and two hogs in a personal estate of £6119. His wardrobe stood at £120.

Perhaps the best-dressed couple were Robert Brown, who expended in clothing £303., and his more luxurious helpmate, who had appropriated £358. There was only £63. in silver plate, but a gold necklace at £45. In £96. worth of pewter were included 12 hard metal plates. A large farming outfit had an item of £56. in eight bushels of wheat. The worthy pair were entitled to their small luxuries, for their personal estate amounted to £29,416.

As we have noted in Doctor MacSparran's farming, there was a small quantity of wheat grown on most places, probably for use in the family.

In 1762 the record makes 100 Spanish milled dollars equal to £600. Old Tenor bills. A tape loom occurs

¹⁴ S. K. MSS. Probate Rec., II., p. 177.

worth 5s. and a China punch bowl at £30. Benjamin Babcock had the unusual volume, a "Gazzaite Tear," at £8.10., with other books at £11. Possibly a sailor, for he had a Callender and Compass at £8.15.

In 1767 Susannah Hazard, widow of Richard, mounts the record with a wardrobe of £714. The husband had been content with £110. A high case of drawers cost £100. The Madam's riding mare, saddle, pillion, and a young mare were valued at £480. The personal estate was moderate, £5806., with £8. O. T. rated at 1 Spanish milled dollar.

Slaves were often £1100. and £1200., with girls at £800. in 1770. John Gardner, with £250. in clothing, rode a horse costing £600., including saddle and bridle. He was well supplied with silver plate at £952., which embraced 8 porringers, a "teapot and milk." In addition a large tankard was appraised at £256. and a smaller one at £224. A clock £200., China and earthen ware in the closet £72., Table Linen £71. He had a large stock of cattle and sheep and four slaves. His personal estate was £71,002 O. T.

After Doctor MacSparran's death, regular services at St. Paul's Church were long suspended. Rev. Samuel Fayerweather, sent out from England, administered the sacrament in 1761, with only 12 participants. In the following year he preached to a congregation of 100. His preaching must have commended itself, for in the autumn of 1761 he served in the pulpit at King's Chapel, Boston, with Governor Bernard for an auditor. He was the pastor of St. Paul's until 1774.

George Rome (Room), "a Gentleman of Estate from Old England," afterward a noted Tory, was literally an alien character in our colonial life. Coming to Newport in 1761 as agent for Hopkins and Haley, he represented

many British houses. He secured much real estate in dealing with debtors and about 1766 possessed himself of Henry Collins' farm at Boston Neck. We have noticed¹⁵ this Newport magnate, who deserved a better fate than to be sold out by Rome under assignment. Mr. Rome appears on the Narragansett church records, as he spent his winters in Newport and his summers at Boston Neck, where he had 700 acres. His bachelor quarters were in a large mansion house, the equipment of which was far beyond the life of Narragansett, and yet further exaggerated by local tradition. But in fact,¹⁶ as actually appeared a generation ago, there was a vast fireplace in the kitchen, where a man could walk in with his hat on. Cord-wood was burned without interfering with the back oven-door on one side of the fire, or the favorite ingle-seat on the other side. Along the kitchen and in rear were a number of small plastered bedrooms for slaves. There was a large annex in rear of the main building.

The garden was famous. A stately avenue of buttonwoods led to the mansion through fish-ponds, and through flowers in the formal arrangements of the time. A box-tree fifteen feet high and more than thirty feet around exists to-day, as it was removed by Mr. Perry to the grounds of the John Brown house in Providence.¹⁷

In this enchanted dwelling-place, the host gathered guests, not only from Newport and Narragansett, but from far-away Boston. He asked Colonel Stewart and another at Christmas "to celebrate the festivities of the season with me in Narragansett woods? A covey of partridges or bevy of quails will be entertainment for the Colonel and me, while the pike and perch pond amuse

¹⁵ *Ante*, p. 272.

¹⁶ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. II., p. 317.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

you." The brew of punch was famous, and it was served at very extravagant entertainments. Ladies often enlivened the society of the place.

Mr. Rome's interests, as well as inclinations, caused him to become a bitter Tory. We cite below¹⁸ from his opinions expressed in a letter written from the Narragansett villa December 22, 1767. In the agitations concerning the Stamp Act, he was very conspicuous. For opposition to the charter and other misdemeanors, he was imprisoned in 1775. After release, fearing further prosecution, he fled on board the British man-of-war *Rose*. His estates were confiscated with those of other Tories.

Block Island, home of the Manissean tribe, always affected the mainland and South County. It early attracted attention as a fishing station, being settled in 1662 and a harbor begun in 1670. Their distinctive boats were a remarkable production. From the keel rose stem and stern posts at an angle of 45°; the bow and stern were nearly alike and the sides of lapstreak cedar. Open with no deck, the two masts carried narrow tapering sails. Having no shrouds or stays, the masts bent with peculiar elasticity as the storm-winds strained every fiber of the structure. One has never been swamped in the open sea. In the largest waves running as "three

¹⁸ "The colonies have originally been wrong founded. They ought to have been regal governments, and every executive officer approved by the King. Until that is effected, and they are properly regulated, they will never be beneficial to themselves, nor good subjects of Great Britain. . . . They obtained a repeal of the Stamp Act by mercantile influence, and they are endeavouring, by the same artifice and finesse, to repeal the acts of trade, and obtain a total exemption from all taxation. . . . The temper of the country is exceedingly *factious*, and prone to sedition: they are growing more *imperious* and *haughty*—nay, *insolent*—every day. A bridle at present may accomplish more than a rod hereafter."—Updike, Goodwin, Vol. II., pp. 83-84.

brothers," the steersman generally waits for the last, and from its high crest usually lands in safety. The family apparel was carried in a band-box, "a Block Island trunk," and when they reached home they feasted on a "Block Island turkey," *i. e.*, Codfish. The fishing was a great resource, and as the boat filled, they threw out the pebble-ballast. The best fisherman was "high-hook." The hardy masters of these boats were literally masters of the sea.

The ocean likewise furnished seaweed and fish to fertilize the fields, as was the custom on the mainland. Large swamps afforded peat, commonly called tug, which they began to burn in 1721, and used for their only fuel for a century.

The island was a most exposed point in the Revolutionary War, and the colony was obliged to remove the sheep and cattle, to prevent the enemy from appropriating them. The authorities paid £534.9.6. for 1908 sheep and lambs; the number of cattle taken was not recorded.

The "Palatine Light," seen for at least three-quarters of a century, affected the main shore as well as the island; a curious romance, it was treated by Whittier in his poem bearing the same name. Doctor Aaron C. Willey, a competent observer, wrote a scientific account¹⁹ of the phenomenon in 1811. "This curious irradiation rises from the ocean near the northern part of the island. Its appearance is nothing different from a blaze of fire; whether it actually touches the water or hovers over it is uncertain. It beams with various magnitudes, when large (as a ship with canvas spread) it displays either a pyramidal form or three constant streams, often in a constant state of mutation. The duration is not commonly more than two or three minutes. . . . This lucid

¹⁹ Arnold, "R. I.," Vol. II., pp. 88-91.

meteor has long been known by the name of the Palatine light. By the ignorant and superstitious it is thought to be supernatural. Its appellation originated from that of a ship called the *Palatine*, which was designedly cast away at this place, in the beginning of the last century, in order to conceal, as tradition reports, the inhuman treatment and murder of some of its unfortunate passengers. From this time, it is said, the Palatine light appeared, and there are many who believe it to be a ship of fire, to which their fantastic and distempered imaginations figure masts, ropes and flowing sails."

Mr. Livermore,²⁰ writing in 1876, denies the burning of the vessel, claiming that the Dutch ship *Palatine* touched at the island about 1752, leaving Kattern, a negro woman, who married there and was a so-called witch, fortune-teller and opium-eater; adding in her way to the hazy mists of tradition and the actual appearance of the Palatine Light. Besides, there were landed some logs of *lignum vita*. Certainly this timber was actual, for the present writer has within reach of his hand, his grandmother's mortar and kitchen rolling pin made from the *Palatine* relics. The actual phenomenon of the light was remarkable, and it was strange that the cause, as well as the effect, disappeared entirely early in the nineteenth century.

In 1765 Mr. Fayerweather went over to Westerly to serve at the marriage of Dr. Joshua Babcock's daughter. Let us study the Doctor, an example of the men gifted with almost universal capacity—the makers of these United States. His father, Captain James Babcock, of Westerly, died in 1736-7, owning 2000 acres of land, horses, slaves and stock in proportion. Joshua, born 1707, dying in 1783, was said to be the first native of

²⁰ "Block Island," p. 121.

Westerly to practice medicine there. He graduated at Yale College, completing his medical education in Boston and in England. Notwithstanding his extensive practice he opened at Westerly one of the largest retail stores. In 1747 he was an associate justice in the Superior Court of Rhode Island, and for three or more years, between 1749 and 1764, he was chief justice.²¹ He represented his native town in the General Assembly for more than forty years. Knowing many prominent men from New London to Boston, especially Doctor Franklin, he entertained them in the old mansion, where the box-trees still line the approach to the hospitable door. Being Major-General of the militia in 1776, he entertained General Washington. He was an ardent patriot in that stirring time, pushing the cause of his country in every way.

Dr. Levi Wheaton lived in his family in 1779 as a medical student and as preceptor to his grandchildren. Dr. Wheaton's reminiscences are exceedingly interesting. At the age of seventy-two, Dr. Babcock was vigorous in mind and body, mounting his horse sixteen hands high from the ground. Methodical in his habits, he spent an early hour on the farm, then took breakfast of bread and milk, with apple-pie or fruit. He disdained coffee, saying, this porringer and spoon has furnished my breakfast for forty years. For dinner at an excellent table, he partook of one dish only, whether fish, flesh or fowl. He drank cider commonly, and a glass of good wine. At tea he drank "exactly three cups." It was customary to entertain handsomely at supper, but whatever he gave to guests, for himself he took bread and milk.

Weekly, he had prayer for the family and read a chapter from the Bible. Noticing that the reading was not in common English, the young doctor looked into the

²¹ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. II., p. 47.

Bible and found that it was in Greek text. Heterodox theology was creeping in. The Doctor was a professed Christian, but Wheaton found in his library, Clarke on the Trinity, "which cost him a Bishopric," and Foster's sermons, "which lost him fellowship with orthodox Baptists." These works were greatly admired by Dr. Babcock; whatever his inner opinions, "his moral character was irreproachable, and he was an honest man."

Dr. Franklin was his friendly correspondent and visited him on his yearly visits to Boston. Dr. Babcock told a story well and had many anecdotes of Franklin. Mrs. Babcock—superior in that time of superior women—asked the philosopher if he would have his bed warmed. "No, Madam, thank'ee, but if you will have a little cold water sprinkled on the sheets I have no objection." Folly goes with philosophers as well as with common men.

Physician, man of business, jurist and patriot, the family cares of this representative American went far beyond those of most men. Wheaton found him surrounded by some fifteen grandchildren, whose education he was superintending as minutely as he had done in the case of his own children.

Colonel Babcock—"Handsome Harry," his eldest son—born in 1736, took his graduating degree at Yale College at the age of sixteen.²² At eighteen he was made Captain of a company in the Rhode Island contingent against the French in 1756. In the campaign against Ticonderoga, 1758, he was promoted to be colonel of our regiment. Leading 500 men, he had 110 killed and wounded, and received a musket ball in his knee. Altogether he served five campaigns in the old French war "with great reputation." In the Revolution, a staunch patriot, he was appointed to the command at Newport in 1776.

²² Updike, Goodwin, Vol. II., p. 56.

He had learned artillery at Woolwich in England, and drove off the British man-of-war *Rose* with an eighteen-pounder, fired by his own hand from the open beach. A severe illness in the winter incapacitated him from further service. A practicing lawyer, he was most eloquent when he spoke before the General Assembly. Some fifteen years earlier he had spent a year in England and was most hospitably received. Tradition commonly ran that, when presented at Court, instead of kissing the Queen's hand, he saluted the royal cheek, and "the liberty was not resented." This myth at least shows how popular the handsome Colonel was.

The record of St. Paul's Church, March 31, 1771, when Mr. Fayerweather baptized Elisha, son of Benj. Nasons, "the Gossips" being Mr. Rovyer, Mrs. Jefferson and the Grand Father, enables us to note this interesting term. "It's old Saxon meaning was for sponsors or sureties at baptism."²³ At these christenings, there were often presented the "apostles' spoons," nowadays in great demand for mementos.

The record of St. Paul's April 16, 1772,²⁴ is worth observing, both for the essential matter, and for its evidence of Royalist and Tory sentiment among the Narragansett Anglicans. Mr. Updike²⁵ says the substantial fact of the regicide's residence at Pettiquamscutt was never questioned until Dr. Stiles raised the doubt. The

²³ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. II., p. 97.

²⁴ "Married Mr. Sylvester Sweet to Miss Martha Whailey. The bride Being given away by her Father, Jeremiah Whailey, one of the descendants of old Col. Whailey, one of the Regicides of King Charles the first of Ever blessed Memory, and Who sat in the Mock Court Before Which That Excellent Prince, That Blessed Martyr was Arraign'd and Condemned, and Who was Called proverbially one of King Charles's Judges."

²⁵ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. II., pp. 100-103.

careful Arnold ²⁶ leans toward the tradition. Dr. Goodwin ²⁷ says the romantic tradition is not strictly authenticated, "yet the persistence with which it has been believed seems to point to an element of truth in the story."

The colonies had been drifting away from the mother country; the action of Philadelphia and Boston, culminating in the "Tea Party" at the latter place, brought the incipient rebellion to a head. In 1774 the towns of Rhode Island, beginning at Westerly, where ex-Governor Samuel Ward led the patriots, held meetings condemning the import of tea and rallying all citizens to a common cause against Great Britain. The resolution of Middletown was one of the best, "We will heartily unite with our American Brethren in supporting the inhabitants of this Continent in all their just rights and privileges; and we do disown any right in the Parliament of Great Britain to tax America." In September all the towns contributed liberally, sending 860 sheep, 13 oxen, and £417. in money for the relief of Boston. In 1776 the British fleet made a descent on Point Judith, taking off a number of sheep and cattle. Some prominent persons, suspected of being Tories, were charged with connivance and were arrested.²⁸ The committee of safety often had to look into such matters. South Kingstown asked Governor Cooke for additional guard for the coast.

Doctor MacSparran's criticism of Narragansett as the natural producing ground of sects and sectarians received some support in the career of the noted Jemima Wilkinson. She was born in Cumberland, R. I., in 1752, and was related to David Wilkinson, one of the greatest geniuses in mechanics in all America. But her stamping-

²⁶ "R. I.," Vol. II., p. 413n.

²⁷ Updike, Vol. II., p. 338.

²⁸ Arnold, "R. I.," Vol. II., p. 368.

ground and field of greatest success was in North and South Kingstown. In early womanhood she became religious and studious, reading the Bible closely. In 1776 she was seriously ill, and after a trance she awoke, claiming to have been to heaven and to have become a new Christ on earth. Her own family were converted to be disciples. She traveled throughout the state and in adjoining districts, holding large meetings, which she addressed in a very eloquent and persuasive manner. She claimed to work miracles. When she failed, as in attempting to raise the dead, it was for lack of faith in the lookers-on. Three or four meeting-houses were built for her.²⁹

On horseback, especially, her appearance was very imposing. Of fine form, fair complexion, with florid cheeks, dark and brilliant eyes, her auburn hair falling on her shoulders in three full ringlets, her voice sounding clear and harmonious; if not a prophetess, she was at least a natural orator of great power. Her dress was rich, but plain, in a style entirely her own; a white beaver hat, sides turned down, a full, light drab mantle; a unique underdress and cravat around her neck.

The greatest dupe of this imposing creature was one whom you would least expect to be so credulous. William Potter was chief justice of the county court, with a large estate easterly from the present village of Kingston. For Jemima and her followers, he built an addition to his "already spacious mansion,"³⁰ containing fourteen rooms. She dwelt here six years, controlling master, household, and the income of the good property. Like other impostors, she separated husbands and wives, while children left their parents. She induced many to sell their estates and with Judge Potter and some fifty families

²⁹ Greene, "East Greenwich," p. 130.

³⁰ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. I., p. 267.

she migrated to the Genesee country. She seems to have been a shrewd manager in affairs, but Judge Potter finally lost his property. Her enemies attacked her at all points, but her moral character was irreproachable. In 1818 she made a will signing herself "the person once called Jemima Wilkinson, but since 1777 called the Public Universal Friend." Neither she nor her family had any connection with the Society of Friends.

Naturally, we have dwelt on the deficiencies and impositions of her character and career. There is another side. There must have been something great in her, though she prostituted it in the career of adventure. Sometimes she must have touched the best in her hearers, or she would not have had so many innocent followers. Every generation has spiritual hunger of its own, which often satisfies itself with unworthy objects.

The War of the Revolution brought many troubles to the non-resistant Quakers so largely represented in the South County. "College Tom"³¹ expressed himself in the record against "Carnal War and Fightings." The paper currency "issued Expressly for carrying on war" was discussed in the public meetings of the Friends. "The money itself became a difficulty to a tender conscience." It were to inquire too curiously to ask how far conscience, Tory predilection, and fear of losing property in the war-like struggles were intermingled in the Quaker mind.

In 1786 the Assembly issued £100,000 in paper, to be a legal tender, and with all sorts of forcing acts to compel creditors to receive it. Providence, Newport, Westerly and Bristol opposed in vain.³² Toward the agitation of these questions, South Kingstown furnished one of the

³¹ "Hazard," p. 200.

³² Brigham, p. 254.

worst demagogues civilization has ever known. Jonathan J. Hazard was a staunch patriot in the struggle against Great Britain. He represented Rhode Island in the Confederated Congress. He was a natural orator, ready, subtle and ingenious in debate; the "idol of the country interest, manager of the State, in fact, the political dictator in Rhode Island until his course in the Constitutional Convention"³³ ruined him. In economic matters, he was fairly representative of those insane sciologists who vex the political situation whenever irredeemable paper money is mooted. In 1786 he beat down the "Hard Money" or mercantile party by sheer demagogic force. He strongly advocated the curious, pernicious illusion that merchants designedly create scarcity of specie in the course of trade. He argued that the state currency based on real estate was safer than the obligation of any bank; that it could be opposed only by avarice and prejudice.

Esther Bernon Carpenter, a descendant of Gabriel Bernon, the Huguenot, with fond enthusiasm collected the sayings of her "South County Neighbors." They belong strictly to the beginning of the next century rather than the period of this chapter. But they are mostly hereditary and always idiomatic, indicative of the talk, which prevailed among College Tom's spinners and ditchers. Many of these idioms came directly from Devonshire, and they prevail there to-day.

Sally "the help" was buried with all the formal ceremony of the local funeral; "a strange mingling of the gloomy and the abhorrent of the tasteless and grotesque, of the sympathetic and the matter-of-fact," the whole being custom strictly observed. Every generation had a stroller or two of its own, selling simples, presumed to

³³ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. II., p. 74.

have occult powers of healing, and with all the accessories of a quack. Such an one was a fanatical adherent of old customs. When the farmer's daughter offered his dinner on a tin plate (an innovation) he said, "Gal, hain't you no trencher?" As the maiden did not respond, "Then gimme a chip," which was done, and his antique dignity was appeased.

The girl Ad'line addressed a late schoolfellow, "how d' do, Ad'line, how *be* you?" This *be* is used to-day, and has some dim, mystic reference to a sense of being.

Ailse (Alice) Congdon, the tailoress, had a sharp tongue. Izrul Barnes was the sly-humored old Yankee "hired man"; Huldy, not so intelligent, feared them both. "Ailse Congdon mought skeer her Huldy Pawnses, but she couldn't drive no Barneses." Quoth Izrul, "Say, Huldy, Elder Springer berried his wife, y' know three months ago come nex Sa'a'd'y. He looks chipper ez a crow-blackbird in plantin' time. Tell ye what, you better sprunt up, n' fly roun'." "I don't want no Elder Springer. Tain't no such smart doings to get married. Ailse Congdon *she* ain't married." Izrul retorted, "Wal, I sort o' thought she was onct." This was true, for Ailse did marry and live with Jim Castle, when the groom departed, saying, "he guessed he'd ruther stay with his own folks, and she wouldn't lift a finger agin it." Ailse expressed herself judicially that she "didn't better herself, noways, when she took him." Elder Springer met some rebuffs, when in the legitimate functions of his ministry. Ailse was quite ill and he called to ask if she "was prepared for a change." With a steelly glance the frail mortal replied, "I'd have you to know that we're a very long-lived family, and if you hain't nothin but that to say, you'd better go back where you come from."

The poor woman was actually *in extremis* and went into

more practical matters with the excellent old Quakeress, who asked if she was resigned. With panting breath, "resigned to die! d'you think, Friend Dempsey, that anybody oughter to be resigned to die with the sullar only half cleaned and the backyard not cleared up."

Some brighter and more cheery influences animated this sordid life. Nature occasionally crept in. "Harty's ez chipper ez a quonqueedle, and thet's a real harnsum toon she's a singin'." Says Steve "quonqueedle was the name the old Injuns giv' 'em. I sh'd reckon it come from their n'ise, when they 'm a sorter tunin' up. The' was a man come here from some o' them northern parts, called 'em bob-o-links. I expect thet ar' outlandish name come right down from some o' them old Massachusetts Prisbyter'ans."

A suggestive saying was embodied in "lazy," used just as we apply "nervous prostration." "Mrs. Brown, I understand Miss Jones is 'lazy' this summer and I want to do the washing she generally takes from you." Apparently, no one would incur the disgrace of laziness, unless she was ill. Jim Fones was the rural postmaster and "I never see no sech do-little coot." The neighbor assented in this guarded statement, "He ain't what I call very work-brittle."

A Devonshire idiom used there to-day put "you'm" in place of "you are." When "Mis Tift" scrutinized the withered features of her that was once a Rose she exclaimed, "Why, Nabby, heow you'm broke! you'm growed grey an' you'm wrinkled some. I shouldn't ha' knowed ye from Adam." This was a favorite method of alleviating the ravage of Time. "Be you She that was Miss Bethuny Babcock? Yes. Wal, you'm broke all to smash, ain't ye?"

Musing over a pinched estate, Uncle Cy said, "S'pose

the widdern the gals c'n jest make out ter ruggle along, cain't they? And when the weather was clearing toward evening, he said the rain had 'held up for a milkin'-slatch.' ”

These fossil remains of other times are suggestive. The New Englander above all was sly. As he came to make the country store his club or social exchange, he would take two or three drinks of New England rum and thaw his chilly and rather crusty consciousness into something more agreeable. Sitting about, on a barrel head or box, he would not utter an opinion of his own; that would be taking too much responsibility. Naturally shrewd and sagacious, though reticent, he put his observation into some form of wit, which should bridge over to the hearer, and not reveal, too far, his own personality and essential being.

Slavery was the element which most affected the life and customs of these proprietors. In the middle and in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, South Kingstown had more slaves than any other town excepting Newport. The resident Indians, employed as they were, reinforced the operations of slave-labor. The Africans were generally obtained at Newport, though our planters imported some directly.³⁵ “Sheperd Tom” tells us of one Abigail³⁶ imported by Rowland Robinson and employed in his family. She was so contented that she persuaded her master to send her back to Guinea, whence she returned, bringing her only son to become a slave. The accounts of expenses in this expedition existed not long ago. A mother going as broker to enslave her own son was anomalous work in our eyes. The life of slaves must have been comparatively easy in our district.

³⁵ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. I., p. 208.

³⁶ T. R. Hazard, “Reminiscences,” p. 22.

“Like master, like man.” The follies of masters must be imitated in the ways of blacks, culminating in mock negro-elections for a governor. Mr. Updike’s description is so graphic that we transcribe it entire.³⁷

Out of the easy living under a system of slave-holding, naturally came luxury and dissipation. In May the planters generally went to Hartford to feast on bloated salmon. For this custom we have the direct testimony of Mrs. Anstis Lee in 1791, already cited. After an early ride they sojourned under the Bunch of Gilded Grapes at Bull’s Tavern and breakfasted on “bloated salmon.” It was “the fashion, in old times, to make a special visit to Hartford, almost yearly, to luxuriate on this rare and

³⁷ “When the slaves were numerous, each town held an annual election the third Saturday in June. Party was as violent with them, as among the whites. The slaves assumed the power and pride and took the relative rank of their masters, and it was degrading to the reputation of the owner, if his slave appeared in inferior apparel, or with less money than the slave of another master of equal wealth. The horses of the wealthy landholders were, on this day, all surrendered to the use of the slaves and, with queues, real or false, head pomatumed and powdered, cocked hat, mounted on the best Narragansett pacers, sometimes with their masters’ swords; with their ladies on pillions, they pranced to election, which commenced generally at ten o’clock. The canvass for votes soon began. The tables, with refreshments, were spread and all friends of the respective candidates were solicited to partake, and as much anxiety and interest would manifest itself and as much family pride and influence were exercised and interest created, as in true elections, and preceded by weeks of *parmateering* (parliamentteering). About one o’clock the vote would be taken by ranging the voters in two lines. There was generally a tumultuous crisis, until the court commenced, when silence was proclaimed, and after that no man could change sides or go from one rank to the other. At dinner the governor was seated at the head of the long table, under trees or in an arbour, with the unsuccessful candidate at his right and his lady on the left. The afternoon was spent in dancing, games of quoits and athletic exercises. The servant of Elisha R. Potter was elected governor about 1800. The canvass was very expensive to his master. Soon after the election Mr.

delicate fish.”³⁸ Updike says pace-races on the beach for the prize of a silver tankard, with feasts of a roast or “bake” of shelled or scaled fish, were the indulgence of the merry summertime. Oysters, lobsters, clams and quahogs made ambrosial feasts all along Narragansett Bay and by the ponds on the southern shore. Congdon’s Tavern in Wickford was famous for good cheer, and “Sheperd Tom” has an amusing tale of John Randolph of Roanoke, who was wofully disappointed, owing to his ignorance of local dialect. He came with his cousin Edmund, Secretary of State under Washington. In their horseback tour from New York toward Newport “ham and eggs” had been the universal fare. At Wickford Congdon said he would give them clams for supper. The eccentric John of Roanoke rubbed his hands in pleased expectation. Then appeared the host again, saying the tide was too high for clams, but they should have some capital quahogs—the hard-shelled round clam. “Good God! more bacon!” said Randolph.³⁹

With autumn came the corn-husking festivals. All proprietors intimate in the family visiting were invited, and

Potter had a conference with the governor, and stated to him that the other must give up politics, or the expense would ruin them both. The negro abandoned politics.—Updike, Goodwin, Vol. I., pp. 213-215.

Mr. Potter, born in 1764, was an old-fashioned Rhode Island politician, democrat-aristocrat. Blacksmith, soldier, lawyer, he knew men and things; hardly any man in our State ever exercised more personal influence. When not in Congress, he was in the General Assembly, whatever party prevailed. Once he was beaten in a town election. Coming down the steps of the old court house—mortified and moody—an inquirer asked about some measure in prospect. “I don’t know,” said the baffled leader, “I used to have influence enough in South Kingstown to hang any two men in the town. Now I can hardly keep from being hung myself.”

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., p. 102.

³⁹ Hazard, “Reminiscences,” p. 65.

the guests brought their slaves to assist in serving. After the husking dancing would occur, the music being furnished by natural musicians among the slaves. Gentlemen in garb already described in the case of Rowland Robinson, would conduct ladies dressed in brocade, with cushioned head-dresses and high-heeled shoes, through the stately minuet in thirty-six positions and changes.⁴⁰ On one occasion it was said John Potter husked one thousand bushels of corn in a day. After the Revolution large proprietors continued these expensive festivals, on a diminishing scale, until about 1800.

Traveling was difficult, and carriages were little used. The public roads were poor, and important districts like the tracts of Point Judith and Boston Neck were penetrated by drift ways and obstructed by gates, until the middle of the nineteenth century. On horseback, with a darky following, this would do; when every man became his own servant it was not so agreeable.

While the servants amused themselves with the grotesque proceedings above noted, which rather indicate a life too much influenced by barbarism and over-frivolous, the masters practiced the sports recognized in Southern communities, especially in Virginia. Fox chasing with hounds and horns, fishing and fowling, were recreations worthy of the gentleman. Indoors, Christmas made a long holiday, when guests and servants gathered in every family connection for twelve days or more. Wherever social life prevails, the wedding is the central occasion and hospitable gala of the time. Mr. Updike⁴¹ comments on the last one—peculiar and specially appropriate to the eighteenth century—that occurred in 1790. Six hundred guests attended, and the host, Nicholas Gardiner, a portly, courte-

⁴⁰ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. I., p. 225.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

ous gentleman, was dressed in the rich style, then passing out. With his cocked hat, full-bottomed white wig, snuff-colored coat and waistcoat deep in the pockets, cape low so as not to disturb the wig, and to readily expose the large silver stock-buckle so generally worn in the plaited neck-cloth of white linen cambric, with small clothes and white-topped boots finely polished, he was the effective presentation of a life given to social enjoyment, the embodiment of squirearchy.

The solid basis of this social structure in Narragansett was guaranteed by the relative apportionment of the state taxes in 1780. It seems strange that, after Providence had developed so much commercial life and wealth; slaveholding South Kingstown should pay one-third more than the proportion of Providence, of the heavy tax then assessed. She paid double the share of Newport—then impoverished by the war—and was by far the most wealthy town in the State.⁴² Relative property shows that the squires with their foolish negroes were canny at home, as well as sportive when abroad.

The whole social life was changed after the Revolution, when slavery diminished and the West Indian exports were less. Planting and slavery were replaced by small farming and economy in living.⁴³ It is fair to estimate that the moral aversion to slavery—much stimulated by the Quakers—hastened its downfall. Certainly the strictly

⁴² Arnold, Vol. II., p. 465.

⁴³ The present writer's great-grandfather had a family of slaves in the period of the Revolution, with several from Guinea. One Guy brought from Africa the art of grinding tobacco into snuff. His price was 4½d. or 6½ cents for a portion in the palm of his hand. When he milled a parcel and there seemed to be plenty, he gave a full handful. As the quantity decreased, he skimmed the award in his palm. Price did not change, but the natural law of supply and demand prevailed.

economic results in Narragansett were better than has been supposed generally.

The mixture of blood in this peculiar population of Narragansett was entangled, almost beyond comprehension. Marriages between negroes and Indians were common, and the illicit intercourse between white men and colored women marked a numerous progeny. Now, we may note a legitimate marriage of bewildering descent. Thomas Walmsly was a Mustee or at least an octoroon. His wife Elizabeth was an Indian woman. She was baptized in company with her child Patience.⁴⁴

But there were regular marriages between white men and Indian women in all parts of New England, which have not been sufficiently considered in tracing our heredity. March 17, 1727, "Deborah onion an Indianess wife of John Onion an Englishman" was married and baptized by MacSparran.⁴⁵ Five years later three children were baptized.

From these waifs and casual representatives of varied races, we gladly turn to another sort of people, whose names will always maintain a halo around Pettaquamscutt. April 11, 1756, being Palm Sunday, Dr. MacSparran "read Prayers preached and baptized at St. Paul's Narragansett Gilbert Stewart Son of Gilbert Stewart y^e Snuff Grinder Sureties y^e Dr. Mr. Benjⁿ Mumford & Mrs. Hannah Mumford."⁴⁶

Whenever a title or mark of vocation could be attached to a person, it was done in these painstaking times. The church records literally gave everyone his due. In a subscription list there appeared three Captains, one Doctor, a dozen Misters and one Esquire. In other connec-

⁴⁴ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. II., p. 530.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 492.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 552.

tions we find clothier, taylor and Mr. Edwards, Perriwig maker at Greenwich. A shopkeeper was mentioned and it was a rare term. Merchant and shop were often used in Providence, but not this form of title.

Perhaps no community more carefully and frequently set forth its erratic fancy than our folk did in their binominal nomenclature. There were so many of one name that the bearer must have a descriptive prefix, lest he be lost in a concordant multitude. Mr. Updike cites thirty-two "Tom Hazards" living at one time and thus illustrates a few, "*College Tom*, because he was a student in college. *Bedford Tom* was his son, and lived at New Bedford. *Barley Tom* because he boasted how much barley he raised from an acre. *Virginia Tom* because he married a wife there. *Little-Neck Tom* from the farm of that name. *Nailer Tom*, the blacksmith. *Fiddle-Head Tom*, an obvious resemblance. *Pistol Tom*, wounded by an explosion of that arm. *Young-Pistol Tom*, his son. *Short Stephen's Tom*, the father low against *Long Stephen's Tom*, the father tall. *Tailor Tom* needs no explanation."⁴⁷ The Georges were not so numerous, but they were distinguished by *Beach-Bird George*, of little legs; *Shoe String George*, an opponent of Buckles; *Wig George*, *Doctor George*, *Governor George*. In 1771 Robert Hazard, "Practitioner of physick and surgery," was inventoried for wearing apparel at £9.2. Apparently the prices of this inventory were in lawful money, though it is not definitely specified. He had a fair amount of plate, 41 oz., including a tankard and a silver watch and seal. But his non-chirurgical fancy was most fully expressed in buttons; "mettle" at 18s., "frosted"⁴⁸ at 7s. 6d., brass sleeve at 1s. 6d. and sundry sorts at 1s. 6d. There

⁴⁷ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. I., p. 282.

⁴⁸ Sometimes they were "flowered."

was an apothecary's stock, as was the custom among physicians. A loom, four woollen and four linen wheels furnished an industrial outfit. He farmed moderately and had four slaves; one woman at £30., another at £18.15., a girl with swelling on her neck £11., an "indented" Indian servant about nine years old £8. These women spun and wove, probably. The personal estate in these comprehensible values amounted to £1959.

Elisha Clark,⁴⁹ Jun., was a shoemaker, with estate of £108.10. in 1773. Though he dressed at the small outlay of £1.15., he was not without the conventional vanities of the day; silver shoe and knee buckles £1.5.6., one pair gold sleeve buttons 14s., one pair silver do. set in stone 6s.; one pair silver neck clasps 3s.

Shoe and knee buckles were virtually universal; a comfort in silver, a necessity in pewter or brass. Silver watches—appraised at £8. in 1777—and seals are becoming common. The first Banister back chairs appear, six at £3.12. Five negro boys and girls are valued at £117. "An old negro wench which we esteem of no value" was a typical record.

Wm. Gardner's inventory in 1781 was "taken in Real money." One negro man at 60 dollars was equal to £18. In the débris 717 Continental dollars and one Treasurer's note upon Boston were valued at £17.6.

Rev. Samuel Fayerweather, according to official report,⁵⁰ dwelt "in the midst of enemies, Quakers, Anabaptists, Antipædobaptists, Presbyterians, Independents, Dippers, Levellers, Sabbatarians, Muggeltonians and Brownists," who united "in nothing but pulling down the Church of England." His ministry was not as effective practically as was that of Dr. MacSparran. "Parson"

⁴⁹ MSS. S. K. Probate Rec., Vol. VI., p. 16.

⁵⁰ Updike, Goodwin, Vol. II., p. 238.

Fayerweather, in the critical eye of Mr. Daniel Updike, "though a man of great talents, attended but little to the minutia of his duty." Probably the passing of society from the life of planters to that of farmers and people of less feudal influence took away many of the natural supporters of the Anglican church. We may see how a parson lived by consulting his inventory, September 27, 1781. His best suit of black Padusoy—coat, waistcoat and breeches—cost £9.; his other apparel £18.7. His gold ring, girdle buckle and silver shoe buckles £6. He had 80 oz. plate at £24., and a horse and sulky with whip at £15. His books are not mentioned and the personal estate was £241.7. Another clergyman, Rev. Joseph Torrey, had two gold rings at 15s. It seems to have been a well-established fashion. His estate was moderate, £308.6., including one hog, one pig and a loom.

John Potter, dying in 1787, left a will,⁵¹ but no recorded inventory. Very considerate provision was made for the widow Elizabeth. He had several sons and a good riding beast, saddle and bridle with one good milch cow, was to be kept by either son, with whom she might choose to live. Firewood to be cut to fit any fireplace she might choose, and brought into the room. The chosen son was to provide everything to make her "happy and comfortable." The slaves were technically emancipated, but the "use and improvement" of the negro woman Rose and the girl Pegg to be victualled by the son, were to be hers during widowhood. If she should marry again, these bequests were to be transferred to her daughters. According to Mrs. Robinson, the daughters received £800. each, though £50. and a home in the mansion house was considered proper. The theory of the time was that the father provided for his sons and thus cared for other

⁵¹ S. K. Probate Rec., Vol. VI., p. 197.

men's daughters, whom they might marry. His house was at Matunuck, on Potter Pond, a division at the western shore of the great Salt Pond. It was large and stately, though it has been divided again and again until little is left of the original. It was adorned with portraits by Copley and other artists. Some of the rooms were paneled in the wainscot from floor to ceiling. Mr. Potter's wealth came easily, for in a hidden and literally dark closet where the chimney wound about, the implements of coinage were kept and used. There was a tradition,⁵² well authenticated, that the hospitable Potters were entertaining a relative, Nicholas Hazard, of Newport. In the company was a poor pensioner, her reason a little clouded and her tongue loose in chartered freedom. She asked the host again and again, "Who made money in the Overing house?" He lost patience, exclaiming, "I don't know unless it was the devil." Nothing daunted, the old lady replied, "I always said it was the devil, but my husband says it was Friend Potter."

Though the technical expression, "Real Money," was not recorded until 1781, the detailed prices show the change by 1771. Slaves and other property commercially regulated, had to be reduced from the extravagant valuations in Old Tenor.

Whatever the general social condition of woman may have been, she affected quite an expansive change in her wardrobe, as we enter the times of exciting agitation preceding the Revolution. In 1762 it was matter of remark that Robert Brown's helpmate—in a wealthy estate—exceeded her husband's outlay for dress by £5. In 1767 Susannah Hazard, well-to-do likewise, multiplied her husband's apparel to six or seven times the cost before my

⁵² Robinson, "Hazard Family," p. 65.

lady was satisfied. She simply adumbrated the coming woman.

The old South County loses its characteristics and distinctive features as we leave slavery; its farmers inclining by necessity to ways of living according with the other parts of the state. The colonial history and manifestation of this bit of territory and peculiar field of social expression will always interest students of humanity.

CHAPTER X

REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD. 1763-1785

We left the town of Providence in 1762, developing a vigorous commerce. Daniel Jenckes, Nathan Angell, Nicholas Power and other merchants were engaged in the trade to the West Indies, also exchanging across to Nantucket, Boston, and down the Atlantic coast.* The leading merchants in control of capital and influence were the four brothers Brown. Their uncle Obadiah died in 1762, but he had gradually withdrawn from active affairs, leaving the business to the younger generation. The nephew Moses having married his cousin, inherited Obadiah's estate. In 1758, one-half the spermaceti candle manufactory,¹ including lot, houses, fencing, etc., with one-half the sloop *Charming Molly*, had been conveyed to Nicholas and John Brown for £6782.8.10. Old Tenor. Annexed to the business of Nicholas Brown & Co. were the operations of Nicholas and John Brown. John was by far the most enterprising and sagacious of the family, and his bold spirit finally separated him from Nicholas. An account of Nicholas and John's "Stock in Trade" interests and shows the methods of the day. Navigation at sea in $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ shares comprised £37579. In addition $\frac{2}{3}$ Sloop *Charles* or *Molley* was worth £5,657. Rum in the works was £1,333. Spermaceti, oil and Nantucket account was £21,500. Sundry items carried the

* East Greenwich ran the sloop *Industry* to Nantucket, and the *Betsey* to James River, Norfolk, Richmond.

¹ This factory was built by Obadiah at India Point in 1753. He worked 300 bbls. headmatter the first year.

total to £90,517. Very interesting is the conveyance to Nicholas Brown & Co. of the Sloop *Four Bros.* charged over in 1763, for this vessel had a long career. Her cost in all items for building, including plank, spars, wages, anchors, etc., was £3351.16. In 1765 Abraham Whipple, afterward Commodore, and author of the famous apothegm to Wallace, "Catch a rebel before you hang him," was her Master, and his accounts with letters, were written as well, as his speech was ready in revolutionary time. He took the sloop to Barbados, receiving £35 per month and a "privilege" of 8 hhds. of sugar or molasses. He had 5% commission on sales of the outward cargo, 2½% on the return, and an additional commission of 2½% on the cargo of another vessel, the Brigg *George*.

Nov. 9, 1765, Nicholas Power was instructed to proceed to Surinam and receive the *Four Bros.* and go to Barbados. If he should find Captain Esek Hopkins there in "our Brigg *Sally*" he was to advise: "And if he Sels his Slaves there, Load your sloop with some of the effects."² Power was to follow Captain Hopkins to get rum, sugar, etc.

James Burrough Mr. sailed her to "Mounte Christo" in 1766, and the details of the Portage Bill are curious. The Master had £35 per month, privilege of 6 hhds. 110 g. each, and his commission of 5%. The Mate had £55, and 3 hhds. 300 g. each. The Cooper, an important personage, got £70, with one hhd. 110 g. Two "marriners" received each £50, and privilege of 4 bbls. 31½ g. Obviously, the solid privilege of freighting molasses was relatively more valuable than Old Tenor bills of fluctuating standards.

An example of secondary exchanges—as we may term them—appears in the *Four Bros.*' voyage to St.

² Nicholas Brown & Co., MS.

John's, Newfoundland, in 1763. Here Nicholas Power was her merchant or factor, having "privilege" of 28 "Kentles" fish with 5% commission on outward cargo and $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ on returns. Prices for guidance in purchasing returns were £17 or £18 per quintal for dry fish, £60 per bbl. for Irish beef, 12s. for Irish butter, £3 for Geese feathers and 50s. per lb. for waterfowl do. Bills of exchange at 31 for 1, and the Sloop might be sold for £420 sterling exchange. We would like to know how much Irish butter was actually eaten in New England. Possibly this was intended for reshipment to the West Indies. In 1764-5 the tight little sloop, with the social name, made a voyage to Boston and Marblehead. It will be observed in the history of every vessel that strong efforts were made, through "privilege" and commission, to interest both officers and sailors in the profit of the smallest transactions of the owners.

Esek Hopkins, noted above as cruising with slaves in the West Indies, was to become the first admiral of the American navy, and was one of the most interesting characters of the mid-century in our colony. Skillful in his profession and of great fighting power, he was not as fortunate in concurrent circumstances as his brother Stephen. True, he had not the genius and scientific knowledge of Paul Jones, but he was a good officer. Mistakes were inevitable in those crude beginnings, while sectional jealousies contributed to complicate the results of Hopkins' action and to bring about only partial success.

An enterprising and successful privateer, we get an occasional glimpse of this hardy navigator in peaceful commerce. In 1746, he sold $\frac{3}{8}$ of the *Charming Molly* to James Brown, "distiller," for £168.15. lawful money. In 1756, he sold Nicholas Brown, "distiller," a negro lad or boy slave. Writing to Nicholas Brown & Co. from Suri-

nam, in 1767, the gallant tar gives a clear and candid opinion of the ways of trade in the tropics, having been delayed in dispatching a sloop by deceit of the merchants.³ "I bleve thair is more Honnor and Honesty in so many Highway men in England than in the marchants of this place." The times "Luckes Dull for me at present."

Providence dealt somewhat in slaves, though it did not equal Newport or even Bristol in the traffic. Governor Hopkins stated officially that prior to 1764 Newport sent to the West Coast of Africa annually 18 vessels carrying 1800 hhds. of rum. French brandies had been displaced on the Coast by rum after 1723. Commerce in rum and slaves afforded about £40,000 per an. to Newport for remittance to London. 22 still-houses were located there, consuming molasses costing generally 13d. to 14d. in the West Indies.

The commerce with the West Indies took out the produce of Rhode Island and such surplus merchandise as the exchanges with our own coast afforded. Candles and rum were constant staples. The Islands made rum, but the cheaper distillation of New England was wanted to send to Africa. Captain Esek Hopkins in the Brig *Sally* signed a Bill of Lading in 1766, which is an example of an outward cargo; consisting of hoops, staves, sperm candles, beeswax, oil, beef and pork, ship bread, tar, turpentine, flour, rice for the Windward Islands. Of the hoops 1-25 belonged to Captain Hopkins, and 1-10 of the oil. Jonathan Peck, of Bristol, bought for Nicholas Brown & Co. six or seven Surinam horses; that being a customary shipment.

An interesting item shows methods of building vessels in 1768 for this trade. Barnard Eddy contracts with

³ Nicholas Brown & Co. MS.

John Brown to build a sloop of 84 tons at 8 dollars per ton, one-quarter to be paid in molasses at 1s. 6d. lawful money on demand, one-quarter in molasses in one month, one-quarter in goods on demand at common retail prices. The remaining quarter in goods on delivery of the vessel. Provisions mentioned were 6 cwt. pork at 3d. per lb., 1000 lbs. beef at 2d., 35 bu. corn at 3s. Brown was to furnish spikes to launch, but "no Tallow nor RUM."

Sloop *George* made two voyages in 1763 to Surinam and Mount Christo, which caused an outlay of £36,358. One voyage was £12,581, comprising about £2000 in flour, about £6100 in candles, and £250 in Nantucket beef, with an assortment of small items. At Surinam, Jacob Bogman gives a very curious picture of the wants of a planter and the manner of supplying them from a more temperate clime. He orders for his "Plantagion" $\frac{1}{2}$ bbl. best country fed pork, 1 bbl. good mess beef, 1 do. good flour, 1 bbl. mackerel, 1 "kentle Dom fish," 1 hhd. codfish, 1 do. tobacco, both for negroes, all sorts garden seeds "Time and Sawori." In live stock, he calls for a large bull, two cows and two two-year-old heifers, to be spotted black and white, if possible. Six or more "wile Gees, two peekoks, six tame gees, one dozen Duks."

Some reports of the hardy captains are not only interesting, but pathetic in their revelation of toil and suffering. Captain John Peck, bound for St. Eustatia, underwent a tremendous gale. An immense wave "sot us Rite on end." The whole cargo moved forward about two feet. The only way to save their lives was "to pump and Liten the vessel." They threw overboard 40 boxes of candles. "You may say why did you throw over so Sealable an article. But Remember Skin for Skin and all that a man hath will he give for his Life."

Among the marvels of domestic intercourse may be cited

the situation July 16, 1770. John Watts of New York had been taking West Indian goods from N. Brown & Co. But he notified "our Treaty" must end, for molasses could be bought cheaper in Quebec than it could be imported.

Rhode Island now raised tobacco in large quantities, and it was an important factor in the West Indian trade. Sept. 30, 1766, there appeared to be an over supply. An agreement⁴ was made that Nicholas Brown & Co. might ship 75000 lbs., D. Jenckes & Son with E. Hopkins might ship 45,000 lbs., N. Angell and Job Smith 35,000 in three or more vessels consigned to Esek Hopkins. Sales to be made jointly, and any tobacco lost at sea was to be treated *pro rata*. The matter was to be kept secret and the West Indian price maintained until February 1, following. They hoped to buy all the tobacco in the colony. October 19, it was further agreed between the Browns, Jenckes and Angell, not to give directly or indirectly more than 5s. O. T. at six months for the whole quantity raised. If payment should be anticipated, ten per cent. should be deducted. February 2, 1767, there was too much tobacco on hand for Surinam, for a twelve months' shipment; Jenckes & Son having 116,000 lbs., N. Brown & Co. 120,000 lbs., Angell and Smith 30,000 lbs. The parties were to ship *pro rata* for 12 months. If more should be bought "that is now grown" the same rule was to apply.

In 1767 and the years following, agitation for improvement in the town of Providence showed the increasing prosperity. Brick houses of good design had been built from the wealth acquired during the Spanish war. The local improvements were chilled by the gloom of the year 1772. The town did not advance materially until after the Revolution.

⁴ Nicholas Brown & Co. MS.

The inventories⁵ show gradually increasing comfort in living. In 1762, the widow Mehitable Carpenter, with a personal estate of £1287, expended £404.16 in wearing apparel. Silver plate—spoons at least—in moderate quantity, was in all good homes, and twelve “Baker” (beaker) glasses showed a well served table. She had a large looking glass at £100. Osenbrig towels and Russia diaper napkins indicated the varying kinds of napery. Three small bound books and three pamphlets at £3 are evidence of the good lady’s narrow reading.

Benjamin Hunt, with an estate about £10,000, put the value of the widow’s mirror into two examples at £70 and £30. He had clothes worth £127, and carried a watch at £100. At home his mahogany case of drawers stood for £140, and there was £275.16 in “wrought plate.” Two wigs⁶ and the box cost £25. His clock and case was valued at £220; nine beds and bedsteads £1100, including one at £310. He drove out accordingly with a horse at £175, in his best riding chair at £160, or in another at £100. In three saddles £68, was invested. Altogether a sprightly man for the time.

The citizens bought these articles along “Cheapside,” as the way above Market Square was called. The Square had not come as yet, for a long dock still opened there. Below was the “town wharf,” on the western side of the ancient river bed and flats, while a bridge only eighteen

⁵ Probate Rec. MS. Prov., V., 363, *et seq.*

⁶ The wig was a serious matter. Simeon Thayer, afterward distinguished in the Revolution, advertised from the Sign of the Hat, at the North end in 1763: “Bagwigs, paste, brigadiers, scratch dress and Tye wigs,” and he was assisted by Michael Cummings, late of London. The rivalry of T. Healy speaks out in his self-glorification. He “cuts, curls, frizzes gentlemen’s and ladies’ hair and *engrafts* a tail.” “He engages to give the ladies equal satisfaction with any London hair cutter in Providence.”

feet wide, with creaking draw,⁷ afforded passage for travel, both domestic and foreign. The classic whipping-post near by, amid heaps of stones and rubbish, adorned these early street prospects. Severity of punishment was hard enough in Rhode Island, though the locality was more humane than its time. In 1766, Joseph Hart, a stout, able-bodied man, was advertised for sale at auction, being sentenced to serve three years for stealing; the prosecutors to pay costs.

Providence Gazette, June 25, 1767, describes the whipping of a convict sold for one year for stealing. "Yells of the patient" confirmed the conscientious work of the constable. Strangely, such barbarity lasted until about 1830, according to Dorr.

Along the north side of the present Square was a row of old wooden houses with heavy projecting gables. The eastern steep bank rose high enough for an aristocratic outlook, and there lived Dr. Ephraim Bowen and Geo. Jenckes. Next, Daniel Abbott's Inn entertained travelers. In 1768, the *Providence Gazette* passed to John Carter, ancestor of John Carter Brown, the well-known literary benefactor.

Specie brought difficulties of its own as well as paper money in those rough times. Captain Falconer came up the Bay in Corry's boat with 83 chests money, and "no carts to be had in town." James Doggett, living near the meeting house in "Seconck," procured 5 carts. Doggett was efficient in the frequent freighting by wagons to Boston.

Eccentric signs—an inheritance from old England—everywhere prevailed, and must have affected both the education of youth and the daily life of grown-up persons. The intelligent "Elephant," just above Steeple

⁷ Dorr, *Planting & Growth*, p. 201.

Street, beckoned the multitude to James Green's wholesale and retail stock of "Braziery and Piece goods, rum, indigo and tea." Most traders kept a like medley. Jeremiah Fones Mason, royalist and Free Mason, had the greatest array of fancy goods, "silks, linen, scarlet and blue broadcloths." He bought the property across the Bridge, next beyond that of the Providence Washington Insurance Co., and died rich in 1812. Joseph and William Russell dealt largely in 1762, at "the sign of the Golden Eagle," near the Court House. Clark (John Innes) and Nightingale were their greatest rivals. The house of Col. Nightingale on Benefit Street later passed to John Carter Brown. Richard Olney kept an inn at the sign of the "Crown," a two-storied house of wood, two doors above the Court House. The Town Council occasionally met there. July 11, 1767, Thomas Sabine ran a stage coach thence to Boston on Tuesdays; the weekly trips gradually increased the business. Hacker ran a sloop to Newport every day, collecting 9d. fare. Greatest of these condensed memorials of the time, retained in the conservative Plantations after they were abandoned elsewhere, was "Turk's Head," that bent "his grim and frowning aspect," according to Dorr, for fifty years at the corner of Town Street and Market Square. Then he was removed to Whitman Corner, across the Bridge where the highway divided. In 1815, the tremendous gale swept away and buried him in the Cove. The whimsical Moslem survives in the name of the busiest spot in a growing city.

The assured place of the merchant, as distinguished from the casual trader, was illustrated in the case of the Browns. Nicholas and John had stores and offices on Town Street, below the Square, but no symbolic signs. Inferior traders, not noted in themselves, advertised as

near some prominent sign like the "Bunch of Grapes." John Adams, attorney, used this custom in advertising himself "near Silas Downer, graduate of Harvard," inasmuch as Adams was reinforcing his professional work by writing letters for ignorant correspondents. In 1763, there were few shops on the West side. The Town Council migrated across occasionally, from motives of policy, meeting at Luke Thurston's inn under the sign of the "Brigantine." About 1763, James Angell's "distill-house" was still working on the land now occupied by the First Baptist Church.

It was one of the grievances of Providence that all vessels had to be entered at Newport. Before the Revolution, the town had no custom-house and only a "Surveyor of the King's Customs." To D. VanHorn in New York, N. B. & Co., say there is but little silver and gold passing in the colony. They ship to "settled correspondents" in the neighboring colonies, sperm candles, oil, rum, molasses, etc., to raise hard money for the sperm business. Also they desire returns in New York produce.

For the manners and customs of these people, we must consult their inventories. In 1763, John Dexter,⁸ with moderate estate, had a fair domestic outfit with £92. in pewter. His wardrobe was £258; but he had one pair gold buttons, sixteen silver buttons, four buckles and a tooth pick, costing altogether £46. He expended £4.15. in a band buckle, a pair for his shoes, one pair brass buttons and three silver links. A cane stood at £5.12. One right in "the Library" was valued at £80, and a cow at £75; almost a parity of milk and learning.

The widow Deborah Baster had a comparatively small estate, spending £149, for dress and £74, for pewter ware.

⁸ Probate Rec. Prov. Ms. V. 369.

But she had 82 gold beads—5 pwt. 8 grains—valued at £32.13, and silver plate, including a cup, at £418. Dr. John Bass gives us an example of the few private libraries. Sermons to the number of sixty-four, pamphlets and five magazines were appraised at £10. The medical collection, including five lexicons and Bailey's dictionary, was worth £106.10. In general literature amounting to £138.15, were many theological works, Paradise Lost, Tate & Brady, Iliad, Euclid, Milton's Latin Works, at £20. Night Thoughts, Pope's Essays, Thompson's Seasons, Pascal, Butler's Analogy. The book case was £14. After his theology and necessary medicine, the worthy doctor indulged in some poetic visions.

In 1764, Samuel Angell, having a fine estate, left six Bannister back chairs at £18, six do. inferior at £12, and a round back chair at £2. There were six chocolate bowls at £6, pewter at £69, plenty of China, and no silver, which was unusual. He was of the family of distillers, and in the "Distill House" was 248 g. rum and "Low wines" equal to 116 galls. more. We have an anonymous set of tools for block making at £500, and a stock of the *lignum vitæ* wood at £500. A coffee mill at £10, and the very singular item "six turtle shell plates" at £3.12.

We must give a little patience to the account of John Martin in 1765, for detailed items of male and female apparel are rare. One Duroy coat £1, "Calimink" jacket 10s, plush breeches 9s, coat 24s, a full cloth great coat 28s, old do. 8s, Fustian Jacket 4s, flannel do. 2s, 3 pair trowsers 9s, 3 checked shirts 9s, 1 Holland shirt 6s, 2 frocks 3s, stockings, yarn and thread 5s, one female callico gown 14s, 2 small frocks 4s. 6d, 1 shirt 4s. 6d, 1 checked apron 2s. 6d, 1 silk and cotton handkerchief 2s.

James Brown had a silver tankard in 48 $\frac{3}{4}$ oz. of plate.

Gold rings, and sometimes buttons of the same metal appear. These rings had become more frequent in the half century past, and one with a "Cizers Chane" stood at 16s. 6d. Most inventories contained a few books. Lydia Wheaton, a maiden, probably, had three gowns at 15s. each, 1 long cloak 8s, 1 short do. and hood 8s, bonnet and shade 9s, linen and handkerchiefs 15s, 2 petticoats £1.4, 1 man's coat £1.4.; and £20.15 in pewter ware, China and delph bowls. In another case silver plate, including 7 spoons, 2 shoe and 1 knee buckles 9½ oz. 20 grains, was valued at £84.16 lawful money. A cooper had an estate of £99.8, with wearing apparel at £8.8, a watch at £4, and ⅔ of sloop *Industry* at £45.

A few slaves appear here and there; in 1769 two negro women and their bedding at £90. As an example of the demised effects of the poor classes a "mariner" in an estate of £258.11 had £5.16 in wearing apparel. A modest array of "Chaney" pewter and a block tin tea pot stood at 4s, while wooden plates, a bread tray and bowl figured at 3s; there was a small quantity of earthen ware.

Very fortunate was the preservation of the list of John Merrett's books July 17, 1770;⁹ the largest library recorded in this time. We cite 2 vols. Chambers' Dictionary £3, 5 vols. Bayle's do. £5, 3 vols. Tillotson's Sermons £1.16, 2 vols. Temple's Works £1.10, Taylor's Christ 3s. 6d, Lawrence's Agriculture 6s, Shettlewell Belief 3s, Des-sieu Painting and Drawing 18s, Kennet's History of England 4s. The above are folio editions; we follow with quartos. Bacon's Philosophical Works, 3 vols. £1.10, Boerhave Chmistry 12s, 5 vols. Atlas Geography 30s, 6 vols. Mayher Brittaniam 39s, 1 vol. Wollaston Religion of Nature 4s. 6d, 1 vol. Herodotus 5s, 2 vols. Spanish and French Dictionary 6s, 2 old Bibles 9s, 1 vol. in paper,

⁹ MS. Probate Rec., Prov., V., 517.

Pemperton on Newton 20 vols. Ancient History £4, 40 vols. Modern £8, 8 vols. Plutarch's Lives 32s, 4 vols. Predux Connections 12s, 3 vols. Luckford 9s, 15 vols. Smollett History of England £3, 3 vols. Howel History of the Bible 9s, Cæsar's Commentaries 3s, 1 vol. Dr. Taylor 3s, 1 vol. Sherlock 6s.

These two divisions comprised about 130 vols.; in addition were some 170 vols., including 10 vols. London Magazine, 8 vols. Shakespeare's Plays, Classics, Plutarch's Morals, Pope's Iliad, Paradise Lost, Don Quixote, History Massachusetts Bay, Hutchinson's History, Spectator, Waller, Prior, Telemachus, Cowley, Congreve and the Dramatists, Bailey's Dictionary, Thomson. In considering values, it is embarrassing that Lawful Money and Old Tenor standards are both used and not specified. His personal estate was £3205.

The public library had circulated for nearly twenty years, and probably while this collection was being formed. The collection shows the influence of books and the spirit of culture, which was laying the virtual foundations of Brown University. Gabriel Bernon's "learned men"¹⁰ of 1820 had studied the Bible and formed their own opinions, which were to be voiced and exercised in the life of the new American citizen, by men like Stephen Hopkins. Now, the literary spirit and use of the printed word were taking effect to form the men of the Revolution. Merrett's classics even were not selected in the old-fashioned exclusive way. The historic range was enlarged, and the reader assimilated matter more, as his reading extended.

Do not imagine that the simple eighteenth century—though destitute of steam-rails, electric machinery, stock-tickers and curb brokers—did not comprehend or apply

¹⁰ *Ante*, p. 209.

any of the mechanism of modern civilization. Rockefeller and Carnegie were unborn, but sharp calculators with long heads existed even in those days. What says the reader to a full iron-bound trust in sperm oil? In 1763, a solid agreement made "all Headmatter brought into North America one common Stock or Dividend,"¹¹ whoever owned the vessels importing it. It was divided between ten manufacturers; Nicholas Brown & Co. getting 20 bbls. in each 100; Palmer, 14; Robinson of Nantucket, 13; "the Philadelphians," 7, etc. The Jews of Newport were among the contractors. If any forfeited their share "by such dishonorable conduct" (minutely specified), it was divided *pro rata*. It was agreed to pay only ten pounds sterling per ton for headmatter, above the price of "body brown sperm oil," to be fixed by merchants of Boston according to the London market. They frowned on more spermaceti works "because present are more than sufficient." The arrangement was renewed from year to year until 1769, when the unit was changed from 100 gallons to one hhd. 112 gallons, the proportionate shares being the same. The Philadelphians dropped out and George Rome, of Newport and Narragansett, afterward the famous Tory, took a share of 12 8-10 gallons.

Titles, the marks of recognized honor, the familiar expression of rank and reputation—though not established by authority—were the mode in this century; when customary, they were strictly used in designating and addressing citizens. Often, we cannot perceive the method of application, but the impressive force of the dignity proclaims itself. They were sometimes cumulative, as if dignity could be augmented by prescription. An example appears in Furnace Hope on the Pawtuxet, organized in

¹¹ Nicholas Brown & Co MS.

1765, and which was to cast cannon in the Revolution. The organization revealed the scale of rank among the promoters, as it prevailed then. Stephen Hopkins, "Esquire," was of the first part; his only appellation, and he alone had that title. Of the second part, were the four brothers Brown, called "merchants," Israel Wilkinson of Smithfield, "worker of iron," Job Hawkins of Coventry, "physician," Caleb Arnold of Smithfield, "yeoman."

This manufacture of iron was of the greatest service to the colony and state. In the fourth blast, 1770, the commissions and expenses to N. Brown & Co. were £139. The net profit of the blast was £1157. In the seventh blast, 1773, net profit was £80, on the overturn of £3,946. Expenses and commissions were £150. Interest for £360, on value of estate £6,000. 1,091 tons ore were used, 384 tons pigs were on hand. The "piggs" were constantly wanted for ballast, Lopez and the Newport Jews, with others, appearing as purchasers. Captain Esek Hopkins was ordered to get information of the kinds of cast iron needed in the Islands. The iron went to London—fifteen tons at once to Hayley & Hopkins—and the consignees always insisted on certificates to show the "Plantation manufacture." At Bristol, England, Henry Cruger, in 1769, having sold Hope Pigs for £168, at 5% commission, would advance £3 per ton on any quantity. At this time exchange on London from New York was 70 to 72½%. The meeting, May 30, 1767, shows some interesting methods in conducting a manufacturing business. John Brown was going westward and was to get an experienced Founder and Refiner to adapt the pigs for shipment "home." Jabez Bowen was to go eastward for "8 tonage, Ward Moulders and Atherton, Moulder of Bakepans." The moulders and laborers were to receive $\frac{1}{4}$ money and $\frac{3}{4}$ goods. If possible "all business was to

be done without any money." The "fine ore only" was to be used for hollow ware. The Furnace also stimulated domestic trade. Peter Oliver, Middleborough, Mass., had sent Nicholas Brown & Co. good hoops, and could not receive some poor pigs in exchange. To Norwich, Ct., there were sent potash kettles, pearl-ash pans and four iron bars. Exchanges of merchandise, with Philadelphia, Virginia and Charleston were of vital importance to Rhode Island. The Southern ports took candles, rum, oil and iron, returning flour, corn, rice, etc. Our favorite sloop *Four Bros.* on one voyage from the Pamunkey River, Va. (whose banks the present writer afterward patrolled with a field battery) brought 8 cwt. barrel staves, 10 bbls. flour, 2,058 bushels Indian corn. Archibald Cary had a forge in Virginia and took 58 tons of pig iron at once. He manufactured flour also. It was customary to ship candles, iron, etc., and take Virginia produce after some six months' credit. In an earlier transaction, 12 boxes sperm candles were sent to South Carolina, the value to be returned in beeswax at 6s. 9d. "Dearskins" or other goods.

The repeal of the Stamp Act in 1765 was joyfully received in our colony. The new measures for British taxation in 1767 were detested in the same degree. The growing spirit of resistance revealed itself in 1769, by the first overt act of colonial rebellion.¹³ The British armed sloop *Liberty* brought two Connecticut vessels suspected of illicit trade into Newport harbor. The sloop was boarded from the shore, scuttled and sunk and the traders escaped.

The popular mind was being prepared by these overt acts for the rebellion and revolution which was gathering. Taverns were not politically so important as earlier in the century, when they were the only places where people

¹³ Brigham, p. 221.

could meet. Now, Joseph Olney dedicated a great elm in front of his tavern as a "Liberty Tree." An oration was delivered advocating the patriotic cause.

Stephen Hopkins prevailed in local politics over Samuel Ward, in 1757, as has been noted. The growth of Providence in the decade succeeding had been remarkable. Commerce was nearly doubled, with trade and manufactures increased in proportion.¹⁴ This was coincidental rather than essentially political. There was revival of the old agitation in 1767, when the supporters of Hopkins were again under the Shibboleth of "Seekers of Peace" inscribed on their proxies. Certainly, the prospect of difference with Great Britain tended to pacify local politics. Providence was much interested in this canvass, and the account of contributions for "sinews of war" is a vital document.¹⁵ The subscription was over \$1,600, the four brothers contributing \$100 each. Nicholas Cook and Nathan Angell the same, Jabez Bowen, Jr., Daniel and John Jenckes gave \$50 each, Abraham Whipple, Daniel Tillinghast, Obadiah Sprague and many of the best citizens of Providence contributed. The money was disbursed in £, probably Old Tenor. To "Glocester" £24, Warren £68, Coventry £1040, Scituate £120, West Greenwich £11.5, Johnson £200, North Kingstown £800, East Greenwich, £320, North Providence £104, Bristol £212. There was paid out for proxies £160. Abraham Whipple carried to Wanton at Newport \$60. Nicholas Brown & Co. kept the accounts in the scrupulous method used in all their affairs. Rum, sugar, a few nails, cloth for breeches, etc., were charged. A small, quaint receipt for one-third of a dollar shows that John Brown paid the town tax of J. Jones.

¹⁴ Brigham, p. 214.

¹⁵ Nicholas Brown & Co. MS.

The embers of these political disputes were not extinguished, but continued to affect the social movements of the time. Rhode Island College had been founded under President Manning at Warren in 1764. Its first class of seven was graduated in 1769, containing James Mitchell Varnum, whose single career would have justified such an institution. A constitutional lawyer, his argument in the *Trevett vs. Weeden* case in 1786 helped Marshall in the judicial establishment of the constitution of the United States. The college was moved to Providence and University Hall was built in 1770, after great struggles on the part of Newport to obtain it. This issue was another mark of the turn of the tide of culture from the southern part to the more slowly developed northern portion of our state. John Brown laid the cornerstone and was Treasurer of the Corporation for many years. The name was not changed to Brown University until a generation later, when Nicholas, the son of Nicholas, became a benefactor.

We have alluded to differences between Nicholas and John Brown. In 1770 John made an offer for a division of their joint properties. Nicholas would not cause a "Break among brothers, who in the eye of the world have lived in unity." Not convinced and holding his opinion, "I accept." Moses made up the books, and with Joseph, adjusted the valuations, including "all interesting matter for the division of our father's estate." John accepted from Nicholas £150, lawful money, "for what your house and furniture cost more than mine, also for my extra services in doing the business, etc." In 1774, Moses withdraws from Nicholas Brown & Co., recommending "continuance of the division to Nicholas and Joseph. At that time N. Brown & Co. owned $\frac{3}{4}$ and John Brown $\frac{1}{4}$ of the spermaceti works. Nicholas laid the cornerstone of the Market House—an important public improvement—and

was much respected by his fellow citizens. Prudent, acquisitive, methodical, he was a fine counterpoise to John, with his "magnificent projects," in the future Revolutionary ventures.

A letter of Col. J. Wanton, Jr.,¹⁶ from Newport, while the discussion for locating the college was going on, reveals influences working beneath the surface of society. Increased subscriptions at Providence in his opinion would "Counter Ballance any advantage they may Desire from their present Clamour against me and mine in a Political Light. I view it in no other light than as the expiring efforts of a Disappointed Envious Cabal." Nicholas Easton had "been made to offer" land valued by him at £6000, O. T. for the College. In another letter Wanton is very spicy commenting on the Newport politicians. "The Zeal (or rather Fury)—of the two brothers (respecting the College) is near blown out. S. W. (Samuel Ward) still in town, either "Governor or Colledge making, perhaps both." This was written to John Brown.

We may note that the practice of maturing Madeira wine by trans-shipment through tropical seas had begun in those days. George Rome at Newport praised his "excellent particular" sent through West Indies for improvement." The cost in Madeira was £33, starting in 1770. He was sure "if war ensues" the price would advance.

Nicholas Brown & Co. prosecuted whaling with their other interests. Nantucket was the center of the industry, but the general commerce of Providence gave especial opportunity for some profitable ventures. Warren, Bristol and Newport likewise participated. We get details in 1769, when the Sloop *Betsey* brought home head-matter and oil—the catch of "our three sloops" for the

¹⁶ Nicholas Brown & Co. MS.



UNIVERSITY HALL AND HOPE COLLEGE IN 1825.

year. The headmatter amounted to £155.4 sterling; the oil to £315.10. Captain Wass received for his 1-17 share £27.13.9; the mate for 1-20, £23.10.8; Coddinda for 1-26, £18.2. Chippe for 1-28, £16.16.3; Covel 1-38, £12.7.9. Eight others 1-34 and $\frac{2}{3}$ each, £13.11.6. The officers and crew received for their part £207.2.3, and the vessel or owners had £263.11.9. The figures are all in sterling and show the famous "lay" system of dividing returns. Surplus oil was exported to London, and John Relfe, of Philadelphia, asked a price for 1000 bbls. sperm. He would send his ships loaded with bread and flour to Nantucket, if he were certain of the oil for London. An order to the Sloop *Defiance* in 1770, was to cruise 100 to 150 leagues west of the Western Islands. She was expected home in six months or sooner.

N. Brown & Co.'s business was both manufacturing and commercial; each part forwarding the whole, as in production and exchange, each supported the other. The manufacture of candles and oil was greatly assisted by the operation of Furnace Hope. As in 1770, Mr. Rotch of New Bedford would send headmatter and wanted ten tons pig iron at once—on freight or purchase—for a vessel to London.

Considerable business in whaling was done from 1772 to 1774, and in the latter year we get the Portage Bill of the Sloop *Defiance* for her cruise. John Bassett, Master, had 1-17; Moses Joy, Mate, 1-21; two "endsmen" 1-28 and 1-30; J. H. Green, Cooper, 1-33; three sailors, 1-34 and $\frac{2}{3}$ each; Joshua Day, "green hand," 1-40.

The Lottery, generally an important function in local business, was greatly used in promoting the building of the Market House. Tickets were negotiated with correspondents in the country and in the districts of eastern Connecticut. As far away as Lynn, sales appear in fre-

quent items. More important are the effects of the incipient division of labor. Silvanus Hussey of Lynn asks N. B. & Co. to deliver in Boston 100 lbs. tea for 100 pairs women's shoes.

The main current of commerce toward the West Indies kept its course, though it was somewhat affected by apprehensions of coming resistance to Great Britain. The burning of the British cruiser *Gaspce* in 1772 was the first act of organized resistance to Great Britain. It greatly incensed the home government. The fact that their representatives vainly tried in every way to obtain direct evidence against John Brown, Abraham Whipple and other offenders in this rebellious act, shows how the community of Providence, at the time, virtually agreed in opposing the British government. Gov. Wanton was instructed to arrest the offenders and send them to England for trial. But Chief Justice Hopkins, one of the boldest and most farseeing of all the American patriots, said: "I will neither apprehend any person by my own order, nor suffer any executive officers in the colony to do it." Hutchinson, the Tory of Massachusetts, proposed to annul the charter of Rhode Island. But Samuel Adams appealed for union, since "an attack upon the liberties of one colony was an attack upon the liberties of all." New England and Virginia were seething with rebellion, and to no one belongs the whole credit of public movements, which were born out of the air. A committee of correspondence, Gov. Hopkins, Daniel Jenckes and Nicholas Brown, had been appointed as early as 1764. This system of committees was one of the greatest achievements in the art of self-government known to history. In these crucial times they performed by tacit consent, governmental duties, later assumed by the colonial legislatures. Let us remember this was a period of uncertainty. The final separation of the

colonies was contemplated by few in the early acts of rebellion. It will have been observed that in common transactions of trade, parties generally did not speak of shipping to England, but they sent goods "home." But Rhode Island made the "first explicit movement"¹⁷ for a general congress in 1774. Two years after the "Boston Tea Party," tea was proscribed by the revolutionary patriots in 1775. In view of the social progress of tea for more than two centuries after this crisis, the utterance of the *Providence Gazette* March 4, is a fine bit of humor as well as a historic record of the visible course of the rebellion fast becoming a revolution. A bonfire was made in the Market Place of a tar barrel, of Lord North's speech and other inflammatory material. Into it was cast the "needless Herb, which for a long Time, hath been highly detrimental to our Liberty, Interest and Health." London's "five o'clock tea" has gone around the world in spite of the *Gazette's* general strictures.

The negative Tory Gov. Wanton had been removed from office in 1775. Two months before the immortal Declaration of Independence—in May, 1776—the General Assembly of Rhode Island formally renounced allegiance, only six votes dissenting. By the Act, all legal documents were to be issued, not in the name of the crown or by royal authority, but in the name of the colony. This was the first formal act of independence in America.¹⁸ July Fourth, the nation was born and the tocsin of war sounded forth to alarm the timid and stimulate the bold among the patriots. Commerce had been feeling the political disturbance for several years. Joseph Brown, of philosophic mind and æsthetic temperament, did not wholly accord with the commercial spirit of his brothers. He

¹⁷ Arnold II., 334.

¹⁸ Brigham, p. 232, and Cf. Foster, Hopkins II. 145.

finally withdrew from the firm and became a professor in R. I. College. He conducted the building of the present First Baptist Church and designed the handsome structure of the Providence Bank.

John Brown was a stormy petrel, suited to the times. His force of character as well as sagacious mercantile sense, was instantly ready for the bold ventures needed. Already, he had sent to the West Indies, broken into government warehouses, and seized gunpowder. This was a *Gaspee* aggression in another form. This powder arrived just too late at Bunker Hill, and was issued to the retiring troops. Jan. 20, 1776, while the nation was yet in parturition, he made a contract with the Secret Committee of Congress.¹⁹ On this committee was Samuel Ward, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris and other great men. Nicholas Brown had one-third interest in John's contract. The merchants in these early agreements contracted virtually as agents for the government. The first voyages were to be for 36 tons gunpowder or saltpetre, or arms; failing those, duck, oznabrigs etc., or gold and silver. The Secret Committee Oct. 13, 1776, ordered goods delivered to Brig.-Gen. Mifflin Qr. Mr. Gen. Five % was to be paid to the Browns on outward purchases, $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ on sales abroad, $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ on return purchases. A side light is thrown by their letter Mar. 22, 1776, to Thomas Boylston, escaped from "long Inhuman Confinement in the Town of Boston by Ministerial Tyranny." They reported their contract with the Secret Committee to import, and asked advice concerning the best ports in Europe for shipments. "No interest but the public good; a small Commission for Transacting the Business."

The schooner *William*, whose charter party was recorded May 7, went out April 12, 1776, "for account and risque"

¹⁹ N. Brown & Co. MS.

of the Continental Congress. She carried white and brown sperm and whale oils, candles and codfish to "Bilbo" or any port in France or Spain. On the return voyage, she was instructed to try to get in back of Nantucket.

The business with Congress was considerable, and included voyages of the sloop *Polly* to Eustacia, schooner *William* to Bilbo, brigg *Happy Return* to Nantz. Cargoes of powder, arms, blankets, etc., were specified. This appears by account with Robert Morris amounting to £12,652. John Brown received 20,000 dollars from the Committee as early as December, 1775. Nicholas and John's commissions were £632 and the final balance due them was £85.11.

Trade with the West Indies was conducted along similar lines by merchants for their own account. Sloop *Enterprise* voyaged from February to July, 1776, owned $\frac{3}{8}$ by N. Brown, $\frac{2}{8}$ by J. W. Russell, 2-8 by Gideon Young. Her orders called for small arms or brass field pieces as better than gunpowder. If sulphur could not be had, she might buy salt. As a final resort, she was to take flints, paper, rhubarb or cotton. She was to come in eastward by Bedford or by Long Island. July 19, her voyage was settled with £1403, profit to the owners. Sloop *America*, owned by three parties, Browns, Russels and Page, sailing from St. Croix, was chased three times, but outsailed all pursuers. Tobacco was her best merchandise, though she had as usual, boards and provisions. She divided to her owners in November after several voyages £287, in dry goods, hyson tea, duck and mostly rum. The sloop *Sally*, from St. Croix, was to bring powder— $\frac{3}{4}$ cannon $\frac{1}{4}$ pistol—or parts of guns, steel, coarse linens and other dry goods; finally in alternative, good cotton, paper, 4 or 5 dozen packs large pins, Dutch gin, brandy.

The pains and minute care of these merchants in fitting

out a vessel is hardly comprehensible to-day. Laborers and sailors must be overlooked and the desires of the inspecting captains must be satisfied. Captain Avery's "nips," £1.0.3., nearly equalled his board on shore, £1.6. "Nips" of brandy grog and toddy at 6d. were frequently charged against the captains, as they looked after the loading of their vessels.

Privateering whenever there was opportunity had been a great factor in the commerce of Rhode Island. It was said that in the French war, one-fifth of the adult males were serving on the privateers,²⁰ while one-seventh of the remainder were in the King's service on land. The sloop *Ranger* was an example of many such adventures by the merchants of Providence. Nicholas Brown and six others, including Captain Wall, each owned 2-16; two others owned 1-16 each. Fitting her out cost £70.4 on the first cruise and £179.4 on the second. The risks were much subdivided and the ventures were generally successful. Sloop *Dimond*, 1776, was owned $\frac{1}{4}$ by Nicholas and $\frac{1}{2}$ by John Brown; Capt. Chase being part owner and the outfit costing £1485. She was to cruise off "Bermudose" Bay, by St. Anthony or Crooked Island Passage. To seize any vessel helping the enemies of the 13 colonies. To send prizes home by Vineyard and Buzzard's Bay.

Some bits of humor come down from these encounters of private war. Men were in earnest and the fun was vital. The schooner *Felicity* of East Greenwich, of 50 tons, commanded by Captain Gazzee, captured a large English ship with a valuable cargo. John Bull dislikes defeat and when the prize was brought into the upper cove at Greenwich, her manly captain shed tears. He said he could have borne capture by a respectable force, "but to be taken by a d——d old squaw in a hog-trough was more

²⁰ Arnold II. 217.

than he could endure." Captain Gazzee was French with a very dark complexion, hence the compliment.²¹

The year 1776 witnessed the withdrawal of Stephen Hopkins from Congress. He had been very active in all the positive measures for effecting independence. His laborious life and waste of strength at last produced its natural effect, for his nervous system broke down. Since 1770, he had been obliged to guide one hand with the other in writing. The tremulous characters justified his famous apothegm when he signed the Declaration, "The heart does not tremble." Certainly, a braver heart never animated a patriot. He partially retired from affairs, though he was an efficient and public-spirited citizen for years.

As we approach the Revolution, personal expenditures for dress diminish relatively. Negroes for domestic service, especially women, increase. Shoe, knee and band buckles of silver or other metal were used, almost universally. Metallic buttons also increased. The table service was not much changed, though there were earthen porringers—for the use of negroes probably. It is hardly possible to get at values, as lawful money and currency are mixed, and often not specified, in the prices.

Dr. Samuel Carew in 1773²² gives us a glimpse of a professional outfit. His personal estate was £702, and wearing apparel £12. A pinchback watch at £6 was rather cheap for a person keeping a negro man at £30, and a "boy" at £50. His right in the Providence Library was appraised at £3, while he had 30 vols. physic and surgery at £6, with 58 vols. Divinity, History, Travels, etc., at £7. Many small notes from £1.5. to £13, showing wide diffusion of credit. The furniture was re-

²¹ Greene, East Greenwich, p. 251.

²² Providence MS. Probate Rec., VI.

spectable; one bed, bedstead, furniture at £7.10., another at £5, an eight day clock in mahogany at £15, eight plain back maple chairs 24s.; two high back Windsor chairs 12s.; six Bannister back chairs, 15s.; six small glazed pictures, 6s. There was china and white stone ware. The white porcelain ware had become common. A widow kept the pewter chamber pot included with "Delph" cups, saucers and bowls at a valuation of 4s. She had a gold locket 12s., and a pair of gold buttons 8s. 2d., a negro at £48, a pew in the Presbyterian meeting house at £1.10. A right in the Providence Library at £2. belonged to Hayward Smith. A widow had two chamber pots 2s., probably of white stone ware; as she owned a female slave at £40, another at £30, she was in comfortable circumstances. Feather beds and furniture were generally about £7, presumably in lawful money.

Richard Godfrey, a barber, lived comfortably. His whole personal estate was £116, including the shop at £36, on leased land. Five "blockheads" stood at 10s. and his own wearing apparel was only £3.15, most wearers expended £7 or £9. His table service of china, glass, stone, earthen ware and pewter amounted to £4.1.9. A silver tankard, 2 porringers and spoons 60 ounces av. at 6s. 8d. were worth £20.; used in catering probably.

Mrs. Abijah Crawford, widow, with a farm in Johnston, kept one pair fire buckets at 12s, in her town residence. Her six leather bottomed chairs of black cherry indicated luxury, though her personal estate was only £135.15. Wearing apparel £12. The usual silver. A gold necklace and locket £2.10. She had a copy of Josephus at £2.8. with a bible and old books at 3s. Glassware as well as white porcelain was more commonly used; as we perceive in 11 wine glasses at 4s.1d, 6 beakers at 2s.4d, 4 glass salts at 2s. Warming pans were about 6s. Thomas Bigelow

was recorded as a "trader" in partnership with Parker, and he had invested in his stock of goods £533.

The material resurrection of the body does not so thoroughly possess the minds of will-makers, as it did earlier in the century, but Bartholomew Sutton in 1775 says: "I commend my soul to Almighty God my Creator hoping for eternal happiness through the merits and meditation of Jesus Christ my Redeemer." Arminianism was creeping in and it was necessary for solid believers to speak out.

Leather buckets for fires were common. A mason and wood chopper had a pair at 15s, though his estate was only £32.10. His pewter at £1.10. included a tankard, 6 porringers and 3 spoons. A warming pan was worth 5s. He had spinning wheels and cards for indoor work; a general custom among artisans. A farmer had a chaise at £6, and a suit of regimentals—coat, jacket and breeches—appears at £4.10. in 1775.

Gabriel's descendant, Eve Bernon, a single woman, left her real and personal estate to her kinsman Zachariah Allen. She freed her negroes, Amey and the son Manny; if they should be sick, or through accident unable to support themselves, they should be maintained by her relatives Allen and the Crawfords. Such care of freed slaves was common.

In 1777, Daniel Hitchcock, a lawyer, left a personal estate of £644. His brave suit of blue broadcloth "trimmed with vellum" cost £18., with a scarlet cloak at £4. and other clothing at £14.9. Evidently when he occupied his £9. pew in the Presbyterian meeting house, he wore goodly apparel. Bacon's Abridgement in 5 vols. at £22, three volumes of Blackstone at £3.10 and 94 volumes more made up his library. Besides these, there were Wollaston's Religion of Nature, a Greek lexicon and Bailey's Diction-

ary. An old silver watch at £6., a comfortable household outfit; and as in most professional estates many small notes ranging from £1. to £22. Rev. Gad Hitchcock appeared at the probate of the will. Prince Paine, a negro man, though he possessed only a small estate, dressed well in apparel at £10.4. and a pair of stone buttons at 12s. He carried a silver watch at £4.10. A chair-maker had shoe and knee buckles, with a pair of sleeve buttons, all of silver. An extravagant warming pan in another case cost 30s. Many estates, even if owned by farmers, included rights in the Providence Library. We meet looms occasionally; not as often as spinning wheels. Weaving was often done at special shops.

When the colonies were thrown on their own resources, the primitive rope-walks became important. In East Greenwich an old man walked spinning with his fingers from a large coil of hemp wound about his waist, while one of his sons turned the crank of a big wheel moving the spindles.

“ That building long and low
 Where the wheels go round and round
 With a drowsy, dreamy sound
 And the spinners backward go.”

As we advance into the actual Revolution, the new inflation of paper money appears in the inventories, though currencies are not generally specified, and it is perplexing. In 1779, a warming pan on two occasions is valued at £6. Martha Brown²³ widow's list of silver is noteworthy, 11 large silver spoons are equal to 2 silver dollars each or £6.12, six small are 15s. or 15s., one small is 3s. or 3s., 47 lbs. pewter equals £35.5. Mary Patten's title

²³ Providence MS. Probate Rec., VI., 256.

“Gentlewoman” is pathetic, for she died intestate. Benjamin Clap’s inventory was wholly inflated. Personal estate £1998, wearing apparel £383, two beds and furniture £300.

In 1778, the pressure of the war was very severe in Rhode Island. The financial system of the whole country was frightfully deranged, and while the continental paper was passing from declining values to nothing, the suffering of the people was greatest. Corn was at \$8 per bushel; carpenters obtained \$15 to \$18 per day and other labor was in proportion. But even the crisis of the country’s struggle was coming to a head under new causes and springs of action. The French treaties made the future independence of America almost certain. The financial troubles were not less, but they were henceforth alleviated by hope. Despair ceased, for, as a patriot said in May, “Joy sparkles in every eye.”

We may perceive the harassing details of this revolutionary commerce as we turn these yellow manuscripts. The sloop *Diamond* took some brown sugar from Dartmouth to Virginia. She carried also flour, tobacco, tallow, etc., from Accomack to the West Indies. Nicholas and John Brown order the master, L. Wyatt, returning by way of Bedford. If he can get his hands to come to Providence willingly in the sloop with the molasses, coffee, etc., he is to take out the valuable light goods for storage, and bring these heavy ones around; thus dividing the risk. If the men should decline, the order was to store the whole cargo.

Newport was evacuated by the British Oct. 25, 1779, who left the marvellous old town fatally damaged. More than 500 dwellings had been destroyed and three-quarters of the inhabitants had departed, many obtaining business elsewhere. Great suffering prevailed in the extraordinary

winter, when the Bay was frozen over for more than six weeks. Extravagant prices were obtained in silver; wood at ten dollars per cord, corn at four dollars per bushel and potatoes at two dollars.

At this time, merchants were dating their letters at Providence in State of Rhode Island in North America. Revolutionary commerce with Europe had assumed large proportions; the Browns, Nicholas and especially John, trading with Bordeaux and extensively with "Nantz," often using Christopher Starbuck, of Nantucket, as an intermediary. The oil shipped at first did not bring cost in France, the profit accruing on goods returned. Brown oil was preferred, as at the price it could be used by manufacturers of leather. Nicholas and John Brown's business with Watson & Co., Nantes, in 1779-1782, amounted to 113,291 "livers." It was settled in 1786, and "quit-claims passed from the beginning of the world"; sufficiently explicit and extended for ordinary commerce. The earlier orders were for powder, arms and army supplies, as in the transactions for account of Congress; but later all sorts of commerce were carried on.

For detail we have in 1779 Nicholas Brown's order to be executed at Amsterdam "for family use," 12 dozen cream colored plates, 2 dozen small do., four sets coffee cups and saucers, four sets tea do., blue and white; two sugar bowls and two coffee pots, Band W;²⁴ one dozen pint bowls, Band W; two dozen cream colored " $\frac{1}{2}$ pint bowls and saucers," four dozen fashionable wine glasses, one gray sable muff and tippet, one half dozen black silk mitts, one set house brushes, " $\frac{1}{2}$ dozen good green tea." And for market, there was the usual order for dry goods, knives, forks and pen knives. In finance was the curious remit-

²⁴ Band, white and gold probably. This elegant design in white China ran well into the nineteenth century.

tance of "Loan Office Certificates," 4600 dollars and 2100, to be sold and invested in goods.

In spite of the losses by war, its stimulating power encouraged luxury. In 1781, Captain Folger in brig *Polley*, was to bring from Watson & Co., Nantes, a great variety of staple dry goods and many of the fancy sort. Another order to these factors specifies 6 sable muffs and tippetts, genteel worsted stuffs for "women's gounds," waving "Plooms and Feathers black," ten dozen paste pins "for Lady Hair," six pieces Crapes, assorted colors "shining like silver," fashionable plated buckles, part small for boys and girls, one-half dozen fashionable silk "women's shoes." In this array of waving plumes and dainty shoes for the fair, masculine appetites were not forgotten. Good velvet corks "to make storage" were to be packed in for man—wise in his day and generation.

In 1781, the schooner *Betsy* and appurtenances were sold at Cape Francois for 3877 livres, after disposing of the cargo.

Though occasional ventures were profitable and individuals prospered, the main current of business was injured by the war and the people grew poorer. Newport was virtually destroyed. The fact that commercial Providence was ratably poorer than South Kingstown shows the practical pressure of the war.

Children born to the purple had good advantages in the way of tutors as well as schools. Residence in a suitable family was the most favored, as it is the best means of culture in any generation. Nicholas, the son of Nicholas Brown, sojourned at Grafton, Mass., in 1779, with Thomas Ustick, who promised to follow the father's "directions as to voice, manners, etc." He was pleased that the boy's "Capacity exceeds my Expectation, his memory is good," and he was docile. Mr. Ustick asked for a par-

tial remittance in silver, as he had been forced to buy pork in that currency. The daughters had to seek education abroad, even at stricken Newport, in 1781. Mr. Brown desired to place his daughter Hope and niece Sally, daughter of John, in Mrs. Wilkinson's School there. If she had not accommodation, he intended to place Hope with Mr. Usher at Bristol. The results of such education appear later. Nicholas had been sent likewise to Philadelphia, center of light and leading in those days. Joseph Anthony, merchant and correspondent, harbored him. Nicholas afterward made a visit with his young relatives. Mr. Anthony wrote Oct. 11, 1790, evidently meaning to back up his Brown commissions, with abundant and gracious compliments, expressed after the manner of the time. He addressed, My dear Young Friend, and alluded to "those Dear Girls, Miss Hope, I can't forget her." He commented on Nicholas' letter, "I discover you to be perfect master of the *Dash* of the pen, you may practice and Qualify yourself for Despatch, but there is Very Little Room for Improvement—your Entertaining Epistles will bear the most minute Inspection." The agreeable Anthony, if not a lawyer, was at least a Philadelphia Quaker. Nicholas answered Dec. 17, "My Honored Sir, Your favour . . . your meritt Sense and good Humour . . . I ever am pleased with reading a Phila. production." He was expecting a visit from Thomas. "The Girls have fixed a Ball, when they are to show in Providence some few at least Bright and Worthy Ladies." Soon Miss Hope married Thomas P. Ives. The firms Brown & Benson, Brown (Nicholas Younger), Benson & Ives, Brown & Ives, of famous memory, carried forward the business. The social arrangement was not brought about without heartburning. Ives was of good family in Beverly, Mass., but he had not fortune to please

the prudent merchant, who desired that his daughter should marry "a gentleman." "Father, what makes a gentleman?" "Money and manners!" "Well father, you have the money and Tom has the manners." The young woman justified her Power blood and gained her heart's desire.

The nursing of an infant interests every generation. The bill of the nurse, Mrs. Bradford, for "taking care of our child," Dec. 25, 1782, was six weeks at 3 dollars, twenty-eight weeks at 2 dollars and 2s. 2½d. "over Gaveim," equalling £222.4. A singular metonymy in the term carpet appeared in house furnishing. Samuel and Seth Yates agreed to paint for Nicholas Brown three "carpets" good strong color with star in the middle 3s.6d. adding "Flour" in the corner 4s. if Diamonding with differing shades 6s.

The family of a wealthy man afforded comfort not only to his own kinsmen, but to others not as well placed in the world. There is an early record of the son of Elisha Brown "Esq." taken by N. B. as apprentice until he should be twenty-one years and found in his "victuals and close." In 1780, Mr. Brown writes to his correspondent, Christopher Starbuck, at Nantucket, with whom he dealt so largely, for a "*poor* Honest Boy" to be employed in his family. It would appear that the supply was not so good in Providence; or possibly the merchant thought an immigrant would be more tractable.

Inventories of the period are perplexing from the confusion of currencies, and the fact that they are seldom specified in recording prices. Sometimes we get a more trustworthy idea of value from a staple article like a feather bed than from the technical prices. Occasionally there is a definite account, as in Nicholas Clarke's case.²⁵

²⁵ MS. Probate Rec. Prov., VI., Feb. 7, 1780

Two beds and furniture £19.5, in silver, £385, in paper currency; one mahogany table £2.5 in silver, £85 in paper; six tea spoons 15s. in silver, 15s. in paper. Silver plate was common especially in spoons, and negro slaves often appear. One party has a silver watch at £90, and wearing apparel at £830; two stone ware tea pots at £4.

Richard Seaver's personal estate was £55.10, his wearing apparel £6, one bed and furniture £5, all in silver. The Widow Abigail Rogers had a "Padasoy full suit" nominally £180, one dozen blue and white China plates £15, six white stone plates £1.4. In one case silver was estimated at 15 for 1, and dollars at 4s. 9, but this currency is not clear, as we shall see one year later.

William Checkley had a personal estate of £379, the prices being apparently in silver. A clock and case £9, a set of Queen's ware £1.5, besides china and glass, 88 oz. wrought plate £45, two leather fire buckets and lanthorn £1.8, Books at £12, including Dictionary, Arts and Sciences, Hutchinson's Mass., also his Collection, Youngs' Poetical Works, Various Sermons, Bailey's Dictionary two Latin do., seven vols. Spectator, three vols. Watts Psalm Book, in addition 60 miscellaneous books, one bed furniture and blankets £13.14, one negro Cato at £45. Looms appear in two estates. A blacksmith had one with wearing apparel at £7.8. silver, and gunsmith's tools, besides his regular outfit. He had a warming pan at 9s. and other comforts. This artisan wore silver sleeve buttons at 2s.

N. B. & Co. made a contract with S. Keith, 6 dollars for 9 lbs. mdse.; 4 dollars for 6 lbs. mdse.; 2 dollars for 3 lbs. mdse.; 4, 12 or 18, in proportion or paper in proportion.

Oct. 22, 1781, there was an auction sale²⁶ of £5594, in "paper" by agreement. This was Continental or State

²⁶ MS. Probate Rec. Prov., VI., 317.

currency probably. A bed and bolster brought $130\frac{3}{4}$ dollars, another $120\frac{3}{4}$ dollars. It seems people could estimate differences of quality in this airy medium. A bedstead was \$135, a side saddle \$25, a looking glass \$250, a warming pan and skimmer \$165, an old Bible \$30.

Captain Archibald Young had a small wardrobe for a sailor, but all the various silver buckles and stone sleeve buttons. He read good books, Spectator and Guardian, Cato's Letters, Epicurean Philosophy, School of Man, Prior's Works and Hervey's Meditations, Seneca's Morals, and Hudibras' Dictionary of the Bible. The appraisers could not put a market value on the slaves, but record the facts, showing that this kind of property was fluctuating even worse than the currency.

Three Negro Boys	“The one Runaway”
One negro Woman	“The others loth to stay.”

The surrender of Cornwallis in 1781 solved the problem of war, though actual peace was deferred for some two years. The small colony of Rhode Island, with Hopkins in council, with Greene, second to Washington only, in the field, with her brave soldiers in battle, had done her full part in the birth-struggles of the nation. Her joy in the result was according to her toil in the painful struggles.

Merchants were obliged to move promptly as well as discreetly to dispose of goods imported at great expense during the war, and to avoid the falling prices. Nicholas and John Brown sought the consumer in various ways. Daniel Gano took a cargo intending to open a store at New Haven or Fairfield; he landed finally at Fishkill. A portion of these goods was returned in 1783. A New London correspondent returned some goods consigned. Goods from Nantes were consigned Tillinghast & Holroyd in Providence to sell at 6 per cent. commission. Other

parties were employed. From Taunton, Tillinghast & Smith returned goods, which found no market.

The year 1785 brought the death of Stephen Hopkins, the patriot citizen. His biographer, Foster,²⁷ is full and vigorous in panegyric, and no native-born Rhode Islander could exceed this adopted scholar's verdict of praise. Hopkins was a man who would have been extraordinary in any place and time. As I have stated,²⁸ he was the true fruit and resulting consequence of a novel community, instituted through Roger Williams' creative system and Charles II.'s political privilege. We cannot reiterate this too constantly, for it is a kernel of history. Moses Brown's diffuse description of Hopkins' style as clear, concise, pertinent, powerful, sometimes energetic, generally "calm, rational and convincing" might be better expressed in the simple statement; the man spoke. Or as Foster puts it, "His hearty frankness and calm dignity of manner" carried his constituency with him. Such a man must be actuated by magnanimity of character, as his contemporary, Asher Robbins, emphasized. If Hopkins lacked scholastic education, he worked for it as far as possible. Manning brought the broad culture of Princeton into the high New England atmosphere; and Hopkins out of his education by affairs, seconded the scholar. He was the first chancellor of the College in 1764, and as he had worked for books, so he strove for the learned use of books.

The life of Hopkins took in the forming period of Rhode Island's history, when she had worked out of her spasmodic ill-regulated democracy into a form of representative government; which carried her through the great struggle for independence, and ultimately after much contention aligned her with her fellows in the United States.

²⁷ Hopkins, II., 163.

²⁸ *Ante*, p 230.

CHAPTER XI

THE UNION. 1786-1790.

The little state now entered on the worst period of its political history. Separation from the Crown-government of the mother country had been achieved, but a destructive revolution is easier than the construction of a new government. The inefficient Congress of the Confederacy could not be the basis of a strong government, but served only for a stepping stone toward the larger coming structure projected by the genius of Hamilton and inaugurated largely through the facility of Madison and Franklin. Virginia, the great governing member of the Confederacy, called for a convention of the states in 1786, to adopt "a uniform system in their commercial regulations." This meeting failed, but important as might be the field of intercourse with the outward world, it was shut off in Rhode Island, by the domestic economy of the state, which mastered its course politically.

There were two main controlling motives at work in our community.¹ The natural individualistic spirit of the colony and state revolted against any strong effective federal control. This motive must wear itself out, as it did finally under the inevitable attrition of the whole country, grinding toward a juncture of the parts. Similar principles affected other sections; and the Shays rebellion in Massachusetts, touching New Hampshire, was an example of financial discontent revolting against federal authority.

¹ Cf. Arnold II. 522; Brigham, p. 253.

The other motive, economic in origin, went deeper, touching the basal organs of all society. The mercantile classes, including dwellers in towns, had greatly improved their condition, and there was a farmer's opposition to every movement toward more effective government, especially in the federal form. We must remember that these troubles began in severe sacrifices of many men and women. Debt filled the social atmosphere, like a black fog that repels all sunlight. The Continental money and the paper issued by the state had depreciated, until they finally became worthless. The farmer brought his bushel of corn to the merchant and trader, who always handled the money of the community, whether of paper or specie. More produce could not be had from the land, but more paper could be readily produced. In vain, merchants and intelligent voters protested that paper must be paid, in order that it serve the uses of a currency. Delusion waxes, while it mocks at wisdom. Pay it with more paper, said the foolish incapable. Take away the influence of merchants and money changers, who send specie out of the country to make money scarce and dear; and all will be well. At first the conservative elements controlled the vote against issuing more paper money. Providence, Newport, Bristol, Westerly stoutly opposed the country party. But the insidious doctrines of inflation sapped their strength; a powerful majority for paper prevailed in May, 1786, and took possession of the government. The Assembly immediately issued £100,000, to be loaned on mortgage for seven years at four per cent, with an annual reduction of the principal. The bills were made a legal tender at par with specie. All sorts of forcing measures supported these processes.

John Brown in the *Providence Gazette* claimed that the farmers would not take their own medicine, or, in other

words, would not give up produce for the bills. Some traders were packing their goods, to secure them or to carry them out of the state, while some proposed shutting up their stores. The new Solons would regulate trade and exchange by arbitrary power. All these proceedings were finally stopped by the common law, which could not be created anew in Rhode Island. John Weeden, a butcher of Newport, refused to deliver his meat to one Trevett for paper, who sued him to gain the poor man's rights. General Varnum, the ablest pioneer of Judge Marshall in blazing the way for Constitutional integrity, showed the Court that the legislative must inevitably be subordinated to the judicial power in a stable, free government. The Court maintained Weeden's rights, and the paper rioters tried ineffectually to turn the Court out of office.

It was even seriously mooted in convention, though the project never fairly reached the legislature, that a commission be appointed and empowered, to regulate all trade, to fix prices and compel the transfer of property. Specie especially was to be held in the iron grip of the state and not be freely sent abroad at the will of the owner. These popular delusions gradually declined, and in Oct., 1789, the act forcing the circulation of paper instead of specie was repealed. A modification of the principle was substituted, making property a tender for debt. The mortgages to secure bills issued in 1786 proved to be like straw. Depreciation of this paper was fixed at fifteen for one.

The state suffered accordingly in the opinion of her neighbors and expectant partners in the new union of states. Our delegates in the Continental Congress were deeply wounded when the proceedings of our legislature were "burlesqued and ridiculed." The calm and discreet

Washington could say, "Rhode Island still perseveres in that impolitic, unjust, and one might add, scandalous conduct which seems to have marked all her councils of late." General Varnum in 1787, writing Washington, protested that the latter legislation did "not exhibit the real character of the state. He maintained that it was "equally reprobated by the whole mercantile body, by most of the respectable farmers, and mechanics. The majority of the administration is composed of a licentious number of men, destitute of education, and many of them void of principle. From anarchy and confusion they derive their temporary consequence" . . . and try for "the abolition of debts both public and private. With these are associated the disaffected of every description, particularly those who were unfriendly during the war. Their paper money system, founded in oppression and fraud, they are determined to support at every hazard. . . . These evils may be attributed, partly to the extreme freedom of our own Constitution, and partly to the want of energy in the federal union. It is fortunate however, that the wealth and resources of this State are chiefly in possession of the well affected, and they are entirely devoted to the public good." ²

About all the evils contingent to a body politic came to the surface in this little community on the shores of Narragansett Bay. It was demonstrated that a passion for individual freedom can crystallize itself into the lust for arbitrary power. Yet there was sufficient virtue inherent in this sordid wrangling mob, to throw off the evil at last, and to become a thriving republic. These events must be recorded with shame, but let it not be forgotten that, however rampant the spirit of evil, it did not finally prevail over the divine mission of government. Demos lets

² R. I. H. S. Pub. II. 168.

in all the people, but when he reasons and puts forth his strength, that strength is ultimately for good.

The constitution of the United States was not a miraculous issue from the brain of man, as Mr. Gladstone hinted. It was unrolled and unfolded from the historic life of the American colonies, and the interpretation was effected by a singular association of the greatest men the country could afford. Its making and framing were slow; its adoption was painful and protracted. Rhode Island was outside the controversial arguments and struggles, for she was without representation. All efforts failed to get Varnum's anarchical legislature into line. The federal union was virtually decided upon, when New Hampshire voted for the constitution June 21, 1788. The federalists of Rhode Island seized the occasion for popular demonstrations, though they were still in the minority.³ The state was still obstinate in opposition to adoption.

At last the period of agony drew to a peaceful conclusion. A convention was called for May 24, 1790, and the towns instructed their delegates for or against the union. So severe was the parturition that Providence had provided for a possible separation from the state, if it should not adopt the Constitution. May 29, the instrument was adopted by a majority of only two votes. So close was the contest between anarchy and order. The momentous event was embodied in the change of invocation from "God save the State" to "God save the United States of America."

John Brown had been very energetic in canvassing for the constitution. He built wharves and shipyards at India Point, Providence, and in 1787 sent his ship *Washington* to India and China—the first oriental voyage from our city. This literally opened a new world for our

³ Brigham, p. 265.

commerce. It was prosecuted vigorously and ably in the closing years of the century by his nephews—by kin and marriage—Brown & Ives. Two years later Moses Brown started Samuel Slater at Pawtucket on his career of cotton spinning. These two movements widened out the sphere of Rhode Island, giving the state a new social life according with its new political opportunity.

Brown was always a pioneer in all directions, and as he sent out his oriental ship, he built from plans of his brother Joseph, the house on Power Street at the corner of Benefit. John Quincy Adams noted in his diary that it was "the finest house on the continent." It was worthy of the powerful merchant, and the forerunner of the Colonial or Georgian mansions, which distinguished Providence for a century. The broadening spirit of the eighteenth century had penetrated our community, and Obadiah, the son of Joseph Brown, was a "freethinker" in the language of that day. At a dinner in the new house, this rash innovator gave the toast, "Here's a short respite to the damned in hell." The practically minded John, too much charmed by freedom in the end to balk at the hedgerows of orthodoxy by the way, instantly drank in this wise, "Truly, a most admirable sentiment, gentlemen, and one in which I am sure we can all join."

Shipbuilding and the passage of vessels went forward as of old, in the cove and the stream above Weybosset Bridge. The trade on Cheapside was fed by supplies brought to the docks about Steeple Street. In 1792, North Water (now Canal) Street was established; this marks the relegation of commerce to docks below the bridge.

Some six-score years have passed since Rhode Island entered the Union. She has kept pace with the whole country in population, and in wealth per capita is not

surpassed by any state. In spite of her limited territory, there are nine or ten great states having fewer people. Her people excel in numbers the inhabitants of her sister states Vermont and New Hampshire. This is the social outcome and expression of Roger Williams' and John Clarke's "lively experiment." Quidnuncs, whether of Massachusetts or of London, two and one-half centuries ago, would have said such results would be impossible. I have tried to set forth some of the facts, which made the achievement—if not easy—at least attainable in the ordinary life of peoples.

The Virginians contributed to the great purposes going to form America; and Hamilton's incisive intellect pruned them into a possible system of government. Such must be in the end a government of men and women. The individual of the eighteenth century received something creative and peculiar in the soul-liberty of Roger Williams. Though not adopted as a dogma by the whole country until well into the nineteenth century, it was alive and at work. Note Borgeaud's statement in Preface.

Consider the positive acts of rebellion in the little colony. The sinking of the cruiser *Liberty*, the burning of the *Gaspee* in 1772, Brown's rebellious seizure of gunpowder in the West Indies; accompanied by the explicit movement of the colony for a general congress in 1774, the actual earliest renunciation of allegiance to the Crown in May, 1776; all these events were political acts individually conceived and brought to an issue in this home of individualism.

Stephen Hopkins, of marvellous forensic foresight in the pre-revolutionary period, John Brown, with sagacity of a merchant and courage of a corsair, Nathaniel Greene,

dropping a smith's hammer to grasp the sword; Weeden, the butcher, resisting arbitrary power at home, worse than the hated "ministerial tyranny" abroad; these men all embodied the spirit of Roger Williams' descendants. These were the types of the men needed throughout the colonies to resist misdirected power in the Crown-government, and to build and establish a new nation.

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