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RHODE ISLAND

HISTORICAL TRACTS.

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PROVIDENCE
SIDNEY S. RIDER.
1880.







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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS

OF

THREE RHODE ISLAND AUTHORS

JOSEPH K. ANGELL
FRANCES H. (WHIPPLE) McDOUGALL
CATHARINE R. WILLIAMS

BY

SIDNEY S. RIDER.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

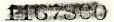
THE NINE LAWYERS' OPINION ON THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF RHODE ISLAND TO FORM A CONSTITUTION.

PROVIDENCE SIDNEY S. RIDER. 1880.

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PREFATORY. NOTE.



The three memoirs which form the present Tract are intended mainly to exhibit the literary labors of the people about whom they are written. That of Mr. Angell was prepared for the reprint of volume one of the Rhode Island Supreme Court Reports, and appears in that volume. Those of Mrs. McDougall and Mrs. Williams were first printed in the columns of the Providence Journal. For the present use they have been revised and corrected by the addition of such matters as were brought to the author's notice in consequence of their previous publication. For all the personal details found in the article upon Mrs. Williams, the author is indebted to a manuscript autobiography prepared for him by that lady herself. Her letter sent with the manuscript is as follows:

DEAR SIR:

I have given you at least a skeleton of history, and if there is anything like vanity or egotism, you will please correct. A few anecdotes are also interspersed which I thought interesting. A criticism of the works cannot be expected,—that must be left to the publisher.

Yours, &c. C. R. W.

May 20th, 1859.

The publisher referred to was Mr. S. Austin Allibone, who was then preparing his Dictionary of Authors, and for whom the present author was obtaining some such information. Not a single personal detail



appears in the article on Mrs. Williams which she did not herself write, and yet for the publication of the article in the Journal the author only escaped personal violence by reason of his being unknown. Much more of a similar nature might have been included, and it was omitted only for the reason that just enough to well illustrate the peculiarities of Mrs. Williams was all that was thought to be required.

MEMOIR OF

JOSEPH K ANGELL

LAW WRITER.



Joseph Kinnicutt Angell was the only son of Nathan and Amey [Kinnicutt] Angell. He was born in Providence, Rhode Island, April 30, 1794. He was descended from Thomas Angell, one of the five companions of Roger Williams, while resting for a moment on the easterly banks of the Seekonk before crossing the river to lay the foundation of a State and of the beautiful city of Providence. Others soon joined these first comers, and the little band so increased became the thirteen original proprietors.

Young Angell early betrayed a fondness for study, and his parents determined to provide him with the opportunities of obtaining a good education. By whom he was prepared for college is not now known. He entered Brown University as a student in his fifteenth year. Among his classmates were Job Durfee, afterwards Chief Justice, and Romeo Elton, afterwards Professor, two friends filled with the spirit of Rhode Island History, and both of whom left enduring literary monuments to perpetuate it.



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> After his graduation from Brown University in 1813, Mr. Angell was sent to the Law School at Litchfield, Conn.; justly considered the best school of its kind then in the country. It was conducted at the time by Tapping Reeve, assisted by James Gould, both gentlemen of distinguished ability as lecturers, and both authors of treatises which for many years and even to this time are cited as books of authority. At this school Mr. Angell formed acquaintances with young men which ripened into life-long friendships, and which were of the greatest use to him in after years. Among these friends was John Brown Francis, subsequently Governor and United States Senator for Rhode Island. After leaving the law school at Litchfield, Mr. Angell entered as a student the law office of Thomas Burgess in Providence, who subsequently and for many years held the office of Probate Judge for that city. He was never an advocate, but he was a prudent and discreet counsellor, and was the confidential law advisor of many merchants. How long Mr. Angell read law in the office of Mr. Burgess is not now known. Of the three years which had elapsed since his graduation

at Brown University, and previous to his admission to the Bar, it is probably that one year was passed at Litchfield and the remaining two years with Mr. Burgess. What influence on the formation of his character this connection with Mr. Burgess exerted it is difficult now to determine; but it is certain that peculiarities of thought and action were common to both. At the March term of the Supreme Court, 1816, Mr. Angell, in company with Charles F. Tillinghast and Charles H. Bruce, was proposed for admission to the Rhode Island Bar by Nathaniel Searle, a man described by Judge Story as one "whose arguments were characterized by exact learning and clear reasoning, and whose elocution was rapid, clear and affluent almost beyond example." This Bar was just then entering upon a glorious period of its history. May not a slight digression be excusable that mention may be made of some of the distinguished contemporaries of Mr. Angell. The great change which has since taken place in the structure, power, and method of procedure in our courts was but just beginning. For many of these wise changes the State is indebted to James Burrill, Jr., who was



elected to fill the seat of Chief Justice in 1816. He held the office but a single year, when he was sent to the Senate of the United States from Rhode Island. He was succeeded by Tristam Burges. Before the elevation of Mr. Burrill to the bench, he had held the position of Attorney General for upwards of sixteen years. Both of these gentlemen were distinguished advocates. Succeeding them, and no less distinguished, came John Whipple, Samuel Y. Atwell and Nathaniel Searle, all men of very great power. Samuel W. Bridgham, the first mayor of Providence, and Walter R. Danforth, who held the same office at a later period, were members of the same Bar.

William R. Staples, Richard W. Greene, and Samuel Ames, who all became Chief Justices of the Supreme Court, or Supreme Judicial Court, as it was once called; Charles F. Tillinghast, William E. Richmond, and Thomas Burgess, who were Counsellors at Law in the highest meaning of the term; John Pitman, who was for many years Judge of the United States District Court for this State; Henry Bowen, who for thirty years was the Sccretary of State of



Rhode Island, and Albert C. Greene, who for eighteen years was the Attorney General, and afterwards a United States Senator; Benjamin Hazard, who was sixty-two successive times elected a member of the General Assembly from Newport; Job Durfee, whose father was a Judge, who himself became Chief Justice, and whose son now occupies the seat of his father; Thomas F. Carpenter, whose name should have a place in our list of advocates; Elisha R. Potter, whose name was the synonym of power in the southern counties for a third of a century; and many others, whose names will at once occur to those familiar with the history of the Rhode Island Bar in those its palmiest days. Names upon names rise before us, but this is neither the time nor the place to call the roll of its members.

Williams and his companions planted the colony, and laid the foundations of a State. May it not with justice be said that these are the men who nourished it in its youth, who formulated its laws, and by whose earnest and honest efforts strength was imparted to its every part.

Mr. Angell now entered upon the practice of his



profession. He was by nature far better fitted for a counsellor than for an advocate, and his name would not have been found in a list of Rhode Island advocates. He was a sound theoretical lawyer, and an admirable advisor. His practice before the courts must have been of short duration. An event soon occurred which turned the whole current of his life. In 1819, he received a letter from Mr. Chalmers, counsellor at law, living in London, England, informing him that there was then before the courts of chancery of England, an immense estate looking for an heir to inherit it, and expressing the belief that he was the legal heir. Counsel was taken of the friends of Mr. Angell in Providence, and it was decided to send him to England to look after his interest in this vast estate, which lay in some of the most fertile counties in the kingdom. Early in February, he left Providence and journeyed by stage to New York. He reached the latter city, as he details in a letter to his mother, at eight o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, the 9th of February, having passed two sleepless nights upon the road, and being necessarily much fatigued. He immediately entered



upon the search for a ship bound for England, and soon found one,—the ship Amity, which was to sail the following morning. In this vessel Mr. Angell took passage for Liverpool, which city he reached after a pleasant voyage of twenty-six days. Here however he tarried not, but made the best of his way to London. From letters written to his mother and to his sister may be gathered the impressions upon his mind of the scenery through which he passed. He speaks with mortification of the fact that Shakspeare's house at Stratford was then in use as a butcher's shop. At Oxford he spends much of his time in the libraries, the like of which he had never seen before. Of these, and of the chapels, halls and paintings, he writes to his mother an admirable account. He finally reached London, where he resided at Richards's Coffee House, in Fleet street, near Temple Bar, a central position for the business upon which he went, and near by the men whom he delighted to meet. He entered at once and vigorously upon the work which he had undertaken, and - his letters, while keeping his friends fully informed of his progress in that business, are also filled with



descriptions of the things which he saw and the events which occurred and which interested him.

Before entering upon a description of his adventure, it may be well to make mention of some things about which he writes, they seem so well to illustrate his character. He early and often visited Drury Lane, where he frequently saw Edmund Kean, and he writes to his mother minute accounts of his impressions of the acting of Mr. Kean. He dwells with delight upon Mr. Kean's presentations of Lear, Othello, and Richard the Third,—personations upon which the most enlightened judgment of men has set the seal of approval. Benjamin West died in London, and Angell wrote with gratitude of the honors bestowed upon his distinguished countryman. Much of his time was given to the courts. Of two celebrated trials he gave interesting accounts. That of Thistlewood, the leader of the Cato street conspiracy, and that of Queen Caroline, the consort of George the Fourth. The former was tried, convicted, and executed; the latter returned to London from her long residence in Italy. Mr. Angell saw the mob smashing the windows of such as would not

illuminate their houses as the Queen passed, and afterwards sat many days at her trial. Of all these things he has left excellent accounts. Literature was his constant attraction, and his letters are filled with his impressions of such books as were published. Of many of these books time has obliterated every trace, but of one, the "Pirate," by the author of Waverly, Mr Angell has left an opinion which may be set down as the verdict of posterity. He says. "the author, as usual, has certainly excelled in his delineation of human character and in his descriptions of natural scenery, but the incidents are too far below his genius." While giving much time to such matters as are here noticed, it must not be suspected that he neglected the main business which carried him to England. To an account of that adventure let us return.

By the will of John Angell, made in 1774, he "gave and devised to the heirs male, if any such there were, of William Angell, the first purchaser at Crowhurst, and father of his great grandfather, John Angell, Esq., and their male heirs forever, all his lands and estates both real and personal, in Sur-



rey, Kent and Sussex, nevertheless subject and liable to such conditions as should be thereafter mentioned, and should not be otherwise disposed of and given; and if there should be no male heirs or descendants of the same William or the first Angell of Northamptonshire, in order as they should be found or made apparent, and if there should be none of those in being, or that should be apparent and plainly and legally make themselves out to be Angells and so related and descended, he then gave all his estates whatsoever, both real and personal, to William Browne, Esquire, grandson to Mrs. Frances, the wife of Benedict Browne, Esquire, who was an Angell, and his male heirs forever." 1

The claim of Mr. Angell was, that notwithstanding there were many Angells living in England, none were male heirs of the body of William Angell, the first purchaser of Crowhurst, nor were there any such heirs in existence; that he was the male heir by collateral descent, tracing his descent from the only brother of William Angell, the aforesaid Thomas

^{1.} Simons and Stuart's Reports, Dunlap's Ed., New York, 1843, Vol. 1, p. 84.

Angell, who first came with Roger Williams to plant the town of Providence. In the prosecution of his search, Mr. Angell exhibited great patience and perseverance. He personally examined the register of every parish church in London in his pursuit of evidence, and having obtained a vast amount, which could not then well be transmitted by reason of the slow progress of the mails, he determined to return with it to Providence, lay it before his friends, take advice, and start afresh. He reached New York on the 22d of October, 1820, and repaired at once to Providence. Having laid the case fully before his friends, it was determined that he should return to England and press the claim. With this end in view, he sailed from Boston in the ship Parthian, on the 5th of July, 1821, and reached Liverpool on the 1st of August. He entered immediately with renewed vigor upon the business which called him again to England. In the course of it, it became necessary to visit many of the towns and counties in the interior. In this way he saw much of the rural life of the people, which filled him with pleasure and his letters with charming descriptions. Having with

much labor prepared his case in the spring of 1822, he filed a bill in the Court of Chancery. This bill prayed for a commission to examine witnesses abroad and to perpetuate their testimony. The Vice Chancellor refused to grant the commission, because there was no action pending, and nothing had been exhibited to show that an action could not be brought.1 Thus ended the pursuit of this property by Mr. Angell, who did not indeed wait for the decision, but returned to Rhode Island before it had been rendered, fully persuaded with the belief that "the longer he was absent from home the more he became sensible of the strength of those ties which bound him to his native soil, and which are so natural and interwoven with the heart, that it is impossible to utterly destroy them without destroying the heart itself."

Mr. Angell returned to Rhode Island without having reached that success for which he had hoped in the business upon which he went abroad, but an idea had occurred to him while there which resulted in a

^{1.} Simons and Stuart's Reports, Dunlap's Ed., New York, 1843, Vol. 1, p. 84.



splendid success. He resolved to devote himself to the profession of a law writer, a branch of the profession far more consonant to his tastes than that of an advocate or a counsellor, and which he had seen carried to such an extent in England. At the period of his return, the business interests in Rhode Island were in process of transformation from a commercial to a manufacturing industry; mills for the manufacture of cotton into cloth were being erected upon every stream where water power could be found. Naturally, therefore, was the attention of Mr. Angell called to the subject of the law relating to water courses, and he chose that subject for the title of his first work. It appeared in 1824, since which time many editions have appeared, and more than twelve thousand copies have been sold. The work has been very much enlarged at each successive revision, and is still a leading authority upon the subject. While engaged upon this work, the attention of Mr. Angell was called naturally to the title which he selected for his second work, "The Right of Property in Tide Waters and in the Soil and Shores thereof," which work appeared in 1826. A second and much en-



larged edition was published in 1847. Both works met with a favorable reception from the bench and from the bar. Chancellor Kent said of them, that "they were works which no intelligent lawyer could well practice without."

Early in 1837, Mr. Angell published his third work. It was entitled, "An Inquiry into the Rule of Law which creates a Right to an Incorporeal Hereditament by an Adverse Enjoyment of twenty years, with remarks on the application of the rule to Light, and in certain cases to a Water Privilege." This essay was not at first intended for publication, but the interest in the subject induced the author to publish it. Its object was to investigate the original establishment of the rule and to trace its progress, to explain the qualifications to which it is subject, and develop the principle and policy on which it is founded. It is a small octavo volume of one hundred and seventeen pages.

Following this came in the same year, "An Essay on the Right of a State to Tax a Body Corporate considered in relation to the Bank Tax in Rhode Island." This was a pamphlet of forty-four pages,

and was called out by the exigency of the times. The General Assembly of Rhode Island had assumed the power to tax banks incorporated by charters granted by this same honorable body, but the charters of which contained no reservation of power to tax. Neither of these essays were ever reprinted.

With the beginning of the year 1829, Mr. Angell began the publication at Providence of the United States Law Intelligencer and Review. The periodical, for it was issued monthly, was to be a synopsis or abridged record of the changes and progress of the Law. The first volume only was published in Providence. The work was disposed of to Philadelphia parties, and the office of publication removed to that city. Mr. Angell continued its editor two years. It had but a short life after he left it, three volumes only having been issued. It was a great advance upon any similar journal issued before it in this country, and it pointed the way for other similar enterprises.

During this same year, 1829, Mr. Angell published A Treatise on the Limitations of Actions at Law and Suits in Equity, a volume of upwards of five

hundred pages. In 1846 appeared the second edition of the same work, much enlarged, and with many of the errors in the former edition corrected. In the first edition was reprinted, The Reading of that famous Lawyer, Sir Robert Brook, Kt., upon the Statute of Limitations, from the London edition of 1647. This reprint was omitted in the second edi-This work Mr. Angell dedicated to his lifelong friend, John Brown Francis, late Governor of Rhode Island. It was at once favorably received by the profession generally, and by no one more sothan by Chancellor Kent. The copy before us is filled with his manuscript memoranda. Soon after the publication of the first edition, the author sent a copy as a present to Brougham, then Lord Chancellor of England. In acknowledging its receipt, Lord Brougham used the following language: "Lord Brougham begs Mr. A. would kindly communicate to Mr. Angell, his very grateful sense of the favor done him by the valuable present of Mr. A.'s work. Lord B. has already consulted it, and found it to be by much the best treatise on this very important subject." Unfortunately, this letter is now lost, and



this short extract is all that remains of a manuscript which Mr. Angell cherished as among the choicest of his earthly treasures. It may be doubted whether any event in the literary life of Mr. Angell ever gave him so much pleasure as this letter, which he exhibited with delight to his friends. Of this treatise six editions, comprising in the aggregate more than eight thousand copies have been issued.

In 1832, Mr. Angell, in connection with Samuel Ames, issued a "Treatise on the Law of Private Corporations Aggregate." This work needs no other commendation than an enumeration of its editions, numbering ten, and a statement of the numbers which have been sold, exceeding twelve thousand copies. His next work in order of time was the "Practical Summary of the Law of Assignments in Trust for the Benefit of Creditors." This work appeared in 1835. It was a duodecimo volume of upwards of two hundred and twenty pages. Notwithstanding the high commendation bestowed upon it, but one edition was ever published, and the book is now scarce and much sought for.

From this time until 1849, Mr. Angell undertook



the publication of no new work, but revised and edited the successive new editions of his former works. In this year he published his treatise on the "Law of Carriers of Goods and Passengers by Land and Water." It was a stout octavo of upwards of eight hundred pages. A second edition followed in 1851, a third in 1857, and others have succeeded. More than seven thousand copies have been sold, and the book is still the leading authority. It was dedicated to his life-long friend, John Carter Brown. The various editions of Mr. Angell's books vary in several ways which have not been mentioned in this memoir. For instance, in the case of the third edition of this work, which contains the United States laws relating to steamboats, and sundry forms of pleadings. These were omitted in subsequent editions and other material substituted. In the first edition were incorporated in the appendix certain leading cases which found no place in subsequent This has been the case, although not pereditions. haps to the extent, with the other works of Mr. Angell.

It was provided in the act organizing the courts



of Rhode Island, after the adoption of the constitution in 1842, that a Reporter of the Decisions of the Supreme Court should be appointed. The law was subsequently modified, directing the Supreme Court to appoint the Reporter, who was to be a person not a member of the court, and further directing the election to be made at the March term, 1845. The Reporter was to publish his Reports annually. He was to be paid one hundred dollars by the State for his services, and was at liberty to make or lose as much money as might happen, he assuming all risk of publication, the State agreeing to purchase one hundred and twenty-five copies for distribution. A worse arrangement for the Reporter could not well be devised, the purchase by the State practically destroying all chances of sale to other parties. The Reports were first issued in pamphlet form. first of these pamphlets appeared in July, 1847. It contained seventy-one pages, and consisted entirely of opinions given long before the date of its publication. The second number soon followed. This also was prepared by Mr. Angell, and was the last prepared by him. He resigned the office of Reporter

at the September term of the court, 1849. Thomas Durfee was elected to succeed him; and by Mr. Durfee was prepared the third and concluding and by much the larger part of the first volume.

In 1854, was published a "Treatise on the Law of Fire and Life Insurance." The following year a second edition was called for, since which time no further issue have been required, other authors having occupied the field. In 1857, appeared a "Treatise on the Law of Highways." This work was begun by Mr. Angell, and was in process of publication at the time of his death. It was the last of his literary labors. The first, second, and a portion of the fourth chapters were the work of Mr. Angell; the remainder was the work of Thomas Durfee. The following year a second edition was required, and the work still continues to be a leading authority upon the subject.

Here ends the list of books which contain the writings of Mr. Angell. Many of them are still the most valuable treatises upon the subjects of which they treat, and are constantly kept upon the market, which has already absorbed in the aggregate more



than fifty thousand copies. On a list, received while printing these sheets, of law books for sale by a prominent firm of law booksellers in London, the first five titles offered were the leading books of Mr. Angell.

Mr. Angell was one of the signers of the famous "Nine Lawyers' Opinion." It was upon the right of the people to form a constitution. It was published in 1842, a time of unprecedented political excitement in Rhode Island. It claimed that the power to prescribe a form of government rested with the people; that the legislature was the creature of the people, and was not superior to its creator; that before the Revolution the sovereign power was in the King of England; that by the Revolution the sovereign power was divested from the King and passed to the people, the whole people, of the colony, and which became the State; that the charter contained within itself no power of amendment or of change, and that since the Revolution no way had existed for amending the form of government; that the legislature being the creature of the people, possessed no power to enforce the people to change their form of gov-



ernment,—their utmost power was to request them to change it; that the Freeholders' Constitution rested on the request of the General Assembly, while the Peoples' Constitution rested on the request of the people themselves, and therefore rested on the firmest possible basis. Such in a general way is the tenor of this famous document. It was published only in the Daily Express, a newspaper published in Providence, on the 16th of March, 1842.

As a writer, the style of Mr. Angell is simple and direct, with little or no effort at ornament or illustration; to quickly reach the point of a decision and clearly state it was his aim as a writer; he presents the law as he finds it, with no tint or shade of coloring imparted by his own opinions. Doubtless it is these excellencies which lend permanence to his works.

Rosina, the sister of Mr. Angell, died in 1831; leaving him no near relative. He was never married. He died suddenly, in Boston, May 1, 1857, whither he had gone on business.

He died as he had lived, without an enemy; dis-

1. The Opinion appears in full at the close of this Tract.



tinguished through life by the simplicity of his character, by his kindly feeling towards all around him, by his attachment to his friends, by his freedom from prejudice, and by the total absence of all malevolence of spirit. His amiable qualities had won for him many valuable friends who throughout his life remained strongly attached to him, and after his death provided his body with a resting place, and adorned the walls of Rhode Island Hall with his portrait.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR

FRANCES H MCDOUGALL

BORN

WHIPPLE.



The subject of the following memoir wrote and published books under three different names. This fact, well known at the present time, might become a source of inquiry to many in the future, who may be interested in such things. To lighten their labor is the present endeavor.

Miss Frances H. Whipple was the daughter of Mr. George Whipple, of Smithfield, R. I., where she was born in 1805, in the month of September. She received such advantages for education as the district schools of the time afforded, and later attended a private school in Providence, kept by Dr. Peter W. Ferris. Dr. Ferris probably came to Providence in 1828 or 1829. He first established himself as a physician on High street. Two years later, in 1832, he was the teacher of the Fifth District School on Pond street. He continued to be employed as a teacher until, perhaps, 1845 or 1846, when he abandoned the profession of teaching and took that of a dentist,

which he retained until either his death or removal from this city, about 1854. It must have been very soon after Dr. Ferris came that Miss Whipple went to his private school. She was 23 years of age in 1828, and the following year, 1829, she began the publication of the "Original," a periodical of which an account will appear later in this memoir. She was at this time a vigorous and fluent writer. She became interested in the temperance reform, which originated about this time (1830), and gave her pen and much time in assisting the movement. At a later period she became very much interested in the anti-slavery movement, and identified herself with it in every possible way.

In the political troubles in Rhode Island in 1842, she took the side of those she considered to be oppressed, and became a very violent partisan of Mr. Dorr. Unfortunately for her personal comfort, she was ever on the unpopular side of every question in Rhode Island.

On the first day of July, 1842, Miss Whipple was. married, at Lowell, Mass., to Mr. Charles C. Greene, an artist, residing at that time at Springfield, Mass.



This marriage did not prove a happy one. In September, 1847, Mrs. Greene obtained a divorce from her husband, and from this time she dwelt with her friends, until about 1860, when she went to live in California, where she soon after (about 1861) married Mr. William C. McDougall, and where she died, June 10, 1878.

Having thus presented a sketch of the life of Mrs. Greene, we now venture upon an account of her literary work. Her first publication in order of time was the "Original," which was first issued in Providence in May, 1829. It is a 12mo. of upwards of a hundred pages. It was numbered Vol 1, No. 1. It contained fifteen articles; ten of which were written by Miss Whipple. It was her intention to issue the periodical three times a year, at an annual subscription price of fifty cents, but probably from nonsupport, no other number was issued until January, 1830. This number was again numbered Vol. 1, No. The size was increased to an octavo, and it contained forty pages. These were the only numbers published. Sketches of local interest are contained in these pamphlets; among them are accounts of



"Quinsniket," "Scott's Pond," and the "Early Starting of Central Falls."

In 1840, the Juvenile Emancipation Society, of Pawtucket, published a small volume, entitled "The Envoy, from Free Hearts to the Free." It was a collection by various writers, many of whom lived in Rhode Island, among them Sarah A. Chace of Providence, E. B. Chace of Pawtucket, Sophia L. Little of Newport, William Chace of Providence, Anna W. Weston of Providence, and many others, who date their articles from various towns in Rhode Island, but give no names. The work was edited by Miss Whipple, who likewise contributed several articles, the first being the "Charge:"

Hither our Envoy! Take thine errand now, Go forth with Love's own myrtle on thy brow; Plead for the bought and sold, the scourged, the dumb, Flatter not wealth; nor unto power succumb.

The little book was printed at Pawtucket, by R. W. Potter.

Miss Whipple was a contributor to the "Liberty Chimes," a neat 12mo. volume, printed at Pawtucket in 1845, by Mr. Potter, for the Ladies Anti-Slavery Society of Providence.

On the 19th of March, 1842, was published at Fall River the first number of "The Wampanoag and Operatives Journal." It was published in the royal quarto form, semi-monthly, and bore for its legend: "Idleness and Luxury Pamper the Animal, Labor Makes the Man." Frances H. Whipple was announced as the editor; no publisher's name was given. The second number bears the name of Miss Whipple as the publisher, and also the editor. In her prospectus she presents the chart which she proposed to use in the guidance of the little periodical: "Like the Wampanoag of old, (King Philip,) our royal namesake, we hope to maintain a perfectly erect, fearless and determined course. Whatever we see of good we shall dare sustain, without stopping to inquire whether it bears the image and superscription of Cæsar — whatever we see of wrong we shall cry out against; whether it be in low places or in high places; whether it be pilfering hen roosts, or plundering cradles; whether it be robbing a man of his purse or of himself; whether it be chaining the limbs or crushing the soul; whether it be making a woman a toy, or a chattel; whether it be flattering or flogging her, whether it be raising and dragging



her away in chains to the south-western market, or ruinously training her under the forced culture of our fashionable boarding-schools and drawing rooms for the home market." The special object Miss Whipple had in view was to educate, assist and encourage female operatives in Fall River and such manufacturing districts. Many Providence people contributed to the paper, among them Sarah Helen Whitman, Anne C. Lynch, William M. Rodman, and others whose initials we can only guess. Whipple was, however, the main writer. The paper was essentially literary and of a high tone; nothing appeared in it which a severe judgment would today condemn, but the duration of its existence was short. Dissensions arose between Mr. Bowen, the . real publisher, and Miss Whipple, and with the issue of the thirteenth number, Mrs. Greene (for she was then married) withdrew, and the "Wampanoag." expired with its fifteenth number, on the 8th of October, 1832. Doubtless the chief difficulty was a lack of support. The political troubles of Rhode Island prevented Miss Whipple from obtaining the support within that State upon which she con-

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fidently relied. The paper was neatly printed by Thomas Almy, to whose son, Mr. Thomas Almy, of the Fall River News, to whom the author is indebted for the file to which he has access. Messrs. Burnett & King, the well-remembered booksellers, acted as agents for Miss Whipple in Providence.

Her next publication was a work of charity, the "Memoirs of Elleanor Eldridge," 16mo., Providence, 1838. Another edition was published in 1840, and still another in 1842. This little volume of a hundred and twenty-eight pages was published for the purpose of enabling the subject of it to repurchase some property of which she had been perhaps legally, but at all events unfairly, deprived. The tale, in short, is this: Elleanor was a hard-working, prudent, saving, colored woman. Her grandfather had been kidnapped at the mouth of the Congo (new the Livingstone) river, on board a ship upon which he had been enticed for the purposes of trade. He was brought to Rhode Island, where he was sold as a slave. He afterwards married an Indian woman, a pure Narragansett. From this marriage descended Elleanor. By dint of hard work and prudence she

was enabled to purchase a lot of land on Spring street, in Providence, upon which she built a house, which she at several times enlarged until it became, to her, a valuable property, and was nearly paid for. It had cost about two thousand dollars; on it there was a loan of two hundred and forty dollars. On this loan she paid an annual interest of ten per cent. Having an opportunity to purchase another estate adjoining her own, which materially improved her means of access to her house, she bought it for two thousand dollars, upon which she paid five hundred dollars cash and gave a mortgage of fifteen hundred dollars on her entire estate. Being taken sick, she rented her property and went away to recover her strength. While gone, the gentleman from whom she borrowed the two hundred and forty dollars died, leaving his estate to his brother. This brother attached Elleanor's property, sold it by the sheriff, and he himself bought it for exactly the amount of the mortgage. Elleanor returned to find herself deprived in a moment of an estate which had cost about four thousand dollars. She was not a woman who would submit quietly to such proceedings, and



forthwith set herself to work to obtain justice. General Greene, Attorney General, assisted her, as did many of the best citizens of Providence, to whom she was well known. To assist in raising money, this little book was written, and several editions sold. A companion volume, entitled Elleanor's Second Book, was published in 1847. These efforts were successful. Elleanor recovered her property after paying pretty heavily for it, and lived to a good old age, a respected and respectable colored woman, tall and erect in her 80th year as the young oak in the native forests of Rhode Island, through which her grandmother had wandered among the last of a race now unknown. Mr. Griswold, in his notice of Mrs. Greene, in his Female Poets of America, states that 30,000 copies of this (first) memoir was sold, and Allibone has copied from Griswold. Doubtless there were a considerable number, but not nearly as many as 30,000. It is questionable whether there were more than three editions of the first one, and there was certainly but one edition of the second one. An edition of a Rhode Island book numbering 10,000 or 15,000 would be an extraordinary thing, altogether

unknown. Both these little books were printed by Mr. B. T. Albro, of course on hand presses, for at that time such a thing as a power book printing press was unknown in Providence. Both volumes are embellished with a wood cut portrait of the subject, with her white-wash brush in hand prepared for her daily labor.

Following these came the Mechanic. It was a 12mo. volume of upwards of two hundred pages, and bears the imprint of Burnett & King. Charles Burnett, the senior of this firm, was one of the best booksellers which Providence ever possessed; well educated, refined in manner, imbued with a love of literature and of the fine arts—had he lived longer he would have left an impress upon the city of Providence which would have lasted many generations; there was a magnetism about him which drew all kindred spirits toward him—but he died, worn outwith incessant toil, while yet almost in his youth, in the year 1848.

But to return to our little book. It is the story of laboring men and women, written to plant within them good thoughts and elevating desires and aspira-

tions; "urging man, however high, or however low in a worldly point of view, to regard his fellow-men as equals and brethren, all walking in different paths it may be - all pursuing different avocations; yet each bearing on his brow the visible signet of Jehovah which confirms the nobility of a God-like nature each invested with a mission to his race, for the faithful discharge of which he is accountable to all future generations. When this spirit comes to be diffused, the rich man will cease to be arrogant and the poor man forget to be servile, for will not each feel himself equally a man." A single edition of this volume was all that the public demanded, but the little book has nearly disappeared. Continuing our record, in order of time came Might and Right, by a Rhode Islander, (Miss Whipple). It was published by Abraham H. Stillwell, in Providence, in 1844. A 12mo. volume of three hundred and twenty-four pages, dedicated "To Thomas Wilson Dorr, the true and tried patriot, the Fearless Defender of Human Rights, this work is respectfully inscribed." A portrait of Mr. Dorr illustrates the book. A second edition, containing an appendix of twenty-two pages

on the Life and Character of Thomas Wilson Dorr, was issued the same year. It is, as its dedication indicates, intensely devoted to a defence of the principles of Mr. Dorr in the political struggles of 1842. During these latter years it has been more or less sought for by collectors of books relating to this very interesting period of Rhode Island history, and its present price would astonish its author.

In 1854 Mrs. Greene published a Primary class book of Botany designed for common schools and families. This was a thin quarto volume of upward of a hundred pages of text and several hundred illustrations.

Mrs. Greene, having been for several years engaged in teaching botany, early perceived the uses of pictorial illustrations in the teaching of that science. This little treatise was "an attempt to disarm the study of a portion of its terrors," and to render it attractive and interesting. She also, in connection with Joseph W. Congdon, of East Greenwich, prepared the Analytical Class Book of Botany, also a quarto in form.

Next in order came Shahmah in Pursuit of Free-



dom; or, The Branded Hand. Translated from the original Showiah and edited by an American citizen, 12mo., pp. 599. New York, 1858. Shahmah was a young Egyptian or Ethiopian prince whom the author takes through this country on a tour of observation, moralizing on things political, religious and social. In the course of her narative, the author pays a high compliment to Catharine R. Williams, another Providence writer, for her instrumentality in abolishing flogging in the United States navy.

Shahmah was of a black or olive complexion, and in the course of his travels through the Southern States became involved in almost inextricable troubles, but, in the end, all came out well. In point of size it is the largest of the publications with which its author was connected.

Besides these books Mrs. Greene was a contributor to many of the magazines and serial publications of her day. She at times conducted the publication of such journals. The Wampanoag, previously noticed, a journal devoted to the elevation of the laboring classes, was one of them. The Nineteenth Century was another, to which she was a large con-

tributor, as also to the Univercelum and Spiritual Philosopher, a paper devoted to the exposition of the principles of nature as applied to individual and social life. In 1848, she became editress of the "Young People's Journal," issued monthly in New York.

Many of the compositions of Mrs. Greene were in verse. Never having been gathered together in a volume, they remain scattered in the various publications in which they originally appeared.

One of the best known of Miss Whipple's poems was The Dwarf's Story, characterized by Mr. Griswold as a "gloomy, but passionate and powerful composition." The poem contains two hundred and sixty-four lines, in blank verse, and appears in the Rhode Island Book, published in Providence in 1841. The following extract is illustrative of its style:

Nay, listen to me Lilian! I'm not mad.

Linger and listen. I would tell a tale—
Oh, God! Sustain me!—but, t'will wring thy heart,
I would not grieve thee—thee my only friend!
But yet I cannot—how can I forego
Thy precious sympathy? Give here thy hand;



I'll hold it thus in mine. There turn away,
And look not on me; for I cannot bear
That thou should'st feel disgust—that thou should'st loathe,
Though the sharp hiss of universal scorn
Has been my only greeting from the world.

"Within this shapeless clod
A spirit dwelleth, fervid, pure and high
As thy own spotless one. It leveth thee
And cannot do thee wrong."

Her longest and best poem, according to Mr. Griswold, is Nanuntenoo, a legend of the Narragansetts, in six cantos, three of which, according to the same authority, were published in Philadelphia in 1840. This poem he pronounces "to be a work of decided and various merit, giving descriptive powers scarcely inferior to Bryant. The rythm is harmonious, and the style generally elegant and poetically ornate. In the delineation of Indian character and adventure can be seen the fruits of intelligent study, and a nice apprehension of the influence of external nature in psychological development. It is a production that will gratify attention by the richness of its fancy, the justness of its reflection, and its dramatic interest."

Nanuntenoo, known by the English as Canonchet, commanded the Indians at Pierce's Fight, above Pawtucket, the last great Indian battle in Rhode Island.¹ It was a terrible defeat to the English. The following is a specimen of this poem:

"Pawtucket almost slumbered, for his waves Were lulled by their own chanting; breathing low, With a just-audible murmur, as the soul Is stirred in visions with a thought of love, He whispered back the whisper tenderly. Of the fair willows bending over him, With a light hush upon their stirring leaves, Blest watchers o'er his day-dreams. Not a sign Of man or his abode met ear or eye, But one great wilderness of living wood. O'er hill, and cliff, and valley, swelled and waved An ocean of deep verdure. By the rock Which bound and strengthened all their massive roots Stood the great oak and giant sycamore; Along the water courses and the glades Rose the fair maple and the hickory; And on the loftier heights the towering pine -Strong guardians of the forest-standing there On the old ramparts, sentinels of Time To watch the flight of ages."

1. This Fight took place Sunday, March 26, 1676.

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Touching her minor poems, which are numerous, Mr. Griswold says:

"They are marked by characteristics which prove them fruits of a genuine inspiration. Her Songs of the Winds and sketches of Indian life are frequently marked by a masculine energy of expression, and a minute observation of nature. Though occasionally diffuse and sometimes illustrated by images not approved, perhaps, by the most fastidious taste, they have meaning in them, and the reader is not often permitted to forget the presence of the power and delicacy of the poetical faculty."

The last literary labor with which Mrs. McDougall was connected bears the following title: "Beyond the Veil; posthumous work of Paschal Beverly Randolph, aided by Emanuel Swedenborg and others, through the minds of Frances H. McDougall and Luna Hutchinson. 12mo. New York. 1878." "One day as Mrs. McDougall sat writing at her home in San Mateo, California, she heard a spirit voice say, "An old friend." On its being repeated, she recognized it to be from Randolph. He said, "I wish you to leave your work and write for me." She



finally consented, but supposed it was only to write a small pamphlet until she at length was told that it was to be a book, and that another woman had been chosen to assist in writing it, and that she must make a long journey to her home and write it there. This she did with much patience, expense and labor, being in the seventieth year of her age." The foregoing extract presents the calling, and the following note the method of the performance: "This account of experiences in the spirit world was given me by General Baker, of Ball's Bluff, the soldier, poet, and statesman, who is here almost an object of idolatry It was written with almost inconceivable rapidity, giving birth to unfamiliar trains of thought. For three months or more after its production, I lived on terms of daily intercourse with this noble spirit; and during all that time never for one day did he fail to come to me in the morning. After the article was finished the spirit said, "we will revise it." A day was appointed for this purpose and we sat with closed doors. I then read slowly and thoughtfully, and at the close of each succeeding section or paragraph, the portion last read was commented on and was



either approved, or criticised and alterations proposed. The presence and power of the spirit during the time occupied in this revision was as real to me as any presence could be."

Since these pages were in process of printing, information has been given of a poem entitled the Love Life of Dr. Kane. This, never having passed under the observation of the author, he is unable to describe it. A volume bearing exactly the same title and upon the same subject was published by Carleton, of New York, in 1866. It contains the correspondence and a history of the acquaintance, engagement, and secret marriage between Elisha Kent Kane and Margaret Fox, the spiritualist.

Thus is presented a sketch of the life and writings of a Rhode Island woman — a woman of whom, notwithstanding all her failings, it must be conceded that she possessed many virtues.

""Her bounty was as boundless as the sea, Her love as deep."

Perhaps the best index to the workings of her mind is presented in this consecutive account of her various writings.



THE PUBLICATIONS

OF

CATHERINE R WILLIAMS

WITH

NOTES CONCERNING THEM.

ENCALLINA DE SERVERE PACE

CATHERINE R. WILLIAMS, daughter of Captain Alfred Arnold, was born in Providence about the year 1790. She was descended from the Arnolds, of Newport, being the grand-daughter of Oliver Arnold, who died in 1770, holding the office of Attorney General of Rhode Island, and who, although dying at the early age of thirty-four years, had already acquired the reputation of a profound lawyer and a ripe scholar. General Varnum, Colonel John Brown and the Hon. William Channing were among his most distinguished students. Miss Arnold's mother died while she was yet a child. Her father being a sea-captain, sent the child to the family of two maiden aunts to be educated — ladies of the old school - strict and dignified in their deportment, as most of those ancient ladies were. Under the care of these ladies the child pursued her studies. Her mind became early imbued with religious sentiments, which lasted her through life. In after days she spoke of these times, and often observed that she she was brought up as a nun.

At the age of twenty-three, the death of one of the maiden aunts and the marriage of the other, cast Miss Arnold, with a small patrimony, into the world to make her way as best she could. Some of the productions of her pen had already found their way into the papers of the day - in fact, she had already dreamed of the publication of a book. While on a visit to some friends in the country, Miss Arnold became acquainted with Mr. Williams, to whom she was presently married. Mr. Williams was a descendant of Roger Williams, in the sixth generation. He entertained the idea of emigrating to the west, which idea also possessed Miss Arnold. They proceeded to New York, where they were married by Bishop Onderdonk. About this ceremony Mrs. Williams relates the singular fact that the Bishop had just returned from a funeral service as the wedding party. came in. He had still on his mourning scarf, which he was about removing, when Miss Arnold interposed, saying there was no necessity for his disrobing, and the ceremony proceeded, the Bishop appearing in the habiliments of mourning. The marriage proved a most unfortunate one, but no argument of the super-



stitious could convince Mrs. Williams that the singular circumstances of the wedding foreshadowed the result.

Mr. and Mrs. Williams now proceeded to the west to live. It was Mrs. Williams's desire to settle in Michigan, but Mr. Williams concluded to remain in the western part of New York, where they lived about two years, when Mrs. Williams, with her infant daughter in her arms, left her husband, whom she never again saw, for the home of her childhood. Thrown now indeed upon her own resources, she opened a school, but her health soon gave out, and she gave up her school, and, advised by her friends, concluded to publish a volume of Poems, by subscription. It was a small volume, published under the name of Original Poems. It was printed by Mr. Hugh H. Brown, and appeared in 1828. Its success Mrs. Williams characterized as beyond her utmost expectations. Many of the poems were written between her fourteenth and seventeenth years. They exhibit a mournful spirit, the author seeming to choose melancholy subjects, thus betraying the spirit of her early training.

The pecuniary success of this little venture induced Mrs. Williams to try her second production, a story in prose, Religion at Home. It was published in 1829, and at least three editions were issued and disposed of, which would be a rare occurrence for even these days in Providence.

In 1830 she published her Tales, National and Revolutionary. Among these tales there is a well remembered one, Scott's Pond Thirty Years Ago. The Life of Captain Oliver Read, also in this volume, has now passed into the domain of scarce American History. A second series of these Tales was issued in 1835. It might gratify their author could she have known that these two little volumes were sold in New York in 1870 for fifteen dollars.

Aristocracy, or the Holbey Family, was her fourth publication. It was a novel, a satire on the fashionable follies of the day. It appeared in 1832. The History of Fall River, which she published in 1833, is confined almost entirely to a discussion of the murder of Miss Sarah M. Cornell and the trials of the Rev. Ephraim K. Avery therefor, and of whose guilt Mrs. Williams was fully persuaded.



The Biography of Revolutionary Heroes was her seventh work. It contained the Lives of General William Barton and Captain Stephen Olney. It came out in 1839, and, like the National and Revolutionary Tales, it was classed among the list of scarce books of American History, but since the death of its author, copies have been very plentiful.

In 1840 Mrs. Williams made a journey through the British provinces, and while making the visit obtained many of the facts which form the basis of her Neutral French, or the Exiles of Nova Scotia. This Mrs. Williams always considered to be her best work. Longfellow selected the same theme for Evangeline. Copies exist on the title pages of which are the words, second edition. The book was copy. righted in 1841, and no other date appears. is no change in either edition, and whether there was really two editions it is difficult to determine. While at the Grand Falls of the St. John, Mrs. Williams was the guest of Sir John Caldwell, who afterwards called upon her at her home in Providence. At Frederickton she was entertained by Sir John Hervey at the Government House. In a letter



to the Boston Traveller she complimented Sir John in the following handsome manner. Mrs. Williams said she had never forgiven General Scott for forbidding the soldier shooting that tall officer at the battle of Lundy's Lane, as was reported, until she saw Governor Harvey, who was really so handsome that it would have been a pity to destroy such a beautiful specimen of God's handiwork. Sir John was rising sixty, very tall and erect, and presented a very fine face and figure. He was exceedingly pleased with the paragraph.

Mrs. Williams's last literary effort consisted of a series of domestic tales published in two parts, under the title of Annals of the Aristocracy of Rhode Island, the first part appearing in 1843, the second in 1845. It was thought by many at the time that some living characters were described in these tales, but the author gave the assurance that all the heroes and heroines had long passed from among the living.

Here ends the list of Mrs. Williams's literary labors, comprised in the issue and re-issue of twelve publications, the pecuniary success or failure in every case she assumed, and thereby acquired not only a



living, but a surplus fund, the income of which supported her. She was a woman of great energy of character. She held an honest, earnest, and sometimes vigorous pen, but her style often lacked elegance. There was yet a truthful sentiment about her books which the people of that day liked. She was a warm politician, Democratic to devotion, and in the Rhode Island troubles of 1842, espoused the cause of the suffrage party with all her might. She was a lively conversationalist, and sometimes quick at repartee, as the following anecdotes will prove:

While publishing her lives of Barton and Olney, she chanced to be seated at a hotel table with an Englishman who was travelling through the States. He became acquainted with her labor, and rudely accosted her thus: "How can you publish a biography without knowing the genealogy of your hero? Why, they tell me that even your aristocracy here don't always know who their grandfather was!" "Even then," replied Mrs. Williams, "they have the advantage of yours, for they often don't know who their fathers were."

On another occasion, after the publication of



the Neutral French, in which book many Roman Catholics took an interest, Mrs. Williams was in Washington and was invited to visit the Roman Catholic College at Georgetown. The President of the college gave her a very polite reception, collecting every descendant of the French Neutrals in the institution and placing them before Mrs. Williams, asked her if she could discover any resemblance between them and the few scattered remnants she had seen in the Provinces. The President spoke of the deep feeling and the spirit of candor displayed in the book while the sufferings of the Neutrals at the hands of the British were under contemplation, and remarked to Mrs. Williams that she must be almost a Roman Catholic herself, whereat Mrs. Williams replied, that would be impossible since there are two things to which she had the most decided antipathy, viz: Kingeraft and Priestcraft. While on her travels in Canada, she stopped one day at a hotel in one of the frontier towns. The landlord expressed great disappointment that she did not arrive the day before, so as to have seen the Governor General review the troops, drawn by six white horses and a beautiful



equipage. Six, did you say, sir? asked Mrs. Williams. Yes, six beautiful white horses. Well, truly, I should have admired, said Mrs. Williams, to see the Governor of a single province with six horses, while the President of the whole United States rides with but two.

In her personal appearance, Mrs. Williams was short and stout, her face presented a good, healthy color, her eyes were small and piercing; in addressing persons she spoke perhaps quickly and with sharpness or decisively; in her attire she was somewhat careless; in her visits to various celebrated resorts, she was indebted to the kind care of the ladies with whom she boarded, to see that she went into the street in proper condition. She met with many jokes from her negligence in this respect. Once calling upon a friend at Gadsby's hotel in Washington, she forgot to change her dress, and appeared at the hotel in her morning calico; the porter showed her into the cellar kitchen, and it was not until the fifth servant was called that one was found bold enough to escort her from the cellar kitchen to the ladies parlor. In a few days she had her revenge. The Prince de Joinville

and suite appeared at Gadsby's for quarters and were refused, on the supposition that they were a party of Polish emigrants.

About 1849, Mrs. Williams removed to Brooklyn, New York, to soothe the declining years of an aged aunt, one who had brought her up. Here she lived three years, when her aunt died, leaving her about \$10,000. She now returned to Rhode Island, and soon after built a snug cottage in Johnston, near by an estate which had once belonged to her ancestors. Here, in the society of her only daughter, she passed happily many years of her life. Subsequently, becoming tired of the quiet of the country, she returned to her old home in Providence, at the corner of Olney and North Main streets, where she passed the remaining years of her life. She left a finished manuscript story, entitled Bertha, a Tale of St. Domingo. This manuscript she offered to one of our publishers during the recent excitement about the "annexion," as Mr. Sumner has it, of San Domingo, with the

^{1.} This sketch was written in October, 1872, soon after the excitement in the United States regarding the annexation of San Domingo. Annexion was a term used by Charles Summer in a speech in the United States Senate concerning the matter.



remark that if his politics would permit it would pay to publish, urging that the book had nothing to do with that project, having been written many years before. The work has never been published.

Mrs. Williams had the honor of being elected an honorary member of some of the Historical Societies in other States, an honor not conferred, as she remarked, upon females in Rhode Island.

Mrs. Williams died in Providence, October 11, 1872. In her death has passed away another of those who in their childhood stood by the knee of Washington.

6



THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF RHODE ISLAND TO FORM A CONSTITUTION.

THE NINE LAWYERS' OPINION.

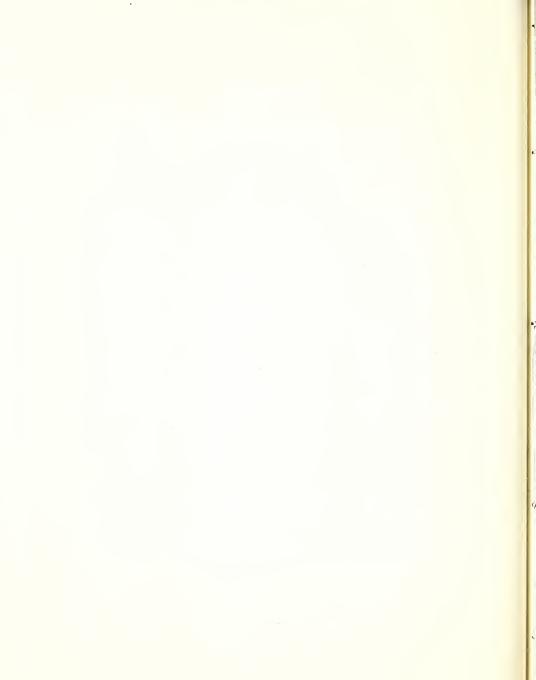


The following opinion was written by Thomas W. Dorr. Mr. Dorr employed George F. Man, an attorney-at-law, to look up the authorities. wrote the opinion and the nine lawyers signed it. The sequence of events which led to it are practically thus: Those persons interested in an extension of the suffrage in Rhode Island formed an association in 1840 in Providence, which was followed by similar associations throughout the State. A mass meeting was held by them in Providence in April, 1841; another followed at Newport in May, which was adjourned to meet at Providence, July 5th. A State Committee of eleven was appointed by the meeting which was held at Newport. This committee issued an address on the 24th of July, 1841, calling upon the people to choose delegates to a convention to be held

^{1.} The following gentlemen composed the committee: Charles Collins, Dutee J. Pearce, Samuel H. Wales, Welcome B. Sayles, Benjamin Arnold, Jr., Benjamin M. Bosworth, Samuel S. Allen, Emanuel Rice, Silas Weaver, William S. Peckham, Sylvester Himes.

the following October for the purpose of framing a constitution. Delegates were chosen, the convention met, the constitution was framed, and submitted to the people of the State to be by them accepted or rejected.

The people voted upon it on the 27th of December and on the five following days. Every person who voted upon it was required to be an American citizen, twenty-one years of age, and to have his permanent residence or home in Rhode Island; to write his full name with the fact that he voted for or against the. constitution on the back of his ballot. The convention re-assembled on the 12th of January, 1842. counted the votes, declared the constitution adopted, and it was proclaimed the law of the land. It was claimed that there were in the State 22,674 free, white male citizens of the age of twenty-one years and upwards. Of these, 9,590 were qualified freemen. It was also claimed that 13,955 voted in favor of adopting the constitution, and forty-six against adopting it. Of those voting, 10,193 voted in person, and 3,762 voted by proxy; 4,925 were qualified freemen under the then existing laws, and 9,026 were not



qualified. Thus a majority of freemen qualified to vote under the existing laws voted to adopt the constitution.

At this point, doubts of the validity of the entire proceedings were raised by those opposed to an enlargement of the suffrage, and to the correction of the evils which existed under the old system. These doubts the leaders of the suffrage party thought proper to endeavor to allay. Hence arose the document which follows, and which became at once known as the Nine Lawyers' Opinion. It appeared, as stated. in the memoir of Angell, only in a single newspaper, and is of course one of the scarcest documents connected with this interesting period. John P. Knowles, at present United States District Judge for Rhode Island, is the only one of its signers now living, unless, possibly, Aaron White may be still alive. It is as here presented an exact reprint, both as to the subject matter and style of composition.

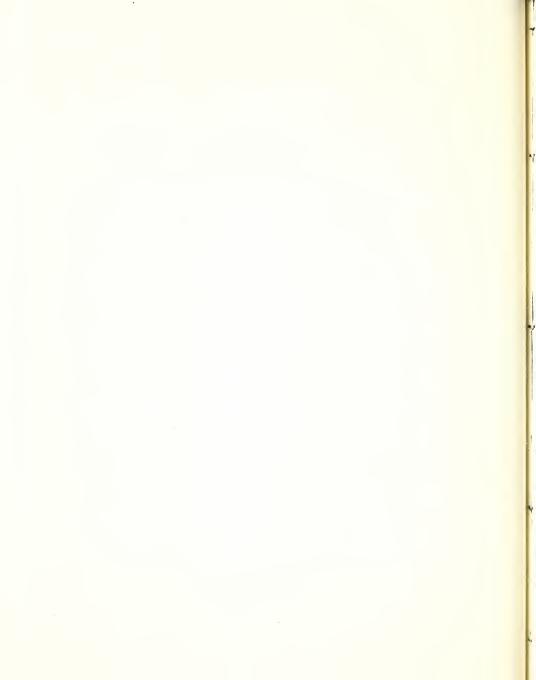
^{1.} These figures are taken from Burke's Report. They do not balance in some cases. From the private papers of Mr. Dorr the author gathers the following result: Freemen voting in favor of adopting, 4,960; non-Freemen, 8,984. Total, 13,944.

RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO FORM A CONSTITUTION.

STATEMENT OF REASONS.

Many citizens in different parts of the State having requested that the reasons, which sustain the recent proceedings of the People, in framing and adopting a Constitution of Government, should be put forth to the public,—the undersigned cheerfully comply with this request; and ask the attention of their fellow citizens to the following Statement of Reasons, which has been made as brief as the great importance and extent of the subject treated of would permit.

By the Sovereign Power of a State we understand that supreme and ultimate power, which prescribes the form of Government for the People of the State. By the Republican theory of this country this power resides in the *People themselves*. This power is of course superior to the *Legislative* power, which is derived from, and created by the Supreme power,



and exercises its functions according to the fundamental rules prescribed by the People, through the expression of their will called a Constitution of Government.

At the American Revolution, the sovereign power of this State passed from the king and Parliament of England to the People of the State; not to a portion of them, but to the *whole* People, who succeeded as tenants in common to this power.

Before the Revolution, the power to alter the form of government established by the *Charter* was in the king of England, who granted it. The government of the State was a government of the *majority* to the time of the Revolution, and for years subsequent. It has long ceased to be such. And if the majority of the People have in any way *lost* the power of altering and reforming the government of this State, the Revolution has not made them free; but has only opened a change of masters.

The sovereign power of this State having been forever divested from the king, to whom could it have passed, if not to the whole People?

It did not vest in the Colonies or States, nor in the

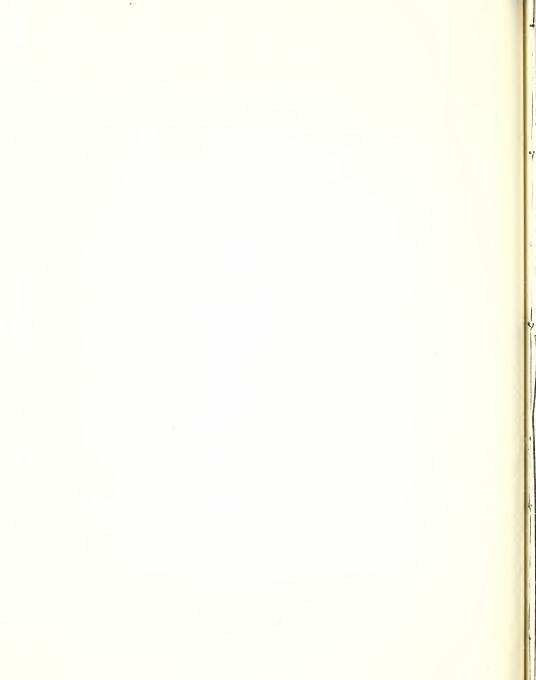


General Government, which is the creature of the States, or of the People of the States.

The General Assembly of this State exercises very general and undefined powers; but no one contends that the absolute sovereignty of this State is vested in them. It must therefore have passed to a part of the people of this State or to the whole.

The whole People of the Colony were the subjects of, and owed a common allegiance to the king of England. The non-freeholders were not the subjects of the freemen, and the freemen the subjects of the king; but all stood in an equal relation to the head of the State. Those who were equal before the sovereign, were equal to each other after he ceased to be such; and when his power passed away, they received it by succession, in equal undivided portions.

Sovereignty is an attribute of the *persons*, and not of the *soil* of a State. But if the sovereign power of this State, did not pass to the whole People, but only to the qualified *freeholders*, then it resides in the soil and freehold; and, if a few freeholders should become possessed of all the land, they would become the rightful sovereigns: nay, more, if a State should



by any cause become depopulated, the sovereignty, being in the *land*, would be as complete and perfect as ever, which is a manifest absurdity.

If the non-freeholders of that day made any surrender, or disclaimer, to the freemen, of their own rightful shares in the succession, the evidence of it can be produced; and our opponents are bound to produce it. No such surrender was ever made.

If it had been made, we should then have to ask—what right has one generation to bind another in this manner; and what rights of sovereignty can one generation barter or give away, which their successors have not the right to reassume?

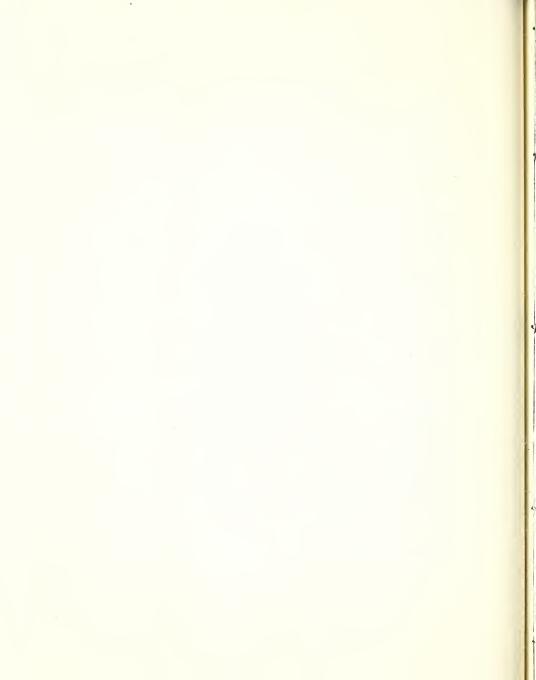
The Sovereign power and the Legislative power, being, in the American system of government, distinct, and the latter being derived from the former by consent expressed, or implied, there is nothing in the long exercise of the latter power by the freemen inconsistent with the exercise of the former power by the whole People, when they shall judge the proper time to have arrived.

Sovereign power from its nature can and ought to be but rarely exercised. A Constitution if it be

wisely framed, secure all just rights, and contain an equitable provision for its own amendment; is made to last; and will become the permanent rule of generations and ages to to come, in a free country.

It cannot therefore be inferred from the unfrequent exercise, or the non-exercise of the sovereign power that it has ceased to exist. The king of England made no amendment of our Charter government from 1663 to 1776, a period of one hundred and thirteen years; but he did not lose the power to amend. The People of Rhode Island have made no amendment in the form of government, from 1776 to 1841, a period of 65 years; neither have they lost the power to amend. "Time does not run against the king;" nor does it run against the sovereignty and rights of the People.

The agent may act in place of his principal; the Legislature may act under the consent of the sovereign; but, in both cases, the source of power remains,—the right of revocation remains. What was conferred by assent may be taken away by dissent. If the present government be valid, because the People assent to it, it may become invalid by their dissent, definitely expressed. The one power involves the other.



The time of exercising this sovereign power is to be determined by the People; who are also the judges of the necessity. Neither the People nor the Legislature took any steps (beyond an inquiry) for the formation of a Constitution in 1776; the government of the State being in the hands of the majority, and by semi-annual elections,—and the State being deeply involved in the war of the Revolution, and subjected to invasion. The necessity for a total reformation has been increasing during the last forty years; and, in the judgment of the people, has now become absolute.

The mode of proceeding by the People is also immaterial. They are the judges of this also; and, deeming the right time to have arrived, they have, by Delegates, elected in the proportion of one to every fifteen hundred inhabitants, formed a Constitution.

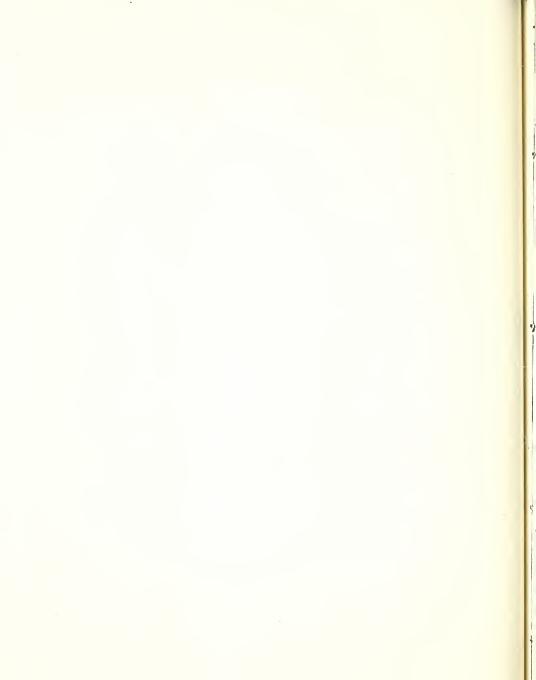
Great stress is laid on the fact, that the Convention which framed the People's Constitution was not called by an act of the General Assembly. Such an act was not, in our judgment, necessary to give validity to the proceedings of that Convention, or to the votes of the People for that Constitution.



The greater power inherent in the People, by virtue of their sovereignty, to form a Constitution, involves the less power, viz: that of proceeding in the way and manner, which the People deem proper to adopt.

Further, there is no mode whatsoever established in this State by any Constitution, Charter, law, or usage, according to which the People are to proceed in framing and adopting a Constitution. The king of England having power to make a supplemental grant to the *Charter*, that instrument of course contained no provision for its own amendment. And no way of amending our Government has been established since the Revolution. One of the complaints made in fact is, that we have no such Constitutional mode of amendment in this State.

Still further, the General Assembly never have passed, nor can pass a law for the People to assemble and make a Constitution. A law has no force as law, unless its execution, if it be not complied with, can be compelled, or a non-obedience to its mandate subject the offender to penalty or damages. Now, there can be no penalty to a law for the call of a Conven-



tion. The people cannot be compelled to elect delegates, nor punished for not electing them. Nor can the delegates be punished for not making a Constitution. They tried to do this in 1834, and failed; but they were not treated as criminals for their failure. All that the Assembly can do is to REQUEST their constituents, or the People, to make a Constitution. If they do not see fit to comply with the request, it goes for nothing. The request of the Assembly has no more binding effect as law, than any other request—than, for instance, the usual resolutions for Thanksgiving, with which the people comply, but yet are not punishable, if they do not.

The only difference, therefore, between the Free-holders' Convention and the People's Convention is, that the former sat by REQUEST of the General Assembly, which was not a law; and the latter sat without a request from the Assembly, but by a REQUEST from the People. This is all that can possibly e meant, when it is said by any one, that the People's Convention sat "WITHOUT LAW." In this respect, both Conventions were alike.

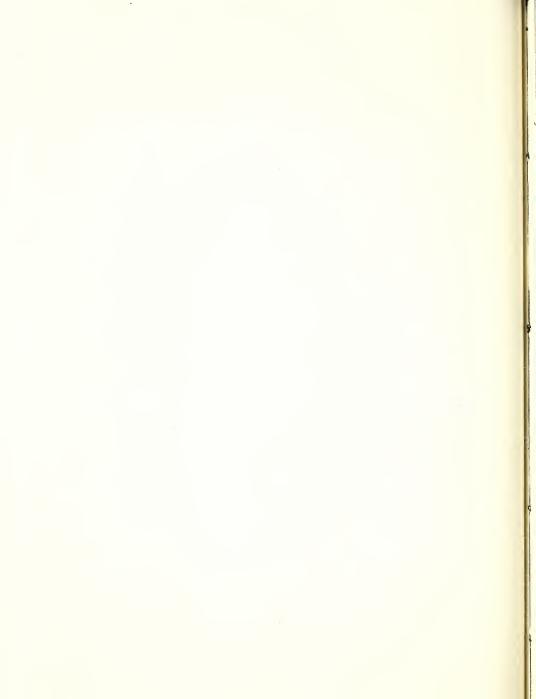
Again, if there be so much efficacy in the call or re-



quest of the General Assembly, and no Convention of the Freeholders, or of the People, can be valid without it, then the General Assembly have a right to make a Constitution themselves; because they have the right to do that themselves, which others cannot do without their permission or authority. If the Legislature can command others to do an act, it is clear that they have the power to do the same act themselves. And thus the Legislative servants of the people, are greater than the people themselves.

This doctrine of a necessary permission, authority or request, from the General Assembly to the People, before they can rightfully proceed to form a Constitution, is an English doctrine, borrowed from the Parliament of England, in which body the sovereignty is lodged by the theory of the English Constitution. It is a doctrine which has no application in this country, where the sovereignty resides in the people.

The proceedings of the People, therefore, in calling their Convention, and in making and voting their Constitution, in our opinion have been rightful, and not against law, and are only without law in the sense before explained, viz: that they were without a re-



quest of the General Assembly; which request, if made, would have given no additional validity to said proceedings.

The opponents of the People's Constitution, are in this difficulty. They say, that the People have no right of themselves to make a Constitution; that the General Assembly have no right to make a Constitution; and that the Freeholders and Freemen have no right to make a Constitution, unless called and authorized thereto by the General Assembly, which has no power! So that there is really no power in this State to make a Constitution! The People have rightfully determined, that the power is in them, and have exercised it.

That the Government, when set up, under the People's Constitution, will be recognized as such by the General Government, we believe, is beyond doubt or question; as that Government, in all its departments, will look no farther than the fact, that the Government here is established.

We can present only a portion of the *authorities* by which the positions that we have taken are supported. We ask all our fellow-citizens to read them,



and to judge for themselves. It is proper to say of the writers quoted, that Jefferson and Madison alone were members of the democratic party in general politics.

The authorities go much farther than the case presented in R. Island, where we have no Charter, Constitution, Law or usage, which prescribes any mode of amending the Government; and they assert, in the clearest and most express language, that, where there is a Constitution, the people are not bound to proceed in the manner prescribed in it for its own amendment, though this may be most convenient or expedient; but that they may rightfully proceed in the mode and manner which they deem most proper.

the United States was not made by virtue of any call or power from the then existing Congress or General Government, but by the voluntary unauthorized act of the several States.

AUTHORITIES.

THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE; which the Representatives of the freemen,



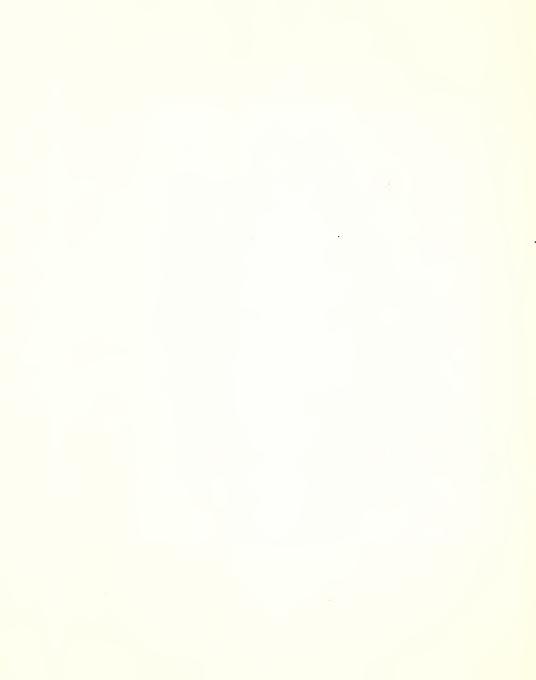
in General Assembly convened, formally ratifled and adopted, at their July session, in 1776. They thereby adopted the principles it contains as the principles of our political system.

This Declaration says that "all men are created equal." It asserts that liberty (including political liberty) is one of their "inalienable rights." Also, that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed"—all the governed. And again, that "it is the right of the people [that is the governed] to alter or abolish" their government, whenever they deem it expedient, and "to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

THE DECLARATION OF 1790—The Convention of freemen which assembled in this State in that year, to act upon the federal Constitution, adopted the same with a protest, which includes a Declaration of rights. This Declaration says, (section 1,) "That there are certain natural rights of which men, when they form a social compact, cannot deprive them or

divest their posterity; among which are the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety." 2d, "That all power is naturally vested in, and consequently derived from the People:" and consequently—3d, "That the power of government may be reassumed by the People, whensoever it shall become necessary to their happiness," of which they are the judges. Our fathers of 1790 say, that by the People they mean their posterity, their successors, who are the men of the present day.

Washington says, in his Farewell Address, "The basis of our political systems is the right of the *People to make and alter* their Constitutions of government; but the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole People is sacredly obligatory upon all." By the People we understand that this great man intended the governed; and by the act of the whole People, the act of the majority, and not of any portion or class, however favored by law. The "established government" is valid and receives obedience, until it is rightfully



superseded by an "explicit and authentic act" of the People.

JEFFERSON says—"It is not only the right but the duty of those now on the stage of action to change the laws and institutions of government, to keep pace with the progress of knowledge, the light of science, and the amelioration of the condition of society. Nothing is to be considered unchangeable but the inherent and inalienable rights of man."

MADISON, in advocating the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, says:

"The first question that offers itself is, whether the general form and aspect of the government be strictly republican? It is evident that no other form would be reconcileable with the genius of the people of America, with the fundamental principles of the revolution, or with that honorable determination which animates every votary of freedom, to rest all our political experiments on the capacity of mankind for self-government. If the plan of the Convention, therefore, be found to depart from the republican character, its advocates must abandon it as no longer defensible."

"It is essential to such a government," (that is republican,) "that it be derived from the great body of the society, not from an inconsiderable proportion or a favored class of it; otherwise a handful of tyrannical nobles, exercising their oppressions



by a delegation of their power, might aspire to the rank of republicans and claim for their government the honorable title of republic."

Speaking of the states to which the title of republican has been improperly applied, he says:—"The same title has been bestowed on Venice, where absolute power over the great body of the people is exercised in the most absolute manner by a small Body of hereditary nobles." We cite this last passage to show that in the preceding passage Madison means by "the great body of the society," not the great body of the rulers or those invested with the government, but the great body of the whole society, ruled as well as rulers.—Federalist, No. 39, p. 203—4.

"The opinion of the Federalist has always been considered as of a great authority. It is a complete commentary upon our constitution; and is appealed to by all parties, in the questions to which that instrument has given birth. Its intrinsic merit entitles it to this high rank; and the part two of its authors performed in framing the constitution, put it very much in their power to explain the views with which it was framed."—6 Wheaton's Reports, 413 to 423, cited 3 vol. Story's Commentaries, p. 612, note.

Hamilton, says, Federalist No. 22, p. 119:

"The fabric of American Empire ought to rest on the solid basis of the consent of the people. The streams of national power ought to flow immediately from that pure original fountain of all legitimate authority."

JAY, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, says:

"At the Revolution, the sovereignty devolved on the People; and they are truly the sovereigns of the country; but they are sovereign without subjects, (unless the African slaves among us may be so called,) and have none to govern but themselves: the citizens of America are equal as fellowcitizens, and as joint tenants in the sovereignty."—2 Dallas's Reports, 419.

MARSHALL, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, says:

"It has been said that the people had already surrendered all their powers to the State sovereignties, and had nothing more to give. But surely the question whether they may resume and modify the powers granted to government does not remain to be settled in this country."—4 Wheaton's Reports, 405.

JUSTICE WILSON furnishes our next authority. He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence; was a member of the Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States, and of the Pennsylvania State Convention which adopted it; a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States; a Pro-

fessor of Law, and Revisor of the Laws of Pennsylvania. He says,

"Of the right of a majority of the whole people to change their government at will, there is no doubt."—1 Wilson, 418.
—1 Tricker's Black. Comm. 165, cited 324 p. Vol. 1. Story Comm.

THE SAME JUDGE.—"Permit me to mention one great principle, the vital principle I may well call it which diffuses animation and vigor through all the others. The principle I mean is this, that the supreme or sovereign power of the society resides in the citizens at large; and that, therefore, they always retain the right of abolishing, altering or amending their Constitution, at whatever time, and in whatever manner, they shall deem expedient."—Lectures on Law, vol. 1, p. 17.

"Perhaps some politician, who has not considered with sufficient accuracy our political systems, would answer that, in our government, the supreme power was vested in the Constitution. This opinion approaches a step nearer to the truth" (than the supposition that it resides in the Legislatures) "but does not reach it. The truth is that in our government, the supreme, absolute and uncontrollable power remains in the People. As our Constitutions are superior to our Legislatures, so the People are superior to our Constitutions. Indeed, the superiority in this last instance, is much greater, for the People possess, over our Constitutions, control in act, as well as right."—Works 3d vol. p. 292.

"The consequence is, that the People may change the Constitution, whenever and however they please. This is a right of which no positive institution can deprive them."

"These important truths, sir, are far from being merely speculative; we, at this moment, speak and deliberate under their immediate and benign influence. To the operation of these truths, we are to ascribe the scene, hitherto unparalleled, which America now exhibits to the world: a gentle, a peaceful, a voluntary and a deliberate transition from one Constitution of government to another, (from the Confederation to the Constitution of the United States.) In other parts of the world, the idea of revolution in government is, by a mournful and indissoluble association, connected with the idea of wars, and all the calamities attendant on war." (This is the case in Rhode Island, which has forgotten the principles of American government.)

"But happy experience teaches us to view such revolutions in a very different light—to consider them as progressive steps in improving the knowledge of government, and increasing the happiness of society and mankind." p 293.

"Oft have I viewed with silent pleasure and admiration the force and prevalence through the United States of this principle, that the supreme power resides in the people, and that they never part with it. It may be called the *panacea* in politics. If the error be in the legislature it may be corrected by the Constitution; if in the Constitution, it may be corrected by the people. There is a remedy, therefore, for



every distemper in government, if the people are not wanting to themselves. For a people wanting to themselves there is no remedy."—Works, vol. 3, p. 293.

"A revolution principle certainly is, and certainly should be taught as a principle of the Constitution of the United States, and of every State in the Union. This revolution principle—that the sovereign power resides in the People, they may change their Constitution and government whenever they please—is not a principle of discord, rancor or war: it is a principle of melioration, contentment and peace."—Wils. Dict. vol. 1. p. 21.

"The dread and redoubtable sovereign, when traced to his ultimate and genuine source, has been found, as he ought to have been found, in the free and independent man." "This truth, so simple and natural, and yet so neglected or despised, may be appreciated as the first and fundamental principle in the science of government."—Lect. on Law, vol. 1. p. 25.

The same Judge. "A proper regard to the original and inherent and continued power of the Society to change its constitution, will prevent mistakes and mischief of a very different kind. It will prevent giddy inconstancy; it will prevent unthinking rashness; it will prevent unmanly languor."—Wilson, Vol. 1, p. 420.

JUSTICE PATTERSON, of the Supreme Court of the United States, says, "The Constitution is the work of the People themselves, in their original, sovereign and unlimited capaci-



ty." "A Constitution is the form of government delineated by the mighty hand of the people," is "paramount to the will of the Legislature," and is liable only "to be revoked or altered by those who made it."—Dallas Rep. p. 304.

JUSTICE IREDELL, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in speaking of the difference between the principles of European governments and those of our own, 3 Vol. Elliot's Debates, says,

"Our government is founded on much nobler principles. The people are known with certainty to have originated it themselves. Those in power are their servants and agents. And the *People*, without their consent, may remodel the government, whenever they think proper, not merely because it is oppressively exercised, but because they think another form is more conducive to their welfare."—Cited, Story Comm. Vol. 1, p. 326.

THE SUPREME COURT of the United States say, by Marshall, Ch. Justice,—

"That the People have an original right to establish for their future government, such principles, as, in their opinion, shall most conduce to their own happiness, is the basis on which the whole American fabric has been erected. The exercise of this original right is a very great exertion: nor can it, nor ought it to be frequently repeated."—1 Cranch. 157, cited 431. Story Com. Vol. 3.

Mr. RAWLE, a distinguished Commentator on the Constitution of the United States, has the following passage:

"It is not necessary that a Constitution should be in writing; but the superior advantages of one reduced to writing over those which rest on traditionary information, or which are to be collected from the acts and proceedings of the government itself, are great and manifest. A dependence on the latter is indeed destructive of one main object of a constitution, which is to check and restrain governors. If the people can only refer to the acts and proceedings of the government to ascertain their own rights, it is obvious that, as every such act may introduce a new principle, there can be no stability in the government. The order of things is inverted; what ought to be the inferior is placed above that which should be the superior, and the legislature is enabled to alter the constitution at its pleasure."—Rawle on the Constitution, p. 16.

THE SAME WRITER goes on to say,

"Vattell justly observes, that the perfection of a State and its aptitude to fulfill the ends proposed by Society, depend upon its Constitution. The first duty to itself is, to form the best Constitution possible, and one most suited to its circumstances, and thus it lays the foundation of its safety, permanence and happiness. But the best Constitution which can be framed with the most anxious deliberation that can be



bestowed upon it, may, in practice, be found imperfect and inadequate to the true interests of society. Alterations and amendments then become desirable. The people retains, the people cannot perhaps divest itself of, the power to make such alterations. A moral power equal to and of the same nature with that which made, alone can destroy. The laws of one Legislature may be repealed by another Legislature, and the power to repeal them cannot be withheld by the power that enacted them. So the people may, on the same principle, at any time alter or abolish the Constitution they have formed. This has been frequently and peacably done by several of these States since 1776. If a particular mode of effecting such alterations has been agreed upon, it is most convenient to adhere to it, but it is not exclusively binding."—Rawle on the Constitution, p. 17.

JUSTICE STORY, of the Supreme Court of the
- United States, says, in his Commentaries on the Constitution,

"The Declaration puts the doctrine on the true ground—that governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed. And the people," plainly intending the majority of the people, "have a right to alter it," &c.—Page 300, vol. 1.

THE SAME JUDGE also says,

"The understanding is general, if not universal, that having been adopted by a majority of the people, the Constitu-



tion of the State binds the whole community, proprio vigore:" (by its own innate power,) "and is unalterable, unless by the consent of a majority of the people, or at least by the qualified voters of the State, in the manner prescribed by the Constitution, or otherwise provided by the majority. No right exists, or is supposed to exist, on the part of any town or county, or any organized body within the State, short of the whole people of the State, to alter, suspend, resist, or disown the operations of that Constitution, or to withdraw themselves from its jurisdiction. Much less is the compact supposed liable to interruption, or suspension, or dissolution at the will of any private citizen upon his own notion of its obligations, or of any infringement of them by the constituted authorities. The only redress for any such infringements, and the only guaranties of individual rights and property, are understood to consist in the peaceable appeal to the proper tribunals constituted by the government for such purposes; if these should fail, by the ultimate appeal to the good sense and justice of the majority. And this, according to Mr. Locke, is the true sense of the original compact, by which every individual has surrendered to the majority of the Society the right permanently to control and direct the operations of the government therein."-Story, Comm. Vol. I, p. 305-6.

THE SAME, Vol. I, p. 303, says,

[&]quot;It is certain, that a right of the minority to withdraw



from a government and to overthrow its powers, has no just foundation in any just reasoning."

By which it appears that the *minority* of this State will be bound by the act of the majority of the people in establishing the government under their Constitution.

JUDGE PITMAN, of the United States Court for this District, in a recent Address to the Members of the General Assembly, says, respecting the Constitution of the People. "We must settle this question for ourselves; it belongs not to Congress, nor to the Supreme Court of the United States. It is a question of State Government, which neither Congress, nor the Supreme Court of the United States has any constitutional authority to settle for us."

"If you suffer your government to be put down, and the government of the Suffrage men to become the government of the State, Congress and the Supreme Court of the United States will not inquire into the question of right. The only question will be the question of fact. Is it a government in fact? Neither Congress nor the Supreme Court has any authority to inquire farther?"

We respectfully submit to you, fellow citizens, that that the People's Constitution "is a republican form of government," as required by the Constitution of the United States, and that the people of this State, in forming and voting for the same, proceeded without any defect of law, and without violation of any law.

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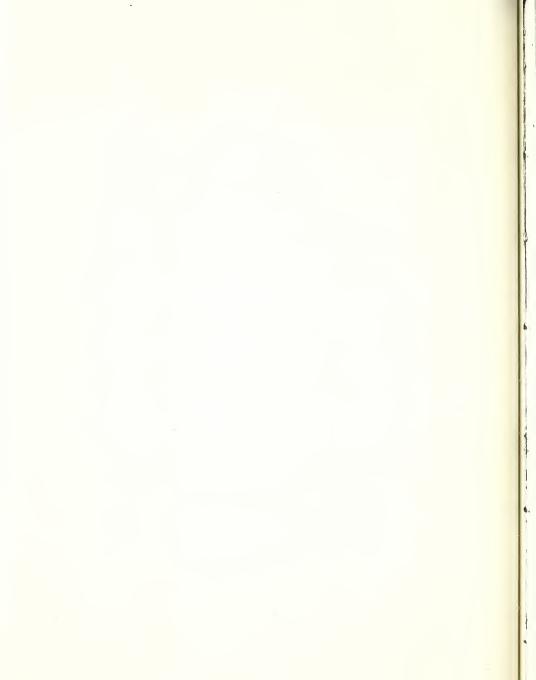
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