Rhode Island Historical Society Collections

Vol. XIII October, 1920 No. 4

CONTENTS

$3.00 per year Issued Quarterly 75 cents per copy

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

Vol. XIII October, 1920 No. 4.

Dogs in Early New England

By HOWARD M. CHAPIN.

Dogs have from the earliest times been domesticated even by the most primitive races, and have had a marked influence upon the thought and literature of mankind; yet when one thinks of Colonial New England, with its austere Puritans, one is too apt to picture a dogless society, and to forget that even in that harsh theocracy, pioneer dogs strove, as did their masters, with the rough hardships of a struggling civilization.

Even before the Pilgrims came to New England, two English dogs,[1] "Foole" and "Gallant" by name, "great and fearefull mastives," the chronicler tells us, landed in 1603 upon the shores of southern Massachusetts, where they nosed and smelled about the beach and shrubbery, exploring and investigating unknown scents and smells. After the false alarm of an Indian attack, in which turmoil "Foole" grabbed up a half-pike in his mouth, the dogs with their human companions returned to Martin Pring's bark, the "Discoverer," and sailed away. These were, as far as we know, the first European dogs to set foot upon New England.

[1]Purchas his pilgrimes, Edit. of 1625, vol. IV, p. 1656.

The "Mayflower," on her famous voyage in 1620, brought two dogs, a mastiff and a spaniel,[2] to New England. These two dogs were permanent settlers, not transient explorers like "Foole" and "Gallant." As dog pedigrees and stud books go back, unfortunately, only to the early nineteenth century, none of the blooded dogs of today are able to trace their descent from the dogs that came over in the Mayflower.

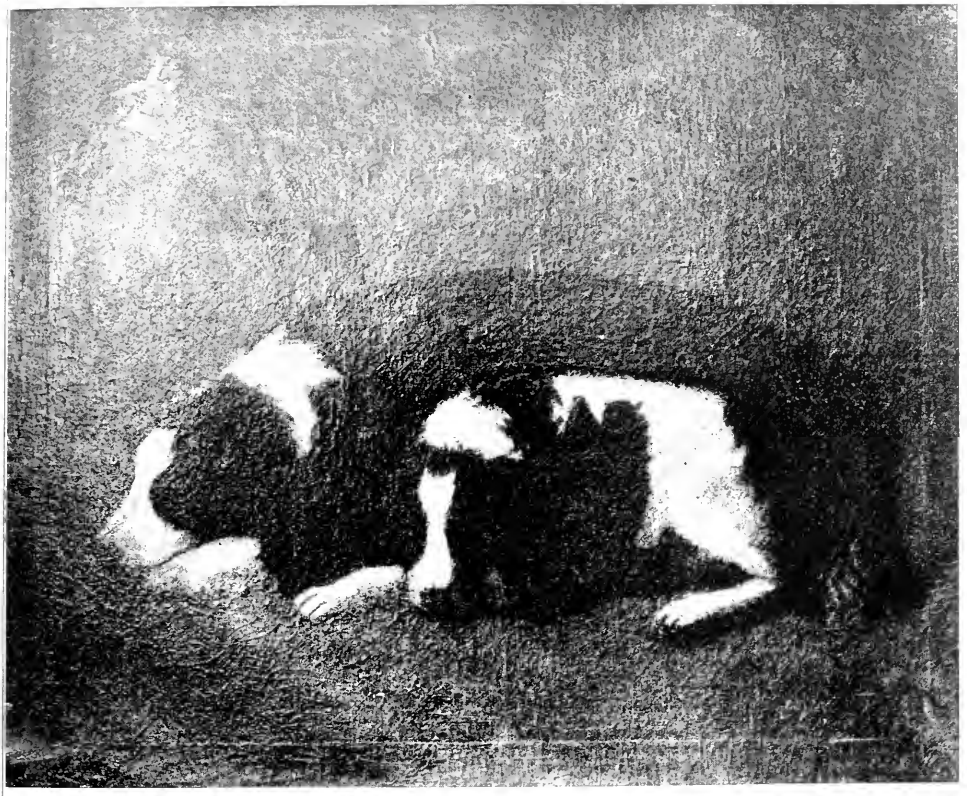
Mourt recounts some of the hardships of these four-footed Pilgrims as follows:

"These two (John Goodman and Peter Browne) that were missed, at dinner time tooke their meate in their hand, and would goe walke and refresh themselves, so going a little off they finde a lake of water, and having a great Mastiffe bitch with them and a Spannell; by the water side they found a great Deare, the Dogs chased him, and they followed so farre as they lost themselves and could not finde the way backe, they wandred all that after noone being wett, and at night it did freeze and snow, . . . and another thing did very much terrifie them, they heard as they thought two Lyons[3] roaring . . . so they stoode at the trees roote, that when the Lyons came they might take their opportunitie of climbing up, the bitch they were faine to hold by the necke, for she would have been gone at the Lyon,"[4] and under the date of January 19, 1620-1:

"This day in the evening, John Goodman went abroad to use his lame feete, that were pittifully ill with the cold he had got, having a little Spannell with him, a little way from the Plantation, two great Wolves ran after the Dog, the Dog ran to him and betwixt his leggs for succour, he had nothing in his hand but tooke up a sticke, and threw at one of them and hit him, and they presently ran both away, . . ."[5]

It appears that previous to the arrival of the English, the Indian has domesticated the dog, for in November, 1620, Governor Bradford notes that Captain Myles Standish, on his reconnoitring expedition on Cape Cod, met a party of Indians

[2]Mourt's Relation, 1622, pp. 27, 28 and 29.
[3]i. e., wild cats.
[4]Mourt, pp. 27 and 28, under date of January 12, 1620-21.
[5]Mourt, p. 29.



DOCTOR HUNTER'S DOGS BY GILBERT STUART

This is considered Stuart's earliest work extant. It is now owned by Mrs. William E. Glyn of Mayfield, Newport, a descendant of Dr. Hunter. Reproduced through the courtesy of Mrs. Glyn.

Copper hair ornament, found in the Indian graves at Charlestown, R. I. Now in the Museum of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

with a dog.[6] Roger Williams in his "Key" gives the Indian name for the dog as Anum, with the accent on the last syllable. He adds that this is the pronunciation in the Coweset dialect, but that it varies as Ayim, Arum, and Alum in the Narragansett, Quinnippiuck, and Nipmuc dialects respectively. In Woods' "New England Prospect" we are told that the Indians believed that "at the portall of their Elysian Hospitall, lies a great Dogge, whose churlish snarlings deny a Pax intrantibus to unworthy intruders."

An Indian dog gave the alarm of the English attack on the Pequot Fort in 1637; Mason's description of the incident being as follows:[7]

"There being two Entrances into the Fort, intending to enter both at once: Captain Mason leading up to that on the North East Side; who approaching within one Rod, heard a Dog bark and an Indian crying Owanux! Owanux! which is Englishmen! Englishmen! We called up our Forces with all expedition, give Fire upon them through the Pallizado; . . ."

Thus it will be seen that dogs were serving with the Indian forces in 1637, and although not as highly trained perchance as the canine warriors of the great World War, yet these early dogs were doubtless as diligent and serviceable as the times and circumstances permitted. A somewhat similar instance occurred at Cocheco in 1689 when the barking of a dog aroused Elder William Wentworth just in time to prevent a surprise Indian attack. This dog's warning saved the Wentworth garrison, the other four garrisons at Cocheco being taken by the savages.[8]

Nothing has been discovered to show that the English used dogs in the earlier Indian wars, but by the time of Queen Anne's war, they used dogs as regular auxiliary. A report in regard to the operations of the English in Hampshire County, Massachusetts, in August, 1706, reads:

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[6]Bradford's History of Plymouth, p. 48, also see Glover M. Allen's "Dogs of the American Aborigines."

Williams' Key, ch. XXXII; Woods' N. E. Prospect, pt. 2, ch. 19.

[7]Mason's Pequot War.

[8]Wentworth genealogy, vol. 1, pp. 97 and 98.

"We are just sending out 50 Men with Dogs, who are to divide into small parties, and range the Woods on both sides the River (near Hartford), if possible to discover and annoy the Enemy."[9]

But to return to the subject of Indian dogs, we find specific references to the dogs of the Connecticut and Narragansett Indians[10] in 1658 and 1661, respectively, and also we find that the Narragansett Indians used rough drawings of dogs as personal signature marks in 1644[11] and 1660.[12] They also had implements ornamented with figures of dogs. A stone pipe ornamented with a dog carved in relief was found in an Indian grave at Burr's Hill, Warren, Rhode Island,[13] and a copper hair ornament, with two dogs in relief as the chief decorative design, was found in an Indian grave at Charlestown, Rhode Island.[14] The latter may be of a foreign design and received in trade. The killing of noncombatant Indian dogs in Queen Anne's war only serves to illustrate the brutality of human beings.[15]

Dog laws were enacted at an early date in New England, Salem having passed one in 1635.[16] The dogs' chief offences were killing sheep[17] and swine,[18] biting horses[19] and cattle,[20]

[9]Boston News-Letter, August 12-19, 1706.

[10]Prov. Town Papers 0121; Prov. Town Records, vol. 3, p. 7; and New Haven Town Records, p. 358.

[11]Gorton's Simplicities Defence, p. 160, mark of Tomanick.

[12]R. I. Land Evidence, vol. 1, p. 88, mark of Towasibban.

[13]Now in Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.

[14]Now in Rhode Island Historical Society Museum, Providence.

[15]Boston News-Letter, February 10-17, 1706.

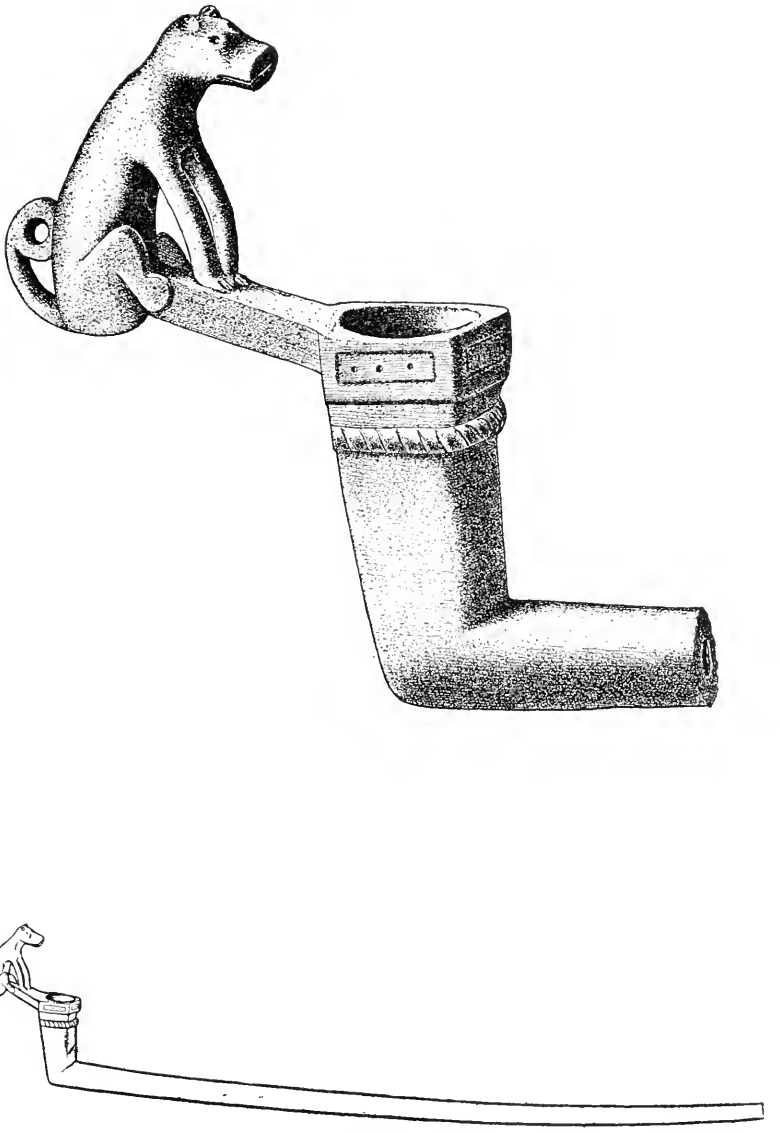
[16]Salem Records, p. 40; Jamestown Proprietors' Records, vol. 1, p. 66; Portsmouth Records, vol. 1, p. 223.

[17]Mass. Col. Records, vol. 2, p. 252; New Haven Town Records, p. 233; R. I. Col. Records, p. 22, mss.

[18]New Haven Town Records, pp. 170, 171, 246; Prov. Town Records, vol. 3, p. 125; Essex County Court Records, vol. 7, p. 273.

[19]New Haven Town Records, pp. 470 and 471.

[20]Prov. Town Records, vol. 3, p. 7; Prov. Town Papers 0121; Salem Court Records, vol. 1, p. 19; Essex County Court Records, vol. 1, p. 174; New Haven Town Records, p. 358; Austin's Geneal. Dict. of R. I., p. 85.



Indian pewter pipe found in excavations at Montague, N. J. Reproduced through the courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian, New York.

Roger Williams in Chapter 6 of his "Key" says of the Indians that "They have an excellant Art to cast our Pewter and Brasse into very neate and artificiall Pipes."

spoiling fish[21] and entering Meeting Houses[22] during service. The latter offence being explained by the fact that they could not understand the sermons and simply wanted to find their masters.

Their attacks on other animals were often directly instigated by human beings, as when Mr. Verin's maid set her dog on Mr. Brown's goats;[23] when Samuel set his dogs "to the pullinge of the tayles" of John Leech's cows;[24] when Mrs. Rowden hunted cattle with her dog[25]; when Joseph Billington hunted Edward Gray's ox with a dog,[26] and when Thomas Langden and his dog killed Mr. Prudden's hog.[27] Even the drastic Massachusetts dog law[28] of 1648 recognized the fact that the dogs were not always really to blame, but were often "set on" to such acts by human beings.

Dog derivatives served as ship-names and place-names in New England,[29] and also the words[30] "dog" and "puppy" were used as terms of reproach, as they are today.

Reference has already been made to the part that dogs played in military service. We find that their usefulness in other lines was also recognized legally, even by our self-centered Calvinistic ancestors. In 1648 the Colony of Massachusetts Bay[31] authorized each town to purchase hounds for use in the destruction of wolves. The town of New Haven voted in 1656 to purchase some mastiffs[32] from "Stratford or

[21]Salem Records, p. 130.

[22]Salem Records, vol. 2, p. 210; New Haven Town Records, p. 233, vol. 2, pp. 156 and 355.

[23]Salem Court Records, vol. 1, p. 19.

[24]Essex County Court Records, vol. 1, p. 174.

[25]Essex County Court Records, vol. 2, p. 101.

[26]Austin's Geneal. Dict. of R. I., p. 85.

[27]New Haven Town Records, pp. 170 and 171.

[28]Mass. Col. Rec., vol. 2, p. 252.

[29]Salem Records, p. 163; Plymouth Colony Records, July 6, 1640; Commerce of Rhode Island, vol. 1, p. 47.

[30]Essex County Court Records, vol. 1, p. 256; Steuart's "Some Observations," etc., p. 64; New Haven Town Records, p. 46; Narragansett Hist. Reg. IX. p. 63.

[31]Mass. Col. Records, vol. 2, pp. 252 and 253.

[32]New Haven Town Records, p. 291.

Long Island, where they here (hear) is some," to be used as auxiliary to the militia. During the interim before these dogs arrived, twelve local dogs were drafted temporarily into the service of the town. The names of the owners of these dogs are given.[33] This is the first recorded list of dog-owners in New England. Governor John Winthrop[34] and Governor John Endicott[35] were both dog owners. Roger Williams wrote in 1669 in regard to Governor Winthrop's dog, "I have no tidings (upon my enquiry) of that poore dog (about which you sent to me. I feare he is run wild into the woods, though tis possible that English or Indians have him. Oh, Sir, what is that word that sparrows and hairs are provided for & numbered by God? then certainly your dog & all dogs & beasts."

In 1644 a Medford dog rescued Mrs. Dalkin from drowning.[36] Governor Winthrop wrote in regard to this:

"One Dalkin and his wife dwelling near Medford coming from Cambridge, where they had spent their Sabbath, and being to pass over the river at a ford, the tide not being fallen enough, the husband adventured over, and finding it too deep, persuaded his wife to stay a while, but it was raining very sore, she would needs adventure over, and was carried away with the stream past her depth. Her husband not daring to go help her, cried out, and thereupon his dog, being at his house nearby, came forth, and seeing something in the water, swam to her, and she caught hold on the dog's tail, so he drew her to the shore and saved her life."

The abuse and maltreatment of dogs by human beings was of course common in early New England. Two cases due to religious fanaticism are worthy of notice. In 1644 at Salem,[37] John and Stephen Talbie were admonished for "unbecoming speeches" about a dog in the water, but "the baptizing of him"

[33]Mr. Gilbert, Jer Osborne, Edwa Parker, John Cooper, William Bradley, Will Tompson, Fran. Newman, Phill Leeke, Mr. Gibbard, Edwa Perkins, John Vincom.

[34]Mass. Hist. Soc. Col., series 5, vol. 1, p. 414; Narragansett Club Publications, vol. 6, p. 332.

[35]Mass. Col. Rec., vol. 1, p. 197.

[36]Winthrop's Journal under date of 1, 21, 1643-4; vol. 2, p. 162.

[37]Essex County Court Records, vol. 1, p. 65.

was "not proved," although apparently charged by the authorities.

On Tuesday, April 23, 1706, somebody fastened a cross on the head of a dog, and for such a flagrant display of papist sympathies, the poor dog was beaten and killed by Captain Dudley's boatswain.[38]

On the other hand we have instances of persons being tried for abusing and killing dogs.[39]

The first case of rabies[40] in New England was observed in 1763, according to Ezra Stiles.

In the realm of art we find that the earliest extant work of Gilbert Stuart is the picture[41] of two of Dr. Hunter's dogs. In 1729 a seal engraved with the design[42] of a running dog and the word "Canis," was in use in Providence.

Hannah Robinson's spaniel "Marcus"[43] figures in the sad romance of that ill-fated South County beauty.

In this connection, one is reminded of Shepherd Tom's[44] remarkable account[45] of the barking of South County dogs which could be heard for four miles. He wrote:

"What seemed stranger to the old man than all was the barking of a big watch-dog some two miles away, across the river, at the old brick house then owned and occupied by Amos Gardiner, and which is yet standing. Nichols said that the watch-dog to the east of the hill, apparently, never barked but in response to the baying of a foxhound that was roaming in a big wood lying not less than two miles to the westward and northward of where he stood, making a distance between the two animals some four miles, with the McSparran elevated hill intervening. Of this fact he felt tolerably sure,

[38]Samuel Sewell's Diary in M. H. S. C. 5, VI, 159.

[39]Essex County Court Records, vol. 2, p. 6; vol. 7, p. 424; Mass. Col. Rec., vol. 1, p. 197.

[40]Stiles' Itineries, p. 487.

[41]Mason's "Stuart," pp. 5 and 6.

[42]Manuscript deeds in Library of Col. George L. Shepley at Providence.

[43]Hazard's "Recollections of Olden Times," Chapter VI.

[44]Thomas R. Hazard.

[45]Hazard's "Recollections of Olden Times," Chap. XVI.

as there were occasionally lengthy intervals when both dogs were quiet, which were never broken until the hound uttered his howl, which was on the instant replied to by the hoarse bark of the distant watch-dog."

The Providence Gazette for November 7, 1772, informs us that Nathaniel Wheaton on Williams street, in Providence, used a greyhound as his shop sign, and gives us a picture of it. Ten years later the same newspaper contains a curious advertisement which reads:

"A DOG LOST

Strayed away, or more likely to have been seduced to follow some persons, or stolen, a Spaniel D O G, of about a middling Size, pyed with a white and brownish Colour, with shaggy Hair, hanging Ears, and docked Tail; particularly he had a white Strip in his Face, a white Ring around his Neck, and about an Inch of the Stump of his Tail white; he answers to the Name of SPRING, is very good-natured, and easy to be seduced by those who use him kindly to follow them or their Horses.—Whoever will bring or send back the Dog to me, his Master, in Providence, shall be very handsomely rewarded.

TERENCE REILY

Providence, February 22, 1782."

These few references from the fragmentary and meagre records of early New England serve to show that dogs played no small part in the lives and thoughts of our Colonial ancestors.

Roger Williams and John Milton

By George R. Potter, B. A., North Woodstock, N. H.

A study of the relations between Roger Williams and John Milton is interesting in regard to the known facts in the matter, important in its bearing on the work of both men, and fascinating in its possibilities. There is as a basis for investigation the undeniable fact that Roger Williams did know Milton. Beyond this there is little definite record; but there are almost endless chains of circumstances which lead

one on in hopes of finding something really definite, chains which are broken just where the final link should be. I do not pretend to have exhausted the subject, or to have supplied these final links. My purpose in this discussion is to state the known facts of the matter, criticize some conjectures and statements made by biographers of Williams and Milton, and other writers about them—some of the statements are greatly in need of criticism—and add some conjectures of my own, which bear on the question.

The evidence that Williams was acquainted with Milton and his work is definite enough, though there is not a great deal of it. Most important is the statement in one of Williams' letters to the younger John Winthrop, dated July 12, 1654, after Williams' return to Providence from his second trip to England:[1] "It pleased the Lord to call me for some time, and with some persons, to practice the Hebrew, the Greek, Latin, French, and Dutch. The Secretary of the Council, (Mr. Milton) for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages. Grammar rules begin to be esteemed a tyranny. I taught two young gentlemen, a Parliament man's sons, as we teach our children English, by words, phrases, and constant talk, &c. I have begun with mine own three boys, who labor besides; others are coming to me."

This passage I quote at length, because it is all important in connection with various conjectures based on its different parts. The main fact is, of course, that during Williams' stay in England, which lasted from the early part of 1652 to the spring or early summer of 1654, he knew Milton intimately enough for the two to have "read" different languages to each other.

There is only one statement in all the writings of Williams, so far as I can discover, where he mentions directly a work of Milton; that is in a postscript to the second letter to Mrs. Sadleir (undated, but probably written in the winter of 1652-3[2]): "I also humbly wish that you may please to read

[1]Narr. Club Pub., Vol. 6, pp. 258-262.

[2]This general date is derived chiefly from references to various books and events in the letters, and is agreed upon by all who have referred to the letters.

over impartially Mr. Milton's answer to the King's Book." Williams then had certainly read the Eikonoklastes. It is inconceivable, of course, that he had not read other works of Milton. But at this point I am setting down simply proved facts.

These two passages in Williams' letters, so far as I can find, are the only direct references by Williams to Milton. Nowhere in Milton do I find any reference to Williams, nor is there any reference to the relations between the two men in any contemporary writer I have been able to find.

Masson in his biography of Milton,[3] with his usual extreme thoroughness, does not neglect Roger Williams, but gives a pretty complete biography of him up to the end of his second trip to England. Most of Masson's material is aside from my immediate purpose. But some statements he makes are important. He says in one passage:[4] "Milton's acquaintance with Roger Williams, at all events, is almost certainly to be dated from Williams' visit to England in 1643-4, when he was writing his 'Bloody Tenent.'" Masson does not give his reasons for this belief; and "almost certainly" is a rather strong phrase to use in a doubtful matter like this, without giving reasons for its use. Milton was turning in belief from Presbyterianism to Independency and "Voluntaryism," as Masson terms belief in liberty of conscience, at the precise time that Roger Williams was in London on his first visit to England; the date of Milton's "The Reason of Church-Government," 1641, and that of his "Areopagitica," 1644—the former tract upholding Presbyterianism, the latter religious liberty—illustrate this. It is certainly possible, even probable, that Milton might have met Williams in 1643-4, and it is a tempting possibility that Williams may have had something to do with the change in Milton's beliefs. But of all this there is no proof; and so Masson's "almost certainly," without any definite proof adduced, seems hardly warranted.

In regard to Roger Williams' second trip to England, in 1652-54, Masson suggests other interesting possibilities, though here again he makes some unguarded statements. When he

[3]Masson, David: The Life of John Milton, etc.

[4]Masson, vol. 3, p. 189.

writes:[5] "No sooner had he (Williams) returned on his new mission in 1652 than Milton, now a doubly important man to Williams because of his public position, must have been one of the first of his old London acquaintances that he sought out," all his statements hang on his belief that Williams and Milton were acquainted in 1643-4. When he writes: "He had found him in March or April, 1652, in the first threatenings and anxieties of his total blindness; and all through the rest of that year, and the whole of 1653, Williams . . . had varied his intimacy with Sir Henry Vane, his calls on Lawrence, Harrison, and Hugh Peters, and his occasional interviews with Cromwell himself, by visits to the blind Latin Secretary";—well, either Masson had some source material no one else ever studying Roger Williams has had, or he is dangerously near to building air castles. If he had any foundation for his statements that Williams called on Milton in March or April, 1652, and kept on all through 1652 and 1653, he certainly has not given them to us. It is all probable enough; but where the evidence is to ascertain whether Williams "read Dutch" to Milton in 1652, or in 1653, or in 1654, I do not see; nor do I see what authority Masson has for saying:[6] "Certain it is that Roger Williams, not troubling Mrs. Sadleir any more, drew closer and closer to Milton during the rest of his stay." Williams' letter telling of his acquaintance with Milton, on which Masson evidently bases this statement, for he quotes it immediately after, certainly says nothing about his "drawing closer to Milton during the rest of his stay."

Masson makes two more very interesting suggestions. One is in connection with the Sadleir letters, where he notes the fact that Mrs. Sadleir was the aunt of Cyriack Skinner, one of Milton's old pupils, and always thereafter a close friend to Milton. Milton knew Cyriack Skinner. Skinner was a grandson of Sir Edward Coke and nephew to Mrs. Sadleir. Roger Williams was under the patronage of Coke in early life, and corresponded with Mrs. Sadleir on his second visit to England.

[5]Masson, vol. 4, p. 528, etc.
[6]Masson, vol. 4, p. 531.

The final links in the chain are missing—did Williams know Cyriack Skinner, and if so how did that affect Williams' relations with Milton? The possibilities are interesting. Again,[7] Masson conjectures that the reason why Milton was glad to learn Dutch was because "the war with the Dutch, it is to be remembered, was then at its height, and some knowledge of Dutch was particularly desirable for official purposes round the Council." This is, in my opinion, the only sensible theory in regard to Williams' teaching Milton Dutch, although there have been other more or less wild conjectures on that point by various writers, which I shall bring up a little further on. Milton was Secretary for Foreign Languages for the Council of State at the time. An extract from the Council Order Book, June 26, 1650, is significant: "That the Declaration of the Parliament be translated into Latin by Mr. Milton, into Dutch by Mr. Haak, and into French by M. Augier."[8] While this does not prove that Milton was entirely ignorant of Dutch at the time, any more than it proves his ignorance of French, nevertheless it shows that there was Dutch translating to be done for the Council in 1650, and that Milton's knowledge of Dutch was not perfect, at least. A similar entry, July 13, 1652,[9] shows that Dutch would have been just as useful to a Secretary for Foreign Languages at the time when Roger Williams was in England: "That Mr. Thurlowe do appoint fit persons to translate the Parliament's Declaration into Latin, French, and Dutch." What more natural, as Masson suggests, than that Milton, discovering in some manner, say a conversation, that Roger Williams knew Dutch,

[7]Masson, vol. 4, p. 532.

[8]Extracts from the order books are given by Masson and by Ivimey, the latter stating he takes them from Todd. By checking Masson against Ivimey I have tried to get as accurate transcripts as possible without seeing the original order books, no printed copy of which I have been able to find. Ivimey transcribes the extract: "That the Declaration of the Parliament *against the Dutch* be transcribed," etc. Masson differs, transcribing the entry as I have quoted it above, and remarks in connection with it, "This was the Declaration of the Causes of the War with the Scotch." Masson probably is correct, as the dates of the Scotch expedition correspond with the entry, and those of the War with the Dutch do not. However, the point is of no particular consequence as regards the purpose of my quotation.

[9]Ivimey has "July 13, 1672," an obvious misprint. Masson dates it correctly, 1652.

should seize the opportunity to learn something more of the language from him, in return helping him in other languages which he knew better than Williams?

Masson's conjectures, where he acknowledges them to be conjectures, are very thoughtful and suggestive. But when he tries to state his own conjectures as facts, he is clouding the question. If they are facts, his readers have a right to know whence he received his information. If they are only conjectures, they should have been given as conjectures, not as certainties.

Gammell, in his biography of Williams,[10] like Knowles is silent in regard to Milton till he reaches Williams' second English trip. Then he writes that Williams[11] "formed an intimate acquaintance with Milton"—a slight, but pardonable, exaggeration. In commenting on the fact he makes the deduction that Williams must have talked liberty of conscience to Milton, and have had an important influence on him; a perfectly sound conjecture. He also remarks[12] that it was a proof of Williams' "extensive scholarship," "that he thus taught the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and Dutch, some of them at least, 'not by grammar rules,' but, as he says himself, by *words, phrases, and constant talk, as we teach our children English.*"[13] This is a somewhat doubtful proof of "Williams' extensive scholarship," but it is an indication of a far more interesting and important fact, which James Russell Lowell has pointed out, and which I shall note presently.

Strauss[14] takes most of his statements about Williams' relations with Milton, from Masson, so it is unnecessary to comment on them, except in one case[15] where he disagrees with a statement of Masson that Williams learned his Dutch in America,[16] and says Williams probably learned it, "and with it some of the principles which characterize his life's work,

[10]Gammell, Wm.: Life of R. W.
[11]Gammell, p. 150.
[12]Gammell, p. 152.
[13]The italics are Gammell's.
[14]Strauss, O. S.: R. W. the Pioneer of Religious Liberty.
[15]Strauss, p. 181.
[16]Masson, vol. 4, p. 531. "Williams' useful stock of Dutch acquired in America."

from the Dutch colonists who were scattered throughout the southern and eastern counties of England, and in London." On the whole, Strauss' conjecture seems more plausible than Masson's, in this instance.

Carpenter, in his biography,[17] confines his comments to the 1652-54 trip, not mentioning the possibility of Williams' having known Milton in 1643-4. He is of the same opinion as Strauss in conjecturing that Williams learned Dutch in England rather than America, though he says, "It is impossible to determine with certainty." As to Williams' teaching Milton Dutch, he makes a conjecture of his own, which is interesting, but unfortunately entirely impossible. He writes:[18] "At this time Salmasius, a Dutch professor, published a defence of Charles I, and the Council of State applied to Milton to write a reply. It was at this point of time, as seems probable, that Williams formed his intimacy with Milton. In a letter to John Winthrop, written after Williams' return to New England, in the summer of 1654, the latter wrote: 'The Secretary of the Council (Mr. Milton) for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages.' From this passage, it may be inferred that Williams, having naturally formed the acquaintance of the Council's secretary, and being familiar with the Dutch language, translated for Milton the treatise of Salmasius." A single glance at the title page of the "treatise of Salmasius" to which Carpenter refers, disposes of this conjecture; its title is: "Defensio Regia pro Carolo I," etc. In other words, the treatise is not in Dutch, but in Latin. Again, this treatise of Salmasius—who, by the way, was a Frenchman, although professor at Leyden, his delatinized name being Claude de Saumaise—was published in 1649; on January 8, 1649-50,[19] the Council of State ordered Milton to "prepare something in answer to the Book of Salmasius"; on December 23, 1650,[20] Milton was ordered to print "the Treatise he hath written in answer to a late Book written by Salmasius"; and Milton's

[17]Carpenter. E. J.: Roger Williams.

[18]Carpenter, p. 201.

[19]Order Books of Council of State, as quoted by Masson and Ivimey.

[20]Order books of the Council of State.

answer, "Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio," etc., was published in 1651, probably before March 25, and certainly before April 6, when a copy was in the hands of the collector Thomason.[21] Roger Williams did not even come to England before the very end of 1651 at least, probably not until early in 1652.[22] It is hardly necessary to point out that Milton did not need to have Roger Williams translate for him from the Dutch a treatise which was written in Latin, and to which Milton had already written an elaborate answer in Latin, a whole year before Williams had ever arrived in England.

All the biographers of Williams have a strong tendency to make rash statements, without full knowledge of the facts, or to pad out meager facts by more or less harmless rhetoric. Perhaps the best is that by Strauss, though even Strauss is not very admirable in his treatment of the relations between Williams and Milton. Roger Williams is not by any means fully understood yet; and there seems to me to be room for some profitable work in compiling an adequate and really reliable life of this man, so important in American history and literature, and far more important in English seventeenth century history than is generally recognized.

A few other interesting statements and conjectures are found, outside the biographies of Williams and Milton. In the Introduction to Volume III of the Narragansett Club Publications, S. L. Caldwell makes a very sane statement in connection with the possibility of Williams' having known Milton in 1643-4, which is worth quoting:[23] "There is no evidence that Williams was then known to Milton, although the acquaintance may have then begun of which he writes as existing during his second visit to England."

James Russell Lowell makes a very valuable suggestion, in his essay, "New England Two Centuries Ago,"[24] a discussion

[21]The data about Thomason comes from Masson.

[22]Dates are given according to modern calendar except when quoting a definite day, as "Feb. 2, 1649-50," when both the year according to old system and according to the new system are given. The old calendar began the year March 25 instead of Jan. 1.

[23]Narr. Club Pub. III, Intro. x.

[24]In "Among My Books."

of the Winthrop papers, among which is Williams' letter of 1654 in which Milton is mentioned. Lowell quotes this passage, and with his usual brilliancy and breadth of knowledge, writes: "It is plain that Milton had talked over with Williams the theory put forth in his tract on Education, (it was Montaigne's also) and made a convert of him." The part of the passage Lowell refers to is of course: "Grammar rules begin to be esteemed a tyranny. I taught two young gentlemen, a Parliament man's sons, as we teach our children English, by words, phrases, and constant talk, &c. I have begun with mine own three boys, who labor besides; others are coming to me." While Williams does not say that Milton did teach him the theories of education he expresses in this passage, he mentions them almost in the same breath with Milton, as if writing of Milton reminded him of the theories of education. Lowell's conjecture appears to me sound, although the words Williams uses in describing the theory of education make me wonder whether he did not become a convert to the theories of Comenius and Hartlib themselves rather than to those of Milton. Milton, in the theories which he expressed in his tract, "Of Education," followed in a very broad, general way the theories of Comenius, about which his friend Hartlib was so enthusiastic; but Milton differed from those theories in many ways, usually differing in being more conservative than Comenius. Of course, it is impossible to tell precisely what theory Roger Williams was following, from two sentences or so in a single letter. But the phrase, "Grammar rules begin to be esteemed a tyranny," sounds, to my mind, more like the doctrine of Comenius than that of Milton. Milton was more conservative, and would hardly, I believe, have "esteemed grammar rules a tyranny"; in the tract, "Of Education" itself he writes, "For their Studies, First they should begin with the chief and necessary rules of some good Grammar." On the whole, the passage in Williams' letter makes me suspect that while he very likely, as Lowell says, had talked over theories of education with Milton, he did not become a thorough convert to Milton's ideas, but with his characteristic leaning toward the radical rather than the conservative, took up the more dis-

tinctly Comenian ideas. On the other hand, it is also very possible that from the time the tract, "Of Education," was published, 1644, to the period within which, according to Lowell, Milton made a convert of Williams, 1652-54, Milton's ideas on education may have changed, and the theories he talked about with Williams may have been different from those expressed in the 1644 tract.

Another conjecture I include not because of its importance, but because it is at least original. Margaret L. Bailey, in a published doctoral dissertation, "Milton and Jakob Boehme," writes of[25] "Milton's friend, Roger Williams, with whom he may have read Boehme's writings in Dutch, since most of them were published very early in that language. Todd suggests, as an explanation of the change of view in Milton's later writings, that 'he drank largely, perhaps, from the turbid streams of the Arian and Socinian pieces published in Holland and dispersed in England.'" That this conjecture is theoretically possible I do not suppose could be denied. But the possibility seems rather small, when there is taken into account the fact, that by the time Roger Williams was in England at least half of Boehme's writings had been translated into English, to say nothing of the Latin and German editions that were floating round the country, and the fact that the books were originally written, not in Dutch, but in German. And nowhere in the dissertation is it proved that Milton was reading Boehme at the time, though of course the supposition that he might have been is probable enough.

In a recent article published in the Rhode Island Historical Society Collections,[26] H. M. Chapin has brought to light some facts which are fascinating in their possibilities,—though again, the connecting link is missing. One of Roger Williams' good friends was Gregory Dexter, a London printer, who moved to New England after the return of Williams in 1644, possibly coming to New England with Williams himself. He printed the "Key to the Language of America" for Williams, and (according to Isaiah Thomas) also an "Almanack for

[25]Bailey, p. 133.

[26]Rhode Island Hist. Soc. Collections, Vol. XII, No. 4, Oct., 1919.

Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England for 1644," no copy of which is now known to exist. Now Gregory Dexter also printed for Milton his tract, "Of Prelatical Episcopacy," 1641; and as the relations between author and printer were apt to be close in those times, it is fair to assume that Milton knew Dexter personally. Gregory Dexter, then, was closely connected with Roger Williams, and pretty certainly known personally by Milton. If only there were some fact that would complete the chain and connect Williams with Milton through Dexter! If this could be found, it might be possible to show that Williams did meet Milton on his first trip to England in 1643-4. Mr. Chapin makes no such deduction, however, recognizing that at present there is no warrant for any such conclusion.

Mr. Chapin has kindly suggested to me another possible connection between Williams and Milton, which is obscure at present, but upon which investigation may some day bring more light. This is Roger Williams' relations to the family of Sir Henry Cromwell. A series of letters is extant between Williams and Lady Joan Barrington,[27] showing that he had asked a niece of Lady Barrington to marry him. Williams was at that time chaplain in the household of Sir William Masham, son-in-law of Lady Barrington; among the members of this family which occupied such a large place in Williams' early life, were Goffe and Whalley, the regicides, and Oliver Cromwell. It is known that Williams was personally acquainted with Cromwell on his visit to England in 1652-54; and the whole family were of the strong Puritan party with which Milton was associated. Here we strike a rather wide gap, for there still is no evidence that Williams knew Milton through this family, nor even any proof that Milton knew the family except politically. But the line of inquiry is at least suggestive, and might reveal something more definite on further investigation.

It is plain, therefore, that Williams was connected with two families, both of which were connected with Milton; the Cromwell family, whose relation to Milton comes through his

[27]N. E. Hist. and Genealog. Reg., Vol. 43, p. 315.

political and religious beliefs; and the Coke family, one member of which, Cyriack Skinner, was one of Milton's pupils, and a close friend and helper in his blindness. Skinner was one of the friends who enabled Milton to keep in touch with the literature he loved, by reading aloud to him when Milton himself could no longer see to read; and the affection which Milton had for his former pupil is shown in the two famous sonnets addressed to him. Whether Roger Williams knew Cyriack Skinner is a question as yet unanswered. But he at least knew Mrs. Sadleir, Skinner's aunt, and Chief Justice Coke, Skinner's grandfather. To be sure, Mrs. Sadleir, an ardent Church of England lady and a firm Royalist, must have had little more sympathy for her nephew's friendship with Milton than she had for Milton himself; and that Roger Williams exchanged some two letters with the aunt does not imply necessarily that he knew the nephew. There the matter stands now,—giving no definite conclusions, but offering many possibilities.

Another figure which naturally presents itself as a possible, even very probable, connecting link between Williams and Milton, is the younger Sir Henry Vane. It is hardly necessary to dwell on the close relations between Williams and Vane, they are so well known. A good share of Williams' stay in 1652-54 was spent either at Vane's Whitehall lodgings or at his estate in Lincolnshire. It is also obvious that Vane was closely associated politically with Milton, possibly as early as 1642.[28] Whether he and Milton were close personal friends is more doubtful. Milton's sonnet to Vane has none of the personal feeling in it which characterizes those to Cyriack Skinner, for example. But that Milton and Vane were closely associated in their aims and in their political activities is beyond doubt; during Williams' second trip to England, Vane and Milton were both prominent members of the Council of State, for example. Vane's biographers comment on the extensive influence which Roger Williams exerted on his religious and political opinions, an influence which I think is beyond question, particularly so in that Vane was young and impressionable when he first knew

[28] Willcock: Sir Henry Vane, p. 113.

Williams. To me it seems exceedingly probable that it was Vane who formed the actual connecting link between Williams and Milton, and was responsible for their acquaintance;—though as there is no direct proof of the matter, this must also remain for the present simply a conjecture.

Appendix

In connection with an attempt to find any possible references to Milton in Williams' writings, I have collected the various books to which Williams refers in his writings, or which he is otherwise known to have owned or read; these may be listed in three general groups, as follows:

I. Books surely owned by Williams.

Parliament's Declarations; at least, "one of them." (Letters, N. C. P., vol. 6, p. 195.) In this letter he speaks of lending the volume to "a Long Island Englishman."

Eliot's Indian Bible; still extant, in John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence.

A Book on Gospel Lectures (title page missing); still extant, in Rhode Island Historical Soc. library, Providence.

Greek New Testament; (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 89, and many other places). He quotes so often from the Greek Testament that he must obviously have owned one.

Dutch Testament; (Letters, R. I. Hist. Tracts, No. 14, p. 44) "Giving him my Dutch Testament."

Hebrew Old Testament; in many places he quotes from the Hebrew version of the Old Testament, and must obviously have owned one.

II. Books surely read, though not surely owned.

Eikon Basilike; "The Portraiture" (Letters, N. C. P., p. 199). Also, called "The King's Book" (Letters, N. C. P., p. 241).

Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity; (Letters, N. C. P., pp. 241, 242, 246).

Bishop Andrew's Sermons, "and his other divine meditations." (Letters, N. C. P., pp. 241, 242, 246.)

Jeremy Taylor's Works; (Letters, N. C. P., pp. 241, 242, 246. On p. 249 particularly mentions "The Liberty of Prophesying.")

Dr. Thomas Jackson upon the Creed; (Letters, N. C. P., pp. 241, 242, 246).

Milton's Eikonoklastes; (Letters, N. C. P., p. 249). "Mr. Milton's answer to the King's book."

Morton's Memorial; (Letters, N. C. P., p. 333). Pointed out in footnote.

Daniel Cawdrey's "Contradictions of Mr. Cotton (about church discipline)." (Letters, N. C. P., p. 354.) Pointed out in footnote.

Sir Francis Bacon's Essays, at least that on Unity in Religion. (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 8.) Pointed out in footnote.

S. Hilarius, Contra Anarios vel Auxentium. "Hilarie against Auxentius." (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 34) pointed out in footnote. Williams quotes from the work.

Tertullian ad Scapulam: (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 35). Pointed out in footnote.

Jerome, in Jeremiam; (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 35). Pointed out in footnote.

Brentius: (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 35). Pointed out in footnote.

Luther's Book of the Civil Magistrate; (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 35). Pointed out in footnote.

Calvin's Commentaries; (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 153). Pointed out in footnote.

Beza: Nov. Test. in loco; (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 155). Pointed out in footnote.

Sozomen, "lib. 1, Eccles. hist. cap. 19, 20"; (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 179).

Augustine's Epistles; (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 179).

John Cotton's Pouring out of the Seven Vials; (Bloody Tenent of Persecutions, N. C. P., p. 189). Pointed out in footnote.

Church Government, and Church Covenant discussed, in an answer of the elders of the several Churches in N. E. to two and thirty questions, etc. London, 1643; (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 215). Pointed out in footnote.

An Apologetical Narration, 1643, (By "some of the Independents"); (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 282. Also Williams published this tract in his "Queries"). Pointed out in footnote.

Josse Hondius' Map of the Christian World; (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 320, spelled "Hundius" by Williams; in "Christenings make not Christians," N. C. P., p. 4, he spells the name "Herdious"). Pointed out in footnote.

Martial: De Spectaculis Libellus; (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 371). Martial's Epigrams; (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., pp. 34-5). Both pointed out in footnote.

Canne's A Stay against Staying, 1639; (Mr. Cotton's Letter answered, N. C. P., p. 102). Pointed out in footnote.

John Cotton's answer to John Ball's Defence of Set Forms of Prayer, 1642; (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, N. C. P., p. 66). Pointed out in footnote.

John Goodwin's Fighting against God; (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, N. C. P., p. 92, a marginal note by R. W.). Pointed out in footnote.

John Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" or "Book of Acts and Monuments"; (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, N. C. P., p. 115, and various other passages). Pointed out in footnote.

Henry Ardier: The Personal Reign of Christ upon Earth, 1642; (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody N. C. P., p. 221). Pointed out in footnote.

John Speed: The History of Great Britain under the Conquests of the Romans, Saxons, Danes, Normans, etc., 1632; (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, N. C. P., pp. 232-3). Williams quotes at length from this book the Edict of Antoninus. Pointed out in footnote.

John Cotton's Abstract of the Laws of N. E., 1641; (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, N. C. P., p. 287). Conjectures made by editor in footnote is so probable as to amount practically to a certainty that Williams read this book.

Thomas Shepherd's "book of their (Indians') Conversion"; (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, N. C. P., p. 373).

Bishop Hall's "Contemplation on Michae's Idolatrie," 1621; (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, N. C. P., p. 488). Pointed out in footnote.

Conrad Gesner's works, probably (says footnote) his History of Animals; (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, N. C. P., p. 523). A reference made on p. 469 of the same work to "the Naturalist" very likely refers also to Gesner.

Clark's Ill News from New England; (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, N. C. P., p. 524). Pointed out in footnote.

George Fox's The Great Mystery of the Great Whore unfolded, 1659; (Geo. Fox Digg'd, N. C. P., p. 1). Pointed out in footnote.

Humphrey Norton's "book printed at London after his return from hence"; (Geo. Fox Digg'd, N. C. P., p. 70).

James Parnel: work undetermined; (Geo. Fox Digg'd, N. C. P., p. 147). "It is true (in print) J. Parnel spake like a Papist and Atheist and a Quaker, of the holy Martyrs or Witnesses of Jesus Christ and of the book of Martyrs itself." On p. 241, same work, Williams quotes from Parnel's "Watcher."

Christopher Houldsworth's "Book"; (Geo. Fox Digg'd, N. C. P., p. 164).

George Willington: work undetermined; (Geo. Fox. Digg'd, N. C. P., p. 191).

Edward Burrowe's "large Epistle to G. Fox his Booke in Folio"; (Geo. Fox Digg'd, N. C. P., p. 268).

"I have read Nichols, and Nailor, and Howgel, and Burrowes, and Parnel, and Farnsworth, and Fox, and Dewsbury, and Pennington, and Whitehead, and Bishop, &c."; (Geo. Fox Digg'd, N. C. P., p. 277).

III. Books probably or possibly read, mentioned by Williams.

Carpenter's Geography, 1625, 2d ed., 1635; (Letters, N. C. P., p. 192). Asks for loan of the book. Mentioned in footnote.

The Jesuits' Maxims; (Letters, N. C. P., p. 289). Says he will "be thankful for" the above.

"*Luther and Erasmus* to the Emperor, Charles V, and the Duke of Saxony"; (Letters, N. C. P., p. 374).

Magnalia Dei; (Letters, N. C. P., p. 234). "We live, and behold the wonders, the Magnalia and Miracula Dei in England." Possible indication of Williams' having read the book.

Hakluyt's translation of Verrazano's letter; conjecture given by H. M. Chapin, from the fact that Williams called Rhode Island by that name as early as 1637, and probably gave it the name.

Sir Thomas Browne's works, or some of them. A possibility, from the fact that Browne is the only other writer known who used the word "tenent" at that time. (Bloody Tenent of Persecution N. C. P., p. iv, note).

The Works of the Most High and Mighty Prince James, 1616; (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 31). Williams quotes from a speech of King James, given in that book. Pointed out in footnote.

Henry Ainsworth, Annotations of the Five Books of Moses, etc.; (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 308). Williams praises the book, but not in such a way as to prove he read it. Pointed out in footnote.

Chamier, Daniel, de Eccles.; (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 233). Mentioned in marginal note by Williams referring to a quotation of Cotton. Pointed out in footnote.

Robert Parker, De Politica Ecclesiastica, etc.; (Bloody Tenent of Persecution, N. C. P., p. 233). Marginal note by Williams.

John Robinson's On the Lawfulness of Hearing of the Ministers in the Church of England, Leyden, 1634: (Mr. Cotton's Letter answered, N. C. P., p. 102). Williams mentions the book, but only in connection with Canne's answer to it. (For Canne, see books surely read.) Also in the Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody (N. C. P., pp. 316-17) Williams speaks of "Mr. John Robinson his testimony in a manuscript from Holland." A footnote by the editor conjectures this is probably a letter to some of Williams' Plymouth friends. In all probability, Williams would have read the above mentioned book, on these grounds.

Macchiavelli's Prince; (Letters, R. I. Hist. Tracts, No. 14, p. 44). "According to W. Har: his Machivillyan Maxim."

John Ball's Defence of Set Forms of Prayer, 1640; (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, N. C. P., p. 66). Probably Williams read this; certainly he read John Cotton's answer to it. (See books surely read.)

Henry VIII: "A blasphemous writing against Christ Jesus in his holy truth proclaimed by Luther"; (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, N. C. P., p. 163). This work I have not been able to determine.

Antoninus Pius' Letters for the Christians; (Bloody Tenent yet more

Bloody, N. C. P., p. 233). Possible Williams may have read these in Speede's History. (See books surely read.)

Parcus; (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, N. C. P., p. 283). Williams speaks of this authority, quoted by Cotton, as if he knew him, at first hand, though there is not any definite indication that he did.

Johannes Marianus' De Rege et Regis Institutione; (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, N. C. P., pp. 310-11). Williams speaks indefinitely, but somewhat as if he had a first hand knowledge of the book. Pointed out by footnote.

Bellarmine's Tractatus de potestate summi Pontificis, Rome, 1610; (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, N. C. P., pp. 310-11). Williams speaks indefinitely, but somewhat as if he had a first hand knowledge of the book. Pointed out by footnote.

"*Crede of Piers Ploughman*, and *Chaucer*, some of his works, at least; (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, N. C. P., p. 423). Williams gives a story as coming from "old Chaucer," but the editor in a footnote says it comes not from Chaucer but from the Creed of Piers Ploughman. Makes it very probable in this case that Williams had read both authors.

Book of Common Prayer; (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, N. C. P., p. 510). Williams speaks as if he were acquainted with it. Pointed out by footnote.

"*Having* read . . . as I think, above six score Books and papers (written by pious and able pens against them)" (i. e., the Quakers); (Geo. Fox Digg'd, N. C. P., p.1).

"*That Turkish History* tells us of a Woman appearing in the Heavens with a Book open in her hand"; (Geo. Fox Digg'd, N. C. P., p. 145).

Ravius; (Geo. Fox Digg'd, N. C. P., p. 201). "Though Ravius (that famous Oriental Hebraician, &c.) proclaims above a thousand Faults, and some gross, in our last Translation" (i. e., of the Bible).

"*That* as blessed John Bradford said to God"; (Geo. Fox Digg'd, N. C. P., p. 236).

Joseph Chandler; (Geo. Fox Digg'd, N. C. P., p. 277).

Theora John; (Geo. Fox Digg'd, N. C. P., p. 277).

(N. B. Wherever a book I have noted has been mentioned in any footnote by the editor of the work of Williams referred to, I have noted the fact.)

Notes

An oil portrait of Gen. William Barton, painted upon wood, has been presented to the Society by the late Mrs. Martin Wilmarth Kern and Mr. George Coit Barton. It is on exhibition in the Portrait Gallery.

Mr. George Allen Chandler of Bethlehem, Pa., Mr. Edward Denham of New Bedford, Mass., and Mr. James Elgar of Providence have been elected to membership in the Society.

In 1913 the Society obtained the then only known copy of the "Calendrier Francais pour l'annee 1781," which was printed at Newport. Another copy has been discovered this year which contains four leaves not in our copy, but which lacks the title page which is perfect in our copy. The second Calendrier has been purchased by Col. George L. Shepley.

The most important of our manuscript accessions are three revolutionary muster rolls, which are the gift of Mrs. Franklyn Hallett Lovell of Washington, D. C.

Two of the inscribed rocks have been removed from Sachuest and placed on the lawn of the Society, by the special committee on inscribed rocks, which consists of Professor Delabarre, Judge Rathbun and Livingstone Ham, Esq.

The Society has published this autumn two volumes of historical interest. One is a "List of the Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors in King George's War, 1740-1748." It is an octavo of 32 pages, bound in cloth, and is the second volume of the series entitled "Rhode Island in the Colonial Wars." The other is the first volume of the "Rhode Island Court Records." It is an octavo of 80 pages, bound in cloth, and covers the period from 1647 to 1663. The edition of each of these books has been limited to 150 copies. A special discount is given to members of the Society.

The first volume of "Rhode Island Land Evidences" is now in the printer's hands.

Bulletin number 33 of the Newport Historical Society contains an article on the old Hazard House by Maud Lyman Stevens.

Miss Lena Clark's paper on "Old Houses in Jamestown" has

been issued as number I of the Bulletin of the Jamestown Historical Society.

We have received requests for the following numbers of the "Collections": Vol. XI, No. 4; Vol. XII, Nos. 1 and 3; Vol. XIII, No. 2. As our supply of these numbers is exhausted, we can only fill these requests through the generosity of some of our members.

Extracts from the Log Book of the Private Armed Schooner Blockade, Manly Sweet, Commander

Contributed by Professor Wilfred H. Munro.

He who reads the breezy pages of the Log book of the second cruise of the Yankee as given in the "Tales of an Old Seaport" is likely to gain an impression that a voyage on a private armed ship of war was a very enjoyable as well as profitable experience. A perusal of the extracts from the Log book of the Blockade which follow will give a very different idea of a privateersman's life. The more one reads about the American privateers the more is one impressed with the fact that the Yankee was in a class by herself. The Blockade belonged to the same owners; her Commander, Manly Sweet, had been a Lieutenant of the Yankee on her first cruise. Yet while the Yankee was more profitable than a gold mine the other vessel proved to be only a continual bill of expense. The first, escaping a thousand perils, made six voyages as a ship of war and continued to earn money for her owners in the days of peace that followed. The second was lost on her second cruise, only three of her crew surviving to return to her home port. Perhaps the fault was with her officers. She carried a remarkably tough crew and stern discipline rather than Sweetness was needed, as the reader will judge from the extracts that follow.

The officers who signed the paper conferring a power of attorney upon her owners were Manly Sweet, Benjamin Bowen, Paul Florence, John French, Jr., Stephen Simmons,

Moses Deane, John Carpenter, George Phillips and Obed B. Hussey. To these should be added the names of Lieutenant Russell and Sailing Master Avery, which appear in the extracts.

The protest made on December 4th while in Dutch Island harbor would appear to have been put forward with reason. Judging from the size of the Yankee's crew the Blockade should have carried at least twice fifty-eight men. Ten seamen could easily sail the privateer, but a hundred were needed to make her a successful fighting machine, and to provide crews for possible prizes. That the cruise was not started properly is evidenced by the fact that in the list of protestants appear the names of three officers, namely—Paul Florence, John Carpenter and George Phillips. No wonder the Captain went back to Bristol to consult with the owners.

Extracts from the Log book of the private armed schooner Blockade, Manly Sweet Commander, that sailed from Bristol, on a cruise, Thursday, November 19, 1812:

"Sunday, Nov. 22d. At Newport. At 9 A. M. got under way and ran out to Newport Light in company with a Revenue Cutter on trial and beat her. At 1 P. M. came to at Newport. At 3 got under way and ran up as far as Prudence.* Half past 4 P. M. came to anchor at Newport."

"Saturday, Nov. 28th. At 6 A. M., with fresh breeze, ran out of Newport for the Vineyard after men. At 10 A. M., it blowing fresh with a rough sea, we lost our jolly boat from the davits. At 3 in the afternoon came to at Holmes' Hole."

"Monday, Nov. 30th. At half past 8 P. M., a boat full of men was discovered passing under our stern, which was hailed by the commanding officer on deck. She answered the hail by inquiring in an authoritative manner who we were. We had heard that the "New Liverpool" (an English armed vessel) was cruising between this place and Chatham, that she had pilots from Cape Cod and had taken a large number of prizes bound from the southward and eastward. This information and the singular circumstance of an armed vessel being hailed by a boat in the manner the Blockade was, excited suspicions

*i. e., Prudence Island.

that the boat belonged to the "New Liverpool," and these suspicions were strengthened by discovering (when they were ordered alongside) ten men armed with cutlasses, pistols, &c. Immediately all hands were ordered to quarters, the decks were cleared, guns loaded, matches lighted, and every preparation made to repel the enemy, should he think proper to commence the attack. We were in momentary expectation of receiving a shot from the vessel to which the boat belonged, as a signal for action. She lay at a short distance from us, but it being dark we could not discover what she was. During this time the officers and boat's crew were detained while the 1st Lieutenant was sent on board, who ascertained her to be a packet, bound to New York from Boston, with recruits for the United States. The officers who, it seems, came alongside for a frolic, deserved punishment for their presumption, and may thank heaven, and Captain Sweet's humanity for their lives, as it was extremely difficult for him to prevent the men on board the Blockade from firing into the boat."

"Friday, Dec. 4th. In Dutch Island Harbor. This day the following men (petty officers on board) protested against going to sea in the Blockade without more men (our crew consisting of 58 including officers), viz.: Henry Verney, Charles S. Beverly, Oliver Norton, Paul Florence, Charles Cotter, Lewis Cooper, John Kelly, William Mathews, John Johnson (boatswain's mate), George Phillips, James Brown, John Carpenter, and Johan Fausbery. In consequence of this measure Captain Sweet went to Bristol to consult with the owners."

"Wednesday, Dec. 9. This day a paper was handed to the Captain, as a *protest* against going in the Blockade, of which the following is a transcript, which, as a curiosity I enter into this journal—'We the subscribers *due* wish to go *hoam* as we the subscribers *has been* on *bord* sometime and expected to *gone* to sea but as we have not *ben* we wish for a dismission for we are not *wilin* to go in the *vessell.*' Several of the 'subscribers' having received bounty, Captain Sweet thought proper to treat the petition with that contempt which it deserved. In the mean time the discontent which had pre-

vailed several days still continued and in the evening the disaffected part of the crew became clamorous and two of the gentlemen 'subscribers' who were discovered to have been the most active in exciting the mutiny, refused to do their duty when ordered, and treated the officers with impertinent language. To 'cool their courage' and 'bring them to repentance, and a knowledge of the truth,' Captain Sweet had them (Dizley and Mumford) put in irons. After this peace was restored and those who had threatened to 'eat the devil and drink his broth,' became quiet as lambs." (Bristol Phoenix, Nov. 25, 1871.)

"Saturday, Dec. 12. At 6 P. M., got under way and stood out for sea. Mumford and Dizley were taken out of irons and ordered to their duty."

"Saturday, Dec. 19th. At 2 P. M., John Scott discovered a sail from the mast head, bearing from us N. N. E., distant about four leagues. Hauled our wind and gave chace. At 4 P. M., (being within one league of her) gave her a shot from the Long Tom, when she rounded to; but neglecting to show her colors we gave her another shot when she displayed the Sweedish flag. Boarded her and found her to be the brig Betsey, Captain Lane, 12 days from Bath, (Kenebeck,) with lumber, bound to Cayenne, with a Sweedish passport. Had sprung a leak in the late gales. Lat. by ob. 31, 56."

"Tuesday, Dec. 29th. Finding the vessel by *the head* the provisions in the hold were this day shifted to get her in trim, and for that purpose stowed part of the bread aft in the lazaretto. This day Neptune and wife came on board and gave a principal part of the crew a *terrible* shaving. Lat. by ob. 21, 35."

"Saturday, January 2d, 1813. About 10 A. M., William Chapman, the armorer, having heated the barrels of a pistol, for the purpose of blueing it with horn, which was loaded with ball, probably unknown to him, it went off and killed him instantly. On examination by the Surgeon, it was found that the ball passed through the right eye and went out at the back part of his head, which broke all the bones in the right and upper part of his scull. He was sewed up in a hammock, with

weights at his feet, and after prayers had been read, at the discharge of a cannon his body was committed to the deep with proper respect. He was a native of Massachusetts but had resided some time in Providence, where he married a short time previous to his sailing the Blockade. Lat. by ob. 12, 30 N.

"Monday, January 4th. At 3 P. M., came up with our chase (discovered yesterday) and fired a shot from the Long Tom which she did not answer, but kept away. At our second shot she fired a gun to the leeward, rounded to and hauled up her courses, when we fired a third and fourth shot which she returned with her stern chacer. During the whole of this time she showed American colors and made signals and it was thought proper to send our boat on board to ascertain her character. Our 1st Lieutenant, on his return reported her to be the privateer brig Revenge, of Norfolk, out forty-two days, bound on a cruise, and commanded by Captain Langdon. On receiving this information we ran down and spoke her. Captain Sweet had an invitation on board, which he accepted. It was fortunate for both vessels that Captain Sweet sent the Lieutenant on board, as it was probably the means of preventing a battle, which doubtless would have taken place but for the adoption of this measure. Lat. by ob. 10, 43."

"Saturday, January 16th. During the latter part of these 24 hours a quarrel took place between John Hill and Nath. Barney concerning a tin pot which belonged to Hill but which Barney used without Hill's liberty for which Hill threatened and indeed attempted to whip him. On the officers interfering, Hill abused the whole by saying that he did not 'care a ———' for any one on board the vessel. Lieutenant Russell and Mr. Avery, the sailing master, took the matter up when Lewis Durfee, John Scott, and several of the forecastle men (to which Hill belonged) took Hill's part and insulted the officers with abusive language. Captain Sweet went forward with a determination to punish the mutineers, who among other things which they asserted, complained of their living. From humanity or policy Captain Sweet determined to pass over their present conduct and gave them liberty to leave the vessel

at the first port which we should make (which Hill threatened to do) but gave them to understand that he was determined to put up with their insolence no longer. After which peace was restored." From Phoenix Dec. 2, 1871.

"Wednesday, January 20th, 1813. At six o'clock A. M., stood in shore for food and water, and at nine came to anchor in three fathoms within one mile of the land. Captain Avery with a boat's crew went ashore and obtained permission of an officer, who had repaired to the landing with a number of soldiers, to procure what we wanted. The inhabitants having observed the Blockade and the Revenge standing off and on shore for several days past, two pieces of cannon were brought down and planted at a short distance from the beach. Signals of smoke were observed along the shore from the first moment of approaching the land, which still continue to be observed as far as the sight extends. The point about four miles to the windward of the watering place is called by the natives Point Agiberon, and the shore extending to the northeast from it is called Terra Firma. It is a high and steep bank variegated with red and yellow clay, which at a short distance from shore appears like rock and resembles in its color Gay Head at the Vineyard. It extends for several miles with now and then an interruption of sand hills and forms a sort of bay which is by no means safe to lie at anchor in, by reason of sudden squalls which, while we were here, struck us adrift and drove us in shore. From the sea the land has an agreeable and a fertile appearance, but on landing it proves a dreary and sterile coast nearly as barren as the 'Wilderness of Sin.' The inhabitants appear as meagre as their soil." (The privateer had reached the coast of Brazil.)

"Thursday, January 21st. Lying at anchor at Point Agiberon in order to wood and water. At 6 P. M., got under way and put to sea. Lat. by ob. 3, 57 South."

"Thursday, February 4th. At half past eight this morning a quarrel took place between John Cotell and Nath. Mumford which promises serious consequences. The circumstances were as follows: Cotell and Mumford were in the hold when Cotell quarrelled with Nath. Barney (a good natured and

peaceable man) and threatened to whip him. Mumford espoused Barney's cause and some harsh words passing between him and Cotell, Mumford drew his hand across Cotell's mouth upon which Cotell struck him several blows with a heaver (a heavy billet of wood) one of which laid his head open on the left side of the upper part of the skull, three fourths of an inch in length. Another blow struck him on the inferior part of the osfrontis, directly over the left eye, which caused the eye-brow to swell to the size of a half a hen's egg, which in the opinion of the Surgeon involves much danger. Cotell was put in irons for trial."

"Monday, February 15th. At 8 P. M., got under way and stood out to sea, leaving the Revenge to take in the remainder of her provisions and water. At 6 A. M., tacked ship and stood in for land. While lying at Seara this day our cable chafed so as to render lying at anchor dangerous." (Ceara is on the north coast of Brazil.)

"Tuesday, February 16th. In the afternoon while running into Seara the Blockade was fired at five times from the Fort. We brought to a fishing smack and Captain Sweet sent a letter to the governor, demanding an explanation, but before he received an answer we received another shot from the garrison, which was returned from our long twelve pounder. The shot struck near the Portuguese battery and passing over the town struck a butcher's shop, but did no other damage. In the evening Captain Langdon (who was ashore when we fired) stated that the governor accused us of a breach of neutrality which prohibits any vessel from standing off and on a neutral port in the manner we did. In answer to a message from the governor, Captain Sweet explained the necessity he was under for so doing, to avoid the danger of drifting ashore, which the state of our cable could not prevent. Thus the affair ended."

"Friday, March 19th. At daylight discovered and gave chace to a brig ahead about ten miles distant. At 11 A. M., came up with and boarded her. She proved to be the Cosmopolite, of New York, thirty-five days from Cadiz with salt, John Smith master, bound to Charleston, S. C. Captain Smith

informed that news had arrived at Cadiz a few days previous to his sailing that Bonaparte had been defeated by the Russians with the loss of 175,000 men and forty generals. Captain Smith further informs that a fleet of fifteen sail of the line and five large frigates from England (which were expected to arrive sometime in March) had sailed from America. He was boarded by the brig Revenge, of Warren, R. I., near the Canaries—had taken nothing. Lat. by ob. 28, 30." (Phoenix, Dec. 16, 1871.)

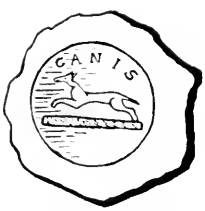
Friday, July 23d, 1813—Commences fine clear weather, and moderate breezes. At six o'clock, sail set in chace of the vessel seen on the 22 inst. at half past 11, a. m., distance 20 miles. At 5 p. m., drawing on her fast and within a gun shot and a half; fired a bow gun with powder and wad only; at half past 5, she not heaving to or showing colors gave her a second gun; but she still proceeded. Gave her long tom with round, and hoisted American ensign and pennant; she then luffed, brought her stern to bear on us, and gave us one of her stern chasers, and hoisted Spanish colors. We then fired long tom the second time, with round. She returned the compliment with one of her stern chasers, by this time being pretty near. She hove shot over us, but her grape fell short; the action became warm; we gave her our broadside, and endeavored to close with her as fast as possible; our colors at this time were distinctly seen by those on board of her, and she kept up her Spanish colors, and a regular fire when after six or seven broadsides, perceiving her main topsail to be on the cap, and the lee clue cut away, the Spanish flag was hauled down, and she hove to. We lowered our boat, boarded her, and found her to be the Spanish ship, New Constitution, Captain Dr. Damian Garcia from Havana, bound to Alicant, out 30 days, loaded with sugar and coffee—mounting six guns, carrying 42 pound shot and two double fortified six pounders; brought the Captain on board with his papers, and after examining him very minutely, and his papers, and reprimanding him for his conduct, permitted him to proceed. She was much injured in hull, rigging and sails. At 12, midnight, made sail.

N. B. The Spanish ship had had a dust between Bermuda

Indian stone pipe, unearthed at Burr's Hill, Warren, and now preserved at the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York. Reproduced through the courtesy of the Museum.

At the Sign of the Greyhound, near the church, in Williams Street, Providence, 1772.

Signature mark of the Indian
Tomanick, 1644.



Richard Waterman's Seal.
1729.

and Havana, with a schooner privateer, of three hours action and after cutting away the tiller of the schooner, and killing the man at the helm, the privateer hauled down the American flag she had fought under, hoisted a French flag, and stood from her. No one was injured on board the Spanish ship, or the Yankee. Lat. by ob. 39, 29 West.

Thursday, August 5.—At quarter to one P. M., saw a sail bearing N. W. distance 5 leagues. At 4, spoke the chase; she hoisted Sweedish colors at half mast, the Captain informing us that he had been out 26 days, from Savannah and that he had lost three men by the fever, and that three more were then in the stern boat very sick. Our doctor, with his usual humanity, went on board, and rendered them every assistance in his power. The Captain, informed us that the frigate Chesapeake, same day out of New York was taken by an English frigate, which we much doubt. At 5 made sail; the Sweede was bound to Gottenburgh. Lat. by ob. 39, 16 W.

(Alas! The Shannon did capture the Chesapeake.)

Friday, August 6.—Commences with fresh gales and squally; at 3 lost lee lower swinging boom overboard; hove to and got it. At 6 P. M., doubled reef mainsail and single reefed fore topsail. At 9 P. M., blowing fresh, took in the foresail. At 10 P. M., blowing a gale; took in the foretopsail, and the mainsail, and kept her away under foretopmast staysail until daylight, then set the lug foresail with the bonnet off; saw two ships to windward, which appeared to be suspicious of us, by their keeping as near each other as possible; as they were standing to the S. and E. under close reefed sails, we could no way speak them. At 10 A. M., blowing a hard gale, and a heavy sea. Balanced reefed the lug foresail, and hove her to, at 11 A. M., a heaving gust kept her leeside of the deck under water for some minutes; put up the helm, eased off the fore sheet and kept her away North before it. Got down the eight after guns in the ward room. At 1-2 11, threw over board the 4 cannondes which were amidships: got in the jibboom. Ends thick, rainy weather and the gale increasing went in the forehole and fastened down the casks, &c. No observation.

(The Bristol Phenix, February 24, 1872.)

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Rhode Island Historical Society Collections

Vol. XIV January, 1921 No. 1

CONTENTS

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

Vol. XIV January, 1921 No. 1.

Ninigret's Fort

A Refutation of the Dutch Theory

By LEICESTER BRADNER.

With the naive credulity of old style historians, Mr. S. G. Arnold, in a note to page 155 of his "History of the State of Rhode Island," states that "the Dutch had two fortified trading posts on the south shore of Narragansett, in what is now Charlestown." No proof presented, no references given. So far as I have been able to discover, this is the first occurrence in print of the theory that the Dutch owned the fort popularly known as Ninigret's. All later historians have trustingly followed Arnold's lead in this particular and the comparative insignificance of the subject has preserved it from the cold eye of historical research. Where this theory originated, I have not been able to discover, unless it sprang full-fledged, like Pallas Athene, from the head of Mr. Arnold. The discovery of Dutch implements in the graves of the Niantic sachems in 1863 gave plausible authority to it and it grew and flourished mightily until, in 1902, it found its most vigorous champion in the redoubtable Sidney S. Rider.

Mr. Rider bases his argument on the belief that the Indians would not have built a fort on the lines of this one and on the not sufficiently proved claim that the Indians never used it. He heightens the effect of his thesis by passing over the reliable history of Elisha R. Potter and pouring his satire on the sentimental and romantic inaccuracies of the Rev. Frederic Denison. (Cf. Rider's "Lands," p. 295, where he accuses Denison of being responsible for the Indian theory. Potter, p. 23, evidently had no idea that the origin of the fort was other than Indian.) Denison had no historical sense and, like all local historians, was prone to embroider facts according to his taste. Consequently, he left ample opportunity for the sharp-eyed and sharp-tongued Rider. The latter pricks Denison's toy balloon in several places and leaves it in a very deflated condition. The real essence of the matter remained, however, as I shall endeavor to show, unharmed by Rider's caustic attacks.

The propounders of the Dutch theory have omitted one very important aspect of the case. They make no reference to the Dutch sources, published by the New York Historical Society and the State of New York. It is from these sources and not from guess-work or tradition that any reliable history of the Dutch activities in Rhode Island must be formulated. In 1614 Adrian Block sailed along the New England coast and was the first Dutchman to explore Rhode Island. By 1622, as we learn in DeLaet's "New World," the "Dutch shallops trafficked with the Indians as far east as Narragansett and Buzzard's Bay." This trade was already so considerable that when the Plymouth colonists made a trip to Narragansett Bay the next year they had no success in trading with the Indians because the Dutch were already supplying them with more desirable goods than they could offer. In 1636 the Dutch obtained formal possession of Quotenis (Now Dutch Island) and maintained a permanent trading post there (Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y., I, p. 565). All this these historians are acquainted with and use, but next they make a jump which I cannot follow. Because the Dutch had a large trade in Rhode Island

and because two forts are found in Charlestown, they state the conclusion that these forts were Dutch. Now, such a conclusion would be quite justified in the case of anyone but a historian. He, however, is supposed to back up his statements with facts and not imagination. It so happens that in all the available Dutch sources there is no mention of any fort located on the south shore of Rhode Island. In fact, the statement, made in 1652, that "the subsequent circumstances of the country alone prevented the occupation by forts of Pequatoos focket (Pawcatuck River) and Marinkansick (Narragansett), otherwise called Sloops Bay" (Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y., I, p. 565), makes it seem that even Quotenis was unfortified, in spite of Rider's unproved statement to the contrary. Furthermore, in 1649 the West India Company, protesting to the States General in Holland that the English were occupying Dutch territory, presented a list of all "Forts and Hamlets" by which they laid claim to the possession of the New England coast (Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y., I, pp. 543, 544). In this list, which was undoubtedly the most inclusive they could prepare, there is no mention of any place within the present Rhode Island boundaries except Quotenis. After 1649 the Dutch trade waned rapidly under the spread of English colonization in New England and it is not likely that any new forts were built after that date.

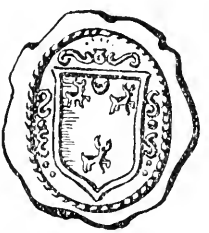
Besides omitting reference to Dutch records, it seems to me that the followers of this theory have failed to note the significance of certain passages in the English sources. Mason, in the account of his campaign against the Pequots in 1637, tells that in marching westward from Narragansett Bay he spent the night "at a place called Nyantic, about eighteen or twenty miles distant, where another of those Narragansett sachems lived in a fort, it being a frontier to the Pequots." The location of Nyantic is settled by a letter from Roger Williams to Governor Winthrop, written in the preceding year, in which he advises "that Niantick be thought on for the riding and retiring to of vessels, which place is faithful to the Narragansetts and at present enmity with the Pequods." This fort,

therefore, was at a point on the shore, where vessels could ride, some twenty miles from Narragansett Bay. This leaves no doubt that it was at the head of Charlestown inlet, where the remains of "Ninigret's Fort" are now to be found. Neither can anyone doubt that Mason's "sachem," whom Williams declared "faithful to the Narragansetts," was either Ninigret or his father, chief of the Niantics, a tribe subsidiary to Canonicus. In 1637, then, we find an Indian sachem occupying his fort at the same place where the remains of a fort now exist and no mention made of any Dutch fort there or elsewhere on the southern coast. As for the fort on Chemunganuck Hill, Rider says it was a Dutch outpost against the Pequots. This is pure imagination, for the Dutch were never at war with the Pequots and traded with them as well as with the Niantics. The latter, on the other hand, were perenially fighting with their neighbors to the west and had good use for such an outpost. It is also to be noticed that there is no mention of any Dutch fort, in the location under discussion, in any English document or record. This, taken in connection with the similar silence of the Dutch sources, should be convincing proof of the nonentity of this imaginary station.

In denying that the Dutch owned or occupied these forts, I have no intention of omitting the fact that the Dutch were in close relations with the Niantics and carried on a busy trade with them. The Charlestown inlet (with no name attached) appears on two Dutch maps (DeLaet's and Fischer's), which would indicate that Dutch traders stopped there often enough to know its location but maintained no post. The quantity of Dutch articles found in the Indian graves there shows that the Niantics were well supplied by the Dutch. That Ninigret himself was in close relations with the government of New Netherlands is well known. These relations culminated in his spending the winter of 1652-1653 in New Amsterdam (cf. Potter, p. 50). Cromwell's war with Holland began in 1652 and Governor Stuyvesant received directions to make use of the Indians against the English colonists if necessary (Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.). As a result, we learn that in the spring

Ninigret returned with arms and ammunition in a Dutch sloop (Potter, p. 50). It may be that on this visit Ninigret observed Dutch fortifications and remodelled his fort with bastions, although the Niantics may quite possibly have learned these engineering improvements through earlier contact with Europeans. Rider's objection to the Indians using "rifle pits" may be met with Roger Williams' statement that the Indians were "filled with artillery by the Dutch." In 1664 New Amsterdam was captured and held by the English. The Dutch trade in Rhode Island, however, must have ceased before this—the greater part of it, at least—for the Indians re-sold Dutch Island to Benedict Arnold and his partners in 1658.

The facts I have presented are conclusive and their importance can only be altered by the discovery of new sources. On the present evidence, I consider it impossible that the Dutch ever owned or occupied the forts in Charlestown.



SEAL OF JOHN GREENE, JR.

The Ancestry of John Greene

George Sears Greene, in "The Greenes of Rhode Island," page 30, traces the ancestry of John Greene of Warwick back to Richard Greene and his wife, Mary Hooker, daughter of John Hooker alias Vowell, chamberlain of Exeter and uncle of Richard Hooker, Prebendary of Salisbury.

In Westcote's Devonshire the ancestry of this chamberlain John Hooker is given as follows, page 326:

John Hooker, alias Vowel, chamberlain of Exeter, was son of Robert Hooker and his wife Agnes, daughter of John Doble of Woodbridge in Suffolk. This Robert Hooker was son of John Vowel and his wife, Alice Drewel, daughter and heiress of Richard Drewel of Exeter and his wife, Joan Kelly, daughter and heiress of John Kelly and his wife Julyan, daughter and co-heiress of Robert Wilford of Oxton.

John Hooker had three wives, but his daughter Mary is not mentioned. It would seem probable that she was his daughter by his second wife, Anstice, daughter of Edmund Bridgman of Exeter.

John Keble in his edition of the works of Richard Hooker, volume I, appendix to preface I, folding plate opposite page cvi, gives the pedigree of John Hooker as follows:

John Vowel alias Hooker was son of Robert Vowell alias Hooker and his wife Agnes daughter of John Doble of Woodbridge in Suffolk. This Robert was son of John Voell alias Hooker by Alice daughter and heir of Richard Druitt and his wife Joan Kelly daughter and heir of John Kelly and his wife Julian daughter and co-heir of Robert Wilforde of Oxenham in Devon.

John Voell alias Hooker was son of Robert Voell alias Hooker of Hants gent and his wife Margery daughter and heir of Roger Bolter of Bolterscombe, Devon.

Robert Voell alias Hooker was son of John Voell alias Hooker who was son of Jago Voell and his wife Alice daughter and the heir of Richard Hooker, of Hurst Castle, Hants.

Jago Voell was son of Gevaph Voell of Pembroke in South Wales. No mention is made of John Hooker's daughter Mary.

It will be noted that the two pedigrees differ only in the spelling of names and such minor details. A slight amount of research work in England would probably settle all of the questions raised by the pedigrees and also disclose additional information.

Early Sessions of the General Assembly

The first meeting of the General Assembly of Providence Plantations (Rhode Island), under the Charter of 1643 undoubtedly took place soon after the arrival of Roger Williams with the Charter in September, 1644.

Inasmuch as both Richard Scott and Samuel Gorton record that the Charter was received with jubilation, it would seem probable that a meeting under it was soon held, and according to Edward Winslow, John Brown was on November 8, 1644, ordered to go to Rhode Island to prevent any meetings under the Charter, and that when he got to Rhode Island, presumably in November, 1644, he found "a publique meeting was appointed for your new Magistrates and people." It would seem natural for them to choose Williams as chief officer at this time, and in confirmation of this view, we find that Williams was "Chief Officer" in August, 1645. Williams was still Chief Officer in December, 1646, for at that time, acting as Chief Officer, he issued a warrant. Henry Walton was Secretary of the Colony in August, 1645, and Samuel Gorton was a Magistrate, probably Assistant, previous to going to England in 1645.

The most reasonable deduction from the fragmentary evidence is that the first General Assembly was held on Rhode Island (probably Portsmouth, for the second or third was held at Newport in August, 1645); and that Roger Williams was elected Chief Officer; Gorton, Assistant; and Walton, Secretary.

It is possible that a second General Assembly was held in May at which these officers were re-elected, or at which Williams was re-elected and Gorton and Walton elected. The only reasons for assuming that an Assembly was held in May is the subsequent choice of May as the beginning of the political year, and the reference under the date of May 14, 1645, in Winthrop's Journal to John Brown's visit to Aquidneck to oppose Williams' authority there. Brown may have

made two trips, one in November, 1644, and the other in May, 1645, or Winthrop's entry may be the delayed account of the November, 1644, trip.

Another General Assembly (the second or third) was held at Newport on August 9, 1645.

It would certainly seem probable that another annual General Assembly must have been held either in November, 1645, or more probably in May, 1646 (the third or fourth). Williams must have been re-elected, for he was still serving as chief officer in December, 1646. Gorton, having gone to Europe, was probably superseded by someone else.

In May, 1647, the so-called "First General Assembly" was held, which must in reality have been the fourth or fifth assembly. John Coggeshall was chosen President. The records of this meeting have been printed by Bartlett in the Rhode Island Colonial Records and in pamphlet form by Staples, and so are easily accessible. The Providence Commissioners' names are given in Providence Town Papers, 09.

The next General Assembly of which we have record was held at Providence on May 16, 1648. John Coggeshall, the President, had died since the last session. Nicholas Easton was chosen Moderator and Coddington was elected President, but failed to qualify. The records of the meeting are printed by Bartlett.

The next meeting of the General Assembly (the sixth or seventh) was a special session held at Portsmouth, March 10, to 14th, 1648/9. John Warner acted as clerk of the Assembly, charters were issued to Providence, Warwick, Portsmouth and probably to Newport. The act was passed, by which the colony seized a supposed gold mine, an act of oblivion was passed, and Roger Williams was chosen Deputy Governor (i. e., Acting Governor). The Warwick and Providence Charters are extant, and have been reprinted in The Documentary History of Rhode Island, vol. I, 252 & 269, the gold mine act is printed in Providence Town Papers 012, and the oblivion act in Providence Town Papers 010.

The annual General Assembly was held at Warwick, May

22, 1649. Roger Williams acted as Moderator and John Smith was chosen President. The records are printed by Bartlett in the Rhode Island Colonial Records.

A special session of the General Assembly was held at Portsmouth in October, 1649. No records of this meeting are extant, but Williams wrote that it was held on account of the riotous conduct of some Dutch sailors.

The 1650 General Assembly was held at Newport on May 23. Nicholas Easton was chosen Moderator. The records are printed by Bartlett in The Rhode Island Colonial Records. The names of the Commissioners are not given, but the Portsmouth Commissioners are named in the Portsmouth records (p. 49).

A special session of the General Assembly (the tenth or eleventh) was held October 26, 1650. The records are printed by Bartlett in The Rhode Island Colonial Records, and the Warwick commissioners are named in the Warwick records (typewritten copy, p. 91).

The annual General Assembly was held in May, 1651. No records of this meeting are extant. Nicholas Easton was re-elected President. The Portsmouth and Warwick Commissioners are named in the town records.

The next session of the General Assembly (the twelfth or thirteenth) was a special session called on October 8, 1651, at Providence (Warwick Records, typewritten copy, page 98). No records of this meeting are extant. It may have been postponed until November 4th. The records of the meeting of November 4, 1651, are printed by Bartlett in The Rhode Island Colonial Records.

TABLE OF EARLY GENERAL ASSEMBLIES.

Date	*Place*	*Records*
Nov., 1644	Aquidneck	No records
May, 1645	Aquidneck	Inferred from Winthrop
Aug., 1645	Newport	Walton's letter
May, 1646	————	No records
May, 1647	Portsmouth	Bartlett

Date	*Place*	*Records*
May, 1648	Providence	Bartlett
Mar., 1648/9	Portsmouth	Fragments
May, 1649	Warwick	Bartlett
Oct., 1649	Portsmouth	No records
May, 1650	Newport	Bartlett
Oct., 1650	———	Bartlett
May, 1651	———	No records
Oct., 1651	Providence	No records
perhaps same as Nov., 1651	Providence	Bartlett

The Inscribed Rocks of Narragansett Bay

III. The Arnold's Point Cup Stone and the Fogland Ferry Rock in Portsmouth

By Edmund B. Delabarre.

Besides the rocks that were described in our last paper, there is another stone in Portsmouth with curious and puzzling artificial markings, and formerly at least there was one in still a third locality in the same town. We know of the latter only through notes by Dr. Stiles, no one else having mentioned it. In the fourth volume of his manuscript "Itineraries," on page 215, under date of September 15, 1788, is written the following: "Mem°. Take off a new copy of the characters on the Dighton Rock, & those at Fogland & on Col° Almys Farm." He shortly carried out this intention with respect to all three localities. Concerning the second he remarks, October 6, 1788, on page 255: "Visited & copied a markt Rock about half a m. above Fogland Ferry on Rh. I. on shore ag^t. or just below M^r M^cCorys Farm."

There can be little question as to the approximate position of this marked rock. Fogland Ferry ran from Fogland Point in Tiverton across to the island of Rhode Island. On the Portsmouth side, its landing place was probably about half a mile to the south of McCurry Point, shown on the upper chart

on our Plate XIV. This Point is part of an estate still known as the McCorrie Farms. The diversity of spelling does not obscure the fact that here was doubtless the "Mr. McCorys Farm" referred to by Dr. Stiles; and since the rock was "against or just below" this farm, it was probably situated just to the south of the first division line shown on the chart south of McCurry Point, this being the southerly border of the property.

On May 5, 1920, I made a careful search of the shore not only at the place thus indicated but for half a mile both to the south and to the north of McCurry Point, examining each promising rock and boulder. In the vicinity of the probable location of Stiles's "markt Rock," I saw a few small boulders with shallow scratches, probably not artificial. On one of them, the scratches were somewhat in the form of a letter Z; on another, roughly like an S. It is not very likely that either of these was the one that drew Stiles's attention. Mr. George Peirce, owner of the McCorrie Farms, writes me that he has never heard of an inscribed rock in that vicinity. It is probable, therefore, that this one, like those at Melville Station, has disappeared. Since Stiles's drawing has not been preserved, we cannot know what its markings were like unless some later search for it proves successful.

The other stone lies on the shore near one of the Portsmouth coal mines, a little to the south of Arnold's Point. Its position can be found easily on the lower chart of our Plate XIV, and its appearance is shown in the two photographs of Plate XV. To reach it, follow the road that leads westward near the lower centre of the chart, crossing the railroad tracks to the Portsmouth railroad station; thence walk along a lane or path north of the "stack" indicated on the chart, westerly to the dilapidated wharf shown just above the figure 2. North of this, about opposite or a little south of figure 3 on the chart, lies the rock. Its exact position is indicated by a child sitting upon it in our upper photograph, which was taken looking northward from the wharf. The

other photograph shows its nearer appearance and that of the markings upon it.

The rock is of sandstone, merging somewhat into conglomerate at the in-shore end. It is near the edge of the beach at low tide, and is covered by high water. It measures about 3 feet in width, 4½ in length, and in thickness from 16 to 22 inches. It is nearly flat and smooth on top, with rounded edges, and a slight lateral inclination shoreward. Its long axis is directed about N. 50° E. Its artificial markings are unique among the inscribed rocks of this region. They consist of six relatively deep holes or cups, connected together by shallow channels. The holes vary in depth from 2½ to 3¼ inches. Beginning in-shore and following the channels, their distances apart from centre to centre are respectively 9½, 8, 9, 10¼ and 9¼ inches; and of the second from the sixth, 15 inches. They appear to have been drilled, and are not circular, but more like triangles with rounded angles. Their diameter at the top is 1⅝ to 1¾ inches, narrowing slightly below. The top edges are not smooth-cut, but broken and roughly beveled. The channels are pecked in, and like the crudely pecked lines of other rocks of this region, are very irregular in width and depth. Their typical width is ⅜ to ⅝ inch, narrowing rarely to ⅛, and widening rarely to ¾ or 1 inch. Their depth is usually 3/16 to ⅜ inch, with extremes from ½ down to a mere trace.

In the more conglomerate portion of the surface, near the first and second holes, the stone is roughly and irregularly much pocked and scaled, and here it is doubtful whether or not there was another shallow curved channel leading off from the one between these two holes to a seventh very shallow depression, and whether or not there was a shallow irregular half-ring about hole number 2. The marks so described might be either natural or artificial, but are probably natural.

The history of this stone is unknown earlier than 1910, when it was shown by a native of Portsmouth to Mr. David Hutcheson of Washington, D. C. He writes me concerning

it: "At first sight I thought, from the arrangement of the holes, that it was an attempt to represent The Dipper, but the seventh star was missing. On a sheet of paper I drew a rough outline of the face of the stone showing the position of the holes. I sent this to Mr. Babcock and he showed it to some of the Washington anthropologists, and they thought it was an Indian Cup Stone." In 1913 it was mentioned by William H. Babcock in his Early Norse Visits to America, on page 44. We have quoted his belief that the inscription near Mount Hope was "almost certainly Wampanoag work;" and he remarks that "the same may be said with less confidence" of this Portsmouth stone.

Before considering the probable origin of these markings, it will be profitable to discuss first the peculiar shape of the drill-holes, and then the general nature of cup-stones. Since observing these, I have seen and examined with interest many other isolated drill-holes in rocks along shore. At other places in Portsmouth and on Assonet Neck, and probably abundantly enough elsewhere, they can be seen here and there. Those that I have observed occur singly, in boulders often near low-water mark, sometimes near the edge of high water. Some of them are circular, but more often they are round-triangular like those of the cup-stone, and very often identical with the latter in diameter, but usually deeper. Some of them may have been made to hold ringbolts or stakes for boat moorings, some for attaching the nets of fish-weirs. One or two near Dighton Rock probably held ringbolts for the guy-ropes of a surveying standard that was placed there when Taunton River was surveyed by Capt. A. M. Harrison of the Coast Survey in 1875. These are examples of the fact that isolated drill-holes of both circular and round-triangular shape are apparently not uncommon along shore, and may have had commonplace uses. But no such use can be attributed to this constellation of six holes connected by channels.

A drill-hole in Minnesota similar to these in Portsmouth has recently attracted attention in an interesting connection. Some years ago a stone, on which was engraved an extensive

record in runic letters, was found at Kensington in that State. It speaks of a journey of exploration westward from Vinland in the year 1362, and says that the men left their vessel guarded by the sea, made camp by a lake with two small bare islands or skerries in it a day's journey distant from the stone, went fishing there, and one day found ten men of their party slaughtered. No one questions the fact that the letters are runic and form an intelligible record, but there has been much debate as to whether the inscription dates really from the year mentioned or is a hoax of modern manufacture. Recently, H. R. Holand has defended its historical authenticity, and has discovered new evidence that an expedition from Norway, under Paul Knutson, was actually in America at the time. He has also sought for and found the lake with two skerries, Lake Cormorant, 75 miles north of Kensington—the only lake with skerries in that region, and the required standard "day's journey" distant. On its shore was a boulder with a hole drilled in it, triangular in shape with rounded angles, 1¼ inch in diameter and 7 inches deep. He believes that the explorers of 1362 made a raft near this point on which to go fishing, and fastened it to the shore by means of a flexible withy wedged into the triangular hole.[1] The similarity in size and shape between this far away drill-hole and those that we are discussing is worthy of remark; but they cannot have had the same use, and there is no reason to attribute these at Portsmouth to Norsemen.

While this peculiar triangular shape may at first sight suggest crude implements and unskilled workmanship, and hence perhaps great age and primitive workmen, yet after all it turns out to be in no way remarkable. On trial, I have found that with a drill having one cutting edge only, like a cold chisel, it is exceedingly difficult to make a true circular hole. As the drill is turned, the cutting edge rarely crosses an exact centre, but constantly deviates somewhat to one side or another. The result is that one end of the edge tends to

[1]H. R. Holand, in Wisconsin Magazine of History, December, 1919, and March, 1920, vol. iii, pp. 153-183, 332-338.

remain relatively fixed in position for several strokes while the other end swings more widely. The easiest kind of a hole to make is one in which this tendency is followed and emphasized. One end of the edge is held fixed in position while the other swings gradually through about a third of the circumference, thus making three well defined corners; then the fixed edge is transferred to one of the other corners while the swinging edge cuts a second side; and in this manner three fixed points or corners are used in succession, and the resulting hole is triangular with rounded corners and somewhat curving sides. Even when the intention is to make a round hole, it is nevertheless likely to turn out triangular or otherwise irregular. When a stake or bolt is to be wedged into the hole, there is some advantage in making the latter deliberately triangular. So the mystery of the shape of these holes disappears, and no conclusion can be drawn from it as to their age or their makers.

Since one of the possibilities concerning this boulder at Portsmouth is that it is a genuine cup-stone of considerable antiquity, it will not be amiss to look briefly into the distribution, character and significance of stones so marked.[1] Cup-like excavations, usually in irregular groups, are among the most primitive of markings on stone, are found widely distributed over nearly the entire world, and are nearly everywhere similar. They are exceedingly numerous in the British Isles and in Brittany, where they are closely associated with

[1]For best sources of information, see:

James Y. Simpson, On Ancient Sculpturings of Cups and Concentric Rings. In Proc. Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland, 1867, Appendix to vol. vi, pp. 1-147.

Archaic Rock Inscriptions; an Account of the Cup and Ring Markings on the Sculptured Stones of the Old and New Worlds. Published by A. Reader, 1891.

Alexander MacBain, Celtic Mythology and Religion, 1917.

Garrick Mallery, chapter on Cup Sculptures, in 10th Ann. Rep. Bureau of Amer. Ethnol. for 1888-89 (1893), pp. 189-200.

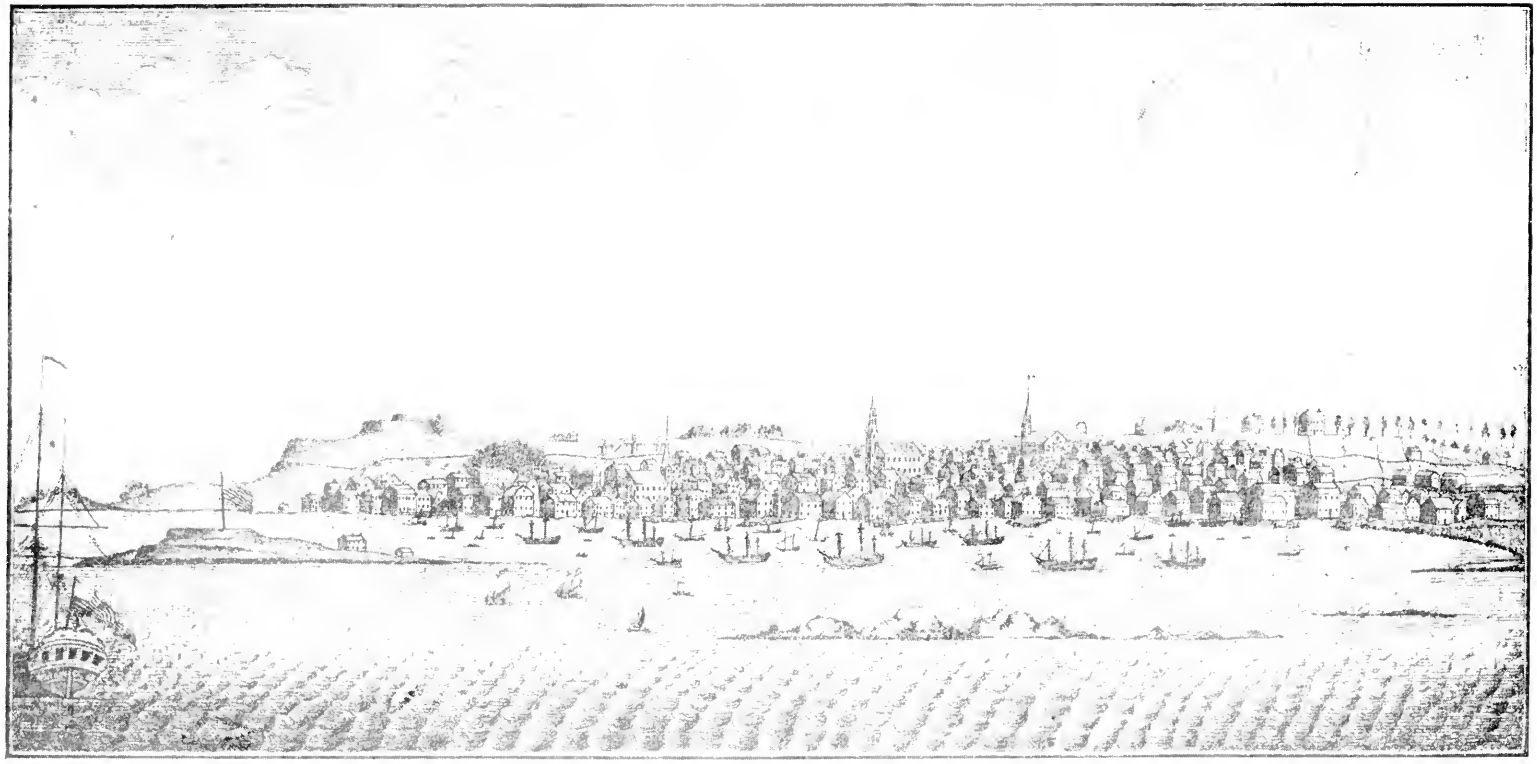
Handbook of Amer. Indians, Bur. of Amer. Ethnol. Bulletin 30, vol. i, p. 372, article Cupstones.

T. Eric Peet, Rough Stone Monuments and Their Builders, 1912, pp. 127f.

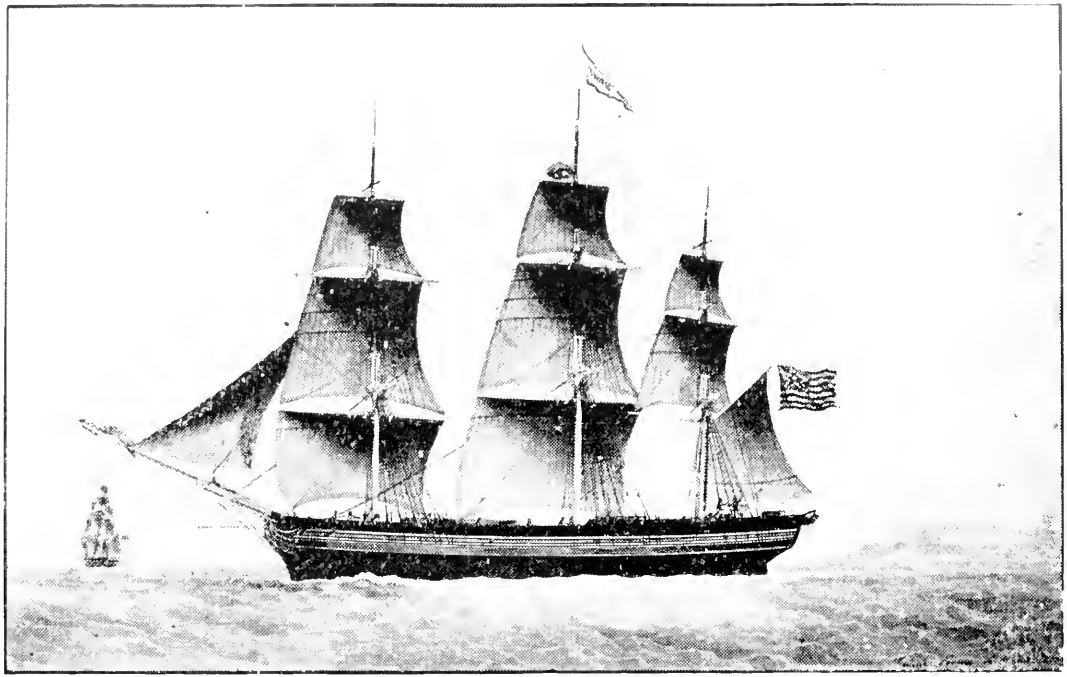
Encyc. Brit., 11th ed., vol. xxv, pp. 964f, article Stone Monuments.

cromlechs, stone circles and other primitive stone monuments. They occur less numerously in other parts of Europe, in Africa and Australia, and frequently in India. Many examples of them have been reported from both North and South America. Usually they are shallow depressions, from ½ to 1 inch deep and 1 to 3 inches in diameter. Larger ones occur rarely, extending up to basins nearly 3 feet in diameter and 9 inches in depth. A few of the common narrow type are of unusual depth, thus resembling more nearly those at Portsmouth. Thus, on the shore in Scotland they have been found 2½ inches in depth, always more than one, irregularly placed; and the Handbook of American Indians speaks of many cups prolonged below by a secondary pit as though made with a flint drill or gouge. The cups occasionally occur singly, more often in constellation-like groups, most often irregularly distributed over the surface, in number often up to 20, in rare instances up to 50, 100 or even 200 on one rock or ledge. Very commonly, but not always, they are surrounded by from one to seven concentric rings, which sometimes have a straight radial groove running out through them. Not infrequently the cups, whether with or without rings, are connected together by grooved lines. In Scotland, France, Switzerland and Germany, cups alone are found as a general rule; in England, Ireland and Sweden, rings and grooves are almost always associated with them.

The variety of theories that have been advanced to account for the meaning of these simplest, most primitive and most wide-spread of sculptured marks recalls the similar confusion of tongues and opinions that has attended the attempt to explain Dighton Rock. Among views that have little importance, but nevertheless are of a deep psychological interest as showing the inexhaustible budding-out process of man's speculations about things that are mysterious, are these: they are natural, not artificial; there is no clue to their purpose; they are plans of neighboring camps, or maps of neighboring peaks; enumeration of families or tribes; representations of sun, moon and constellations; a primitive form of writing;



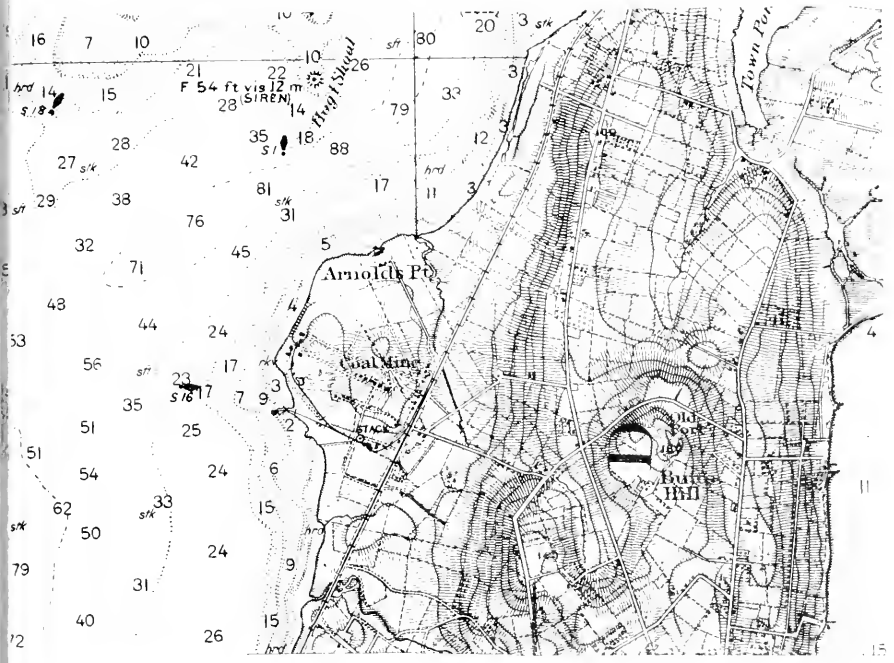
View of Newport, Printed at Newport in 1795



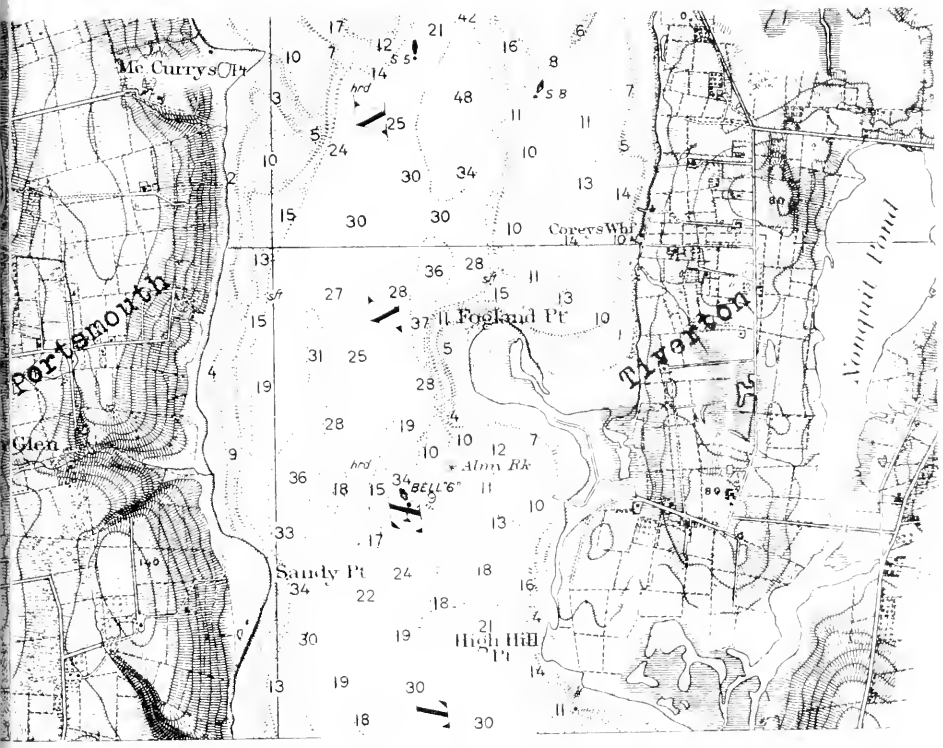
SHIP *Tropic* OF PROVIDENCE IN 1838

From a painting by Roux of Havre

This picture was in the loan exhibition at the Rhode Island Historical Society and is now in the collection of Col. George L. Shepley.



(Chart of Arnold's Pt. and vicinity)



(Chart of Fogland Pt. and vicinity)

Sections of Chart of Narragansett Bay. See text for exact location of Portsmouth Cup Stone, Fogland Ferry Rock, and Rocks in Tiverton.

(Distant view of Rock)

(Near view of Rock)

The Portsmouth Cup Stone.

tables for some gambling game; moulds for casting rings; representations of shields; totems; small wine-presses or grain mortars; depressions for cracking nuts, or grinding paint, or for steadying drills, spindles or fire-sticks, or for collection of water; sun-dials; relics of sun-worship of the Phoenicians, or of Roman Mithras-worship; basins for holding the blood of sacrifice or libations to spirits or to the dead; objects for the practice of magic and necromancy.

The most widely accepted view of them, so far at least as their occurrence in Europe is concerned, is that they are symbols connected with the religious rites or beliefs of the Druids, the philosophers and priests of the Celtic tribes. This is a natural consequence of their close association with the numerous stone circles and other crude stone monuments which popular opinion still connects with the Druids. This belief, however, was invented by Stukely and other antiquaries of the 18th century, has no confirmation, and is now unanimously opposed by well informed students. MacBain says that these monuments are all pre-Celtic. He tells of at least two races in Great Britain who preceded the Celts, and believes that one of these built the oval barrows or burial mounds, the other the round barrows, the circles, dolmens and cromlechs, and perhaps also made the rock-carvings. The circles were used both for burial and worship, especially the latter; and the only worship appropriate at the grave is that of deceased ancestors, which is about the earliest shape in which religion manifests itself. "Our own memorial stones over graves are but descendants of the old menhirs and dolmens." These matters are still too controversial to permit confident agreement or disagreement with these views; but MacBain seems at least to have decisively disproven the Druid hypothesis. Many authorities point out the fact that the cups, rings and grooves could not have served as attachments to Druid or other altars, since they are often found on the vertical or under surface of the stones.

A more fruitful hypothesis than the Druidical, and one that certainly applies to these small excavations in some parts of

the world, is that they are phallic symbols. Mallery's exposition of this explanation is lucid. "These cupels are correlated with the worship of Mahadeo, one of the many names given to Siva, the third god of the Hindu triad, whose emblem is the serpent. * * * At this very day one may see the Hindu women carrying the water of the Ganges all the way to the mountains of the Punjab, to pour into the cupules and thus obtain from the divinity the boon of motherhood earnestly desired. Mahadeo, more accurately Mahadiva, is the god of generation. * * * It is suggested that in a common form of the sculptures the inner circle represents the Mahadeo or lingam, and the outer or containing circle the yoni. No idea of obscenity occurs from this representation to the Hindus, who adore under this form the generative power in nature." The book on "Archaic Rock Inscriptions" also regards the phallic explanation—the worship of the creative and regenerative forces of nature—as the most probable. "It is not to the gross forms of the Priapus used in ancient Greek, Roman, or Egyptian festivals that we allude, but to the much more refined, or, if we may so call it, modest lingam worship of India. This explanation is natural when we consider the vast extent to which phallic worship prevailed, and the disposition of men everywhere to represent in the sculptured form the organs, male and female, to which they rendered obeisance. The symbolism was very much veiled, and often unrecognizable—mysterious and unmeaning to all not in the secret."

If this must be accepted as the true explanation of these carvings in India, does it follow that the same symbolism must be attributed to them in Europe and in America? Mallery says that a large number of stones with typical cup markings have been found in the United States; and the Handbook of American Indians tells us that cupstones are the most abundant and widespread of the larger relics. According to A. C. Lawson,[1] the Indians of the present day have no traditions about these inscriptions beyond the suppo-

[1]American Naturalist, 1885.

sition that they must have been made by the "old people long ago." Mallery makes a similar statement, and continues with what we must probably accept as the true solution of the problem. "Inquiries have often been made," he says, "whether the North American Indians have any superstitious or religious practices connected with the markings under consideration, e. g., in relation to the desire for offspring, which undoubtedly is connected with the sculpturing of cup depressions and furrows in the eastern hemisphere. No evidence is yet produced of any such correspondence of practice or tradition relating to it. In the absence of any extrinsic explanation the prosaic and disappointing suggestion intrudes that circular concentric rings are easy to draw and that the act of drawing them suggests the accentuation of depressions or hollows within their curves. Much stress is laid upon the fact that the characters are found in so many parts of the earth, with the implication that all the sculptors used them with the same significance, thus affording ground for the hypothesis that anciently one race of people penetrated all the regions designated.[1] But in such an implication the history of the character formed by two intersecting straight lines is forgotten. The cross is as common as the cup-stone and has, or anciently had, a different signification among the different people who used it, beginning as a mark and ending as a symbol. Therefore, it may readily be imagined that the rings in question, which are drawn nearly as easily as the cross, were at one time favorite but probably meaningless designs, perhaps, in popular expression, "instinctive" commencements of the artistic practice, as was the earliest delineation of the cross figure. Afterward the rings, if employed as symbols or emblems, would naturally have a different meaning applied to them in each region where they now appear."

We are now in a position to discuss the probable nature of the Portsmouth Cup Stone as intelligently as the available

[1]Mallery omits mention of an alternative hypothesis which has often been suggested, that the sculptures symbolize some simple religious idea common to all primitive races.

facts concerning it permit. Before considering the really probable theories, however, it will be worth while to mention one fanciful speculation that would undoubtedly have been applied to it if the authors of the suggestion had ever heard of these cup-sculptures. It is probably not widely known, and at any rate is likely to become wholly forgotten, that the Druid theory has been advanced in explanation of American mounds and monuments. Impossible as the theory is, nevertheless it is one of the most picturesque fancies that have been devised concerning the class of relics that we are discussing, and it should not be allowed to pass wholly into oblivion. Its first advocate appears to have been John Finch, who claimed in 1824 that the aborigines of America originated from the Celts or Scythians, whose Druidical monuments are to be found in every part of America.[1] He gave instances of various types, including Indian "stones of memorial or sacrifice," numerous examples of which had been described by Kendall,[2] in which class he placed the "figured rock at Dighton" and also other sculptured rocks at Tiverton, Rutland, Newport and other places in the list first compiled by Dr. Stiles and later published by Kendall. The theory was greatly and interestingly elaborated by James N. Arnold in 1888, with particular application to this region.[3] His free-soaring imagination pictured not only the Dighton and Tiverton rocks, but also the Hills of South County, the Wolf Rocks in Exeter, the soapstone ledge in Johnston, and many rocks besides, as monuments of Druid worship mingled with influences from Atlantis. Holding such beliefs, there can be no doubt that, had he known of the Cup Stone in Portsmouth, he would have welcomed it as a striking and convincing example of Druid workmanship.

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[1] On the Celtic Antiquities of America. In the American Journal of Science and Arts, 1824, vii. 149-161.

[2] Edward A. Kendall, Travels, 1809.

[3] Four papers in the Narragansett Historical Register, 1888, vi, 1-24, 97-110, 205-222, 317-330.

Among serious possibilities, there seem to be three plausible alternatives. The first of these is that it is an example of Indian cup-stone, which Mallery and the Handbook describe as so numerous, and which the latter authority says sometimes have drilled pits at the bottom of the cups. If so, it may be of almost any period down to and into Colonial times. As to its meaning, it may or may not have had one. Mallery makes it very clear that such cuttings may often have been the result of a mere aimless desire for activity, or a crude attempt to fabricate something ornamental. On the other hand, it may have symbolized something to the individual who made it, and which, of course, no one uninstructed by him could possibly decipher. Such private symbolism must have been the first step beyond the activity-impulse and the ornament-urge already alluded to; and the further step, to a commonly accepted symbolism for such figures, had apparently not been taken by the American Indians.

There are two arguments against its being an Indian product: the fact that no one ever reported its existence before 1910, and the fact that its holes are deeply drilled and are not typical cups. It may therefore seem more probable that the holes were drilled by miners in idle moments, or by their children at play. Coal mines were opened at Portsmouth apparently as early as 1808, and have been worked frequently at intervals since then.[1] The longest continuous period of operation was by the Taunton Copper Company, from about 1860 until 1883. They built a dock, railroad connections, and a copper smelter, and mined about ten thousand tons a year. There was plenty of opportunity, therefore, for the idle drilling of these holes at a relatively recent date by white workmen.

But while the holes may incline one strongly to the belief that they were hollowed out by these miners' drills, yet the connecting grooves, crudely pecked between them and unquestionably of considerable age, are distinctly characteristic of more primitive races who made cup-stones and inscribed

[1]George H. Ashley, Rhode Island Coal. In U. S. Geol. Survey, Bulletin 615, 1915.

rocks habitually. The pecking exactly resembles the known examples of Indian rock-carving in this region. Though possible, it does not seem likely that white men equipped with drills and hammers would have made them as additions to the holes. With the holes arguing against the Indians and the grooves against more recent white men, we have nevertheless a third or combination alternative as a possible solution. The rock may have been originally a typical Indian cup-stone, devoid of any important symbolism; and the miners or miners' children, seated there at play or on an idle day, with drills accidentally at hand, may have deepened the original cups. This hypothesis is certainly not at all unlikely. But it is not probable that we can ever be sure which of the three hypotheses is the true one.

Muster Roll of Sloop Providence

A Muster Roll of all the Officers Seamen & Marines belonging to the Continental armed Sloop Providence Commanded by John Peck Rathbun Esqr. dated June 19 1777. From original manuscript now in the collection of Col. George L. Shepley.

Names	Stations	Promotions
John Peck Rathbun	Captain	
Joseph Vesey	1st Lieutenant	
Daniel Bears	2d ditto	
George Sinkins	Master	
John Trevett	Capt Marines	
William P. Thurston	1st Mastrs Mate	
William Gregory	2d ditto do	
	3d do	
Richmond	Surgeon	
James Rogers	Purser	
Saml Bailey	Clerk	from Clerk to Purser
Oliver Whitwell	1st Midshipmn	
Joseph Deveber	2d ditto	

Names	Stations	Promotions
Thomas Pain	Steward	
Lillibridge Worth	Gunner	
John Webster	Boatswain	
Thomas Brewer	Carpenter	
Amos Potter	Gunnr M[ate]	
	Boatsn do	
Andrew Brewer	Carpnr do	
	Surgs do	
Andrew Burnet	Cook	
Richard Grinnell	Ar[mo]rer	
Peleg Swe[et]	Coxswain	
James Bridges	Cooper	
John Willson	Sail maker	
Joseph Claghorn	do mate	
Joseph Stewart	Gunr Yeoman	
Francis Simons	Mastr at Arms	
Alexr Ballingall	Qur Master	
Dowty Randall	do	
James Clarke	Serjt Marines	
Toby Jacobs	Seaman	
Anabony	ditto	
Thomas Perfect	ditto	
William Nichols	ditto	
John Nichols	ditto	
Isaac Read	ditto	
Edward Clanning	Marine	Promoted to Seaman
Joseph Weeden	do	
James Vial	Marine	
Barzillai Luce	ditto	
Danl Paddock	Seaman	
Niccols Stoddard	do	reduced to a Marine
Thomas Allen	Marine	
Thomas Collens	ditto	
John Tinckom	ditto	
Esek Whipple	ditto	
Joseph Shaw	ditto	

Names	Stations	Promotions
Saml Browning	ditto	
Seth Baker	ditto	
Thomas Bailey	Boy	
John Shaw	Seaman	
Andrew Burnet	Boy	
Samuel Wood	Seaman	Reduced to a marine
Samuel Woggs	do	
Thomas Hay	do	
Thomas Connant	do	
Zaccheus Hinckley	do	
Benj Harding	Marine	
Nathl Arnold	do	
Joshua Joy	Seaman	
Elnathan Lake	Marine	
Stephen Read	do	
Michael Wiser	Coxswain	
Tristam Luce	Pilot	
Henry Stoddard	Marine	
William Howell	ditto	
Solomon Hallet	ditto	
Thomas Hawes	Landsman	
James Blossom	ditto	
James Morton	Seaman	
Richard Sampson	ditto	
Robert Falle	ditto	
William Sinnett	Boy	
Imml Dusnaps	Seaman	
Joseph Allen	Marine	

Notes

Col. George L. Shepley has presented the Society with a new Remington typewriter.

The volume of photographs illustrating the work done by the National Society of Colonial Dames in America, which is

being sent from state to state, has been on exhibition at the Society during the autumn.

An exhibition of early Rhode Island broadsides from the collection of Col. George L. Shepley was held in the Society's rooms during October. Accounts of this exhibition were published in the Providence Journal and the Boston Evening Transcript.

During November and December a loan exhibition of ship pictures and log books was held, over 100 pictures being exhibited. On Tuesday evening, December 7, 1920, Professor Wilfred H. Munro delivered an instructive lecture on "The Romance of Old-Time Shipping" in connection with the exhibition.

A List of the Donors of Ship Pictures, Log Books, Etc.

Mrs. Clarence A. Brouwer
Miss M. Frances Dunham
Miss Mary F. Salisbury
Mr. F. B. Taylor
Brown & Ives
Mr. T. H. D'Arcy
Miss Ida H. Spencer
Mr. S. F. Babbitt
Miss Jane W. Bucklin
Mr. Edward Carrington
J. A. Whaley & Company
Dr. H. G. Partridge
Col. George L. Shepley
Mr. S. N. Sherman
Mr. H. Ross Matthews
Dr. & Mrs. Charles V. Chapin
Mr. W. R. McDowall
Mr. A. H. Fiske
Mr. Thomas F. McCarthy
Mr. Thomas Amos
Mr. William A. Chandler
Miss Mary L. Brown
Mr. Frederick Nordstrom
Mr. James De Kay
Mr. John F. Street
Mr. T. G. Hazard, Jr.
Mr. George Stevens
Mr. E. F. Gray
Mr. L. M. Robinson
Miss L. W. Reynolds
Mr. Albert W. Claflin
Mr. Richard B. Comstock
Dr. M. H. Merchant
Mr. L. Earle Rowe
Mr. Benjamin M. Jackson
Mr. Albert Fenner
Mr. J. K. H. Nightingale, Jr.
Mr. Frank Douglas
Mr. A. R. Madden
Dr. W. Louis Chapman
Mr. Richard W. Comstock, Jr.
Mr. Harald W. Ostby
Mr. F. W. Arnold
Mr. H. M. C. Skinner
Mr. Duncan Hazard
Mr. Lawrence
Mr. Paul C. Nicholson
Mr. Robert V. S. Reed
Dr. Peter P. Chase
Mrs. Gardner T. Swarts

Rev. Henry I. Cushman
Mr. Edward K. Aldrich, Jr.
Mr. S. H. Brower
Mr. Willliam McCreery
Mrs. John W. Vernon
Mrs. H. E. Newell
Mr. George L. Miner
Mr. W. M. Murdie
Mr. Clarence A. Mathewson
Mrs. Hugh Williamson Kelly
Miss M. F. Babcock
Mr. Edward Aborn Greene
Mr. George A. Smith
Mr. Joseph McCoid

The following persons have been elected to membership:

Miss Isabel Eddy
Miss Mary Olcott
Miss Mary Elliott Davis
Mrs. W. E. Heathcote
Mr. George C. Dempsey
Mr. Hugh F. MacColl
Mr. Victor H. King
Prof. Verner W. Crane
H. G. Partridge, M. D.
Frank T. Calef, M. D.

Dr. George T. Spicer was elected Secretary of the Society at the October meeting.

Mr. Walter N. Buffum presented to the Society a manuscript genealogy of the Buffum family. Manuscript genealogies of this type are of great use to persons making out papers for patriotic societies.

Among the more interesting of the museum accessions are a snuff box which formerly belonged to Samuel Slater, which was presented by Mr. Thomas Durfee and Miss Dorothy Durfee; a cane formerly the property of Thomas W. Dorr, which was presented by Mr. Edward Carrington; and a cane made out of a narwhal's tooth, which was presented by Professor Wilfred H. Munro.

Mr. J. N. Kimball of New York gave to the Society one of the political banners that was carried in the Dorr War. This makes the ninth Dorr War banner in our museum.

Mlle. Marie Louise Bonier's "Debuts de la Colonie Franco-Americaine de Woonsocket" is a very valuable contribution to Rhode Island history.

The Netopian for September, 1920, published a reproduction of the Society's oil painting of the "September Gale," and in the October number published a reproduction of Col. Shepley's rare lithograph of the same subject.

An illustrated monograph on the "Ships and Shipmasters of

Old Providence" has been issued by the Providence Institution for Savings.

The October Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society contains a paper by Dr. Terry on "The Early Relations between the Colonies of New Plymouth and Rhode Island."

Governor Bourn's "Rhode Island Addresses" has been printed as an attractive volume.

List of Members of the Rhode Island Historical Society

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

No list of members of the Society has been printed for several years, and as we have had numerous requests for such a list, we have decided to include it in this number of the Collections.

Abbot, Gen. Charles W., Jr.
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Aldrich, Mr. Charles T.
Aldrich, Mr. Edward K., Jr.
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Freeman, Hon. Joseph W.
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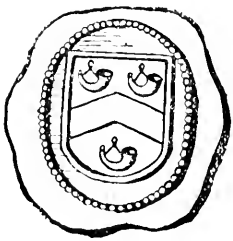
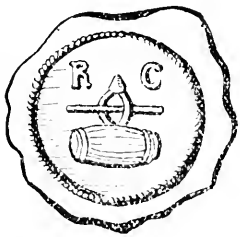
William Coddington's Seals





William Coddington used two seals while residing in New England. One of these seals bears the Bellingham armorial shield. This seal appears on several of Coddington's letters which are preserved in the Massachusetts Historical Society and differs slightly from a similar armorial seal used by Gov. Bellingham. The other seal used by Coddington bears the initials "R.C." These seals may serve as genealogical clews: The latter seal Coddington may have inherited from his father or grandfather and the former one may have come from his maternal grandfather. Coddington was a close friend of Bellingham and may have been a relative.

Form of Legacy

"I give and bequeath to the Rhode Island Historical Society the sum of ..... dollars."

Rhode Island Historical Society Collections

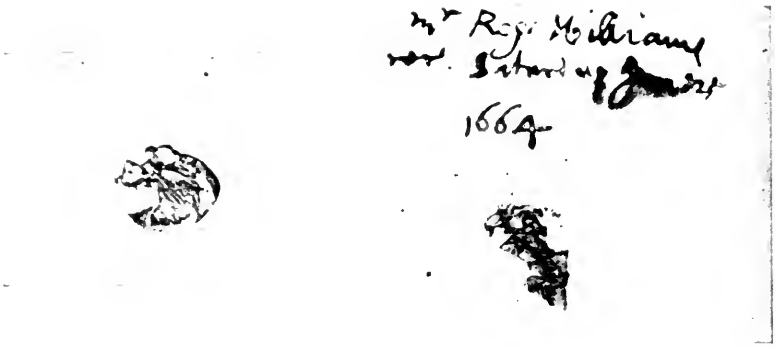
Vol. XIV July, 1921 No. 3

CONTENTS

$3.00 per year Issued Quarterly 75 cents per copy

Bronze Tablet to the Memory of Roger Williams unveiled in the Hall of Fame, New York on May 21, 1921.

Reproduction of thumb print made by Roger Williams in sealing wax in 1654, *from original now in the Massachusetts Historical Society Library, Winthrop 2, 122.*



NATURAL SIZE

ENLARGED

Reproductions of the thumb prints of Roger Williams made by him in sealing wax, *from original seals now in The Massachusetts Historical Society Library, Winth. 2, 120, 1650; and 2, 124, 1664.*

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

Vol. XIV July, 1921 No. 3

Roger Williams' Tablet in the Hall of Fame

On May 21, 1921, a bronze tablet in honor of Roger Williams was unveiled in the Hall of Fame in New York.

The tablet bears the following inscription:

"ROGER WILLIAMS
1607-1684

TO PROCLAIM A TRUE AND ABSOLUTE SOUL FREEDOM TO ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE LAND IMPARTIALLY SO THAT NO PERSON BE FORCED TO PRAY NOR PAY OTHERWISE THAN AS HIS SOUL BELIEVETH AND CONSENTETH."

That Roger Williams was the pioneer of Religious Liberty in America, and that Providence is the first town in the New World founded upon that principle, with a complete separation of the church and state, is so universally known, that it

seems scarcely to need emphasis again. Yet it may be well to call attention to a few salient facts.

Roger Williams was banished from Massachusetts in 1635 on four counts. The first was for maintaining "that the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil peace;" (Winthrop 1, 162). By the first table is meant the four commandments, those which deal only with religious matters. Here then is a clear cut statement of Williams' views in 1635, the principle of religious liberty, qualified carefully so that it might not be used as a cloak to cover civil disorders.

In 1644, Williams, in writing of his trials in 1635, said that he was justly accused of holding, "that the Civill Magistrates power extends only to the Bodies and Goods, and outward state of men, &c." (Cotton's Letter Examined, p. 4.)

In a letter written 21 July, 1637 to Governor Winthrop, Williams said: "I know and am persuaded that your misguidings are great and lamentable, and the further you pass in your way, the further you wander, and have the further to come back, and the end of one vexation, will be but the beginning of another, till Conscience be permitted (though erroneous) to be free Amongst you." (N. C. 6, 51.)

That religious liberty then known as liberty of conscience was established at Providence in 1636 is shown by Winthrop's comment made in 1638, viz:

"...at their first coming thither, Mr. Williams and the rest did make an order, that no man should be molested for his conscience...," (Winthrop 1, 283) and William Arnold's statement in May, 1638, "...and their order was, that no man should be censured for his conscience." (Winthrop 1, 283.) Roger Williams' own statements in regard to the founding of Providence, made later in 1661 that, "I...called the place Providence; I desired it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience," and in 1677, that it was "agreed that the place should be for such as were destitute (especially for Conscience Sake)" substantiate this fact.

Richard Scott, who like William Arnold, mentioned

above, was a bitter enemy of Williams, wrote in regard to Williams; "Though he professed Liberty of Conscience and was so zealous for it at the first coming home of the Charter that nothing in Government must be acted, till that was granted,..." (Fox 2, 248).

Williams' writings, Williams' friends and Williams' enemies all testify to his advocacy of Liberty of Conscience and to its establishment at Providence. The Verin case of May, 1638, proves it to be in effect at that time and previously. Verin was disenfranchised for not allowing Liberty of Conscience to his wife. The "Combination" of July 27, 1640, states, "we agree as formerly hath been the libertyes of the towne; so still to hold forth Liberty of Conscience." (P. T. P. 02.)

To sum up: We have the statements of Williams, that when Providence was founded, Liberty of Conscience was established there; we have the statement of Gov. Winthrop, written in 1638, that Liberty of Conscience was established at "their first coming" to Providence; we have the statement of Arnold, made in 1638, that that order existed previous to this time; the Verin case in 1638 proves that the order in regard to Liberty of Conscience was enforced; and the Combination of 1640, which recognizes the fact that Liberty of Conscience is one of the regulations of the town.

An Account of the English Homes of Three Early "Proprietors" of Providence

FRED A. ARNOLD

(*Concluded from April Issue*)

No public record had been found of the birth or marriage of William Arnold, nor of the birth or baptism of any of his children, until the Ilchester transcript of 1622, signed by him as church warden, giving the baptism there of his youngest son Stephen, as of Dec. 26, 1622 (four days later than his birth as given in the family record), and the burial of his father Nicholas. This is of course easily explained by the entire loss of all the earlier Ilchester registers, but the Well's transcript of 1596, giving the record of the burial at Ilchester of "Alice wife of Nicholas Arnold *tailer*." is like a flash from a light house illuminating the whole situation. It is the key that explains why the name of Nicholas Arnold appears and disappears from the Northover records, with the one entry of the birth of his daughter Thomasine in 1572, shows where he went, and the reason of his removal. The explanation is that at the time of his marriage he was working at Northover as a journeyman tailor, having already served seven years as an apprentice, and desiring to go into business as a merchant, he moved across the river half a mile into a larger community, the compact part of Ilchester, established himself as a merchant tailor and carried on that business there from about 1575 until his death in 1623. It was the common usage at this period for men, on legal documents, to add their title or occupation, but it was unusual if not unique to do this in case of a wife as was done by the Rector Joseph Collier A. M., in recording the burial of Alice as the wife of Nicholas Arnold *tailer* in 1596. John Raven A. M., who wrote and witnessed his will in 1622/3 also called him tailer. It could only mean that he had become and remained an influential merchant, and a member of the Gild of Taylors in Ilchester nearly 50 years.

In this period the trade gild was an important feature, formed for the association of all the members of a given trade, for its regulation and support. No person could work at any trade in any capacity unless he belonged to its gild. These trade gilds grew to be very influential in local politics taking to a great extent the place that political parties do, at the present time. From their ranks were taken the mayors, burgesses and aldermen, both in small towns and large cities; they became very wealthy, and built magnificent gild houses, in all the great cities, those of London, Bristol, Exeter, and many other places remain to-day, next to the great cathedrals and churches, the finest buildings in England. These trade gilds should not be confounded with the older church gilds, devoted entirely to religious work, that disappeared with the destruction of the monasteries and nunnerys under the edict of Edward VI. Nor should they be compared with the labor unions of to-day, organized as a class, to fight against their employers, another class, like an army of privates clashing against their officers for control. In the trade gild, master, journeyman, and apprentice were banded together for the protection of his trade, not his class. They were chartered by the Sovereign, with many privileges, recognized by the church; each had its patron saint, that of the tailors being St. John the Baptist, whose feast day was their election day, and celebrated with great displays. A curious account of one of their festival occasions at Wells is found in Phelp's History of Somerset, on the occasion of a visit of Queen Anne the wife of James I in 1613. As Nicholas Arnold was living, and an active member of his gild at that time, he may have been present as a participant or spectator, and this description gives us some idea, of the manner of the man, and under what conditions and surroundings he lived at Northover and Ilchester from about 1575 to 1623.

"The order and manner of the shews by the masters and wardens of every trade and occupac'on within the citie or buroughe of Welles, as it was presented before the Queenes

Matie in Welles, upon Fridaie the XX° daie of Auguste, Anno D'ni 1613.

"It is ordered that the Mayor and his brethren shall attend in their scarlet gownes neere about Brownes Gate, and the residue of the XXiiij or to attend likewise in person in blacke gownes, and the residue of the burgesses to attend likewise in their gownes and best apparell; and this be done by the oversight of Mr. Mayor, Mr. Baron, and Mr. Smyth.

"The Hammer-men, which were the carpenters, joyners, cowpers, masons, tylers and blackesmthes. And they presented a streamer with their armes; and Noath building the arke; Vulcan workinge at the fforge; Venus carried in a charriot, and Cupid sittinge in her lapp with his bowe bent; a Morrice daunce; the Dragon which devoured the virgins.

"The Shermen and Tuckers, and they presented a streamer with their armes.

"The Tanners, Chaundlers, and Butchers and they presented a carte of old virgins, the carte covered with hides and hornes, and the Virgins with their attires made of cowtayles, and braceletts for their attires made of cowtayles, and braceletts for their neckes of hornes sawed and hanged about their neckes for rich Jewelles. Their charriot was drawne by men and boys in oxe skins, calves skins, and other skins.

"St. Clement their St, rode allsoe with his booke. And his Frier rode allsoe, who dealt his almes out of Mrs's bagge (which he carried very full of graynes) verie plentifullie. Acteon with his huntsmen.

"The Cordyners, who presented St. Crispian and.....— both of them sonnes to a kinge, and the youngest a shoemaker, who married his master's daughter. They allsoe presented a morris daunce, and a streamer with their arms.

"The Taylors, who presented a streamer, Herod and Herodias, and the daughter of Herodias who dannced for St. John the Baptists hedd; St. John Baptiste beheaded.

"The Mercers, who presented a streamer; a morris daunce of young children; The giant and the giantesse; Kinge Ptolemeus, with his Queene and daughter which was

to be devoured by the Dragon; St. George with his knightes, who slew the Dragon and rescued the Virgin; Diana and her nymphes carried in a charriot, who tured Acteon to a Harte."

I have here shown where Nicholas Arnold was, and what he was doing from the time he disappeared from Northover, soon after the birth of his daughter Thomasine until we find the record of her marriage, at Ilchester, and the next year 1596, the death there of his wife. He had now been established there as a merchant tailor for about 20 years, and the sudden death of his wife and her infant child was not only a sad blow to him, but out of it grew some great changes in the future plans of his children.—He was now left with a family of four children, the oldest of which was Joane, just of marriageable age 18, Margery 14, William 8, and Robert 2. Joane remained with her father until she was 36 years of age, and although he married later a young wife Grace, Joane was indeed the foster mother of his young sons, William and Robert.

Between William and Joane there grew up a most tender relationship. They were both married about the same time, as is shown by the birth dates of their children, Joane died suddenly, early in the same year 1622, with their father Nicholas, leaving three small children between the ages of 2 and 7. She was buried at Yeovilton the home of the family of her husband William Hopkins. William Arnold now the head of the Arnold family at Ilchester, seems to have taken her children into his own family of little ones of about the same age, and when he emigrated in 1635, they accompanied him to New England.

What has been accomplished since 1902, by Mr. Jones and Mr. Dwelly is the finding at Northover of the early parish register giving the date of baptism of Alice Gulley the mother, and Thomasine Arnold the oldest sister of William, as the daughter of Nicholas Arnold, fully confirming the "family record" and giving us for the first time the true name of their father. Next the finding at Wells of the Il-

chester transcript of 1595/6 showing that Nicholas Arnold and his family had been living at Ilchester, where he had been in business as a Merchant tailor since about 1575, the date of their removal from Northover, and that all his children except Thomasine were born there. Next the Ilchester "transcript" of 1622, with the autograph signature of William Arnold as church warden, showing that he was there, a child 8 years old, when his mother Alice died in 1596, and in 1622 when his youngest son Stephen was born. The very fact of his election as warden in 1622, is sufficient to show that he must have been long there and well known, and as all his four children were born in the 11 years between 1611 and 1622, it follows that they were all born there, although the records of all but one, Stephen, have disappeared.

To connect these three generations of the Arnold and Gulley families for about 127 years, from John Gulley's birth about 1508, to William Arnold's emigration in 1635, with the English history of their time, we note, that John Gulley's life, beginning in the last year of the reign of Henry VII, lasted through that of Henry VIII, 38 years, Edward VI, 6 years, Mary Tudor 5 years, and 33 years of the reign of Q. Elizabeth, until his death in 1591, about 83 years of age. His daughter Alice Arnold born in 1553 the first year of Mary Tudor's reign, lasted through that, and 48 years of the reign of her sister Q. Elizabeth. Her husband Nicholas Arnold born about 1550, lived through those reigns, and to the 20th of James I., while William Arnold born the 29th of Queen Elizabeth, lived through the reign of James I., 22 years and emigrated 1635 in the 10th of Charles I. All of William Arnold's children were born in the reign of James I.

Going back to the William Arnold "family record," let us examine some of its peculiarities. He does not mention his father, or give any marriages or burials. He gives the baptisms, or christenings of his mother, and all her children except

himself and the infant sister Elizabeth, and then in his own case gives only the *births* of himself and his children. Why does he make this difference? In 1622, he served one year as church warden, under the tutelage of John Ravens, A. M., an educated man, and Rector at Ilchester, and it was to him a school in which he learned not only the system of parish registers and diocesan returns, but also to realize the great value to himself of keeping a family record as he was contemplating the possibility of emigration. His father had not kept a record himself and so the son went to the two registers of Ilchester now lost, and Northover close by, and accessible to him, for he could have found them nowhere else, and copied the *baptisms*. Then he took a step in advance of his times, and began to keep a family record, beginning with his own birth, 1587, which was continued in one line of his family for four generations. Here we see in the case of his son Stephen, listed in the family record as born 22 Dec. 1622, and on the transcript, as baptised, four days later, 26 Dec. 1622 (the rule being that all children should be baptised three days after birth or on the succeeding Sunday). Comparing these two records and those given of the baptism of his mother and sister in the family record and on the Northover register, agreeing as they do so exactly, gives us the greatest confidence in the reliability of the entire family record. While some records supporting it are still missing, not one has been found which weakens or disproves a single statement in it, the one record explaining and showing the connections with the other. Taken together they completely prove that William Arnold and all his children were born in Ilchester, Somersetshire, and lived there until their departure for New England in 1635. Just as surely and completely, it disproves all the fables and errors of family tradition, that have grown up and been spread broadcast between that date and 1850, seeming to show that they were born and lived elsewhere. Savage thought that they were born in Co. Nottingham, but offers no evidence to support his opinion. Mr. H. G. Somerby says that William Arnold was the son of Thomas Arnold of Cheselbourne, Co. Dorset, by

his first wife Alice, daughter of John Gulley of North Over, in the parish of Tolpuddle, a short distance from Cheselbourne, gives him a brother John, and makes Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Alice Gully, the daughter of Grace——, the second wife of Nicholas Arnold, and marries her to John Sayles, Jr. No record evidence is given to support these statements. None exist. He did not go to Northover, Somersetshire, where he would have found the Gully records, there then, and there now. There is no place called North Over in Dorset, or in any other county in England, excepting Somerset. There is no record showing that Alice Gully married Thomas Arnold, or had a son John born in 1585. Mr. Somerby carried with him from America the W. A. "family record" then printed, with instructions to find a father Thomas for him. The most regrettable feature in Somerby's work is, that in the absence of any English record, known here to disprove it, so reliable a genealogist, as Mr. John O. Austin was lead to accept and use it in his dictionary, although neither give any record evidence. Very rarely has Mr. Austin accepted another's statement, unless he has himself seen evidence to support it.

The Rev. Charles T. Brooks, in his "Old Stone Mill at Newport," suggests still another birthplace for the Arnolds, namely, Leamington, Warwickshire. This pamphlet was published at Newport, by Charles E. Hammett, Jr., in 1851. It is an account of a controversy between certain "Antiquarians" at Brown University, Providence, and "one of the oldest inhabitants of Newport," as to whether the old mill was built by the Northmen, or by Gov. Arnold, and has been commonly called the Mill Hoax. Both sides of this controversy accuse the other of filling their communications "with fabulous stories, founded on deceptions, entirely without foundation." These accusations were true, and about the only truth in the pamphlet. Mr. Brooks only suggests that Gov. Arnold *may* have seen mills of this kind in his youth, as he was living in England at the precise period with Inigo Jones who designed the

"Leamington Mill," and again page 84, he says, "The Chesterton Mill is only 5 miles from Leamington in the west of England from which part we have ascertained the Arnold's came." The Arnolds did come from the west of England, but Warwick is in the centre. Mr. Hammett, who printed this book in 1851, in his Bibliography of Newport of 1887, says, "At the time of writing this book much labor was bestowed on an attempt to ascertain the exact birthplace of Gov. Arnold, but *without result.* About 20 years later (1871) Dr. David King visited England and found satisfactory proof that he was born in Warwickshire." Neither Brooks, Hammett nor King have given a single record to substantiate their statements, and yet there is not a Newport historian to-day that ever mentions the Stone Mill or Gov. Arnold in connection with it, but what repeats the old hoax, that he was born in Leamington, Warwickshire, because in his will he mentions his Lemmington farm. The record evidence I have given that he was born in Ilchester near Limington shows this Warwickshire story to be pure fiction.

Stukeley Westcott whose initials S. W. stand first on the proprietors deed of 1637, at Providence, was in Salem where he was received in 1636, and in 1637 had a one acre house lot laid out to him, the record showing that his family then consisted of eight persons. And as the names of only five of his children appear later on Rhode Island records, he must have lost one by death, perhaps *Samuel*, after 1636. At Providence, he signed the agreement of 1640, for a form of civil government, and about 1645, he removed to Warwick; and in 1651 his daughter Damaris went with her husband Benedict Arnold to Newport. His oldest son Robert bought land soon at Quidnessett, and was killed there, during King Philips War, the other children all dying at Warwick. We cannot without further research say with certainty where he was born, or lived before coming to New England in 1635. Hon. Jonathan Russell Bullock, who published in 1886, "The life and times of Stuckley Westcott," says—"He was born

in England about 1592, probably in Co. Devon, and died at Portsmouth, R. I., 12 Jan. 1676/7, aged about 85." These dates are taken from the unsigned will, made the day of Westcott's death. Judge Bullock gave much time himself to the work of investigation and had the co-operation of more than a score of persons, both here and in England, who had done more or less work in the same line, before him, among whom was Sir George Stuckley, of Stuckley, Baronet, the present owner, by succession of Hartland Abbey and Affeton Castle, West Worlington, Devon, the seat of the Stuckleys in England. He suggested that the name implied that he was a descendant of St. Ledger Westcot who about the year 1300 married a daughter of the Stuckleys of Affeton. This place is on a stream called the Lesser Dart, about 10 miles W. of Tiverton and 15 miles N. W. of Exeter in Devonshire.

Thomas Westcott Gent., in his "View of Devonshire 1630," says p. 271, Affton, the seat of the Worshipful family of Stuckeley stands between the two Worlingtons East and West. It came to Stuckeley grand son of St. Leger who also owned Westcot wherein lived a tribe of the name. A grand son Sir Hugh Stuckeley lived here in 36th of Henry VIII. (1545), owned "Westcot," and had two grand daughters named Damaris. His Arms—Argent, a chevron between 3 escalops sable, a crescent. The arms here given, describe the arms on the tombstone of Benedict Arnold, Jr. The oldest son of Gov. Benedict at Newport, whose mother was Damaris Westcott, except that the crescent has been changed to a 5 pointed star, one appearing at the top of the chevron and another at the top of a helmet on the crest. The Arms on this stone have always been called "Arnold Arms" by those who have seen it, but it seems more likely to have been "Westcott." The Arnold arms on the tomb of Hon. Oliver Arnold in the North burying ground in Providence, as well those found by Gov. Samuel G. Arnold in the Herald's College in London, are described thus Gules, a chevron ermine, between 3 pheons Or.

Before 1900, every county in England had been combed to

find the name of Stukeley Westcott, without success, until in 1902, Mr. Edson S. Jones found the name at Yeovil, as the father of a son Samuel, baptized there March 31, 1622. This, without support of record, does not prove that he was the Stukeley who came in 1635 to New England, but circumstantial evidence very strongly favors that conclusion. The name of Stukeley, and of Westcott is common in Devon and Somerset, but the combination of these names has so far been found nowhere, before 1622 at Yeovil, and so far as we know is unique, and the name of his daughter Damaris is also very unusual. In Westcott's "Devonshire," containing thousands of family names, Damaris appears but twice, and both times in Stuckley families near Affton. At the time of the Yeovil record, Damaris was about two years of age and of course with her father there. About five miles down the river Ivel, at Ilchester, was living her future husband Benedict Arnold a lad of 7. Both came to New England in 1635 and to Providence in 1636 or 37, where they were married in 1640. In 1651, with five small children born in Providence, they removed to Newport. Here Benedict was chosen President, the highest office in the gift of the Colony, under the first Charter, before 1663; and that year under the second Charter granted by King Charles II. he was chosen the first Governor, which office, he contined to hold, with the exception of 6 years, until his death 19 June 1678. His wife Damaris survived him, and both lie buried in the plot appointed in his will, as "lieing between my dwelling house and my stone built wind-mill." During the progress of the Indian war of 1675/6 Stukeley Westcott now 84 years old, wifeless and infirm, was carried to the house of his grand son Dr. Caleb Arnold in Portsmouth, while two of his sons, Amos and Jeremiah, were granted temporary lots of land on the nearby island of Prudence for the support of their families, as were many of the refugees from the mainland. On the 12 of January 1677; seeing his end approaching the aged man attempted the making of his will, which was drawn up under his direction, but never signed; night approaching, he was persuaded by his g. s. Caleb Arnold to wait until

morning, expecting his sons from Prudence, but before their arrival he had passed away and his remains were carried across the bay, the war now over, and laid beside his wife at their old Warwick homestead.

William Arnold whose name appears second upon the "Initial deed" at Providence, upon his arrival in Massachusetts Bay, June 24, 1635, found a party from Hingham, Co. Suffolk, lately arrived, and about to establish a new township to be called Hingham which was done September 18, William Arnell appears as No. 13, on the first list of those who "drew house lots from the Cove on the north side of the road to Fort Hill." If he really intended to settle here, he soon changed his plan for in 1636 we find him in Providence where he was assigned a home lot in the row of lots on North Main St., north of Star St., the east end of this lot is now covered by a part of Hope reservoir. Here he probably built and lived a short time for a contemporary deed of land in this vicinity is bounded on William Arnold's "Wolf trap" evidently built by him for protection of his cattle. The initial deed of 1637, which made him one of 13 proprietors of Providence was followed by another which divided all the meadow ground on the Pawtuxet river between the same 13 persons and about 1638 William Arnold and William Carpenter with their families settled here at the ford or indian wading place, where the Pequot trail crossed the Pawtuxet river. This ford is quite a distance up the river from the present centre at the falls and the bridge, and lies a few rods only below the present bridge on Warwick Ave. From this ford northerly the "Pequot road was made the dividing line between William Carpenter's homestead extending from it, west to Pauchasset river, and that of William Arnold extending from it, easterly to the salt water. Later Arnold's son Stephen, and son-in-Law Zachery Rhodes settled at the falls, where with Joseph Carpenter they built a corn mill and laid out to it a road through the woods northerly (now Broad St.) which joined the Pequot Path, near the present Junction of Broad St. and Warwick Ave. Upon this homestead, situated very much as was his old home at Ilches-

ter at the Roman Ford on the Ivil, William Arnold passed 37 years, until July 1675, when the horrors of King Phillip's burst in all its fury upon the Colony. The story of what happened to him, is best told by an affidavit made by his young nephew Major William Hopkins, the original of which is preserved in Prov. Town papers, 0268. "Oct. 16, 1678 William Hopkins aged 31, testified before John Whipple, Asst. that at the beginning of the war, and at the desire of some neighbors, he went to Pawtuxet to try to persuade William Arnold to go to some garrison or down to his son Benedict's, at Newport, on account of the danger he was in. That he, William Arnold, refused to go to Newport, but would go to Providence, but afterwards said that that was too far, but he would go to his son Stephen's garrison, so presently his son Stephen went to his father and desired his father to goe to his garrison, and the sayd William Arnold did goe along with his son Stephen and this deponent to his son Stephen's Garrison."

The "garrison" to which William Arnold was carried in such a feeble condition, and now 88 years old, and where he probably died, was the Mansion house of his son Stephen, whose homestead covered nearly all the land west of Broad St. to the Pawtuxet river, and from the falls, north to the swamp where the brook from the east runs under Broad St. to the river The driveway to his house from Broad St. is now Lockwood St., and behind it now stands the Rhodes' Casino, and the canoe club houses. On the bluff at the north end of this homestead farm, overlooking the swamp was the burial lot of Stephen Arnold's family. This burial lot has now been built upon, the only grave stones upon the lot those of Stephen and Sarah (Smith) Arnold, were removed about 1860, to Swan Point Cemetery. As this *Stephen* was the last survivor of the emigrant party of 1635, I give the inscription:

"Here Lies the Body of
Stephen Arnold.
Aged 77 Years
Deceased 15th Nov
1699.

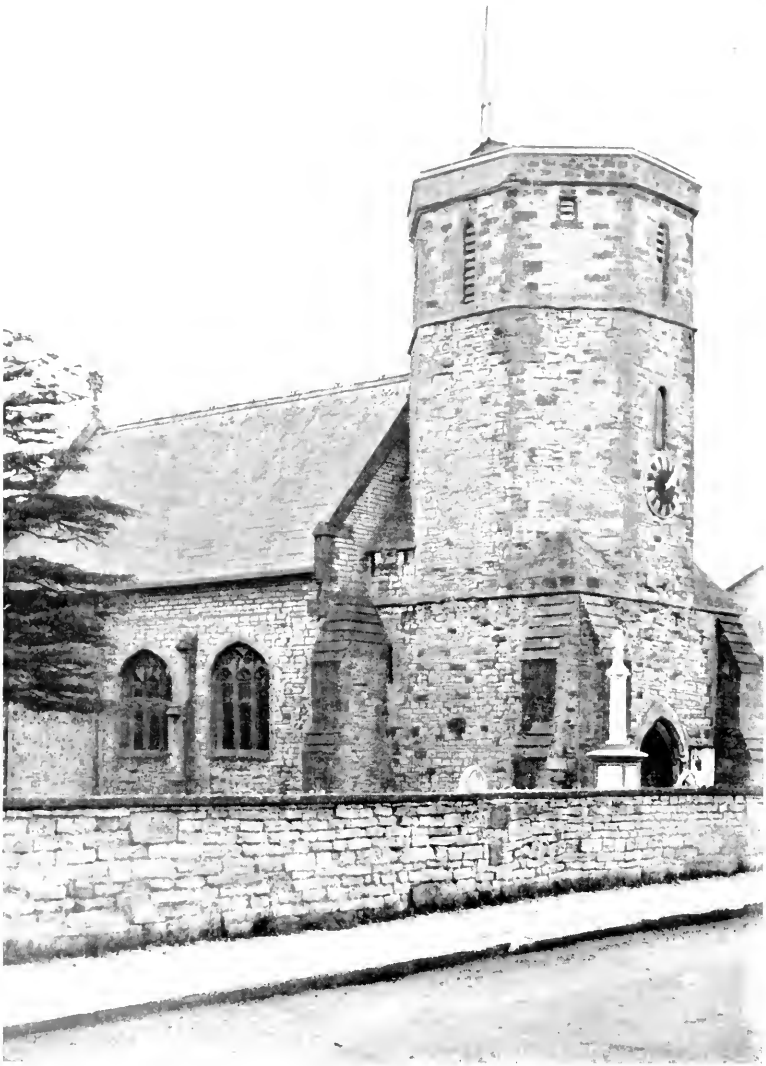
During the summer and fall of 1675, nothing of a serious nature occurred at Pawtuxet, until in December, detachments of the Massachusetts troops under Gen. Winslow, on their way to the "Swamp Fight" at Kingston, encamped at the garrison, and were supplied by Stephen Arnold with provisions, the requisitions made by Gen. Winslow were paid by Mass. some years later. January 27, 1676, after the Kingston fight, 300 Indians attacked Pawtuxet, burning William Carpenter's outbuildings, corn and hay, and drove away 180 sheep, 50 head of neat cattle, and 15 horses. William Harris, whose farm adjoined Carpenter on the west at Blackamore Pond, in a letter (Vol. 10, 171, R. I. His. Soc. Collection), describes this attack as following one on Rehoboth and Providence, "And then went to patuxet & ther burnt some houses and an empty garrison and fought against another, and shott fire upon arrows forty or fifty but ye English put them out, and in ye night time went ther way." This attack did not drive away the Stephen Arnold garrison, but in March a still larger party of Indians swept through this part, and Harris writes again "the enemy hath burnt all ye houses in Warwick all in patuxet and almost all in Providence and the inhabitants are gone some to one place and some to another."

During one or the other of these attacks all the buildings on the Harris farm were burnt, his son Tolleration, and a servant were killed, and Wm. Carpenter lost his son William Jr. and a servant; Carpenter and Thomas Hopkins probably going to Oyster Bay, Long Island, where both had children living. No hint has been discovered as to where Stephen Arnold went at this time, with his wife and seven children. It seems probable that his father William, in his great age and feeble condition had died and been buried by the side of his wife Christian and grand-son William, at Pawtuxet, as his name is not mentioned among the refugees at Newport or Long Island but this is conjecture. Callender refers to his death as about 40 years after the settlement of 1636.

Nov. 3, 1677, Gov. Arnold at Newport, calling himself "Benedict Arnold Senr. Eldest son and heire to William

CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW, NORTHOVER

John Gulley and wife Alice, grandparents of William Arnold, are buried in this yard.



CHURCH OF ST. MARY MAJOR, ILCHESTER

Nicholas Arnold and wife Alice, parents of William Arnold, are buried in this yard. William Arnold and all his children were baptized here.

Arnold late of pautuxett," made a warrantee deed, on the nominal condition of one hundred Pounds to his "Brother Stephen Arnold of Pawtuxett afore sayed," of all Land of our sayd father lieing within the Bounds of patuxett, between patuxett river and Providence bounds" &c.

This was not an uncommon way at this period of settling an intestate estate, and shows that as soon as the war was ended and civil government restored, a mutual agreement between William Arnold while living, and his two sons, was honorably carried into effect by the legal heir under English law, after his death.

We do not know with certainty the birthplace or age of William Carpenter the third member of our party who was as the head of a family named in the initial deed as one of 13 proprietors of Providence. Assuming that he was about the same age as his wife, Elizabeth Arnold and born before 1611, he was about 60 years of age and had been living at Pawtuxet more than 30 years when 14 Dec. 1671 he made a deed of free gift to his sister Fridgswith Vincent of "my dwelling house and all what land belongith to me adjoining to the said house the which said house is standing in the town of Amesbury in Wiltshire and in a street commonly called Frogg lane, my sister being an inhabitant of the said town, the which said house did in the original belong to my father Richard Carpenter now deceased, but fell to my right as I was the son and heir of my said father." It does not necessarily follow that Richard was in Amesbury in 1611, or that William was born there, although possible. Fridgswith Carpenter married Thomas Vincent before 1635, and had children:—Thomas, bap Oct 18, 1635. 2. William, bap June 17, 1638, and 3. Joan. William and Joan Vincent came to Providence about 1660, where Joan, married John Sheldon that year, and received a deed of land from her uncle William Carpenter Aug. 2, 1660—May 31, 1670. William Vincent was married to Priscilla Carpenter his cousin by her father William Carpenter, assistant. Jan. 20, 1676, his house was attacked by about 300 Indians, his son William, and a servant killed, two hundred sheep, 50 neat cattle and 15

horses carried off, and his buildings left in flames, but saved by the defenders.

April 25, 1683, he made a confirmatory deed to the heirs of the 13 original proprietors of Pawtuxet lands, calling himself the last survivor and owning three shares. His will, Feb. 10, 1670, was proved Oct. 1, 1685. He died Sept. 7, 1685, and was buried on his homestead by the side of his wife Elizabeth Arnold.

In Dwellys' Wells parish transcripts, Vol. II., at Nettlecombe, 15 miles west of Taunton, I find some records that seem to connect in some way with a John and Richard at Salisbury 7 miles from Amesbury. I give it, hoping to assist further search.

Married, Sept. 1, 1606, Mr. Richard Carpenter and Mrs. Susanna Trevelian.

Christened, Oct. 28, 1607, Susanna, dau. of Mr. Richard Carpenter. Clarke. (i e. Minister.)

On the same register occurs the unusual names of Fridiswade Clark, 1607, and Frediswade Davis, 1640.

In Somerset Wills, 11.109. I find the will of Richard Carpenter, Pastor of Sheviock Devenport (near Plymouth), August 9, 1625. Proved Feb. 17, 1627/8, by the relict, Susan Carpenter daughter of John Trevelian Esq. of Nettlecombe, mentions, son John Carpenter, student at Exeter College, Oxon, eldest dau. Susan, dau. Mary, my son Richard, 3d, dau. Ann, 4th dau. Elizabeth, 3d. son Edward, 5th dau. Sarah, 4th son, and youngest child Thomas, my brother John Carpenter of Salisbury (1628), and 3 sisters Jane, Ann & Agness.

The Rev. A. W. Phelps, Rector of the church at Amesbury, Wilts, writes Oct. 25, 1800, "The register has—18. Oct. 1635 baptised—Thomas son of Thomas and Frittisweed Vincent. 17 June William son of Thomas and Frittisweed Vincent. The first book of Amesbury records begin 1610 and end 1638, has Elizabeth d. of John Carpenter bap. Nov. 30, 1628. John, son of John Carpenter bap. Aug. 5, 1632. Margaret, dau. of John and Joan Carpenter bap. March 2, 1635; and Richard Carpenter buried Sept. 21, 1625.

William Man, who came with his wife Frances Hopkins in 1635, was town clerk of Providence in 1646, (see Prov. town papers 07), and died before 1650. His son Abraham, was wounded in the Indian war, and was allowed by the Colony Oct. 29, 1684, £3 for the curing of his wound. His widow Frances Man removed to the home of her daughter Mary, who had married John Lapham at Dartmouth, Mass., where she died 26 Feb. 1700 aged 84.

The parishes whose records prove them to have been the homes of our emigrants, are situated on the little river Ivel or Yeo, a branch of the Parret. The valley of the Ivel is described in Camden's Brittania, Edition of 1610—(about the date of Wm. Arnold's marriage) as follows: "The river Ivel springeth in Dorsetshire and no sooner entereth Somerset but he giveth name to Evil (Yeovil) a great market town, which rose by the decay of *Ilchester,* and taketh into him a rill, near which is *Camelet* a steep hill, hard to get up: on the top whereof be tokens of a decayed castle, surrounded by triple rampires of earth and ditches, enclosing many acres of ground. The inhabitants name it, *King Arthur's Palace*: Near by is Cadbury where K. Arthur defeated Saxons in battle. At the junction of these two rills, lie Yeovilton on the north bank, and Limington on the south, and runneth on a mile to *Northover,* and *Ilchester,* called Ischalis by Ptlomee, and Ivelcestre by Ninnius, and by others Pontavel-coit (Ivel bridge in the Wood), and Givelcestre, at this day of small account for its antiquity. At the time of the Normans coming in, it was well populated, at one time having 107 Burgesses. A little beneath by *Langport* the rivers *Ivel* and *Pedred* (Parret) running together, make between them the island called *Mulcheney* that is to say the *Great Island.* Wherein are to be seen the defaced wall and ruins of an old Abbey." The map accompanying this article is from Camden 1610.

Muchelney, the island at the junction of the rivers Ivel and Parret, was the home of Christian Peak, William Arnold's wife. Retracing our steps up the Ivel five miles is Northover, the home and burial place of John and Alice Gully, and just

across on the south bank, Ilchester, where Nicholas Arnold was a Merchant tailor about 47 years, and where he and his wife Alice are buried, and where William Arnold and all his children were born. A mile further up the river on the north bank is Yeovilton the home of William Hopkins, where his wife Joane was buried in 1622, the sister and *foster-mother* of William Arnold. Across the river on the south side is Limington with its parish church, "St. Mary Virginis," and its ancient Free Grammar School, where Thomas Wolsey, afterward Lord Cardinal, and Primate of England, was both curate and schoolmaster from 1500 to 1509, and where the children of the Gully, Arnold, Hopkins and other families of the neighborhood were probably educated.

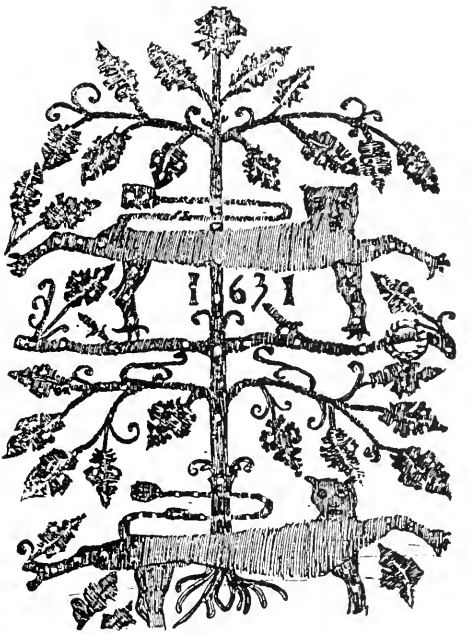
In his will Gov. Arnold mentions his Lemmington farm, named evidently from some place near his English home. When he wrote this word Lemmington, in its broad Wessex pronunciation, he meant Limington in Somerset, and not Leamington in Warwickshire, or Lymington in Hants, places that it is not at all likely that he or his father William, ever saw.

From the date 1623, of Nicholas Arnold's will, until his departure in the spring of 1635 for New England, William Arnold's name does not appear on any Somerset record. On his own "family record" the latest English date he gives is that of the baptism of Nicholas, the son of his half brother Thomas, Jan 1627/8.

We can only conjecture when and where he gathered his large party together with their baggage and supplies, or the route they took from the valley of the Ivel, to their point of departure. The nearest and most practicable route would be from Ilchester through Yeovil, Crewkerne, and Axminster to Exeter, and then turning south, down the Devonshire coast, by Teignmouth and Torquay to Dartmouth, a seaport about 25 miles east of Plymouth and the same distance south of Exeter. A modern writer Mr. Charles G. Harper in "A summer tramp from London to Landsend" thus pleasantly describes it. "A waft of more spacious times has come down to us, and lingers yet about the steep streets and strange stairways, the broad

eaves and bowed and bent frontages of Dartmouth. An air in essence salty, and ringing with the strange oaths and stranger tales of the doughty hearts who adventured hence to unknown or unfrequented seas, or went forth to do battle with the Spaniards.

"The mouth of the river widens into a deep, land-locked harbour with an entrance to the English Channel through a narrow opening between tall cliffs. Here to guard it there were built in ancient times, the twin-towers of Dartmouth and Kingswear



Ancient ironwork, south door of St. Saviour's Church, Dartmouth, Devon.

Castles, facing one another across the water, and between them was stretched an iron chain drawn taut by windlasses in time of peril.

"The parish church of St. Saviour, is old and decrepit and rendered dusky by wooden galleries, a wonderful and almost

inconceivably picturesque building, without and within and what is not often seen nowadays a very much unrestored church. It is closely girdled with steep streets, paved with painful but romanic looking cobbles, and the churchyard rears itself high above the heads of wayfarers in its narrow lanes. The doorway of the south porch has a gate or grille of wrought iron dated 1631."

In this quaint old seaport, some of our party must have spent several days, in the process of collecting their goods, and loading their vessel, and although they were strangers, here only for a few days, I cannot help fancying that the steep streets of Dartmouth the last spot of English earth upon which their feet were to tread, its ancient St. Saviour church with its then new gate, the beautiful harbour where had lain only a few years before them, the ships of Drake and Raleigh, and the Mayflower and Speedwell of the Pilgrims, never faded entirely from their memory. While their eyes rested upon these last scenes in the home land, the minds of the young people, Joane Arnold, soon to become the mother of all the Rhodes' of Rhode Island, Damaris Westcott later to be the first lady in the Colony, as the wife of Gov. Benedict Arnold, and their younger brothers and sisters were perhaps thinking more of the village greens of Ilchester and Yeovil, remembering that it was the first of May. Mayday, "the maddest, merriest day of all the glad new year" in England, and that their playmates from whom they were now separated were engaged in the happy songs and dances so dear to their young hearts; while the older ones were more likely turning their thoughts toward the unknown sea with some doubts and misgivings mayhap, but yet with stout hearts and strong hopes facing the great adventure that lay before them in a new world.

Addenda to Rhode Island Imprint List

Imprints not included in the list.

1730 NEWPORT

A Perpetual Almanack. Shepley

1734 NEWPORT

Auchmuty. The Copy of Some Queries. Rosenbach

1739 NEWPORT

Governor's Proclamation in regard to Counterfeiting. (News-Letter)

1742 or 1743 NEWPORT

Short Narrative of Unjust Proceeding of George Gardner. Mass HS

General Assembly. An Act in addition to an Act...Fire... Terry

1759 NEWPORT

The Strange and Wonderful Predictions of Mr. Christopher Love. (Evans)

1762 NEWPORT

Reflections on Governor Hopkins' Vindication, April 17. Terry

General Assembly. An Act in Addition to...Manner of admitting Freemen. RISL

1763 NEWPORT

Wanton, J. Observations and reflections on the present state of the Colony. Shepley

1764 NEWPORT

To the Public, Newport, 16 April (signed Samuel Ward) Shepley

Peter Mumford, Post Rider, doth upon oath declare (signed) Henry Ward, (dated) August 9. LCP

1764 PROVIDENCE

To the Inhabitants of the Colony of Rhode Island (signed) Stephen Hopkins, (dated) April 12. LCP

1765 PROVIDENCE

A Table of Value...Lawfull Money. Shepley

1769 NEWPORT

Rhode Island College (Subscription List) Terry

1770 NEWPORT

The Prodigal Daughter Shepley

1771 PROVIDENCE

A Word of Counsel and Warning Shepley

Providence Fire Rules RIHS

The Sum of Religion Terry

1773 NEWPORT

Blakes, James, Jun. A Sermon. Terry

1774 NEWPORT

The first book of American Chronicles RIHS

General Assembly. October. An Act for Assessing £4000. Shepley

1774 PROVIDENCE

General Assembly, December. RIHS

1775 NEWPORT

The Crisis No. VIII RIHS

The following was received by a Vessel arrived at New York, last week, September 12, 1775. RIHS

1777 PROVIDENCE

General Assembly. July 21 By an Express Shepley

The Death of General Montgomery(Printed by McDougall) .....

General Assembly, October. Whereas, owing to Divers Causes...Town Councils...have not yet collected the Monies due. RISL

General Assembly. March, 2nd Session. List of Persons. Shepley

General Assembly. September Session. An Act in regard to drafting militia. RIHS

1778 PROVIDENCE

General Assembly, May, 2nd Session. Resolved that all Persons...equip themselves. Shepley

Greene, William Thanksgiving Proclamation. RISL

1779 PROVIDENCE

Providence Gazette, February 27, 1779. Supplement, variant edition. RISL

General Assembly March 20. Attack on Rhode Island. Shepley

1780 NEWPORT

Fresh Intelligence, Weeden NHS
Announcement of N. A. Calendar for 1781 Shepley
Calendrier Francais pour 1781 (with eight additional pages) Shepley

1780 PROVIDENCE

Return of 2nd Rhode Island Regiment. Shepley

1781 PROVIDENCE

A Poetical Epistle to George Washington. Wheeler (Amer. Journal)
Three o'clock (Surrender of Cornwallis). Carter MHS

1782 NEWPORT

Letter from Sir Guy Carleton. Barber. Terry

1783 PROVIDENCE

Varnum, J. M. Oration on Masonry delivered in 1782. Shepley
Proposals for printing the United States Chronicle. H. R. Drowne
Important Intelligence. Carter. Shepley

1784 PROVIDENCE

Goldsmith, Oliver. The Deserted Village. RIHS

1785 PROVIDENCE

Scheme of a Lottery. RIHS
To the Editor of the Providence Gazette, "Fair Play." Shepley
General Assembly. February. Whereas certain classes... recruits. Terry

1786 NEWPORT

Champlin, Christopher. Cargo of Ship Hydra Shepley
Verses for the New Year, 1787. Shepley

1786 PROVIDENCE

Pool, Equestrian Feats of Horsemanship. Shepley
General Assembly. May Session £100.000 RISL
General Assembly. August Session £100.000 RIHS

1787 PROVIDENCE

General Assembly. Four per cent. notes Shepley

1788 PROVIDENCE

Mr. John Brown. Invitation for a dance. JCB

1789 PROVIDENCE

Webster, Noah American Spelling Book. Carter AAS

Drawbacks on duties. RIHS

1792 PROVIDENCE

Thornton's R. I. Almanac for 1793 printed "for Richardson" Arnold

1793 NEWPORT

Wells, Elizabeth. Some Melancholy Heartfelt Reflections. Shepley

1793 PROVIDENCE

Fenner, Arthur. Proclamation in regard to Small Pox, 21 September 1793 Carter ....

Proceedings of seven gentlemen sitting themselves an Ecclesiastical Council. RIHS

New Year's Address January 1, 1793. "Now our Grandame Earth." Shepley

Whitefield, George. The Knowledge of Jesus Christ. Carter Shepley

1794 NEWPORT

Murder. Narrative of the trial of William Corran Shepley

1794 PROVIDENCE

General Assembly, March. Act to repair highways in Scituate. Terry

General Assembly. June 16. Condition on which Non Commissioned Officers..... Shepley

Rhode Island Register for 1795 Shepley

1795 NEWPORT

Rhode Island Bank, Charter of Terry

1795 PROVIDENCE

Street Lottery RIHS

An Essay on the Fall of Angels & Men. Wheeler Shepley

1795 WARREN

Patten, William. Reminiscences of Samuel Hopkins (Bartlett)

1796 PROVIDENCE

Whitney, Josiah. Sermon on the death of Rev. Noadiah Russell. Carter & Wilkinson RIHS

1797 PROVIDENCE

Adams, John. "President's Answer." Shepley

New Year Verses of the Carrier of the Gazette Jan. 1, 1798. RIHS

1798 NEWPORT

Interesting. By Capt. Earl Shepley

Adams, John. President's Speech. Farnsworth Terry

1798 PROVIDENCE

Life of Zilpha Smith. Wheeler (U. S. Chronicle)

Pawtucket Cannon Factory 5 Dec. 1798 (Broadside) .....

Adams, John. President's speech C & W RIHS

1799 NEWPORT

The Gentlemen & Lady's Companion, containing the Newest Cotillions and Country Dances. O. Farnsworth. Terry

The Affecting History of the Children in the Wood. H. & O. Farnsworth. A. C. Bates

Newport Insurance Company. Terry

The Travels of Robinson Crusoe. H. & O. Farnsworth. Terry

The Trifle Hunters. O. Farnsworth. Terry

1799 PROVIDENCE

The Companion : being a Selection of the Beauties of the Most Celebrated Authors. RIHS

1800 NEWPORT

Beckley, John James. Address to the People. Second Ed. H. B. Tompkins

A Law to establish a Uniform System of Bankruptcy. Barber. Shepley

UNDATED

Champlin, Christopher. Goods for sale. Providence (about 1790). Shepley

Champlin, Christopher. Ship Hydra. See 1786

An Exposition of the Emblems of the Providence Association of Merchants and Manufacturer's Certificate. Shepley

Engraved Certificate referred to in above Table of Values see 1765 Shepley

Phillis. An Elegiac poem to George Whitefield. Southwick. NHS

Advertisement of Nathaniel Croade of Pawtucket (Warren 1797?) RIHS

The Bride's Burial Penn. HS

Unlocated Listed Imprints now located, and Imprints located outside of Providence in the List of 1915, of which copies are now in Providence.

1728

Webb, John. The Believer's Redemption. Shepley

1731

Fox, John. The Door of Heaven. Shepley

1733

Hale, Sir Matthew. Some Necessary and Important Considerations. (Only copy located) Shepley

1750

The Case and Complaint of Samuel Maxwell. JCB

1751

Williams, Solomon. The Sad Tendency. Shepley

1752

MacSparren. The Sacred Dignity. Shepley

1754

The Ill Policy of....Imprisoning Insolvent Debtors. Shepley

1759

By the Governor. Thanksgiving Proclamation. (Only copy located) Shepley

1760

Tweedy. A Catalogue of Drugs. Shepley

1762 PROVIDENCE

Prospectus of Providence Gazette Shepley

1765 PROVIDENCE

Davies. A Sermon. Shepley

1766 NEWPORT

Hymns and Spiritual Songs. Shepley

1770 NEWPORT

Trial of Sir Richard Rum. Shepley

1775 NEWPORT

Mr. Samuel Adams. Portrait. Shepley

1776 PROVIDENCE

Paine. Common Sense. 10th ed. Shepley

1777 PROVIDENCE

General Assembly. December 4. An Act. RISL

1780 PROVIDENCE

General Assembly, July, 2nd Session. An Act for assessing 10,000 Pounds. Terry

General Assembly, July, 2nd Session. An Act for assessing £400,000. RISL

General Assembly July 7, 1780. Act Shepley

General Assembly. May, Act. 80,000 Pounds Terry

1781

General Assembly, May, 2nd Session. An Act for granting £6000. RISL

1782 NEWPORT

General Assembly. Oct. An Act for granting $20,000 Terry

Verses Made on the Death. Shepley

1782 PROVIDENCE

General Assembly. January. An Act for numbering the Families. RISL

General Assembly. February. An Act for granting Tax of £6000. RISL

1784 NEWPORT

The Instructive Fables of Pilpay. Shepley

1785 NEWPORT

Laws of the Marine Society. Shepley

1786 PROVIDENCE

Backus, Testimony — Shepley
General Assembly. June. An Act...20,000 pounds — Terry

1787 NEWPORT

Gessner. The Death of Abel. — Shepley

1787 PROVIDENCE

Wheeler's North American Calendar for 1788 — Shepley

1788 NEWPORT

Cutler, Manasseh. An Explanation. — Shepley
Articles of Agreement, Ohio Company. — Shepley

1788 PROVIDENCE

Griffith. Collection of Dances. — Shepley

1789 PROVIDENCE

Webster. An American Selection. — Shepley

1791 PROVIDENCE

United States Inspector General Regulations for Troops. — RIHS

1792 PROVIDENCE

Goldsmith. The Vicar of Wakefield. — Shepley

1792 WARREN

Lines on the last and dying Words of Rev. Oliver Williams. — Shepley

1793 PROVIDENCE

Rhode Island College. Laws. — Shepley

1794 NEWPORT

An Address of the Democratic Society — RIHS

1794 PROVIDENCE

Dodsley. The Toy Shop. — Shepley

1795 PROVIDENCE

Dodsley. OEconomy of Human Life. — Shepley

1796 PROVIDENCE

Holman. Funeral Oration. — RIHS

1796 WARREN

General Assembly. June Session. That Two Representatives ...be elected. — RISL

1797 PROVIDENCE

Rhode Island College. Commencement. Shepley
Rhode Island College. Illustrissimo Jabez Bowen. BU

1800 NEWPORT

Beckley, J. J. Address. H. B. Tompkins
Briggs, J. Oration. Terry
Burroughs, Peleg. Oration H. B. Tompkins

Undated, pages 74 and 75

The Justly celebrated Mrs. Sophie Hume's advice. Shepley
A List of Names of Family of John Carter 1785. Shepley
In Memory of Capt. John Crawford 1774. Shepley

Located Imprints not listed in Rhode Island Historical Society in 1915, but now in Rhode Island Historical Society.

1750

Frothingham. The Articles of Faith. RIHS

1754

G. G. The Divinity and Humanity of Our Lord. RIHS

1758

Pollen. The Duty of Defending our Countrymen. RIHS

1763 PROVIDENCE

Aplin. Both editions with and without "lyre" at end. RIHS

1773

Fothergill. A Sermon at Horsley Downs. RIHS

1776 NEWPORT

In Congress. A Declaration June (for July) 13 RIHS

1778 PROVIDENCE

Orders of the Council of War. RIHS

1779 PROVIDENCE

Resolves and Orders of the Council of War. RIHS

1783 PROVIDENCE

Thacher, Peter. Prayer The Breath of Rev. Habijah Weld RIHS

1793 PROVIDENCE

Rhode Island College. Catalogue of Books RIHS

1796 PROVIDENCE

Holman. Funeral Oration. RIHS

1797 PROVIDENCE

Thompson. Funeral Oration on Kingman. RIHS

1798 PROVIDENCE

Rhode Island College Catalogue. RIHS

1799 PROVIDENCE

Congress of the United States. RIHS

1800 NEWPORT

Dehon, T. Discourse. RIHS

CORRECTIONS.

1736, Page 10

Beavan's essay should be under date of 1754, Page 14.
Anthony or Osborne should be Anthony and Osborne.

1777 PROVIDENCE, Page 35

Add McDougall's name after John Carter as Providence printers for that year.

1779 NEWPORT, Page 38

Vol. 1, No. 35 of the American Journal was printed at Newport. RIHS

1780 NEWPORT, Page 40

Add the name of J. Weeden to list of printers.

1781 PROVIDENCE, Page 43

American Journal should be No. 157 instead of 1507.

1782 NEWPORT, Page 45

Add H. & O. Farnsworth to list of printers.

1782 PROVIDENCE, Page 45

Thacher item should be under 1783. RIHS

1787 PROVIDENCE, Page 51

Emmons. "On" Franklin instead of "in" Franklin.

1791 PROVIDENCE, Page 58

R. I. College. "Illustrissimo" should be "Honoratissimo."

1800 NEWPORT, Page 72

Omit "The R. I. Republican Farnsworth."

Notes

The manuscript plat of the original layout of Block Island has been given to the Society by the late Mr. Nathaniel Ray Greene of Narragansett Pier.

The Providence Mutual Fire Insurance Company has given to the Society a large number of manuscript books covering the activities of that organization up to the year 1850.

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

Mr. Harvey A. Baker,	Miss Anna L. Lestrade,
Mr. Raymond E. Ostby,	Mr. Arthur James,
Mr. Harry C. Owen,	Mrs. Arthur N. Sheldon.

Mrs. Charles Bradley presented to the Society an interesting and valuable collection of newspapers and manuscripts of local historical interest.

An oil portrait of Stephen Dexter, who was born in 1764, was given to the Society by Miss Abigail Dexter of East Providence.

Mr. Charles B. Whipple presented to the Society an autograph letter of Governor Nicholas Cooke written February 24, 1777.

Two Honorary members of the Society, Mr. David W. Hoyt and Mr. James Phinney Baxter died in May.

The January Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society contains a paper on "Newport Artists," by Mrs. Maud Howe Elliott.

The "Honor Roll—Rhode Island Masons who served in the World War" has been issued in attractive form.

The Rhode Island State Board of Agriculture has published D. J. Lambert's "History of the R. I. Reds."

Through the generosity of Col. George L. Shepley, the Society now has two new and attractive exhibition cases which have been placed in the Portrait Gallery.

In the October, 1920, number of the Collections is an

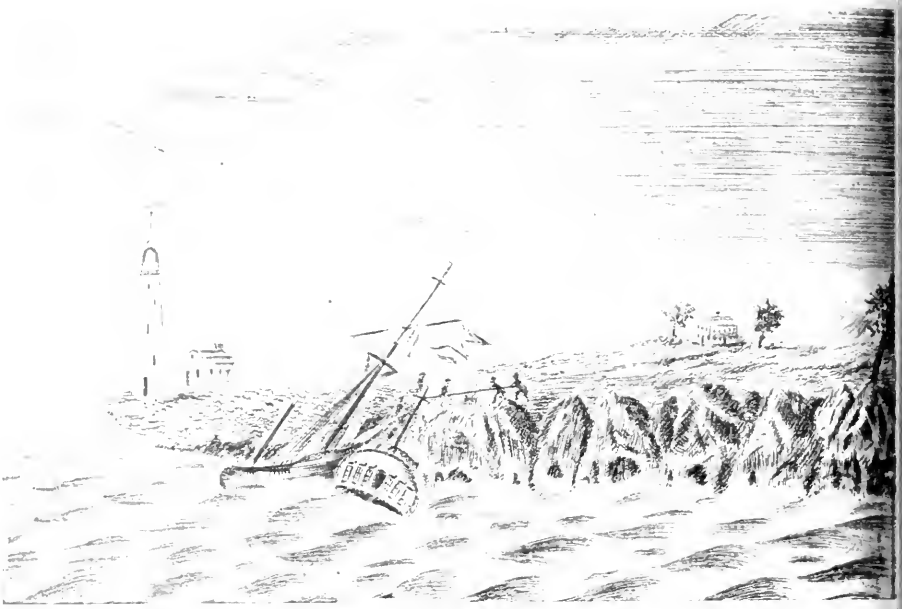
article on Roger Williams and John Milton. The author, Mr. Potter, has contributed the following additional note:

In running over, recently, the files of *Modern Language Notes*, I observe that the criticism of Dr. Carpenter's conjecture about Roger Williams's "reading" Milton Dutch, which I made in my discussion of Williams and Milton (R. I. Historical Society Collections, Vol. XIII, No. 4, pp. 119-20), had already been made by Professor G. L. Kittredge in 1910. (Modern Language Notes, Vol. XXV, p. 159; May, 1910.) May I take this opportunity of acknowledging the priority of Professor Kittredge's note on the matter, and stating that at the time of writing my discussion of the subject, I had no knowledge of the existence of his note, or I should of course have mentioned it in that connection.

One additional comment on the list of books read by Williams, which I gave as an appendix to my discussion, may be worth mentioning. On page 128, I stated of Henry VIII's "blasphemous writing against Christ Jesus in his holy truth proclaimed by Luther" (Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, N. C. P., p. 163) that "this work I have not been able to determine." The book referred to by Williams is obviously Henry's *Defence of the Seven Sacraments*, "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum," 1521, which caused the Pope to give Henry the title of "Defender of the Faith."

GEORGE R. POTTER.

The only known impression of Rhode Island's first seal. From the Charter of the Town of Warwick, 1648, *now in the Shepley Library, Providence.*



BEAVERTAIL LIGHT IN 1798

Engraved by William Hamlin of Providence for The Certificate of the Providence Marine Society. *From original in the Rhode Island Historical Society Library.*

Form of Legacy

"I give and bequeath to the Rhode Island Historical Society the sum of..... dollars."

Rhode Island Historical Society Collections

Vol. XIV October, 1921 No. 4

CONTENTS

$3.00 per year Issued Quarterly 75 cents per copy

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

Vol. XIV October, 1921 No. 4

The Commerce of Rhode Island with the Southern Continental Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*

By WALTER FREEMAN CRAWFORD.

In few respects does the Rhode Island of to-day resemble the Rhode Island of colonial times. Many of the customs and institutions which occupied prominent places in the activities of an earlier day have now been superseded. Commerce, for instance, which was highly important to the colonial merchant has been displaced almost entirely by manufacturing; where capital was once utilized in building ships and carrying on trade, we to-day find it invested largely in mills and machinery.

*The Society of Colonial Dames' Prize Essay in American History for 1920-21. This paper is based largely upon contemporary materials drawn from the following: *The Commerce of Rhode Island,* 1726-1800, 2 vols., Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 7th series, vols. IX, X, 1914-1915; Newport Commercial Papers, MSS., in the library of Col. George L. Shepley, Providence; and Outward Entries and Manifests, MSS., in State Archives.

It is interesting, however, in view of the recent attempts to make the Narragansett Bay once more the scene of commercial activities, to study the early development and growth of trade in Rhode Island.

Commerce, in the eighteenth century, has somewhere been designated the "backbone" of Rhode Island in its life as a colony. Certainly in the days immediately preceding and following the Revolution, trade came to be the one central, dominating interest, and the number of prominent colonists who had no direct connection with some phase of these maritime ventures was limited. It is now recognized that, in at least three different ways, the commerce of these early colonial days had an important relationship to the later development of the colony. In the first place, from a purely financial point of view, commerce was largely instrumental in the establishment of many Rhode Island fortunes. In the second place, trade with her neighbors and with foreign countries fostered that spirit of independence in thought and action which was especially characteristic of the colony in the Revolutionary period, and has even descended to the present generation. Finally, it was out of the commercial activities of Rhode Island in colonial times that the manufacturing interests of the modern era were to spring; the foundation of the present day industrial enterprises is to be found in the maritime ventures of the colony.

There is always a tendency, in studying a particular phase of a given subject to over-emphasize its importance. This must be especially guarded against in considering the origin, nature and results of the commerce of Rhode Island with the southern continental colonies. Colonial trade in the eighteenth century was a complicated network of routes; ships doubled, redoubled and turned again on their tracks; they made triangular voyages on the slightest excuses; seldom indeed were two voyages made from and to exactly the same ports. For this reason, the trade of Rhode Island with the South cannot in any strict sense be isolated from the other phases of colonial commerce which are tangled about it; and,

consequently, an understanding of the nature of this commerce as a whole is necessary before the true importance of this relationship can be appreciated. We must have some idea of the whole before we can study subdivisions.

To comprehend the trade in its entirety, it must first be remembered that the American continental colonies were regarded by England as a part—and a rather unimportant part, as a matter of fact—of her Colonial Empire. From an economic point of view, which was the one most widely adopted in the eighteenth century, when Great Britain was dominated by the policy of mercantilism, the continental colonies were generally admitted to be far less valuable to the mother-country than the West Indian sugar-producing colonies. It is only in the light of this policy that the purpose underlying the passage of the Navigation Acts can be appreciated.

Moreover, as a part of this same economic principle, all colonies were thought of as secondary to the mother-country. The needs and the interests of the citizens at home were always the primary considerations of the British government, and it was believed that prosperity in England would naturally be reflected in the subject countries. Consequently, at least in the earlier years of the century, all the English colonies were viewed chiefly as sources of raw-materials; and it was probably not until after the American Revolution that these colonies were generally looked upon as the markets for English goods. England could see the wisdom of encouraging these colonies as sources of supplies; but, while she was fostering the development of British commerce, it was always the domestic merchants and the British-built ships which were especially favored.

The whole system of American commerce in this century, grew up with little direct encouragement from the mother country. It was remarkable, for this reason, then, that trade should become so widespread before the Revolution, and surprising that the volume of intercolonial trade should be so large. It was natural that the home country should maintain intimate relations with all of her colonial possessions

along the coast, but whatever intercourse developed between the colonies themselves was the direct result of their own initiative and individual activity. Some of the settlements along the coast were especially favored by physical conditions in the development of trade, as Charleston, Philadelphia, Newport and Boston; and these places early assumed the leadership in commercial enterprises. The West Indies had become the favorite markets for New England vessels in the latter part of the seventeenth and in the early years of the eighteenth centuries, while Charleston and Philadelphia shared the transatlantic trade with Boston. Triangular, quadrangular, and even more complicated routes became popular; vessels were sent wherever a cargo might be purchased or sold to advantage. As capital accumulated greater and more extensive voyages were made, until, by the latter half of the eighteenth century—the period which will receive the preponderance of attention in this paper—an intricate maze of trade-routes had developed.

From the point of view of Rhode Island, the commerce with the southern continental colonies was less in extent than with the West Indies and even that with European countries, throughout practically the entire century. The route from Newport to Africa to the West Indies—the famous triangular voyage—was always, after about 1730, the most popular and the most lucrative; and in the number of vessels engaged, the voyage to the Southern colonies can scarcely be compared with it. One finds difficulty, however, in compiling statistics in support of this conviction, due in the first place to the lack of accurate records, and secondly, to the fact that one leg of the voyage from Providence or Newport to a southern port was frequently extended to the West Indies—or even farther.

Moreover, Rhode Island vessels were not the only ones to visit the southern colonies. A few colonial vessels were engaged solely in going to and from the West Indies; many more were occupied in carrying rice and tobacco to Europe and the mother country; and still others, owned in Philadelphia, New

York and Boston, carried on an intermittent commerce with these southern ports. Toward the middle of the century competition was particularly keen between Newport and Boston, and, while the vessels from the latter port usually out-numbered those from the former in the principal markets of the South, such as Charleston, Newbern and Norfolk, the merchants and captains of the Rhode Island ships were generally more aggressive. It might be well at this time to point out the double aspect, or two-fold function, of this trade with the south: in the first place, the Rhode Island merchants served as collectors and distributors of local or native products; and secondly, they acted as middlemen in gathering goods to be re-exported, or in distributing goods which had already been imported. When functioning in their first capacity, the Rhode Islanders seem to have had almost a complete monopoly in their field; in their second capacity, the competition of the Boston merchants appears to have been much keener.

The rivalry of individual merchants of the same town, however, was just as effective a means of regulating the prices as the competition between traders of different colonies. No individual, in any phase of commercial activitiy, was, apparently, ever able to corner a market and so dictate prices: the field was too large, commerce was too complex, and the most powerful merchants were usually too far—in distance and in time—from the scene of operations. Finally, there was practically no one who was interested in only one phase of commerce; combinations of voyages and of interests (such as manufacturing and retailing as well as trade) seem to have been the rule rather than the exception in the commercial world of the eighteenth century.

The earliest beginnings of a coastwise trade from Rhode Island are difficult to trace. Certainly, voyages to Virginia and the Carolinas were fairly common by the close of the seventeenth century, for Governor Cranston in his answers to queries of the Board of Trade submitted December 5th, 1708, reported the exportation of a cargo of rum, sugar, mo-

lasses, butter and cheese to the Carolinas in 1703, and another voyage of similar type made the following year to Maryland and Virginia in which the goods carried were exactly the same except for the omission of sugar. Without doubt, this commerce developed as a concomitant to the trade with the West Indies; as vessels began more and more frequently to make trips to Antigua and the other lesser ports on these islands, the advantages of a direct intercourse with the continental colonies became more and more apparent. The six-fold increase of Rhode Island trade in general between the years of 1688-1708 was naturally reflected in this trade.

Moreover, besides the gradual development which was due to the widening of interests of the local merchants through the accumulation of capital, there were other factors which influenced the growth of this trade and caused it to occupy a fairly prominent place in Rhode Island commerce after the first quarter of the eighteenth century. For one thing, the Southern colonies were steadily becoming more and more centralized about a single staple product. In Virginia, tobacco came to be cultivated to the exclusion of all other commodities; in North Carolina, tar and lumber were most emphasized; in South Carolina, rice was most important; and later, toward the end of the century, Georgia was becoming the recognized center of the cotton-growing interests. It was natural that these plantation provinces as they ceased to be even relatively self-supporting, should turn to the northern continental colonies for supplies and provisions. That the Southerners recognized their growing dependence upon Boston and Newport is partially shown by such acts of the colonial legislatures as those of the assembly of South Carolina in 1717 and 1721 in which discriminations were made in favor of local shipping.

The development of this commercial intercourse between the north and south, however, was slow and somewhat spasmodic. Governor Johnson in 1708 reported that South Carolina in addition to a trade with England and the West Indies also had "a commerce with Boston, Rhode

Island, Pennsylvania, New York and Virginia," and a year earlier there is a record that "saddles and bridles were sent from New England [to Virginia] to be exchanged.....for pork, pitch, tar, wheat, Indian corn, or whatever else the country produceth." In 1732 this trade indirectly benefited by the removal of certain restrictions on the exportation of rice from the Carolinas, and it is fairly certain that by 1735, when the famous triangular voyages were becoming popular, the trade with the southern provinces was firmly established. Nevertheless, compared with the commerce with other places, it was still rather insignificant, for, in 1747, the amount of rice exported to Europe was nearly eighteen times the amount carried to the northern colonies, and even the exports to the West Indies were approximately four times as great as those to all the other colonies in America. The ratio between the number of vessels employed, however, was not as high; 86 ships were bound out of Charleston for Europe during the year to 48 for the northern colonies. Moreover, before accepting these figures as a criterion, it should be remembered that there were other conditions involved not taken into account in these statistics; that only a small percentage of the New England trade was centered in Charleston, while, on the other hand, the great bulk of the English trade with the southern continental colonies was with that port; and that this estimate does not include the illegal trade which even by this time was already flourishing.

The period from the middle of the century to the beginning of the Revolutionary War saw the greatest development in this trade, though it was interfered with, in part, by the increase in privateering during the wars with France and Spain which not only withdrew many ships from the coastwise trade, but also made commerce of any sort dangerous. The restraints upon commercial enterprises, however, resulting from the scarcity of capital before this time, were being raised by means of a multitude of successful maritime ventures with their accompanying profits; and the immigration to Newport of some sixty families of wealthy Portuguese

Jews after the great earthquake in Lisbon in 1755 still further lessened the number of voyages which had to be cancelled for financial reasons. Among these arrivals from Lisbon seems to have been the Lopez family, which was destined to become widely known through its activity in the commercial field. Trade between Rhode Island and the southern colonies was reasonably free from the restrictive regulations of the mother country, and as Weeden points out, "rarely did any colony break the course of this magnificent interchange by any foolish acts of legislation." In 1764 there were some 252 vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of Rhode Island from Newfoundland to Georgia, the great preponderance of which was with the South. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as there was a general depression in trade during that year, due to the fact that Parliament then for the first time attempted to raise an appreciable revenue in America. With the more stringent enforcements of the old Molasses Act in 1763, and with the passage of measures providing additional duties in the following year, and of the Stamp Act in 1765, trade began to dwindle. George Champlin wrote his brother Christopher, the Newport merchant, from Baltimore, October 29th, 1765, that "Markitts are Extream low principally Accation'd by the Stamp Acct, as there are a number of Vessels here a driving to load by the time the Acct takes place, selling their Cargoes at any rates which has nock'd down the markitts to nothing." The depression was neither lasting, nor very severe, however, for in 1769 Newport was flourishing; at this time the town was said to be at the height of its prosperity. Providence, during this same period was second in size and in commercial activity to the port at the foot of Narragansett Bay, but her merchants and shopkeepers were laying the foundation in trade and manufacturing so well that it was to be only a few years before she surpassed her rival.

The Revolutionary War had a most pronounced effect upon Rhode Island commerce; it was necessarily almost wholly suspended. The interruptions of trade occasioned by the occupation of Newport harbor by the British fleet, and by the cap-

tures by enemy privateersmen, interfered decidedly with the hitherto comparatively steady supply of products from the southern colonies. One positive effect which the war did have, however, was to bring the foreign commerce of Rhode Island under French influence. Hitherto transatlantic trade had been largely confined to England and the Mediterranean ports, but after the Revolution voyages were made to more distant markets; for it was at this time that commerce with China and the East Indies began to develop. Offices of American merchants were opened in France, due chiefly to the appreciaton of the services rendered by the soldiers of that country during the War, not only in Rhode Island, but in the other colonies as well.

After 1783, the coastwise trade was resumed again much as before the War, and it was not long before it was practically as great in volume as it previously had been. The bulk of the commerce, however, was beginning to shift to New York, and, though trade with the southern colonies was once more sufficient to merit serious attention, it was not proportionately as large when compared to the trade as a whole. In 1786, by which time the coastwise trade was once more normal, there were 272 clearances registered from the port of Providence. Of these, 33 vessels signified their intention of going to some southern market, 32 were bound for Connecticut, and 44 had New York for their destination. Probably these figures included a number of duplicate voyages; two vessels were each listed several times as they made periodic trips to New York, and at least one other ship of 19 tons was making regular visits to Norwich, Connecticut. Moreover, it is not too much of an assumption to include approximately one-third of the vessels which cleared for New Jersey and Connecticut during the year, in the number which ultimately reached the Southern markets, making about forty odd vessels in all. This figure does not compare unfavorably with the fourteen coasters which Moses Brown reported as belonging to the port of Providence in 1764, but it must be remembered that the increase in other commerce was proportionately even greater.

The outstanding feature of the trade with the South after the Revolution, which was already becoming noticeable by the close of the century was the shifting of the commercial center of Rhode Island from Newport to Providence. The population of the latter town was making rapid gains, while Newport lost more than a third of her inhabitants during the War due to the occupation of the harbor by the British. Many of the wealthy Jewish families removed to other places and failed to return after 1783. Not for thirty years, however, was the leadership of Providence to become marked; meantime Newport made a strong, though futile, effort to regain her former position in the commercial world. With the beginning of the new century, the European wars seem to have had some effect in strengthening and widening the commerce of Rhode Island, but it was not until the rise of manufacturing and the development of railroads a little later, that any notable decline in the old coasting exchange took place. In fact, this trade never did actually die out completely; to some extent, at least, the commerce with the south—but for the slight interruption during the Civil War— has survived to the present day.

The general nature of the trade of Rhode Island with the southern provinces changed very little during the entire century; the differences between the voyages themselves, the goods carried, and the markets visited, in 1700 and eighty years later were so slight, comparatively, that the subject may be considered on the whole as static, for the chief fluctuation —in volume of trade—has already received sufficient attention.

Perhaps the most outstanding feature of colonial commerce, and the one which most appeals to the modern reader, concerns the nature of the ships themselves, and this may well be studied first. The kind of vessels employed was primarily determined by the nature, or physical conditions, of the country which they visited. The southern plantation districts are broken by numerous rivers, running almost parallel to each other, up

which it was almost impossible for large vessels to travel far. Moreover, as Joseph Boone and John Bornwell pointed out in their memorial to the Board of Trade, November 23, 1720, explaining the peculiar physiography of the Carolina coast, there also existed a "chain of sand banks with barrs so shifting and shallow that sloops of 5 feet water runs great risqs," and "this renders the place uncapable of a Trade to great Brittain and what is carryed on is by small sloops from New England who brings them cloathing and Iron Wear and exports Pork and Corn." These "small sloops" of between 20 to 80 tons burden were also especially desirable because a small crew reduced the overhead expense of a voyage; small cargoes were purchased, transported, and sold with much less delay than larger ones required; and the amount of the initial capital needed to finance a small vessel and collect a cargo for her was more easily available—so that the risk of a given amount was scattered over a number of enterprises, instead of being limited to a single one, if the larger types of brigs and schooners had been used. This last factor, in particular, influenced the merchants in the early development of the trade, when money were scarce and had to be expended with great care. Usually, in a sloop of about 30 or 40 tons—which seems to have been the most popular size throughout this whole period—there would be, besides the captain, four or five or six sailors, depending somewhat on the nature of the cargo and the rigging of the vessels. The average pay in colonial currency about the middle of the century was £50 per month for a trained sailor, and £55 a month for the captain. £3 sterling for the captain, £2 sterling for the first mate, were wages frequently named in agreements.

The voyage from Providence or Newport, required on the average, from three to four weeks. Occasionally it was made in less time; more often, with shifting winds and rough weather, the time consumed was greater than this. Capt. James Brown in a letter to his brother Nicholas, dated February, 1749, wrote that he had "undergon many hardships and Difi-

culties Which I shall give you a few of the Perticulers But to Whrite the Whole It Would take a quire of Paper. I had a Passage of 31 days. . . . There is Vessels hear that have had 30-35 and 40-45 Days Passage and Vessels are Lucked for that have Been out of Boston and York six and seven Weeks." Again, in 1784, John Burgwin, a merchant of Wilmington, North Carolina, reported to Christopher Champlin of Newport, "the long and disagreeable passage I had from your place of 30 days put it out of my power to give you that early intelligence you wished to receive respecting the Cargo you depended on my house preparing for your Brigantine." Usually it required about three months to dispose of the goods brought from Rhode Island and to collect a cargo for the return voyage. If the captains were extraordinarily keen bargainers, however, two voyages might be made during a year, but the great majority of traders made only one, and that in the fall, since just after harvest time the staple products were most plentiful and generally cheapest. In 1786, for instance, November was the month during which the largest number of ships cleared for southern ports.

Though a large proportion of the Rhode Island vessels which visited the southern colonies carried on a direct barter with the plantation owners, there were, nevertheless, in each province some town which was the chief center of commercial activity for the surrounding districts. Baltimore in Maryland, Norfolk in Virginia, Wilmington and Newbern in North Carolina, Charleston in South Carolina, and Savannah in Georgia, were the principal ports south of Philadelphia. There were very few good roads, however, connecting these trade-centers with the upcountry regions, especially in the first half of the century; consequently, it was found to be more profitable for the merchant-carriers to deal directly with the ultimate consumers, or "primary producers." It was usually easier for the small sloops to sail up the rivers of the plantation country, than for the owners of the

(*Concluded on Page 124*)

OLD SHOP SIGN

Formerly suspended over Waterman's Shoe-Shop on Cheapside (now North Main Street)

The Rhode Island Historical Society will hold a loan exhibition of old signs in December. Members are requested to assist the Committee in obtaining signs for this exhibition.

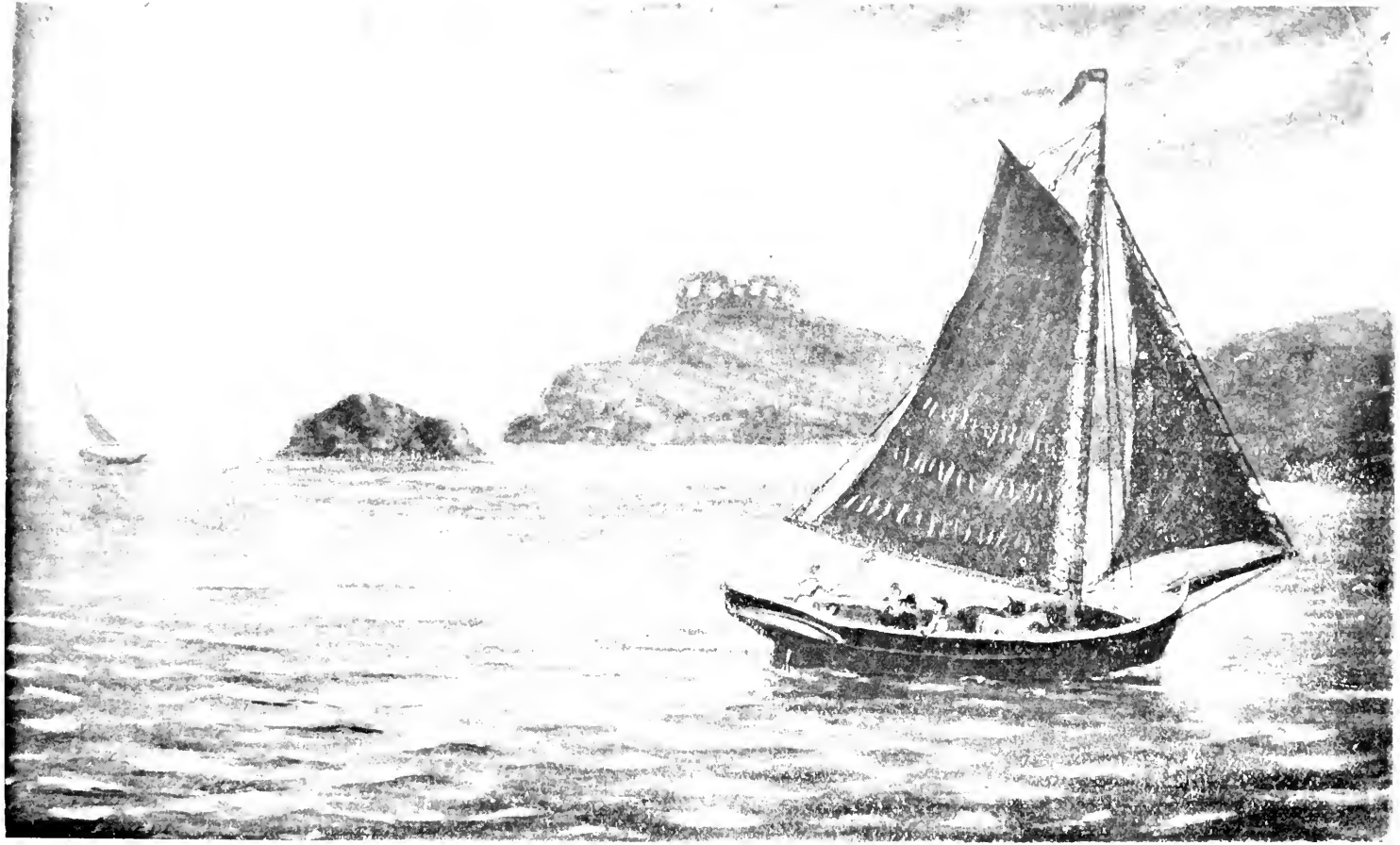


Fig. 2. Ferryboat which belonged to Samuel Carr of Newport and was sailed by Capt. Timothy Peckham. From a painting in possession of Capt. Peckham's niece, Mrs. Job S. Ellis.

The Jamestown and Newport Ferries

By CHARLES V. AND ANNA AUGUSTA CHAPIN.

The opposite sides of most Rhode Island ferries were owned by different persons and were considered different ferries. Thus at Newport, the ferry which ran from the present ferry wharf in Newport to Jamestown was long owned by the Carr family. The ferry which ran in the opposite direction, from Jamestown to Carr's wharf in Newport, had a succession of owners and was considered another ferry. The title of this paper, following the colonial usage of the word ferry, refers only to the ferries from Jamestown to Newport and not to those in the opposite direction, of which there were several.

Ferries were usually called after the names of the owners, and, as there was much early legislation, fixing rates of ferriage and otherwise regulating traffic, much information can be derived from this source as to ownership, location and other matters. Unfortunately, most of the acts relating to the ferries under consideration were not so specific, but simply mentioned the Ferries from Jamestown to Newport. This is one reason why the history of these ferries is not so complete as could be wished.

It is uncertain when ferries were first operated between the islands of Conanicut and Rhode Island. At the earliest period the towns seemed to have licensed ferries. At least Portsmouth did so as early as 1640. Unfortunately the Newport records have been lost, and the earliest Jamestown records are not very full so that ferries are not mentioned until the eighteenth century. By the close of the seventeenth century the General Assembly had assumed control of ferries and thereafter information is to be sought in its records.

The first license for a ferry from Jamestown to Newport, of which there is record, was granted by the General Assembly in 1700, but it is very probable that ferries had been operated between Jamestown and Rhode Island and between Jamestown and the mainland for many years. In 1675, when Capt.

Church was summoned from Rehoboth to Wickford, just before the Great Swamp Fight, he states that he went the nearest way over the ferries and, the wind being fair, he arrived safe in the evening.[1] This would seem to mean that he went over Bristol ferry and the Newport—Jamestown—Narragansett ferries, for if he had gone over the Providence ferries the wind would have made no difference. There is a tradition that Gov. Carr owned a ferry from Newport to Jamestown at about this time. The ferry between Narragansett and Jamestown was set up by the Smiths in 1695. In September, 1699, Joseph Mowry of Jamestown carried over Judge Sewall to Newport and entertained him at his house, after the manner of ferrymen.[2] The licenses which were granted in 1700 for ferries from Jamestown to Newport and from Jamestown to Narragansett, refer to them as "the" ferries, as if they were already in operation, and not licensed for the first time.

The oldest ferry to Newport was for many years in the possession of Samuel Clarke and may be conveniently designated in this connection as

CLARKE'S FERRY.

The first license which was granted for this ferry was on 4 May 1700 to Thomas Winterton of Jamestown. The ferry was settled on Winterton for a period of seven years.[3] Winterton had a license to keep a house of entertainment in 1696, but the records, which appear to be far from complete have no reference to such a license this year.[4] Winterton did not long continue to be the proprietor of the ferry, for we find that in April 1703 Jonathan Marsh had the franchise.[5] Marsh died in 1704 and his will gave to his son William his ferry

[1]The History of King Philip's War, Church (Dexter) Boston, 1865, 49, 143, 156.

[2]Mass. His. Coll. 5th ser. V. Sewall Papers I, 502.

[3]R. I. Col. Rec. III, 415.

[4]Jamestown, Proprietors Rec. I, 15.

[5]R. I. Col. Rec. III, 192.

boats on the east side of Jamestown and to his son Jonathan his ferry boat on the west side of the Island. (1. copy 79).[1] There is no evidence that Marsh ever operated a ferry on the west side of Conanicut though he might readily have done so, or he might have had his boat there temporarily for some other purpose.

No record has been found to show whether the sons of Jonathan Marsh operated the ferry, as there is no record of a license granted until August 1709, when Robert Barker had the franchise.[2] Robert Barker had married, 7 October 1705, Phebe, the widow of Jonathan Marsh who was previously the widow of Oliver Arnold and the daughter of Thomas and Mary Cook of Portsmouth.[3] It is not improbable that Phebe Marsh operated the ferry until her marriage with Robert Barker.

The next official reference to this ferry that has been found, was in an action of the General Assembly on the last Tuesday in February 1728.[4] It was then voted that Mr. Samuel Clarke, of Conanicut, provide and keep one other good ferry boat and ferry man more than he now hath, to ply and tend the ferry from Jamestown to Newport to answer the Point boat during his lease; and to be ready in four months time.

And that the said ferry man and boat be under the same regulation as the other ferrymen and boats are; and if said boat comes in to the old ferry place of the town she shall be obliged to call at the Point to take in passengers if the Point boat is out of the way.

Evidently Samuel Clarke had operated the ferry for some years. It is possible that Joseph Mowry may have had the ferry for a while. William Brenton was the owner of all that large tract in Jamestown lying south of the present Narragansett Avenue and east of Mackerel Cove and the road to

[1]Figures in brackets refer to volume and page of Jamestown Land Evidence.

[2]R. I. Col. Rec. IV, 144.

[3]Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island, Austin, Albany, 1897, 130

[4]R. I. Col. Rec. IV, 400.

Beaver Tail. Joseph Mowry was a tenant of this property and later purchased it. In his inventory, which was filed 31 May 1716 was mentioned "one boat £50, the boat which was Phebe Barker's and ye old boat, all £76. (1. Copy 150). His granddaughter Mary, the daughter of Daniel Coggeshall, was the wife of Samuel Clarke and to her he left the north part of his Rock Hall farm bounded north and west on the highway, and east on the sea or harbor, together with buildings and wharf. Perhaps it was the possession of the property which induced Samuel Clarke to go into the ferry business, in which he remained until 1751. It is in the highest degree probable that the first ferry was located on the southerly side of the eastern terminus of the present Narragansett Avenue, for from very early times this highway was called the road from ferry to ferry, and it was located here when on 6 April 1751 Samuel Clarke and his wife Mary deeded it to their son Joseph for love and affection and £500 current money and he on the same day, for £3000 old tenor, deeded it to John Remington ferryman. (3.91, 92)

The action of the General Assembly in 1728, referred to above, would indicate that previous to that time, Clarke ran his ferry boat presumably from Narragansett Avenue to Carr's wharf in Newport and that the General Assembly required him to run another boat to the Point. Nothing was said about his having another landing place in Jamestown, but it is probable that he was later required to do this, for in May 1736, he presented a petition about it to the General Assembly then sitting in Newport.[1] In this petition he alleges that he finds the charge of keeping two houses and families too great and he asks that he be required to keep only one house and family. It was ordered that he need not keep more than one house and family for the use of the ferry "And that he keep two boats and attend as heretofore as has been customary. One of said boats to come to the Point and attend there and the other to the other part of the town." In another petition to the Gen-

[1]R. I. Acts and Resolves May 1736 Ms. 37 (R. I. H. S.).

eral Assembly in October 1745 Clarke refers to the fact that, when requested, he built another boat and house at a cost of over £300.[1] Where the second ferry house was located has not been determined. On 13 March 1729 Clarke purchased 85 acres on the southerly side of Taylor's Point but this would seem to be too near the old ferry for a second landing place. (1.513)

When the Clarkes sold the ferry to John Remington in 1751, as stated above, the deeds described the lot with pier and wharf as being 1½ feet east of Clarke's screw house and this reference to the screw house appears in all the transfers of the property up to the time of its sale to Wm. H. Knowles in 1871. For a long time we had no idea what this "screw house" was. The manufacture of spermaceti was a flourishing industry of the Point in Newport during the period in which Samuel Clarke ran his ferry boat to that place. An important part of a spermaceti manufactory is a powerful screw press, but that this was commonly called "a screw" we did not know until we came across an advertisement of the sale of one in the Newport Mercury for November 12, 1784. It seems probable therefore that Clarke's screw house was a place for the manufacture of spermaceti. The wharf and pier above referred to, occupied substantially the site of Caswell's wharf which may now be seen on the southerly side of the eastern terminus of Narragansett Avenue. Caswell's pier is shown in Fig. 3. Samuel Clarke's deed to his son included "a certain lot of land and one mesuage thereon standing" the lot containing one acre and 47 rods. In a later deed this is called "a certain mesuage or dwelling house" and was situated a little west of the screw house and at the southwest corner of what is now Narragansett Avenue and Canonicus Avenue. The deed also included the "ferry boat called the wall boat with mast, bowsprit, boom, sails and rigging."

After the death of John Remington the ferry property came into the hands of his sons, Stephen and Gershom, and 10 of

[1]Petitions to General Assembly, Ms.

March 1775 was sold by them to Samuel Slocum for $1600 silver (3.479). Samuel Slocum was the son of Ebenezer Slocum who, in the early part of the century, had been the proprietor of the Conanicut side of the North ferry to North Kingstown. On 19 of March 1785 Samuel Slocum, ferryman, sold the estate, with dwelling, wharf and boat, to Benjamin Reynolds for $1900 silver (3.503). On 13 of March 1792 Benjamin and Sarah Reynolds sold the same property to Jonathan Hopkins for $1900 silver (3.622). On 19 May 1794 Jonathan Hopkins sold it to Christy Potter for $1800 (3.646) and the next year Potter sold it to Jonathan J. Hazard (3.650). On 28 of May 1802 Hazard sold it to Freeman Mayberry of Newport for $1600 (4.267). It then passed through the hands of Thomas Dennis and Gold S. Silliman who disposed of it, 28 July 1806 to Thomas R. Congdon for $1000, but no boat is mentioned in the deed (4.226, 349, 352, 355). Congdon had, in 1804 purchased from Joseph Allen the Ellery ferry to the Point in Newport and he had also come into possession of the site of the Hull ferry. On 9 March 1833 the ferry property was purchased by Caleb F. Weaver for $7000 (5.248). This sale included the Clarke ferry property, the Ellery ferry and the Hull ferry site.

The Ellery Ferry.

David Greene, during the early part of the eighteenth century, was the owner of land on the east side of Jamestown, comprising a part of what is now known as the Greene Farm. He was anxious to become a ferry owner and several times petitioned the General Assembly for a license, but was refused, probably through the influence of Samuel Clarke, proprietor of the existing ferry, who frequently represented Jamestown in the General Assembly and was for a time speaker of the House.[1]

On 10 March 1745-6, when Clarke was no longer in the General Assembly, Greene again petitioned the Assembly, saying that he had a good house on the east side of Jamestown

[1]Samuel Clarke's Petition to General Assembly, October 1745, Ms.

for the accommodation of travelers and a good wharf for landing passengers and for laying a boat, that it was conveniently situated and that if he should be granted a license he would provide a sufficient boat and keep the ferry equal to any in the Colony. It was thereupon voted that he be permitted to set up a ferry from Jamestown to Newport and to begin at the expiration of Mr. Samuel Clarke's present lease of said other ferry.[1]

On 6 of July 1752 David and Sarah Greene sold their ferry to William Martin (3.110) who just previously, had been in possession of one of the ferries on the west side of the island running to South Kingstown. The purchase price was £1000 bills of credit. The property consisted of a four acre lot at the northwest corner of the road leading from ferry to ferry and the four rod road leading to the watering place. This is the site now occupied by the Bay View House, and at that time contained the ferry house, a blacksmith shop and hen house. The sale included a beach lot situated on the opposite side of the four rod road along which it extended 42 feet. There was also a ferry boat with mast, bowsprit, boom, sail and rigging. Greene drove a shrewd bargain, for he required Martin to give a bond that he would always transport ferriage free, David Greene, his wife and family and what they may have occasion to transport over the ferry and also all his children and the respective husbands and wives of all his children, that they now have, or may hereafter marry, and the riding horses of his said children (3.348).

On 16 April 1770 William Martin and his wife Eunice conveyed this property to Benjamin Ellery of Newport, merchant. Ellery had, for a long time, owned the ferry in Newport which ran to this landing and by this purchase became proprietor of both terminals (3.377).

While the British fleet was in Newport in the summer of 1775, the passage of the ferry boats was a good deal interfered with, though they continued to run, with more, or less,

[1]R. I. Col. Rec. V, 159.

regularity, but on 10 December a party of British landed on Conanicut and burnt fifteen houses, including two belonging to Benjamin Ellery and two belonging to the widow Franklin who kept the ferry on the west side. They also seriously wounded John Martin, 80 years old, who was standing in his door way unarmed.[1] He was the father of the William Martin referred to above. It is probable that after this date none of these ferries were operated during the war except the Ellery ferry which seems to have been re-established for a short time in 1776. When Benjamin Ellery died, 12 of December 1797, the ferry passed to his son Abraham Redwood Ellery and his daughter Martha Redwood Champlain, wife of Christopher Grant Champlain. On 7 November 1798 Abraham Redwood Ellery transferred his share in the property to his sister Martha (4.58). On 2 September 1799 the Champlains sold to Joseph Allen of Newport the "Ellery Conanicut" ferry as previously described (4.65).

On 16 of April 1804 Joseph and Mary Allen of Jamestown sold this ferry property for $4600 to Thomas R. Congdon of North Kingstown (4.304).

A portion of the wharf was sold by Congdon 18 June 1829 to the Narragansett Bay Company (5.222), the company which was preparing to operate a horse boat. At this period there were a number of places where ferry boats were operated by horse power. There was such a boat at Bristol Ferry and at Slades Ferry. The horse boat between Newport and Jamestown was not operated much over a year. Mr. Henry B. Tucker of Jamestown, recalls that his mother made several trips on this boat, but that his father predicted its failure and stood by the sloops. The wharf where the horse boat landed was about where the bath houses begin on the northerly side of Narragansett Avenue. On the failure of the horse boat the wharf was reconveyed to Congdon and with his other ferry property sold to Caleb F. Weaver 9 March 1833 (5.248).

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[1]The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, New York 1901, I, 642.

Fig. 1. Capt. Job S. Ellis

Fig. 4. The Ellery Terry House

Old Pier & Ferry Boat
Jamestown

New Pier & Ferry Boat. Jamestown.

Fig. 3. From a map of Conanicut, published by Daniel Watson, 1875. The upper part shows the old pier which, in the lower portion, is concealed by the new pier.

Weaver left it to his wife Phebe R.[1] She married James Hamilton Clarke and 26 March 1860 they sold the property to Philip Caswell Jr. (6.164) and Philip and Elizabeth Caswell sold it to William H. Knowles 25 March 1871 (6.346). Knowles raised the price of ferriage to such an exorbitant figure that the agitation for a steam ferry was renewed and the present company was organized and the steamer Jamestown made her first trip 12 May 1873.

Hull's Ferry.

In 1756 Captain John Hull of Jamestown, in a petition to the General Assembly, stated that there was a ferry from Long Wharf in Newport for which there was no mate boat and he prayed for the liberty of setting up a ferry from his wharf in Jamestown to Newport. The petition was granted.[2] This ferry was located just south of the watering place. Before the island was cleared and drained there were springs and perhaps a rivulet just north of the end of the present board walk. This was reserved as a watering place by the proprietors, and a four rod road was laid out northward, along the shore, from the road leading across the island from ferry to ferry.

John Hull and his wife Damaris sold this property to William Hazard 13 December 1760 for £1500 (3.206) and 29 January 1761 William Hazard sold the property to Oliver Hazard for £10000 lawful money (3.210). On 18 of November 1773 Oliver Hazard sold to William Tuck of Newport the land, dwelling, wharf and ferry boat (3.415). Undoubtedly this ferry was suspended during the revolution and we have found no evidence that it was ever re-established. The property had passed through several hands and was finally purchased by Thomas R. Congdon who was the owner of both the Clarke and Ellery ferries and perhaps feared that the Hull property was too good a location for a competitor.

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[1] Jamestown Probate, 3.399.

[2] R. I. Col. Rec. V, 543.

Often the owners of the old ferries sailed the boats themselves and often they hired others to help them, or perhaps to do all the navigating. Captain Job S. Ellis, now living in Jamestown, for many years sailed a boat for Philip Caswell and later for William H. Knowles, as long as his ferry was in operation. His likeness is shown in Fig. 1.

Ever since the first Rhode Island ferry at Portsmouth in 1640 until the introduction of steam, ferry boats plying on the bay have been of the same general type and have probably not varied much in size, for the earliest boats were intended to transport horses and cattle as well as persons. The ferry boats running between Jamestown and Newport during the nineteenth century were about 35 ft. long, 14 ft. wide and drew from 4½ to 5 feet of water. They were very heavy and planked with two-inch oak. There was a place for passengers in the stern, the animals were in the middle of the boat and a vehicle could be carried on the little deck forward. They were rigged with a main sail and jib. One of these boats, belonging to the Carr Ferry, is shown in Fig. 2.

An important part of the ferry establishment was the ferry house, where travelers could be entertained over night and where a waiting room was provided and very often a bar. It is suspected that much of the profit of the ferry business came from the latter and that the opportunity to obtain this was the principal reason why there was so much rivalry in seeking ferry franchises. The ferry houses belonging to the Clarke and Hull ferries have long since disappeared, but the Ellery ferry house is still standing. It shows evidence of having been built at a period not long after the Revolution and is very probably the house built to replace the one destroyed by the British at that time. Fig. 3 shows the old ferry wharf and also the ferry house on the corner where now stands the Bay View Hotel. Fig. 4 shows the house where it now stands some two or three hundred feet to the northwest. The lower right hand room was the waiting room.

Notes

Miss Louise B. Bowen presented to the Society a collection of Eighteenth Century account books and manuscripts including an interesting account book of the "Codfishery Company of 1784."

Mr. Hermon Carey Bumpus has been elected to membership in the Society.

F. J. Allen, M. D., read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, a paper entitled "The Ruined Mill, or Round Church of the Norsemen at Newport, Rhode Island, U. S. A., compared with the Round Church at Cambridge and others in Europe," which has been issued in pamphlet form.

The July Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society contains the annual reports of the Society and historical notes.

On page 11 of the Imprint List under 1737 is the entry, "Fox, George Instructions for right spelling N. Y. P. L."

The original volume contains neither place nor date of imprint, although it has been ascribed to Newport on account of the type ornaments and a pencil note "(Newport?) 1737" has been added. A close comparison of the type ornaments used with those used on other books printed by Franklin indicate that this book was probably not printed at Newport for eight pointed stars of the size used on the Fox book do not appear to have been used by Franklin on any books known to have been printed by him.

"A Friendly Address" printed in Providence by Bennett Wheeler in 1794 as a broadside has recently been obtained by Col. George L. Shepley. It differs from the copy in the Library of the Rhode Island Historical Society which is mentioned on page 62 of the Imprint List.

The original manuscript journal of John Lees of Quebec, Merchant, is preserved in the British Museum (Add. Mss. No. 28, 605), and was published in 1911 by the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Michigan. That part which relates to Rhode Island is reprinted from this publication.

Rhode Island in 1768

By John Lees.

Set out from Boston 10th June in a Stage Coach, that goes to Providence, distance 42 mils. The land along this road, is but very poor, being a light Sandy Soil, not much Grain is raised here about, the Country being chiefly covered with Orchards; a few miles from Providence there is a Considerable Iron work belonging to

At this work a good many Potts, Pans, Anchors, and such work is manufactured, which they send to New York for sale, The Cheif Trade from Providence is in Lumber, and stock for the West Indies, their principall return is Molasses, great part of which is made into Rum, and sent to New York; from which place they have the Cheif of their Dry goods, as they have only one Vessell yearly from London, in that Trade a good deal of Connecticut Tobacco is also sent from this place to New York, from which it is afterwards exported to Newfoundland etc. The names of the principall Merchants in the place were Ward, Levy, Arnot etc.

There is water in coming up this River for pretty large Vessells. Close by the Town is a Bridge over the River, built of Wood with stone Pillars, it Draws up in one part to lett Vessells pass, as there is a good deal of shipping built above it. The River is called Providence River. There is divers Sects of Riligion here, The People are not reckoned so strict as in Boston Gouvernment. There is a Chapel for the Church of England People; Presbeterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, and Methodists are all to be found here. At Seven o Clock in the morning of the 11th June, set out in a passage Sloop down the River to Newport, the Country extreamly pleasant as you go down, but very little Corn land and the Soil seems light and sandy, the Cheif Grain they raise is Rye, and Indian Corn. It is reckoned 30 miles to Newport, many Shoals are in this River, particularly about 3 Leagues from the Town, two sand Banks run across from each side, and leave a passage only of half a mile, which makes the pilotage very dangerous to Strangers. This River is generally frose up for 6

Weeks in the Winter, vast Bodies of Ice flotting on the shoals along the Coast. About 5 leagues below Providence lye three Islands, called Prudence, Patience and Hope, they seem extreamly beautifull, the first is the largest being about 8 miles long, on the North side is the Town of Bristol, being about 4½ leagues from Providence, almost opposite to it, is Warwick Town, and Greenick. Within about 2 leagues of Newport is a fine large Island called Norragancet, has a most beautifull appearance, and raises a vast deal of Stock, and Indian Corn, is about 8 miles long. About 4 o Clock arrived at Newport, on the Starboard hand in coming in, is a small Fort and Battery of 30, 18 and 24 pounders, it looks extreamly well but is said to be of no strength; a number of Shipping belongs to this Port, and is cheifly employed in the West India Trade, a vast quantity of Molasses is here distilled into Rum, and sent in large quantities to the Coast of Africa, and all over the Continent of America, Canada, and Newfoundland. They have severall Vessells in the Guinea Trade, most of their Dry-Goods they have from New York; a few Vessells are built at this place, a great many Horses, Sheep, & oyr Stock is shipped from this Island, to the W. Indies; but their Lumber for that Trade is generally sent them from Providence. The Island is about 12 miles long, & 2 Broad. There is many hatters in this place, as they Carry on a good deal of Counterband Trade in that branch to the West Indies. They are supplied with their Beaver cheifly from N. York. There is a vast number of Jews in this place, the Country people through the Island are in general Quakers. Their last Gouvernor was a Quaker, one Hopkins, their present one is an Anabaptist—

Their whole Civill officers are elective, and commonly, (Parties running so high), they are totaly changed with their Gouvernor; his Salary is very triffling; but being naval Officer ex officio, that employment is of some value to him; of about 1000 Dr.s a year, the Judge of Admirality and Custom house Officers are those only named from home. The people here are very jealous about their Charter Privileges,

and complain greatly of the decline of Trade, and say it is owing to the large Value of Cash, that is sent out of the Province for duties on Molasses, however I believe much Contraband Trade is carried on here, indeed the Kings officers dust not venture to do their duty with Strictness; they send a great deal of their returns from the West Indies to N. York for Sale, and in payment of English Manufactures sent them from that place. Their most considerable Merchants, are Mr. Joseph Wanton, Mr. Lopes, a Jew, Mr. Thurston, Messrs. Pollock and Hayes, The Beaver stood their Hatters lately from 6/6 to 7/—York Currency. One Mr. William M. Campbell an Attorney at Greenwich appeared to be the most able Speaker in the house of Assembly. One Samuel Bowers was their Speaker.

Sett off from Newport for New York in a passage Sloop, on the 15th of June, in Company with Mr. Bridges and Captain Thomson of New York, and one Mr. Monroe from Scotland; by Contrary winds and Calms, were 3 days in getting down the Sound to N. York, it was extream pleasant sailing along this Cost, and long-Island on the left, appeared like an intire Garden near it is Fisher's Island.

Commerce of Rhode Island

(*Concluded from Page 110*)

products to be exported to transfer them by ferry several times until they finally reached Charleston or Norfolk, as the case might be. The emphasis which the managers of the large plantations placed upon their staple product during practically this whole period preventing, as it did, these colonies from being agriculturally self-supporting, had a profound influence upon the nature of the goods which were exported from Rhode Island.

We find that the commodities which were carried from Providence and Newport to the southern markets were many and varied. Within a period of about eighten months, for instance, the Sloop "Polly", John Martin, master, made three

trips to Virginia. On the first voyage, the "Polly" cleared out of the port of Providence, October 8th, 1785; on the second, February 3rd, 1786; and on the third, October 23rd of the same year. Out of thirty different commodities which were carried by this vessel (which was only of average size, 30 tons), only seven,—molasses, rum, butter, cider, leather shoes, chocolate and cheese—were common to each of the three cargoes. Nine other varieties of merchandise and produce were taken on two of the three voyages, as follows: candles, lime, sugar, "calves" skins, hay, potatoes, onions, cranberries and coffee. Boards, shingles, fish, beef, oil, apples, tea, axes, desks, riding carriages, cotton cards, "boots and legs", sole leather, and a hogshead and barrel of general merchandise complete the items listed in the exportations of this one vessel. The bulk of the cargo in each case was made up of rum, molasses, shoes and cheese. In addition to these articles, which, however, seem to have been characteristic of the ordinary voyage to the South, one might name flour, oats, pork, salt, cotton cloth, iron-ware, saddles, chairs, hoes, bricks, hoops and staves, medical supplies and drugs, brandy, lemons and cedar pails as products which were occasionally carried to these provinces.* The nature of the commodities sent out from Rhode Island depended upon the local merchant's surplus; or upon what the merchant believed might be most needed, and hence most readily sold, in the particular region which he was accustomed to visit.

In general, the exports of the colony were of two kinds: those which had been previously imported from England or from the West Indies; and those which were drawn from the neighboring country about Providence or Newport. The greater part of the goods carried to the southern continental colonies seems to have belonged to the former class, and the extent to which the distilling of West-Indian molasses into rum was carried on in Newport during the century shows the importance of this re-exporting business. But the purely

*Outward Entries and Manifests in State Archives.

domestic goods—chiefly agricultural products—are perhaps more interesting. It is said of Capt. James Brown of Providence that he "drew on Massachusetts and Connecticut as well as Rhode Island for his cargoes of provisions and lumber." Candles and hemp came from the immediate neighborhood; butter and cheese were purchased from the farms of the interior of the colony; cattle and horses were frequently driven down from Worcester and Uxbridge in Massachusetts, and from Plainfield and Killingly in Connecticut; "boards, shingles, staves and hoops were collected from Taunton and Greenwich;" oil, fish and soap were brought in by sloops from Nantucket; lumber and shingles came from the shores of the Kennebec in Maine; and dry goods and ship supplies were often purchased in New York. Practically the whole of the surrounding country were called upon to supply some kind of goods or provisions to be sent to the southern colonies.

Similarly, many of the products which were imported from the southern colonies in exchange were further distributed after reaching Rhode Island. The traders, who were frequently shop-keepers and manufacturers as well, were usually careful to load their vessels for the return voyage with such products only as were most salable at home. The bulk of these cargoes naturally consisted of the staple products of the colony or colonies which they visited. In a few cases the raw materials were sent to Rhode Island, there manufactured into the finished products, which were then brought back to the southern market again. A notable example of this was the wheat which was rather frequently sent to Rhode Island from the Carolinas, only to be later returned in the form of flour. Besides wheat, other southern agricultural products which sometimes found their way to Rhode Island shops, were corn, potatoes, peas, beans, and bacon; while references to shipments of feathers, live hogs, and other varieties of stock, deer skins and ox-hides are occasionally found. The chief imports, throughout the century, however, seem to have been rice and indigo from South Carolina; tar, turpentine and

lumber from North Carolina; and flour and tobacco from Virginia and Maryland.

In addition to the numerous merchant-traders who had little capital beyond what was invested in a single vessel and its cargo—the true "peddlers" in coastwise commerce—there were a number of outstanding families who owned several vessels and carried on a regular trade. The most prominent seem to have been the Champlin and Lopez families in Newport and the Brown family of Providence. The members of these three families alone apparently controlled a major portion of the capital invested in the coastwise commerce just before the Revolution; there are records of three different sloops—the "Dolphin", the "Richmond" and the "Industry"—all belonging to the Lopez family, setting out for North Carolina within a period of some ten days, which shows how extensive were the interests of this one group in the coastwise commerce. William Minturn, James Robinson, Philip Wilkinson, Henry Collins, Sueton Grant, John Channing and the Hopkins and Malbone brothers are some of the other names associated with the commercial activities of Newport; Stephen Dexter, Ebenezer Knight, Esek Hopkins, and the two Russells were among the best known shop-keepers of Providence. It was customary for these "entrepreneurs" in the coastwise commerce to allow the greatest freedom to their captains in the matter of selling their cargoes, and in collecting and purchasing goods for the return voyages, although many of them maintained correspondents in the chief ports of the South to look further after their affairs. For example, John Scott in Charleston occupied a similar position to that which Christopher Champlin held in Newport, and each frequently acted as the agent for the other in his respective town. Josiah Hewes in Philadelphia, Josiah Watson in Alexandria, and the firm of Burgwin, Jenkes and London in Wilmington occupied similar positions.

It was not unusual for several vessels to arrive in a single port, or district, at one time. In 1768 George Champlin re-

ported to his brother Christopher that on the same day on which he reached Charleston, a ship and a sloop from Boston and only eight days before the sloop "Scammehorne" from New York had entered the same port. Competition between these various traders was frequently keen; those who were the first to arrive naturally sought to secure for themselves the cheapest and most accessible goods, leaving the higher priced grades for the late-comers. George Champlin, whose voyages to Baltimore were quite regular during this period wrote his brother on November 30th, 1767, that he had "been 50 Miles in the back Woods Endeavouring to buy Cheaper, but all to no purpose." Most of the complaints as to the market, however, cannot be uniformly accepted at their face value; it is astonishing that any successful voyages could have been made when the number of complaints of poor markets and bad weather in the letters of these captains is considered. The situation was further complicated by the method of buying and selling in small quantities, by the general lack of means of communication, and by the instability of the markets and their decentralization. Admittedly wasteful and inefficient, the only possible excuse for existence of this system was that apparently there was no better method of trading which could be substituted. For example, Governor Burrington of North Carolina, as early as 1730 saw the disadvantages of the system of barter, and he advocated the establishment of a new town and custom house to be located on Ocacock Island, which was said to have an excellent harbor, but nothing ever came of the plan. This peculiar kind of trading, as it developed in the plantation provinces, was probably as well adapted to the nature of the country as any other which might have been devised, and it had some compensations—prices were usually kept at a minimum.

The questions of governmental protection, of insurance on vessels and their cargoes, of the influence of colonial finance, of the development of manufacturing in its relation to commerce, and of the early attempts to establish a

monoply by the candle manufacturers, all fascinating topics, unfortunately must be omitted in this discussion of the coastwise trade.

Other matters having a more or less vital influence upon the coastwise trade can only be superficially pointed out at this time. The rapid development of privateering toward the middle of the century had a tendency to retard all commerce for a few years; on the other hand, the popularity of smuggling acted as a stimulus to the coasting exchange. The use of tobacco, as well as rum for money on the Guinea coast brought the trade with the southern colonies into a close relationship with the triangular voyages.

In the contemporary accounts by travellers and others of the nature and extent of Rhode Island commerce in the eighteenth century, the importance of the coastwise trade seems to have been more frequently under-estimated than exaggerated. Only the Duke of La Rochefoucauld Liancourt in 1800 mentions the fact that "the coasting-trade is that which the people of this town [Newport] chiefly prefer," and "the ships from Providence carry it [barley] chiefly into the southern states, from which they bring, in return, other cargoes.

A modern consideration of the question would seem to demonstrate that this coastwise trade was of somewhat greater importance than the judgment of contemporary writers would indicate. In general, its effect seems to have been out of proportion to its volume. The partial dependence of the South upon the northern colonies made the final breaking off of relations with England during the Revolution less pronounced; and through this intercourse between the two sections, sympathetic ties were to develop which were later to bind the colonies in one unit, and to solidify them finally into a single, unified nation.

In 1918 a report on the burial place of Roger Williams was published by the Society. Since then a manuscript in the handwriting of Samuel Austin has come to light which further substantiates the findings in the report. It is as follows:

"ROGER WILLIAMS

E. M. Stone says that Rd Brown who lived in a gambrel-roofed house opposite gate to Butler Hospital & attained the age of 100 ys, related to John Howland, who was accustomed to call there, that he was 10 ys old when R. Williams died, that his parents attended the funeral which he well remembered, that he was buried in his home lot which included S. Dorrs present orchard, that he, Brown, was in the habit of passing it by a path which led over or around the hill. It seems R. W. & wife & a descendant, Ashton, were all there buried. S. Dorr has the stone from the grave of the latter broken but preserved & the former had only a rough unlettered stone R. Williams house was in Humphrey Almys yard on Howlands Alley and R. Ws spring was under the corner of the large brick house opposite built by A. Dodge and the water is thence led into a reservoir whence it is now pumped in the lane extending from Benefit to Canal St. The R. Williams home lot embracing (as perhaps was usual) six acres extended from the water eastward probably including this lot."

NOTE—Rd Brown is Richard Brown, son of Henry Brown and Waite, daughter of Richard Waterman. He was born in Newport in 1676 and died in Providence in 1774.

Form of Legacy

"I give and bequeath to the Rhode Island Historical Society the sum of ..... dollars."