

THE SEWER OF NEW ENGLAND¹



"History ... does not refer merely to the past
... history is literally present in all that we do."

— James Baldwin, 1965

"UNNAMEABLE OBJECTS,
UNSPEAKABLE CRIMES"



NOTE: During the early period "Rhode Island" was an ambiguous designator, as it might refer to the moderately sized island in Narragansett Bay, or it might refer to the entire colony of which said island was a part, together with the extensive Providence Plantations on the mainland shore. Also, since that period, there have been significant trades of land and towns between Rhode Island and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts – such as the entire city of Fall River.

GO BACK TO THE PREVIOUS PERIOD

1. This was the opinion of the [Reverend Cotton Mather](#), who actually did know a thing or two about sewage.



RHODE ISLAND

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17TH CENTURY

1650

[Thomas Angell](#) was a member of the Town Council in [Providence](#) and surveyor and commissioner, and one of six jurymen.

The settlers in [Rhode Island](#), who had not yet been able to reimburse [Roger Williams](#) with the agreed sum of £100 for his trip to England to secure them their charter, at this point needed to persuade him to return to England and appear before the Committee on Plantations and represent their interests. To get him again to go, they pledged that they would indeed pay this three-year-old debt, and would pay in addition another £100. They would not, however, be able to advance him any money for the voyage and for his family to live on during his absence, so Williams at this point sold his trading house. During his stay in England, in order to earn money to support himself, he would need to teach Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and Dutch.

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In [Providence, Rhode Island](#) 52 5-acre house lots were laid out, going up the hill from Towne Street (now Main Street) running along the base of College Hill, to what is now Hope Street running along the crest of the nose of land that is now known as College Hill.



Mathurin Ballou owned 12 acres roughly from North Main Street to Camp Street. On a building at the corner of North Main Street and Pleasant Street, there is a “tablet marking the original homestead of Mathurin Ballou, Progenitor of the Ballous in America circa 1650-1662, erected by his descendants 1919.” The Ballou house would not be completely consumed by the fire set by the native Americans. Remnants would be enlarged and expanded upon until, by 1886, it had become a 2-story with two chimneys. (It’s entirely gone now. But there’s the tablet.)

1650. The General Assembly (which title the Commissioners now first assumed) probably with a view to put the inhabitants in a



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posture of defence against the Indians, passed an order for the towns to furnish themselves with arms and warlike stores, and Providence was required to have one barrel of powder, 500 pounds of lead, six pikes and six muskets, to be kept fit for use. Warwick was to have a similar supply, and each of the towns of Portsmouth and Newport were required to furnish more than double the quantities of such arms ammunition.

[Edward Bland](#), exploring in the vicinity of the Chowan, Meherrin, and Roanoke rivers what he characterized as “New Brittanie,” referred to Eno tribespeople as the “Wainoke.”

The 1st white settlements near Albemarle Sound, in what today is [North Carolina](#), were made by frontiersmen from Virginia (many had been indentured servants, who had just completed the terms of their indenture that had paid for their crossing of the ocean, who had just been liberated from this obligation, and had been replaced at their duties by black slaves). Professor John Fiske of [Harvard College](#) would comment in 1897 on the sort of people who made up this migration:



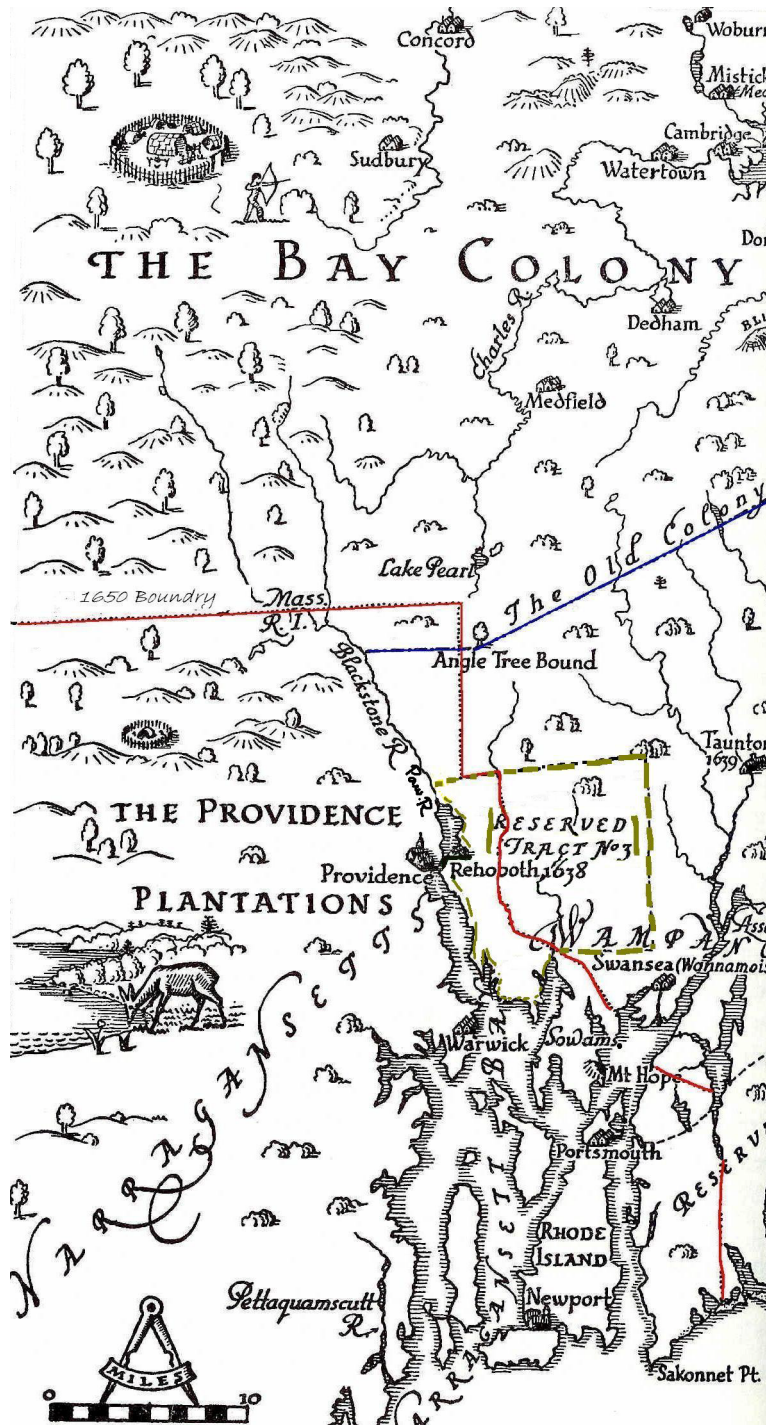
[T]he English settlers who thus came southward from Virginia were very different in character from the sober Puritans, who went northward into Maryland. [North Carolina](#) was to Virginia something like what [Rhode Island](#) was to Massachusetts – a receptacle for all the factious and turbulent elements of Society; but in this case the general character of the emigration was immeasurably lower. The shiftless people who could not make a place for themselves in Virginia society, including many of the “poor whites,” flocked in large numbers into North Carolina. They were, in the main, very lawless in temper, holding it to be the chief end of man to resist all constituted authority, and above all things to pay no taxes. The history of North Carolina was accordingly much more riotous and disorderly than the history of any of the other colonies. “There were neither laws nor lawyers,” says Bancroft, with slight exaggeration. “The courts, such as they were, sat often in taverns, where the Judge might sharpen his wits with bad whiskey, while their decisions were not recorded, but were simply shouted by the crier from the inn door, or at the nearest market place.”

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

RHODE ISLAND

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In [Rhode Island](#), [Friend](#) Nicholas Easton was governor. [William Dyer](#) would be serving as Attorney General until 1653.

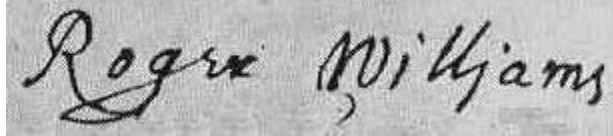




ROGUE ISLAND

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November 11, Friday: The Reverend [Roger Williams](#) made an appeal to the town council of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), urging that a “distracted woman,” Mrs. Weston, be provided for — this amounts (according to W.R. Street) to one of our earliest recorded references in America to public care for persons with mental illnesses.²



PSYCHOLOGY

I crave your consideration of yt lamentable object Mrs. Weston, my experience of ye distempers of persons elsewhere makes me confident yt (although not in all things yet) in a great measure she is a distracted woman. My request is yt you would be pleased to take what is left of hers into your own hand, and appoint some to order it for her supply, and it may be let some publike act of mercy to her necessities stand upon record amongst ye merciful actes of a merciful town yt hath received many mercies from heaven, and remembers yt we know not how soon our own wives may be widows and our children orphans, yea, and ourselves be deprived of all or most of our reason, before we goe from hence, except mercy from ye God of mercies prevent it.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

2. Street, W.R. A CHRONOLOGY OF NOTEWORTHY EVENTS IN AMERICAN [PSYCHOLOGY](#). Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 1994. Indeed, the author may be correct in this claim, for I am unable to discover in the early records of the town of Ipswich any such concern for the mentally ill, and instead I find records of an insistence that every person receiving town assistance must be assigned some sort of useful work for the town.



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1651

The Dyer family on [Aquidneck Island](#) became entangled in a sectarian dispute and sailed to England to get it resolved.

MARY DYER
WILLIAM DYER
DYER OR DYRE



ROGUE ISLAND

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The [Reverend Hugh Peters](#) at this point returned to England.



Chronological TABLE

*Of the most remarkable passages in that part of
America, known to us by the name of NEW-
ENGLAND.*

Anno Dom.

1651. *Hugh Peters, and Mr. Wells came for England.*

It became necessary for the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) to return to England to confirm the charter for [Rhode Island](#) that he had obtained in 1644. He sold his trading post to finance the voyage.

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While in London, he published EXPERIMENTS OF SPIRITUAL LIFE, AND HEALTH AND THEIR PRESERVATION, which he dedicated: "To the truly honorable the Lady Vane." He described this work as having been done "in the thickest of the naked Indians of America, in their very wild houses and by their barbarous fires." He would write to his wife while abroad. "My dearest love and companion in this vale of tears," congratulating himself and her upon her recovery from recent illness: "I send thee, though in winter, a handful of flowers made up in a little posy, for thy dear selft and our dear children to look and smell on, when I, as grass of the field, shall be gone and withered."

[Samuell Gorton](#) was elected as the 1st President over the towns of [Warwick](#) and [Providence](#), which at that time were being referred to as the Providence Plantations.

That the lawe making Assemblie of this Collonie shall Consist of six men of every Towne of this Collonie, and that these six men of every Town shall be chosen by the free inhabitants of every severall Towne, and the major vote of this assembly shall Acte in making lawes.



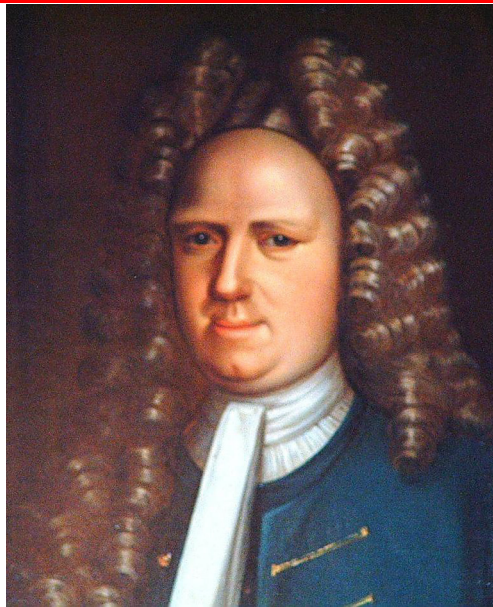
RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

April 3, Monday: A new charter for the Massachusetts Bay colony was signed by Lord President Bradshaw.

A year earlier, [William Coddington](#) had falsely informed the Council of State that it was he who had discovered the islands of “Aquedneck” and “Conanicut” in the Narragansett Bay, that it was he who had purchased them from the leaders of the local red indigenes, and that ever since he had been in quiet enjoyment of them. Saying that he was desirous of being governed by English laws under the protection of the Commonwealth, he petitioned that the Council of State issue him a personal Parliamentary grant of ownership. Accepting these false allegations at face value, on this day Lord President Bradshaw commissioned Coddington as parliamentary Governor of the two islands, empowering him to raise forces for defence and to appoint annually not more than six counsellors, who were to be nominated by the freeholders of Newport and Portsmouth. (This was the action which would eventuate, during August 1654, in Gregory Dexter’s letter to Lord Vane in which he would point out that “We were in complete order, until Mr. Coddington, wanting that public, self-denying spirit which you commend to us in your letter, procured by most untrue information, a monopoly of part of the colony, viz., [Rhode Island](#) to himself, and so occasioned our general disturbance and distractions.”)

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Mr. Coddington, who went to England last year, returned this summer, with a commission appointing him Governor of the Islands of Rhode-Island and Conanicutt during his lifetime, which put an end to the then existing Colony government under the Charter. Providence and Warwick continued united, and appointed Mr. Williams to visit England, to procure a new charter for their government. About this same time, a large number of the inhabitants of Portsmouth and Newport, who were disaffected towards Gov. Coddington, appointed Dr. John Clark to go to England, procure a revocation of his commission; and these agents sailed in company.



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July: [William Coddington](#) sailed again for New England, having in hand the new charter dated April 3, 1651 anointing him as the parliamentary Governor over the islands of “Aquedneck” and “Conanicut” that bore the signature of Lord President Bradshaw. (Upon his arrival in November, he would not be greeted with the sort of enthusiasm with which [Roger Williams](#) was greeted, but instead, his lying presumption and overweening ambition would eventuate, during August 1654, in Gregory Dexter’s letter to Lord Vane in which he would point out that “We were in complete order, until Mr. Coddington, wanting that public, self-denying spirit which you commend to us in your letter, procured by most untrue information, a monopoly of part of the colony, viz., [Rhode Island](#) to himself, and so occasioned our general disturbance and distractions.”

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

July 19, Sunday: The aged William Witter, although he lived in Lynn in the Massachusetts Bay colony, was affiliated with the church of Dr. [John Clarke](#) in [Newport, Rhode Island](#). He became infirm and his physician pastor visited him, accompanied by a couple of other elders in that church, [Obadiah Holmes](#) and John Crandall. On the day after their arrival, the Sabbath, they arranged to hold a [Baptist](#) religious service in Witter’s home. While Dr. Clarke was preaching, he was confronted by two constables with a warrant:

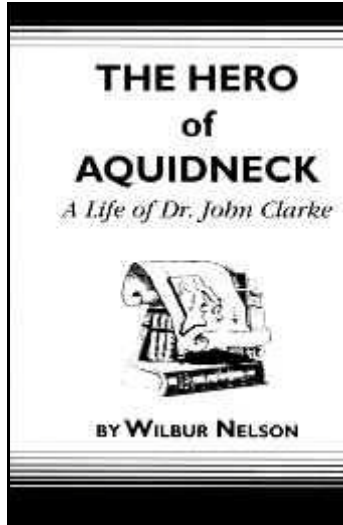
By virtue hereof, you are required to go to the house of William Witter, and to search from house to house for certain erroneous person, being strangers and them to apprehend, and in safe custody to keep, and to-morrow morning at eight o’clock to bring before me. Robert Bridges.



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The Congregationalist authorities in Lynn saw no need for procedural frills, and proceeded without “accuser, witness, jury, law of God, or man.” The three Rhode Islander “strangers” were taken under arrest to “the ale-house or ordinary,” and from there to the Congregationalist religious meeting of that day. The next morning, after was a hearing before Mr. Bridges, they would be forwarded to prison at [Boston](#). After a couple of weeks in the Boston lockup, they would be brought before the Court Of Assistants, and Dr. Clarke would be fined £20, Holmes £30, and Crandall £5. Either they would produce these moneys, the men of religion were



informed, or they could expect to “be well whipped.” Elder Clarke would write from prison to the local authorities, on August 14th, seeking an opportunity to confront and reason with them, and that letter would of course go unanswered. Some unknown person would then, however, pay Clarke’s fine of £20 on his behalf—and he would find himself ejected from the lockup as summarily as originally he had been detained.



When John Crandall promised that he would appear at the next court, he was released. Obadiah Holmes, however, would be kept in prison until September, at which point, his £30 still not having been paid, he would be brought out and publicly “so unmercifully beaten with a corded whip that it was a torture for him to move



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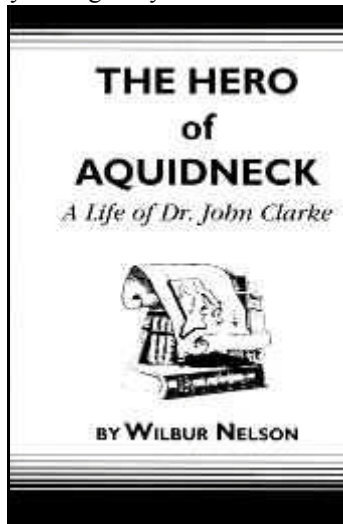
for many weeks afterwards.”



READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

STUDY A FULL ACCOUNT

August 14, Monday: Dr. [John Clarke](#), Baptist elder from [Newport, Rhode Island](#), wrote from the Boston prison in which he and two other Rhode Island Baptists being held by the local Congregationalist authorities, seeking an opportunity to confront and reason with them. The letter would of course go unanswered. Some unknown person would then, however, pay Elder Clarke’s fine of £20 on his behalf — and he would find himself ejected from the Lynn lockup as summarily as originally he had been detained.



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Mid-August: Returning to his church in [Newport](#) from almost a month of arbitrary imprisonment in Lynn, Elder [John Clarke](#) found himself being importuned to go represent [Rhode Island](#) at the English court.



September: At the prison in [Boston](#), since the £30 fine of [Obadiah Holmes](#) had not been paid, he was brought onto Boston Common, stripped to the waist, tied to the post, and given 30 lashes with the three-tailed whip.



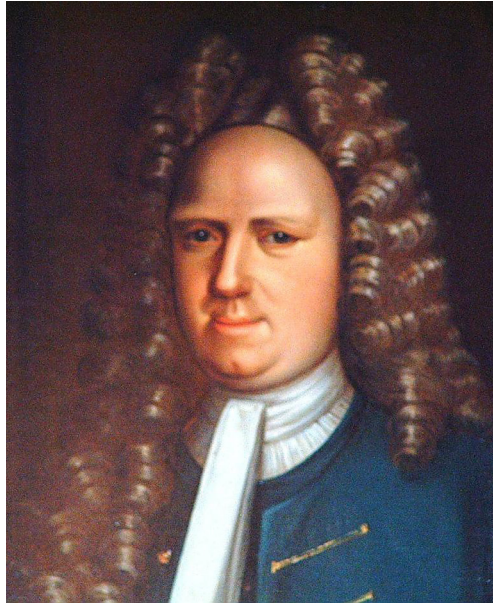
Upon being cut free of the post, he turned to the audience and declared “You have struck me with roses.” Soon afterward he removed to [Newport, Rhode Island](#).



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November: [William Coddington](#) arrived in New England, and with him the [Rhode Island](#) charter dated April 3, 1651 that had been signed by Lord President Bradshaw.



[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)

November: The commissioners of the town of [Warwick](#) met in [Providence](#) with the commissioners of that town, and they resolved that the towns on [Aquidneck Island](#) and [Conanicut](#) Island ([Portsmouth](#), [Newport](#), and [Jamestown](#)) had, due to the parliamentary charter granted to [William Coddington](#), deserted from the chartered government formerly established.

Elder [John Clarke](#) sailed to represent the interests of the [Rhode Island](#) colony before the court in England by protesting that new parliamentary charter.

[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)

December 18, Monday: On this day, or on the 18th of 6th month according to [Quaker](#) records, Daniel Gould got married with Wait or Wate Coggeshall (who in all probability was a daughter of John Coggeshall the president of the colony of [Rhode Island](#)).

Daniel, eldest son of Jeremiah and Priscilla Gould, was settled by his father in that part of Newport, Rhode Island, (now called Middletown³), and on that portion of the farm still in the possession of his descendants.⁴ He married Wate, daughter of John Coggeshall (first President of the Colony), on the 18th of 6th month, 1651; with whom he lived in much love, to an advanced age. There is no particular date given, when he was convinced of the principles of [Friends](#), but unquestionably it was after he came to this country, as the principles of George Fox were

3. The towns on Aquidneck Island had not yet divided from each other.

4. Stephen Gould and John Gould.



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not promulgated until 1647; but that he was a sturdy adherent to those doctrines is evident from divers certificates of Friends of several quarterly and monthly meetings, where he visited in the love and service of the Gospel, he being a minister of good standing at home and abroad. By the writings of Daniel Gould and by some sentences that have been handed down from one generation to another, spoken by him on divers occasions, he was a man of ready wit, deep penetration, and sound judgment; and although he served the Friends in divers capacities, both publicly and privately, it doth not appear that he ever entered into any public employ as an officer in outward government, though he did not escape being sought for on that account. The following extract is taken from a pamphlet of his in reference to the sufferings of Marmaduke Stevenson and Wm. Robinson, in Boston, with whom he was at that time. After saying that they came from Salem to Charleston Ferry, he says – "There meets us the constable and a rude company of people with him, and takes us all up (about 10 in number, besides the two banished friends) and after much scoffing and mocking examinations, all of us were led to prison, and God doth know, who is a just rewarder of all, how Harmless, Peaceable, & innocent we came into the town, behaving ourselves in much fear and humility of mind, yet, notwithstanding, being Quakers, to prison we must go, where we remained some days – it may be 3 or 4, or a week; there the Council sent searchers to search us & our Pockets, & took our papers & whatever they pleased, carrying them away, among which was Wm. Robinson's Journal of places he had been. After that our pockets had been picked we remained in Prison till the pleasure of the court was to send for any or all of us, for sometimes they would send for several or all, and sometimes for one alone. For I was once sent for, sifted and tried, being examined about many things. And seeing that they were as a company of Fowlers to draw the Bird into their net, I was sparing of speech; then they called me Dumb Devil that could not speak & some said I was simple and ignorant and had no great harm in me, but that I was beguiled & led away by others that were more subtle. Then I said to them, if you think I am simply beguiled & not willfully in error how have you showed kindness to me? Or where has your love appeared to help me out of the ignorance & delusion you suppose I have fallen into? How have your endeavours appeared to open my understanding – to show me better? Do you think your prison, whips, and base usage are the way to do it? Is that the way, to begin with, to restore any one from the error of his ways? Then some one cried out and said: "he is more knave than fool!" Then I answered again and said – "If I hold my tongue I am a Dumb Devil, a fool & ignorant. If I speak I am a knave." After this Richard Bellingham the Deputy Governor being full of envy, said to me, "Well, Gould, you shall be severely whipped;" which was afterward done, with 30 stripes upon my naked back, being tyed to the Carriage of a great Gun. And this is my comfort to this day, & I bless the Lord for it, that my sufferings were in great Innocence. There were five others whipped at the same time there. Two men & three women; each having ten stripes – except the two men, fifteen, for no



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other cause than being Quakers. And after we were whipped we were all led to prison⁵ where our lodgings were with our sore backs upon the boards, where we remained untill after the Execution." This was in the year 1659. Daniel Gould sometimes wrote poetry, of which the following is a specimen, taken from his papers, sent to England to be published.

Concerning Self.

Concerning self, I thus have seen the thing
Self undenied will self much sorrow bring.
Then look to self, for self a creeping thief
Though he promises fair to the end, 'twill be thy grief
Take not his bait tho' seeming ne'er so fair
For in this bait is laid a deadly snare.

Look, what thou loves & most inclines unto
In that he'l come & tempt thee sore to do
To cross his tempting & thy former lust,
Stand stiff against him, for deny thou must,
Then taking up the cross thou'lt see the thing
That in the end, it will much comfort bring.⁶

1652

[Obadiah Holmes](#) was ordained to preach the gospel, and took Elder [John Clarke](#)'s place as pastor of the [Baptist](#) church in [Newport, Rhode Island](#).

1652. These agents presented a joint petition to the Council, who vacated Coddington's commission, and directed a re-union of all the towns under the Charter. Hugh Bewitt, who had been tried by the General Court of trials, and convicted of "Treason against the power and authority of the State of England," was again tried before the Court of Commissioners, and acquitted.

At this point the [Baptists](#) in [Providence](#) were split into two groups, one adhering to what is known as "Six Principles" doctrine and the other to "Five Principles" doctrine:

There were two Baptist churches in Providence, as early as 1652; one of the six, and the other of the five, principle Baptists. This appears from a manuscript diary kept by John Comer, a Baptist preacher, in Newport. The diary is now in the possession of that gentleman's descendants, in Warren. It states that one of the members of the first Baptist church in Newport, "came to Providence, and received imposition of hands from William Wickenden, pastor of a church there, lately separated from the church under Thomas Olney," and that Mr. Wickenden and Gregory Dexter, returned to Newport with him, and that the same ordinance was administered to several others, who in 1656,

5. The BIBLE which he had with him while in prison is now (1872) in the possession of one of his descendants — Lydia A. Gould, of Newport, Rhode Island.

6. Rebecca Gould Mitchell. THE GOULDS OF RHODE ISLAND (Providence: A. Crawford Greene, Book and Job Printer, Railroad Halls, 1875), pages 8-9



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withdrew from the first church in Newport, and formed a new church, "holding general redemption, and admitting to communion, only those who had submitted to imposition of hands." The records of the church make Mr. Dexter the successor of Mr. Wickenden, and Thomas Olney, the successor of Mr. Dexter. They also state, that Mr. Olney was born in 1631, and came to Providence in 1654. Now, the records of the town shew, that Thomas Olney, senior, came to Providence about 1638. He was there baptized, with his wife, about 1639. They had a son Thomas, who came with them, a minor, and who was afterwards town clerk, for many years. He is probably the person referred to in the church records. Dr. Styles states, in his manuscript itinerary, that in 1774, he conversed with John Angell, then aged 83, who told him that his mother was daughter of Gregory Dexter, and that Mr. Dexter was the first Baptist elder of the six principle church. There is in the cabinet of the Historical Society, a letter from Governor Jenckes, dated March 19, 1730, which contains some facts as to the succession and religious tenets of the elders of this church. From this, it appears, that one Dr. John Walton, formerly a practising physician in the county, was then preaching to a Baptist church in Providence. He, it seems, was in favor of singing in public worship. The governor was his intimate friend. He says, "as to his singing of psalms, I have heard him say, he would not urge it as a duty, on the church." Dr. Walton expected some allowance by way of contribution, for his services. The governor writes on this point, "Elder Tillinghast taught, that a pastor might receive, by way of contribution, although for his own part, he would take nothing." It seems further, from the same letters, that Dr. Walton opposed the laying on of hands, if "performed to obtain the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost," and that he thought the want of it ought not to be a bar to communion with those who were rightly baptized. Governor Jenckes adds, "at first, in the Baptist churches in this colony, those under laying on of hands continued fellowship with those who were not, until one taught that laying on of hands was a doctrine of devils; then there arose a separation." Here he evidently refers to Mr. Olney. After Mr. Olney's death and after a meeting-house had been built, it is probable, only one meeting was kept up, and one church, under Mr. Tillinghast - that Mr. Jenckes succeeded Mr. Tillinghast, neither of them insisting so strongly on the points of former difference as they would have done, had there been a society of opposite sentiments in the same town with them. After Mr. Jenckes' death, while Dr. Walton was preaching, other differences led them to stir again, the old embers of contention. Mr. James Brown succeeded him.⁷

7. William Read Staples (1798-1868). ANNALS OF THE TOWN OF [PROVIDENCE](#), FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT, TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT, IN JUNE, 1832. Providence, [Rhode Island](#): Printed by Knowles and Vose, 1843.

[VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES](#)



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The Parliamentary soldier [William Edmundson](#) rode into Derbyshire and married a young woman, to whom he had been contracted before. After some time he and his wife determined to relocate to [Ireland](#), and got off the boat in the port of Dublin not long after the plague.

During this period, finally, through a negotiated agreement between [Lord Protector Cromwell](#) and King Charles I's advocate, Lawrence Wilkinson was allowed to find refuge in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). He and his wife Susanna Smith Wilkinson, daughter of Christopher Smith, would have sons Joseph Wilkinson, born on March 2, 1654, Samuel Wilkinson, and John Wilkinson, and daughters Susanna Wilkinson, born on March 9, 1652; Joanna Wilkinson, born on March 2, 1657, and Susanna Wilkinson (again), born during February 1662. (It would be, presumably, this youngest son John Wilkinson who would become a grandfather of [Jemimah Wilkinson](#), the "Publik Universal Friend" of Rhode Island, and also an ancestor of Oziel Wilkinson the metal worker of Pawtucket.)

WILKINSON FAMILY

At the culmination of the rebellion which had begun in 1641 in [Ireland](#), after eleven years of intense hostilities, the island had been stripped and was "void as a wilderness." The half of the people who had attempted to oppose Cromwell who were still alive were reduced to eating human flesh, when they were not consuming carrion. The victorious English colonists brought about the sale by drovers and other intermediaries of some 35,000 to 40,000 defeated Irish warriors, to the armies of foreign powers. This "transplantation" was in all particulars an Irish [slave](#) trade "to Hell or Connaught" begun after the remaining Irish had been forced to move west of the River Shannon. By and large these men would be able to continue in the status of soldier, albeit by serving a foreign master in a foreign clime, except for some unfortunate number of the more intransigent ones, probably somewhat less than a thousand, who could not be trusted with their weapons but would instead need to be reduced as common laborers on the sugar-cane plantations of the West Indies.⁸ As all these thousands upon thousands of defeated warriors were being transshipped out of Irish ports, some 6,000 Irish Catholic priests, Irish Catholic women, and Irish Catholic boys were in addition sent along with them for free, in order to be disposed of them locally, without any separate record being maintained of these civilian auxiliaries. This Irish slave trade would not be brought to a completion until 1657.⁹

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

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

8. As a footnote, a pointy reminder by Theodore W. Allen: "It is only a 'white' habit of mind that reserves 'slave' for the African-American and boggles at the term 'Irish slave trade'."

9. When the proposal was recently made by a black reverend in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) that we should now remove the word "plantation" from the official state name "Rhode Island and Providence Plantations" on grounds that such a word honored the state's history of human slavery, some white clown-in-denial wrote to the ProJo local newspaper and insisted that while indeed there had been slavery in [Rhode Island](#), the local historical "slaves" (this clown, or the clowning newspaper editor of the clownish ProJo newspaper, had put the term inside scarequotes) had been merely white people such as the Irish warriors who had been indentured as slaves for a period of ten years. Nothing for us to be ashamed of, he trumpeted informedly!

INDENTURE



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elsewhere, to that end that they may be enslaved to others for a long time, hee or they shall forfeit to the Collonie forty pounds."¹⁰

This law was for a time enforced,¹¹ but by the beginning of the eighteenth century it had either been repealed or become a dead letter; for the Act of 1708 recognized perpetual slavery, and laid an impost of £3 on Negroes imported.¹² This duty was really a tax on the transport trade, and produced a steady income for twenty years.¹³ From the year 1700 on, the citizens of this State engaged more and more in the carrying trade, until Rhode Island became the greatest slave-trader in America. Although she did not import many slaves for her own use, she became the clearing-house for the trade of other colonies. Governor Cranston, as early as 1708, reported that between 1698 and 1708 one hundred and three vessels were built in the State, all of which were trading to the West Indies and the Southern colonies.¹⁴ They took out lumber and brought back molasses, in most cases making a slave voyage in between. From this, the trade grew. Samuel Hopkins, about 1770, was shocked at the state of the trade: more than thirty distilleries were running in the colony, and one hundred and fifty vessels were in the slave-trade.¹⁵ "Rhode Island," said he, "has been more deeply interested in the slave-trade, and has enslaved more Africans than any other colony in New England." Later, in 1787, he wrote: "The inhabitants of Rhode Island, especially those of Newport, have had by far the greater share in this traffic, of all these United States. This trade in human species has been the first wheel of commerce in Newport, on which every other movement in business has chiefly depended. That town has been built up, and flourished in times past, at the expense of the blood, the liberty, and happiness of the poor Africans; and the inhabitants have lived on this, and by it have gotten most of their wealth and riches."¹⁶

The Act of 1708 was poorly enforced. The "good intentions" of its framers "were wholly frustrated" by the clandestine "hiding and conveying said negroes out of the town [Newport] into the country, where they lie concealed."¹⁷ The act was accordingly strengthened by the Acts of 1712 and 1715, and made to apply to importations by land as well as by sea.¹⁸ The Act of 1715, however, favored the trade by admitting African Negroes free of duty. The chaotic state of Rhode Island did not allow England often to review her legislation; but as soon as the Act of 1712 came to notice it was disallowed, and accordingly repealed in 1732.¹⁹ Whether the Act of 1715 remained, or whether any other duty act was passed, is not clear.

10. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, I. 240.

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

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

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

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

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

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

17. Preamble of the Act of 1712.

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

19. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 471.



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While the foreign trade was flourishing, the influence of the Friends and of other causes eventually led to a movement against slavery as a local institution. Abolition societies multiplied, and in 1770 an abolition bill was ordered by the Assembly, but it was never passed.²⁰ Four years later the city of Providence resolved that "as personal liberty is an essential part of the natural rights of mankind," the importation of slaves and the system of slavery should cease in the colony.²¹ This movement finally resulted, in 1774, in an act "prohibiting the importation of Negroes into this Colony," – a law which curiously illustrated the attitude of Rhode Island toward the slave-trade. The preamble of the act declared: "Whereas, the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which, that of personal freedom must be considered as the greatest; as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; – Therefore," etc. The statute then proceeded to enact "that for the future, no negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free...." The logical ending of such an act would have been a clause prohibiting the participation of Rhode Island citizens in the slave-trade. Not only was such a clause omitted, but the following was inserted instead: "Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave brought from the coast of Africa, into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this colony, and which negro or mulatto slave could not be disposed of in the West Indies, but shall be brought into this colony. Provided, that the owner of such negro or mulatto slave give bond ... that such negro or mulatto slave shall be exported out of the colony, within one year from the date of such bond; if such negro or mulatto be alive, and in a condition to be removed."²² In 1779 an act to prevent the sale of slaves out of the State was passed,²³ and in 1784, an act gradually to abolish slavery.²⁴ Not until 1787 did an act pass to forbid participation in the slave-trade. This law laid a penalty of £100 for every slave transported and £1000 for every vessel so engaged.²⁵

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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From the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) of [Rhode Island](#)'s EXPERIMENTS OF SPIRITUAL LIFE AND HEALTH, an epistle to Mrs. Williams entitled "In the Valley of the Shadow of Death":

In the next place, my dear love, let us down together by the steps of holy meditation into the valley of the shadow of death. It is of excellent use to walk often into Golgotha, and to view the rotten skulls of so many innumerable thousands of millions of millions of men and women, like ourselves, gone, gone forever from this life and being, as if they never had life nor being, as the swift ships, as the weaver's shuttle, as an arrow, as the lightning through the air.

It is not unprofitable to remember the faces of such whom we knew, with whom we had sweet acquaintance, sweet society, with whom we had familiarly eaten and lodged, but now grown loathsome, ugly, terrible, even to their dearest, since they fell into the jaws of death, the King of terrors.

And yet they are but gone before us, in the path all flesh must tread. How then should we make sure, and infinitely much of a Saviour, who delivers us from the power and bitterness of death and grave and hell, who is a resurrection and life unto us, and will raise up and make our bodies glorious, like his glorious body, when He shall shortly appear in glory.

It is further of great and sweet use against the bitterness of death, and against the bitter-sweet delusions of this world daily to think each day our last, the day of our last farewell, the day of the splitting of this vessel, the breaking of this bubble, the quenching of this candle, and of our passage into the land of darkness, never more to behold a spark of light until the havens be no more.

Those three uncertainties of that most certain blow, to wit, of the time when, the place when, the manner how it shall come upon us, and dash our earthen pitcher all to pieces – I say the consideration of these three should be a threefold cord to bind us fast to an holy watchfulness for our departures, and a spur to quicken us to abundant faithfulness in doing and suffering for the Lord and his Christ. It should draw up our minds into heavenly objects, and loosen us from the vexing vanities of this vain puff of this present sinful life.

Oh how weaned, how sober, how temperate, how mortified should our spirits, our affections, our desires be when we remember that we are but strangers, converse with strange companies, dwell in strange houses, lodge in strange beds and know not whether this day, this night shall be our final change of this strange place for one far stranger, dark and doleful, except enlightened by the death and life of the Son of God!

How contented should we be with any pittance, any allowance of bread, of clothes, of friendship, of respect, etc..!

How thankful unto God, unto man, should we poor strangers be for the least crumb, or drop, or rag vouchsafed unto us, when we remember we are but strangers in an inn, but passengers in a ship; and though we dream of long summer days, yet our very life and being is but a swift short passage from the bank of time to the other side or bank of a doleful eternity!

How patient should our minds and bodies be under the crossing,



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disappointing hand of our all-powerful Maker, of our most gracious Father, when we remember that this is the short span of our purging and fitting for an eternal glory, and that when we are judged we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world!

How quietly, without the swellings of revenge and wrath, should we bear the daily injuries, reproaches, persecutions, etc., from the hands of men, who pass away and wither, it may be before night, like grass or as the smoke on the chimney's top, and their love and hatred shall quickly perish!

Yea, how busy, how diligent, how solicitous should we be like strangers upon a strange coast, waiting for a wind or passage, to get dispatched what we have to do, before we hear that final call, "Away, Away, let us be gone from hence!"

A letter from the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) to Governor John Endecott:

The Maker and Searcher of our hearts knows with what bitterness I write, as with bitterness of soul I have heard such language as this to proceed from yourself and others, who formerly have fled from (with crying out against) persecutors! "You will say this is your conscience; you will say you are persecuted, and you are persecuted for your conscience. No; you are Conventiclers, heretics, blasphemers, seducers. You deserve to be hanged; rather than one shall be wanting to hang him I will hang him myself. I am resolved not to leave an heretic in the country." ...Oh, sir, you cannot forget what language and dialect this is, whether not the same unsavory and ungodly, blasphemous and bloody, which the Gardiners and Bonners both former and later used to all that bowed not to the state golden image of what conscience soever they were. And indeed, sir, if the Most High be pleased to awaken you to render unto his holy majesty his due praises, in your truly broken-hearted confessions and supplications, you will then proclaim to all the world, that what profession soever you make of the Lamb, yet these expressions could not proceed from the dragon's mouth.

Oh remember, and the most holy God bring it to your remembrance, that you have now a great price in your hand, to bring great glory to his holy name, great rejoicing to so gracious a Redeemer (in whom you profess is all your healing and salvation), great rejoicing to the holy Spirit of all true consolation, whom yet so long you who have grieved and sadded, great rejoicing to those blessed spirits (attending upon the Lamb, and all his, and terrible to his persecutors), great rejoicing and instruction to all that love the true Lord Jesus (notwithstanding their wanderings among so many false Christs), mourning and lamenting after him in all parts of the world where his name is sounded. Your talents are great, your fall hath been so; your eminency is great, the glory of the Most High in mercy or justice toward you will be great also.

Oh remember it is a dangerous combat for the potsherd of the earth to fight with their dreadful Potter. It is a dismal battle for poor naked feet to kick against the pricks; it is a dreadful voice from the King of kings, and Lord of lords, "Endicott, Endicott, why huntest thou me? why imprisonest thou me? why



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finest, why so bloodily whippest, why wouldst thou (did not I hold they bloody hands) hang and burn me?" Yea, sir, I beseech you remember that it is a dangerous thing to put this to the may be, to the venture or hazard, to the possibility. Is it possible (may you well say) that since I hunt, I hunt not the life of my Savior, and the blood of the Lamb of God? I have fought against many several sorts of consciences, is it beyond all possibility and hazard, that I have not fought against God, that I have not persecuted Jesus in some of them?

Sir, I must be humbly bold to say, that 'tis impossible for any man or men to maintain their Christ by their sword, and to worship a true Christ! to fight against all consciences opposite to theirs, and not to fight against God in some of them, and to hunt after the precious life of the true Lord Jesus Christ. Oh remember whether your principles and consciences must in time and opportunity force you. 'Tis but worldly policy and compliance with men and times (God's mercy overruling) that holds your hands from murdering of thousands and ten thousands were your power and command as great as once the bloody Roman emperors was.... Oh remember once again (as I began) and I humbly desire to remember with you, that every gray hair now on both our heads is a Boanerges, a son of thunder, and a warning piece to prepare us for the weighing of our last anchors, and to be gone from hence, as if we had never been.

From the Reverend [Roger Williams](#)'s THE BLOODY TENENT YET MORE BLOODY, a context in which he is bitching and moaning about the "tenent" by which the Reverend John Cotton has had him kicked out of the Bay Colony:

TRUTH. Dear Peace, our golden sand is out, we now must part with an holy kiss of heavenly peace and love; Mr. Cotton speaks and writes his conscience; yet the Father of Lights may please to show him that what he highly esteems as a tenent washed white in the Lamb's blood, is yet more black and abominable, in the most pure and jealous eye of God.

PEACE. The blackamoor's darkness differs not in the dark from the fairest white.

TRUTH. Christ Jesus, the Sun of Righteousness, hath broke forth, and daily will, to a brighter and brighter discovery of this deformed Ethiopian. And for myself I must proclaim, before the most holy God, angels, and men, that (whatever other white and heavenly tenents Mr. Cotton holds) yet this is a foul, a black, and a bloody tenent.

A tenent of high blasphemy against the God of Peace, the God of Order, who hath of one blood made all mankind, to dwell upon the face of the earth, now all confounded and destroyed in their civil beings and subsistences by mutual flames of war from their several respective religions and consciences.

A tenent warring against the Prince of Peace, Jesus Christ, denying this appearance and coming in the flesh, to put an end to and abolish the shadows of that ceremonial and typical land of Canaan.

A tenent fighting against the sweet end of his coming, which was not to destroy men's lives, for their religions, but to save



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them by the meek and peaceable invitations and persuasions of his peaceable wisdom's maidens.

A tenent foully charging his wisdom, faithfulness, and love, in so poorly providing such magistrates and civil powers all the world over, as might effect so great a charge pretended to be committed to them.

A tenent lamentably guilty of his most precious blood, shed in the blood of so many hundred thousands of his poor servants by the civil powers of the world, pretending to suppress blasphemies, heresies, idolatries, superstition, etc.

A tenent fighting with the spirit of love, holiness, and meekness, by kindling fiery spirits of false zeal and fury, when yet such spirits know not of what spirit they are.

A tenent fighting with those mighty angels who stand up for the peace of the saints, against Persia, Grecia, etc., and so consequently, all other nations, who fighting for their several religions, and against the truth, leave no room for such as fear and love the Lord on the earth.

A tenent, against which the blessed souls under the altar cry loud for vengeance, this tenent having cut their throats, torn out their hearts, and poured forth their blood in all ages, as the only heretics and blasphemers in the world....

A tenent loathsome and ugly (in the eyes of the God of heaven, and serious sons of men) I say, loathsome some with the palpable filths of gross dissimulation and hypocrisy. Thousands of peoples and whole nations compelled by this tenent to put on the foul vizard of religious hypocrisy, for fear of laws, losses, and punishments, and for the keeping and hoping for of favor, liberty, worldly commodity, etc.

A tenent wofully guilty of hardening all false and deluded consciences (of whatever sect, faction, heresy, or idolatry, though never so horrid and blasphemous) by cruelties and violences practised against them; all false teachers and their followers (ordinarily) contracting a brawny and steely hardness from their sufferings for their consciences.

A tenent that shuts and bars out the gracious prophecies and promises and discoveries of the most glorious Sun of Righteousness, Christ Jesus, that burns up the holy Scriptures, and forbids them (upon the point) to be read in English, or that any trial or search, or (truly) free disquisition be made by them; when the most able, diligent, and conscionable readers must pluck forth their own eyes, and be forced to read by the (whichsoever predominant) clergy's spectacles.

A tenent that seals up the spiritual graves of all men, Jews and Gentiles (and consequently stands guilty of the damnation of all men), since no preachers, nor trumpets of Christ himself may call them out, but such as the several and respective nations of the world themselves allow of.

A tenent that fights against the common principles of all civility;, and the very civil being and combinations of men in nations, cities, etc., by commixing (explicitly or implicitly) a spiritual and civil state together, and so confounding and overthrowing the purity and strength of both....

A tenent that stunts the growth and flourishing of the most



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likely and hopefulest commonweals and countries, while consciences, the best, and the best deserving subjects are forced to fly (by enforced or voluntary banishment) from their native countries; the lamentable proof whereof England hath felt in the flight of so many worthy English into the Low Countries and New-England, and from New-England into old and other foreign parts.

A tenent whose gross partiality denies the principles of common justice, while men weigh out to the consciences of all others that which they judge not fit nor right to be weighed out to their own. Since the persecutor's rule is, to take and persecute all consciences, only himself must not be touched.

A tenent that is but Machiavelism, and makes a religion but a cloak or stalking horse to policy and private ends of Jeroboam's crown and the priest's benefice, etc.

A tenent that corrupts and spoils the very civil honesty and natural conscience of a nation....

In the sad consideration of all which (dear Peace) let heaven and earth judge of the washing and color of this tenent. For thee, sweet heavenly guest, go lodge thee in the breasts of the peaceable and humble witnesses of Jesus, that love the truth in peace! Hide thee from the world's tumults and combustions in the breasts of thy truly noble children, who profess and endeavor to break the irony and insupportable yokes upon the souls and consciences of any of the sons of men.

PEACE. Methings (dear Truth) if any of the least of these deep charges be found against this tenent, you do not wrong it when you style it bloody. But since, in the woful proof of all ages past, since Nimrod (the hunter or persecutor before the Lord) these and more are lamentably evident and undeniable. It gives me wonder that so many and so excellent eyes of God's servants should not espy so foul a monster, especially considering the universal opposition this tenent makes against God's glory, and the good of all mankind.

TRUTH. There hath been many foul opinions, with which the old serpent hath infected and bewitched the sons of men (touching God, Christ, the Spirit, the Church, against holiness, against peace, against civil obedience, against chastity), insomuch that even sodomy itself hath been a tenent maintained in print by some of the very pillars of the Church of Rome. But this tenent is so universally opposite to God and man, so pernicious and destructive to both (as hath been declared) that like the powder-plot, it threatens to blow up all religion, all civility, all humanity, yea, the very being of the world, and the nations thereof at once.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

PEACE. He that is the father of lies, and a murderer from the beginning, he knows this well, and this ugly blackamoor needs a mask or vizard.

TRUTH. Yea the bloodiness and inhumanity of it is such, that not only Mr. Cotton's more tender and holy breast, but even the most bloody Bonners and Gardiners have been forced to arm themselves



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with the fair shows and glorious pretences of the glory of God, and zeal for that glory, the love of his truth, the gospel of Christ Jesus, love and pity to men's souls, the peace of the Church, uniformity, order, the peace of the commonwealth, the wisdom of the state, the King's, Queen's, and Parliament's proceedings, the odiousness of sects, heresies, blasphemies, novelties, seducers, and their infections, the obstinacy of heretics, after all means, disputations, examinations, synods, yea, and after conviction in the poor heretic's own conscience. Add to these the flattering sound of these glossing titles, the godly magistrate, the Christian magistrate, the nursing fathers and mothers of the Church, Christian kings and queens. But all other kings and magistrates (even all the nations of the world over, as Mr. Cotton pleads) must suspend and hold their hands, and not meddle in matters of religion until they be informed, etc.

PEACE. The dreadful righteous hand of God, the eternal and avenging God, is pulling off these masks and vizards, that thousands and the world may see this bloody tenent's beauty.

TRUTH. But see (my heavenly sister and true stranger in this sea-like, restless, raging world), see here what fires and swords are come to part us! Well; our meetings in the heavens shall not thus be interrupted, our kisses thus distracted, and our eyes and cheeks thus wet, unwiped. For me, though censured, threatened, persecuted, I must profess, while heaven and earth lasts, that no one tenent that either London, England, or the world doth harbor, is so heretical, blasphemous, seditious, and dangerous to the corporal, to the spiritual, to the present, to the eternal good of all men, as the bloody tenent (however washed and whited) I say, as is the bloody tenent of persecution for cause of conscience.

April: When some letters that were being hand-carried to [William Coddington](#) in [Rhode Island](#) by Dutch messengers fell instead into the hands of his political enemies, they were found to contain evidence, if not of a solicitation of military assistance from the Dutch of New Netherland in the control of the English colonists, at least to an offer by that government of such assistance. The Rhode Island Assembly immediately imagined the category "Treason."

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

April 24, Wednesday: In [Warwick, Rhode Island](#), John Warner was being summarily dealt with.

APRIL 24, 1652



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May 18, Saturday-20, Monday: In [Rhode Island](#), at the general assembly called by Gorton, perpetual [slavery](#) was prohibited, so to speak (COLONIAL RECORDS, I. 243). Henceforth, allegedly, no slave, black or white, could be held in servitude for more than ten years (this sounded nice, on paper, although on the ground it never would mean anything at all — there would be little compliance and even less enforcement, and a black or red slave in “Rogue Island” would continue as a black or red slave for life).

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT



“To understand is not to forgive. It is only to understand. It is not an end but a beginning.”

— Rebecca West



By 1700, [enslavement](#), since it was for life, would be limited to persons who were not wholly white, and thus, in 1784, a Rhode Island slave named Amy Allen would be able to obtain release from her condition of servitude by special act of the state legislature on the grounds that —irregardless of her family history and status— her appearance happened to be the appearance of a wholly white person.

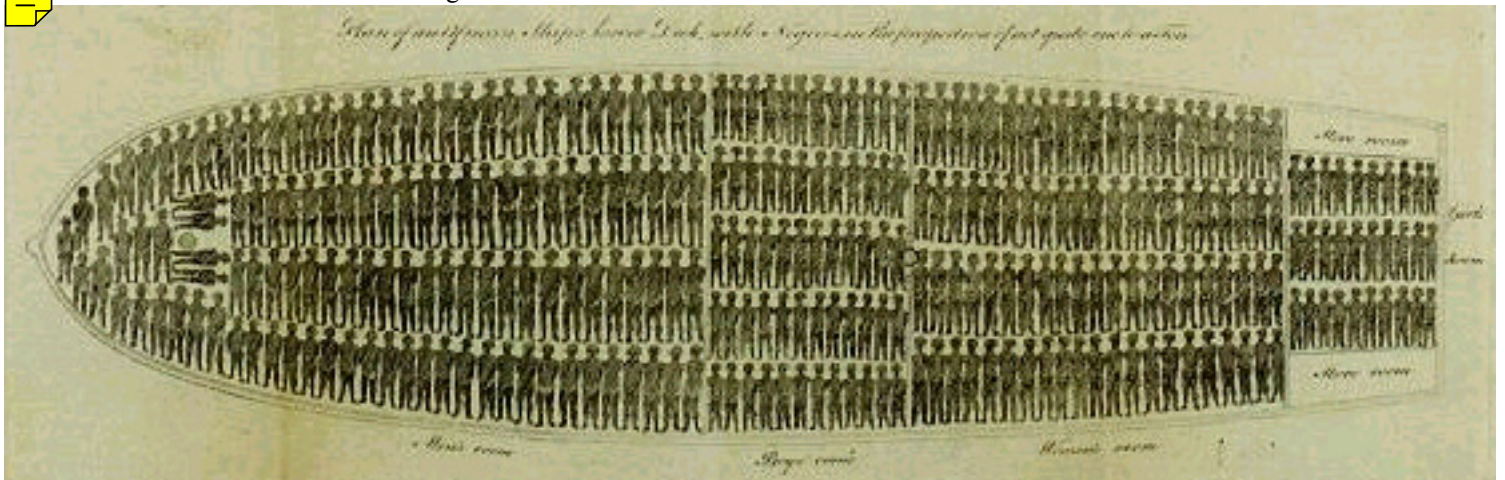
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Below appears the rotting hulk of the slave ship *Jem*, as of the Year of Our Lord 1891 at Fort Adams near [Newport](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#).



Presumably while this [Rhode Island](#) vessel was still above water, and loaded with cargo, its deck plan would have looked something like this:



October 2, Wednesday: [Roger Williams](#) was able to obtain, through the influence of the younger [Sir Henry Vane](#) “the sheet-anchor of our ship,” and through warnings that in its present disordered condition the [Rhode Island](#) colony might well fall into the clutches of the Dutch of New Netherland, a revocation of the commission that had been granted to [William Coddington](#). This new document merely empowered the magistrates and people of the colony, pending further instructions, to administer their government per previous instructions.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT



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December: Hugh Bewitt had been found guilty of high treason by the Court of Trials and had appealed to the Court of Commissioners. [Thomas Angell](#) was one of the six [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#) commissioners of the General Assembly to decide upon Bewitt's appeal. They acquitted him, sparing him the punishment reserved for traitors.

1653

[William Dyer](#) returned alone from Old England to New England, bringing with him the great news that the commission that had been granted to [William Coddington](#) had been withdrawn, and the great news that the colonies of [Rhode Island](#) might govern themselves for the time being as before the issuance of that fraudulently obtained commission.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

The [Narragansett](#) of [Rhode Island](#) had been rendering an annual tribute, usually in wampum, to Massachusetts, but at this point they attempted to render this annual tribute not in wampum but in the same manner as the Pequot, by crossing the sound to Long Island and conquering the Montauk (Metoac) on the east end of the island — however, this warfare would upset English colonists who had been settled at Southampton since 1640. In the following year, threatened with war by the English, the Narragansett would need to desist from their conquest of the Metoac of Long Island.

Edward Hull and Samuel Comstock helped fit out the bark *Swallow* as a [privateer](#). The vessel sailed up the Connecticut River, captured the bark of Kempo Sebada, and brought it to [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), as their prize.

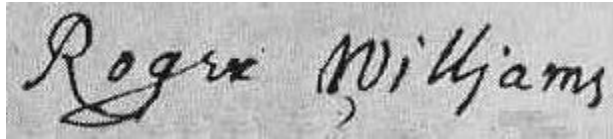
25 3mo: [Thomas Angell](#) was appointed as a commissioner to meet with the [Warwick RI](#) commissioners regarding Captain Underhill and [William Dyer](#) and the manner and means of making war upon the Dutch. Due to the merchant trade up and down the coast, there were several intermarriages between Dutch and [Providence](#) colonists. This did not prevent the Council of State from directing the people to annoy the Dutch and forbidding them to send provisions. In one of the most aggressive responses from a New England colony, [Rhode Island](#) voted cannon and small arms and 20 volunteers be sent to the English on Paumanok Long Island.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

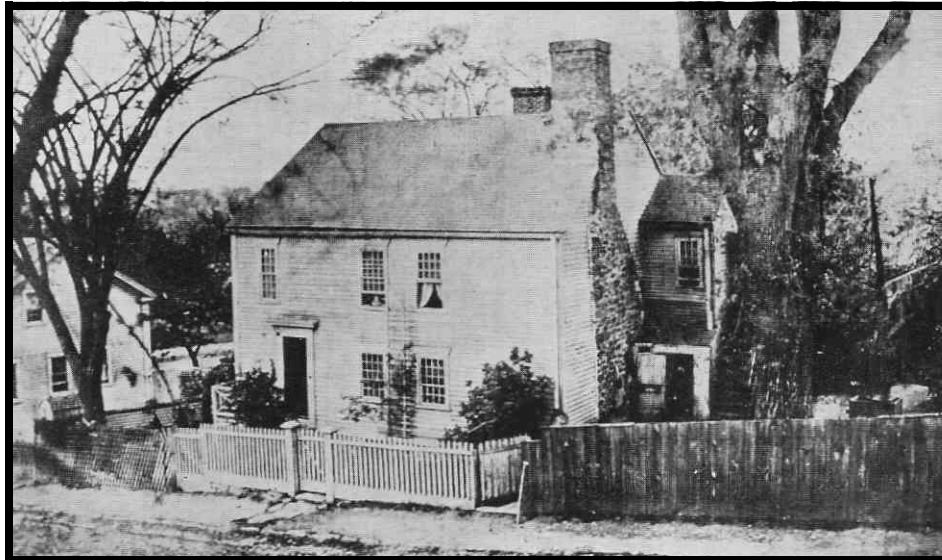
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April 1, Tuesday: The Reverend [Roger Williams](#) wrote from [Sir Henry Vane](#)'s estate at Belleau in Lincolnshire, England to his friends and neighbors in [Providence](#) and [Warwick](#) relative to the confirmation of the charter acquired by Vane's mediation, admonishing them to dwell in peace, etc., and in a postscript added: "My love to all my Indian friends."

A black and white photograph of a handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Roger Williams". The ink is dark and the paper appears aged.

In this year in [Rhode Island](#), the building that would house the Mowry Tavern—a place where Williams would hold meetings—was under construction.



1654

In about this timeframe [Thomas Angell](#) acted as constable for the town of [Providence](#) in the precedent-setting case of Richard Chasmore, also known as "Long Dick" (the man's offense was that he had knowingly harbored [Quakers](#)), in which [Rhode Island](#)'s sovereignty over its citizens versus the authority of the Massachusetts Bay Colony was tested. It wasn't that they themselves had any love for Quakers, it was merely that they resented the implication that the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) was the only man in Rhode Island with any power, and took exception to the presumption of the Massachusetts Bay Colony authorities that they had authority even while standing on Rhode Island land. By stonewalling during this altercation, Thomas Angell and his four deputies withstood the implied challenges of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Some Particular Baptists who had recently emigrated from England organized the worship group of [Chad Brown](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) as a [Baptist](#) church.²⁶



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ROGUE ISLAND

At home in [Providence](#) after an absence of nearly 3 years, the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) became President of the [Rhode Island](#) colony, which office he would hold until 1658. (He would become a freeman of the community in 1655, and would serve as Commissioner in 1658, 1659, and 1661, and would serve as a Deputy in 1670, 1678, 1679, and 1680, and would have a seat on the Town Council during 1675 and 1676.)



1654. All the towns re-united this year, under the Charter, the towns on the main land having been separated from those on the island since the commission to Gov. Coddington. Trade with the Dutch was prohibited. A law was passed against selling liquors to the Indians. There was a General Election at Warwick Sept. 12. First recorded election of military officers in Providence. All the inhabitants were required, by the Court of Commissioners, to sign a submission to the Protector and the Parliament. The sale of liquors and wines was regulated: Indians were to be whipped, or laid "neck and heels" for being drunk, and the ordinary keeper who sold him the liquor, was to be fined. A prison and a pair of stocks were ordered to be built in Providence. The number of freemen in Providence was forty-two. Four military trainings a year were ordered by the Town.

26. According to an article "Was [Roger Williams](#) Really a [Baptist](#)?" published by the Baptist Publishing House of Texarkana TX, by Professor of Church History Louis F. Asher of the Baptist Missionary Association Theological Seminary, "evidence is lacking to show that the group at Providence constituted a [Baptist](#) church before about 1654, at which time a Baptist church was organized by some Particular Baptists who had recently migrated from England." The historian of the First Baptist Church In America, Professor Stanley Lemons, however, disagrees with this evaluation, and points out that it is one made by "Particular Baptists" and spread around by the "Bible Baptist Association." According to this Rhode Island viewpoint, the work of Dr. Asher, "a now-deceased professor at a tiny, splinter Baptist seminary in Texas," is not to be relied upon.

We may note that according to this Particular Baptist claim, this occurrence was fully a dozen years after the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) had disentangled himself from this worship group in 1642. In this dispute, some Baptists assert that it was the Reverend Williams who was the **very first American Baptist** pastor! (Well, whatever the interpretation, it is a fact that he did not minister in the white building that presently proclaims itself to be the first Baptist church in America — which magnificent structure he would never see because it would not be erected on Mr. Angell's house lot **for more than a century!** The assertion that this is the First Baptist Church In America, the FBCIA, only works if one is willing to parse the term "This Church" as an abbreviation for "The Continuing Congregation Associated Now With This Building.")



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

The [Narragansett](#) of [Rhode Island](#) had attempted in the previous year to render their annual tribute to Massachusetts not in wampum but in the same manner as the Pequot, by crossing Long Island Sound and conquering the Montauk (Metoac) on the east end of the island. However, this warfare had upset English colonists who had been settled at Southampton since 1640, and because of this the English had threatened war. The Narragansett were therefore forced to desist from their conquest of the Metoac of Long Island.

[William Hall](#) became a commissioner to the [Rhode Island](#) General Court from [Portsmouth](#).

May 16, Saturday: [William Coddington](#) and his 3d wife, Ann Coddington, had Mary Coddington.

August: At this point [Sir Henry Vane](#) wrote to the [Rhode Island](#) colonists asking straightforwardly “Are there no wise men among you, no public self-denying spirits that at least upon grounds of common safety, equity and prudence can find out some way or means of union, before you become a prey to common enemies?” Gregory Dexter then replied to Lord Vane, to point out that it had been the presumptuousness of [William Coddington](#), empowered as he had been by the parliamentary charter that he had under false pretenses persuaded Lord President Bradshaw to sign, that had been the root cause of all the colonial unrest: “We were in complete order, until Mr. Coddington, wanting that public, self-denying spirit which you commend to us in your letter, procured by most untrue information, a monopoly of part of the colony, viz., Rhode Island to himself, and so occasioned our general disturbance and distractions.”



A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'E. Field'.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

1655

[Nicholas Brown](#) of [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#) took the oath of a freeman.

February 20, Saturday: Thomas Gould was born to Wait Coggeshall Gould and Daniel Gould. (It was during this year that the father Daniel Gould and the grandfather Jeremiah Gould, who had come over from England in 1638, were being made freemen of [Newport, Rhode Island](#). While in New England the grandfather Jeremiah Gould and his wife Priscilla Grover Gould would have a daughter, but then he would go back to England and would die in his native Devonshire.)

November 5, Friday: [William Coddington](#) and his 3d wife, Ann Coddington, had Thomas Coddington.

1656

A case of bestiality by a Massachusetts man, one Richard Chasmore “alias Long Dick,” is instanced by S.V. James in COLONIAL RHODE ISLAND (1975, page 64) as having provided useful ammunition for the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to use against Massachusetts — a nice reversal since Massachusetts generally was denouncing the depravity of “those Rogue Islanders.”

1656. A law was passed that publications of marriage should be made in a Town meeting, or on a training day at the head of the company, or by a magistrate’s certificate posted up in some public place. In town-meeting, the erection of a fort was authorized on Stamper’s hill.

In a later timeframe, the Reverend William Hubbard would have his own imitable comments on this “lustre of years” in the history of New England.

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

READ HUBBARD TEXT

- Chapter LIX.** General affairs of the Massachusetts, in New England, from 1651 to 1656.
- Chapter LX.** A quarrel between the inhabitants of New Haven and the Dutch at Manhatoes; the Massachusetts not willing to engage therein; from 1651 to 1656.
- Chapter LXI.** Ecclesiastical affairs in New England, from 1651 to 1656.
- Chapter LXII.** Special occurrences during this lustre, from 1651 to 1656.



ROGUE ISLAND

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- Chapter LXIII.** **The general affairs of New England, from 1656 to 1661.**
- Chapter LXIV.** **Ecclesiastical affairs in New England, from the year 1656 to the year 1661.**
- Chapter LXV.** **The Plantation of New England troubled with the Quakers; Laws made against them by the General Court of the Massachusetts, within the space of this lustre, from 1655 to 1660.**

[William Hall](#) was again commissioner to the general Court from [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#).

In [Rhode Island](#), Benedict Arnold was in charge (not “the” Benedict Arnold, but his grandpa).

March 14, Tuesday: Back in 1648 some sort of confrontation had occurred in [Rhode Island](#) between [William Coddington](#) and [William Dyer](#), which had resulted in Dyer filing charges of assault and battery. On this day the two men signed a reconciliation document.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

Late Spring: As usual, the swarming of the 17-year New England cicadas *Magicicada septendecim*.



NEW ENGLAND

October 24, Tuesday: Daniel Gould (junior) was born to Wait Coggeshall Gould and Daniel Gould. (He would get married with Mary Clark, who probably was the eldest daughter of Walter Clark of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) despite the fact that the family genealogy makes her the daughter instead of Thomas Clark, and they would produce two sons, Daniel Gould III and Jeremiah Gould).

End of October: After 11 weeks of close confinement at Boston, the eight [Quakers](#) were returned to the custody of the captain of the *Speedwell* and he was required to carry them back to England. During the incarceration [Samuell Gorton](#) had exchanged letters with Friend Christopher Holder to suggest that they could give the slip to their jailer (which they were of course reluctant to do) or, if they could get word of their sailing date to him, he could meet their ship at sea and take them to [Rhode Island](#) where they would find refuge among his Gortonist cult followers at [Warwick](#). These Quaker ministers were aware, however, that the ship’s master had posted a £500 bond to guarantee their secure return to London — and perhaps also they were wary of becoming entangled with these people after such a recruitment.

To ensure that Friend Richard Smith had no opportunity to spread his heresies by land, when the Puritans sent him back to his home in Southampton on Long Island they ensured that the journey would be entirely by boat.



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

1657

[Rhode Island](#)'s assembly experimented with freedom of religion (on this try, it wouldn't last).

[Samuell Gorton](#)'s SALTMARSH RETURNED FROM THE DEAD, and a sequel, AN ANTIDOTE AGAINST THE COMMON PLAGUE OF THE WORLD.

Early in the year: [Mary Dyer](#) and Ann Burden arrived in [Boston](#) by ship from England, Mary as a former Bostonian relocated to [Rhode Island](#) who was returning after a trip to England (begun in 1650), and Ann as a Boston widow who was returning home to settle her dead husband's estate. However, it was learned that while in England the two women had been converted to Quakerism.²⁷ Unexpectedly, instead of a warm homecoming, they were carted off to jail. This would be the year in which:

“Christopher Holder and John Copeland, Quakers, were whipped through town with knotted cords, with all the strength the hangman could command. The prisoners were gagged with a stick in the mouth, to prevent their outcries.”

What had happened with Friend Christopher Holder was that he had caused a disruption by attempting to speak in church in Salem after the Sunday sermon (it was during this year, incidentally, that [Quaker](#) meetings for worship were beginning locally). A guard there had brought him to the floor and stuffed his glove and handkerchief into Holder's mouth. When a member of the Puritan congregation, [Samuel Shattuck](#), got the glove and handkerchief out of Holder's mouth, and resuscitated him, Shattuck was taken to the [Boston](#) lockup and had to pay a 20-shilling fine to get released. (Shattuck would become a Quaker and be exiled.) Holder was given 30 lashes and then had to spend the next three days and nights in jail without any food or bedding. All told, he and two other Quaker ministers would be held in this jail for the next three and a half months.

During this year Friend [George Fox](#) would be sending out a number of epistles, including one entitled “To Friends, To Dwell in that which Keeps Peace”:



*Number CXXXVI, Volume VII, page 132. Dear Friends, - Dwell in that which keeps your peace, and comprehends the deceit, and answers that of God in everyone. And let Friends keep their meetings, and never hearken to tales, nor things without; but keep their peace, and know the life and power, union and fellowship, which stands in God, in and with which ye may stand over the world in the one power, life, and wisdom, and therein be kept to the glory of the Lord God. So, in that which is pure, the Lord God Almighty preserve you!
G.F.*

His epistle entitled “To The Prisoners” dates to this year:

27. In the quite numerous Dyer family, only [Mary Dyer](#) and her son William, Jr. (Will) would ever be converts to Quakerism.



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*Number CXXXVIII, Volume VII, page 133. Friends, - Ye that are the prisoners of the Lord Jesus Christ in outward bonds, who witness him by whom the world was made, who is the King of saints, and who are his, and come under his dominion and government, ye are not your own; but purchased with his blood, which washes and makes you clean, and justifies, whose bodies are his temple. Though he suffers you to be imprisoned, yet in his power your bodies are kept, and your spirits also; ye standing witnesses for your master, for your king, for your prophet, for your covenant of light, for your wisdom of God, (him by whom all things were made,) for the word and power, by which all things were made and upheld, against the powers of darkness, who are out of the light, out of the truth, who cannot bind, stop, nor limit the unlimited power, which is over it, and comprehends it. They who are born of the world, and in the power which upholds all things, over that, (and the power of the evil one,) have victory, and sing over the false prophet. For the devil was the deceiver, who abode not in the truth; and there is the false prophet, who speaks of his own, and not from the Lord; and there is the beast, that makes the war against the lamb and his saints, who witness the testimony of Jesus, and the word of God. Therefore mind the word of God, ye children of the light, who are in the light, that comes from the word; mind the word of the Lord, which is a hammer, and as a fire, and sharper than a two-edged sword. And ye who are the Lord's, are not your own; but they who are in their own time, see not the time which is in the Father's hand; their time is always, and they do their own works, and not the works of God, which the son of God did.
G.F.*

George Fox

Friend [George](#)'s epistle entitled "Know The Praying in the Spirit" also dates to this year:



Friends, - Know the praying in the spirit, and with the understanding; then ye will come to know the sighs and groans than cannot be uttered. For such as have not the spirit that gave forth the scriptures to guide them, are as the Pharisees were, in the long prayers, and in the wrath, and in the doubting, and do not lift up holy hands. This makes a difference between praying in the spirit, and the Pharisees' long prayers, that devoured widows' houses. And none owns the light as it is Jesus, but he that owns the light that Christ lighteth him withal. And none owns the truth, but who owns the light that cometh from Christ, the truth. And none cometh to the Father, but such who owns the light that cometh from Christ, which leads to him. Nor none owns the son, except he owns the light that cometh from him. For all dwelling in the light that comes from Jesus, it leads out of wars, leads out of strife, leads out of the occasion of wars, and leads out of the earth up to God, out of earthly-mindedness to heavenly-mindedness, and bringeth your minds to heaven.



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G.F.

George Fox

His epistle entitled “Dwell in Unity and Love in the Power of God.” also dates to this year:



GF, To Friends, to live in love and unity together, in the power of God. Friends all every where, in the life and power of God live and dwell, and spread the truth abroad. Quench not the spirit, but live in love and unity one with another; that with the wisdom of God ye may all be ordered to God's glory. And live all in patience one with another, and in the truth, that ye may feel and see to the beginning, before the world and its foundation was, in the faith which gives the victory; that nothing may reign but the life and power amongst you. And live all as the family of God in love, in life, in truth, in power, having your house established atop of all the mountains and hills; that ye may answer that of God in every man, and the word of the Lord ye may witness to go forth among you and be among you. So in this the Lord God Almighty preserve you and keep you. And in the son of God's power live, for all power in heaven and earth is given him; who is to subdue all the powers of darkness, and to make the kingdoms of the world his kingdom. And none go beyond the measure of the Spirit of God, nor quench it; for where it is quenched it cannot try things. So if any have any thing upon them to speak, in the life of God stand up and speak it, if it be but two or three words, and sit down again; and keep in the life, that ye may answer that of God in every man upon the earth. To you this is the word of the Lord God.

G.F.

George Fox

His epistle entitled “To Friends Beyond the Sea, That Have Blacks and Indian Slaves” also dates to this year. He did not implore slave-holding Quakers to free their captives, but merely to treat them well. The slaves of Quakers should be allowed to hear the Gospel, so they would know of the equality of all men in the eyes of God. Later, he would find it necessary to salve the fear, among the planter class of the New World islands, that with such appeals the Quakers had been creating a dangerous situation:



Dear Friends, - I was moved to write these things to you in all those plantations. God, that made the world, and all things therein, giveth life and breath to all, and they all have their life and moving, and their being in him, he is the God of the spirits of the flesh, and is no respecter of persons; but "whosoever fearth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him." And he hath made all nations of one blood to dwell upon the face of the earth, and his eyes are over all the works of his hands, and seeth every thing that is done under the whole of heaven; and "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof." And he causeth the rain to fall upon the just and the



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*unjust, and also he causeth the sine to shine upon the just and the unjust; and he commands to "love all men," for Christ loved all, so that he "died for sinners." And this is God's love for the world, in giving his son into the world; that "whosoever believeth in him should not perish." And he doth "enlighten every man that cometh into the world," that they might believe in the son. And the gospel is preached to every creature under heaven; which is the power that giveth liberty and freedom, and is glad tidings to every captivated creature under the whole heavens. And the word of God is in the heart and mouth, to obey and do it, and not for them to ascend or descend for it; and this is the word of faith which was and is preached. For Christ is given for a covenant to the people, and a light to the Gentiles, and to enlighten them, who is the glory of Israel, and God's "salvation to the ends of the earth." And so lye are to have the mind of Christ, and to be merciful, as you heavenly Father is merciful.
G.F.*

George Fox

Friend [George](#)'s epistle entitled "Concerning the Light" also dates to this year:



Friends, - Ye that be turned to the light in it wait, in it meet together, that with it your hearts may be joined together up to Christ, the head, from whence the light doth come; with which ye may see all the world and all the gatherings that are out of the light, which are in the vanities of their minds, and in the rebelliousness of their hearts, and stubbornness of it from the light. But ye believing in the light and receiving it, he receive and come into the covenant with God, and peace with God; and into that which gives the knowledge of his glory and of his image, And this belief giveth the victory over the world, and brings unto God, and into his likeness, and separates you from the world, and its likeness, and image, and its fashion, which or out of the light; and its knowledge, and its wisdom, and its honour, and its fear, and its love, and its rejoicing, which are out of the light in the flesh, and it the iniquity, where the soul is in death. But in the light rejoicing and walking, ye receive the love of God shed abroad into your hearts, which love rejoiceth in the truth, (mark,) in that which the devil abode not in. With that ye know and will know the increase of God, and know God and his law put in your minds, and in your hearts written, where the fear is placed, where the secrets of the Lord are revealed, and the light, which is the truth, comes to be walked in. Here is a joy in the Lord where no flesh glories, In this waiting, (in the light,) the world where there is not end it gives you to see and the power of the world which is to come, ye will come to see and be partakers of. Which power ye receiving (who are in the light,) it brings you to become the sons of God and to be heirs of the world where there is no end, and of the everlasting inheritance which fadeth not away, and the riches



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which are durable, where no their can come, nor nothing to rust or canker; for that is out of the light that doth thieve, rust, or canker, ad in the transgression. Therefore, ye saints in the light of the most high God, whose name is dreadful amongst you, and his power made manifest in measure, and his glory appearing, walk worthy of the high calling! Keep your dominion, keep you place of rest in the power and strength of the Almighty, and meet together in the love, unity, and peace, and know one another in this love that changes not; which being received, ye walk in that which condemns that which is changeable. This love rejoiceth in the truth, and hath dominion over him that abode not in the truth, but rejoiceth in that which the devil abode not in. And here the spirit is received in which God is worshipped, that Father of spirits, He that believeth here believes in the Lord, and shall never be confounded, for he believes in that which doth confound and condemn those who are out of the light, and gone from the word of God in the heart, and from the power of God, and from the light of the glorious gospel, which is the power of God. The God of the world hath blinded their eyes that abide not in the truth, they are gone from the light which is the truth; and all that are blinded by the god of the world, these are out of the light and out of the truth. Therefore ye being in the light, and to it turned, (the light of the glorious gospel,) the image of God is seen, and the glorious gospel received, Therefore walk in the light as the children of the light, and know the wisdom that is of her children justified; that ye may answer the light in every one (that comes into the world) that hateth it. And keep you habitations, that ye may every one feel you spring in the light which comes from the Lord, and feel your nourishment and refreshment; which waters the plants and causeth them to grow up in the Lord, from whom the pure, living springs come. And here is the water which is the witness in the earth, which doth wash, and here come the spirit to be known, the witness that doth baptize. and the witness the blood, which doth cleanse, which agrees with the witness in heaven. So, he that believe hath the witness in himself. (Mark and take notice.) And so, ye being in the light, every one in particular feed upon the bread of life which comes from above, which nourisheth up to eternal life; wherein as every one grows up, here every one gives glory to the Father, and to the son, and knows the light which is the way, the truth, and the life. Every one of you that are turned to it, ye are in the one way, truth, light, and life, feeding upon the one bread which comes from above; which whosoever doth eat of lives for ever, and shall never die. Let this be read among all Friends everywhere, in this nation and elsewhere, that to the light are turned and in it are kept, that in the unity they may all be kept. And in it God Almighty preserve and keep you, that ye may feel his promises, which are to the seed; and know the seed to which the blessing is, and know the flesh of Christ, that ye may be flesh of his flesh. And friends, live at peace among yourselves, waiting upon the Lord; and the Lord God of life and peace be with you. Let no Friends be discouraged;



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but walk in the truth and the love of it, and to it bend. G.F.

George Fox

During this year, also, Friends William Brend and John Copeland were on their way from Scituate in Massachusetts to [Rhode Island](#), on a missionary journey, when intercepted by officials of the Plymouth Colony who demanded that they pledge to be out of the colony within 48 hours. Well, it was one thing for these [Quakers](#) to be on their way directly out of the colony, and quite another for government types to come around and make such a demand — the two missionaries instantly scrupled against obedience and would need to be hauled before a judge. The judge would classify their attitude problem, accurately it would seem, as “contemptuous perverseness.” (And, we may add to the historical record as an inference, the response of these Quakers to that judge would likely have been something on the order of “Hey, dude, deal with it!”)

During this year, also, the [Quakers](#) were establishing a meeting house at [Aquidneck Island](#) in Rhode Island, and [William Dyer](#) came up to Boston and obtained his wife’s release upon condition that he not allow [Friend Mary Dyer](#) to speak with anyone until they were beyond the frontiers of the Bay Colony. Friend Ann was not allowed to settle her estate, and eventually the captain of the vessel was forced to take her back to England — at his own expense.

At about this period, many married [Quakers](#) were beginning to take vows of celibacy, and refrain from sexual intercourse with their spouses. This would go on for like two, three years. There is a suggestion that Friend [Mary Dyer](#), although her husband was not and never would be a Quaker, joined in this movement for some time prior to her execution.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

March 13, Tuesday: The Reverend [Roger Williams](#) brought a presentment against William Harris, William Wickenden, and [Thomas Angell](#), charging them as ringleaders in the new division in the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) colony. Harris was charged with high treason as a result of his pronouncements upon liberty, which apparently differed somewhat from the view of Williams (he had sought to speak in the defense of “some

A photograph of a handwritten signature in black ink on a light-colored, textured background. The signature reads 'Roger Williams' in a cursive script.

simple, harmless people” who had consciences that forbade them to fight, or to take oaths), but this charge was dropped. The three men appeared in court and three times an appeal was made for the prosecutor to come forward, but Williams did not come and no other appears to take his place, so the men were dismissed and the case was forwarded to England. The divisiveness in question was a matter of teachings on the nature of liberty, Angell apparently being a strong adherent of Harris’s views rather than an originator of the concepts involved.



1657. William Harris was put under 500 pounds bond on a charge of High treason, made by Mr. Williams. He was never tried.

All the papers, however, were probably lost at sea, and the subject was never again revived.

4 3mo 1651 [*sic*, more likely 1657]: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), [Thomas Angell](#) was a juror at an inquest upon the body of Margaret Goodwin, in which the jury determined that “the terribleness of the crack of thunder on the second of the third month, 165[], or the coldness of the night, being she was naked did kill her.”



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June 11, Monday: The *Woodhouse* left for [Boston](#) harbor with Robert Fowler as captain. Warned by experienced seamen against attempting to cross the ocean in such a dinky boat, some of the crew had backed out. Even Fowler had had second thoughts, but Friend [George Fox](#) had encouraged him to go for it. Six of the passengers, William Brend, 41; John Copeland, 29; Sarah Gibbons, 22; Christopher Holder, 26; Dorothy Waugh, 21; and Mary Wetherhead, 27, had crossed the Atlantic the previous summer on the *Speedwell*. First-time members of this mission, not yet banned in Boston, were: Robert Hodgson (in his 30s); Mary Clark (middle-aged); Richard Doudney; Humphrey Norton; and William Robinson (“young”). Almost miraculously, they would make it — they would reach New Amsterdam, after 8 weeks at sea, during the first week of August. Almost at once, using [Rhode Island](#) as their base, they would proceed to spread the [Quaker](#) message through the American colonies.

A
Quaker's Sea-Journal
Being a True
RELATION
of a Voyage to
NEW ENGLAND
Performed by Robert Fowler of the Town of
Burlington in Yorkshire in the
Year 1658

London Printed for Francis Cossenet at
the Anchor & Mariner in
Tower-Street Anno 1659



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THE MARVELLOUS VOYAGE OF THE GOOD SHIP 'WOODHOUSE'²⁸

'In the 17th Century England was peculiarly rich, if not in great mystics, at any rate in mystically minded men. Mysticism, it seems, was in the air; broke out under many disguises and affected many forms of life.'—E. UNDERHILL, 'Mysticism.'

'He who says "Yes," responds, obeys, co-operates, and allows this resident seed of God, or Christ Light, to have full sway in him, becomes transformed thereby and recreated into likeness to Christ by whom the inner seed was planted, and of whose nature it is.'—RUFUS M. JONES.

'Through winds and tides, one compass guides.'—A.H. CLOUGH.

'Have mercy upon me, O God, for Thine ocean is so great, and my little bark is so small.'—Breton Fisherman's Prayer.

'Be faithful and still, till the winds cease and the storm be over.' ... 'Friends' fellowship must be in the Spirit, and all Friends must know one another in the Spirit and power of God.'—G. FOX.

'Christopher Holder and I are going ... in obedience to the will of our God, whose will is our joy.'—JOHN COPELAND. 1657.

'The log of the little "Woodhouse" has become a sacred classic.'—WILLIAM LITTLEBOY, Swarthmoor Lecture, 1917.

28. Hodgkin, Lucy Violet. A BOOK OF QUAKER SAINTS. Illustrated by F. Cayley-Robinson. 1917. Variousy reprinted.



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THE MARVELLOUS VOYAGE OF THE GOOD SHIP 'WOODHOUSE'

Master Robert Fowler of Burlington was a well-known figure in all the fishing towns and villages along the Yorkshire coast in the year of grace 1657. A man of substance was he, a master mariner, well skilled in his craft; building his own ships and sailing them withal, and never to be turned back from an adventurous voyage. Many fine vessels he had, sailing over the broad waters, taking the Yorkshire cargoes of wool and hides to distant lands, and bringing back foreign goods in exchange, to be sold again at a profit on his return to old England's shores. Thus up and down the Yorkshire coast men spoke and thought highly of Master Robert Fowler's judgment in all matters pertaining to the sea. On land, too, he seemed prudent and skilful, though some folks looked at him askance of late years, since he had joined himself to that strange and perverse people known as the Quakers.

Yet, in spite of what his neighbours considered his new-fangled religion, Master Robert Fowler was prospering in all his worldly affairs. Even now on the sunny day when our story opens, he was hard at work putting the last touches to a new boat of graceful proportions and gallant curves, that bade fair to be a yet more notable seafarer than any of her distant sisters.

Why then did Master Robert Fowler pause more than once in his work to heave a deep sigh, and throw down his tools almost pettishly? Why did he suddenly put his fingers in his ears as if to shut out an unwelcome sound, resuming his work thereafter with double speed? No one was speaking to him. The mid-day air was very still. The haze that often broods over the north-east coast veiled the horizon. Sea and sky melted into one another till it was impossible to say where earth ended and heaven began. An unwonted silence reigned even on Burlington Quay. No sound was to be heard save for the tap, tap, tap of Master Robert Fowler's hammer.

Again he dropped his tools. Again he looked up to the sky, as if he were listening to an unseen voice.

Someone was truly speaking to him, though no faintest sound vibrated on the air. His inward ear heard clearly these words—

'THOU HAST HER NOT FOR NOTHING.'

His eyes travelled proudly over the nearly completed vessel. Every one of her swelling curves he knew by heart; had learned to know and love through long months of toil. How still she lay, the beauty, still as a bird, poising on the sea. Ah! but the day was coming when she would spread her wings and skim over the ocean, buoyant and dainty as one of the terns, those sea-swallows that with their sharp white wings even now were hovering round her. Built for use she was too, not merely to take the eye. Although small of size more bales of goods could be stowed away under her shapely decks than in many another larger clumsier vessel. Who should know this better than Robert,



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her maker, who had planned it all?

For what had he planned her?

Was it for the voyage to the Eastern Mediterranean that had been the desire of his heart for many years? How well he knew it, that voyage he had never made! Down the Channel he would go, past Ushant and safely across the Bay. Then, when Finisterre had dropped to leeward, it would be but a few days' sail along the pleasant coasts of Portugal till Gibraltar was reached. And then, heigh ho! for a fair voyage in the summer season, week after week over a calm blue sea to the land-locked harbour where flat-roofed, white-walled houses, stately palm-trees, rosy domes and minarets, mirrored in the still water, gazed down at their own reflections.

Was the Woodhouse for this?

He had planned her for this dream voyage.

Why then came that other Voice in his heart directly he began to build: 'FASHION THEE A SHIP FOR THE SERVICE OF TRUTH!' And now that she was nearly completed, why did the Voice grow daily more insistent, giving ever clearer directions?

What a bird she was! His own bird of the sea, his beautiful Woodhouse! So thought Master Robert Fowler. But then again came the insistent Voice within, speaking yet more clearly and distinctly than ever before: 'THOU HAST HER NOT FOR NOTHING.'

The vision of his sea-swallow, her white wings gleaming in the sun as she dropped anchor in that still harbour; the vision of the white and rose-coloured city stretched like an encircling arm around the turquoise waters, these dreams faded relentlessly from his sight. Instead he saw the Woodhouse beating up wearily against a bleak and rugged shore on which grey waves were breaking. Angry, white teeth those giant breakers showed; teeth that would grind a dainty boat to pieces with no more compunction than a dog who snaps at a fly. Must he take her there? A vision of that inhospitable shore was constantly with him as he worked. 'New England was presented before him.' Day after day he drove the thought from him. Night after night it returned.

'Thou hast her not for nothing. She is needed for the service of Truth.' Master Robert Fowler grew lean and wan with inward struggle, but yield his will he could not, yet disobey the Voice he did not dare. When his wife and children asked what ailed him he answered not, or gave a surly reply. Truth to tell, he avoided their company all he could,—and yet a look was in his eyes when they did not notice as if he had never before felt them half so dear. At length the long-expected day arrived when the completed vessel sailed graciously out to sea. But there was no gaiety on board, as there had been when her sister ships had departed. No cargo had she. No farewells were said. Master Robert Fowler stole aboard when all beside were sleeping. The Woodhouse slipped from the grey harbour into the grey sea, noiselessly as a bird. None of the crew knew what ailed the master, nor why his door was locked for long hours thereafter, until the Yorkshire coast first drew dim, and then faded from the horizon. He would not even tell them whither the vessel was bound. 'Keep a straight course; come back at four bells, and then I will direct you,' was all his answer, when the mate knocked at his door for orders.



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But within the cabin a man was wrestling with himself upon his knees; till at last in agony he cried: 'E'en take the boat, Lord, an so Thou wilt, for I have no power to give her Thee. Yet truly she is Thine.'

At that same hour in London an anxious little company was gathered in a house at the back side of Thomas Apostles Church, over the door of which swung the well-known sign of the Fleur-de-luce.

The master of the house, Friend Gerard Roberts, a merchant of Watling Street, sat at the top of the table in a small upper room. The anxiety on his countenance was reflected in the faces round his board. Seven men and four women were there, all soberly clad as befitted ministering Friends. They were not eating or drinking, but solemnly seeking for guidance.

'Can no ship then be found to carry us to the other side? For truly the Lord's word is as a fire and hammer in me, though in the outward appearance there is no likelihood of getting passage,' one Friend was saying.

'Ships in plenty there are bound for New England, but ne'er a one that is willing to carry even one Quaker, let alone eleven,' Friend Roberts answered. 'The colonists' new laws are strict, and their punishments are savage. I know, Friends, ye are all ready, aye and willing, to suffer in the service of Truth. It is not merely the threatened cropping of the ears of every Quaker who sets foot ashore that is the difficulty. It is the one hundred pounds fine for every Quaker landed, not levied on the Friends themselves, mind you—that were simple—but on the owner of the boat in which they shall have voyaged. This it is that hinders your departure. It were not fair to ask a man to run such risk. It is not fair. Yet already I have asked many in vain. Way doth not open. We must needs leave it, and see if the concern abides.'

Clear as a bell rose the silvery tones of a young woman Friend, one who had been formerly a serving-maid at Cammsgill Farm: 'Commit thy way unto the Lord, trust also in Him, and He shall bring it to pass. Shall not He who setteth a bound to the sea that it shall not pass over, and taketh up the isles as a very little thing—shall not He be trusted to find a ship for His servants who trust in Him, to enable them to perform His will?' As the clear bell-like tones died away the little company, impelled by a united instinct, sank into a silence in which time passed unnoticed. Suddenly, at the same moment, a weight seemed to be removed from the hearts of all. They clasped hands and separated. And at that very moment, although they knew it not, far away on the broad seas, a man, wrestling on his knees in the cabin of his vessel, was saying with bitter tears, 'E'en take, Lord, an so Thou wilt, though I have no power to give her to Thee. Yet truly she is Thine.' When four bells were sounded on the good ship Woodhouse, and a knock came to the door of the cabin as the mate asked for directions, it was in a steady voice that Master Robert Fowler replied from within, 'Mark a straight course for London; and after—whithersoever the Lord may direct.' Blithely and gaily henceforward the Woodhouse skimmed her way to the mouth of the Thames and dropped anchor at the port of



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London. But as yet Master Robert Fowler knew nothing of the anxious group of Friends waiting to be taken to New England on the service of Truth (five of them having already been deported thence for the offence of being Quakers, yet anxious to return and take six others with them). Neither did these Friends know anything of Master Robert Fowler, nor of his good ship Woodhouse.

Yet, though unknown to each other, he and they alike were well known to One Heart, were guided by One Hand, were listening to the directions of One Voice. Therefore, though it may seem a strange chance, it was not wonderful really that within a few hours of the arrival of the Woodhouse in the Thames Master Robert Fowler and Friend Gerard Roberts met each other face to face in London City. Nor was it strange that the ship's captain should be moved to tell the merchant of the exercise of his spirit about his ship. In truth all Friends who visited London in those days were wont to unburden themselves of their perplexities to the master of that hospitable house over whose doorway swung the sign of the Fleur-de-luce. Lightly he told it—almost as a jest—the folly of the notion that a vessel of such small tonnage could be needed to face the terrors of the terrible Atlantic. Surely a prudent merchant like Friend Roberts would tell him to pay no heed to visions and inner voices, and such like idle notions? But Gerard Roberts did not scoff. He listened silently. A look almost of awe stole over his face. The first words he uttered were, 'It is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in our eyes.' And at these words Master Robert Fowler's heart sank down, down like lead.

Long afterwards, describing the scene, he says: 'Also when (the vessel) was finished and freighted, and made to sea, contrary to my will, was brought to London, where, speaking touching this matter to Gerard Roberts and others, they confirmed the matter in behalf of the Lord, that it must be so.'

'It must be so.' This is the secret of Guidance from that day to this. The Inner Voice alone is not always enough for action; the outer need or claim of service alone is not necessarily a call. But when the Inner Voice and the outer need come together, then truly the will of the Lord is plain, and 'It must be so.' Master Robert Fowler was not yet willing or ready to sacrifice his own wishes. A decisive victory is not to be won in one battle, however severe, but only throughout the stress of a long campaign. The struggle in his cabin, when he allowed the ship's head to be turned towards London, must needs be fought out again. The unreasonableness of such a voyage in such a vessel, the risk, the thought of the dangers and misery it would bring, took possession of his mind once more, as he himself confesses: 'Yet entering into reasoning and letting in temptation and hardships, and the loss of my life, wife, and children, with the enjoyment of all earthly things, it brought me as low as the grave, and laid me as one dead to the things of God.'

'Let the sacrifice be made, if it must be made,' he said to himself, 'but it is too much to expect any man to make it willingly.' For days he went about, in his own words, 'as one dead.'



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The eagerness of the Friends to depart, their plans for the voyage, their happy cares, only loaded his spirit the more. It was a dark, sad, miserable time; and a dark, sad, miserable man was the owner of the Woodhouse.

Till on a certain day, the Friends coming as usual to visit his ship brought another with them, a Stranger; taller, stronger, sturdier than them all; a man with a long drooping nose and piercing eyes—yes, and leather breeches! It was, it could be no other than George Fox!

What did he say to Robert Fowler? What words did he use? Did he argue or command? That was unnecessary. The mere presence of the strong faithful servant of the Lord drew out a like faithfulness in the other more timid soul.

Robert Fowler's narrative continues:

'But by His instrument, George Fox, was I refreshed and raised up again, which before was much contrary to myself that I could have as willingly have died as gone; but by the strength of God I was now made willing to do His will; yea even the customs and fashions of the customs house could not stop me.'

'Made willing to do His will.' There is the secret of this 'wonderful voyage.' For it was absurdly dangerous to think of sailing across the Atlantic in such a vessel as the Woodhouse: or it would have been, had it been a mere human plan. But if the all-powerful, almighty Will of God really commanded them to go, then it was no longer dangerous but the only safe thing they could do.

'Our trembling hands held in Thy strong and loving grasp, what shall even the weakest of us fear?'

Perhaps Master Robert expected when once he was ready to obey cheerfully, that all his difficulties would vanish. Instead, fresh difficulties arose; and the next difficulty was truly a great one. The press-gang came by, and took Robert Fowler's servants off by force to help to man the British fleet that was being fitted out to fight in the Baltic; took them, whether they would or no, as Richard Sellar was to be captured in the same way, seven years later.

So now the long voyage to America must be undertaken not only in too small a boat, but with too few sailors to work her. Besides Robert Fowler, only two men and three boys were left on board to sail the ship on this long, difficult voyage.

Presently the Friends began to come on board; and if the captain's heart sank anew as he saw the long string of passengers making for his tiny boat—who shall wonder or blame him? It was a very solemn procession of weighty Friends.

In front came the five, who had been in America before, and who were going back to face persecution, knowing what it meant. Their names were: first that 'ancient and venerable man' William Brend; then young Christopher Holder of Winterbourne in Gloucestershire, a well-educated man of good estate; John Copeland of Holderness in Yorkshire; Mary Weatherhead of Bristol; and Dorothy²⁹ Waugh, the serving-maid of Preston Patrick, who had been 'convinced and called to the ministry' as

29. She sometimes spelled her name Dorithy, which is not the way to spell Dorothy now, but spelling was much less fixed in those days.



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she went about her daily work in the family of Friend John Camm, at Cammsgill.

After them followed the other five who had not crossed the Atlantic before, but who were no less eager to face unknown difficulties and dangers. Their names were: William Robinson the London merchant; Robert Hodgson; Humphrey Norton (remember Humphrey Norton, he will be heard of again); Richard Doudney, 'an innocent man who served the Lord in sincerity'; and Mary Clark, the wife of John Clark, a London Friend, who, like most of the others, had already undergone much suffering for her faith. On board the Woodhouse they all came, stepping on deck one after the other solemnly and sedately, while the anxious captain watched them and wondered how many more were to come, and where they were all to be lodged. Once they were on board, however, things changed and felt quite different. It was as if an Unseen Passenger had come with them.

This is Robert Fowler's own account: 'Upon the 1st day of Fourth Month called June received I the Lord's servants aboard, Who came with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm with them; so that with courage we set sail and came to the Downs the second day, where our dearly beloved William Dewsbury with Michael Thompson came aboard, and in them we were much refreshed; and, recommending us to the grace of God, we launched forth.'

After this his narrative has a different ring: Master Fowler was no longer going about his ship with eyes cast down and hanging head and a heart full of fear. He had straightened his back and was a stalwart mariner again. Perhaps this was partly owing to the great pleasure that came to him before they actually set sail, when, as he tells, William Dewsbury came on board to visit the travellers. 'Dear William Dewsbury' was the one Friend of all others Robert Fowler must have wished to see once more before leaving England, for it was William Dewsbury's preaching that had 'convinced' Robert Fowler and made him become a Friend a few years before. It was William Dewsbury's teaching about the blessedness of following the inner Voice, the inner guidance, that had led him to offer himself and the Woodhouse for the service of Truth.

Perhaps he said, half in joke, half in earnest, 'O William Dewsbury! O William Dewsbury! thou hast much to answer for! If I had never met thee I should never have undertaken this voyage in my little boat!' If he said this, I think a very tender, thankful light came into William Dewsbury's face, as he answered, 'Let us give thanks then together, brother, that the message did reach thee through me; since without this voyage thou could'st not fully have known the power and the wonder of the Lord.'

Quakers do not have priests to baptize them, or bishops to confirm or ordain them, as Church people do. Yet God's actual presence in the heart is often revealed first through the message of tender fellowship and friendship between those who are truly fathers and children in God, even in a Society where all are friends. In this relation William Dewsbury stood to Robert Fowler.



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Reason and fear raised their heads once again, even after William Dewsbury's visit. Robert Fowler thought of going to the Admiral in the Downs to complain of the loss of his servants, and to ask that a convoy might be sent with them. But he did not go, because, as he says, 'From which thing I was withholden by that Hand which was my Helper.'

The south wind began to blow, and they were obliged to put in at Portsmouth, and there there were plenty of men waiting to be engaged, but when they heard that this tiny vessel was actually venturing to cross the Atlantic, not one would sail in her, and this happened again at South Yarmouth, where they put in a few days later.

At Portsmouth, however, the Friends were not idle. They went ashore and held a meeting, or, as Robert Fowler puts it, 'They went forth and gathered sticks and kindled a fire, and left it burning.' Not real sticks for a real fire, of course, but a fire of love and service in people's hearts, that would help to keep the cold world warm in after days.

This was their last task in England. A few hours later they had quitted her shores. The coast-line that followed them faithfully at first, dropped behind gradually, growing fainter and paler, then resting like a thought upon the sea, till it finally disappeared. Only a vast expanse of heaving waters surrounded the travellers.

At first it seemed as if their courage was not to be too severely tested. 'Three pretty large ships which were for the Newfoundland' appeared, and bore the Woodhouse company for some fifty leagues. In their vicinity the smaller vessel might have made the voyage, perilous at best, with a certain amount of confidence. But the Dutch warships were known to be not far distant, and in order to escape them the three 'pretty large ships made off to the northward, and left us without hope or help as to the outward.'

The manner of the departure of the ships was on this wise. Early in the morning it was shown to Humphrey Norton—who seems to have been especially sensitive to messages from the invisible world—that those were nigh unto us who sought our lives.' He called Robert Fowler, and gave him this warning, and added, 'Thus saith the Lord, ye shall be carried away as in a mist.' 'Presently,' says Robert Fowler, 'we espied a great ship making up to us, and the three great ships were much afraid, and tacked about with what speed they could; in the very interim the Lord fulfilled His promise, and struck our enemies in the face with a contrary wind, wonderfully to our refreshment. Then upon our parting from these three ships we were brought to ask counsel of the Lord, and the word was from Him, "Cut through and steer your straight course and mind nothing but Me."'

'Cut through and steer your straight course, and mind nothing but Me!' Alone upon the broad Atlantic in this cockle-shell of a boat! Only a cockle-shell truly, yet it held a bit of heaven within it—the heaven of obedience. Every day the little company of Friends met in that ship's hold together, and 'He Himself met with us and manifested himself largely unto us,' words that have been proved true by many another company of the Master's



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servants afloat upon the broad waters from that day to this. There they sat on the wooden benches, with spray breaking over them, the faithful men and women who were daring all for the Truth. Only three times in the whole voyage was the weather so bad that storms prevented their assembling together. Much of the actual navigation of the vessel seems to have been left to the strange passengers to determine. The Captain's narrative continues: 'Thus it was all the voyage with the faithful, who were carried far above storms and tempests, that when the ship went either to the right hand or to the left, their hands joined all as one, and did direct her way; so that we have seen and said, "We see the Lord leading our vessel even as it were a man leading a horse by the head; we regarding neither latitude nor longitude, but kept to our line, which was and is our Leader, Guide, and Rule."'

Besides the guidance vouchsafed to the Friends as a group, some of them had special intimations given to them.

'The sea was my figure,' says Robert Fowler, 'for if anything got up within, the sea without rose up against me, and then the floods clapped their hands, of which in time I took notice and told Humphrey Norton.'³⁰

In this account Humphrey Norton always seems to hear voices directing their course, while Robert Fowler generally 'sees figures'—sights that teach him what to do. Guidance may come in different ways to different people, but it does come surely to those who seek for it.

The inward Voice spoke to Robert Fowler also when they were in mid Atlantic after they had been at sea some two weeks:

'We saw another great ship making up to us which did appear far off to be a frigate, and made her sign for us to come to them, which was to me a great cross, we being to windward of them; and it was said "GO SPEAK TO HIM, THE CROSS IS SURE; DID I EVER FAIL THEE THEREIN?" And unto others there appeared no danger in it, so that we did, and it proved a tradesman of London, by whom we writ back.'

The hardest test of their faith came some three weeks later, when after five weeks at sea they had still accomplished only 300 leagues, scarcely a third part of their voyage, and their destination still seemed hopelessly distant. The strong faith of Humphrey Norton carried them all over this trial. 'He (Humphrey Norton) falling into communion with God, told me that he had received a comfortable answer, and also that about such a day we should land in America, which was even so fulfilled. Upon the last day of the fifth month (July) 1657, we made land.' This land turned out to be the very part to which the Friends had most desired to come. The pilot³¹ had expected to reach quite a different point, but the invisible guidance of his strange passengers was clear and unwavering. 'Our drawing had been all the passage to keep to the southward, until the evening before we made land, and then the word was, "There is a lion in the way"; unto which we gave obedience, and said, "Let them steer

30. The meaning seems to be that whenever fear or misgiving came to Fowler's heart, the sea also became stormy; while his spirit remained trustful, the sea was likewise calm.

31. As the navigating officer of the ship was then called.



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northwards until the day following.”³²

That must have been an anxious day on board the Woodhouse. Think of the two different clues that were being followed within that one small boat: the Friends with their clasped hands, seeking and finding guidance; up on deck the pilot, with his nautical knowledge, scoffing very likely at any other method of progress than the reckoning to which he was accustomed. As the slow hours passed, and no land appeared to break the changeless circle of the sea, the Friends felt a ‘drawing’ to meet together long before their usual time. ‘And it was said that we may look abroad in the evening; and as we sat waiting upon the Lord, we discovered the land, and our mouths were opened in prayer and thanksgiving.’

The words are simple as any words could be. But in spite of the 260 years that separate that day from this, its gladness is still fresh. All voyagers know the thrill caused by the first sight of land, even in these days of steamships, when all arrangements can be made and carried out with almost clock-like precision. But in the old time of sailing ships, when a contrary wind or a sudden calm might upset the reckoning for days together, and when there was the added danger that food or water might give out, to see the longed-for land in sight at last must have been even more of an event.

To all the Friends on board the Woodhouse this first sight of America meant a yet deeper blessedness. It was the outer assurance that the invisible guidance they were following was reliable. The Friends rejoiced and were wholly at rest and thankful. But the pilot, instead of being, as might have been expected, convinced at last that there was a wisdom wiser than his own, still resisted. Where some people see life with a thread of guidance running through it unmistakably, others are always to be found who will say these things are nothing but chance and what is called ‘coincidence.’

Such an one was the pilot of the Woodhouse. As the land drew nearer, a creek was seen to open out in it. The Friends were sure that their vessel was meant to enter there, but again the pilot resisted. By this time the Friends had learned to expect objections from him, and had learned, too, that it was best not to argue with him, but to leave him to find out for himself that their guidance was right. So they told him to do as he chose, that ‘both sides were safe, but going that way would be more trouble to him.’ When morning dawned ‘he saw, after he had laid by all the night, the thing fulfilled.’

Into the creek, therefore, in the bright morning sunlight the Woodhouse came gaily sailing; not knowing where she was, nor whither the creek would lead. ‘Now to lay before you the largeness of the wisdom, will, and power of God, this creek led us in between the Dutch Plantation and Long Island:’—the very place that some of the Friends had felt that they ought to visit, but which it would have been most difficult to reach had they landed in any other spot. Thus ‘the Lord God that moved them brought them to the place appointed, and led us into our way

32. It is not quite easy at this distance of time to understand why ‘a lion in the way’ should mean ‘go north,’ unless it was because the ‘drawing’ had been strongly south hitherto, and now that path was blocked.



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according to the word which came unto Christopher Holder: "You are in the road to Rhode Island." In that creek came a shallop to guide us, taking us to be strangers, we making our way with our boat, and they spoke English, and informed us, and guided us along. The power of the Lord fell much upon us, and an irresistible word came unto us, that the seed in America shall be as the sand of the sea; it was published in the ears of the brethren, which caused tears to break forth with fulness of joy; so that presently for these places some prepared themselves, who were Robert Hodgson, Richard Doudney, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead, and Dorothy Waugh, who the next day were put safely ashore into the Dutch plantation, called New Amsterdam.'

'New Amsterdam, on an unnamed creek in the Dutch Plantation,' sounds an unfamiliar place to modern ears. Yet when that same Dutch Plantation changed hands and became English territory its new masters altered the name of its chief town. New Amsterdam was re-christened in honour of the king's brother, James, Duke of York, and became known as New York, the largest city of the future United States of America.

As to the unnamed 'creek' into which the Woodhouse was led, that was probably the estuary of the mighty river Hudson. 'Here,' continues Robert Fowler, 'we came, and it being the First Day of the week several came aboard to us and we began our work. I was caused to go to the Governor, and Robert Hodgson with me—the (the Governor) was moderate both in words and actions.'

This moderation on the Governor's part must have been no small comfort to the new arrivals. Also the laws of the New Netherland Colonies, where they had unexpectedly landed, were much more tolerant than those of New England, whither they were bound. Even yet the perils of the gallant Woodhouse were not over. The remaining Friends had now to be taken on to hospitable Rhode Island, the home of religious liberty, from whence they could pursue their mission to the persecuting Colonists on the mainland.

A few days before their arrival at New Amsterdam, the two Roberts (Robert Hodgson and Robert Fowler) had both had a vision in which they had seen the Woodhouse in great danger. The day following their interview with the Governor, when they were once more on the sea, 'it was fulfilled, there being a passage between the two lands which is called by the name of Hell-Gate; we lay very conveniently for a pilot, and into that place we came, and into it were forced, and over it were carried, which I never heard of any before that were; there were rocks many on both sides of us, so that I believe one yard's length would have endangered both vessel and goods.'

Here for the last time the little group of Friends gathered to give thanks for their safe arrival after their most wonderful voyage. If any of them were tempted to think they owed any of their protection and guidance to their own merits and faithfulness, a last vision that came to Robert Fowler must have chased this thought out of their minds once for all.

'There was a shoal of fish,' he says, 'which pursued our vessel and followed her strangely, and along close by our rudder.' The master mariner's eye had evidently been following the movements



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of the fish throughout the day, as he asked himself: 'What are those fish? I never saw fish act in that way before. Why do they follow the vessel so steadily?' Then, in the time of silent waiting upon God, light streamed upon this puzzle in his mind. 'In our meeting it was shewn to me, these fish are to thee a figure. "Thus doth the prayers of the churches proceed to the Lord for thee and the rest."' That was the explanation of the wonderful voyage. The Woodhouse and her little company had not been solitary and unprotected, even when the three 'pretty great ships' drew off for fear of the Dutch men of war and left them alone.

The prayers of their friends in England were following them across the vast Atlantic, though unseen by human eyes, even as those hosts of shining fish, which surrounded the vessel as she drove her prow through the clear water, would be unseen to a spectator above its surface. George Fox was praying for the travellers. William Dewsbury was sure to be praying for them. Friend Gerard Roberts would be also much in prayer, since the responsibility of the voyage was largely on his shoulders. Besides these, there were the husbands, wives, and little children of some of the Friends, the brothers and sisters of others, all longing for them to arrive safely and do their Master's work. Now here came the fish to assure Robert Fowler that the faith he believed was true. Real as the things we can see or touch or feel seem to us to be, the unseen things are more real still. Ever after, to those who had crossed the Atlantic in the good ship Woodhouse, the assurance of God's clear guidance and the answered prayers of His people must have been the most real of all.

Robert Fowler's story of the marvellous voyage ends with these words: 'Surely in our meeting did the thing run through me as oil and bid me much rejoice.'



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HISTORICAL NOTES

Note.—The References throughout are to the Cambridge Edition of George Fox's JOURNAL, except where otherwise stated. The spelling has been modernised and the extracts occasionally abridged.

‘THE MARVELLOUS VOYAGE OF THE GOOD SHIP “WOODHOUSE.”’

Taken from Robert Fowler's own account: 'A TRUE RELATION OF THE VOYAGE UNDERTAKEN BY ME ROBERT FOWLER WITH MY SMALL VESSEL CALLED THE "WOODHOUSE" BUT PERFORMED BY THE LORD LIKE AS HE DID NOAH'S ARK, WHEREIN HE SHUT UP A FEW RIGHTEOUS PERSONS AND LANDED THEM SAFE, EVEN AT THE HILL ARARAT,' published in the 'HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN AMERICA.'

The scenes on Bridlington Quay and in London are not strictly historical, but may be inferred from the above account.



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July 31, Tuesday: The 11 [Quaker](#) missionaries of the *Woodhouse* disembarked in the New World, and were joined there by three more Friends from Barbados. Within the next two years 12 of these 14 missionaries would make their way overland into [Boston](#).

A
Quaker's Sea-Journal
Being a True
RELATION
of a Voyage to
NEW ENGLAND
Performed by Robert Fowler of the Town of
Burlington in Yorkshire in the
Year 1658

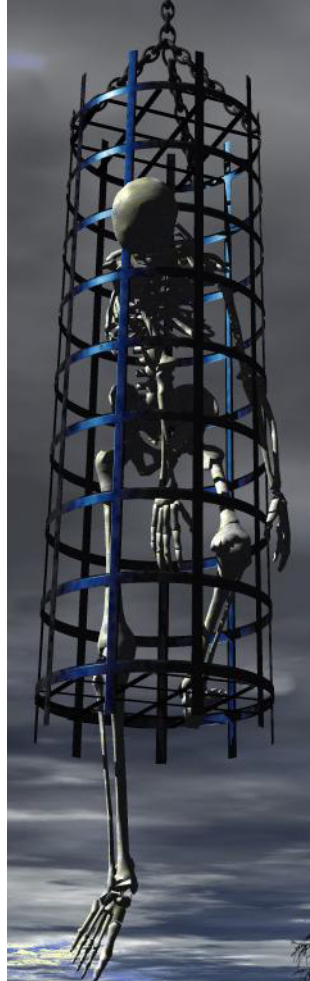
London Printed for Francis Cossenet at
the Anchor & Mariner in
Tower-Street Anno 1659



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August 27, Monday: [Providence, Rhode Island](#) determined that, for the better suppression of misconduct, select criminals would need to be placed on display along what is now known as “Main Street,” at the center of the town settlement: “A Cage was ordered to be Erected in the highway, the Corner of [Roger Williams](#) Lott.”



October: Perceiving that their laws and punishments were inadequate to deter Quakers, the Massachusetts Bay Colony declared that in the future all [Quaker](#) women were to be whipped, and one ear would be severed from each male Quaker upon each attempt to re-enter the colony. If any citizen should attempt to harbor a Quaker, a fine should be assessed at the rate of “forty shillings for every hour’s concealment.”

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October 23, Tuesday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), [John Porter](#) and Horodia or Herodius ([Horod](#)) Long Hicks were ordered to answer to the Court of Trials “for they are suspected to Cohabit, and soe to live in a way of incontinency...”





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December 27, Thursday: By the end of the year, all [Quaker](#) missionaries would have been detected, punished, and expelled from the Massachusetts Bay.

Governor Peter Stuyvesant had issued an edict forbidding anyone in New Netherlands to entertain a [Quaker](#) or to allow a Quaker meeting to be held in his or her house. The penalty was to be a fine of £50. When Quaker



missionaries arrived from England, Friend Henry Townsend held a meeting in his home in Flushing, and was fined and banished. This prompted a protest from Flushing citizens, which is arguably the earliest demand for freedom of religion made by American colonists to their political superiors. It was drawn up and signed by Edward Hart, the Town Clerk, Tobias Feake the Schout (sheriff) of the Town, and 28 other citizens:

Right Honorable

You have been pleased to send unto us a certain prohibition or command that we should not receive or entertain any of those people called Quakers because they are supposed to be, by some, seducers of the people. For our part we cannot condemn them in this case, neither can we stretch out our hands against them, for out of Christ God is a consuming fire, and it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God. Wee desire therefore in this case not to judge least we be judged, neither to condemn least we be condemned, but rather let every man stand or fall to his own Master. Wee are bounde by the law to do good unto all men, especially to those of the household of faith. And though for the present we seem to be unsensible for the law and the Law giver, yet when death and the Law assault us, if wee have our advocate to seeke, who shall plead for us in this case of conscience betwixt God and our own souls; the powers of this world can neither attach us, neither excuse us, for if God justifie who can condemn and if God condemn there is none can justifie. And for those jealousies and suspicions which some have of them, that they are destructive unto Magistracy and Ministrye, that cannot bee, for the Magistrate hath his sword in his hand and the Minister hath the sword in his hand, as witness those two great examples, which all Magistrates and Ministers are to follow, Moses and Christ, whom God raised up maintained and defended against all enemies both of flesh and spirit; and therefore that of God will stand, and that which is of man will come to nothing. And as the Lord hath taught Moses or the civil power to give an outward liberty in the state, by the law written in his heart designed for the good of all, and can truly judge who is good, who is evil, who is true and who is false, and can pass definitive sentence of life or death against that man which arises up against the fundamental law of the States General; soe he hath made his ministers a savor of



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life unto life and a savor of death unto death.
The law of love, peace and liberty in the states extending to Jews, Turks and Egyptians, as they are considered sons of Adam, which is the glory of the outward state of Holland, soe love, peace and liberty, extending to all in Christ Jesus, condemns hatred, war and bondage. And because our Saviour sayeth it is impossible but that offences will come, but woe unto him by whom they cometh, our desire is not to offend one of his little ones, in whatsoever form, name or title hee appears in, whether Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist or Quaker, but shall be glad to see anything of God in any of them, desiring to doe unto all men as we desire all men should doe unto us, which is the true law both of Church and State; for our Saviour sayeth this is the law and the prophets.

Therefore if any of these said persons come in love unto us, we cannot in conscience lay violent hands upon them, but give them free egress and regress unto our Town, and houses, as God shall persuade our consciences, for we are bounde by the law of God and man to doe good unto all men and evil to noe man. And this is according to the patent and charter of our Towne, given unto us in the name of the States General, which we are not willing to infringe, and violate, but shall houlde to our patent and shall remaine, your humble subjects, the inhabitants of Vlishing.

Written this 27th of December in the year 1657, by mee.

Edward Hart, Clericus

Additional Signers

Tobias Feake

The marke of William Noble

William Thorne, Seignior

The marke of William Thorne, Jr.

Edward Tarne

John Store

Nathaniel Hefferd

Benjamin Hubbard

The marke of William Pidgion

The marke of George Clere

Elias Doughtie

Antonie Feild

Richard Stocton

Edward Griffine

Nathaniell Tue

Nicholas Blackford

The marke of Micah Tue

The marke of Philip Ud

Robert Field, senior

Robert Field, junior

Nicholas Parsell

Michael Milner

Henry Townsend

George Wright

John Foard

Henry Sementell

Edward Hart

John Mastine

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John Townesend



Edward Farrington



The result would be that Governor Stuyvesant would throw the Town Clerk and Schout in jail and replace the entire town government with officials of his own choosing. The Clerk would be banished from the colony but the Schout after offering an abject apology would be excused from banishment.

Friend Humphrey Norton was spending this winter chained by the leg to a log in the open, because he had been going about proselytizing [Quakerism](#). When he would go to trial in New Haven and would attempt to argue against the presiding Reverend John Davenport, a “great Iron key” would be shoved “athwart his Mouth so that he could not speak.” His punishment by the Connecticut authorities would include not only banishment but also being deeply branded on the right hand with the letter H, which stood not for “Humphrey” but for “Heretic.” He would seek refuge in [Rhode Island](#).

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December 31, Monday: [John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:

John Evelyn's Diary

Praised God for his mercies the yeare past, & set all things in order in my family:



By year's end all [Quaker](#) missionaries had been detected, punished, and expelled from the vicinity of the Massachusetts Bay, some of them having found sanctuary in [Rhode Island](#).

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

1658

At least nine [Quakers](#) went from [Rhode Island](#) to [Boston](#) and there attempted to speak at the end of a sermon. They were of course arrested and whipped for their disruptiveness, but when the Quakers in Rhode Island heard of this, they sent off two more Quakers to Boston to attempt to tend to their wounds. The entire scheme of penalties collapsed as not only barbaric but also ineffectual, and the public raised moneys by general subscription to return all these Quaker hornets to their hive in Rhode Island. However, three of them promptly returned again, and suffered the penalty of removal of one ear. "In the strength of God we suffered joyfully."

The first person in [Providence](#), who adopted the principles of Friends, is stated by tradition to be Richard Scott. He was one of the early settlers of the town; at first he joined the [Baptists](#), but remained with them but a short time. His wife Catharine, and two daughters Patience and Mary, were also among the first members of the Friends' Society. All three of these



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suffered corporeal punishment in Massachusetts, at an early period, the wife as early as 1658. One of the daughters subsequently intermarried with Christopher Holder, whose name appears, more than once, among those who suffered corporeal punishment in Massachusetts, as Friends. That these met together for worship with such others as agreed with them in principles, is highly probable, though there is no direct proof of the fact.³³

Three expelled Quaker ministers – [Friend Marmaduke Stevenson](#), a farmer from Yorkshire, [Friend William Robinson](#), a young resident of London, and [Friend Mary Dyer](#) – determined to test the barbarous new law requiring death for return to Boston after an initial expulsion. Would it be enforceable or, only another idle threat, would it also collapse upon a challenge from those of sufficient faith? Six Salem Quakers, keeping faith, prepared “linen wherein to wrap the dead bodies of those who were to suffer.” (These people, you see, were playing hardball.) Friend Mary was convicted of “rebellious sedition, and presumptuous obtruding herself after banishment upon pain of death,” and was sentenced to be executed, but upon the petition of her son Will Dyer, Jr. was reprieved on condition that she depart the jurisdiction of Massachusetts colony in 48 hours — and if she return, to suffer the sentence as imposed.

A friendlier attitude was being taken in [Providence, Rhode Island](#):

1658. This town refuses to banish such Quakers as are here, or to prohibit others from coming, though strongly urged to such a course by the Commissioners of the united Colonies, and replies to the intolerant request, that they prize freedom of conscience as the greatest happiness men can possess in this world. This place had then become a city of refuge to the cruelly persecuted Quakers of Massachusetts. By a municipal vote, all those who enjoyed lands within the jurisdiction of the town were freemen.

[Sir Ferdinando Gorges](#)'s A BRIEF NARRATION OF THE ORIGINAL UNDERTAKINGS OF THE ADVANCEMENT OF PLANTATIONS INTO THE PARTS OF AMERICA, ESPECIALLY SHEWING THE BEGINNINGS, PROGRESS, AND CONTINUANCE OF THAT OF NEW ENGLAND. WRITTEN BY THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL, SIR FERDINANDO GORGES, KNIGHT AND GOVERNOUR OF THE FORT AND ISLAND OF PLYMOUTH, IN DEVONSHIRE (London: Printed by E. Brudenell, for Nath. Brook, at the Angell in Corn-Hill)

THE PLANTATION OF MAINE

Also, his grandson's AMERICA PAINTED TO THE LIFE, THE TRUE HISTORY OF THE SPANIARDS PROCEEDINGS IN THE CONQUESTS OF THE INDIANS, AND OF THEIR CIVIL WARS AMONG THEMSELVES, FROM COLUMBUS HIS FIRST DISCOVERY, TO THESE LATER TIMES. AS ALSO, OF THE ORIGINAL UNDERTAKINGS OF THE ADVANCEMENT OF PLANTATIONS INTO THOSE PARTS; WITH A PERFECT RELATION OF OUR ENGLISH DISCOVERIES, SHEWING THEIR BEGINNING, PROGRESS AND CONTINUANCE, FROM THE YEAR 1628. TO 1658. DECLARING THE FORMS OF THEIR GOVERNMENT, POLICIES, RELIGIONS, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, MILITARY DISCIPLINE, WARS WITH THE INDIANS, THE COMMODITIES OF THEIR COUNTRIES, A DESCRIPTION OF THEIR TOWNS AND HAVENS, THE INCREASE OF THEIR TRADING, WITH THE NAMES OF THEIR GOVERNORS AND MAGISTRATES. MORE ESPECIALLY, AN ABSOLUTE NARRATIVE OF THE NORTH PARTS OF AMERICA, AND OF

33. William Read Staples (1798-1868). ANNALS OF THE TOWN OF [PROVIDENCE](#), FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT, TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT, IN JUNE, 1832. Providence, [Rhode Island](#): Printed by Knowles and Vose, 1843.

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"I HAVE BEEN RESERVED FOR THIS—TO FREE THE LAND FROM SPIRITUAL TYRANNY"



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THE DISCOVERIES AND PLANTATIONS OF OUR ENGLISH IN VIRGINIA, NEW-ENGLAND, AND BERBADOES (LONDON, PRINTED FOR NATH. BROOK AT THE ANGEL IN CORNHIL), including his own “A Brief Description of Laconia, a Province in New England.”

THE LACONIA PROVINCE

Governor [Thomas Mayhew](#) of [Martha's Vineyard](#) and [Nantucket Island](#), perhaps frustrated with the opinions of other islanders as to his governing of things, abolished his various assistant positions and declared himself Magistrate. This dismissal, along with his increasing rejection of Puritanism in favor of Baptism (or Anabaptism as it was then called) would lead his former assistant Peter Folger to leave the Vineyard in 1662 and settle in [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#). From this point forward, Magistrate Mayhew's undiluted authority would be a source of island tension he would need to quell. The source for Mayhew's authority, which had originally been [Sir Ferdinando Gorges](#) but had then become Stirling, had by this point become the Duke of York, courtesy of Charles II. This royal authority which had heretofore been unasserted over Mayhew now became something of a thorn in Mayhew's side as the Duke, through his agent in New-York, Colonel Francis Lovelace, interceded in various island affairs. Mayhew would frequently ignore instructions received from the Colonel, or let them lay dormant on his desk before replying many months later.

March 3, Sunday: The government of the United Colonies had officially warned the government of [Rhode Island](#), that if it continued to harbor [Quakers](#), a trade embargo would be declared. In their response, the government of Rhode Island promised to be vigilant against Quakerism, but pointed out to the general colonial government that there was a “liberty of conscience” clause in their colonial charter which would somewhat limit what they could do against this conscientious folk. They promised that if any of them should refuse to turn out for militia training, or should refuse to stand watch — they would promptly report such behavior to the government in England. (We can safely infer from this, that the Quakers of Rhode Island, affected by the Peace Testimony, were having difficulty with the idea of bearing arms in the militia.)

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Spring: Family names such as Lopez, Rivera, Seixas, deToro (Touro), Gomez and Hays began to settle in [Newport](#) on [Rhode Island's Aquidneck Island](#), and by the time of the American Revolution this population of Sephardic Jews would have grown to a prosperous community of several hundred souls. As international sugar traders from Brazil, the West Indies, Portugal, etc. they chose to maintain their headquarters on the island because it was a thriving peaceful commercial center with a major port.³⁴ For a long time they would hold *minyanim* in private homes. Their first public venture would be not the construction of a synagogue but the creation of a [Jewish](#) cemetery. (Only later, in 1763, would they be constructing the [Touro Synagogue of Congregation Jeshuat Israel](#).)³⁵

May 11, Saturday: Friend [Horod Long Hicks](#), “the mother of many children, with a babe sucking at her breast,” accompanied by Friend Mary Stanton, who helped carry the child, walked from [Newport](#) to Weymouth MA to protest religious persecution as a [Quaker](#), and as a result, was carried to Boston before Governor John Endecott, who sentenced each of the women to be whipped, ten lashes with a three-fold knotted whip, and then held in prison for 14 days.

After the savage, inhumane & bloody execution upon her,



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[she] kneeled down & prayed the Lord to forgive....




The Providence is due to few
Jo. Endicott

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

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

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

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

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June 16, Sunday: Friend Humphrey Norton, who had been expelled from the Plymouth colony in October 1657 after being “found guilty of divers horrid errors,” sent a piece of hate mail from [Rhode Island](#) to Governor Thomas Prence, speaking truth to power in frank criticism of the Plymouth governor’s state of being: “[Thou] *hatcheth thy hatred in thy ceckett chamber.*” Therefore, Friend Humphrey predicted, “*The anguish and paine that will enter upon thy reines will be like knowing worms lodging betwixt thy hart and liver.*” The reason for this poor prognosis? “[T]he God of vengeance is our God.”³⁶

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

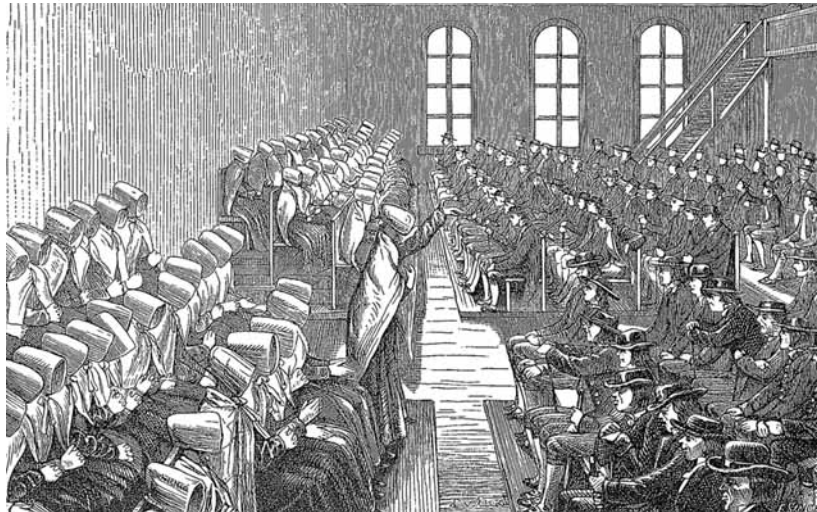
November 5, Tuesday: A committee appointed by the General Assembly wrote to Mr. Clarke, the agent of the [Rhode Island](#) colony in England, in regard to pressures being put upon them by the Massachusetts Bay Colony, to join in the general persecution of the [Quakers](#).


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



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

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



 An act for y^e Better Regulating y^e Militia
& for Punishing offend^{ers} as Shall not Conform to y^e Laws there
unto Relating

Bee it Encted by y^e hon^{ble} y^e Gouer^{er} Council & house of Representatives in this P^{re}sent Sefsions assembled & by y^e Authority thereof it is hereby Enacted y^t aft^r y^e Publication of this Act y^t if any p^{er}son or persons Listed Und^{er} y^e Co^mmand of any Cap^t or Commad^{er} in Cheif of y^e Militia Shall or do not appear Compleat in armes (Vizth) wth A Good & Sufficient muskett or Fuze a Sword or Bayenet, Catooch box or Bandelers wth twelve Bulets fitt for his Peice half a Pound of Powder & Six good Flints Upon y^e Precise Training Days already p^{re}fixt as well as when there Rspective Cap^{ts} or Co^mmand^{ers} in Cheif Shall call them Togeather Either by Allarum or any oth^{er} time or times as Shall by their s^d Command^{ers} be thought fitt & Expedient for his maj^{ties} Interest During y^e Times of Warr & if any p^{er}son or p^{er}sons Listed &c Shall neglect their Respective Dutys & due Obedience & not appear in Manner Afores^d Shall forfeit for Each neglect on y^e Days Appointed for Training or Oth^{er} Meetings in Armes y^e Sum of Thre Shillings in money wth y^e Due Fees Arifing thereon & for non Appearance or neglect on any Larum y^e Sum of five Shilling wth y^e Due Fees Arifeing thereon to be taken by Diftraint or otherwise as y^e fines for non apperance on y^e Training Days are to be Taken

.....

[92] *And Bee it Further Enacted*
That y^e Respective Cap^t & Co^mission officers of Each Respective Company or Train band in this Colony have full Pow^{er} & authority during y^e time of their being in Armes on y^e training Days or on Allarums or Upon any oth^{er} occasion w^hsoev^{er} to Punish any Private Sentinall y^t Shall Misbehaue him self wth Laying him Neck & Heels or Riding y^e wooden horse or A fine not Exceeding fore Shillings at y^e Diferefsion of s^d Commision Officers notwthstanding y^e Afore recited Acts Relateing y^e militia it Shall be in y^e pow^{er} & Authority of y^e Cap^t & Co^mission officers of Each Respective train Bands in this Colony if any P^{er}sons as they Shall Iudg realy Conscientious being wthin their list & y^t they Cannot bare arm's in y^e Times of Allarums &c y^t if y^e s^d p^{er}sons being So Conscientious be any ways Serviceable in making Discoverys or Riding upon any Expedition or any thing Elce y^t may be Iudged Conuenient for y^e Preferuation of his maj^{estys} Interest y^t it Shall be then in y^e Pow^{er} of s^d Cap^{ts} or Co^mission officers as afores^d to remit y^e fine or fines Imposed for their not appearing in Arms accord^{ing} to y^e Afore p^{re}mifed Act

"We have now a new occasion given us by an old spirit with respect to the colonies round about us, who seem to be offended with us, because a sort of people, called by the name of Quakers,

36. Probably this Friend Humphrey Norton was no relation of the Reverend John Norton whose sermons and writings were so entirely hostile to Quakerism.

AMERICA

Painted to the Life.

THE TRUE
HISTORY
OF

The Spaniards Proceedings in the Conquests of the
INDIANS, and of their Civil Wars among them-
selves, from *COLUMBUS* his first Discovery,
to these later Times.

AS ALSO,

Of the Original Undertakings of the Advancement of
Plantations into those parts;

With a perfect Relation of our English Discoveries, shewing
their Beginning, Progress and Continuance, from the Year
1628. to 1658. Declaring the Forms of their Govern-
ment, Policies, Religions, Maners, Customs, Military Disci-
pline, Wars with the *Indians*, the Commodities of their
Countries, a Description of their Towns and Havens,
the Increase of their Trading, with the Names of
their Governors and Magistrates.

More especially, an absolute *Narrative* of the North
parts of *America*, and of the Discoveries and
Plantations of our English in

Virginia, New-England, and Barbadoes,

Publisht by *FERDINANDO GORGES*, Esq;

A Work now at last exposed for the publick good, to stir up the Heroick and
Active Spirits of these times, to benefit their Countrey, and Eternize
their Names by such Honorable Attempts.

For the Readers clearer understanding of the Countreys, they are lively
described in a compleat and exquisite Map.



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who are come amongst us, who have raised up divers, who at present seem to be of their spirit, whereat the colonies about us seem to be offended with us, being the said people have their liberty with us, are entertained in our houses of any of our assemblies: and for the present, we have found no just cause to charge them with the breach of the civil peace." After stating that "the offence our neighbors take against us is because we take not some course against the said people, either to expel them from amongst us, or take such courses against them as themselves do, who are in fear lest their religion should be corrupted by them," they added, "we fly as a refuge in all civil respects to his Highness and honorable council, as not being subject to any other in matters of our civil state, so may it please you, to have an eye and ear open, in case our adversaries should speak to undermine us in our privileges granted unto us, and plead our cause in such sort as that we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's consciences, so long as human orders in point of civility are not corrupted and violated."³⁷

December 12, Thursday: [William Coddington](#) and his third wife, Ann Coddington, had Noah Coddington.

37. William Read Staples (1798-1868). ANNALS OF THE TOWN OF [PROVIDENCE](#), FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT, TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT, IN JUNE, 1832. Providence, [Rhode Island](#): Printed by Knowles and Vose, 1843.

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1659

We believe that “Portrait of a Clergyman,” painted by Guiliam de Ville in this timeframe and now at the Redwood Library of [Newport, Rhode Island](#), must be a depiction of Elder [John Clarke](#).



[Thomas Angell](#) was again one of [Providence, Rhode Island](#)'s six jurymen.

1659. On the accession of Charles II. a commission was ordered by the General Assembly to be sent to Mr. Clark, in England, to procure a renewal of the charter from that monarch.

In the town records we can find entries certifying that “the head of a wolfe” was presented to the town clerk. Sometimes such proofs of conquest would be “set up in a public place in the town.” In this year the town of [Providence](#) was soliciting the elimination of a troublesome wolf by offering to pay out to the successful hunter the collected inducement of “a halfe penny a head for each hend of cattel, they who kill the wolfe to gather it upp.”



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[William Dyer](#) and [Friend Mary Dyer](#) had established their new farm in what is now [Newport, Rhode Island](#).³⁸ In this year Friend Mary and two other expelled Quaker ministers –Friends [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and [William Robinson](#), who were youths of little more than 20 years of age– would determine to test the barbarous new [Boston](#) law requiring death for return after an initial expulsion. Would it be enforceable or, only another idle threat, would it also collapse upon a challenge from those of sufficient faith?

Six [Quakers](#) of Salem, keeping faith, prepared “linen wherein to wrap the dead bodies of those who were to suffer.” (These people, you see, were playing hardball.)³⁹

After training for the ministry, John Higginson had succeeded his father-in-law Henry Whitfeld or Whitfield (1597-1687) as minister at Guilford, Connecticut. At this point he became the pastor at Salem.

38. There is still a very small street, Dyer’s Gate off 3rd Street just next to the overpass from the Newport Bridge, to mark where they had lived. The island just off Newport that was associated with this farm, [Goat Island](#) where the family kept livestock, was then about a hundred times larger than it now is in this era in which this now tiny island has been transformed into a US Navy weapons-development facility.

39. Sewell, William. THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE, AND PROGRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. A NEW EDITION IN TWO VOLUMES. Philadelphia PA: Uriah Hunt, 1832, Volume I, pages 253-5



**LETTER TO THE GENERAL COURT AT BOSTON,
AFTER BEING SENTENCED TO DEATH,
27TH OF 8TH MONTH, 1659.**

*To the General Court in Boston.
Whereas I am by many charged with the guiltiness of my own blood;
if you mean in my coming to Boston, I am therein clear, and
justified by the Lord, in whose will I came, who will require
my blood of you, be sure, who have made a law to take away the
lives of the innocent servants of God, if they come among you,
who are called by you, cursed Quakers; although I say, and am a
living witness for them and the Lord, that he hath blessed them,
and sent them unto you; therefore be not found fighters against
God, but let my counsel and request be accepted with you, to
repeal all such laws, that the Truth and servants of the Lord
may have free passage among you, and you be kept from shedding
innocent blood, which I know there are many among you would not
do, if they knew it so to be; nor can the enemy that stirreth
you up thus to destroy his holy seed in any measure countervail
the great damage that you will, by thus doing, procure.
Therefore seeing the Lord hath not hid it from me, it lieth upon
me, in love to your souls, thus to persuade you. I have no self-
ends the Lord knoweth; for if my life were freely granted by
you, it would not avail me, nor could I expect it of you, so
long as I should daily hear or see the sufferings of these
people, my dear brethren, and the seed with whom my life is bound
up, as I have done these two years: and now it is like to
increase, even unto death, for no evil doing, but coming among
you. Was ever the like laws heard of among a people that profess
Christ come in the flesh? And have such no other weapons but
such laws to fight against spiritual wickedness withal, as you
call it? Woe is me for you! Of whom take ye counsel? Search with
the light of Christ in you, and it will show you of whom, as it
hath done me and many more, who have been disobedient and
deceived, as now ye are: which light as ye come into, and obeying
what is made manifest to you therein, you will not repent that
you were kept from shedding blood, though it were by a woman.
It is not mine own life I seek, (for I choose rather to suffer
with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of Egypt,)
but the life of the seed, which I know the Lord hath blessed,
and therefore seeks the enemy thus vehemently to destroy the
life thereof, as in all ages he ever did. O hearken not unto
him, I beseech you, for the seed's sake, which is one and all,
and is dear in the sight of God, which they that touch, touch
the apple of his eye, and cannot escape his wrath; whereof I
having felt, cannot but persuade all men that I have to do
withal, especially you who name the name of Christ to depart
from such iniquity as shedding blood, even of the saints of the
Most High. Therefore let my request have as much acceptance with
you, if you be Christians, as Esther's had with Ahasuerus, whose
relation is short of that that is between Christians: and my
request is the same that hers was: and he said not that he had
made a law, and it would be dishonourable for him to revoke it;*



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but when he understood that those people were so prized by her, and so nearly concerned her, as in truth these are to me, you may see what he did for her. Therefore I leave these lines with you, appealing to the faithful and true witness of God, which is one in all consciences, before whom we must all appear; with whom I shall eternally rest, in everlasting joy and peace, whether you will hear or forbear. With him is my reward, with whom to live is my joy, and to die is my gain, though I had not had your forty-eight hours warning, for the preparation of the death of Mary Dyar.

And know this also, that if through the enmity you shall declare yourselves worse than Ahasuerus, and confirm your law, though it were but by taking away the life of one of us, that the Lord will overthrow both your law and you, by his righteous judgments and plagues poured justly upon you, who now, whilst ye are warned thereof, and tenderly sought unto, may avoid the one, by removing the other. If you neither hear, nor obey the Lord, nor his servants, yet will he send more of his servants among you, so that your end shall be frustrated, that think to restrain them ye call cursed Quakers, from coming among you, by any thing you can do to them. Yea, verily, he hath a seed here among you, for whom we have suffered all this while, and yet suffer; whom the Lord of the harvest will send forth more-more labourers to gather, out of the mouths of devourers of all sorts, into his fold, where he will lead them into fresh pastures, even the paths of righteousness for his name's sake. Oh, let none of you put this good day far from you, which verily in the light of the Lord I see approaching even to many in and about Boston, which is the bitterest and darkest professing place, and so to continue so long as you have done, that ever I heard of. Let the time past, therefore, suffice, for such a profession as brings forth such fruits as these laws are. In love, and in the spirit of meekness, I again beseech you, for I have no enmity to the persons of any; but you shall know, that God will not be mocked; but what ye sew, that shall ye reap from him, that will render to every one according to the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil. Even be it, saith

Mary Dyar.



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

July 4, Friday: The Reverend [William Blaxton](#) was back from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to his home in [Boston](#) on his remaining 6 acres near the Common, still wearing the clerical garb of the established church, getting married with Sarah, the widow of John Stephenson, of School Street. The widow had a 16-year-old daughter. Officiating at the ceremony was Governor John Endecott. They would produce an only son, named John, and another daughter.⁴⁰



John Endecott

40. He would live to 76. She would predecease him.



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

October 20, Monday: In [Boston](#), the young [Quaker](#) ministers [Marmaduke Stevenson](#), [William Robinson](#), and [Mary Dyer](#) were sentenced to be [hanged](#) by the neck until they were dead from the Great Elm (*Ulmus americana*) on Boston Common, on Lecture Day.



[Friend Daniel Gould](#) of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) would accompany [Friend Marmaduke](#) and [Friend William](#) to their gallows tree, and for doing that he would be tied across a big gun and flogged.



ROGUE ISLAND

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October 27, Monday: This was “Lecture Day” in [Boston](#). The Reverend John Norton fulminated against “diabolical doctrines” such as those of “the cursed sect of the Quakers.” (This would be printed up and distributed at government expense.) A large company of soldiers escorted the three religious prisoners from the jail near what is now Dover Street at Washington Street, onto the Common.⁴¹

[Friend Daniel Gould](#) of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) accompanied Friend Marmaduke and Friend William to their gallows tree, and for doing that would be sentenced to be tied across a big gun and flogged.

[Friend Mary Dyer](#) was between two guards with her arms and legs bound. She was seen to have covered her face with a handkerchief, loaned to her for this purpose by her former pastor in the Boston church, the Reverend John Wilson. With the drums rolling to drown out the voices of the condemned (they were nevertheless heard briefly, as below), Friends [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and [William Robinson](#) were [hanged](#) from the limb of a tree on Boston Common. When the corpse of Robinson was cut down, the head hit the ground and the skull broke. Their bodies were cast naked into a hole, and soon were covered over with water. “A Mr. Nichols built a fence about the place to protect them.”⁴²

A week earlier, in the prison in [Boston](#), Friend Marmaduke had written a brief summation of his life.⁴³

In the beginning of the year 1655, I was at the plough in the east parts of Yorkshire in Old England, near the place where my outward being was; and, as I walked after the plough, I was filled with the love and presence of the living God, which did ravish my heart when I felt it, for it did increase and abound in me like a living stream, so did the life and love of God run through me like precious ointment giving a pleasant smell, which mad me to stand still. And, as I stood a little still, with my heart and mind stayed upon the Lord, the word of the Lord came to me in a still, small voice, which I did hear perfectly, saying to me in the secret of my heart and conscience, "I have ordained thee a prophet unto the nations," and, at the hearing of the word of the Lord, I was put to a stand, seeing that I was but a child for such a weighty matter. So, at the time appointed, Barbados was set before me, unto which I was required of the Lord to go and leave my dear and loving wife and tender children; for the Lord said unto me, immediately by His Spirit, that He would be as an husband to my wife and as a father to my children, and they should not want in my absence, for He would provide for them when I was gone. And I believed the Lord would perform what He had spoken, because I was made willing to give up myself to His work and service, to leave all and follow Him, whose presence and life is with me, where I rest in peace and quietness of spirit, with my dear brother [Friend William Robinson] under the

41. The illustration that one commonly sees, of these three being taken along to the Common with a drummer in front and a small dog cavorting in the foreground, is by William Bell Scott and dates to his own perfervid imagination as of the late date of 1888. Representative Daniel Gould of [Newport](#) accompanied Friends [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and [William Robinson](#) to encourage them as they were being [hanged](#) and for that act of sympathy would be “tied to a big gun” and given thirty lashes in [Boston](#) during November 1659.

42. After this execution a military man of highest esteem in the colony, John Hull, whose take on such topics was of course always that of discipline, felt that if ever an enemy deserved to die, then someone who had made themselves an enemy of God especially deserved to be put to death. He wrote in his diary that “the rest of the [Quakers](#) had liberty, if they pleased to use it, to depart the jurisdiction though some of them capitally guilty,” and piously ejaculated into prayer: “The good Lord pardon this timidity of spirit to execute the sentence of God’s Holy Law upon such blasphemous persons.” –One is reminded of the little sermon that was given to the German soldiers used as concentration camp guards, which amounted to “We know this goes against your natural feelings, and we hope you will be able to overcome such weaknesses in yourselves.”

43. Besse. SUFFERINGS, 1753, Volume II, pages 201-2



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shadow of His wings, who hath made us willing to lay down our lives for His name's sake, if unmerciful men be suffered to take them from us. And, if they do, we know we shall have rest and peace with the Lord for ever in His holy habitation, when they shall have torment night and day.

So, in obedience to the living God, I made preparation to pass to Barbados in the Fourth month [June] 1658. So, after some time that I had been on the said island in the service of God, I heard that New England had made a law to put the servants of the living God to death if they returned after they were sentenced away, which did come near me at that time; and, as I considered the thing and pondered it in my heart, immediately came to word of the Lord unto me, saying, "Thou knowest not but that thou mayst go thither."

But I kept this word in my heart and did not declare it to any until the time appointed, so, after that, a vessel was made ready for [Rhode Island](#), which I passed in. So, after a little time that I had been there, visiting the seed which the Lord had blessed, the word of the Lord came to me saying, "Go to Boston with thy brother William Robinson," and at His command I was obedient and gave up to His will, that so His work and service may be accomplished. for He had said unto me that He had a great work for me to do, which is now come to pass. And, for yielding obedience to and for obeying the voice and command of the everlasting God, which created heaven and earth and the foundations of waters, do I, with my dear brother, suffer outward bonds near unto death.

And this is given forth to be upon record, that all people may know who hear it, that we came not in our own will but in the will of God.

Given forth by me, whom am know to men by the name of MARMADUKE STEVENSON, but have a new name given me, which the world knows not of, written in the book of life.



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It turned out that the plan of the authorities was only to frighten this Quaker woman by the sentence of death and the witnessing of the execution of her fellow ministers. When it came time for her to be “turned off” – as the expression then was– upon the gallows tree, the authorities announced that she had been reprieved. Her bonds were loosed.



One of the Bostonians in the assembly, one John Chamberlain, however, announced then and there that he had been converted into a [Quaker](#), and he was taken back to town and thrown in jail. Shortly afterward, that jail released 17 religious prisoners.

After not being hanged, Friend Mary Dyer once again wrote to the court:⁴⁴

44. Sewell, William. THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE, AND PROGRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. A NEW EDITION IN TWO VOLUMES. Philadelphia PA: Uriah Hunt, 1832, Volume I, pages 256-7



**LETTER TO THE GENERAL COURT AT BOSTON,
AFTER BEING UNEXPECTEDLY REPRIEVED,
28TH OF 8TH MONTH, 1659.**

Once more to the general court assembled in Boston, speaks Mary Dyar, even as before. My life is not accepted, neither availeth in comparison of the lives and liberty of the Truth, and servants of living God, for which in the bowels of loved and meekness I sought you: yet, nevertheless, with wicked hands have you put two of them to death, which makes me to feel, that the mercies of the wicked are cruelty. I rather choose to die than to live, as from you, as guilty of their innocent blood: therefore seeing my request is hindered, I leave you to the righteous Judge, and searcher of all hearts, who, with the pure measure of light he hath given to every man to profit withal, will in his due time let you see whose servants you are, and of whom you have taken counsel, which I desire you to search into: but all his counsel hath been slighted, and you would have none of his reproofs. Read your portion, Prov. i. 24 to 32. For verily the night cometh on you apace, wherein no man can work, in which you shall assuredly fall to your own master. In obedience to the Lord, whom I serve with my spirit, and pity to your souls, which you neither know nor pity, I can do no less than once more to warn you, to put away the evil of your doings; and kiss the Son, the light in you, before his wrath be kindled in you; for where it is, nothing without you can help or deliver you out of his hand at all; and if these things be so, then say, there hath been no prophet from the Lord sent amongst you; though we be nothing, yet it be his pleasure, by things that are not, to bring to nought things that are.

When I heard your last order read, it was a disturbance to me, that was so freely offering up my life to him that gave it to me, and sent me hither so to do, which obedience being his own work, he gloriously accompanied with his presence and peace, and love in me, in which I rested from my labour; till by your order and the people, I was so far disturbed, that I could not retain any more of the words thereof, than that I should return to prison, and there remain forty and eight hours, to which I submitted, finding nothing from the Lord to the contrary, that I may know what his pleasure and counsel is concerning me, on whom I wait therefore, for he is my life, and the length of my days; and as I said before, I came at his command, and go at his command.

Mary Dyar.

Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."



– A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787

"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."

—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1601	Tycho Brahe	unsolicited comment	<i>"Let me not seem to have lived in vain."</i>
1618	Sir Walter Raleigh	his wife would embalm his head and keep it near her in a red leather bag	<i>"Strike, man, strike."</i>
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1659	Friend Marmaduke Stevenson and Friend William Robinson	unsolicited comments made over the muting roll of a drum intended to prevent such remarks from being heard	<i>Friend Marmaduke: "We suffer not as evil-doers but for conscience' sake." Friend William: "I die for Christ."</i>
1660	Friend Mary Dyer	asked at her execution whether they should pray for her soul	<i>"Nay, first a child; then a young man; then a strong man, before an elder of Christ Jesus."</i>
<i>... other famous last words ...</i>			

November: In the previous month [Friend Daniel Gould](#) of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) had elected to accompany Friends [Marmaduke Stevenson](#) and [William Robinson](#) to encourage them as they were being [hanged](#) as [Quakers](#) in [Boston](#). For that act he was "tied to a big gun" and given thirty stripes.



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1660

Samuel Maverick made a notation about [Rhode Island](#).

READ THIS COMMENT

In [Rhode Island](#), William Brenton was in charge. Dr. [John Clarke](#) was commissioned to secure a document from the new king, Charles II, that would both be consistent with the religious principles upon which the tiny colony was founded and also safeguard Rhode Island lands from encroachment by speculators and greedy neighbors. He succeeded admirably. The royal charter of 1663 guaranteed complete religious liberty, established a self-governing colony with total autonomy, and strengthened Rhode Island's territorial claims. It was the most liberal charter to be issued by the mother country during the entire colonial era, a fact that enabled it to serve as Rhode Island's basic law until May 1843.



[William Hall](#) was again commissioner to the general Court from [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#).

The 1st bridge was thrown across the Woonasquatucket River at [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

January 4, Sunday: The initial murder of a white man in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

In the earliest list of "Twenty-five acre men" who were received as inhabitants of Providence in 1645, is the name of John Clauson. Roger Williams says that he, with some Indians, found Clauson naked and starving in the woods. Where he came from or why he was in the place where they found him, or what was the occasion of his being in such a plight, we are not told. No one



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in Providence knew him. It is certain only that he was a Dutchman; but all the circumstances indicate that he was a runaway apprentice from some one of the neighboring colonies, perhaps from Manhattan, not unlikely from Massachusetts. Mr. Williams brought him to town, took him into his family, treated him with much kindness, taught him to read, gave him a Dutch testament and had him learn the carpenter's trade. A little later complaint was made against him that he was illegally using the common land; and again, at the instance of Richard Harcutt he was put under bonds to keep the peace. He also had some personal difficulty with Roger Mowry and Samuel Bennett, two prominent citizens of the town. Mr. Williams relates that he was "grieved at his folly and forwardness." He was evidently of a rough and lawless temper.

On the night of January 4th, 1660, Clauson was attacked near his dwelling, which was in the vicinity of what is now the North Burial Ground, from behind a clump of barberry bushes, by an Indian named Wan Manitt. At the first blow Clauson's chin was split open and he was mortally wounded in the chest. After lingering in great agony for two or three days, and receiving such care as neighbors could give him, he died, having as tradition asserts uttered a strange curse upon one Herrendeen, whom he believed to be the instigator of the attack, "That he and his posterity might be marked with split chins and haunted by barberry bushes." Wan Manitt was immediately apprehended, placed in irons and confined in Roger Mowry's public house, with a watch of eight able-bodied citizens to guard against his escape. After the burial of Clauson the freemen were called together in town meeting to take such action as the case demanded. Roger Williams acted as interpreter. The decision was that the prisoner be sent to the colony prison in Newport till the date appointed for his trial. He was taken there; but no account of his conviction and execution is at hand. However, in view of the fact that he was only "A heathen savage" and undoubtedly guilty, we may fairly conclude that the matter was neither forgotten nor overlooked by those who firmly believed that every "Son of Adam is his brother's keeper and avenger." There is no reason to suppose that Herrendeen was ever called to account for the part which the dying Clauson accused him of having in his taking off. This was the first murder committed in the town of Providence.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT



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June 1, Tuesday: Friend [Mary Dyer](#) of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) was escorted along a back way about a mile from the jail near what is now Dover Street at Washington Street to the municipal gallows on Boston Neck, at the edge of town on the path leading to Roxbury and life and freedom,



Friend Mary was once again asked politely, whether she could commit that she would go away and stay away.

Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the will of the Lord, I came, and in his will I abide faithful to the death.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

As Friend Mary's body swung on the [gallows](#) a local wit, [Major-General Humphrey Atherton](#), came up with something to yell out to the rubbernecker. If the minister was not yet strangled into unconsciousness at that point, we may hope that the marvelous and spontaneous summation this Major-General unintentionally uttered could be the last thing she heard.⁴⁵

She hangs there as a flag!

45. One wonders whether her husband [William Dyer](#) and her five boys William, Jr., Samuel, Henry, Mahershallalhashbaz, and Charles were present on the occasion of this scheduled public ceremony — the record we have of their lives is entirely silent on this score so the presumption unfortunately may need to be that they had absented themselves, deliberately leaving their errant wife and mother to face the Boston gallows entirely alone; I also do not know whether her Quaker son William, Jr. was at this point already convinced, or became a [Quaker](#) only later. This is the way, however, that historians today fudge the probability that Friend Mary had in her extremity been deserted not only by her husband but also by her offspring: “A small group of colonists had gathered around the walls of the prison in the vain hope of getting word to the prisoner. Earlier, when she had been found talking with friends gathered around her prison window, she had been moved to a remote part of the prison where none could speak or signal to her. All night the faithful band of friends remained outside the walls” (Page 1 of Robert S. Burgess's *TO TRY THE BLOODY LAW / THE STORY OF MARY DYER* (Burnsville NC: Celo Valley Books, 2000).

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... other famous last words ...



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They buried the body near where they hanged her, south of Dover Street on the east of what is now Washington Street. Perhaps it is there still — or perhaps not, for an undiseased fresh female cadaver would have been quite a prize for the “resurrectionists” who regularly exhumed such for sale to local physicians.⁴⁶

A Boston sheriff at the scene, Edward Wanton, after going home and discussing the events of this day with his mother, became a [Quaker](#).⁴⁷

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1661

Joseph Crandall the son of John Crandall and Mary Opp Crandall was born, and would die on September 12, 1737 in Newport County, [Rhode Island](#). He had married with Deborah Burdick on April 11, 1685 in [Westerly](#) (she was a daughter of Robert Burdick and Ruth Hubbard, born January 11, 1660 in Westerly, and died there on September 12, 1737).

46. I have been indignantly informed via email that Friend [Mary Dyer](#) was hanged from the Great Elm on Boston Common, because near the Common now there's a sort of officious monument (but not at the spot where the Great Elm had been located), and the inscription at the base of said monument reads in part: “Witness for Religious Freedom — Hanged on Boston Common 1660 — ‘My life not availeth me in comparison to the Liberty of the Truth.’” QED, this email concluded, the historical record that she was hanged at the gallows on Boston Neck, and her body discarded there, can only be in error.



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Massasoit died and was succeeded by his 1st son, *Wamsutta*, the one who had been nicknamed “Allexander” (*sic*) by the whites.⁴⁸




Att the ernest request of Wamsitta, desiring that in regard his father is lately deceased, and hee being desirouse, according to the custome of the natives, to change his name, that the Court would confer an English name upon him, which accordingly they did, and therefore ordered, that for the future hee shalbee called by the name of Allexander Pokanokett; and desiring the same in the behalfe of his brother, they have named him Phillip.



Allexander *Wamsutta* was married to [Squaw Sachem Weetamoo](#) of Pocasset. He sold Attleboro lands to the [Plymouth](#) colony. This sachem would be signing the land sale documents presented to him by the English sometimes with

an **A** sometimes with a **W** and sometimes with a **M**

47. Major-General Atherton would be on his way somewhere on horseback on September 16, 1661,  when he would pass by the spot at which Quakers had ordinarily been being cut loose from the cart behind which they had been lashed through the colony, just before being turned out into the wilderness. At this spot his horse was spooked by a cow and Atherton was thrown hard, striking his head. The bloody-minded among the [Quakers](#) would note with satisfaction as a punishment by God that the officer’s eyes were out of their sockets, he had brain tissue coming out of his nose and blood dripping out of his ears, and his tongue was protruding from between his teeth. (Watch out, ye blasphemers, God’ll get you!)

Michael Crook <mcrook@IGC.APC.ORG> of the Annapolis Friends Meeting has sent me an email of his oral family history to the effect that “A man named Stanton, I’m forgetting whether it was William or John, was captain of the guard that escorted Mary to the gallows. He’s one of my wife’s ancestors. That day, after the hanging, because of the accepting, compassionate and forgiving demeanor of Mary and other Friends, he said to his mother, ‘Mother, we are persecuting the people of God.’ He became a Friend, was persecuted himself, and eventually moved to Rhode Island, where he married into the Gould family.” This could **not** have been a William Stanton, for the only person of this name on the record would have been much too young during 1660 to have served in such an official capacity, and could **not** have been a John Stanton, for there was such a man attending Harvard College during 1661 but in 1676 this man was a soldier rather than a [Quaker](#). We know of a John Stanton but his only recorded marriage was to a Mary Clark. If this man had married into the Gould family, he would have married a daughter of Representative Daniel Gould of [Newport](#), the gentleman who had accompanied Stephenson and Robinson to encourage them as they were being hanged and for that act of sympathy had been “tied to a big gun” and rewarded with thirty lashes in Boston during November 1659. The putative daughter might have been a Mary born on 2 March 1653, or a Priscilla born on 20 June 1661, or a Content born on 28 April 1671 or a Wait born on 8 May 1676 — but we know nothing of any of the marriages of any of these Gould daughters. The name the Kouroo database has, for the sheriff who went home and spoke to his mother after the hanging and turned Quaker, is Edward Wanton. We do not have the names of his parents. This Boston sheriff was by trade a ship-carpenter and in 1660 was of an age to have a young child and another on the way, and shortly after this hanging of Mary Dyer removed from Boston to [Scituate RI](#). Later, the three of his sons whom we have track of lived in three towns in [Rhode Island](#), and one of them became a long-term governor of the colony at a time when many of that colony’s governors were Quakers, but we do not know of any connection between the Wanton family and the Gould family. Thus, this proffered family history seems to be entirely unsupported.

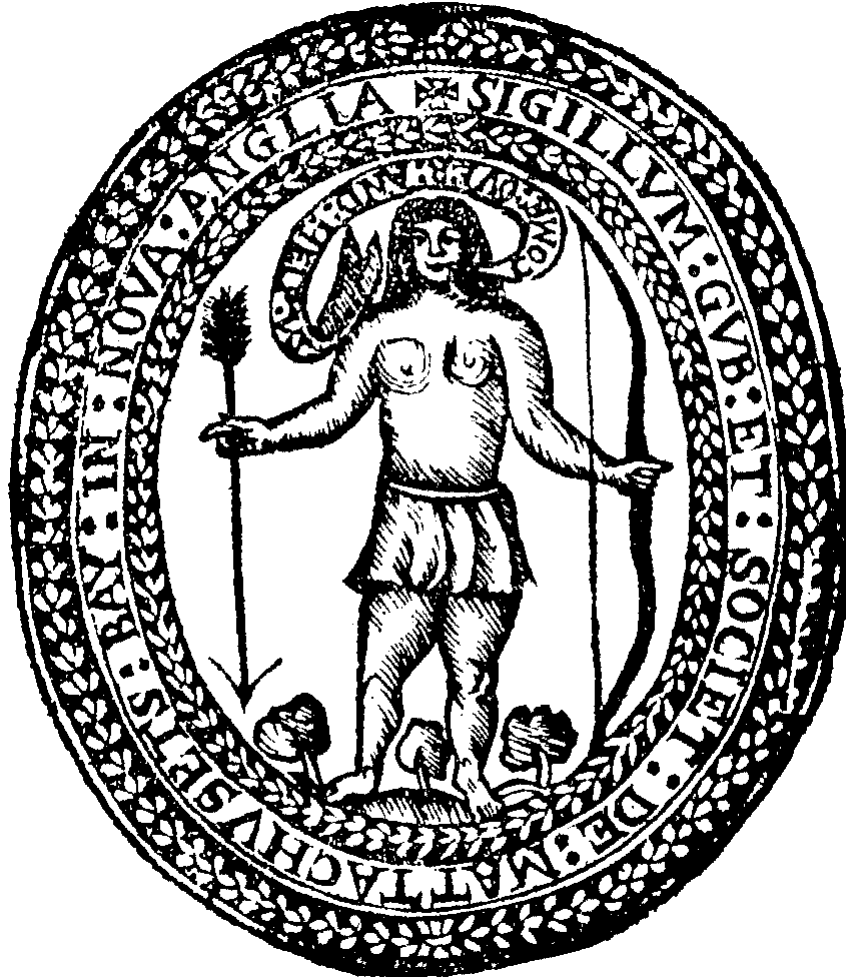
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(these things are complex, for in fact he had in addition another name beginning with the letter M) as his younger brother Metacom, when he would in his turn become the sachem of the *Wampanoag*, would be signing these ubiquitous documents with

a big inky **P**

48. When the seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony depicted an American native with a cartoon bubble coming out of his mouth, going “Come over and help us,” the reference of course was to the Book of the Acts of the Apostles in the Christian Bible, which has the Apostle Paul dreaming of a Macedonian who is pleading that he “Come over into Macedonia, and help us.”



On that basis, for the whites to have assigned to two Native American sachems the names “Phillip” (*sic*) and “Alexander” (*sic*) two well-known kings of ancient Macedonia, would seem rather innocent. However, bear in mind that it was the naming convention of the period, to refer to persons of color by the deployment of offensively grandiloquent and therefore implicitly derogatory nicknames. The dusky brothers *Wamsutta* and *Metacom* were therefore nicknamed Alexander and Phillip more or less in the mode in which masterly whites were in the habit of condescending magisterially to their black slaves: such ostentatious names (in the case of black slaves, master-assigned names such as those which Dr. LeBaron of *Plymouth* tried to enforce upon his house slaves, such as Pompey and Julius Caesar — starving one of his slaves, Quasho Quando, as punishment when the man absolutely refused to respond to such a name) implicitly gestured toward their low standing in the eyes of the righteous, marking them as pretenders, as con artists, implicitly warning fellow whites not to take them seriously as human beings or as leaders.

In what significant manner does this differ from the period in Central Europe during which Jews were being required to register and to receive family names and were being assigned names, by a sympathetic constabulary, which translate into the ordinary English as “gold-grubber” and as “money-bags”?



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*Phillip alias Metacomb
his mark*

(it all was made to seem so legitimate and respectful and congenial).

This was the year of the property transaction known as the “Northern Purchase.” The English of [Rehoboth](#) (chartered in 1643 by the [Plymouth](#) Colony, and the birthplace of public education in North America) hired



Thomas Willett to negotiate for them with [Wampanoag](#) sachems for what is now Attleboro and North Attleboro. This 1661 deed still exists and very clearly is signed by Willett and by *Wamsutta*.⁴⁹ The land in question has clearly belonged to the white man since way back. One of the terms and conditions of this deed document, however, is that part of the property in question had been set aside for perpetual use by the natives. Since there aren't any natives there any longer, and since continuous occupancy is normally taken by our courts to be the signal of native title, this clause would seem to be ancient history — but as of the Year of Our Lord 2003 there is a case pending in the [Rhode Island](#) courts which alleges that legal title to the land district

49. [Metacom](#) had such a high regard for Captain Thomas Willett that during the race war he ordered that the Willett family not be harmed. When someone who had not heard of this brought the head of Hezekiah Willett to Metacom, thinking that he would be pleased, Metacom did what he could: he adorned the head of Willett's son with wampum, and combed its hair.

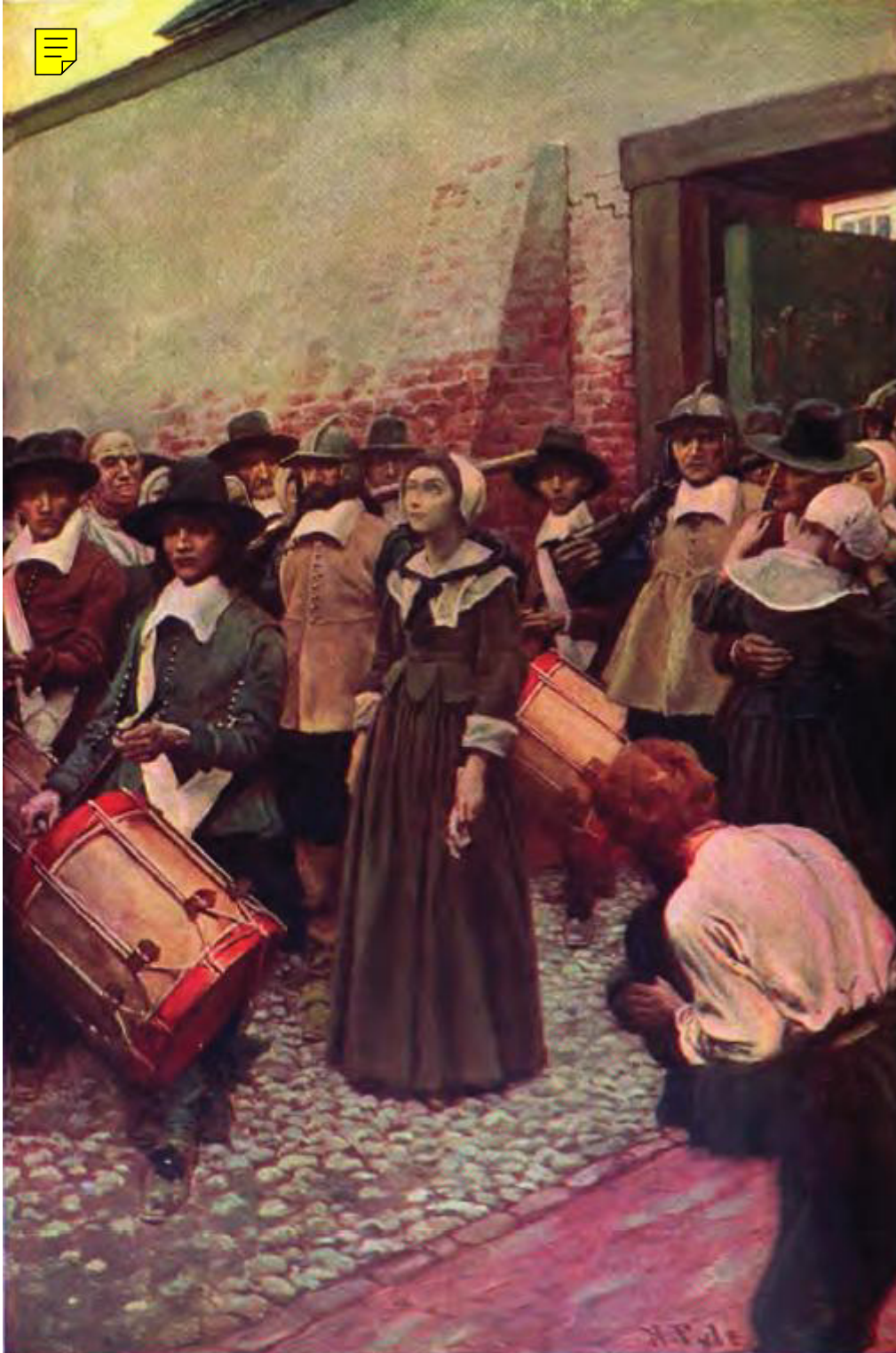
HDT

WHAT?

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'AT HER APPEARING THE MULTITUDE WAS HUSHED, AWED BY THAT AIR SHE WORE''



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that had been set aside, that seems to amount to [Cumberland](#) and east [Woonsocket](#), is open to challenge.



The bite in this antique document comes from the fact that since the early 1660s, colonial law, and the federal law that followed after this colonial law upon our national independence, has consistently held that no native tribal land could be validly conveyed to another unless that conveyance had the blessing of a federal court, or of the US Congress. Since there exists no federal legislative or judicial record whatever, that these lands which had been formally set aside for native use in this Wamsutta/Willett title document have subsequently legitimately been conveyed to anyone else, and since the tribe in question, the Seaconke [Wampanoag](#), happens to be still in existence, it is abundantly clear that the land in question –whatever that land amounts to and whoever now resides upon it– still belongs to them and to them alone. (After the natives lost in this race war known as “[King Phillip’s War](#)”, we understand that very naturally the victorious white colonists simply moved in and took over by eminent domain, selling the red survivors of the war into slavery or packing them off to other lands. However, that makes the situation of these native inheritors similar to, say, the situation of an Israeli Jew who is holding a WWII-era title document to a family home in the Polish town of Oswicum, the German form of the name being “Auschwitz” — a family home now inhabited and defended by non-Jewish Poles who definitely have some sort of piece of paper asserting their invalid title. It seems clear that the legal implications of World War II for its survivors, and the implications of King Phillip’s War for its survivors, have yet to be fully worked out.)

But you can’t please everybody all the time. Soon *Wamsutta* fell under suspicion of not favoring one English colony over another, but instead, of the evil practice of selling merely to the highest bidder, favoring his own interest and the interest of his band over the interest of others. He was therefore taken captive by an indignant Major Josiah Winslow and marched rapidly to Duxbury at gunpoint, as part of a strategy to put the arm on him and to induce him to favor the [Plymouth](#) colony over the [Rhode Island](#) colony. They needed for him to pledge to sell no more native American territory to settlers out of the [Rhode Island](#) group, even if those white people were to offer his people a better deal.

Did he not understand who his real friends were? However, while being held under guard in Duxbury, Alexander *Wamsutta* became seriously ill, so ill that the guards feared to be blamed for his death and released him to hike home — and in his fever he didn’t make it all the way back.



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[Metacom](#), the second son of the *Massasoit*, the one who had been nicknamed “Phillip” by the whites, was at that time 24 years of age, and suspected or professed to suspect that the whites had poisoned his brother, or had caused his illness because of the overexertion of being force-marched at gunpoint, or at the very least had sadly neglected his brother during his fever. That suspicion, well or poorly grounded, was going to cause one hell of a lot of trouble.

[Weetamoo](#), a Pocasset, had been the consort of [Metacom](#)'s older brother *Wamsutta*. With his death, as his younger brother became Sachem, she became not merely a widow but the Squaw Sachem.

September 29, Thursday: Some correspondence was initiated by Governor John Winthrop, Jr., in regard to the fate of the Connecticut colony.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1661

1662

Peter Folger left [Martha's Vineyard](#) and settled in [Rhode Island](#). He would last only a short time in [Portsmouth](#), quickly accepting an offer from Tristram Coffin to come to [Nantucket Island](#) where, in exchange for land, he would teach and interpret the Wampanoag language for the new settlement there.

During this year or early the following year, Ann Starbuck, the 1st white child born on the island, was born to Mary Coffin Starbuck, who would become a convert to [Quakerism](#).

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Inauthentic representation of Metacom by Paul Revere, for whom an Indian was an Indian, at the Library of Congress. Done in 1772.



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William Vaughan, Zachariah Rhodes, and Robert Wescott purchased of the native Americans a large tract of land called West Quanaug, to the west of [Providence](#). It seems that the first settler there would be Ezekiel Hopkins — but not until the early years of the 18th Century. This purchase would account for nearly the whole southern half of the town now named [Foster](#) in honor of a distinguished resident who donated to it his library. Foster's Jerimoth Hill is the highest point in [Rhode Island](#), from which on a clear day can be glimpsed the peaks of southern New Hampshire.





ROGUE ISLAND

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The top of this rock along someone's driveway is the highest point at 812 feet above mean sea level — but you're allowed by the landowner to visit only on weekends during full daylight.



1662. Up to this time, the act requiring the conveyances in land to be made in writing was not generally observed, and regulations were made on this subject to prevent apprehended difficulties, confusion and litigation. A bridge was order by the town to be built over Moshassuck river, near the dwelling of Thomas Olney, jun. This is supposed to have been at or near what is now called Randall's bridge.



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After the restoration of the English monarchy it was of course necessary to obtain a new charter, and various expedients were resorted to in order to raise funds on which colonial agent Dr. John Clarke might subsist. A voluntary contribution of £200, to be apportioned among the towns, had been called for by the colonial legislature in 1661, but only some £40 was contributed with “allacrity and cheerfull freeness,” so two men were appointed in each town to see what “moneies” they could “rayse in the several towns,” with “old England moneye” being accounted “double the value of other pay.” For such a purpose the country payment in kind, by means of barter products, was reckoned at about half the value of actual coinage and bills of exchange, because of the cost of transporting such to England and disposing of it there, and New England’s silver coins were reckoned at about two-thirds the value of the English coinage. A tax of £288 was levied in June and was paid by a few men in each town, each of whom was to ask his own town for reimbursement.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT



ROGUE ISLAND

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James Walkley was accused of [witchcraft](#) in Hartford, Connecticut but managed to escape into [Rhode Island](#).

John Godfrey, who had been accused before, was tried on a charge of [witchcraft](#) in Haverhill, Massachusetts, was acquitted, and filed a countercharge of slander. William Ayres and his wife Goody Ayres were arraigned for [witchcraft](#) in Hartford but during the proceedings managed to flee from the Connecticut colony. (Perhaps they also escaped into [Rhode Island](#)?)

Major American Witchcraft Cases

1647	Elizabeth Kendall, Alse Young	1663	Mary Barnes
1648	Margaret Jones, Mary Johnson	1666	Elizabeth Seager
1651	Alice Lake, Mrs. (Lizzy) Kendal, Goody Bassett, Mary Parsons	1669	Katherine (Kateran) Harrison
1652	John Carrington, Joan Carrington	1683	Nicholas Disborough, Margaret Mattson
1653	Elizabeth “Goody” Knapp, Elizabeth Godman	1688	Annie “Goody” Glover
1654	Lydia Gilbert, Kath Grady, Mary Lee	1692	Bridget Bishop, Rebecca Towne Nurse, Sarah Good, Susannah Martin, Elizabeth Howe, Sarah Wildes, Mary Staples, Mercy Disborough, Elizabeth Clawson, Mary Harvey, Hannah Harvey, Goody Miller, Giles Cory, Mary Towne Estey, Reverend George Burrough, George Jacobs, Sr., John Proctor, John Willard, Martha Carrier, Sarah Good, Martha Corey, Margaret Scott, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Wilmott Redd, Samuel Wardwell, Mary Parker, Tituba
1655	Elizabeth Godman, Nicholas Bayley, Goodwife Bayley, Ann Hibbins	1693	Hugh Crotia, Mercy Disborough
1657	William Meaker	1697	Winifred Benham, Senr., Winifred Benham, Junr.
1658	Elizabeth Garlick, Elizabeth Richardson, Katherine Grade	1724	Sarah Spencer
1661	Nicholas Jennings, Margaret Jennings	1768	—— Norton
1662	Nathaniel Greensmith, Rebecca Greensmith, Mary Sanford, Andrew Sanford, Goody Ayres, Katherine Palmer, Judith Varlett, James Walkley	1801	Sagoyewatha “Red Jacket”



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January 27, Monday: [Providence](#) reserved lands at the [lime kilns](#) at Hackleton (probably Setamuchut Hill near Manton and Netaconkanut Hill in Johnston).

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July: Sachem *Wamsutta* of the [Wampanoag](#), known to the English as “Allexander,” the older son of *Ousamequin* Yellow Feather the *Massasoit*, had hired the Harvard-educated Reverend John [Sassamon](#) to interface with the English –and with their written word– on his behalf. Major Josiah Winslow with a body of eight or ten well-armed colonial soldiers arrested the sachem and the colonists required him to appear before them at Duxbury to answer charges concerning his supposed plot to attack them. After dealing with these accusations and eating a meal, the sachem was visiting Josiah Winslow at Marshfield when he was taken suddenly ill and was treated by a Dr. Fuller by the administration of a “working physic,” or what today we would describe as a strong laxative. Some, including his wife Weetamoo, believed him to have been poisoned, but there is no great amount of evidence to indicate this and the accounts indicated that he had been well received by the Winslows. It was not uncommon in this era for people to die of sudden illness, and it is hard to imagine what advantage a poisoner might have hoped for. If what was causing Allexander’s stomach pain was appendicitis, then it would have been this “working physic” that would have ruptured his appendix, filled his body cavity with toxins, and killed him while on his journey back home. (On the other hand there are records of the Plymouth Council having taken note of an expense at the time for poison “to rid ourselves of a pest,” although it is possible that these records were entirely innocent and routine and dealt merely with agriculture or sanitation.) He would be succeeded during the following year by his brother [Metacom](#) (or *Pometacon*, or *Tasomaccon*, or *Wewesawanit*), known to the English as [Phillip](#). Phillip would reaffirm all previous agreements with the Plymouth colony, but joined in the general suspicion that the white people had caused his brother’s death.

This plaque is mounted on a boulder near the shore of Monponsett Lakes, inland from Cape Cod.




1663

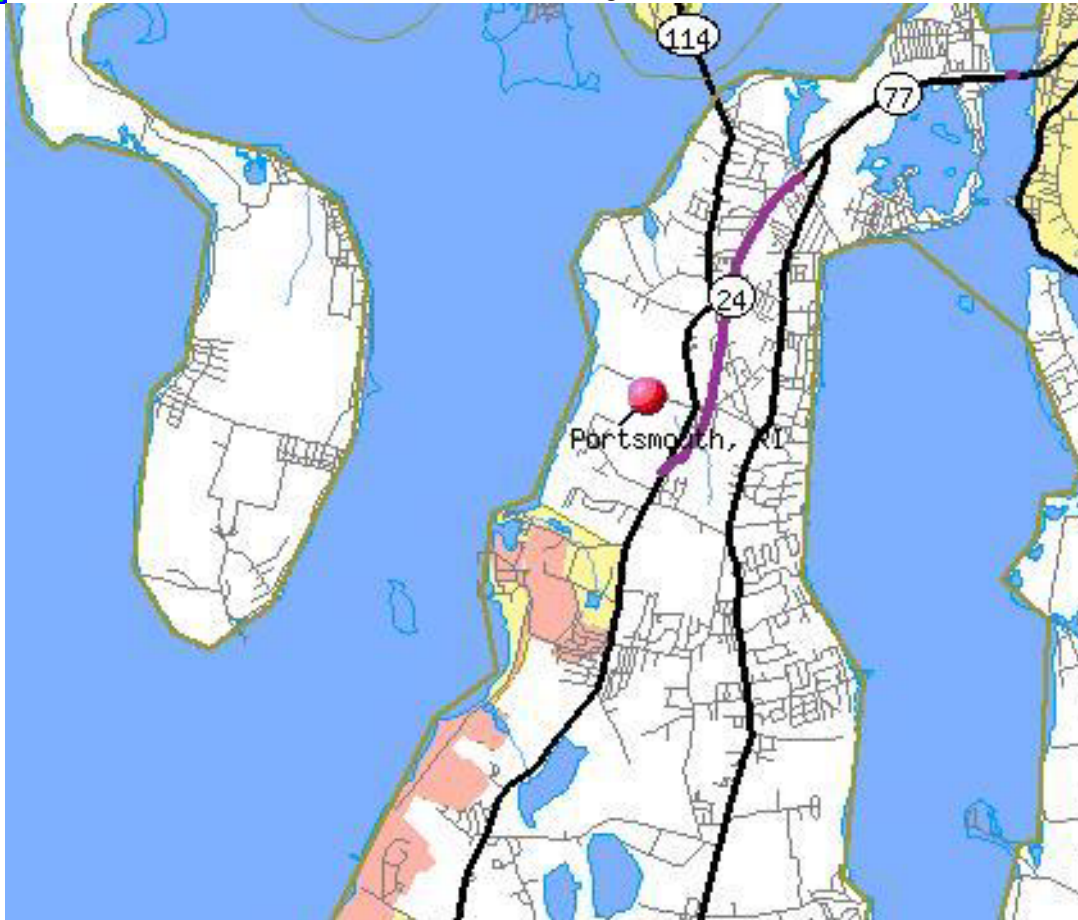
The 1st windmill in [Rhode Island](#) was erected at [Newport](#) by Governor Easton and his sons. (It would blow down in 1675.)


READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

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 [William Hall](#) was for one last time commissioner to the general Court of [Rhode Island](#) from [Portsmouth](#).



 In [Rhode Island](#), Benedict Arnold was in charge. (Not the Benedict Arnold, but his grandpa.)

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[Sir William Davenant](#)'s *Poem, to the King's most sacred Majesty, to Charles II, and his The Siege of Rhodes, Part II.*



Elder [John Clarke](#) presented two addresses to King Charles II of England regarding the colony of [Rhode Island](#), informing the monarch that it desires “to be permitted to hold forth in a lively experiment that a flourishing civil state may stand, yea, and best be maintained, and that among English spirits, with a full liberty of religious concernments.” The colony was granted a new charter declaring that “no person within the said colony, at any time hereafter, shall be anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any differences of opinion or matters of religion.” (Commonly, in superficial accounts of Rhode Island history, this charter is credited to the efforts of [Roger Williams](#). Evidently this is done in order to simplify the cast of characters.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

April 29, Sunday: John Scot wrote from London to Captain Hutchinson in [Rhode Island](#) in regard to the standing in England of Elder [John Clarke](#).

APRIL 29, 1663



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July 8, Sunday: King Charles II of England granted the “Great Charter” of [Rhode Island & Providence Plantations](#) (now on display in the white marble statehouse on Smith Hill), which would remain the basic legal document until 1842.



Under this new Charter, [Block Island](#), the island which had originally been described as like in size to the island of Rhodes in the Mediterranean, became part of [Rhode Island](#).

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

July 15, Sunday: Charter of [Rhode Island](#) and [Providence](#) Plantations.

READ THE FULL TEXT

1663. Town meetings were called to elect Commissioners, to meet at [Newport](#) in November, to receive the Charter which was reported to have arrived; and the President of the Colony issued an order to the Captain or other commissioned officer of this town, and probably to the other towns, to warn and require all the freemen of the town to accompany the commissioners, in their arms, to solemnize the Charter. The box containing the Charter was produced before a great assembly of the people, which was opened by order, and the “king’s gracious letter,” the Charter, were read in the hearing and view of all the people. Mr. Clarke had been a very efficient agent in England in procuring this Charter, and grants of money had been made to him at various times, and at this time a gratuity of £100 was voted to him. The old government was then dissolved, and a new government was organized under the charter of Charles II, and “continued as the basis of the State Government” till it was superseded by the adoption of a Constitution in 1843. This is the “Old Charter,” about which so much as been written and spoken for the last few years, in this much agitated and disturbed community. It was an exceedingly liberal instrument to emanate from a royal hand and was adapted to the wants of the colonists at the time it was

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granted, and for a long period after; but was not suitable for the fundamental law in these days of progressive improvement; many of its provisions had become obsolete, and none of them restrained or limited the power of the General Assembly.



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November 24, Saturday: There was great celebration at [Newport, Rhode Island](#). Clearly, an attempt was being made to outdo even the elaborate reception that had been given in [Providence](#) to [Roger Williams](#) when he had paddled his canoe down the river to the colony with its Patent of 1644!



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At a very great meeting and assembly, of the freemen of the Colony of Providence Plantations, at Newport, in Rhode Island, in New England, November the 24, 1663. The abovesaid assembly being legally called and orderly met for the solemn reception of his Majesty's gracious letters patent unto them sent, and having in order thereto chosen the President, Benedict Arnold, moderator of the Assembly.

It was ordered and voted, *neme contra decente*. 1. That Mr. [John Clarke](#), the Colony agent's letter to the President, assistants and freemen of the Colony, be opened and read, which accordingly was done with delivery and attention. 2. That the box in which the King's gracious letters were enclosed be opened, and the letters with the broad seal thereto affixed, be taken forth and read by Captain George Baxter in the audience and view of all the people; which was accordingly done, and the said letters with his Majesty's royal stamp, and the broad seal, with much becoming gravity held up on high, and presented to the perfect view of the people, and then returned into the box and locked up by the Governor, in order to the safe keeping of it. 3. That the most humble thanks of this Colony unto our gracious Sovereign Lord, King Charles the second, of England, for the high and inestimable, yea, incomparable grace and favor unto the colony, in giving these his gracious letters patent unto us, thanks may be presented and returned by the Governor and Deputy Governor, in the behalf of the whole Colony.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

1664

The colony around the Narragansett Bay adopted a: "Mottoe, [Rhode Island](#) and Providence, with the word HOPE over head of anker."

PROVIDENCE

At the October session of the General Assembly, a tax of £600 was ordered, of which the proportion of Newport was £285, and Providence £100 - the rateable property of Newport in the valuation at the time, being estimated at nearly three times as much as Providence. The tax assessed by Providence, to pay the proportion of the above, was to be paid "in wheat at four shillings and sixpence per bushel, peas at three shillings and sixpence, pork at £3, 10 per barrel, or horses or cattle equivalent."

[Samuell Gorton](#) was elected as a Deputy Governor.

That Two Courts of Trialls in the year be held upon the Mayne at Providence and Warwicke to the value of and under Ten Pounds, and not to sitt without Three Assistants each, and that at Providence Court, there shall be at least one assistant from



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Warwicke, and that at Warwicke Court, at least one assistant from Providence. Furthermore, when the Court is held at Providence, the Assistant first elected of that Towne, shall sitt as Judge of that Court, and at Warwicke, the assistant first elected, shall sitt as Judge of that Court.
At Providence 2nd Tuesday in September, annual.
At Warwicke 2nd Tuesday in March, annually.

March: In [Rhode Island](#), [Samuell Gorton](#) was appointed as administrator of the will of John Smith.

July: Elder [John Clarke](#) returned from England to [Rhode Island](#) after an absence of more than a dozen years, to chair a committee to codify the laws of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations and become chief commissioner for determining the colony's western boundaries. He was elected to the General Assembly. (He would be re-elected year by year until 1669, when he would become the deputy-governor of the colony, and then would be again re-elected to the General Assembly in 1671.)

While Elder Clarke had been in England, acting as the colony's agent in procuring the charter, to eke out his income he had engaged in preaching and writing, and had been compelled to mortgage his [Newport](#) assets for £140 in order to fund some of the colony's debts. By his reckoning the colony was indebted to him to the tune of £343 13s. 6d., so to come up with this sum and satisfy other charges a tax of £600 was levied. (It would take quite awhile to accumulate this. In 1666 the assembly would be told of "very much of the aforesaid levy taken up, withheld or suspended upon other and later accounts," and would enact that no-one might "fulfill" such a tax obligation by passing along a debt paper pertaining to someone else.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

1665

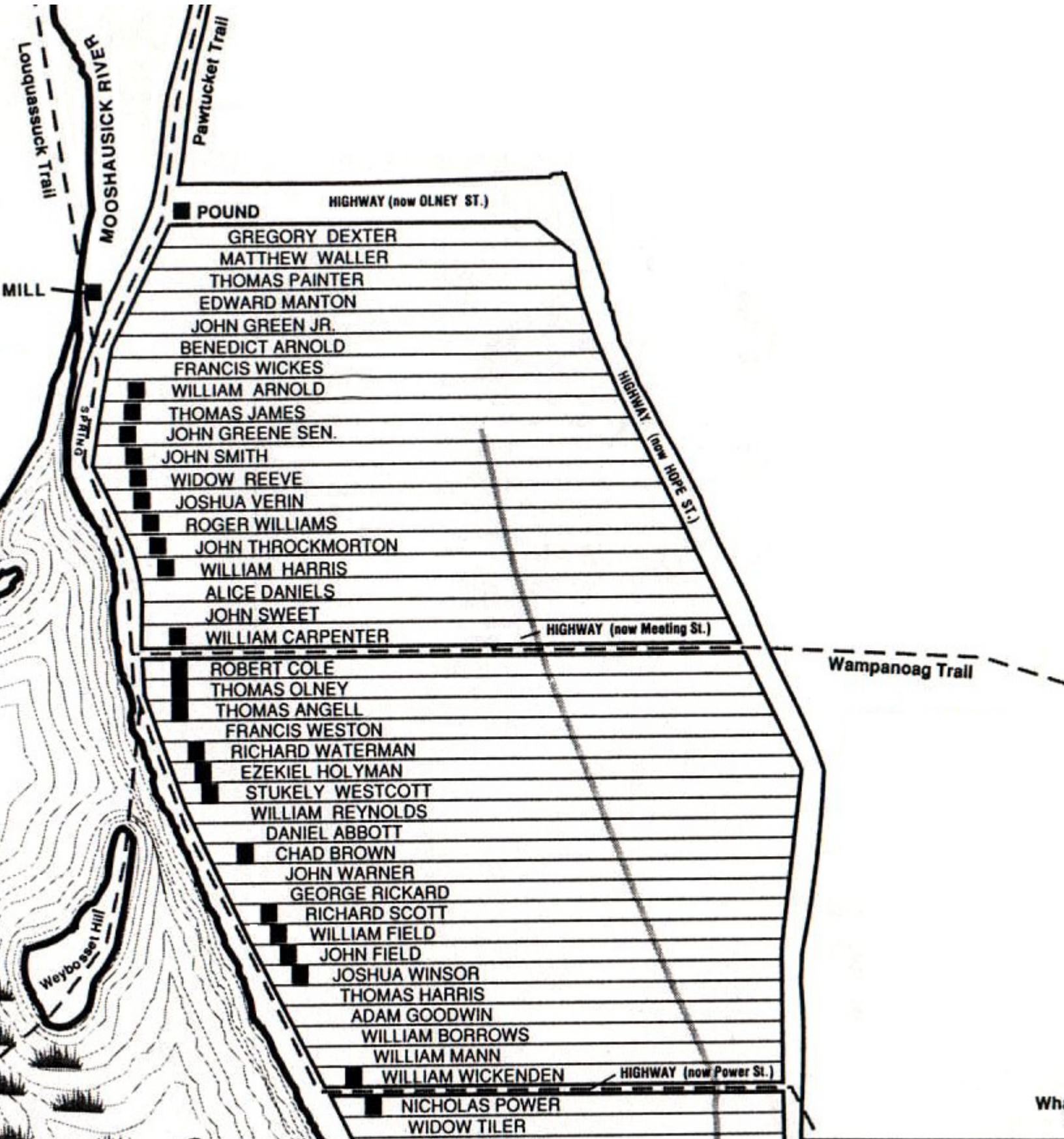
LIME KILNS

The first English governor of the New-York colony reported to the King's commissioners about limestone uniquely available in [Rhode Island](#): "Here only yet is Limestone found" to be burned to produce the necessary lime for mortar for colonial construction. About the only other available source of this construction lime would have been clamshells. By the late 1660s at Lime Rock near [Smithfield](#), Gregory Dexter would be mining limestone and burning it and packaging and shipping it.

In about this year [Chad Brown](#) died in [Rhode Island](#).

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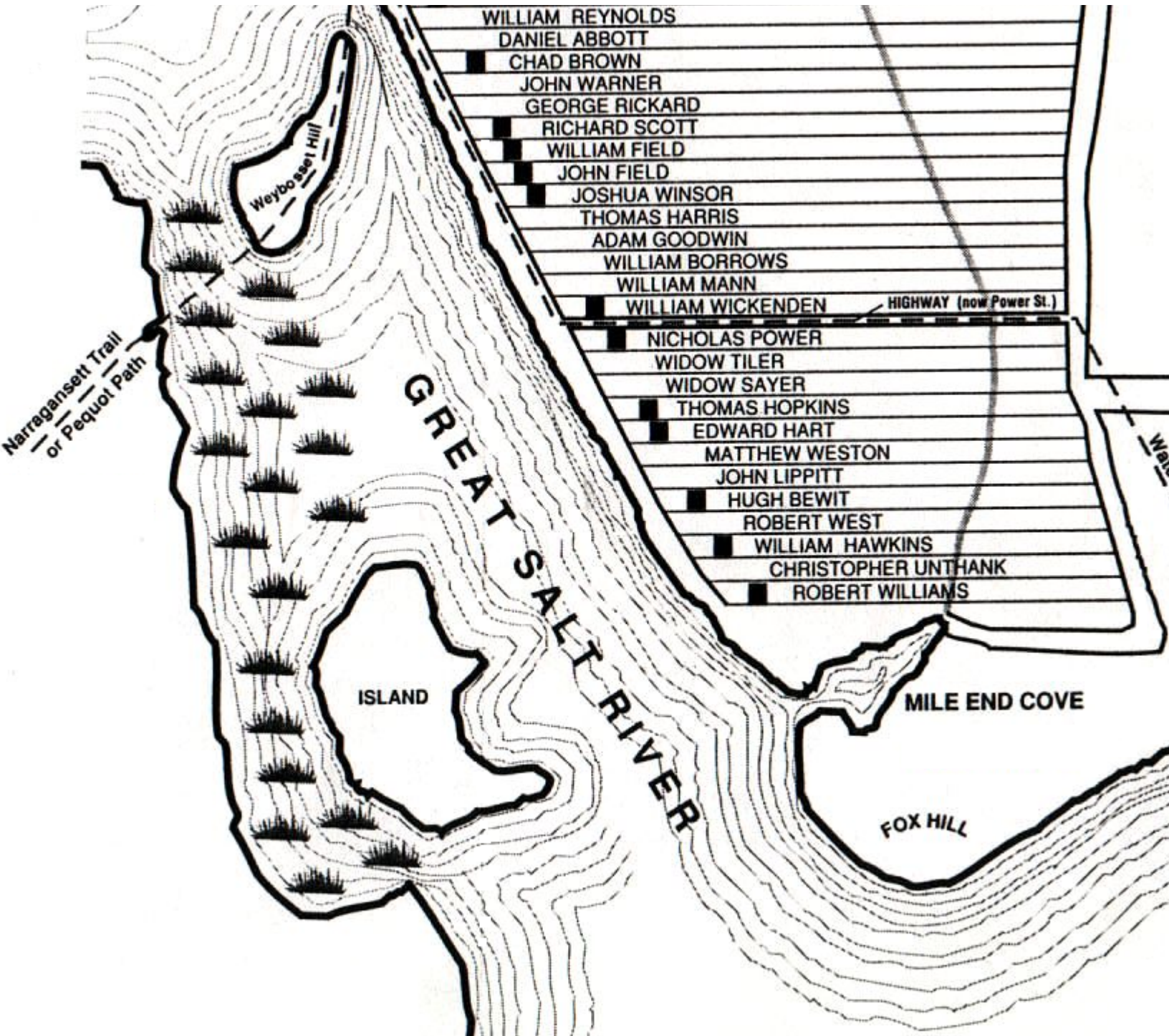
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King Charles II of England's commissioners attempted to end the very confused land title quarrels among various English and native claimants — by assigning authority over the land to the assembly of the [Rhode Island](#) colony. Some historians now suspect this to have been a major step towards the race war known as "[King Phillip's War](#)", as it aggrieved the colonists of the Massachusetts bay without actually resolving problems of title and purchase.

According to someone's free imagination, this is approximately what Captain John Whipple's house in [Providence](#) might have looked like in this timeframe:



1665. On the proposition of Roger Williams, he was authorized to receive tolls for passing Weybosset bridge, for which he engaged to keep it in repair. Toll was to be exacted from strangers, and "of townsmen what they are free to give."

[William Hall](#) was Deputy from [Portsmouth](#) to the General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#).

[Samuell Gorton](#) was re-elected as a Deputy Governor.

The new "Generall Sargent" was James Rogers and the new "Generall Solissitor" was William Dyre (*sic*).

During the mid-1660s, [Rehoboth](#) was being settled by English from Plymouth.





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May: Solomon Eccles, or Eagle (1618-1683), a London composer who had converted to [Quakerism](#), was arrested in Southwark and confined at “The Clink” on the South Bank of the Thames River, for having run naked through Bartholomew and Smithfield as a religious warning in respect to the plague. (Friend Solomon would be held for only two or three months. In 1667 Pepys would witness him moving through the nation’s principal “steeple-house,” Westminster Hall, attired only in a loincloth.)

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

The General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#) sat at [Newport](#) to enact a militia law requiring frequent trainings, providing pay for service, requiring individual ownership of ammunition, and establishing the maintenance of town magazines:

1. That all householders inhabiting this Colony take an engagement of allegiance, and the administration of justice be in his Majesty's name.
2. That all men of competent estates and of civil conversation, who acknowledge and are obedient to the civil magistrate, though of differing judgments, may be admitted to be freemen, and have liberty to choose and to be chosen officers both civil and [military].
3. That all men and women of orthodox opinion, competent knowledge and civil [lives], who acknowledge and are obedient to the civil magistrate, and are not scandalous, may be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and their children to baptism, if they desire it; either by admitting them into the congregations already gathered, or permitting them to gather themselves into such congregations where they may enjoy the benefits of the sacraments, and that difference in opinion may not break the bands of peace and charity.
4. That all laws and expressions in laws derogatory to his Majesty, if any such have been made in these late troublesome times, may be repealed, altered, and taken off.
5. That this Colony be put in such a posture of defense, that if there should be any invasion upon this Island or elsewhere in this Colony (which God forbid), you [may in] some measure be in readiness to defend yourselves; or if need be, to relieve your [neighbors] according to the power given you by the King in your Charter, and to us in this commission and instruction.

[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)



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May 3, Sunday: The General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#) sat as the King's Commissioners in [Newport](#) to hear about the failed common-law marriage of [George Gardiner](#) and [Friend](#) Horodia or Herodius (Horod) Long Hicks. George Gardiner testified that "he cannot say that never hee went on purpose before any magistrate to declare themselves, or take such other means ... to declare themselves man & wife." Friend Robert Stanton of Newport testified, however, that "he knew noe other marridge, but only one night being at his house, both of them did say before him & his wife that they did take the other as man & wife" — thus establishing the two witnesses needed for the legal recognition of a common law marriage. George Gardiner and Horod Long Hicks had produced the children Benoni,⁵⁰ Henry,⁵¹ George,⁵² William,⁵³ Nicholas,⁵⁴ Dorcas,⁵⁵ Rebecca,⁵⁶ Samuel, and Joseph. [Horod](#) pled necessity, telling the court that after she had been deserted by Hicks, her estate having been carried away by him, "I was put to great hardship, and straight ... and I being brought up not to labour, and young, knew not what to do to have something to live, having no friend, in which straight I was drawne by George Gardiner to consent to him so fare as I did, for mayntenance...." When the Assembly asked if she would return to George and live with him as "a wife should do," she allowed that she would not.

May 5, Tuesday: Mistress Margaret Porter, the wife of the wealthy older man [John Porter](#), a "poor anciente matron," petitioned the [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly, sitting at [Newport](#), to force her husband to support her, "he having apparently gone over to Pettyquamscut, leaving her without means of support and dependant children...." (Interestingly, not only John Porter but also [Friend Horod](#) Long Hicks had gone over to Pettyquamscut.)

This court had found itself unable to persuade [George Gardiner](#) and Horodia or Herodius (Horod) Long Hicks that they should continue to share their common-law marriage. Despite the fact "that she had lived all this time in that abominable lust of fornication, contrary to the general apprehension of her neighbors, she having had by the aforesaid Gardiner, many children ... so that horrible sin of uncleanes in which they had lived for 18 years, under cover of pretended marridge ... shamefully expressed to the publicke view,..." it therefore accepted [Horod](#)'s declaration that her conscience compelled her to refuse to acknowledge George Gardiner to be her husband, severely censured the two people for the "extreme sinfulness of their conduct," fine them £20 each, and enjoined "that the aforesaid Gardiner and Horod are hereby straightly required that henceforth they presume not to so lead so scandalous a life, lest they feel the extremist penalty that either is or shall be provided in such cases." Soon the Assembly would create a new marriage law requiring formal marriage but allowing that existing common-law marriages should be regarded as good, firm, and authentic — so that none should

50. There had been a previous birth, not described on the record. Benoni Gardiner was born before 1645 and died about 1731. He married someone named Mary.

51. Henry Gardiner was born in about 1645 and died on April 26, 1744. He married 1st a wife named Joan and 2d with Abigail Richmond Remington, the widow of John Remington, and a daughter of Edward and Abigail (Davis) Richmond.

52. We do not know when George Gardiner was born, but he died during 1724. On February 13, 1670 he got married with Tabitha Tefft, a daughter of John and Mary Barker Tefft.

53. William Gardiner was born in about 1651 and died in 1711. He married someone named Elizabeth.

54. Nicholas Gardiner was born in 1654 and died in 1712. He married someone named Hannah.

55. Dorcas Gardiner was born in about 1656 and got married in about 1675 with John Watson.

56. We do not know when Rebecca Gardiner was born, but she was presumably the infant "still at the breast" that Horod carried to Boston in 1658. She got married with John Watson, as his 2d wife after his marriage with her sister Dorcas, and John died in 1728.



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take advantage of the new law of marriage to abandon husband or wife, and so that children should not be reputed illegitimate. George and Horod would continue in good standing in their respective communities, with George remarrying with Lydia Hallow, daughter of Robert Hallow, and going on to serve several times as a Grand Juror in Newport, and with Horod remarrying with yet a 3rd husband, [John Porter](#), “a very well-to-do inhabitant of [Portsmouth](#)” (he being one of the purchasers of Pettaquamscutt), an older man and married, who would divorce his wife Margaret Porter in order to marry Horod, and would provide each of Horod’s sons with a farm of several hundred acres, and perhaps (the record is not complete) provide also for her daughters.

Soon after this separation, [George Gardiner](#) married Lydia Ballou, widow of Robert Ballou. The couple would produce 5 children.

October 27, Friday: [Providence](#) reserved more of the land at the [lime kilns](#) at Hackleton (probably Setamuchut Hill near Manton and Netaconkanut Hill in Johnston, [Rhode Island](#)).

1666

[William Hall](#) was again Deputy from [Portsmouth](#) to the General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#).

In [Rhode Island](#), William Brenton was in charge. A Rhode Island deed of Joseph Williams to Shadrach Manton mentioned an area called Venter, now Olneyville.

[Samuell Gorton](#) was re-elected as a Deputy Governor.

[Friend](#) Thomas Burnyeat held a [Quaker](#) meeting in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

Nothing was paid from or received in the Town Treasury.

May: In [Rhode Island](#), Elder [John Clarke](#) was appointed “to compose all the laws into a good method and order, leaving out what may be superfluous, and adding what may appear unto him necessary.” “And after their composure, To Reveiw (*sic*): The Recorder, John Sanford, William Harris, John Greene.” The “Generall Sargent” was to be J ames Rogers and the “Generall Solissiter” was to be William Dyre (*sic*).

May 31, Thursday: Lawrence Wilkinson of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) affirmed his allegiance to King Charles II of England (something not difficult for him to do, since he had been a Captain in the Loyalist army of Charles I).

WILKINSON FAMILY

THIS DAY IN PEPYS'S DIARY



RHODE ISLAND

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13th day 5th month: According to [Quaker](#) records, James Gould was born at [Newport, Rhode Island](#), the 7th child of Friend Daniel Gould and Friend Wait Coggeshall Gould of Newport. (5th month would be August, since April was the 1st month of the year. According to lay records, however, the child was born not on August 13th but on October 13th.)

THIS DAY IN PEPYS'S DIARY

1667

[William Hall](#) was again Deputy from [Portsmouth](#) to the General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#).

Friend Nicholas Easton decided that it would be contrary to Quaker principle to mount a “great gun” upon the seawall in [Newport, Rhode Island](#). — For “a killing Instrument we may neither forme, nor beare” (said by Friend William Ames and others).

It was made illegal for any white male capable of militia service to leave the island of Aquidneck⁵⁷ without a permit from the white authorities to depart, and similarly, it was made illegal for any native American male older than 16 to remain on the island without a permit from the white authorities to remain. No native might possess any weapon, or be up and about at all at night. (The local Quakers were complicit in these decisions, nor is there any evidence on the record that the island’s Friends had any special relationship with the island’s native population.)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1668

[William Hall](#) was again Deputy from [Portsmouth](#) to the General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#).



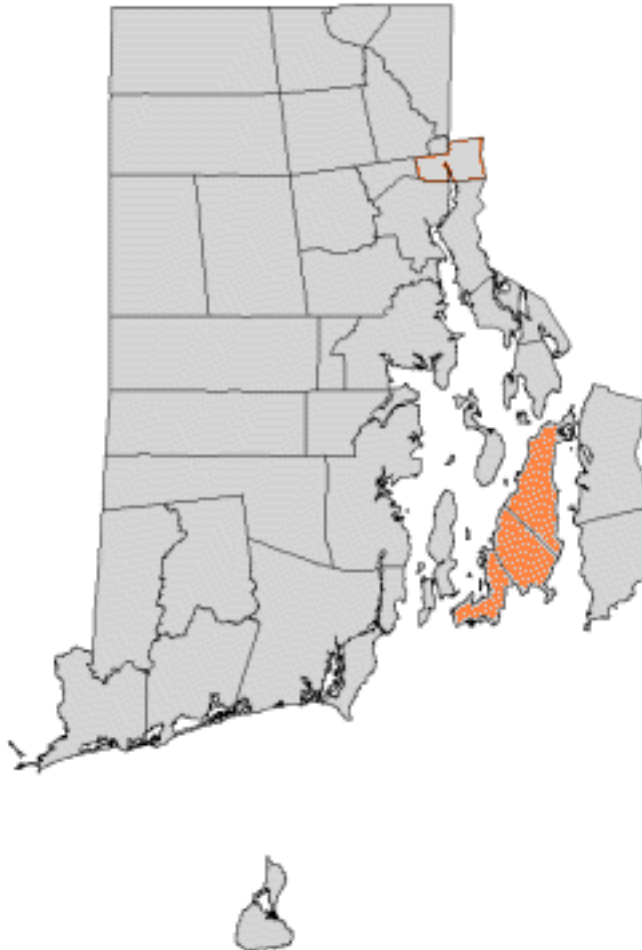
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[Plymouth](#) decreed that there was to be no “buying or receiving from the Indians any lands that appertain unto Mount hope, or Cawsumsett necke.” On this basis, we may infer that “[Mount Hope](#)” was the English name for the land which –either on account of the sharpness of the edges of the rocks in the vicinity, or on account of the usefulness of the rocks in the vicinity as whetstones for the sharpening of metal knifeblades– to the natives was known as *Cawsumsett*.



57. In Algonquian, “Aquidnet” means “a place of security or tranquility,” from “aquene” or “aquidne” meaning secure or peaceful, and “et” meaning place.





RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

This was, is “King Philip’s Seat” at Mount Hope:




February 10, Friday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), [Roger Williams](#) wrote a letter for general distribution.

READ THIS LETTER

1669

So they would have protection from predators, both [Metacom](#) and the English had been keeping their pigs on an island in the [Narragansett Bay](#), that for this reason had come to be known as Hog Island. The town officials of [Portsmouth](#) at this point told the Indian to get his pigs the hell off of their island. Phillip, who liked his pig meat, would use this as one item on the laundry list of grievances against the English (along with a suspicion that they poisoned his brother) which he would nourish in his heart.

 In [Rhode Island](#), Benedict Arnold was again in charge (again, this was not THE Benedict Arnold but his grandpa).

[Roger Williams](#) wrote to Governor John Winthrop, Jr. about the master printer of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Gregory Dexter,

Sir, I have encouraged Mr. Dexter to send you a limestone, and to salute you with this enclosed. He is an intelligent man, a master printer of London and conscionable (though a Baptist).



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

(Note well: present-day Providence Baptists allege, with the utmost of heat and conviction, that this Roger Williams was a Baptist minister, founder of their flock.)

We have the following information about [Providence, Rhode Island](#) from Nathaniel Morton's NEW ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL:

This year three men were executed for robbing and murdering an Indian near Providence, which, besides the evidence that came against them, they did in substance confess against themselves, and were condemned by legal trial. Some have thought it great severity, to hang three English for one Indian; but the more considerate will easily satisfy themselves for the legality of it;...

5th day of 3rd month: The [Quakers](#) of London chided the [Quakers](#) of the [Rhode Island](#) and Providence Plantations colony for having somewhat exaggerated certain reports of their persecution by the Puritans, in entries made in the Book of Sufferings. They pointed out that "there may not bee the least addition in the relation of those things." There must be no "publicke misrepresentation." Instead, the Christian principle of forgiveness should motivate the Quakers to moderate "rather than extenuate" such reports for the official record.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1670

In the [Rhode Island](#) and Providence Plantations colony, [Samuell Gorton](#) was once again elected as a Deputy Governor.

In May, James Rogers was chosen as "Generall Sargant," Edward Richmond was chosen as "Generall Solicitor," and Captain John Greene, Joseph Torrey, and Richard Bailey were chosen as commissioners to meet at New London, Connecticut.

In June, John Clarke of "Rhode Island" (that is to say, [Aquidneck Island](#)), "Physitian," and Captain John Greene of Warwick, were chosen as agents to England, and John Crandall and Joseph Torrey, Jr. were chosen as messengers to Connecticut.

A stone structure was erected near [Newport](#) as the base of a windmill which might also function as a fortress in the event of native attack. What remains of this structure has since been fancied to have been the handiwork of "Vikings," and stands in Touro Park off Bellevue Avenue. The land upon which this ruin stands once belonged to Governor Benedict Arnold, [Rhode Island](#)'s first governor under the charter of 1663 and an ancestor of General Benedict Arnold of Revolutionary-era fame and notoriety.



INTERNET WITHOUT COMMENT: THE VOYAGE OF WAVE CLEAVER

What seems definite is that scholars seem agreed that the architecture is typical of “13th century Scandinavian (concepts)” and that comparisons to European structures also point to Portuguese bases (as to the 8 arch build). Otherwise all that seems known is that it is quite old — oldest standing structure on the North American Continent — and no one seems certain as to who built it and why.

Information here (not cited as this was not my main point of interest) does bring certain information that perhaps it had been built by both Portuguese and Scandinavians somewhere in the period of 1480 to 1511, and here is the story that leads to this supposition;

Records seem to show that around 1470 King Alphonso VI of Portugal and King Christian I of Denmark formed a treaty to explore west of Iceland. At this time European ties were much stronger than today and Iceland was a recognized and viable nation in mainland eyes — strong connections to the Vatican, for instance. Portugal was in process of systematic explorations in all directions; towards India is well documented but also sweeping the Atlantic and discovering the offshore islands of the Azores and others. It looks to me that they may have discovered Bermuda as well. Common sense indicates the purpose of this treaty — that Portuguese cartographers were interested in the north Atlantic as they were in all other areas and the most logical course of action was to turn to Scandinavia for intimate knowledge acquired over the years. I am not sure if Iceland was a colony of Denmark at this time but at any rate the Danes surely were as familiar with the northern seas as anyone else.

From what I can gather the terms of the treaty were that the ships and crews of the expedition(s) were to be provided by King Christian I and that Portuguese interests would be overseen by one Joao (“Yorra”) vas Corte Real, apparently a Portuguese nobleman with nautical connections. It might be noted here that the major base of Portuguese explorations was at Sagres, near Gibraltar, the port of which is at Lagos, a few miles away. Just a few miles west of Lagos is Palos, Spain, both places intimately familiar to Christopher Columbus, the former a place of salvation to him after his swim to shore in 1476, the latter his port of departure in 1492. My own mind is intrigued at this remarkable coincidence of geography at this particular date, especially when Columbus himself claimed he had been in the northern seas (“Thule”) in 1477. What appears here is that an unemployed and likely desperate Columbus was in the exact port when an expedition was fitting out for that precise destination.

Anyway, the party eventually did make an exploration with three Danish ships whose pilots were two Germans, Pining and Pothorst and one Norwegian, Johan Scolp. They were successful in passing Iceland and certainly reached Greenland and many historians claim Newfoundland itself. The trip seems to have been successful, for one of the Germans (Pining?) was rewarded with the Governorship of Iceland, the other an influential position in the Frisian Islands and Scolp becoming a noted geographer remarked at least six times in medieval documents. Joao vas Corte Real was rewarded with the Governorship of Terciera in the Azores which was in process then of pioneer settlement, having been recently discovered. It might be noted in context of what follows is that these pioneer settlers were not primarily Portuguese nationals but people hailing from Flanders, then the “netherlands” of Denmark. This must have been part of the Regal Treaty in some way and almost certainly in part personnel, families and crews of his expedition. (Could it be possible that some of them may have been Greenlanders?)



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

It is true that Joao vas Corte Real's destination in the New World is indefinite but this is not the end of the story. It seems that Joao vas Corte Real had two sons with exploratory ambitions of their own. In 1498(?) they set out on an expedition in some way a duplicate of their fathers, doubtless to refine or extend the courses. Certainly they were privy to all the navigational material developed by their father. At some point their two ships separated by agreement with Miguel exploring north along Labrador or Greenland and Gaspar exploring south. After a year the ships rejoined at Newfoundland, shared information and then Miguel returned to Portugal with Gaspar remaining and returning to his prior destination or for further explorations. Now, at this rejoinder, Gaspar transmitted two clues as to where he had been (that have survived — certainly detail was more complete for the reports). He said that the natives who lived in that southerly place lived about “— a league inland”, that they had “greenish eyes” (could he have meant, possibly, Greenland type European eyes?), and that they were born white and turned dark and wrinkled in age from exposure to weather. Except for eye color these are characteristics of the [Narragansett](#) Indians at about 42° North latitude whom I have identified in my earlier papers so we might be amenable to the suggestion that Gaspar had reached [Narragansett Bay](#).

Well, what happened is that nothing further was ever heard from Gaspar. Evidently he was expected to return to Portugal but he never arrived and little trace of him ever surfaced. I say “little” as we will see that perhaps some sign of him has survived indirectly. A few years later brother Miguel mounted another expedition with the purpose of locating for rescue or Christian burial of the lost Gaspar. This expedition as it happens also disappeared into the mists of the Atlantic and nothing further ever was ever heard of it — in Europe.

But it may be there is documentation on the American side, especially in combination of the suggestion that Gaspar may have reached [Narragansett Bay](#) in 1499 or 50. There is a famous and preserved carven stone in a place called Dighton, Massachusetts which has come under intent study over the centuries it has been known. Among the most thorough and comprehensive are Portuguese-Americans, Dr. Manuel da Silva and Professor Edmund Burke Delabarre who translate some of the carvings to say, “Miguel Corte Real, 1511” accompanied with several of the Portuguese “Quinna” (heraldic shields) in close comparisons with other known Portuguese markers in south American and Africa. I have seen the stone both “in situ” and in its present museum close by and agree that Dr. Delabarre's analysis might well be correct.

Dighton, Massachusetts can only be reached by water through [Narragansett Bay](#) with passage close to or immediately past [Newport](#) harbor. It is located at about the limit of navigation where the extended branch of the bay called Taunton River narrows and becomes impassable except to small craft.

So with the story, the clues, and the evidence it seems plausible that Portuguese seaman, almost certainly accompanied by Scandinavians, entered [Narragansett Bay](#) possibly in 1511, possibly in 1500, and speculatively so early as 1478. Here they were, it seems, and why here and what did they do?

The tower. I have seen this often and thought it through as best I can. It is not a church, people cannot congregate there; it is not a fortification, it is too blind; it is not a windmill, being of incorrect construction and with presence of a fireplace; not a powderhouse either from the same latter reason. So what is it? It is my belief that it was originally roofed with a conical thatch cover and served a purpose as a food cache or storage depot for commodities such as furs, both best kept well above ground.

The fireplace is important. Any open flame in a windmill is dangerous in the extreme and must have been well known almost so long as grain has been milled. Grain dust is explosive with enough power to destroy any structure at which it occurs. This particular fireplace is unusual as it is too shallow in depth to build a fire. It must have been for use of oil lamps and the two flues being placed to reduce soot and smoke inside. Construction of the flues indicates some awareness of prevailing weather pattern as predominate winds in winter are from the west and the flues are marginally efficient only from that direction. The fireplace had at one time a mantle above of massive bulk. If stone, it must have fallen and been removed; if wood, rotted away.



RHODE ISLAND

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The tower has survived several earthquakes, one of which occurred in my lifetime (I slept the sleep of the just some thirty miles away). For the tower to be still standing shows masonry expertise of the highest water. According to an oil painting by Gilbert Stuart in 1773, it had been entirely covered with mortar or stucco with embossed artificial keystones formed in the material to disguise the actual crude fieldstones.

The floor had been massive — at least a foot and a half thick. Whether there had been an entry through the floor, is now impossible to say but with that thickness would seem unlikely. The entry, then, is the lintelled low opening on the north side. So low that anyone entering there is vulnerable by occupants, but whether this is by design or not is speculative. This opening is just below one of the eave pole openings near the top. It is my conjecture that a simple hoist was hung from that post to aid lift up a ladder to the opening and then inside. A side of mutton, goat or beef or a sack of grain could be so transported. Hard work, but that is the only entry. The sash of this opening is at about floor level.

The window on the SW side is most interesting to me. Its placement defies logic. For symmetry it is well out of place and the lack of windows elsewhere argues that this one had some purpose other than light or ventilation, direct sunlight can enter it only near sunset, and then not directly. It is neither above a pillar nor an arch but placed in an apparent haphazard position with no evident design except accidental and seems to have been part of the original structure as built. Some have speculated that this may have been for purpose of a “lighthouse” since it is diametrically opposed to the fireplace on the other side (almost; the fireplace is directly above a pillar). This could be true but does have some peculiarities. For one thing it is placed in elevation in such a way as to be indiscernible anywhere on land just below or even for some distance out in the harbor. It seems, indeed, to have a very limited arc of visibility. Possibly it might serve a purpose of signalling a ship traveling north offshore that it had passed a headland and could turn into the harbor, but all in all that seems a lot of effort for such limited activity, no sane seaman would sail at night in such shallow waters. (Actually it is quite deep there — over 120 feet — but this is not apparent and is so close to shore that it is dangerous otherwise at night.)

So if it is for a lighthouse it is limited indeed, but I have laid out the arcs and find that a direct line of sight is straight across Pettaquamscutt Rock on the opposite side of the bay — at that locale called “Tower Hill” and where records hint there was a second tower at one time. However, the intervening island called [Jamestown RI \(Canonicut\)](#) has considerable height itself and I have not determined if a line of sight would clear and be visible over there. It is only speculative that so weak a light as oil lamps could be seen at that distance either — it would be only in very clear atmospheric conditions. On the other hand, if there were a station or tower on Jamestown as well, then signalling across the bay would be practical.

Such an interest might be considered by Norse of a thousand years ago, by Portuguese commercial interests 500 years ago and also possibly a restrained British military garrison 300 years ago. I doubt the British endeavor, for they militarily controlled the Bay anyway with ships and the design of the tower is too primitive and purposeless for them at that time, so of these possibilities we are left with Norse and Portuguese/Norse at different times.

I have tried to point out in my papers the intellectual interest in the latitude of 42° North in medieval times when natural phenomena such as that were important, especially towards the north with tropics and the equator itself feared and unknown. Has anyone noticed that Rome and Constantinople are on the same latitude — 42° North? Can it be then imagined that anyone finding himself on the American side of the Atlantic would have at least some incentive to travel that far south, if only to curry favor and support from the Vatican? [Narragansett Bay](#) happens to be located only a half degree south of 42° North and may actually extend northward to near 42° North.



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

There is an interest that also occurs in the log of Christopher Columbus during one of his expeditions of discovery and explorations. For some reason historians record as a grievous error Columbus' notation of his latitude at 42° North when he actually was at 22° North. There is more to this than meets the eye, for this error is too large and too distorted to be realistic. Log entries are usually inserted daily, or at least at frequent intervals, so that this error would be immediately noticed by being obvious at sight and so compensated with no problem. Yet, I understand that it was queried during Columbus' lifetime and he insisted it was correct as he wrote it. I am convinced that this episode requires application for some explanation, in view of the possibility that Columbus may have had intimate information concerning the Corte Real voyages at a period in his life when he was a Portuguese seaman and may, indeed, have participated directly or indirectly in those voyages themselves.

Pursuit of these factors might better be done with access to records in Europe, so this is offered to scholars there to pursue it at will. If anyone has access to the original logs or translations of Columbus' trips, I would dearly love to find and analyze the context of the entry containing the reference to 42° North when his ship was at 22° North. It may well be something more than a simple entry — he may have been trying to tell us something.

1671

The Town Surveyor of [Providence](#) did a survey for Thomas Clemence, and in the course of this survey used the name Gotam (Goatam or Gotham) for the area near present-day Olneyville, [Rhode Island](#).

Richard Borden of [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#) died. In the estate of this [Quaker](#) we can't help but notice that among the livestock are listed not only swine, pigs, turkeys, geese, and fowls, but also a negro man and woman valued at £50 and their three children valued at £25.

SLAVERY

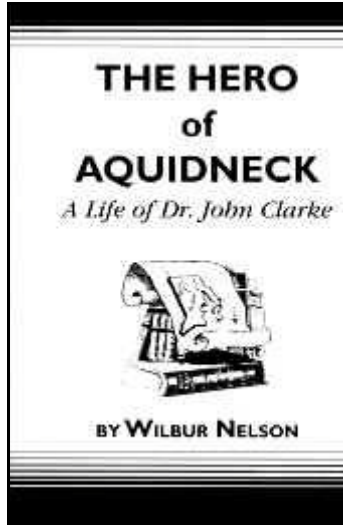


RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

1672

In [Rhode Island](#), Elder [John Clarke](#) retired from public life.



[William Hall](#) was again Deputy from [Portsmouth](#) to the General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#).

Friend Daniel Gould of [Newport](#) became a Representative (at this point the government of the colony of [Rhode Island](#) had come under control of the [Quakers](#)).

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Katherine Palmer, who had several times been accused of [witchcraft](#), filed a charge of libel against an accuser.



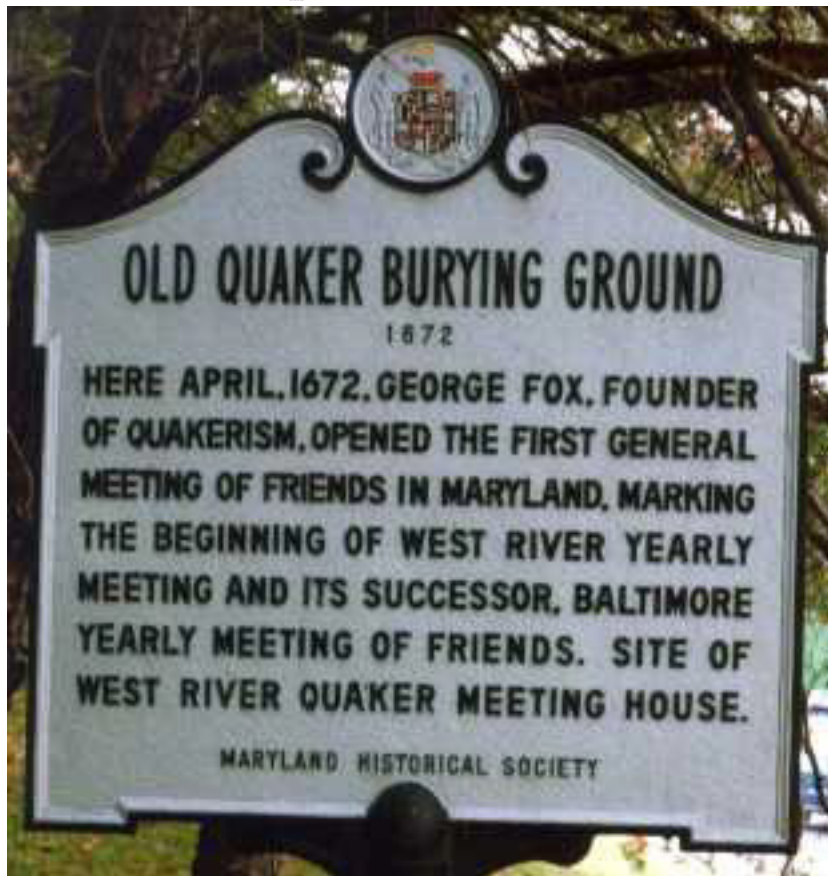


ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

Friend [George Fox](#) rode through the colonies of the Eastern seaboard of the North American continent, especially in and around Southern [Maryland](#), sleeping out as he had done in his youth in his leathern suit in northern England (he reports, unsurprisingly, that sleeping on frozen ground makes one “very cold”), primarily to counter the influence on American [Quakers](#) that was being exercised by John Perrot of Boston, which he among others regarded as excessive; however, he displayed a special interest in obtaining conversations with Native Americans, since he presumed that these people whom he believed to be totally unfamiliar with the Gospel might be able to instruct him as to the extent to which what he knew as the “saving light of Christ” is quite universal, that is, enlightens everyone and is not necessarily mediated by the Holy Scripture of a particular culture, may be assisted by but does not require close familiarity with Gospel manifestations of the saving light, is not contingent upon any very particularly cultural heritage.

George Fox



Friend George attended several established meetings, including one called “Patuxent.” He was present at the General Meeting of Friends on West River, which would become the Baltimore [Yearly Meeting](#). He would write of staying at the home of James Preston, son of the Richard Preston who had died in 1669. On one occasion, returning from a trip on horseback with James Preston, the home was found to have been burned and his chest destroyed, “due to a careless wench.”

Catholic *conquistadores* of the 16th Century, wherever anything in the faith of the Aztecs or the Incas



RHODE ISLAND

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reminded them of some portion of their own rites and rituals, detected only the mocking spirit of the Devil; this Quaker missionary of the 17th Century, on the other hand, was prepared to experience in any similarity a universality of the human spiritual experience of the Divine. After all, if the light came only from Holy Scripture, then how did Father Abraham in the BIBLE get the light? The scripture that tells us about his life could not have existed during his lifetime! Abraham's seed was blessed not because Abraham adhered to scripture but, according to Genesis 22:16, because he "obeyed my voice." Fox had never been able to have such conversations with people in England, could not even have them with European intrusives in America, because any noticed similarities might perfectly well be explained as due to commonalities of cultural background rather than commonalities of human nature. In his journal Fox records about a dozen such encounters, some of them one-on-one conversations, others at large gatherings. While he did use these encounters as an opportunity to witness to his gospel message,⁵⁸ Fox also made careful essays at comparing native reports of spiritual experiences with his own.⁵⁹ It was Fox's belief, or his trust, according to the assertion in Joel 2:28 that the Holy Spirit is poured out upon **all flesh**, that even when the scriptures were not known or the gospel preached, the hold of the Holy Spirit could be detected upon the human soul. The question he kept asking his Native American informants was a simple one:

Did they know something within them which reproved them when they did wrong?

All Fox's encounters were friendly and affirmative, but on several occasions they went beyond this and created an ongoing relationship between local Quaker groups and Native Americans. One such occasion was when Fox twice addressed a group of leaders in Maryland:

... and they heard the word of the lord and did confess to it. And what I said to the kings and emperor ... I desired them to speak to their people, that God is setting up his tabernacle of witness in their wilderness countries and setting up his glorious ensign and standard of righteousness. And they asked when we had meetings and they said they would come to them and were very loving.



58. [George Fox](#). JOURNAL, ed. John Nickalls. Cambridge, England: University Press, 1952, page 643.

59. [George Fox](#). JOURNAL, ed. John Nickalls. Cambridge, England: University Press, 1952, page 642.



ROGUE ISLAND

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The other such occasion was when Fox addressed about a hundred natives and blacks for about two hours, on Shelter Island off Long Island:



...they said all was truth and did make a confession of it after the meeting. So I have set up a meeting among them once a fortnight, and Friend Joseph Silvester is to read the Scriptures to them, negroes and Indians.... A great desire there is and a great love and satisfaction were among the people, blessed be the Lord. His name spreads and will be great among the nations and dreadful among the heathen [Malachi 1:14].

During this year Friend [George Fox](#) also attended the [Yearly Meeting](#) of Friends in New-England at the home of Governor [William Coddington](#), who had become a Quaker. While on this visit, George Fox held a meeting in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) “in a great barn, which was thronged with people.” This was just after the yearly meeting, and in all probability was the immediate cause of the challenge that would be sent by the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) to him and [Friends](#) with him, to debate fourteen propositions which he had drawn up in relation to Friends’ doctrines.

April: [Rhode Island](#), faced with the likelihood of a war with the Dutch, enacted a sedition law aimed directly at its Quaker population, which was of course as usual resisting the nonsense of service in the militia and resisting the nonsense of payment of taxes for preparations for war. That wasn’t the sort of thinking that the [Quakers](#), aware that the best way to avoid war is to prepare oneself carefully for peace, had any respect for! In the preamble to this new Sedition Act we find an explanation of sorts in the form of a paragraph-long sentence fragment: “The assembly, being sensible of the great detriment the colony in generall, and well-minded persons in partickular doth sustain by reason of a covetous or ffactionous and mallicious sperritt appeereinge in sundry towns and places in this collony ; who oppose all or any rates, and thereby prevailinge, by their deluded adherants, in overpowering the more prudent and loyall partys in such town and place, to the frustration of the most necessary and needful ends for which such rates are levied ; whereby the collony is exposed to much discredit, and other detriments great and dangerous, even tendinge to ruin and subversion thereof in the issue, and in meantime to the intollerable burden and oppression of the more tractable and rationall people, who readily comply with the collony’s injunctions in paying the several rates imposed on them, which are yet rendered ineffectuall as to the full discharge of the collony’s engagements, by reason of non-conformance to and non-performance of the collony’s orders in such cases by such refractory persons.” The penalty for the high contempt and sedition of appearing “by word or act in opposition to rates and impositions,” or to “any acts or orders,” or otherwise by word or deed slighting them, was under this new Rhode Island pronouncement to consist of thirty stripes, or imprisonment for one year, or a fine of £20.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

June 13, Monday: Friend [George Fox](#) had returned from Long Island to [Maryland](#) shore, and then had embarked on a longer journey, arriving on this day at Rhode Island (that's merely a moderately sized island in [Narragansett Bay](#), rather than the extensive "Providence Plantations" affiliated with it on the mainland shore which are now referred to collectively as the "State of [Rhode Island](#) and Providence Plantations"). George Bishop's NEW ENGLAND JUDGED says the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) which he was visiting on this island had been in existence since 1661.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'George Fox' in a cursive script.



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

After Friends were gone to their several habitations, we stayed some days upon the island; had meetings in several parts thereof, and good service for the Lord. When we were clear of the island, we returned to Oyster Bay, waiting for a wind to carry us to Rhode Island, which was computed to be about two hundred miles. As soon as the wind served, we set sail. We arrived there on the thirtieth day of the Third month, and were gladly received by Friends. We went to the house of Nicholas Easton, who at that time was governor of the island; where we rested, being very weary with travelling.

On First-day following we had a large meeting, to which came the deputy-governor and several justices, who were mightily affected with the Truth. The week following, the Yearly Meeting for all the Friends of New England and the other colonies adjacent, was held in this island; to which, besides very many Friends who lived in those parts, came John Stubbs from Barbadoes, and James Lancaster and John Cartwright from another way.

This meeting lasted six days, the first four days being general public meetings for worship, to which abundance of other people came. For they having no priest in the island, and so no restriction to any particular way of worship; and both the governor and deputy-governor, with several justices of the peace, daily frequenting the meetings; this so encouraged the people that they flocked in from all parts of the island. Very good service we had amongst them, and Truth had good reception.

I have rarely observed a people, in the state wherein they stood, to hear with more attention, diligence, and affection, than generally they did, during the four days; which was also taken notice of by other Friends. These public meetings over, the men's meeting began, which was large, precious, and weighty. The day following was the women's meeting, which also was large and very solemn.

These two meetings being for ordering the affairs of the Church, many weighty things were opened, and communicated to them, by way of advice, information, and instruction in the services relating thereunto; that all might be kept clean, sweet and savoury amongst them. In these, several men's and women's meetings for other parts were agreed and settled, to take care of the poor, and other affairs of the Church, and to see that all who profess Truth walk according to the glorious gospel of God.

** When this great general meeting was ended, it was somewhat hard for Friends to part; for the glorious power of the Lord, which was over all, and His Blessed Truth and life flowing amongst them, had so knit and united them together, that they spent two days in taking leave one of another, and of the Friends of the island; and then, being mightily filled with the presence and power of the Lord, they went away with joyful hearts to their several habitations, in the several colonies where they lived.*



RHODE ISLAND

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When Friends had taken their leave one of another, we, who travelled amongst them, dispersed ourselves into our several services, as the Lord ordered us. John Burnyeat, John Cartwright, and George Pattison went into the eastern parts of New England, in company with the Friends that came from thence, to visit the particular meetings there; whom John Stubbs and James Lancaster intended to follow awhile after, in the same service; but they were not yet clear of this island. Robert Kidders and I stayed longer upon this island; finding service still here for the Lord, through the great openness and the daily coming in of fresh people from other colonies, for some time after the general meeting; so that we had many large and serviceable meetings amongst them.

During this time, a marriage was celebrated amongst Friends in this island, and we were present. It was at the house of a Friend who had formerly been governor of the island: and there were present three justices of the peace, with many others not in profession with us. Friends said they had never seen such a solemn assembly on such an occasion, or so weighty a marriage and so comely an order. Thus Truth was set over all. This might serve for an example to others; for there were some present from many other places.

** After this I had a great travail in spirit concerning the Ranters in those parts, who had been rude at a meeting at which I was not present. Wherefore I appointed a meeting amongst them, believing the Lord would give me power over them; which He did, to His praise and glory; blessed be His name for ever! There were at this meeting many Friends, and diverse other people; some of whom were justices of the peace, and officers, who were generally well affected with the Truth. One, who had been a justice twenty years, was convinced, spoke highly of the Truth, and more highly of me than is fit for me to mention or take notice of.*

Then we had a meeting at Providence, which was very large, consisting of many sorts of people. I had a great travail upon my spirit, that it might be preserved quiet, and that Truth might be brought over the people, might gain entrance, and have a place in them; for they were generally above the priest in high notions; and some of them came on purpose to dispute. But the Lord, whom we waited upon, was with us, and His power went over them all; and His blessed Seed was exalted and set above all. The disputers were silent, and the meeting was quiet and ended well; praised be the Lord! The people went away mightily satisfied, much desiring another meeting.

FOX'S JOURNAL



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

Friend [George Fox](#) did not meet the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) in [Providence](#), though that local VIP had debated with Friend John Burnyeat during his visit to [Newport](#) in 1671. After Fox and his companion, Friend Nicholas Easton, had left Providence and had gone back down the Bay, and had left there as well and was sailing back toward Long Island, the Reverend Williams would row over to Newport, some 30 miles despite his advanced age — but he would miss being able to issue his challenge to a debate with the main man.

The Reverend Williams would attempted to debate instead with Friends [William Edmundson](#), John Stubbs, and John Burnyeat. The debate would not go well, as Friend Henry Nichols would sing persistently and loudly, and Friend Ann Eaton would pray loudly and persistently, attempting to drown out the Reverend Williams's voice.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

A photograph of a handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Roger Williams'.

1672. Roger Williams held a public disputation with three Friends or Quakers, which continued three days at Newport and one in Providence. Deputies or members of the General Assembly were for the first time required to take an oath or affirmation on commencing their official duties. This was protested against by those of Providence.

After two days of such proceedings, there had been an [eclipse](#) of the sun as the debate came to an end.

[ASTRONOMY](#)



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND



"Nothing was more common, in those days, than to interpret all meteoric appearances, and other natural phenomena that occurred with less regularity than the rise and set of sun and moon, as so many revelations from a supernatural source. Thus, a blazing spear, a sword of flame, a bow, or a sheaf of arrows seen in the midnight sky, prefigured Indian warfare. Pestilence was known to have been foreboded by a shower of crimson light. We doubt whether any marked event, for good or evil, ever befell New England, from its settlement down to revolutionary times, of which the inhabitants had not been previously warned by some spectacle of its nature. Not seldom, it had been seen by multitudes. Oftener, however, its credibility rested on the faith of some lonely eye-witness, who beheld the wonder through the coloured, magnifying, and distorted medium of his imagination, and shaped it more distinctly in his after-thought. It was, indeed, a majestic idea that the destiny of nations should be revealed, in these awful hieroglyphics, on the cope of heaven. A scroll so wide might not be deemed too expensive for Providence to write a people's doom upon. The belief was a favourite one with our forefathers, as betokening that their infant commonwealth was under a celestial guardianship of peculiar intimacy and strictness."



— [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), THE SCARLET LETTER



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The Reverend would then write, and publish in Boston in 1676, what Fox elsewhere would term “Roger Williams’s ‘Book of Lyes,’” a book bearing the amusing title *GEORGE FOX DIGGED OUT OF HIS BURROWS* (reprinted in *PUBLICATIONS OF THE NARRAGANSETT CLUB*, Volume V, pages xx-xlv, Providence, 1872). When Fox and Burnyeat would reply to said “slandrous book” in a 65-page pamphlet, *A NEW ENGLAND FIRE BRAND QUENCHED*, Fox would seem not even to be sure exactly where the Reverend Williams, that famous “apostle of soul liberty,” was flourishing, as in this pamphlet he would refer to the Reverend as “a priest of



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New England (or some colony thereabouts).”

This place (called Providence) was about thirty miles from Rhode Island; and we went to it by water. The Governor of Rhode Island, and many others, went with me thither; and we had the meeting in a great barn, which was thronged with people, so that I was exceedingly hot, and in a great sweat; but all was well; the glorious power of the Lord shone over all; glory to the great God for ever!

After this we went to Narragansett, about twenty miles from Rhode Island; and the Governor went with us. We had a meeting at a justice's house, where Friends had never had any before. It was very large, for the country generally came in; and people came also from Connecticut, and other parts round about, amongst whom were four justices of the peace. Most of these people had never heard Friends before; but they were mightily affected with the meeting, and a great desire there is after the Truth amongst them; so that our meeting was of very good service, blessed be the Lord for ever!

The justice at whose house the meeting was, and another justice of that country, invited me to come again; but I was then clear of those parts, and going towards Shelter Island. But John Burnyeat and John Cartwright, being come out of New England into Rhode Island, before I was gone, I laid this place before them; and they felt drawings thither, and went to visit them.

*At another place, I heard some of the magistrates say among themselves that if they had money enough, they would hire me to be their minister. This was where they did not well understand us, and our principles; but when I heard of it, I said, "It is time for me to be gone; for if their eye were so much on me, or on any of us, they would not come to their own Teacher." For this thing (hiring ministers) had spoiled many, by hindering them from improving their own talents; whereas our labour is to bring every one to his own Teacher **in** himself.*

I went thence towards Shelter Island [so named because Nathaniel Sylvester, sole proprietor of this island at the eastern end of Long Island between Gardiner's Bay and Little Peconic Bay, had offered shelter to persecuted Friends from New England], having with me Robert Widders, James Lancaster, George Pattison, and John Jay, a planter of Barbadoes.

We went in a sloop; and passing by Point Juda [Judith] and Block Island, we came to Fisher's Island, where at night we went on shore; but were not able to stay for the mosquitoes which abound there, and are very troublesome. Therefore we went into our sloop again, put off for the shore, and cast anchor; and so lay in our sloop that night.

Next day we went into the Sound, but finding our sloop was not able to live in that water, we returned again, and came to anchor before Fisher's Island, where we lay in our sloop that night also. There fell abundance of rain, and our sloop being open, we were exceedingly wet.

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Next day we passed over the waters called the Two Horse Races, and then by Gardner's Island; after which we passed by the Gull's Island, and so got at length to Shelter Island. Though it was but about twenty-seven leagues from Rhode Island, yet through the difficulty of passage we were three days in reaching it.

The day after, being First-day, we had a meeting there. In the same week I had another among the Indians; at which were their king, his council, and about a hundred Indians more. They sat down like Friends, and heard very attentively while I spoke to them by an interpreter, an Indian that could speak English well. After the meeting they appeared very loving, and confessed that what was said to them was Truth.

Next First-day we had a great meeting on the island, to which came many people who had never heard Friends before. They were very well satisfied with it, and when it was over would not go away till they had spoken with me. Wherefore I went amongst them, and found they were much taken with the Truth; good desires were raised in them, and great love. Blessed be the Lord; His name spreads, and will be great among the nations, and dreadful among the heathen.

While we were in Shelter Island, William Edmundson, who had been labouring in the work of the Lord in Virginia, came to us. From thence he had travelled through the desert-country, through difficulties and many trials, till he came to Roanoke [not little Roanoke Island off the coast, but the extensive mainland adjacent to the Roanoke River], where he met with a tender people. After seven weeks' service in those parts, sailing over to Maryland, and so to New York, he came to Long Island, and so to Shelter Island; where we met with him, and were very glad to hear from him the good service he had had for the Lord, in the several places where he had travelled since he parted from us.

We stayed not long in Shelter Island, but entering our sloop again put to sea for Long Island. We had a very rough passage, for the tide ran so strong for several hours that I have not seen the like; and being against us, we could hardly get forwards, though we had a gale.

We were upon the water all that day and the night following; but found ourselves next day driven back near to Fisher's Island. For there was a great fog, and towards day it was very dark, so that we could not see what way we made. Besides, it rained much in the night, which in our open sloop made us very wet.

Next day a great storm arose, so that we were fain to go over the Sound, and got over with much difficulty. When we left Fisher's Island, we passed by Falkner Island, and came to the main, where we cast anchor till the storm was over.

Then we crossed the Sound, being all very wet; and much difficulty we had to get to land, the wind being strong against us. But blessed be the Lord God of heaven and earth, and of the seas and waters, all was well.



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ROANOKE



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Oh! how darest thou Roger Williams, publish such false lyes to the World, when thou knowest in thy Conscience, that G.F. had never any Writing, or Letter, or Proposals from thee; neither did he ever exchange a word with thee. The Lord God of Heaven knowes it, and the Deputy Governour knowes, that I received none of thy Writings or Papers or Proposals by him. Behold all sober people the foundation of this mans Attempt, the beginning of his work; and since the foundation of thy Book is a notorious lye, the building upon such a foundation of lyes is not like to be otherwise: which lyes thou hast made thy refuge; as throughout thy Book may be evidently seen. For except a man had sold himself to work falsehood, and make lyes; he could not have done more wickedly, and have uttered falser charges that though hast done. But the Lord God which knows them, and sees thy evil design in them, will sweep them away with the besom of Destruction, and clear his people from thy manifest false tongue....

But by this all may see the wickedness, that is in the Bottle of this R.W. by what does flow out of it in his Book, to wit, a malitious spirit against G.F. who was never concerned him by word or writing, much less did G.F. ever do him wrong. And yet he says, G.F. well knew, what Artillery he was furnisht with out of his own bald writings, (as he scoffingly calls them) &c. when never a word of this is true: though he presumes to present it to the King for Truth concerning G.F....

This also is an abominable falsehood, the Lord know it, a groundless untrue imagination of his own; for there was no such Agreement or Consultation. Is this man fit to write of Religion, that lyes? a vain man! What is he, and his designs, that they should require Consultations and Junctos? so let the honest Reader Judge, from whence R.W. had all these lyes, if not from his Father the Devil, who is out of Truth: but with the Truth is both his Father and he Judged.



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July: Friend [George Fox](#) visited [Rhode Island](#), staying with Governor Nicholas Easton. [Quakers](#) were just becoming the dominant group in that colony's government. Governor Easton, 11 of the 16 assistants, and perhaps seven of the 20 deputies were members of the Religious Society of Friends. Friend Nicholas Easton was the primary political leader there at this point, and the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) the primary spiritual leader. Friend George recorded that:

In New England there was an Indian king that said he saw that there were many of their people of the Indians turned to the New England professors. He said they were worse since than they were before they left their own religion; and of all religions he said the Quakers were the best.

Commenting on this, Jill Lepore surmises that this may be more than merely the “Quaker party line,” that although there is no extant record of such a visit, Friend John Easton of [Rhode Island](#) may have taken Friend George along on a visit to the sachem [Metacom](#) at [Mount Hope](#). Alternatively, she offers, Friend George may simply have become aware somehow of the sachem Metacom's rejection of the Reverend [John Eliot](#)'s proselytizing.

The conclusion Friend [George Fox](#) arrived at in his New World travels was that all humans did experience Christ's light, however this experience might be conceptualized in a given culture:



Now Jews, and the Turks, and heathen, and Indians, that do not nor will not profess and own Christ in the flesh, to be the Savior; if one come to speak to them of their evil deeds and words, and ask them if there is something in them that tells them, they should not speak and do so, or so wickedly? (for the light of Christ troubles and condemns them if they do evil), here they will confess to the light of Christ though they know not what it is....

But Fox did not come to America during this period just prior to the outbreak of “[King Phillip's War](#)” only to

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interrogate the indigenes. As mentioned above, he also came to deal with the intrusives, in particular with one intrusive, a Boston one named John Perrot. Fox wanted to counter the influence that was being exercised by Friend Perrot in Boston.



At the time Friend Perrot evidently was attempting to develop the [Quaker](#) insistence, that in matters of worship we ought to dispense with any form which might divide worshipers into opposing groups contemptuous of and intolerant of each other, to the point at which even the regularity of showing up on time for a silent meeting of worship, on First Day, was to be regarded as a “form” and discarded. [George Fox](#) sought to drive away such individuals, whom he characterized as “disorderly walkers.” And indeed, those Quakers who distrusted the growing levels of group control over individual conduct began to walk in other paths.



July 13, Wednesday: The Reverend [Roger Williams](#) wrote a letter, from [Providence, Rhode Island](#), challenging Friend [George Fox](#) to a debate. The debate was to concern fourteen propositions, seven of them to be debated at [Newport](#) and seven at Providence.



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July 26, Tuesday: The Reverend [Roger Williams](#)'s July 13th letter challenging Friend [George Fox](#) to a debate reached its destination after Friend George had sailed. The English visitors who still remained in [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friends John Stubbs, John Burnyeat, and [William Edmundson](#), eagerly accepted the challenge. The debate in Newport would take place at the Friends meetinghouse over a 3-day period, that in Providence over a single day. (The occasion would not be well-mannered: Friend Henry Nichols would insist upon singing loudly, while Friend Ann Eaton would insist upon praying loudly, struggling to drown out the Reverend Williams's voice.) The Reverend would publish an account of this as THE FOX DIGGED OUT OF HIS BURROWES, and then the Quakers would blast back with A NEW-ENGLAND FIRE-BRAND QUENCHED.

Two of Friend [George Fox](#)'s American traveling companions, Friends John Burnyeat and John Stubbs, held a meeting in [Warwick](#) "where none had been before, and several were convinced.... And there we had to do with one Gorton and his Company, who were by other people there called Gortonians, but they called themselves Generalists. They were of the Opinion, All should be saved. But they were in reality Ranters, for in our Discourse, they would maintain, and say, No creaturely actions could be sin; and would have no whoredom, nor drunkenness, nor the like to be sin, but what was spiritual; the outward action was but creaturely. And thus in their filthy, unclean spirits, they, like the old Ranters, made merry over the reproof of God's Spirit. So from thence we came down again to Road Island, and there we spent some time." (I do not know whether the not-well-mannered meeting described above as having taken place in Providence, and the meeting that included Gortonians described above as having taken place in Warwick just south of Providence, constitute the same event described in different manners — or whether these were two separate occasions. We need to bear in mind that neither George Fox nor Roger Williams were present at this meeting, and that if [Samuell Gorton](#) was present, he was present as an aged man who had recently retired after sitting in the colonial legislature. We need to bear in mind also that Warwick was not a town in which there had ever been a [Quaker](#) meeting — in fact the Friends would not settle a meeting in Warwick until more than two decades subsequent to Gorton's death, in 1699, and the local meeting would not erect its 1st meetinghouse until about 1720.)

October 20, Thursday: Friend [William Coddington](#) of [Rhode Island](#), distressed by the persecution of the [Quakers](#) at [Boston](#), had written a letter of admonition to his old friend the Governor and some of the council, and had learned that Bellingham had burned this letter without informing the others. He therefore on this day wrote a 2d such letter of admonition, sending this new one as a hand-carry by Leverett.

November 27, Sunday: [Providence](#) reserved even more land at the lime kilns at Hackleton (probably Setamuchut Hill near Manton and Netaconkanut Hill in Johnston, [Rhode Island](#)).

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1673

[William Hall](#) was for one last time Deputy from [Portsmouth](#) to the General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#). He was appointed on a committee for the purpose of “treating with the Indians about [drunkenness](#), and to seriously council them, and agree of Some way to prevent extreme excess of Indian drunkenness.” Five headmen were named with whom the committee should treat, among whom was [Metacom](#) of [Mount Hope](#), called King [Phillip](#).

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”





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There was a secession from the Baptist congregation in Horse-lie-down that resulted in the formation of the Old Kent Road congregation.

[John Josselyn](#)'s ACCOUNT OF TWO VOYAGES TO NEW-ENGLAND.⁶⁰

AN ACCOUNT OF TWO VOYAGES TO NEW-ENGLAND

From the year of the World

to the year of Christ 1673.

... Narragansets-Bay, within which Bay is Rhode-Island a Harbour for the Shunamitish Brethren, as the Saints-Errant, the Quakers who are rather to be esteemed Vagabonds than religious persons, &c.

... Quakers they whip, banish, and hang if they return again. Anabaptists they imprison, fine and weary out.

... There are none that beg in the Countrey, but there be Witches too many, bottle-bellied Witches amongst the Quakers, and others that produce many strange apparations if you will believe report, of a *Shallop* at Sea man'd with women....

BY John Josselyn Gent.

JOHN JOSSELYN'S CHRONOLOGY

JOHN JOSSELYN'S TWO VOYAGES

NARRAGANSETT BAY

RHODE ISLAND

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

BAPTISTS

WITCHES

Late Spring: As usual, the swarming of the 17-year New England cicadas *Magicicada septendecim*.



NEW ENGLAND

60. A text [Henry Thoreau](#) would be frequently citing, involving 17th-Century inventories of American resources.



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May 12, Friday: Mrs. Rebeca Cornell widow of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) having met with death in a manner considered suspicious, here is the record of the trial for murder on this day of her son Thomas Cornell, who had been the last person to visit her in her room before she was found dead, as preserved in RECORDS OF THE GENERAL COURT OF TRIALS 1671-1704 (Newport Court Book A; October 1673).

READ ABOUT THIS CASE

As we see, despite the court's discovery that the deceased had been speaking of suicide and despite an entire absence of evidence that the death had not been a suicide, Thomas Cornell was adjudged guilty of murder, apparently upon the weight of spectral evidence which would not today be considered, and condemned to be [hanged](#).⁶¹

At the Generall Court of Tryalls Held for the Collony at Newport
the: 12th of May 1673

Mr Nicholas Easton Governor
Mr William Coddington Dept Govern
Mr Walter Clarke – Asistant
Mr Daniell Gould – Asistant
Mr John Easton – Asistant
Mr William Harris Asistant
Mr Thomas Harris Asistant
Mr Thomas ffeild Asistant
Mr Joshua Coggeshall Asistant
Mr John Tripp Asistant
Mr Walter Todd – Asistant
Mr Job Almy – Asistant
John Sanford Recorder
James Rogers Genl Serant
Mr Peter Easton Genrl Treasurer
Mr John Easton Genrl Atorney
Gran Jurriors Engaged
Lt Joseph Torrey foreman
Mr Robert Stanton
Mr William Case
Mr Thomas Clifton
Mr Thomas Burge

61. You will note that some of the officials engaged in this trial, such as Mr. Nicholas Easton the governor of the colony, were members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). Refer to Jane Fletcher Fiske, GLEANINGS FROM NEWPORT COURT FILES 1659 TO 1783 (Boxford, Massachusetts: Jane Fletcher Fiske, 1998), consisting of 1,182 abstracts of court files concerning Newport people and situations, as well as many people from other locations who appear in the records, and to RHODE ISLAND COURT OF TRIALS 1671-1704 (Boxford, Massachusetts: Jane Fletcher Fiske, 1998).



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Mr Gidion Freeborne
Mr John Clarke
Lt ffrancis Brayton
Mr Phillip Eades
Mr William Hiscox
Mr John Odlin
Mr Henry Lilly

Upon Indictment by the Generall Aturny Mr John Easton in the behalfe of our Soverreigne Lord the King against Thomas Cornell now prissoner ffor that on the Eveninge of the Eight day of ffebruary last in the 25th yeare of his Majties Reigne Anno 1672 the said Thomas did murther his mother Rebecca Cornell or was aydeinge or abettinge thereto. The said Thomas Cornell beinge cald for and brought forth into Court, and his charge Read, and demanded of whether Guilty or Not Guilty – pleads Not Guilty, and Referrs himselfe for Tryall to God and the Cuntry. After all Lawful Liberty granted by the Court as to Exceptions The Jurriors were sollemnly Engaged on the case and sent forth.

Jurriors on the case [listed in margin]

Mr Henry Palmer foreman
Daniell Greenell
James Man
William Allin
John Read
John Spencer
Richard Dunn
John Rogers
Serjt Clement Weaver
John Bliss
John Strainge
John Crandell junr

The Jury Returne their Verdict publickly to him declared. Guilty. Thereupon the Court doe pass this followinge centance to the Prissoner.

Whereas you Thomas Cornell have been in this Court Indicted and charged for murdering your mother Mrs Rebecca Cornell Widow. and you beinge by your peers the Jury found Guilty. Know and to that end prepare your selfe, that you are by this Court Centanced to be Carried from hence to the Com[m]on Goale, and from thence on fryday next which will be the twenty thre day of this instant month May about one of the clock to be carried from the said Goale to the place the Gallowes – and there to be Hanged by the neck untill you are dead dead. The Centance beinge pronounced and to him openly declared The said Thomas Cornell



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is Remitted to the Generall Serjants Custody safely to be kept till the day of Exicution.

A warrant ordered and granted to seize the Estate of Thomas Cornell and make Returne thereof to this Court.

Ordered that a strict Watch be kept in and about the prisson untill the day of the Execution of Thomas Cornell, and that the said Thomas Cornell shall be manacled and surely fastned to the great chaine – And ordered that James Clarke and James Browne cunstables in Newport are Authorized and desired to Asist the Generall Serjant in settinge and orderinge the watch for secureinge the said prissoner, which watch are to be Eight in the Night time and four in the day time.

Those following are Testimonys Concerning Thomas Cornell Murdering of his Mother Rebeca Cornell: which was ordered to be Recorded.

Thomas Cornell the son of Rebeca Cornell, being inquired of us the Coroners Inquest, doe declare yt in the eveninge before twas darke, came into the roome and satt downe & discoursed with his Mother Rebeca for ye space of about one houre and a halfe; and then went forth into the next Roome, where he stayd about Threequarters of an houre, then his Wife sent his son Edward into the roome to his Grandmothr to know whether shee would have some milke boyled for her supper; the Child coming in to the roome saw some fire in the roome upon the floore, and the Child came back unto us, and fetcht the candle to see what fire it was, Henry Straite went Presently into the roome, my selfe and the rest followed in A Huddle, Henry Straite coming in saw some fire, and stooped, and with his Hands raked fire upon the floore, supposing it to be and Indian that was Drunke, and Burnt, soe he layd hold of the Arme, my selfe Immediately following, by the light perceived it was my Mother, and Cryed out, Oh Lord it is my Mother.

Taken upon oath this Present 9th Day of February 1672/3

Before me William Baulston Assist. & Coroner.

Henry Straite being Examined upon Oath before the Coroner, Testifies, that he knows nothing how Rebeca Cornell came to Her untimely Death, onely sayth that Edward Cornell being sent in unto his Grand mother to Know what shee would have for Her supper, and comeing into the roome, saw fire in the floore, and came out unto us, and tooke the Candle to see what fire twas, he the sayd Henry rann, the Boy with the Candle followed, and Thomas Cornell, he the sayd Henry comeing into the roome, saw fire upon the floore, he stooped down; and with his hand raked fire that was upon the floore, and tooke hold of an Arme, and spake Indian, supposeing it was an Indian, Drunke and Burnt; Thomas Cornell following, and by the Light deserned & called out, and sayd, Oh Lord it is my Mother.

Taken upon oath the yeare and Day above written.

Before me William Baulston Assist. & Corroner.



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Wee the Coroners Inquest for his Majestie being Impanelled, and Engaged this Present 9th Day of ffebruary 1672/3 by Mr William Baulston Assisstt and Coroner for his Matie in the Towne of [Portsmouth](#) in Rhod-Island in the Colony of Rhod-Island and Providence Plantations in New-England, have and by these presents doe declare; That being brought to the place where the Dead Body of Rebeca Cornell was Presented, and Inquiry by us made before the Coroner & Mr Joshua Coggeshall one of the Assistants of the sd Towne, and alsoe Coroner. The Body of the sayd Rebeca we found dead upon the floore, her Clothes very much Burnt by fire, and Her Body very much scorched and burnt by fire, And after dilligent Inquirie and Examination of Wittnesses, wee the sayd Coroners Inquest caused the sayd Body of Rebeca Cornell Widdow to Mr Thomas Cornell of Portsmouth to be stripped of the Residue of Clothes upon it (unburnt) turned and Handled, and searched to the best of our Judgments and understandings, doe finde and declare, That upon the Evening after the Eight Day of Febvruary 1672/3 the sayd Rebeca being in or about the age of 73 yeares, was brought to her untimely death by an Unhappie Accident of fire as Shee satt in her Rome, the time afore specified.

That this is our Verdict as the Coroners Inquest, wee give under our hands this Present 9th Day of February 1672/3.

William Dyer fforeman

Edward Lay

John Sanford

Thomas Brook

Georg Lawton

Hugh Parsons

John Albro

Peter Talman

John Anthony senr

ffrancis Brayton

Thomas Wood

William Wilbore

John Brigs of the Towne of [Portsmouth](#) Aged sixty foure yeares or thereabouts, being According to Law Sworne and In[g]aged befor the Councill, Testifieth That on the Twelfth Day of this Instant month ffebruary in the night as this Depont lay in his Bedd, he being in A Dreame of Mrs Rebeca Cornell Deseased, and being betweene Sleepeing and Wakeing, as he thought he felt something heave up the Bedclothes twice, and thought some body had beene coming to bed to hime, where upon he Awaked, and turned himeselfe about in his Bed, and being Turned, he perceived A Light in the roome, like to the Dawning of ye Day, and plainly saw the shape and Apearance of A Woman standing by his Bed side where at he was much Afrighted, and Cryed out, in the name of



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God what art thou, the Aperation Answered, I am your sister Cornell, and Twice sayd, see how I was Burnt with ffire, and shee plainely Apeered unto hime to be very much burnt about the shoulders, fface, and Head.

Taken before the Deputy Govr and Councell mett the 20th day of ffebruary 1672/3 As Atest John Sanford Secretary.

Mr John Russill of the Towne of Dartmouth in the Colony of New-Plymouth Aged 65 yeares or thereabouts, being According to Law sworne and Engaged before the Councell, Testifieth, that this Deponant, lately haveing some speech with Georg Soule Cunstable of the sayd Towne of Dartmoth. The sayd Soul sayd to this Depont, you being my Anchant ffrind, I have someting to tell you wch I would desire you to be Secret in, and the sayd Soul sayd, he once comeing to Mrs Rebeca Cornells House in Portsmouth, the sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornell sayd to the sayd Soul, that Shee intended in the spring of the yeare, to goe and Dwell with her son Samuell, but shee feared Shee should be made away before that time. And this Relation of the sayd Georg Souls to this Deponant was since the sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornells Decease.

Taken before the Deputy Govr and Councell mett the 20th day of ffebruary 1672/3. As Atest John Sanford Secretary.

We whose names are under subscribed being on the second inquiry after the untimely death, or decease of Mrs Rebeca Cornell of the Towne of [Portsmouth](#), desired to make Dilligent search whether any wound might be found on Her. Doe thus Affirme that wee found A Suspitious wound on her in the upper-most part of the Stomake, Wittness our hands ye 20th day of ffebruary 1672/3.

Henry Greenland Chyrn

Simon Cooper Chyrn

I doe Atest to ye above Written and declare it to be my Judgment, Wittness my hand the Day & yeare above written John Cranston Depty Govr

The above Premised Henry Greenland & Simon Cooper did both upon their Oaths affirme to the above Premised, Evidence or written, to be truth before John Cranston Depty Govr & Practitioner in Phisick & Chyrurgery

We whose names are hereunto subscribed being by the Depty Govr & major part of the Councell of this his Majesties Colony of Rhod-Island and Providence Plantations, appointed and Empanneled A Coroners Inquest on the Body of Mrs Rebeca Cornell (Widdow to ye deceased Mr Thomas Cornell of [Portsmouth](#)) who came to an untimely, and uncertaine Death, in the night ffollowing the Eight day of this Instant month ffebruary, who this Instant Day, for A Second Inquire, was taken out of Her Grave, upon severall Suspitious reasons Rendered to the Govr, Depty Govr, and sayd Councell. And the Corps of the sayd Rebeca, being Dilligently searched by Chyriurgions in our view, and in their search, as under their hands appeares, they findeing A Suspitious wound in the Body of the sayd Rebeca Cornell in the uppermost part of her Stomake. And wee alsoe finding that the



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Body was much Burnt and Scorched by fire wee doe declare, and
returne our Verdict to be, That wee Conceive and Judg, to the
best of our understandings, that by the aforesayd Suspitious
wound, and fire, shee the sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornell came bye her
Death. In witness whereof wee have sett or hands ye 20th day of
ffebruary 1672/3.

John Sanford foremn

Georg Lawton

John Albro

Thomas Wood

Edward Lay

Thomas Brooke

Hugh Persons

Francis Brayton senr

William Wilbore

James Barker

Peter Easton

Joseph Torrey

Weston Clarke

Samuell Hubbard

Stephen Mumford

Edward Greenman

Phillip Edes

Caleb Carr

Daniell Gould

Henry Bull

Lawrance Turner

Thomas Nicolls

Thomas Dungen

Thomas Burg

Thomas Cornell senr of [Portsmouth](#) being Examined concerneing the
untimely and uncertaine death of his Mother Rebeca Cornell, wch
happened on the 8th of ffebruary 1672/3 in the Evening of the
same Day: sayth, he coming in to the House from his Occations:
a little after sunsett went to visett his Mother, his son Thomas
being then with Her, and satt and discoursed with Her in her
roome where shee kept, about one houre and halfe, and then Left
her and went to Supper, haveing salt-mackrill for Supper, which
his Mother cared not for because shee used to say it made her
Dry, and haveing supt, his Wife sent his son Edward to his
Mother, to know whether shee would have milke boiled for her
supper, or what else shee desired, which might be about Three



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quarters of one houre, from the time he left her, he being the Last that was with Her; the sayd Edward called, Grandmother, Grandmother, and noebody Answering, and perceaving fire in the roome; came out, and sayd lett me have the Candle to see what fire that is in the other roome, whereupon wee all rann in, in hast, and Henry Straite ran in ffirst, and Rakeing the fire with his Hands, tooke hold of his Mothers Arme, thinkeing it had been A Drunken Indian, and spake Indian to her; at last sayd here is A Drunken Indian Burnt to Death; But the sayd Thomas Cornell, coming in last, perceaved by Her shoose which he saw by the light of the Candle, that it was his Mother, and sayd, Oh Lord, it is my Mother, and tooke up her head in his Armes to see if any life were in Her; findeing her burnt, lyeing along upon the floore with her head towards the fire, her Cloths burnt of on her below and some above, and the Valins of the Bed burnt, and the upper part of the Curtaines where he Judged Shee stood when Shee was on fire; before Shee fell, her Apron & one of her Petty-coats being Cotton and Wooll, and Judged that her Clothes tooke fire from A Cole that might fall from Her Pipe as shee satt Smoaking in Her Chaire, and haveing seene her in that Condition, as above related, sent out and called in some of the Neighbours liveing neare; which is all that he knows of the Death of his Mother abovementioned; not Judging any one were Instrumentall in any Measure to procure her Death.

Taken before us the 21th of ffebruary 1672/3

Nich Easton Govr

Jon Cranston Depty Govr

ffrancis Brinley Assistt

John Easton Assistant

Joshua Coggeshall Assistant

April ye 10th 1673

Sarah Cornell the Wife of Thomas Cornell of [Portsmouth](#), being Examined Concerning the Death of her Mother in Law Rebeca Cornell, sayth, yt ye evening her sayd Mothr was found dead in ye House, about one houre or more, or such a quantity of time; before shee was soe found, her Husband Thomas Cornell was with her to see how shee did, hereing that shee was not well, & tooke A Quill of yarne in his hand to winde, after he came out, he winded halfe a Quill of yarne, & then went to Supper, & one of ye Boies was sent to her sayd Mothr, to know what Shee would have for Supper, upon opening of the dore, ye Great Dogg being in her roome, Leaped out over ye Boy, & ye Boy came out in hast, & desired A Candle to see wt fire yt was in ye roome, whereupon most in the House ran in & found her sayd Mother Rebeca Cornell lyeing dead in the floore, being Burnt, but how it came shee knows not, nor can Imagine, but Lookes at it as A wonderfull thing, & the more in regard, part of her Clothes being Cotton and wooll, ye wooll was burnt & ye Cotton Remained whole, which John Gould, John Spencer, & Job Hawkins afterwards saw, comeing to ye House for yt Purpose: ffurther sayth, wn Georg Lawton &



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John Albro, being sent for, went into the roome, they smelt ye scent of the Burning of the Clothes, & none before, & when Henry Straite went in first he thought it had beene an Indian yt lay there Dead.

Taken before us. Nich~ Easton Govr

ffrancis Brinley Assistant

At a meeting of ye Dept Govr Mr ffrancis Brinley, Mr John Easton & Mr Joshua Coggeshall Assistants, Held at Mr Joshua Coggeshalls House in Portsmo ye 22th of Feby 1672/3.

Henry Straite being brought before ye Dept Govr & the sd Assists & Examined wt he could say and relate concerning the late Deceased Rebeca Cornells death. Answered yt ye night that ye sd Mrs Rebeca Cornell lost her life, he was some part of ye night, at Mr Georg Lawtons & came not to Mr Thomas Cornells (where he Diated & Lodged) untill supper time, & wn he came in, some part of ye supper was upon ye Table, & they were goeing to Supper, & sitting downe to Supper. Mrs Rebeca Cornell, who usialy used to be at Supper with us, not being there, this Examine saith he inquired where ye sd Mrs Cornell was, & why shee was not at supper wth them, Mr Thos Cornell Answered, we haveing nothing but mackrill to supper, my Mothr will not eate any, for shee saith it makes her dry in the night. The Examine further saith, yt as soone as they had supped, Tho[m] Cornells wife sd to one of ye boys, by name Edward, goe to yor Grandmother, & ask her whether shee will have any milke for supper; the Ladd going, Emediately returned, and askt for A Candle to see what fire yt was, yt was in his Grandmothrs roome, whereupon they all ran, & this Examine came first to the dore, & into ye roome, & espieing fire on ye floore, he clapt his Hands upon it, and raked away ye fire wth his hands, and then thought it had beene an Indian, & tooke hold on ye Arme, and shakt her, speakeing Indian; whereupon Mr Tho[m] Cornell clapt his hands & cryed out, Oh Lord, it is my Mother. And this Examine also saith, yt there was noe fire in the Curtaines, nor about ye Bedsted when he came in, yett ye Curtins & Valliants at ye foote of the Bedsted was burnt. And alsoe saith yt ye Body lay wth the head towards ye Southmost Dore, & ye feete towards ye other Dore, in wch roome we were & ye Back lay towards ye Bedsteadd ye face towards ye Westmost Window, & lay on ye left side; Also the said Examine saith yt at other times when they have had Mackrill for Supper, ye sd Mrs Rebeca Cornell used to be called, & did use to come & supp with ye rest in Mr Thomas Cornells roome.

Taken upon Oath.

James Moills, being Examined wt he can relate concerneing ye Death of Mrs Rebeca Cornell. Answered that ye night yt ye said Mrs Cornell lost her Life: The Examine & Hen~ Straite were at Mr Georg Lawtons, in ye evening & came not to Mr Tho[m] Cornells till about seven A Clocke, when they came in, part of ye Supper was upon ye Table, & after Supper, Tho[m] Cornells Wife bidd one of ye Boys, by name Edward, goe to his Grandmothr, and ask her wt shee would have for supper; ye ladd goeing in, came Imediately



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out & askt for A Candle, saying there was fire in his Granmothers roome, upon which every one there Hastened to see what it was. This Examinee, wⁿ he came into ye Entry, was goeing out of doores to see if there were not fire on ye outside of ye House, but before he gott out, hereing Hen~ Straite say here is A Drunken Indian burnt to Death, he returned & went into ye roome, & there he saw, the sd Mrs Rebeca Cornell lyeing on ye floore, wth fire about Her, from Her Lower parts neare to ye Arme pits and saith, he knew it to be her by her Shoes, & saith, yt ye Curtins & Valants at ye foote of ye Bedd were burnt, yett ye fire about ye Bedstead was out. And alsoe this Examinee saith, yt he haveing being A Servant, as now he is, to ye sd Mr Tho[m] Cornell, hath observed, yt ye sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornell (except not well) did usually be at Meales wth Her son Thomas &c. and wt the Reason was, yt shee was not yt night at Supper wth them, he knows not. This Examinee also saith, yt at other times in ye Evening it was Usiall, & sildome otherwise, yt one or more of ye Children, were in ye roome wth their gran-mother, but knows not ye Reason they, nor any of them were not wth her then. This Examinee also saith, yt he was in ye roome wth Mrs Cornell yt Morneing before her death, and then shee said shee was not well, & at noone goeing in to see her, shee said shee was something better. This Examinee also saith, yt wⁿ he went into ye roome the night ye sd Mrs Cornell deceased, he saw A peece of her Garment, being Cotton and woollen lyeing upon A Brand on the fire. He alsoe saith shee lay on Her Left side.

Taken upon Oath.

Thomas Cornell (the son of Mr Tho[m] Cornell) Aged 18 yeares or thereabouts, being Examined what he can relate Concerneing ye_ Death of his Gran-Mothr Mrs Rebeca Cornell. Answered and sayth, yt ye Evening his Gran-mother dyed, he was in ye roome wth her, & stayd but A Litle while, but went out againe, and did Leave his ffather in the roome wth her, who stayd wth her about an houre, or an houre & an halfs time, & then in A litle time after his comeing out, went to Supper, & after Mother was not at Supper wth them, though at other times shee usially used, neither was Shee sent for as at other times, ye Reason was, there being Mackrill to Supper, was A dyet Shee did not like because it used, as Shee sayd, to make her very dry. The Examinee also saith, yt it was formerly usiall for some of them to be in the roome wth their Gran-Mother in the night times, but was not yt night. He alsoe saith, yt wⁿ they went into ye roome, Shee lay on her Left side, wth her Head towards ye fire. And further saith, yt part of ye Curtin & Valants about ye Bedstead was Burnt, but wⁿ they went in, ye fire about the Bedsted was quite out.

Taken upon Oath.

Stephen, Edward, & John Cornell, ye Sons of Mr Tho~ Cornell, being Examined wt they know Concerneing ye Death of their Gran-Mother Mrs Rebeca Cornell. They all being severally Examined, sayd they know not how shee came to Her death, & alsoe said, their ffather was ye Last Person they know of, yt was wth their Gran-Mothr. They further said, that none of them were yt night



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wth their Gran-Mother, as at other times they use to be.]

Taken before

John Cranston Dept Govr

ffrancis Brinley Assistt

John Easton Assistt

Joshua Coggeshall Assistt

Mary Cornell wife to John Cornell of Plymouth Colony in New-England, Aged 28 yeares or thereabouts, Apeared before mee ye 3d Day March 1672-73 & upon Her sollemn Engagmt, declareth as followeth. That about 3 or 4 yeares past, shee this Depont, being at her Mothr in Laws House Mrs Rebeca Cornell of Portsmth on Rhod-Island, Widdow, & now dead, or Deceast. This Depont saith that her Mother in Law Mrs Rebeca Cornell, haveing beene in Her Orchard, returneing into ye House, tould this Depont, yt shee had beene run[n]ing after Piggs, & said shee being weake, & had noe help, & shee being disregarded, shee thought to have stabd A Pen-knife in her Heart, yt shee had in her hand, & then shee should be ridd of Her Trouble. But it came in her minde, Resist ye Devill who will [illegible] shee sd shee was well satisfied, & further saith not. Taken upon Oath ye [illegible] March 1672/73 before [illegible].

George Soule Aged 34 yeares or thereabouts being Engaged, saith yt he being at Mr Tho~ Cornells House on Rhod-Island ye same day Mathew Allins House was Burned in the Winter, last, and this Deponant speaking wth Mrs Rebeca Cornell, shee said shee would goe live wth her son Samuell ye next spring. This Depont urging her yt shee was better where shee was; shee said yt A differance was arisen between her & her son Thomas, about rent. This depont sayd shee spoke unadvisedly to say shee would remove. Shee Replied: wt doth this tend too. Shee said he would have the Hundred Pound bond out of her hand. And this Deponant saith, shee said shee would goe live wth her son in the spring, if shee was not otherwise disposed of, or made away. and further this depont saith not. Taken this first day of March 1672/3.

This Depont further saith he Judged Mrs Rebeca Cornell to Be in a Passion.

Nich Easton Govr

Richd Smith Assistant

Mary ye wife of Mr John Almy of ye Towne of [Portsmouth](#) Aged Thirty three yeares or thereabouts, being According to Law Engaged & Sworne, Deposeth & Testifieth yt shee hath severall times observed an Undutyfull-ness in Tho~ Cornell towards his Mother Mrs Rebeca Cornell, & saith yt shee hath severall times spoke of it to others. And further saith, yt ye sayd Mrs Rebeca Cornell told this Depont yt shee was much neglected, & yt shee was forced in ye Winter season, in ye cold wether to goe to her Bed unmade, & unwarmed, & was therefore forced to procure some woollin Cloth to wrapp her selfe in, before shee went to her could bedd. And alsoe ye sd Mrs Rebeca Cornell, told this depont,



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yt if shee could not Eate as all ye foalkes of ye House could, & at their times of Eateing, shee must fast, for there was nothing brought in for Her to Eate; ffurther this Depont testifieth, yt Anthony Shaws wife of [Portsmouth](#) (since ye aforesayd Tho Cornell was Imprisened) told this Depont, yt Tho Cornells Wife coming to ye prison to her Husband, they Desired some time of Privacy, & soe went together into A Private roome, & whilst they were together, ye sd Tho~ Cornell and his Wife had those Expretions each to other, yt if you will keepe my Councill I will keepe yors, & soe they spake each together, & then ye Dore of ye roome in which they were was opened.

Taken before ye Dept Govr & part of ye Genll Councill. ye 11th of Aprill. 1673.

John Sanford, Secretary.

Elizabeth ye wife of Hugh Persons of ye Towne of [Portsmouth](#), Aged sixty yeares or thereabouts being According to ye Law Engaged, & sworne, Deposeth, & Testifieth yt shee being wth Goodwife Earle, desired to lay forth ye Body of the Deceased Mrs Rebeca Cornell, they on ye Sabath Day towards night, Accordingly layd forth the Body of the sd Deceased, & saith yt then there was noe Apeareance of Blood about ye Corps, but comeing thether on ye Munday there had beene in the roome where ye Corps lay, Thomas Cornell wth Wm. Hall to measure ye Corps for ye makeing A Coffin to interr Her in, & some saying ye corps did purge, this depont went to see whether ye corps did purge or not, & found yt ye corps did not purge, onely saw yt shee had bled fresh Blood at ye Nose; and ffurther saith not.

Taken before ye Dept Govr & part of ye Genrll Councill, the 11th day of Aprill 1673.

John Sanford Secretary

Hugh Persons of ye Towne of [Portsmouth](#) Aged 60 yeares, or thereabouts, being According to Law Engaged & sworne: Deposeth & Testifieth that yt night Mrs Rebeca Cornell lost Her Life, this Depont comeing to ye House: went in to ye Roome where shee lay, & Mr Coggeshall goeing in before this Depont, Emediately Mr Coggeshall went to ye outward Doore opening to ye Southward, to see whether it were fast bolted. And this depont heard Mr Coggeshall say yt Doore was fast Bolted. And further this Depont saith, yt upon ye hearth there was burnt sinders lay in A traine, & almost covered ye floare in such A manner as if shee had beene drawne thether.

Taken before ye Dept Govr and part of ye Genll Councill the 11th Day of April 1673.

John Sanford Secretary

Joane Coggeshall ye wife of Joshua Coggeshall aged about 38 yeares being Engaged According to Law, affirmeth yt being at the Widdow Cornells House about A yeare & halfe since; as neere as shee can Remember; shee ye sd Cornell Complained to Her, yt Her son Tho Cornell, carryed himselfe very unkindely to Her, detaineing Her Rent from Her, and would pay Her none, & was soe



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High & soe Crose, yt shee durst hardly speake to hime; & yt shee intended to gett men to speake to hime aboute it, & did nominate Wm Baulston, John Easton & Walter Clarke; & further sayd, yt her son Tho~ Cornell told her, Her name did stinke about ye Island, or Country, And shee ye sd Widdow Cornell, desired Her yt shee would not speake of wt shee told Her, for shee should live A sadd life, wth Her sd son, if he should heare of it.

Taken this 14th of Aprill 1673, before us.

John Cranston Dept Govr

Richd Smith, Assist

Francis Brinley Assist.~

John Easton Assist.~

Patience Coggeshall ye Wife of John Coggeshall, aged about 33 years, being Engaged According to Law, afirmeth, yt shee and Her Sister Wait Gould, & her Sister Joan Coggeshall, being with ye Widdow Rebeca Cornell about 2 1/2 yeares since, in Her orchard under a Damzen Tree; shee related to ym ye sad Condition of Life shee lived wth her son Tho~ Cornell, wch shee declared wth much weeping, & sayd, yt he would not keepe her A mayd, though he was Engaged to it, as to find her Diett, & yt her son Thomas & his wife, yt now is, were very cross to her; & this depont asked Her how ye children carryed ymselves towards her, shee replied; how could they carry it kindly to Her wn their ffather was soe cross; & yt shee was afraid there would be mischief don, Her Daughter in Law was of such a Desperate Spirit, for not long since, sayd shee, shee ran after one of ye Children of his ffirst Wife, wth an Axe, into Her House; but shee prevented Her strikeing ye child; & yt shee did not live wth any of her other children, because shee had made over her Estate to Her Son Thomas; & yt if shee had thought her son Thomas first Wife would have dyed before Her, shee would not have made it over to hime.

Waite Gould being Engaged According to Law, affirmeth to ye truth of ye Premises.

Taken this 14th of Aprill 1673, before us.

John Cranston Dept Govr

Richd Smith, Assist

Francis Brinley Assistt.

John Easton Assistt.

Nicholas Wild of Newpt aged 73 yeares or thereabouts, being According to Law Engaged, & Deposed, Testifieth yt about a yeare agoe Mrs Rebeca Cornell came to this Deponts House, & there Complained of Her son Thomas Cornell; yt he was [torn] Agreemt to pay her yearely (as neere as this Depont Remembers Shee sayd) Six pound a yeare, & Diet for A maide Servant, wch shee sayd he refused to pay, & did wth hold it; & further shee sayd, yt he tould Her, if shee would release hime of yt Hundred Pound he was Engaged to pay her, yn he would pay ye six pound A yeare, & A Maide should have her Diet, as was Promised. ffurther ye sd Mrs



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Cornell told this Depont, yt her son Told her he must Build, & required ye Hundred pound toward it, but shee sayd shee could not, unless she should wrong her other Children, for shee thought he had Enough; shee alsoe told this depont, yt her son told her shee must pay ye Rates; Shee alsoe sayd, yt shee hath been forced to goe out in ye snow for Wood, & hath falne wth ye Wood under Her, when they have beene in ye House & saw it all, wch shee sayd was such A griefe & Trouble to her, yt shee hath beene afraide of being Provoaked, & hath prayed to ye Lord agat it; & ffurther shee sayd yt Her son Thomas told Her, yt if shee would forgive ye Hundred pound he would yn pay ye Rent, alow Diet for A Maide for Her, & pay ye rates, & this shee Declared, wth great griefe & Trouble of Spirit, wth weepeing Teares.

Taken before ye Dept Govr & part of ye Genll Councill ye 14th of Aprill 1673.

John Sanford Secretary.

Sarah ye wife of Nicholas Wilde Aged 61 yeares or thereabouts, being According to Law Engaged & deposed, testifieth to ye Truth of all yt is above Testified by Her Husband. And further testifieth, yt Mrs Rebeca Cornell told this depont yt Her Son Thomas, one time being Angry wth her, lookt very firce upon Her, & nasht, or sett his Teeth at her, & sayd shee had beene A Cruell Mother to hime. She told hime shee had not beene cruell, but A [torn] & sayd his Carrige & Expressions therein was A great Trouble, or Terror to Her. This depont askt Mrs Cornell how shee was able to beare such Afflictions. Shee answered yt shee should not be Able to beare it, but yt God did support her, & in Her griefe shee had Scriptures come into Her mind yt did much quiet her.

Taken before ye Dept Govr & part of the Genll Councill ye 14th of Aprill 1673.

John Sanford Secretary

The Deposition of Rebeca Woollsey is yt wn shee was last at Rhod-Island with Her Mother Mrs Rebeca Cornell falling in discourse one with Another, the Deponts Mother tould her Daughtour Woollsey that shee looked very poorly and the Depont told her Mother shee had cause soe to doe; her mother did Aske her why; the Depont told her Mother, yt shee had, had the smal pox, and yt shee was very much Afflicted and Troubled in mind, and yt shee was sometimes Perswaded to Drowne her selfe, and sometimes to stabb her selfe. Soe the Deponts Mother told her Daughter that shee must pray to God, and he would helpe Her. The Depont told Her Mother, shee did often call upon God, and he did here her, soe wn the Depont had done with this Discorce, the Deponants Mother told her Daughter that shee had beene divers yeares possest with an evill spirit, and that shee was divers times Perswaded to make away with Her selfe, and yett the Lord was pleased from time to time to preserve her. The Depont told her Mother, that shee would tell her Brother Thomas of it, and her Mother charged her not to tell hime, soe shee did not tell hime: And further sayes not.



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ffloshin 10 Aprill 1673 – This Testimony taken before me

Robert Coe Justice of Peace

John Pearce of the Towne of [Portsmouth](#) Aged 41 yeares or thereabouts being According to Law Engaged, Testifieth, that since the Decease of Mrs Rebeca Cornell, this Deponent being at the house of [torn - Wm ?] Wood, there was Thomas Cornell, and his Wife, and Thomas Cornell sayd, that his Mother in her life time had A desire to have A good fire, and further sayd, that he thought God had answered her ends, for now shee had it.

Taken the 7th of May 1673 (in the morneing) before me.

Joshua Coggeshall Assistant.

Lifft Joseph Torrey of Newport being According to Law Engaged, Testifieth, That on ye Day the Corroners Inquest satt upon the Corps of Mrs Rebeca Cornell deceased (on the second inquiry) comeing to the House of Thomas Cornell, and Inquireing whether the outmost dore were shutt, of the sayd Mrs Cornells Roome that night shee Dyed, Mr Thomas Cornell made Answer, that the dore was not Lockt, neither was there ever any Lock upon the Dore, but sayd he, the Dore was fastned with A Barr upon the Latch, and showed this depont in what man[n]er it was.

Taken the 16th of May 1673 in Court As Attests John Sanford Recordr

Mr. Phillip Eds of Newport being According to Law Engaged, Testifieth to the truth of what is above Testified by Lifft Joseph Torrey.

Taken in Court, ye 16th of May 1673. As Attests John Sanford Recordr

I Present and Indict Thomas Cornell of [Portsmouth](#) now Prisoner in his Majties Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Senr. That against the feare of God, the Honour of our Sovereigne Lord the Kinge, and the Law and peace of this Colony, on the Evening of the 8th Day of Febry in the 25th yeare of the Reigne of his Majtie Charles the Second Annoque Domin. 1672. The sayd Thomas Cornell did violently Kill his Mother, Rebeca Cornell, Widdow, or was ayding or Abetting thereto, in the Dwelling House of his sayd Mother in the foresayd towne of Portsmouth, which act of his is Murder, and is against the Honole Crowne and Dignety of his Majesty the Laws and peace of this Colony.

Dated at A Genll Court of Tryalls held ye 12th May 1673

John Easton Genll Atorney.

Passed by leave of ye Court to ye Grand Jury As Attests John Sanford Recor.

Grand Jury returne [blotted] Bill. Petty Jurys returne. Guilty.

Whereas you Thomas Cornell have beene in this Court, Indicted, and Charged for Murdering your Mother Mrs Rebeca Cornell Widdow, and you being by your Peers the Jurry found Guilty, Know, and to that end, prepare your selfe, that you are by this Court



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sentenced to be carryed from hence to the Common Goale, and from thence on ffryday next which will be the 23th Day of this instant month May, about one of the Clocke, to be carryed from the sayd Goale to the place of Execution, the Gallows, and there to be Hanged by ye neck untill you are Dead Dead.—

June: Hey for the good old days! The Reverend Thomas Olney, Jr., the pastor of the 1st [Baptist](#) Church in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) and a local politician, decried the new [Quaker](#) willingness to hold office in government, pointing out that “There was none of this in old time” — before Friend [George Fox](#) had arrived on the colonial scene and had recommended it.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 13, Sunday: The General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#) allowed exemption from military service on the basis of conscience (during WWI and WWII, however, the state of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation’s citizens would be imprisoned by the US federal government, on the basis of conscience):

Noe person nor persons (within this Collony), that is or hereafter shall be persuaded in his or their Conscience, or Consciences (and by him or them declared) that he nor they cannot nor ought not to trayne, to learne to fight, nor to war, nor kill any person nor persons ... shall at any time be Compelled against his or their Judgment and Conscience to trayne, arme, or fight, to kill any person ... at the command of any officer of this Collony, civil or military ... nor shall suffer any punishment, fine, distraint, pennalty, nor imprisonment....

MILITARY CONSCRIPTION

The exemption from military activity on the basis of conscience extended even to such quasi-military activities as standing unarmed watch in order to give alarm. Those whose consciences would not allow this could not be compelled to stand watch. Instead, they could be compelled only to come to the aid of other noncombatants:

Such said persons who cannot fight nor destroy men it beinge against their Conscience, and is not against their Conscience to doe and perform civill service to the Collony though not martill service, and can preserve (so farr as in them lies) lives, goods and cattell ... then it shall be lawful for the civill officers ... to require such said persons ... to conduct or convey [noncombatants in need of assistance] out of the danger.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

An act for y^e Better Regulating y^e Militia & for Punishing offend^{ers} as Shall not Conform to y^e Laws there unto Relating

Bee it Encted by y^e hon^{ble} y^e Gouer^{er} Councill & house of Representatives in this P^{re}sent Sefsions assembled & by y^e Authority thereof it is hereby Enacted y^t aft^r y^e Publication of this Act y^t if any p^{er}son or persons Listed Und^r y^e Co^mmand of any Cap^t or Commad^{er} in Cheif of y^e Militia Shall or do not appear Compleat in armes (Vizth) wth A Good & Sufficient muskett or Fuze a Sword or Bayenet, Catooch box or Bandelers wth twelve Bulets fitt for his Peice half a Pound of Powder & Six good Flints Upon y^e Precise Training Days already p^{re}fixt as well as when there Rspective Cap^{ts} or Co^mmand^{ers} in Cheif Shall call them Togeather Either by Allarum or any oth^{er} time or times as Shall by their s^d Command^{ers} be thought fitt & Expedient for his maj^{ties} Interest During y^e Times of Warr & if any p^{er}son or p^{er}sons Listed &c Shall neglect their Respective Dutys & due Obedience & not appear in Manner Afores^d Shall forfeit for Each neglect on y^e Days Appointed for Training or Oth^{er} Meetings in Armes y^e Sum of Thre Shillings in money wth y^e Due Fees Arifing thereon & for non Appearance or neglect on any Larum y^e Sum of five Shilling wth y^e Due Fees Arifeing thereon to be taken by Diftraint or otherwise as y^e fines for non apperance on y^e Training Days are to be Taken

.....


[92] *And Bee it Further Enacted*
That y^e Respective Cap^t & Co^mission officers of Each Respective Company or Train band in this Colony have full Pow^{er} & authority during y^e time of their being in Armes on y^e training Days or on Allarums or Upon any oth^{er} occasion w^hsoev^{er} to Punish any Private Sentinall y^t Shall Misbehaue him self wth Laying him Neck & Heels or Riding y^e wooden horse or A fine not Exceeding fore Shillings at y^e Diferefsion of s^d Commision Officers notwthstanding y^e Afore recited Acts Relateing y^e militia it Shall be in y^e pow^{er} & Authority of y^e Cap^t & Co^mission officers of Each Respective train Bands in this Colony if any P^{er}sons as they Shall Iudg realy Conscientious being wthin their list & y^t they Cannot bare arm's in y^e Times of Allarums &c y^t if y^e s^d p^{er}sons being So Conscientious be any ways Serviceable in making Discoverys or Riding upon any Expedition or any thing Elce y^t may be Iudged Conuenient for y^e Preferuation of his maj^{estys} Interest y^t it Shall be then in y^e Pow^{er} of s^d Cap^{ts} or Co^mission officers as afores^d to remit y^e fine or fines Impofed for their not appearing in Arms accord- ing to y^e Afore p^{re}mifed Act

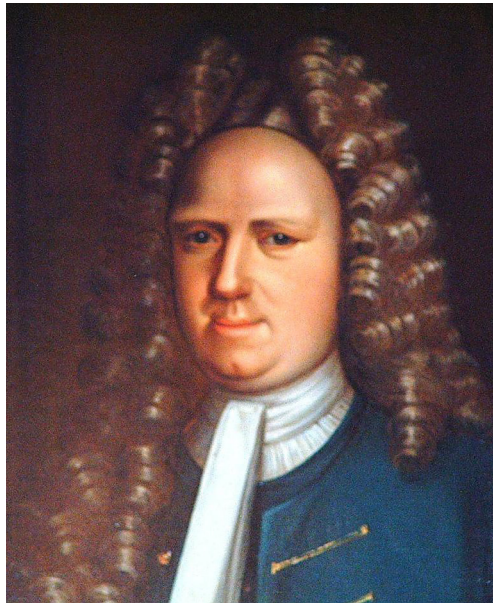


RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

1674

 After having for many years been withdrawn from public affairs, and after having become a [Quaker](#), in his old age, [Friend William Coddington](#) became the governor of [Rhode Island](#). He wrote the tract “Demonstration of True Love.”



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

➡ As part of the Treaty of Westminster, the Dutch returned Nieuw-Amsterdam to the English. Edmund Andros, the new English governor over the colonies of New-York and New Jersey, restored Governor for Life [Thomas](#)



[Mayhew](#)'s unconditional authority over [Martha's Vineyard](#) and [Nantucket Island](#). The Governor for Life promptly fined or punished many of his more prominent critics, and many left the islands. Governor Mayhew's "reign" was not to end until he died on March 25th, 1682. His grandson, Matthew, would have learned the lesson well, and would get himself appointed "Chief Magistrate" — a position in which he would be able to exercise nearly as total an authority as had his grandfather, but without nearly so great a hassle.

Edmund Andros

1675

[Friend Walter Clarke](#) was appointed deputy governor of [Rhode Island](#).

The 1st windmill to be constructed in [Rhode Island](#), the one that had been erected in 1663 at [Newport](#) by Governor Easton and his sons, in this year was blown down.⁶²

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

62. That touristy-famous mysterious stone tower, the one that, supposedly, Northmen erected? It presumably was something that Governor Benedict Arnold attempted after this initial windmill blew down!

RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

The [Rhode Island](#) Assembly agreed to the appointment of a major of militia “to be chief captain of all the colony forces.” The commission for this officer, signed by the governor, [Friend William Coddington](#), required this officer “to kill, expulse, expel, take and destroy all and every the enemies of this His Majesty’s colony.”



When the fighting in “King Philip’s War” went badly against the intrusives, there was an argument amongst the Puritans. They began “to enquire of the Lord, what the reason is that he is departed from them, and goes not forth with their armies.” Some divines held that God was displeased with His people for “suffering the Quakers’ meetings among them.” Others worried that, instead, it was their “killing and persecuting of the Quakers, that is the cause of their distress.” The argument was won by those who believed that God was displeased at the tolerance that His people had lately been beginning to show toward the heretics, and was punishing His own for this display of tolerance. Thus it was that the Cart and Whip Act was reinstated:



Friends Thomas and Alice Curwen were traveling through New England as [Quaker](#) missionaries when they learned that the Bay Colony had just enacted a law whereby anyone found at a Quaker meeting for worship was to be jailed. They therefore went directly to the Bay Colony to attend a meeting for worship and be jailed for it, only to discover that said law had not yet been duly proclaimed and was therefore not yet being enforced. They journeyed for awhile in New Hampshire and Maine to kill some time, and then returned again to Massachusetts, attended a Quaker meeting for worship, and were jailed for it. —Two tough dudes!



AN ACCOUNT OF TWO VOYAGES TO NEW-ENGLAND

From the year of the World

to the year of Christ 1673.

... Narragansets-Bay, within which Bay is Rhode-Island a Harbour for the Shunamitish Brethren, as the Saints-Errant, the Quakers who are rather to be esteemed Vagabonds than religious persons, &c.

... Quakers they whip, banish, and hang if they return again. Anabaptists they imprison, fine and weary out.

... There are none that beg in the Countrey, but there be Witches too many, bottle-bellied Witches amongst the Quakers, and others that produce many strange apparations if you will believe report, of a *Shallop* at Sea man'd with women...

BY John Josselyn Gent.

JOHN JOSSELYN'S CHRONOLOGY **JOHN JOSSELYN'S TWO VOYAGES**

NARRAGANSETT BAY
 RHODE ISLAND
 RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
 BAPTISTS
 WITCHES

[William Hall](#) died in [Portsmouth](#), [Rhode Island](#).

In the coming race war in New England, one or two hundred white colonists would be killed and hundreds of outlying pieces of property destroyed from a total white population probably at this point approaching 40,000.⁶³



[The race war which we term King Philip's War was] a war before

RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

television, before film, before photography ... even crude wood engravings were rare and printed books an uncommon commodity. When the English and Algonquian peoples of seventeenth-century New England went to war in 1675, they devastated one another. In proportion to population, their short, vicious war inflicted greater casualties than any other war in American history. Yet a single image of the fighting survives: half a dozen tiny, crouching figures shooting at one another along the creases of John Seller's map of New England printed in an English atlas in 1675. It tells us precious little... [N]ot even Christian Indians loyal to the English were spared; in the fall of 1675 most were removed from their towns and imprisoned on barren islands, where many died of cold or hunger during the long winter. Always brutal and everywhere fierce, King Philip's War, as it came to be called, proved to be not only the most fatal war in all of American history but also one of the most merciless.



Actually, to speak very coldbloodedly about the matter, the statistics indicate that merely one person out of every 400 would die at best and one person out of every 200 would die at worst, and such statistics compare nicely with today's death rate due to peacetime automotive accidents! (A comparison statistic would be that four children die by having a heavy TV set fall on them in their home –perhaps while they are being thrilled by a videotape of “Jaws”– for every child that dies of a shark attack while swimming at the beach.) Face it, the genocide would turn out to be a really good deal from the standpoint of the white intrusives, despite what has been written about how “disastrous” [“King Phillip’s War”](#) had been. In fact, if you believe that such population simplifications can solve problems (I happen not to believe this, myself), then this amounted to minimal losses with maximal gains.

63. The total native American population of which they professed to be so fearful, including women and children, probably numbered at this point fewer than 20,000, and a very significant percentage of this native population was Christian or friendly or allied rather than in any way hostile.

ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

"The Whites, by law of conquest, by justice of civilization, are masters of the American continent, and the best safety of the frontier settlers will be secured by the total annihilation of the few remaining Indians."

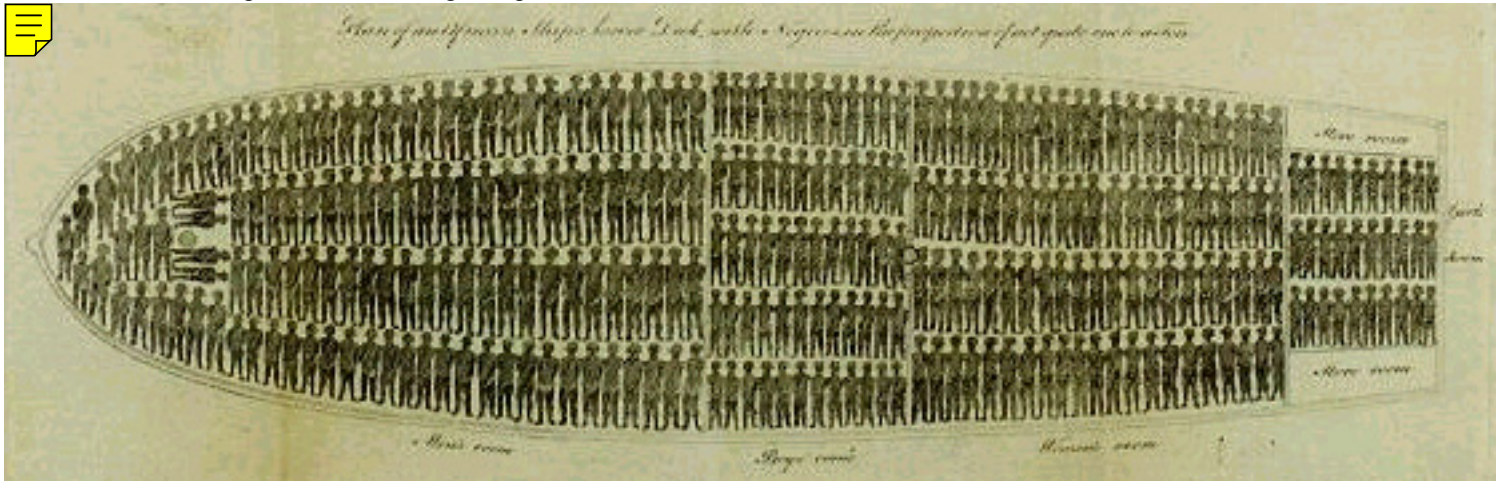
— L. Frank Baum, author of the Oz books



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

The intrusive culture had reached critical mass and the native culture of the *Wampanoag* and *Narragansett*, with their “Welcome, Englishman, Welcome, Englishman,” and with their “What cheer, nehtop,” was at this point doomed to be virtually extinguished. Previously, they had been the white man’s valued allies against the Pequots, but the fact was, the English were white and delightful and these people were red and unenlightened. Uncounted thousands of the red previous allies would be offed outright and then the remnants would become available to be sold into the *international slave trade* for foreign life slavery for approximately £3 per head after being transported in a vessel somewhat like this one, the *Brooke*:



Or, if young enough and congenial enough, they might avoid all this by being resituated into domestic indentured service to white families, or exiled to tribes farther toward the wilderness of the interior.

[Below appears the rotting hulk of the slave ship *Jem*, as of the Year of Our Lord 1891 at Fort Adams near [Newport](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#).]

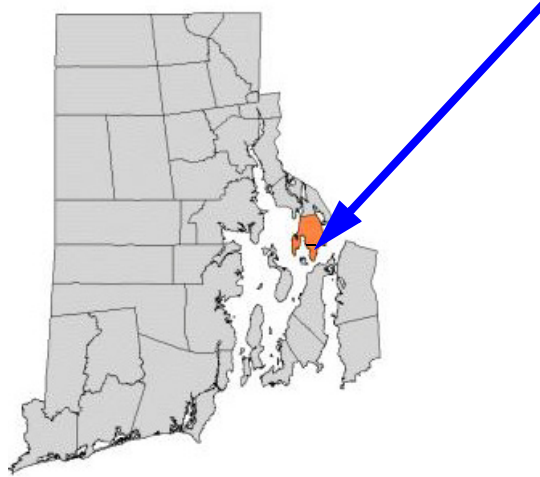




ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

By this point in time the promontory known as [Mount Hope](#) in the bay of [Rhode Island](#) was amounting merely to a little strip of de facto reservation land, approximately two miles wide and six long. The whites of [Swansea](#) had even erected “a very substantial fence quite across the great neck,” Bristol Neck, which was virtually preventing land access by the [Narragansett](#) to their little peninsula between Narragansett Bay and Mount Hope bay.





RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND



AS THE SITUATION WOULD BE REPORTED IN

The Present State of New-England

with respect to the Indian War.

The place where this King *Philip* doth dwell, is on a parcel of Land, called in *Engliffh*, *Mount-Hope*, about twelve Miles long, and judged to be the beft Land in *New England* : And it was about thirty five Miles off of this Place to the Northward, that the firft *Engliffh* that ever came there, Landed ; and by degrees built Houfes, and called the name of the place *New-Plimouth*, (becaufe *Plimouth* in *Old England* was the laft place they were at there).

[hearsay offered by a Merchant of Bofton]

After the coming race war Captain Nathaniel Reynolds, ancestor of the [Concord](#) reverend who would officiate at [Henry Thoreau](#)'s funeral, would be taking possession of this one last little strip, renaming it [Bristol](#)

An attempt was made to separate the friendly Christian Indians from the wild savages, and some were brought in to Deer Island in Boston harbor. Others [primarily women and young children, and excluding any males of warrior age] were brought to [Concord](#) and entrusted to [John Hoar](#), who built a workshop and stockade for them next to his own house, which is now known as Orchard House. This caused a furor in Concord. Many considered the Christian Indians just spies and informers. The town defenses were in a precarious state [due to the fact that many of the white men were away, fighting in the race war].





ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

As you might imagine, the sachem *Metacom*'s take on the situation differed considerably from the attitude of the English in Plymouth and Boston.



**There are no authentic
period depictions of
this person.**



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

Here I think that the attitude expressed by the amateur historian Reverend [Grindall Reynolds](#) of [Concord](#) is considerably more accurate and cogent than the attitude expressed by any of the professional historians of this



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

period:




Read Philip's pathetic story recorded in Arnold's history [Arnold's RHODE ISLAND, Volume I, page 394] and you will know how it looked to the conquered. Said he to John Borden of Rhode Island:-

"The English who came to this country were but a handful of people, forlorn, poor, and distressed. My father was then Sachem. He relieved their distresses. He gave them land to build and plant upon. He did all in his power to serve them. Their numbers rapidly increased. My father's counsellors became uneasy and alarmed. They advised him to destroy them before they should become too strong. But my father was also the father of the English. His advice prevailed. It was then concluded to give victuals to the English. Experience had taught that the fears of my father's counsellors were right. By various means they got possessed of a great part of his territory. My elder brother became Sachem. They pretended to suspect him of evil designs. He was seized and confined, and thrown into sickness and died. After I became Sachem they disarmed all my people. They tried them by their own laws, assessed damages which they could not pay, and their land was taken. Thus tract after tract is gone. But a small part of the dominion of my ancestors remains. **I am determined not to live till I have no country.**"

So it is evident that life and death grapple, called King Philip's War, had to come. I am with those who doubt the accepted theory about it. Our fathers excited by natural, and for the most part well founded fears, exaggerated both the capacity and plans of Philip. They believed that he had formed a gigantic Indian Confederacy. This theory rested on slender foundations. The King Philip of the annals is certainly a creature of the imagination. The real Philip had not head enough to plan such a confederacy, nor courage enough to carry it into effect. His commanding influence, if he ever had any, began with the attack on Swanzey and closed with his flight to the Nipmucks. From that moment as a great figure he disappears. Indeed, if we suppose the affair at Swanzey to be the culmination of years of plotting, what further proof of Philip's weakness is needed? There was no preparation whatever for defense. A few hundred hasty levies in forty-eight hours swept his tribe out of existence. There is very slight evidence that he was in command at any of the later undertakings. He certainly fled for a time to the Mohawks. Had not a certain Nemesis brought him back to die on his own hearthstone, and so lent pathos to life's close, he might almost have been forgotten.

RHODE ISLAND

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Mary McCarthy, writing in 1946,  would term Hiroshima “a hole in human history.”

There is such a hole in human history, it would seem, at every point at which an atrocity has been committed by some group which then “won.” For instance, the hole in [Concord](#) history which resulted from the racial mass murder on Mount Misery at the watershed of Walden Pond as of the Massachusetts race war in 1675-1676, and the hole in human history which would result from the use of the Christian Dakota as hostages during the race war of 1863.

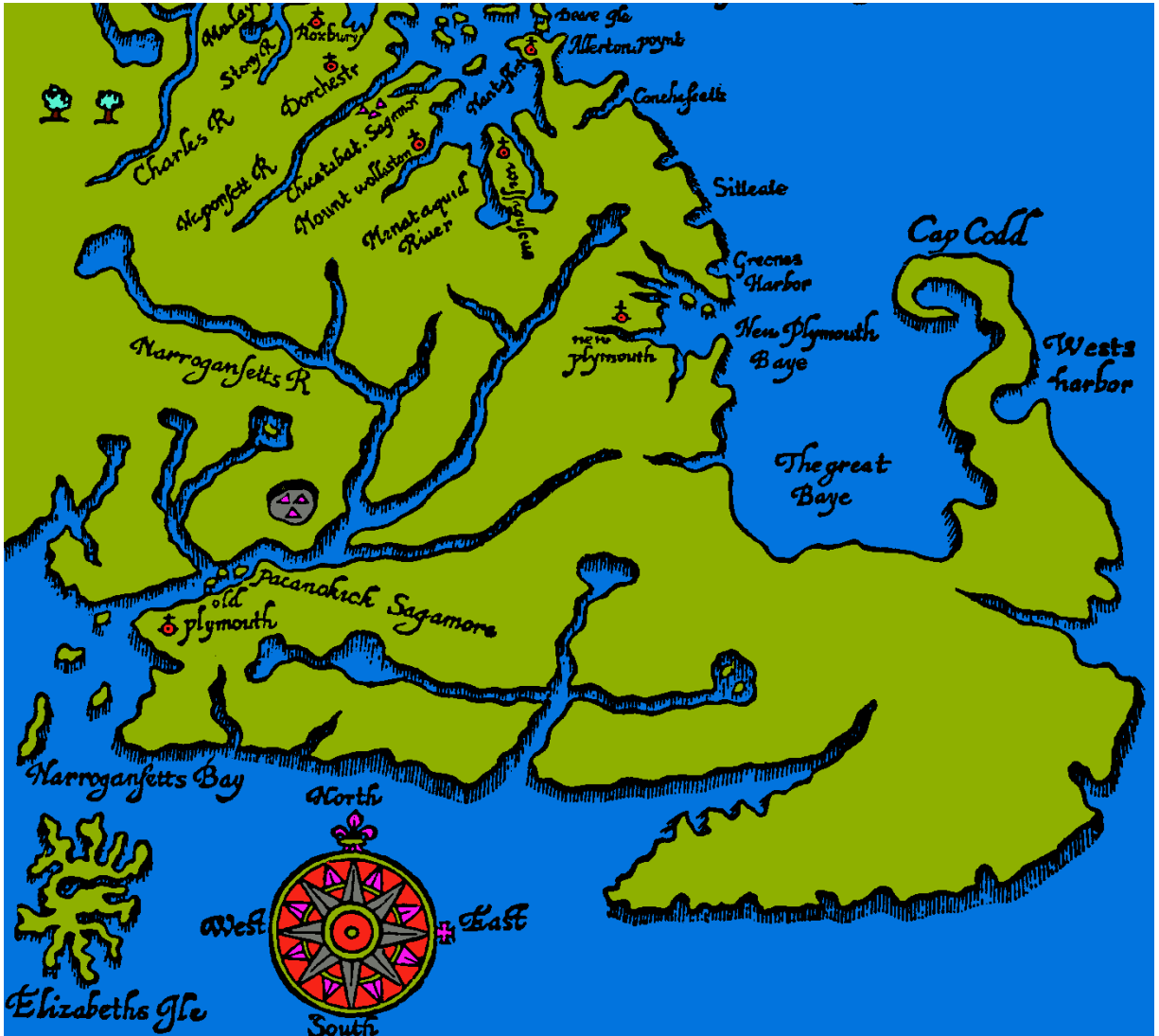


Writing thirty years after the fact of [Hiroshima](#) and [Nagasaki](#), Ralph Lapp, who had worked on the [A-bomb](#), would ask “If the memory of things is to deter, where is that memory?” He would add that “Hiroshima has been taken out of the American conscience, eviscerated, extirpated.”

With much of their territory sold or “mortgaged,” the sachems of the [Narragansett](#) became embroiled in the conflict that was intensifying between the English of Plymouth Colony and the [Wampanoag](#) sachem [Metacom](#) of [Mount Hope](#). However, when the United Colonies demanded Wampanoag women and children as hostages, they attempted to refuse.

ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND





RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

The following is the manner in which this sad history of hostaging is reflected in [Henry Thoreau's A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#):

[Daniel Gookin](#), who, in his Epistle Dedicatory to Robert Boyle, apologizes for presenting his

matter clothed in a wilderness dress,

says that on the breaking out of Philip's war in 1675, there were taken up by the Christian Indians and the English in Marlborough, and sent to Cambridge, seven

Indians belonging to Narragansett, Long Island, and Pequod, who had all been at work about seven weeks with one Mr. Jonathan Tyng, of Dunstable, upon Merrimack River; and, hearing of the war, they reckoned with their master, and getting their wages, conveyed themselves away without his privity, and, being afraid, marched secretly through the woods, designing to go to their own country.

However, they were released soon after. Such were the hired men in those days.

(Bear in mind, in excuse for [Henry Thoreau](#) here, that he did not have the objective, unbiased, culture-independent historical materials available to him which we wonderful people have made so freely available today. All he had available were such materials as above, which he was able to cite and pay proper attention to despite their subjective, biased, culturally determined nature.)

At some point during this year, Peter Folger's poem "A Looking Glasse for the Times," of which no printed copy has survived, would comment upon the hostilities.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony enacted a special levy of the towns, to pay for the general race war. There were 49 towns. The tax for "Mendham," for instance, was £16 6s. 2d.

The Sephardi Synagogue was erected in Amsterdam. There are some similarities between this structure and the [Touro Synagogue](#) that would be erected in [Newport, Rhode Island](#), and we presume that would be because [Isaac Touro](#) as he was being educated in the Low Countries would have seen this synagogue in Holland, and would have influenced Peter Harrison's design for this new synagogue. (When I asked the tour guide at the Touro Synagogue whether the similarities between the two synagogue structures included a similar trap-door leading to a similar underground space, she didn't know — and I would have supposed, that would have been one of the first questions that anyone dealing with the underground railroad would have asked.)



Having completed Homer's THE ILIADS AND ODYSSES in rhymed English quatrains (Thoreau would access this), Thomas Hobbes removed from London to reside with the Cavendish family at one of their seats in Derbyshire.

CONDUCT OF LIFE: Akin to the benefit of foreign travel, the aesthetic value of railroads is to unite the advantages of town and country life, neither of which we can spare. A man should live in or near a large town, because, let his own genius be what it may, it will repel quite as much of agreeable and valuable talent as it draws, and, in a city, the total attraction of all the citizens is sure to conquer, first or last, every repulsion, and drag the most improbable hermit within its walls some day in the year. In town, he can find the swimming-school, the gymnasium, the dancing-master, the shooting-gallery, opera, theatre, and panorama; the chemist's shop, the museum of natural history; the gallery of fine arts; the national orators, in their turn; foreign travellers, the libraries, and his club. In the country, he can find solitude and reading, manly labor, cheap living, and his old shoes; moors for game, hills for geology, and groves for devotion. Aubrey writes, "I have heard Thomas Hobbes say, that, in the Earl of Devon's house, in Derbyshire, there was a good library and books enough for him, and his lordship stored the library with what books he thought fit to be bought. But the want of good conversation was a very great inconvenience, and, though he conceived he could order his thinking as well as another, yet he found a great defect. In the country, in long time, for want of good conversation, one's understanding and invention contract a moss on them, like an old paling in an orchard."

JOHN AUBREY
THOS. HOBBS

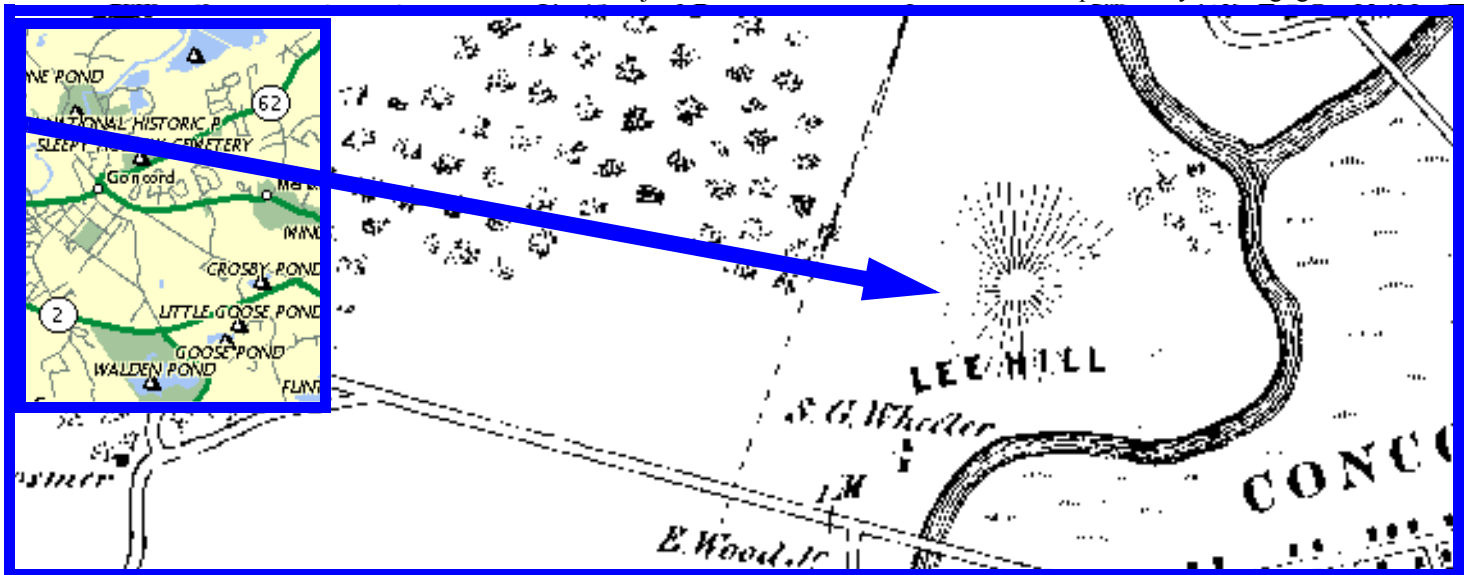
RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

June: News of troubles reached [Concord](#). The [Wampanoag](#), under [Metacom](#) the 2nd son of [Ousamequin](#) Yellow Feather the [Massasoit](#), had killed six Europeans at [Swansea](#) on Narraganset Bay.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

The native villages of “Praying Indians” were [Punkapaog](#), [Natick](#), [Magunkaquoq](#), [Hassanemesit](#), [Nashoba](#), and [Wamesit](#), situated more or less in a half circle around Concord. Their closest village was [Nashobah](#), which was six miles from Concord, on [Nagog Pond](#). The leaders there were [Tahattawan](#), and [Waban](#), and the [Squaw Sachem](#) to whom the armed white men had presented their hostess gifts and from whom the English town of Concord had “purchased,” allegedly, its land. The tribal remnant of the epidemics of 1617 and 1633 had moved from [Nawshawtucl](#) Hill at the junction of the Assabet and the Musketaquid to beyond Nagog.



By 1675, possession and use of firearms was complete. Therefore:



An attempt was made to separate the friendly Christian Indians from the wild savages, and some were brought in to Deer Island in Boston harbor. Others [primarily women and young children, and excluding any males of warrior age] were brought to [Concord](#) and entrusted to [John Hoar](#), who built a workshop and stockade for them next to his own house, which is now known as Orchard House. This caused a furor in Concord. Many considered the Christian Indians just spies and informers. The town defenses were in a precarious state [due to the fact that many of the white men were away, fighting in the race war].



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

The Reverend [John Eliot](#) jotted in his diary that:

When the Indians were hurried away to an island at half an hours warning, pore soules in terror thei left theire goods, books, bibles, only some few caryed thier bibles, the rest were spoyled & lost.

Nearly a mile long and 210 acres in extent, this inner island Deer Island is the 2d-largest in Boston Harbor. Our National Park Service now refers to these detainees of ["King Phillip's War"](#) (a name designating the



blame for its initiation as his rather than ours) as "prisoners" and as "captives," evidently in order to create the false suggestion in the minds of current visitors that these people had been captured hostile warriors rather than what they actually were, the innocent families of the Christian allies of the white people. However, the National Park Service does acknowledge that of the approximately 500 nameless persons whom they denominate "prisoners" and "captives," the few who survived the 1675-1676 winter of exposure and starvation had been subsequently enslaved on the mainland.

RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

Awashonks, the Squaw Sachem of the *Wampanoag* band at Sakonnet, held a dance and invited Benjamin Church, a notable English settler of Little Compton, *Rhode Island* who during the coming genocide would make himself a white hero. When Church arrived at the dance he found six Wampanoag of *Metacom*'s band were attending in their war gear. Awashonks's husband told Church he feared that Metacom's band was preparing itself for a war which it had come to consider inevitable. Church persuaded Awashonks that she needed to remain loyal to the English.



Notice the disparity here. Church, because he was a white man, could show up armed for this meeting (below is his actual rough-and-ready sword, with a grip made out of ash wood and a guard made out of a piece of bent iron by a local blacksmith) and that wasn't warlike and alarming — but when Indian braves attend this meeting



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

in similar attire according to their own culture, because they are not white men that is warlike and alarming.)



January 29, Tuesday: The Reverend John *Sassamon*, or Indian John, either was murdered or fell though the ice of Assawampsett Pond. He had been behaving, prior to his demise, one might say, in a manner to provoke suspicion. This man had been a Christian schoolteacher in *Natick*, known among the whites as a “very cunning and plausible Indian, well skilled in the English Language, and bred up in the Possession of Christian Religion, imployed as a Schoolmaster at Natick, the *Indian* town.” He had, however, defected to become one of *Metacom*’s counselors, and then re-defected and attempted to return to his Christian community of Natick, “where he was baptised, manifested publick Repentance ... and made a serious Profession of Christian Religion.” Not only had this indecisiveness raised the suspicions of the white people, it had caused him to be suspected as a double agent by the Native American government. In fact, just before he had disappeared that winter, he had informed Governor Josiah Winslow that he had come to believe that the sachem *Metacom* now regarded him as having divided loyalties, and that indeed he feared for his life.

Jill Lepore comments on her page 43 that “[I]n some ways, Eliot’s missionary program died with Sassamon.”

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

Although *Rhode Island* colonists would attempt an arbitration between the *Pokanoket* and Plymouth to avoid a race war, Plymouth would resolve to use force to conform Philip.



AS THE SITUATION WOULD BE REPORTED IN

About five or six Years since, there was brought up (amongst others) an *Indian* in the Colledge at *Cambridge*, named *Sofoman*, who after some time he had spent in Preaching the Gospel to *Unkus*, a Sagamore Christian in his Territories, was by the Authority of *New-Plimouth*, sent to Preach in like manner to King *Philip*, and his *Indians* : But King *Philip* (Heathen-like) instead of receiving the Gospel, would immediately have killed this *Sofoman*, but by the persuasion of some about him, did not do it, but sent him by the hands of three of his Men to Prison ; who as he was going to Prison, Exhorted and Taught them in the Christian Religion ; they not liking his Discourse, immediately Murdered him after a most Barbarous manner : They returning to King *Philip*, acquainted him what they had done. About two or three Months after, this Murder being discovered to the Authority of *New-Plimouth*, *Josiah Winslow* being then Governour of that Colony, care was taken to find out the Murderers ; who upon search were found and apprehended, and after a fair Trial were all Hanged. This so Exasperated King *Philip*, that from that day after, he studied to be Revenged on the *English*, judging that the *English* Authority have nothing to do to Hang any of his *Indians* for killing another.

The Present State of New-England,

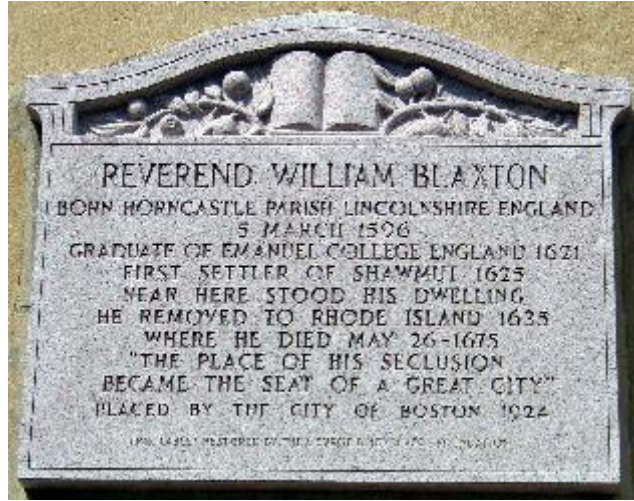
with respect to the Indian War.



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

May 22 or 26: The Reverend [William Blaxton](#), after leaving the Shawmut peninsula in 1634 in favor of [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#), had removed later to [Cumberland](#), and removed later to [Boston](#) again. On this day he died (on Broad Street in Cumberland a granite marker guesstimates the site of the grave). The Blaxton plantation in Providence would soon after be destroyed during the war against headman Phillip.



“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

June 8, Saturday: Three Native Americans were being [hanged](#) one after the other at Plymouth on suspicion of having murdered the Reverend John [Sassamon](#), or Indian John of Harvard.



[L]iterate Indians like John Sassamon, those most likely to record their version of the events of the war, were among its earliest casualties.... Because the acquisition of literacy, and especially English-language literacy, was one of the last steps on the road to assimilation, Indians who could read and write placed themselves in a particularly perilous, if at the same time a powerful, position, caught between two worlds but fully accepted by neither.... Can literacy destroy?.... Can literacy kill?

There was at the very least this proof of their guilt, that one other native had testified against them, and also that when the three suspects had been brought near the corpse of their victim, the corpse had begun again to bleed. And then there would be a last-minute willingness to talk, after a frayed cord had parted while the last one of this trio of suspect natives was hanging and strangling, while the white people were readjusting the noose to try again: this third to leave our stage, Wampapaquan, attempted to save himself by a report in which he implicated, among others, the sachem [Metacom](#). (This would save his life for a week or so and then he would be shot.) The white people felt they had obtained all the evidence they needed.⁶⁴

According to Friend John Easton of [Rhode Island](#), sachem Metacom would list among his reasons for having gone to war that

if 20 of there onest indians testefied that an Englishman had dun them rong, it was as nothing, and if but one of ther worst indians testefied against ani indian or ther king when it plesed the English that was suffitiant.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

64. Having the strangle-cord part in this manner does not seem to have saved this pleading third party’s life, for although they spared him temporarily while his information was being discussed, he was “afterward shott to death within the same month.” But perhaps confession was good for his soul, who can tell?



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

June 11, Tuesday: The women and children of the promontory known as [Mount Hope](#) in the bay of [Rhode Island](#) were taken across the bay for sanctuary in the [Narragansett](#) country. Braves started appearing more frequently in the neighborhood of the smaller outlying hamlets. There was a report that the [Wampanoag](#) near [Swansea](#) ([Swanzy](#)) were under arms.



The English, who were of course under arms, were of course greatly alarmed that any other than themselves would be under arms. Even Quaker adherents of the Peace Testimony were preparing for the coming race war:

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

In 1675, King Philip's War erupted, between native Americans and the English of the United Colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth. A 14-month war of exceptional loss of life, much of it fought on Rhode Island soil....

It is conventional wisdom that the Quaker government participated in the war only with great reluctance and minimal measures. But contradictory evidence modifies this view. While it is clear that large-scale troop mobilisations did not occur ... the Quaker government directed military activities of both an offensive and defensive nature....

At the beginning of the war, in June 1675, the Quaker governor was John Easton, supported by five Quaker assistants and at least four Quaker deputies. All of the men were early and substantial leaders within the Rhode Island meeting. The [Newport Monthly Meetings](#), for example were held at Governor [William Coddington](#)'s house, where indeed George Fox attended [Yearly Meeting](#) in 1672.

The legislative records, noting the "dangerous hurries with the Indians,"⁶⁵ show that the government engaged in mobilising councils of war in the towns, ordering ammunition, mounting "great guns" and transporting Plymouth soldiers.⁶⁶ Quakers were specifically commissioned to oversee watches in Rhode Island, to evaluate whether to fund a garrison in Providence, to procure

65. RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND... Volume 2, page 531

66. Friend [Walter Clarke](#)'s letter to the magistrates at Providence, 19th day of 9th month, 1675



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

and manage the deployment of four boats, each with five or six men, and to patrol the waters of Narragansett Bay.⁶⁷ The Assembly appointed a major to command the military forces of the colony, thereby centralizing the war power. Governor Coddington signed the major's commission "to use your utmost endeavor to kill, expulse, expell, take and destroy all and every the enemies of this his Majesty's Collony."⁶⁸ [Meredith Baldwin Weddle, "Early Quaker Peace Testimony," in Mullett's NEW LIGHT ON GEORGE FOX, pages 92-93]

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

67. RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND...Volume 2, pages 531-537, passim

68. RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND...Volume 2, page 538



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

June 14, Friday-25, Tuesday: Convinced as they were that an attempt was being made to set up an Indian Confederacy against them in destruction of their hegemony, the authorities of the [Rhode Island](#) plantation, Plymouth colony, and Massachusetts Bay colony attempted to negotiate a continued peace with the Sachem [Metacom](#) of the [Wampanoag](#), and meanwhile sought to obtain fresh guarantees of alliance with the [Nipmuc](#) and the [Narragansett](#) against the Wampanoag, just in case.

Here again however, I suppose the attitude expressed by the amateur historian Reverend [Grindall Reynolds](#) of [Concord](#) to be considerably more accurate and cogent than the attitude expressed by any of the professional historians of this period:



But confederacy is a large term to apply to such desperate struggles. In fact there was no simultaneousness in the outbreak. It began in June with the raid on Swanzeay. The Nipmucks rose in July ; the tribes along the Connecticut River in August ; those of New Hampshire and Maine in September and October. The Narragansetts never rose at all ; but were attacked and destroyed in mid-winter, because they did not deliver up fugitives ; and because their loyalty was suspected ; – and, as it would seem from the testimony of the Indian spy employed by the English, unjustly.

One of the deep-seated originary reasons for the “[King Phillip’s War](#)” was that in the vicinity of what is now [Warren, Rhode Island](#), which at that time was being referred to as Sowams, the Europeans had begun to farm on rich fields at the margin of the Narragansett Bay, fields which had previously been planted every year by native Americans. Tribal law had been first come first serve: who-ever was able to plant where-ever. But these white people had developed the idea that if they planted someplace one season, the next season when they went there, nobody else better be planting on **their land**. “What’s mine is mine (what’s yours is mine, too).”



Short of war, the native American culture simply had no mechanism for dealing with such greediness.



“As the star of the Indian descended,
that of the Puritans rose ever higher.”
– Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, *THE CHARLES*,





RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

June 17, Monday: On this day Friend John Easton, a high government official of the [Rhode Island](#) Plantation who was also something of a mediator, this [Quaker](#) who only a few years before had had personal interaction with Friend [George Fox](#) during his visit to the New World, decided to try to prevent the coming race war in a traditional Quaker way “by removing the occasion for it.” He and four other unarmed white men rowed across Narragansett Bay to [Metacom](#)’s ceremonial center on the [Mount Hope](#) promontory, and walked up the path to the top of the hill. Metacom had put aside his arms although the approximately 40 other warriors who were present did not, and so they all sat around talking about how to arrange a conciliation of grievances by agreed impartial third parties, red and white. As Easton later reconstructed the conversation:⁶⁹



*We sat veri friendly together. We told him our bisness was to indever that they might not receve or do rong. ... We told them that our desire was that the quarrel might be rightly decided in the best way, not as dogs decide their quarrels. ... [The Native Americans] owned that fighting was the worst way, but they inquired how right might take place without fighting. **We said by arbitration.** They said that by arbitration the English agreed against them, and so by arbitration they had much rong. ... We said they might chuse a Indian King and the English might chuse the Governor of New Yorke, that neither had case to say that either wear parties to the difference. They said they had not heard of this way. We were persuaded that if this way had been tendered they would have accepted. ... [[Metacom](#) pointed out that his father the [Massasoit](#),] when the English first came, was a great man and the English as a littill child. He constrained the other Indians from ronging the English, and gave them corn and shewed them how to plant it and was free to do them ani good. ... But their King’s brother [Metacom/[Phillip](#)’s brother “Allexander”], when he was King came miserably to dy, being forced to court, and as they judged poysoned. ... Another Greavance was, if 20 of their onest Indiands testified that an Englishman had dun them rong it was nothing, but if one of their worst Indians testified against any Indian, or their King, when it pleased the English, it was suficiant. ... [The English were so] eager to sell the Indians lickens that most Indians spent all in drynknes and then raved upon the sober Indians! ... I am persuaded of New England Prists they are so blinded by the spirit of Persecution and to maintain their hyer that they have been the case that the law of Nations and the Law of Aremes have been violated in this war. The war would not have been if ther had not bine hyerlings.*

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

According to the Reverend [Grindall Reynolds](#)’s KING PHILIP’S WAR IN HISTORICAL SKETCHES:

69. Hough edition of Deputy-Governor John Easton’s NARRATIVE, pages 7-31 passim.



RHODE ISLAND

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My ancestor, Captain Nathaniel Reynolds, was one of the original settlers, who after the war took possession of Mount Hope, the home of the Wampanoags, and named it [Bristol](#).... The whole of Plymouth County was then [1681] settled, except this territory, which was the only spot left uncovered in the western march of English population.... Of this great tract all they [the [Wampanoag](#)] retained in 1675 was a little strip, called then [Mount Hope](#), scarcely six miles long and two miles wide. The southern line of English possession had been drawn right across Bristol Neck, enclosing, and almost imprisoning, the tribe in a little peninsula, washed on all sides, except the north, by the waters of Narragansett and Mount Hope bays. As if to emphasize this fact, their neighbors, the people of Swanzy [sic], "set up a very substantial fence quite across the great neck."

At this point [Metacom](#) had a little more than a year to live. Before the fall of the next year his wife and son would have been captured for sale into foreign slavery,

My heart breaks; now I am ready to die.



he would have been hunted down and shot in a nearby swamp, his body would have been cut in quarters and hung in a tree there, his withered hand would have been severed and carried around to be displayed as a curiosity in bars, his skull would have been installed for display atop a pole in Salem, and eventually his jawbone would wind up in the personal collection of the Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) (all in all, not a whole lot to

look forward to, I suppose you'd agree).

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



3rd week in June: The English settlers of [Warwick RI](#), [Rhode Island](#) had become alarmed enough at the news of violence to hold a town meeting to discuss how they ought to respond.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

June 23, Sunday: A white boy shot and killed a red native who was looting one of the abandoned [Swansea](#) homes. The trap, if it was a trap, was sprung. The next day after that offing, the escalation would be on its merry way, with one white being offed at Swansea, two being offed at Miles’ Garrison, two being offed at [Rehoboth](#), and six being offed at Mattapoiset.⁷⁰

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

At some point in this timeframe, Friend John Easton would relate, a letter had been received in [Rhode Island](#) from the governor of the Plymouth colony, John Winslow, requesting “our help with sum boats if thay had such ocaation and for us to looke to our selfs.” Captain James Cudworth communicated that the Governor’s intention in making this request was to “Cum upon the indians” by land, down the neck of the [Mount Hope](#) peninsula, and that the Rhode Island boats were “to atend,” blockading the Mount Hope peninsula so that the Wampanoag would not be able to escape the Plymouth troops simply by taking to their canoes. On this day Governor [William Coddington](#) of Rhode Island, a [Quaker](#), agreed to do this: “I intend (God willing) to get our boats and watch the shore to oppose the common enemy, all of us being Englishmen and subjects of our King and proposing to serve one and the same end.” One may infer from this pledge that the Quaker Peace Testimony was not seen as applying to interracial conflicts — that blood was thicker than principle.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

70. The “score” at this point: 8 out of 10 Commandments still operational.

RHODE ISLAND


ROGUE ISLAND



June 28, Friday: Benjamin Batten, a Boston merchant, reported to the Navy Office in London that “thaire was 300 of the English of Plimoth & Road Iland besides our forces which ware just gott up” to the Wampanoag settlement at [Mount Hope](#).

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”
RHODE ISLAND



 June 30, Sunday: Benjamin Batten, Boston merchant, added to his report of the [Rhode Island](#) goings-on to the Navy Office in London that “thay of Road Iland had newly sent a hundred quakers men well apinted with Carnall weapons to fight the Infidells, most of them and Road Iland being such.”

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Some 300 white men had come together at [Swansea](#) and, after having been delayed by storms, on this day they marched onto the [Mount Hope](#) peninsula, only to discover that it had been abandoned (the [Wampanoag](#) had several days before gone into hiding in a swamp in the Pocasset country). The white men withdrew to Swansea where they would content themselves with more or less ineffective patrol duty.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

July 8, Monday: Captain Goulding of [Portsmouth](#) was in his sloop on the bay when he saw that Benjamin Church of Plymouth and 19 other Englishmen had taken refuge behind a rock in a “pease field” at Pocasset, and were being besieged by about 300 natives. He used the canoe of his sloop to pluck the white men out of their great peril two at a time.

A treaty was accomplished between Massachusetts and Connecticut on the one hand, and [Narragansett](#) headmen on the other, in [Rhode Island](#) territory on the west coast of the [Narragansett Bay](#). The Narragansett agreed to look on the [Wampanoag](#) as their enemies and turn them in alive, or deliver their heads to the English. Four of the [Wampanoag](#) were taken to Boston as hostages. In these negotiations, the rights and prerogatives of the Rhode Island whites, and the charter of Rhode Island, were entirely disregarded and ignored. It was as if Rhode Island did not exist. When Thomas Gould ventured to verbalize a suspicion that was being entertained by the governor of Rhode Island, Friend [William Coddington](#), that what the Massachusetts troops intended to do was seize Rhode Island territory and make it part of Massachusetts, he was taken under arrest, and would wind up in Connecticut in prison.

The Bay colony observed another Fast Day or Day of Humiliation as attacks were being staged by the [Wampanoag](#) on Middleborough, and upon Dartmouth, on this day and on the following one.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



August 24, Saturday (24/6M), 1675: A group of [Rhode Island](#) Quakers authored a curious document, a copy of which has recently been recovered from among the papers of Governor John Winthrop, Jr. of Connecticut, in which they were alleging there to be among them some who were falling away from the Peace Testimony by resorting to “**Fighting, Killing Blood-shed Murther with Carnall Weapons.**” Along the way they described what their Peaceable Kingdom of God was supposed to be like — a place “**where Strife, Envy, Pride, Covetousness, are not**”:

Fighting, Killing Blood-shed Murther with Carnall Weapons, rendering Evil for Evil, are not; Revenge, Robbing for Conscience sake; watching with Guns or Swords to kill the Bodys of Men, though Enemies; Offending, or defending with Carnal weapons of whatsortsoever to preserve att Liberty Body or Estate are not.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY


The problem these faithful [Quakers](#) who were authoring this document faced, obviously, was that those influential Quakers of Rhode Island who were endangering them by placing trust in “**Carnall Weapons, in the Kingdom of Contention, & Strife (as Guns Swords &c.) to defend their own, or others Bodys, Lives, or Estates, by threatning to Wound; or kill, or by wounding or killing, the Bodyes of their Enemys,**” so far falling away from this ideal of the Peaceable Kingdom of God, were Quaker officials of the Rhode Island government which was purporting to represent them. These government types who were cooperating in the prosecution of the ongoing race war obviously were greatly endangering these Quaker nonviolencers on their isolated farm homesteads, by creating the sort of hostile environment in which the [Wampanoag](#) and [Narragansett](#) could be expected to become agitated against, and to attack, English in general on the basis of the color of their skin, rather than carefully distinguishing between warlike English and harmless English adherents of the Peace Testimony.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

 October 27, Tuesday: The General Assembly of the colony of [Rhode Island](#) and Providence Plantations met to hear a petition from Captain John Cranston for the “settling” of a “mallicia” that would put the colony “in a Sutable posture of defence.” Most of the representatives who were present were [Quakers](#). They determined to leave all such decisions of war up to the [Newport](#) and [Portsmouth](#) town councils. Anything these councils decided would be deemed “Authentick.”

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

November 12, Tuesday: The Commissioners of the United Colonies notified [Rhode Island](#) that an army would be marching into its territory to attack its [Narragansett](#) allies, who were “fals and perfideouse.” Not only was permission not requested, but Rhode Island was advised that “god calls all the Colloneys to use their utmost indeavers to defend his Majestys intrest and their owne.” The letter fails to explicate in what manner the Commissioners of the United Colonies had been able to get in touch with God.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

December 11, Saturday: The Massachusetts army reached [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#) and joined with the army from Plymouth colony.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”






ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

December 17, Friday: After several days of anxious waiting for the soldiers from the Connecticut colony to join them, the Massachusetts/Plymouth army waiting at Smith's garrison-house at [Wickford, Rhode Island](#) learned that these detachments had been waiting for them at Pettaquamscutt.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

 December 18, Saturday: The army of the United Colonies came together. They bivouacked that night during a bitter snowstorm, in an open field without blankets near [South Kingstown](#).

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

The Reverend [Roger Williams](#) wrote Governor John Winthrop, Jr. that it was necessary to attack the [Narragansett](#) because they were "barbarous men of Blood." He had taken pains to consult with God and had been listening to the "mind and voice of the most high amongst us," and had assured himself that those among the [Quakers](#) who were "contrary" to war were simply mistaken as to God's will.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Near a native stonework known as "Queen's Fort" on the border of Exeter and [North Kingstown](#) in [Rhode Island](#), said to have been the stronghold of sachem Quaipe and her adherents, on this day the native named Peter who would betray the native fort in the Great Swamp Fight was captured by the English.

December 19, Sunday: Samuel Sewall has it in his diary that "Decem. 19. Sabbath day, that formidable engagement at Narraganset, 34 English put in one pit, 3 after"

RHODE ISLAND

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

December 19, Sunday: Forces of the United Colonies assaulted a sanctuary which the [Narragansett](#) tribespeople had set up in order to avoid turning over their wives and children to the whites as hostages, in the "Great Swamp," a swamp in what is now [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#). In an attempt to assimilate this battle to the battle which ended the Pequot War, which had occurred in a swamp near Fairfield on July 13, 1637, both of these battles would come to be referred to as "The Great Swamp Fight." This particular slaughter would excite a rather crude piece of doggerel:

'Tis fear'd a thousand Natives young and old,
Went to a place in their opinion cold.

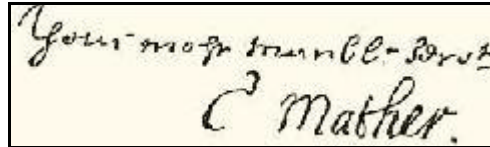
"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



RHODE ISLAND

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The bloody-minded Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) would remember this Great Swamp Fight as the tailgate party at which the [Narragansett](#) tribe had been “Berkew’d,” his spelling. (Get a clue: he was a Puritan and the land had been purified. –What could possibly be offensive about ethnic cleansing?)



It had been at 5 AM that the white soldiers had formed up after their night in the cold snow without blankets, and set out toward this [Narragansett](#) stronghold. They had arrived at the edge of the Great Swamp, an area around [South Kingstown](#), at about 1 PM. The Massachusetts troops in the lead were fired upon by a small band of native Americans and pursued without waiting for orders. As the natives retreated they came along across the frozen swamp to the entrance of the fort, which was on an island of sorts standing above the swamp, and consisted of a triple palisade of logs twelve feet high. There were small blockhouses at intervals above this palisade. Inside, the main village sheltered about 3,000 men, women, and children. The Massachusetts troops had been enticed to arrive at precisely the strongest section of the palisade where, however, there was a gap for which no gate had yet been built. Across this gap the natives had placed a tree trunk breast height, as a barrier to check any charge, and just above the gap was a blockhouse. Without waiting for the Plymouth and Connecticut companies, the Massachusetts soldiers charged the opening and swarmed over the barrier. Five company commanders were killed in the charge but the troops managed to remain for a period inside the fort before falling back into the swamp. The Massachusetts men, now joined by Plymouth, gathered themselves for a 2d charge. Meanwhile, Major Treat led his Connecticut troops round to the back of the fort where the palisade had not been finished. Here and there the posts were spaced apart and protected only by a tangled mass of limbs and brush. The men charged up a bank under heavy fire and forced their way past the palisade. As they gained a foothold inside, the second charge at the gap also forced an entrance and the battle raged through the Indian village. It was a fight without quarter on either side, and was still raging at sunset when Winslow ordered the wooden lodges put to the torch. The flames, whipped by the winds of the driving





ROGUE ISLAND

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snowstorm, spread quickly. Winslow decided that the army had to fall back to the shelter of Smith's Trading Post in Coccumscossoc ([Wickford](#)), where some resupply ships might have arrived. The English gathered their wounded, the worst being placed on horseback, and fell back toward Wickford. It would not be until 2 AM that the leading units would stumble into the town. Some, losing their way, would not get shelter until 7 AM. This three-hour battle was the end of the Narragansett Campaign. The English suffering 20 killed and 200 wounded (80 of whom who later die from their wounds, there being 40 English corpses interred in one common trench in Wickford) and the [Narragansett](#) likewise suffered high casualties although about a thousand did escape.

At least one armed white man who was killed while attempting to kill others was a [Quaker](#) and an officer:



"The usual interpretation of the actions and inactions of the Rhode Island government has been that its members were inhibited by the pacifist scruples of the Quakers among them. Historians have not cited, nor have I found, evidence upon which to base this belief.... Such reading back of later Quaker understandings of the peace testimony obscures not only other wartime motives but the nature of the peace testimony as it was understood in that particular time and place. Third, in many respects the government activities do not appear to have been constrained. ... There were Quakers who bore arms during the war. Captain Weston Clarke, who was sent to relieve Warwick, Lieutenant Robert Westcott, who was killed in the Great Swamp Fight, and Abraham Mann of Providence, who was wounded are three examples."



— Meredith Baldwin Weddle, *WALKING IN THE WAY OF PEACE: QUAKER PACIFISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY*. England: Oxford UP, 2001, pages 172-173, page 204

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

(Presumably Friend Robert Westcott, like the Reverend [Roger Williams](#), had taken pains to consult with God and had been listening to the "mind and voice of the most high amongst us," and had assured himself that [Quakers](#) who were "contrary" to war were simply mistaken as to God's will! —You must lie in your blood, you "barbarous men of Bloud"!)

(Presumably, since Friend Abraham Mann of [Providence](#) who was wounded during the Great Swamp Fight was a white man, he was then tenderly cared for by the [Quaker](#) caretakers on [Aquidneck Island](#), who tenderly cared for those who had been wounded in the fight, if they were white men!)

While the [Narragansett](#) were not completely crushed there can be no question that the Great Swamp Fight was the turning point in the war. If the tribe had been able to join the [Wampanoag](#) at full strength in the spring the war would have lasted much longer. The Narragansett would have a few more victories in 1676, would burn [Rehoboth](#) and [Providence](#), and in March would ambush Captain Michael Pierce, but for all practical purposes they were out of the war.






RHODE ISLAND

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In the course of this single race battle with the English, the [Narragansett](#) would lose almost 20% of its entire population, and massacre and starvation would soon be killing off most of the remainder. By 1682 fewer than 500 would remain of the original estimated 10,000 souls who had existed as of 1610. After 1682 this remnant would be allowed by the English to settle with the Eastern Niantic on a reservation at Charlestown RI. The Narragansett tribal registry currently list over 2,400 members, most of whom reside in [Rhode Island](#).⁷¹



71. In [Rhode Island](#) especially, after the population disaster of "[King Phillip's War](#)", many native women would form new households with black men. Rhode Island would be boasting the largest black population in New England and a significant proportion of these blacks would be free, so in many cases this was their best available option. These unions would result in a new category of person, the "mustee," who was considered to be a native American by himself or herself but not by the "white people" who were *de facto* making all such distinctions. You may therefore run into some hot arguments if you cite these population statistics, from whites who will attempt to insist to you that "it's all just a bunch of n-----s making pretenses," quote unquote. (You'll have to live in Rhode Island for awhile, and argue cases of land title and cases of casino gambling, to get the full flavor of this.)



ROGUE ISLAND

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Most contemporary accounts of this second of the “great swamp fights” have been based upon a couple of letters by the white army’s chaplain, the Reverend Joseph Dudley, and one by Captain James Oliver, commander of the 3d Company of the Massachusetts regiment:



May it please your Honnr Mr Smiths 15, 10, 75

I am comanded by the Generall to give your Honnor account of our proceeding since our last frm Pautuxet in the Sabath evening we advanced the whole body from Mr Carpenters with Intent to surprise Ponham & his Party at about 10 or 12 Miles Distance having information by oue Warwick scouts of his seat but the darkness of ye Night Diffucutly of our Passage & unskillfulness of Pilots we passed the whole night & found ourselves at such Distance yet from ym yt we Diverted & Marched to Mr Smiths, found our sloops from Seaconck arrived since which by ye help of Indian Peter by whom your Honnor had the Information formerly of ye number & resolution of ye Naragansetts, we have burned two of their towns viz; Ahmus who is this summer come down amongst them & ye old Queens quarters consisting of about 150 Many of them large wigwams & seized or slayn 50 Persons in all our prisoners being about 40 Concerning whom the generall prayes your advice concerning their transportation and Disposall all which was performed without any loss save a slight wound by an Arrow in Lieut. Wayman’s face, the whole body of them we find removed into their great swamp at Canonicus his quarters where we hope with the addition of Connecticut, when arrived we hope to coop them up, this day we Intend the removall or spoyle of yr Corn & hope to Morrow a March toward them, our soldiers being very chearful are forward noywithstanding great Difficulty by weather & otherwise, abovsd Peter whom we have found very faithful will Make us believe yt yr are 3000 fighting Men many unarmed Many well fitted with lances we hope by cutting off their forage to force them to a fayre battle In ye Mean time I have only to present the Genralls humble service to your & to beg you Intense prayers for this so great Concern and remayn your

Honnors Humble Servant Jos: Dudley

Goodale nor Moor arrived we fear want of shot

My humble service to Madam Leveret Brother and Sister Hubbard & Dudley

Amongst our Prisonrs & Slayn we find 10 or 12 Wampanoags



Mr Smith's, 21, 10, 1675

May it please your honour

The coming of the Connecticut force to Petaquamscott, and surprisal of six and slaughter of five on Friday night, Saturday we marched towards Petaquamscott, though in snow, and in conjunction about midnight or later, we advanced: Capt. Mosley led the van, after him Massachusetts, and Plimouth and Connecticut in the rear; a tedious march in the snow, without intermission, brought us about two of the clock afternoon, to the entrance of the swamp, by the help of Indian Peter, who dealt faithfully with us; our men, with great courage, entered the swamp about twenty rods; within the cedar swamp we found some hundreds of wigwams, fortified in with a breastwork and flankered, and many small blockhouses up and down, round about; they entertained us with a fierce fight, and many thousand shot, for about an hour, when our men valiantly scaled the fort, beat them thence, and from the blockhouses. In which action we lost Capt. Johnson, Capt. Danforth, and Capt. Gardiner, and their lieutenants disabled, Capt. Marshall also slain; Capt Seely, Capt. Mason, disabled, and many other officers, insomuch that, by a fresh assault and recruit powder from their store, the Indians fell on again, recarried and beat us out of, the fort, but by the great resolution and courage of the General and Major, we reinforced, and very hardly entered the fort again, and fired the wigwams, with many living and dead persons in them, great piles of meat and heaps of corn, the ground not permitting burial of their store, were consumed; the number of their dead, we generally suppose the enemy lost at least two hundred men; Capt. Mosely counted in one corner of the fort sixty four men; Capt. Goram reckoned 150 at least; But, O! Sir, mine heart bleeds to give your honor an account of our lost men, but especially our resolute Captains, as by account inclosed, and yet not so many, but we admire there remained any to return, a captive women, well known to Mr. Smith, informing that there were three thousand five hundred men engaging us and about a mile distant a thousand in reserve, to whom if God had so pleased, we had but been a morsel, after so much disablement: she informeth, that one of their sagamores was slain and their powder spent, causing their retreat, and that they are in a distressed condition for food and houses, that one Joshua Tift, an Englishman, is their encourager and conductor. Philip was seen by one, credibly informing us, under a strong guard.



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After our wounds were dressed, we drew up for a march, not able to abide the field in the storm, and weary, about two of the clock, obtained our quarters, with our dead and wounded, only the General, Ministers, and some other persons of the guard, going to head a small swamp, lost our way, and returned again to the evening quarters, a wonder we were not prey to them, and, after at least thirty miles marching up and down, in the morning, recovered our quarters, and had it not been for the arrival of Goodale next morning, the whole camp had perished; The whole army, especially Connecticut, is much disabled and unwilling to march, with tedious storms, and no lodgings, and frozen and swollen limbs, Major Treat importunate to return to at least Stonington; Our dead and wounded are about two hundred, disabled as many; the want of officers, the consideration whereof the Genreal commends to your honer, forbids any action at present, and we fear whether Connecticut will comply, at last, to any action. We are endeavoring, by good keeping and billeting oue men at several quarters, and, if possible removal of our wounded to Rhode Isalnd, to recover the spirit of our soldiers, and shall be diligent to find and understand the removals on other action of the enemy, if God please to give us advantage against them.

As we compleat the account of dead, now in doing, The Council is of the mind, without recruit of men we shall not be able to engage the main body.

*I give your honor hearty thanks
for your kind lines, of which
I am not worthy
I am Sir, your honors
humble servant
Joseph Dudley*

Since the writing of these lines, the General and Council have jointly concluded to abide on the place, notwithstanding the desire of Connecticut, only entreat that a supply of 200 may be sent us, with supply of commanders; and, whereas we are forced to garrison our quarters with at least one hundred, three hundred men, upon joint account of colonies, will serve, and no less, to effect the design. This is by order of the council.

Blunderbusses, and hand grenadoes, and armour, if it may, and at least two armourers to mend arms.



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND



Narragansett 26th 11th month 1675

After a tedious march in a bitter cold that followed the Dec. 12th, we hoped our pilot would have led us to Ponham by break of day, but so it came to pass we were misled and so missed a good opportunity. Dec. 13th we came to Mr Smith's, and that day took 35 prisoners. Dec 14th, our General went out with a horse and foot, I with my company was kept to garrison. I sent out 30 of my men to scout abroad, who killed two Indians and brought in 4 prisoners, one of which was beheaded. Our army came home at night, killed 7 and brought in 9 more, young and old. Dec 15th, came in John, a rogue, with pretense of peace, and was dismissed with this errand, that we might speak with Sachems. That evening, he not being gone a quarter of an hour, his company that lay hid behind a hill killed two Salem men within a mile from our quarters, and wounded a third that he is dead. And at a house three miles off where I had 10 men, they killed 2 of them. Instantly, Capt. Mosely, myself and Capt Gardner were sent to fetch in Major Appleton's company that kept 3 miles and a half off, and coming, they lay behind a stone wall and fired on us in sight of the garrison. We killed the captain that killed one of the Salem men, and had his cap on. That night they burned Jerry Bull's house, and killed 17. Dec. 16th came that news. Dec 17th came news that Connecticut forces were at Petaquamscot, and had killed 4 Indians and took 6 prisoners. That day we sold Capt. Davenport 47 Indians, young and old for 80l. in money. Dec 18th we marched to Petaquamscot with all our forces, only a garrison left; that night very stormy; we lay, one thousand, in the open field that long night. In the morning, Dec. 19th, Lord's day, at 5 o'clock we marched. Between 12 and 1 we came up with the enemy, and had a sore fight three hours. We lost, that are now dead, about 68, and had 150 wounded, many of which recovered. That long snowy cold night we had about 18 miles to our quarters, with about 210 dead and wounded. We left 8 dead in the fort. We had but 12 dead when we came to the swamp, besides the 8 we left. Many died by the way, and as soon as they we brought in, so that Dec. 20th we buried in a grave 34, next day 4, next day 2, and none since. Eight died at Rhode Island, 1 at Petaquamscot, 2 lost in the woods and killed Dec. 20, as we heard since; some say two more died. By the best intelligence, we killed 300 fighting men; prisoners we took, say 350, and above 300 women and children. We burnt above 500 houses, left but 9, burnt all their corn, that was in baskets, great store. One signal mercy that night, not to be forgotten, viz. That when we drew off, with so many dead and wounded, they did not pursue us, which the young men would have done, but the sachems would not consent; they had but ten pounds of powder let.



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

Our General, with about 40, lost our way, and wandered till 7 o'clock in the morning, before we came to our quarters. We thought we were within 2 miles of the enemy again, but God kept us; to him be the glory. We have killed now and then 1 since, and burnt 200 wigwams more; we killed 9 last Tuesday. We fetch in their corn daily and that undoes them. This is, as nearly as I can, a true relation. I read the narrative to my officers in my tent, who all assent to the truth of it. Mohegans and Pequods proved very false, fired into the air, and sent word before they came they would so, but got much plunder, guns and kettles. A great part of what is written was attested by Joshua Teffe, who married an Indian woman, a Wampanoag. He shot 20 times at us in the swamp, was taken at Providence Jan'y 14, brought to us the 16th, executed the 18th. A sad wretch, he never heard a sermon but once these 14 years. His father, going to recall him lost his head and lies unburied.

A list of Major Saml Appleton souldjers yt were slayne & wounded the 19th Decemb. '75, at the Indians fort at Naragansett

*In the Company of killed wounded
Major Appleton 4 18
Capt. Mosely 6 9
Capt. Oliver 5 8
Capt. Davenport 4 11
Capt. Johnson 4 8
Capt. Gardiner 7 10
Capt. Prentice 1 3*

31 67

Of the officers, Capts. Davenport, Johnson, and Gardiner were killed, and Lieutenants Upham, Savage, Swain, and Ting were wounded.

*Of the Connecticut troops 71 were killed.
Capt. Gallup- 10
Capt. Marshall- 14
Capt. Seeley- 20
Capt. Mason- 9
Capt. Watts- 17*



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

1676

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Nicholas Easton died, bequeathing the sum of £20 “in country pay” and his home and the land on which it stood to the Newport [Friends](#) (possibly, some of the adjacent land may also have been acquired by purchase from the widowed Ann Easton). This repurposed structure probably served as the 1st permanent place of worship for the local Quakers (for instance, the 1672 debate between the Reverend Roger Williams and various Quakers in Newport had taken place in a Friends meetinghouse). The piece of land eventually would be used in 1699 for the [Great Meetinghouse](#) of the Friends.

Friend Nicholas also left “to the maintenance of the burial yard where his body lyes, one Barrell of pork, to be managed by Christopher Houlder.”

Dutch traders were buying black slaves at 30 florins each in Angola and were selling 15,000 per year in the Americas at 300 to 500 florins each. In this year in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) the public friend [William Edmundson](#) became the first Christian of English extraction to categorize the holding of others in slavery as a “sin” (this had been a totalizing declaration which Friend [George Fox](#) had always avoided). –For this new totalizing conviction of his, Friend William would be at first shunned, and then excluded, from the fellowship of Friends.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[Friend](#) John Easton’s “A RELACION OF THE INDYAN WARRE, BY MR. EASTON, OF ROADE ISLD., 1675”⁷²

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”
RHODE ISLAND

72. What relation does this have to A NARRATIVE OF THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO PHILIP’S INDIAN WAR ON 1675 AND 1676?



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

The Pennacook's region had been the Merrimack River valley of southern and central New Hampshire, including parts of northeastern Massachusetts and southern Maine. At this point, however, they found themselves forced to abandon the lower Merrimack. While some Pennacook villages would continue along the upper Merrimack until 1730, most of the tribe would move north to the Abenaki in Maine or the Sokoki (Western Abenaki) at St. Francois du Lac in [Québec](#).

Here are the names of the praying native American villages as per D.E. Leach's map of Massachusetts and Connecticut *circa* 1676, as recorded in 1957:

- Ashquoash
- Chabanakongkomun
- Hassanemesit
- Magunkaquog
- Manchage
- Menamesit
- Nashobah on Nagog Pond near Nashoba Hill in Littleton
- [Natick](#)
- Paquoag
- Peskeompscut
- Punkapaug
- Senecksig
- Wamesit at the juncture of the Concord and Merrimack Rivers
- Washaccum to the southeast of Mount Wachusett

This Nashoba was the 6th of the Praying Indian towns and was made up of 10 families amounting to about 50 souls. [Ralph Waldo Emerson](#) would mention that at the instance of the Reverend [John Eliot](#), in 1651, the desire of the Christian native Americans to continue to reside near Concord "was granted by the General Court, and Nashobah, lying near Nagog Pond, now partly in Littleton, partly in Acton, became an Indian town, where a Christian worship was established under an Indian ruler and teacher.... Such was, for half a century, the success of the general enterprise, that, in 1676, there were five hundred and sixty-seven praying Indians, and in 1679, twenty-four Indian preachers, and eighteen assemblies."⁷³

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

"HUCKLEBERRIES": Early in August, in a favorable year, the hills are black with them. At Nagog Pond I have seen a hundred bushels in one field – the bushes drooping over the rocks with the weight of them – and a very handsome sight they are, though you should not pluck one of them. They are of various forms, colors and flavors – some round – some pear-shaped – some glossy black – some dull black, some blue with a tough and thick skin (though they are never of the peculiar light blue of blueberries with a bloom) – some sweeter, some more insipid – etc., etc., more varieties than botanists take notice of.

January 27, Monday: [Narragansett](#) warriors raided [Pawtuxet](#) in [Rhode Island](#).

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

73. This has nothing to do with Fanny Wright's Nashoba settlement of former slaves in western Tennessee.



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

February 5, Wednesday: [Boston](#) observed another Fast Day or Day of Humiliation.



“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

[Friend](#) John Easton, deputy governor of [Rhode Island](#), wrote in his journal that:

For 40 years time, reports and jelosys of war had bin veri frequent that we did not think that ... war was breking forth.

He added the thought that at this point:

we had Case to think it wold

because:

the English wear afraid and Philop was afraid and both incresed in arems.

March 26, Sunday: American attacks were staged on the English settlements at Longmeadow, Marlborough, and Simsbury. Mendon and Wrentham were evacuated. Although the citizens of Marlborough had become war refugees, it was decided that due to the strategic location a garrison of soldiers would need to maintain themselves in a fortified house there.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

After the Plymouth force had staged its assault on the principal village of the [Narragansett](#) in the Great Swamp near [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#), the surviving Narragansett –who had to this point been neutral– of necessity had joined with the surviving Wampanoag. That Great Swamp Fight had taken the lives, by some accounts, of some 300 braves and almost 400 women and children. During the following spring the merged groups were seeking their vengeance. Captain Michael Peirce of Scituate led a detachment in pursuit of Miantonomi’s son, the sachem Canonchet, at Quisnicket near [Pawtucket](#), but within the original limits of Bristol County (this happened near what is now Lincoln Woods Park in [Lincoln, Rhode Island](#)). They had marched to Taunton, and then along the Old Seacunke Road to [Rehoboth](#) (East Providence), and then had come north along the east side of the Seekonk. On this day a war party led by chief sachem Canonchet successfully ambushed and overwhelmed Captain Pierce’s company of approximately 63 or 65 Englishmen and 20 native Cape Cod auxiliaries on the banks of the [Blackstone River](#) in present-day [Central Falls](#) somewhere near

Lonsdale, at a ford in the river in a heavily wooded area.⁷⁴ Several of the native American guides from Cape Cod were able to escape alive by various subterfuges. Actually, it seems the American natives lost more warriors in this fight than the English. Supposedly, nine of the white warriors were captured and would be conveyed to a spot in [Cumberland](#) that now goes under the name “Nine Men’s Misery,” and there killed.⁷⁵



A messenger had been sent to [Providence](#) for aid, before the ambush, but had been, according to tradition, too pious to interrupt a church service in progress when he arrived. After he had waited outside the church for hours while the long service proceeded, his message was too late the relief force being able only to bury the scalped bodies. (A few days later Canonchet would be captured and executed.)

74. It would appear that at least some of the white soldiers who were cut down fighting back-to-back in that “double-double ring” were [Quakers](#) who had abandoned their Peace Testimony for the duration of the race war — because Benjamin Tompson would memorialize them as such in his canto “New-Englands Tears For Her Present Miseries”:

Here Captious ones, without their Queries lie,
 The Quaker here, the Presbyterian by.
 The Scruple dormant lies of thee and thou,
 And most as one to Deaths dominion bow.

Among the fallen fighters whom we imagine probably to have been armed Quakers were:

- Friend Stephen Wing, Jr. of Sandwich
- Friend Samuel Bourman or Bowerman of Barnstable
- Friend John Sprague of Duxbury

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

75. According to Sidney Rider the common accounts of the episode are based mainly on legend. For instance, the [Cumberland](#) monument, which happens to be the first ever erected to American white fighters, states that these victims were the “pursued,” as if they had been seeking to avoid this, when actually they were very much the pursuers and had been out looking for a fight. The location now identified by this name on the grounds of the Edward J. Hayden library on Diamond Hill Road is highly questionable as having any relation to the events as they actually happened. Bicknell reports that the skulls of the nine victims were found in the 1960s in the basement of the Rhode Island Historical Society on Brook Street in [Providence](#), where they had been stored after being recovered in an 1800s antiquarian dig.

Among the skulls, that of Benjamin Buckland of Rehoboth was easy to identify, because he (like headman *Taoyateduta* in Minnesota in a subsequent race war) had a double set of teeth.



March 28, Tuesday: An American attack was staged on [Rehoboth](#) (afterward known as Seekonk, and after that known as East [Providence, Rhode Island](#)) and Robert Beers, an Irishman, was killed. Forty-five dwelling houses were torched, and twenty-one barns, two grist mills, and a sawmill. (Another source says 30 barns and almost 40 dwellings — what we know for sure is that only two structures in the area would survive through the war. Some claim that Metacom himself was present, and they still preserve there the framework of an ancient chair in which supposedly he seated himself while enjoying the flames.)

Captain Hugh Mason of Watertown, Jonathan Danforth of Cambridge, and Richard Lowdon made recommendations for the safety of the frontier (interior) towns of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Five steps would be taken:

1. That the towns of Sudbury, [Concord](#) and Chelmsford be strengthened with forty men apiece, which said men are to be improved in scouting between town and town, who are to be commanded by men of prudence, courage, and interest in the said townes; and the parties in each towne are to ordered to keep together in some place commodious in the said towns and not in garrison houses: and these men to be upon the charge of the country.
2. That for the security of Billerica there be a garrison of a number competent at Waymesett [Lowell], who may raise a thousand bushels of corn upon the land of the Indians in that place; and may be improved daily in scouting and ranging the woods between Waymesett and Andover, and on the west of Concord river on the east and north of Chelmsford, which will discover the enemy before he comes to the towns, and prevent lurking Indians about our towns. Also they shall be in readiness to the succor of any of the three towns at any time when in distress; also shall be ready to joine with others to follow the enemy upon a sudden after their appearing.
3. That such towns as Lancaster, Groton, and Marlborough that are forced to remove; and have not some advantage of settlement in the Bay, be ordered to settle at the frontier towns that remain for their strengthening: and the people of the said towns to which they are appointed are to see to their accomodations in the said towns.
4. That the said towns have their own men returned, that are abroad, and their men freed from impress during their present state.
5. That there be appointed a select number of persons in each town of Middlesex, who are, upon any information of the distress of any town, forthwith to repair to the relief thereof; and that such information may be seasonable, the towns are to dispatch posts, each town to the next, till notice be conveyed over the whole country, if need be.




RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

Another subject is embraced in the report from which the above is extracted. The committee were instructed to consider the propriety of erecting a "line of stockadoes or stone worke" across the county, to include Chelmsford, [Concord](#), Sudbury and the other populous places; but they deemed this inexpedient, on account of the length of way to be fortified; the difficulty of crossing ponds and rivers, the peculiar season of the year and the scarcity of laborers. For these and several other reasons the project was abandoned. It would indeed have been a work of no small magnitude to erect such a barrier as would have been effectual against the incursion of savages. A line of garrison houses was, however, erected on the frontiers of all these towns; and it is probable that in fixing upon the location of the Christian Indian towns before the war, reference might have been had to the safety of the English in case of danger. They served, says [Gookin](#), as a "wall of defence."⁷⁶

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

 March 29, Sunday: At the beginning of King Philip's War, [Providence](#) had been neutral and this neutrality had been respected by the Wampanoag. However, whites from Providence and another [Rhode Island](#) town had joined the United Colonies army as it marched through on its way to the "Great Swamp Fight" in which so many [Narragansett](#) and Wampanoag had been killed, and after which so many had starved because their winter supplies had burned. On this day, therefore, with only some 30 whites of the 500 residents of [Providence](#) remaining in the vicinity, the English settlement was raided. Only one man and one woman were killed during the general torching of the empty houses of the town. The man was named Wright. This resident had trusted in the power of the BIBLE to save him, and had remained in his house clutching this book. The native American torch party, encountering this intransigence, "ripped him open, and put his BIBLE in his belly." The woman was a [Quaker](#): Friend Elizabeth Sucklin. All the other 30-odd remaining residents had taken refuge in garrison houses and these garrison houses were not attacked. "Elizabeth Sucklin was preparing to go from Her own Hous to A Fort but delaying they Killed Her." "The House of John Smith where the Town records were Kept, was burnt with about 26 Others, but the Record was mostly thrown into the Mill Pond, afterward carried to Newport for Safety and brought back the 27th of April next year 1677." The native attackers did not torch the house that had been erected by Samuel Whipple on the north side of Abbott Street to the east of the Town Street that is now North Main, possibly because they were aware that it had been being used for religious meetings. Allegedly, during this general torching, an exceedingly strange meeting took place. The Reverend [Roger Williams](#), age 77, allegedly walked out into the forest, with his home and 71 other homes in smouldering ashes behind him (another source says 54 houses were torched, another that 27 were torched: whatever, we know that of the entire town, only two houses survived), and allegedly he remonstrated with the [Narragansett](#)

76. [Lemuel Shattuck's](#) 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

warriors.



To their claim that

“God was [with] them and Had forsaken us for they had so prospered in Killing and Burning us far beyond What we did against them,”

the famous Reverend allegedly responded

“God had prospered **us** so that wee had driven the Wampanoag with Phillip out of his Countrie....”





RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

In other words, we have here really does amount to a couple of strange strangenesses:

1stly, we have here a purported historical record of an encounter in which we might have presumed the incautious reverend was going to get his incautious ass murderized whereas nothing of that sort occurred;


2dly, we have here a record of a bunch of guys supposedly more influenced or less influenced by Christianity, who all seem to be presuming equally as they stand around at the forest margin, chit-chatting about deep theology, that whatever best succeeds in this world *ipso facto* constitutes human righteousness!

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

WAMPANOAG

March 31, Tuesday: The Massachusetts Council released *Nepanet* Tom Dublett (Praying Indian, 3d husband of *Kehonosquah* Sarah Doublett) from its Deer Island concentration camp and sent him off into the forest to deliver the following message to *Quinnapin*, a [Narragansett](#) leader, and *Weetamoo*, the “squaw sachem” of [Pocasset](#), the captors of [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#):

Intelligence is Come to us that you have some English (especially women and children) in Captivity among you. Wee have therefore sent this messenger offering to redeeme them either for payment in goods or wampum, or by exchange of prisoners.... If you have any among you that can write your Answer to this our messenger, wee desire it in writing, and to that end have sent paper pen and Incke ... provided he [your messenger] Come unarmed and Carry a white flagge upon a staffe vissible to be seene, which wee call a flagg of truce; and is used by civil nations in tyme of warre.

[Friend](#) “Low” (Zoar or Zoeth) Howland of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) was killed at [Pocasset](#), now [Tiverton](#), near the [Aquidneck Island](#) ferry (be careful not to confuse this location with Pocasset, Massachusetts), and his body found in a stream which would come to be known as the Sin and Flesh Brook. (At the end of the race war  a native American named Manasses Molasses suspected of having killed this [Quaker](#) would be sold into slavery.)

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

April 20, Monday: [Boston](#) observed a Fast Day or Day of Humiliation.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



Six days before his death, Elder [John Clarke](#) had been summoned to attend a meeting of the General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#), which had written him that it desired “to have the advice and concurrence of the most judicious inhabitants in the troublous times and straits into which the colony has been brought.” On this day he died, but not so suddenly as to be unable to make out a last will and testament. He left a confession of his Calvinist doctrine “so clear and Scriptural that [it] might stand as the confession of faith of Baptists to-day, after more than two centuries of experience and investigation”; nowadays some refer to him as the “Father of American Baptists.”⁷⁷ His will has created a John Clarke Trust the income from which was to be used “for the relief of the poor or bringing up of children unto learning from time to time forever,” which may have been the genesis of the 1st free school in America and may have been the genesis of the 1st free school in the world. –So that you will know what to say if you want to get your hands on some of his beneficence: bone up on your Calvinist theology, as the document has instructed the three trustees and their successors in perpetuity to favor, in their distribution of the moneys, “those that fear the Lord.”

77. The grave of [John Clarke](#) is in the cemetery on Dr. Marcus Wheatland Boulevard across the street from the rear of the [Newport](#) Police Station. The church in which he served until his death is now known as the United Baptist Church, John Clarke Memorial — the current edifice on Spring Street dates to 1846. Some of Elder Clark’s words are engraved in stone on the west facade of the [Rhode Island](#) state capital in [Providence](#):

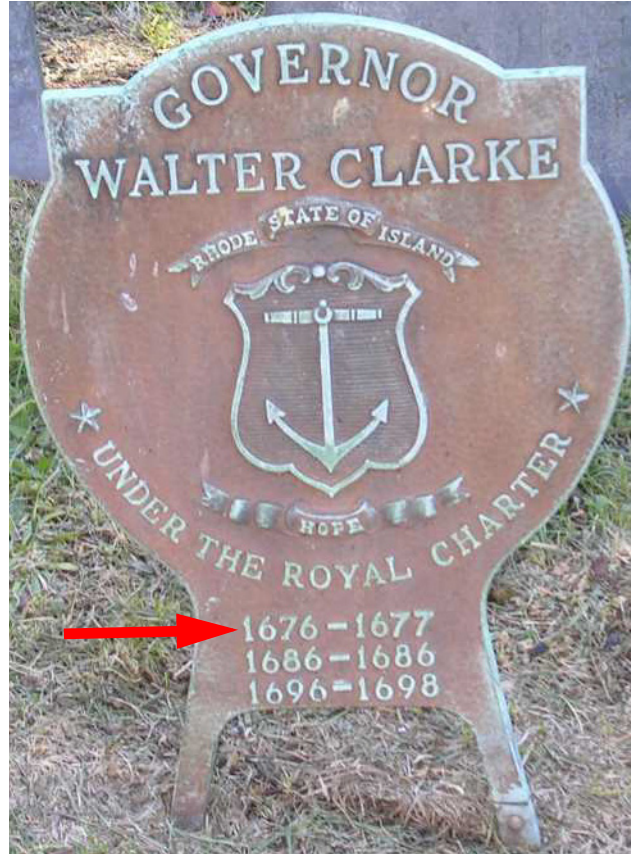
That it is much on their hearts (if they may be permitted) to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state may stand and best be maintained, and that among our English subjects, with a full liberty in religious concernments.



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

May: The deputy governor, [Friend Walter Clarke](#), was elected governor of [Rhode Island](#).



May 24, Wednesday: According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

Wednesday, May, 24, about 10 M., Capt. Davis dies, fever, he had been delirious severall times between while before his death.

Mr. Willard preaches the Lecture.

Mr. Woodrop, Hobart Ger., Nehem. Phips, Weld, Faild, came after lecture and sat with me. God grant we may sit together in heaven.

Captain Thomas Brattle of Boston, with about 50 mounted men and a body of infantry, marched to the [Pawtucket](#) Falls, where, from the eastern bank of the river, they were able to spy a group of natives on the opposite bank in [Rhode Island](#). The horsemen dashed up the river to a fording-place, crossed, and came back to mount a sudden attack. The group, caught between the horsemen on the west bank and the foot soldiers on the east bank, hid in a swamp. Several of them were killed and a boy was captured, with two horses and some guns and ammunition. In this action one horseman was killed and Lieutenant Jacob Elliot was wounded in the hand.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

~~_____~~
June 5, Friday: At the annual town meeting of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), five men, among them [Thomas Angell](#), were asked to decide what to do with the surviving [Narragansett](#) and [Wampanoag](#). Although some had urged that they be executed, or sold as life slaves in a distant land, what these commissioners recommended was that they be reduced to servitude for a number of years, according to their present ages.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

1676. Thirty houses were burnt by the Indians. The war commenced the year previous, and the master-spirit who moved all the tribes was the famous king Philip. He was killed in battle this year, and peace was restored.

According to the diary of Samuel Sewall,

Monday, June 5. Mr. Hutchison chosen Capt., Mr. Turin, Lieut., Mr. Bendal, Ensign of the Artillery.



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

On a Monday toward the end of June: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) was continuing to reunite with all her surviving family, including her two surviving children, Joseph who was about 15, and Mary who was about 11:For a

On Monday we came to Charlestown, where we heard that the governor of Rhode Island had sent over for our daughter, to take care of her, being now within his jurisdiction; which should not pass without our acknowledgments. But she being nearer Rehoboth than Rhode Island, Mr. Newman went over, and took care of her and brought her to his own house. And the goodness of God was admirable to us in our low estate, in that He raised up passionate friends on every side to us, when we had nothing to recompense any for their love. The Indians were now gone that way, that it was apprehended dangerous to go to her. But the carts which carried provision to the English army, being guarded, brought her with them to Dorchester, where we received her safe. Blessed be the Lord for it, for great is His power, and He can do whatsoever seemeth Him good. Her coming in was after this manner: she was traveling one day with the Indians, with her basket at her back; the company of Indians were got before her, and gone out of sight, all except one squaw; she followed the squaw till night, and then both of them lay down, having nothing over them but the heavens and under them but the earth. Thus she traveled three days together, not knowing whither she was going; having nothing to eat or drink but water, and green hirtle-berries. At last they came into Providence, where she was kindly entertained by several of that town. The Indians often said that I should never have her under twenty pounds. But now the Lord hath brought her in upon free-cost, and given her to me the second time. The Lord make us a blessing indeed, each to others. Now have I seen that Scripture also fulfilled, "If any of thine be driven out to the outmost parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from thence will he fetch thee. And the Lord thy God will put all these curses upon thine enemies, and on them which hate thee, which persecuted thee" (Deuteronomy 30.4-7). Thus hath the Lord brought me and mine out of that horrible pit, and hath set us in the midst of tender-hearted and compassionate Christians. It is the desire of my soul that we may walk worthy of the mercies received, and which we are receiving.

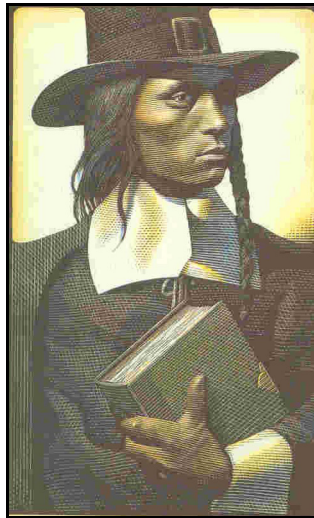
[CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION](#)

[PROVIDENCE](#)

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

year after their reunion, the Rowlandsons would remain in Boston, but at some point in 1677 the Reverend Joseph Rowlandson would accept a position in Wethersfield, Connecticut, and the family would resettle there. The husband would live not quite two more years.

July 2, Thursday: At Cambridge, [James Printer](#) took part in the proclaimed amnesty, an amnesty which had been



extended to him in particular by the Massachusetts Council. These Boston Christians had charged [Major Daniel Gookin](#) to convey a special condition to him, that he should carry along with him as he came into Boston to surrender as proof of the sincerity of his repentance, “som of the enemies heads.” He forthwith came forward displaying the heads of two of his former compatriots of the forest, and was accepted back into the Christian fold.



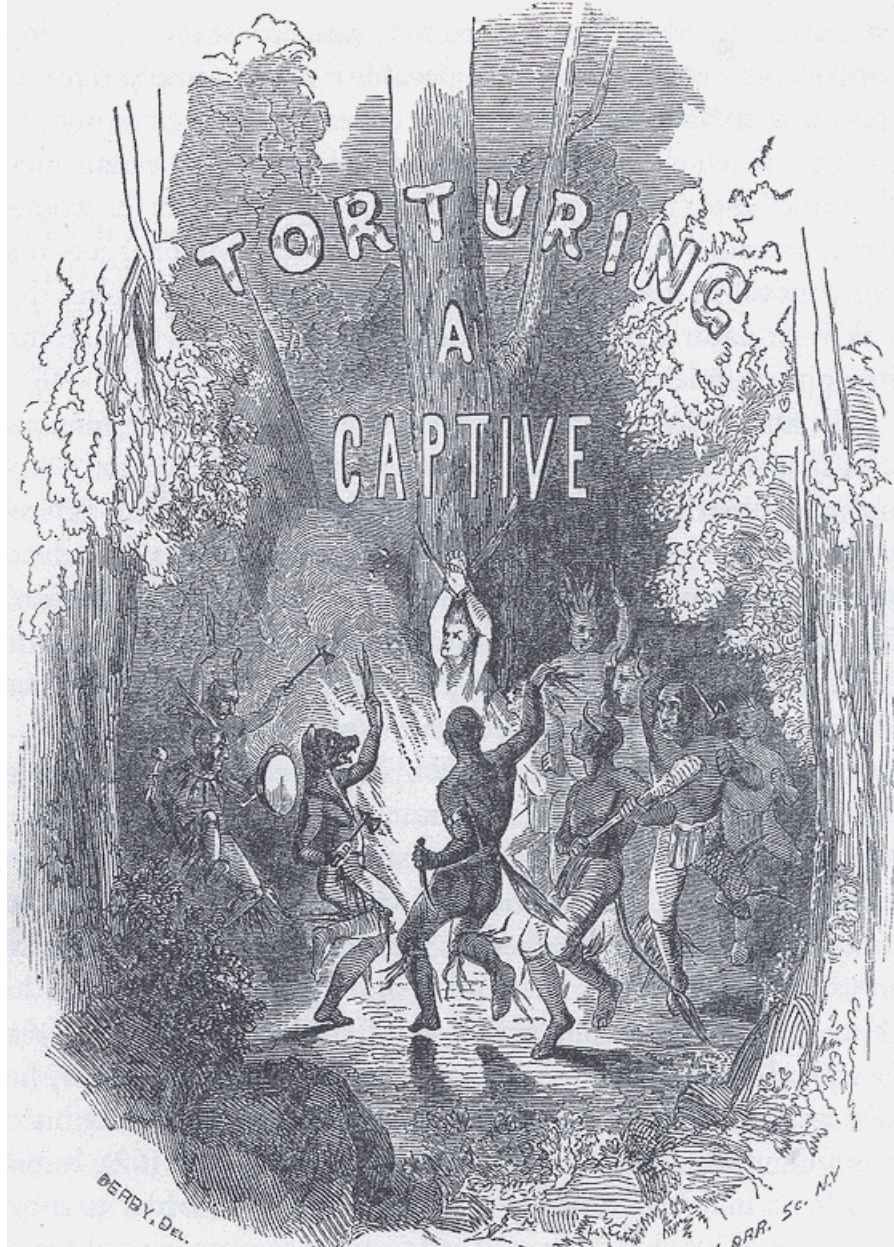
Printer realized that his future lay with her (and hers with him). In the coming weeks Printer served as scribe during negotiations for Mary Rowlandson’s redemption. Then, when amnesty was offered to Christian Indians who had joined the enemy, Printer turned himself in to colonial authorities, bringing with him, as required by special instruction, the heads of two enemy Indians – testaments to his fidelity. Eventually Printer returned to his work at the press in Cambridge and, in 1682, in one of the most sublime ironies of King Philip’s War, James Printer set the type for *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*. Mary Rowlandson and James Printer are indeed a curious pair. Their intricately linked stories are at once uncannily similar and crucially divergent. Before the war, Mary’s husband, Joseph Rowlandson, was the minister of her town, while James’s brother, Joseph Tukapewillin, was the minister of his. Both Rowlandson and Printer spent the winter of 1675-1676 with enemy Nipmuks. Both returned to Boston months later to live, again, among the English. But while Rowlandson came to terms with her time among enemy Indians by writing a book, Printer supplied body parts.

The 300 Connecticut troopers headed by Major John Talcott, with their Pequot and Mohegan auxiliaries, began a sweep of Connecticut and [Rhode Island](#), rounding up any remnant Algonquins. Quaiapen was the widow of Miantonomo’s eldest son Mexanno, and the sister of Ningret, sachem of the Niantics. She was therefore Squaw

RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

Sachem of one of these bands. The fugitives whom Quaiapen was leading, with her highly regarded chief counselor Potock, and with the chief native engineer, called by the English "Stone Wall John," the man who is said to have designed the Queen's Fort, are all presumed to have been slaughtered in one action at the south bank of the [Pawtuxet](#) River, near [Natick](#) (the body count afterward was 238 corpses). Although the English were not squeamish about offing people if it was inconvenient to hold them captive, they were exceedingly upset at the pleasure their Mohegan allies were deriving from the deliberate torture of captives.



As individuals were rounded up throughout this summer season, where convenient the English would be kindly and sell them as slaves to be transported off the continent. Potock, however, knew a whole lot, as he had been a high-level counselor, and so he was carefully interrogated. Presumably this questioning was



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

accompanied by serious torture for, at the completion of the process, he was summarily executed.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

August 12, Saturday:⁷⁸ The word was out early that morning that King Phillip, with his wife Wootonekanuske and child having been taken captive, and with all his efforts to obtain help from other native tribes having proven to be totally fruitless, had given up and gone home to *Pokanoke* to await his fate:



The next news we hear of Philip was that he had gotten back to Mount Hope, now like to become Mount Misery to him and his vagabond crew.



"As the star of the Indian descended,
that of the Puritans rose ever higher."
— Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, THE CHARLES,
78. William Harris wrote again to Sir Joseph Williamson, a letter which is a useful source of infor





ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63

After a year's absence Philip, reduced to a miserable condition, returned to his native place, near which he was killed, Aug. 12, 1676. One of his own men, whom he had offended, and who had deserted to the English, shot him through the heart. His death put an end to this most horrid and distressing war.

About 3000 warriors were combined for the destruction of New England, and the war terminated with their entire defeat, and almost total extinction. About 600 of the English inhabitants, the greatest part of whom were the flower and strength of the country, either fell in battle or were murdered by the enemy. Twelve or thirteen towns were destroyed [according to Trumbell, vol. i, page 350, and Holmes's Annals of America, i., page 384] and about 600 houses burned.⁷⁹

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

79. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

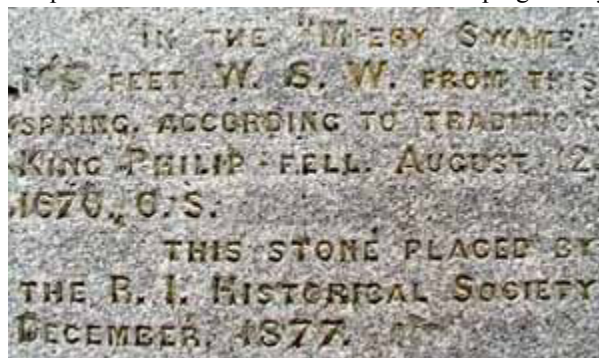
RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

The warriors under Captain Benjamin Church,⁸⁰ white and red, crept up during the previous night and in the dawn they assaulted [Metacom](#)'s hilltop ceremonial center at [Mount Hope](#) on [Rhode Island](#)'s Narragansett Bay.



Surprise was achieved. An English-allied native informant named Alderman hunted down and shot the fleeing leader in the nearby swamps where in better times he had been keeping his royal herds of pigs.



The first shot through the upper chest put Metacom on his face in the mud and water on top of his gun. Alderman apparently then poured more powder down the barrel of his gun, rammed down another ball, charged his pan—a process requiring a certain amount of time—and then shot Metacom again, this time delivering the *coup de grace* directly through the heart. Some five or six persons who were with Metacom also were killed while attempting to escape. The white army gave “three loud huzzas.” As the Reverend Increase Mather would later characterize the accomplishment,⁸¹ the grand result had been brought about by a combination of the white people’s righteous prayers to their God, and the red people’s wicked remarks in

80. Benjamin Church would later be paid the going rate for [Metacom](#)'s head, 30 shillings, “scant reward, and poor encouragement,” when it was mounted atop a pole in Plymouth common.

81. Reverend Increase Mather. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WARR WITH THE INDIANS IN NEW-ENGLAND (1676).

disregard of God’s wrath: the white warriors, he claimed, had prayed the bullet into Metacom’s heart, whereas there was an unnamed “chief” present who had been a sneerer at the Christian religion, who “withal, added a most hideous blasphemy, immediately upon which a bullet took him in the head, and dashed out his brains, sending his cursed soul in a moment among the devils, and blasphemers, in hell forever.”⁸²



There are no authentic period depictions of this person.



The corpse of Metacom was “pulled out of the mire to the upland,” some tugging it by the stockings and others by the breechclout, the body being otherwise unclouted “and a doleful, great, naked, dirty beast he looked like,” was quartered and **hanged** in four separate trees and the head and his trademark crippled hand were carried away.⁸³No mention was made at the time, or later, about any pipe, any war club, or any wampum

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

belt associated with Metacom that had been sequestered either by Alderman or by Church as souvenirs of the event.

82. Since the Reverend Increase Mather’s PREVALENCY OF PRAYER was well known, and since this is from page 7 in the front of the book, we may suppose that the initial audience for WALDEN well understood that Thoreau was taking an actual slap at the memory of the Reverend on page 182, where he made his preposterous remark that “this vice is one of which the Indians were never guilty.”

WALDEN: Some have been puzzled to tell how the shore became so regularly paved. My townsmen have all heard the tradition, the oldest people tell me that they heard it in their youth, that anciently the Indians were holding a pow-wow upon a hill here, which rose as high into the heavens as the pond now sinks deep into the earth, and they used much profanity, as the story goes, though this vice is one of which the Indians were never guilty, and while they were thus engaged the hill shook and suddenly sank, and only one old squaw, named Walden, escaped, and from her the pond was named.



RHODE ISLAND

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Samuel Sewall lettered neatly alongside this date in his [almanac](#): *Philippus exit*.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

83. Note: The head would be mounted atop a pole in Plymouth and would remain there for a quarter of a century. The hand, recognizable as King [Phillip](#)'s because crippled (evidently a pistol had split while being fired), would be preserved by Alderman in a bucket of rum and displayed for pennies in taverns for many years. The horrible death and mutilation of the person who supposedly had caused these hostilities, however, would do little to bring these hostilities to an end. In western New England, and in Maine, this race war, which in actuality had always been an unplanned leaderless struggle between mutually antagonistic and intolerant groups, would continue unabated. The Abenaki of Maine (Penobscot) would be attacking the settlements of the English along the coastline well into 1677. The *Iroquois* and the Algonquian would be attacking in the inland regions for the next three generations, right up into the period of the French and Indian Wars.





ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

Here is how the scene would be depicted, from 1829 to 1887, on the American stage:



META. Embrace me, Nahmeokee – 'twas like the first you gave me in the days of our strength and joy – they are gone. [*Places his ear to the ground*] Hark! In the distant wood I faintly hear the cautious tread of men! They are upon us, Nahmeokee – the home of the happy is made ready for thee. [*Stabs her, she dies*] She felt no white man's bondage – free as the air she lived – pure as the snow she died! In smiles she died! Let me taste it, ere her lips are cold as the ice. [*Loud shouts. Roll of drums. Kaweshine leads Church and Soldiers on bridge, R.*]

CHURCH. He is found! Philip is our prisoner.

META. No! He lives – last of his race – but still your enemy – lives to defy you still. Though numbers overpower me and treachery surround me, though friends desert me, I defy you still! Come to me – come singly to me! And this true knife that has tasted the foul blood of your nation and now is red with the purest of mine, will feel a grasp as strong as when it flashed in the blaze of your burning dwellings, or was lifted terribly over the fallen in battle.

CHURCH. Fire upon him!

META. Do so, I am weary of the world for ye are dwellers in it; I would not turn upon my heel to save my life.

CHURCH. Your duty, soldiers. [*They fire. [Metamora](#) falls. Enter Walter, Oceana, Wolfe, Sir Arthur, Errington, Goodenough, Tramp and Peasants. Roll of drums and trumpet till all on.*]

META. My curses on you, white men! May the Great Spirit curse you when he speaks in his war voice from the clouds! Murderers! The last of the Wampanoags' curse be on you! May your graves and the graves of your children be in the path the red man shall trace! And may the wolf and panther howl o'er your fleshless bones, fit banquet for the destroyers! Spirits of the grave, I come! But the curse of Metamora stays with the white man! I die! My wife! My queen! My Nahmeokee! [*Falls and dies; a tableau is formed. Drums and trumpet sound a retreat till curtain. Slow curtain*]



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

August 14, Friday: The fortified trading post of Thomas Clarke and Thomas Lakes at Arrowsic was destroyed.

According to the ANNALS OF PROVIDENCE, surviving *Narragansett* and *Wampanoag* captives were being offered for sale of their labor in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) by a list of slavetraders which startlingly includes some famous names, and were being offered into this temporary human slavery at remarkably affordable prices:

A town meeting was held before Thomas Fields's house, under a tree, by the water side, on the 14th of August, 1676. A committee was appointed to determine in what manner the Indians should be disposed of. They reported as follows:

Inhabitants wanting, can have Indians at the price they sell at the Island of Rhode Island or elsewhere. All under five, to serve until thirty, above five and under ten, till twenty eight; above ten to fifteen, till twenty seven; above fifteen to twenty, till twenty six; from twenty to thirty, shall serve eight years; all above thirty, seven years.

We whose names are underwritten, being chosen by the town to see to the disposal of the Indians now in town, we agree that Roger Williams, N. Waterman, T. Fenner, H. Ashton, J. Morey, D. Abbot, J. Olney, V. Whitman, J. Whipple, sen.; E. Pray, J. Pray, J. Angell, Jas. Angell, T. Arnold, A. Man., T. Field, E. Bennett, T. Clemence, W. Lancaster, W. Hopkins, W. Hawkins, W. Harris, Z. Field, S. Winsor, and Capt. Fenner, shall each have a whole share in the product. I. Woodward and R. Pray, three fourths of a share each. J. Smith, E. Smith, S. Whipple, and T. Walling each half a share.

Signed,

[Roger Williams](#)

Thomas Harris, sen.

[Thomas Angell](#)

Thomas Field

John Whipple, Jr.

We have an additional document dating to this period, on this same topic:


To Anthony Low, five Indians, great and small eight pounds
To James Rogers, two, for twenty bushels of Indian corn
To Philip Smith, two, in silver, \$4.10
To Daniel Allen, one, in silver, \$2.10
To C. Carr, one, twelve bushels of Indian corn
To Elisha Smith, one, in wool, 100 lbs.
To Elisha Smith, one for three fat sheep

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

August 25, Tuesday: Just after the killing of Phillip, the [Rhode Island](#) government staged a court-martial of native headmen at [Newport](#), charging them with crimes such as treason and murder. The court panel probably included five [Quakers](#). There was no jury. Quinapin, Sunkeecunasuck, Wenanaquabin, and Wecopeak were found guilty and taken out and shot. There must have been some sort of special circumstances for Manasses Molasses, however (perhaps they weren't certain of his guilt?), for upon being convicted of killing [Friend](#) "Low" (Zoar or Zoeth) Howland earlier that year  at the Sin and Flesh Brook at [Pocasset](#), now [Tiverton](#), near the [Aquidneck Island](#) ferry, he was sold as a [slave](#).

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:



Din'd with Sir Jo: Banks's at his house in Lincolns Inn fields: upon recommending Mr. Upman to be Tutor to his sonn going into France: This Sir Jo: Bankes was a Merchant, of small beginnings, but by usurie &c: amass'd an Estate of 100000 pounds &c.

August 26 (Old Style): *I din'd at the Admiralty, with [Sec\[retary\] Pepys](#): Supp'd at L[ord] Chamberlaines, here was Cap[tain] Baker, who had ben lately on the attempt of the Norwest passage: he reported prodigious depth of yce, blew as a Saphire & as transparant: That the thick mists was their chiefe impediment, & cause of returne: [I went home.]*

September 2 (Old Style): *I paied 1700 pounds, to the Marquis de Sissac, which he had lent to my L[ord] Berkeley &c: which I heard the Marqu[i]s lost at play [within] a night or two:*

August 28, Friday: At a cliff now known as Anawan's Rock in the eastern part of [Rehoboth](#) to the north of a wooded country then known as Squannakonk Swamp (an area of nearly three thousand acres), Anawan, who at the death of Metacom had become sachem of what remained of the [Wampanoag](#), and his small group of remaining warriors, were surprised and surrendered to the militia of Captain Benjamin Church. Anawan would be executed in Plymouth. (The rock is a bit south of the roadway, about halfway between Taunton and [Providence, Rhode Island](#) in what is now Rehoboth, Massachusetts.)

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

September: The whites thought it wise to place an English man in each of the Christian Indian villages, to keep an eye on their activities. It was very difficult to get anyone to accept this duty. John Watson, Sr. of Cambridge accepted the assignment because he was an Indian hater and was certain that he would be able to uncover hostility and cause it to be punished. After he had lived for some time in the [Natick](#) village, however, he found he had undergone a change in heart, and had become convinced that his new neighbors were a deeply religious people who desired only to live at peace with all. When he attempted to explain his change in heart to the other white people, however, he found himself being characterized as either a fool or a traitor. By the end of this month the white people living near Natick had come to believe that it must have been the Christian Indians who had set fire to an old empty barn in Dedham, and having done this dirty deed, they must be planning more such mischief. At this point, perhaps in part for the safety of the Indians themselves, [Major Daniel Gookin](#) was ordered to relocate them to Deer Island. A troop under Captain Thomas Prentice went to the village within the



hour, and moved the natives to the waterfront, where they were loaded into a flotilla of boats to convey them to their new home. Immediately that the natives exited their Natick village, the surrounding white families swooped down on the location and liberated everything the inhabitants had been forced to leave behind by the soldiers, such as guns, ammunition, stored foodstuffs, hunting gear, and clothing. Of course, none of these materials would ever be recovered by their owners.

Per their treaty agreements with the whites, the Narragansett brought to Richard Smith of [Wickford, Rhode Island](#) sixteen native American heads, supposedly of Phillip's warriors. They received, for these grisly trade items, two yards of "trucking" cloth per each.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

October 27, Tuesday: The [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly took jurisdiction over the lands which had pertained to the [Narragansett](#) — not to take them from natives who by this time were powerless to object but to keep them from the white Connecticut settlers who had invaded the rez lands nearly a dozen times in the preceding year.

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

November 2, Thursday: On the basis of reports from Richard Smith of [Wickford, Rhode Island](#), the commissioners of the United Colonies prepared a bill of indictments against the Narragansett. One of the accusations was that when the people of this tribe had heard about the attack on Hadley MA, they had “in a very Reproachfull and blasphemouse manor triumph and Rejoyce thereatt.”

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

Year end: At the end of this year, according to the Reverend [William Hubbard](#)’s A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS IN *NEW-ENGLAND*..., fewer than 70 [Narragansett](#) tribespeople remained of an estimated 4,000-5,000 scattered around the bay of [Rhode Island](#) at the start of the race war. Most had been killed, had starved, or had been sold into slavery at a foreign port.

[Below appears the rotting hulk of the slave ship *Jem*, as of the Year of Our Lord 1891 at Fort Adams near [Newport](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#).]






RHODE ISLAND


ROGUE ISLAND

1677

[Newport, Rhode Island Friends](#) recorded that William Allen and Patience Beer were married “at our publick meeting house in Newport.” Presumably the building in question was the dwelling house that former governor Nicholas Easton had left to the Friends upon his death in 1676.

GREAT MEETINGHOUSE

 In [Rhode Island](#), Benedict Arnold was again in charge (again, don't fret, this was not THE Benedict Arnold, but his illustrious grandpa).

 Opening of the [Jewish](#) Cemetery on Bellevue Avenue in [Newport, Rhode Island](#). The names to be found there include Touro, Hays, Myers, Lopez, Hart, Seixas, and Rivera (the 1712 map of the Town of Newport would identify this cemetery as being located on “Jew Street”).

TOURO SYNAGOGUE

Anonymous: **THE WARR IN NEW-ENGLAND VISIBLY ENDED.**
King PHILIP that barbarous Indian now Be-headed, and moft of his Bloudy Adherents fubmitted to Mercy, the Reft fled far up into the Countrey, which hath given the Inhabitants Encouragement to prepare for their Settlement. Being a True and Perfect Account brought in by *Caleb More* Mafter of a Veffel newly Arrived from *Rhode-Ifland*. And Publifhed for general Satisfaction. Licenfed, *November 4. 1676. Roger L'Estrange. LONDON*, Printed by *J.B.* for *Francis Smith* at the Elephant and Caftle in *Cornhill, 1677.*

March of America Facsimile Series, Number 29. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”

RHODE ISLAND

May: [Rhode Island and Providence Plantations](#) officials for the following year would be:

Generall Sargeant: Thomas Fry.

Generall Solicitor: Edward Richmond.

King’s Garrison at Providence: Captain Arthur Fenner.

Militia for Collony: Major John Cranston.

Keeper of Jail at Newport: Serjeant Henry Lilly.

Agents to go to England: Captain Peleg Sanford, Richard Bailey.

Court of Justices of the Peace, Narragansett: Major John Cranston, James Barker, Captain Peleg Sanford,

Richard Bailey, Secretary.

Joseph Clarke, Thomas Fry, Sargent.

Captain Samuel Wildbore, John Sanford, Constable.

Captain John Albro, Edmund Calverly, Constable.

Captain John Greene, Samuell Gorton, Jr.



ROGUE ISLAND

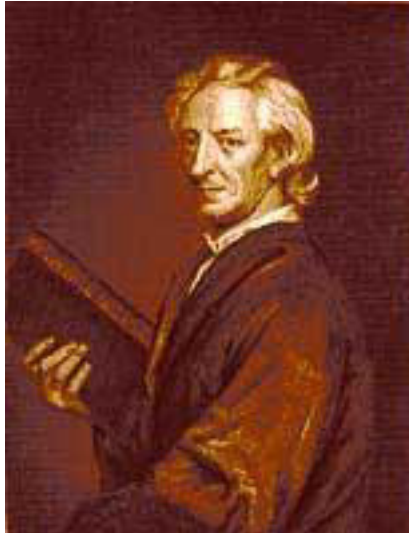
RHODE ISLAND

November 17, Wednesday: [Roger Williams](#) told a court of commissioners that he was especially suited to negotiate with the natives over land ownership because “God was pleased to give me a painful patient spirit to lodge with them in their filthy smoky holes ... to gain their tongue.”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:



I din'd with Mr. Godolphin & his Wife, at which time he sealed the Deedes of settlement on his Lady, in which I was a Trustee: &c:

November 19 (Old Style): *The Prince & Princesse of Orange went away, and I saw embarqued my Lady Sylvius who now went also into Holland with her Husband, made Hoffmaester to the Prince a considerable Charge: We parted with greate sorrow, for the greate respect and honour I bore to the Lady, a most pious and virtuous creature &c: I dind with my Lord Berkely at his house.*

November 20 (Old Style): *At Mrs. Godolphins, then visited Mr. Rob: Boyle, where I met Dr. Burnet & severall Scots Gent[lemen] Mr. Boyle now shewing us his new Laboratorie:*

November 30 (Old Style): *To the R[oyal] Society, it being our Anniversary Election day, where we chose Sir Joseph Williamson (now prin: Secretary of state) President for the next yeare, after my Lord Vicount Brounchar had possessed the Chaire now 16 yeares successively: & therefore now thought fit to change &c: that prescription might not prejudice &c: we had a greate Entertainment this night.*

December 20 (Old Style): *To Lond[on] din'd at Lo[rd] Chamb[erlain] Carried my Lord Treasurer an account of the Earle of Bristols Librarie at Wimbleton, which my Lord thought of purchasing, til I acquainted him, it was a very broken Collection, consisting much in books of Judicial Astrologie, Romances & trifles &c: Thence to our Society, where were experiments of the incumbency & gravitation of the Aire on Mercury for the Barometer. Peper wormes were first shewed us in the Microscope &c:*



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

December 23 (Old Style): ... *I gave my Sonn an Office,*⁸⁴ *with Instructions how to govern his Youth, I pray God give him the Grace to make a right use of it &c:*

December 10, Friday: [Samuell Gorton](#) died at the age of 85. A grave bearing this name (spelled however with one “l”), behind a private home on Samuel Gorton Avenue off Warwick Neck Road in [Warwick, Rhode Island](#), seemingly is that of a descendant — since virtually everything in the town was destroyed at this point by the recent “[King Phillip’s War](#)”, actually we have no idea at all where he might have been buried. (We have, nevertheless, at the DAR Museum in Washington DC, what appears to have been the man’s writing chair.)

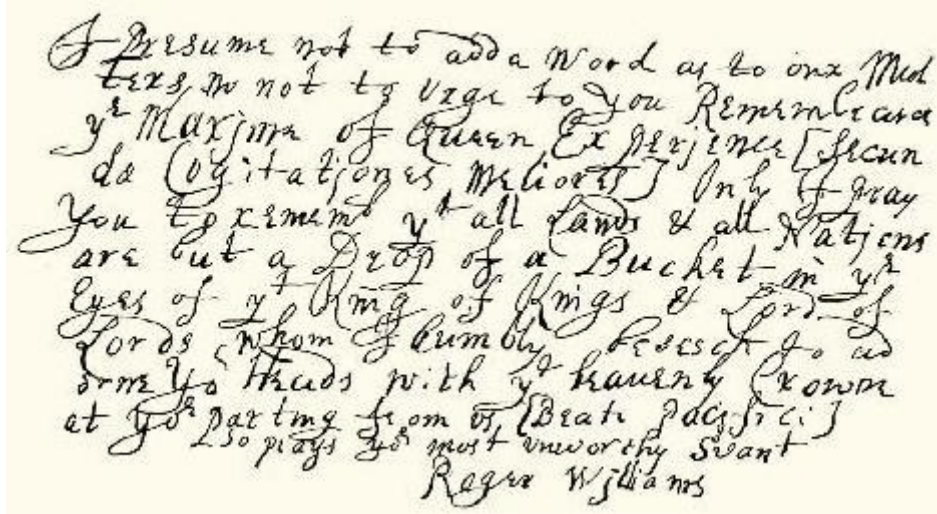
1678

For some reason, a “mans’ meeting” of the [Quakers](#) held in this year was held not at the Friends meetinghouse in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) but instead “at the widow Coddingtons” (it had been in the great room of this mansion that Friend George Fox had been greeted).

February 28, Monday: The first clear mention of the existence of [Jews](#) in [Rhode Island](#) in a document still in existence consists of a deed conveying ground to Mordecai Campanall and Moes Pacherckoe or Pacheco for use as a burial place.

1678. A ferry was established across Seekonk river, where Central bridge is now.

October 4, Tuesday: [Roger Williams](#) wrote to the much honored Mr. Thomas Hinckley (the final governor of the Plymouth Colony), and the rest of the much honored Commiffioners from the respective colonies, affembled at [Providence](#) (if they were not able to decypher his handwriting, he was present to expound upon it for them):



Much Honored Sirs: – Your wifdoms know that this town is liable to many payments: that moneys will be drawn like blood from many

84. A devotional book.



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

amongft us: for fome of us have appeared legally in town meetings to anfwer the charge and fummons and declaration of the plaintiff againft the town of Providence. Others have not appeared at our town meetings; or, appearing have diffented from the major vote, which hath always (in all thefe tranfactions) carried on matters in juft order and quietnefs. The non-appearers and diffenters will not pay, as being none of the town in this cafe.

We had much heat in our laft town-meeting, I motioned a fufpenfion of proceedings until the fitting of this high court. Both parties yielded and propofes to fubmit to your decifion, in active or paffive obedience. We were hot; fo no addrefs was orderly prepared, &c.: and therefore I hold it my humble duty, in the town's name, to pray your favorable and moft feafonable help unto us. I presume not to add a word as to our Matters, no not to urge to your Remembrance y^e Maxim of Queen Experience [Secunda Cogitationes Meliores] Only I pray You Egxement y^e all Lands and all Nations are but a Drop of a Bucket in y^e eyes of y^e King of Kings and Lord of Lords, whom I humbly Beseech to adorn y^r Heads with y^e heavenly Crown at yo^r parting from us [Beati pacifici]

So prays yo^r most unworthy Svant,
Roger Williams

RHODE ISLAND



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

1679

In [Rhode Island](#), deputy governor and attorney general John Cranston⁸⁵ became president, and would serve as such for the remainder of his life (he would die on March 12, 1680). After his term as governor, [Friend Walter Clarke](#) was again appointed deputy governor, and would serve in this post until re-elected as governor in 1686.

At about this point, in [Dartmouth](#), Eliashib Smith was born. (We know that [John Smith](#) had thirteen children and that the initial five, Hassadiah, John, Josiah, Eliazer, and Hezekiah, were born to his 1st wife, [Friend Deborah Howland Smith](#). The will makes it clear that Hannah, Sarah, and Deborah were born to the 2d wife, [Friend Ruhamah Kirby Smith](#). About Judah, Gershom, Deliverance, Mehitabel, and Eliashib we infer that they also were born to the 2d wife Ruhaman. As to how it was that so many children were being born to a 2d Quaker wife while the 1st Quaker wife was still alive, and as to the details of the movement of the Smith family from Plymouth to Dartmouth, the record is silent.)

1680

In [Rhode Island](#), Peleg Sanford was in charge.

READ ABOUT GOV. SANFORD

May 8, Wednesday: On this day in [Newport](#), Governor Peleg Sanford “on Road Island” set his signature to the [Rhode Island](#) colony’s response to those “Lords of his Majesties most Honorable Privy Councill” who were members of the British “committee for Trade and Forreign Plantations”:

MAY 8, 1680

85. John Cranston had been born in 1625 in Scotland/England and had come to America in about 1637, “licensed to administer physic and practice chirurgery throughout the whole colony.” He had been attorney general of the colony since 1654 and deputy governor since 1672, and during King Phillip’s war had been the major general in command of all the colony’s militia. He was governor of the colony at his death on March 12, 1679/1680 in Newport. He is buried in Newport’s Common Burial Ground. John married Mary Clarke on June 3, 1658 in Newport. Mary Clarke had been born in 1641 in Newport. She would die, after a remarriage, on April 7, 1711 in Newport and be buried in Newport’s Common Burial Ground. They had the following children:

Samuel Cranston was born on August 16, 1659. He married Mary Hart during 1680 in Newport. Mary was born during 1663 in Newport. She died on September 17, 1710 in Newport and was buried in Newport’s Clifton Burial Ground. Samuel would become, in 1698, like his father a president of Rhode Island, and would be 30 times successively chosen, holding this office until his death on April 26, 1727 in Newport — probably longer than any other American politician ever required to seek annual re-election. The city of Cranston, Rhode Island would be named for Governor Samuel Cranston. (The Quaker meetinghouse that was new there in 1729, “new” to distinguish it at the time from their older meetinghouse, still stands.)

James Cranston was born 1661 in Newport. He died 16 September 1662 in Newport.

Caleb Cranston was born about 1662 and died before 1711.

Jeremiah Cranston was born about 1663 in Newport. He died about 1678 in Newport.

Mary Cranston was born 27 January 1665 in Newport. She died 24 Mar 1666 in Newport.

Benjamin Cranston was born about 1668.

William Cranston was born about 1670 in Newport.

Elizabeth Cranston was born about 1671 and died 3 June 1736.

John Cranston was born about 1675 in Newport.

Peleg Cranston was born 1677 in Newport.



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

1681

In [Newport](#), the 1st brick in [Rhode Island](#) began to be manufactured.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

In [Rhode Island](#) families were depending upon resinous pine wood for lighting the interiors of their homes at night. They were fashioning this material into sticks of convenient length, which they were referring to as “Candelles” (candles).⁸⁶ A story spread in [Providence](#), that they were about to be deprived, by someone, of the “Great Benniffitt yt they haue had by there pitchwood for Candell light”:

There is a bruite abroad that some person or persons are Determined to propagate the runing of Tarr from pitchwood; As also of pitchwood to make Coale: The Towne Well weighing ye premises, & Considering ye Great damage which will Accrew in Case such a designe be put in Execution, see Cause the same timely to prevent; And doe hereby declare against, and forbid any persons from this day forward to make any Coale of pitchwood, or runn any Tarr from pitchwood, or be a procurer or employer of any so to do, (Except it be to ye quantety of Tenn Gallons for his own proper use, and he being an Inhabetant of this Towne,) and All ye Tarr and Coale soe made shall be fforfit, one halfe thereof unto ye informer, and ye other halfe unto ye Towne Treasury: The which shall be seized either by a warrant from any one of Majestrates or by order from ye Towne. And that the sayd person or persons who make ye sayd Tarr & Coales, and their employers and procureres for Each Defect, from time to time shall forfeit Each of them ye sum of ffifty shillings and if any person or persons whatsoever shall remoue, desspose of or Conveye away any Tarr or Coales that thereby ye seasure thereof might be obstructed, or shall be instrumentall to ye propagateing of the same, Each person soe offending, shall from time to time for Each Defect forfeit ye sum of Tenn pounds in mony, which shall be recovered by a due Course of Law; one Third part of which ffortliture shall be to ye Informer, and ye other two parts shall be to ye Towne Treasury. And this order to stand in force any former Act or Clawes therein by our towne at any time made to ye Contrarey here of in any wise notwithstanding.

The town voted that “a Coppie of this order about pitchwood be sett up in some publick place of this Towne.”⁸⁷

86. Of course there were also candles fashioned from tallow, which might be fitted into candlesticks made of brass or of iron — but this would have been somewhat more expensive.

87. We trust that someone would be able to decypher the spelling on this broadside, and make out its intent: that it was not as problematic as a sign I once saw posted at the entrance to a public library, “GUIDE DOGS FOR THE BLIND ONLY.”



RHODE ISLAND


ROGUE ISLAND

In Boston, the General Court began to allow [Baptists](#) to worship together.

Valentine Wightman was born in [North Kingstown, Rhode Island](#). He was a descendant of the Edward Wightman who had been burned at the stake at Lichfield, England after denouncing the practice of infant baptism. After being ordained as a [Baptist](#) minister in Rhode Island, in 1705 the Reverend Wightman would remove to Groton, Connecticut to establish the 1st Baptist church in that colony, and then in 1712 go on to New-York to establish the 1st Baptist church there as well. Returning to Connecticut, he would aid in the creation of Baptist congregations in Stonington, Waterford, and Lyme. After the Great Awakening, he would die on June 9, 1747. His son the Reverend Timothy Wightman and grandson the Reverend John Gano Wightman would carry on after him.

The painting of Ninigret II done in this year by a European is probably the earliest extant portrait of a particular American native. (The statue presently standing on Watch Hill in [Westerly, Rhode Island](#), purporting to depict Ninigret, Ninigret II's father and a leader during "[King Phillip's War](#)", actually depicts a performer in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, which was touring Paris in 1914.)

King [Phillip](#)'s head had been rotting atop a pole in Plymouth for about five years (and would remain there for approximately another fifteen). His teenage son, the next in line to be sachem of the [Wampanoag](#)—this grandson of the *Massasoit Ousamequin* Yellow Feather⁸⁸ whose name we seldom even bother to record—was serving the duration of his life in overseas slavery.⁸⁹ "[King Phillip's War](#)" was a matter of memory. At this point the paths of two persons of differing race and culture passed in the forest of [Rhode Island](#), and one discharged his weapon at the other.

In her *THE NAME OF WAR: KING PHILIP'S WAR AND THE ORIGINS OF AMERICAN IDENTITY* (NY: Knopf, 1998, pages 182-3), Jill Lepore takes most seriously the warning issued by the Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) in 1692,  "...Our Indian wars are not over yet," and is willing to deal at length with materials that for instance contemporary Quakers may use in their ruminations on 20th-Century renditions of their Peace Testimony:

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

88. *Massasoit* is not a name, but a hereditary title, like *sachem*. Its meaning is approximately equivalent to *Shahanshah*.

89. In all likelihood the teenager had been sold in the West Indies for approximately £3.



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND



In 1681, five years after King Philip's War had ended, two men met in the woods outside Providence. One was English, the other Indian. Both carried guns. When the Englishman, Benjamin Henden, saw the Indian (whose name was never mentioned), he ordered him to halt, but the Indian "would not obey his word, and stand at his Command." Furious, Henden raised his gun and fired, "with an Intent to have killed him." Luckily for the Indian, Henden was a lousy shot and missed his target entirely. And luckily for Henden, the Indian was not a vengeful man. "Notwithstanding the said violence to him offered did not seek to revenge himselfe by the like return ; although he alsoe had a gunn and might have shott at Henden againe if he had been minded soe to have done." Instead of shooting Henden, the Indian man "went peaceably away," stopping only long enough to use "some words by way of Reproof ; unto the said Hernden [sic] blaming him for that his Violence and Cruelty, and wondering that English men should offer soe to shoot at him and such as he was without cause."

Had these same two men met in the same woods five or six years earlier, when King Philip's War was still raging, it is unlikely that both would have survived the encounter unharmed. Henden, if he had traveled at all in Massachusetts, was probably familiar with the law passed in that colony in 1675 dictating that "it shall be lawful for any person, whether English or Indian, that shall finde any Indian travelling or skulking in any of our Towns or Woods ... to command them under their Guard and Examination, or to kill and destroy them as they best may or can." But that law was, of course, no longer in effect (and never was in Rhode Island), and for his anachronistic and misplaced aggression, Henden landed himself in court, condemned for his "late rash turbulent and violent behavior." The case even led the Rhode Island General Assembly to pass "an act to prevent outrages against the Indians, precipitated by a rhode islander shooting an indian in the woods." In the first place, as the Assembly declared, agreeing with Henden's intended victim, Henden had "noe Authority nor just cause" to command the Indian to halt. "Noe person," the Assembly proclaimed, "shall presume to doe any such unlawfull acts of violence against the Indians upon their perills." And more importantly, Henden and others like him must learn to "behave themselves peaceably towards the Indians, in like maner as before the ware."

PROVIDENCE

I very much appreciate this because it so well illustrates the influence of testimony. One person's moderation, one person's individual lived example—to wit, the unnamed native's declining to return fire after an aggressor had discharged his firearm (and thus effectively for a period of about a minute disarmed himself), this anonymous person's having contented himself with a verbal reproach after his life had been so unnecessarily endangered—became magnified in [Rhode Island](#) into a movement toward de-escalation of the race violence.

A model for us all!

During this same year, at [Mount Hope](#) one day, a man was held down and the brand **P** burned into



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his forehead. This was not the mark of

Phillip

the sachem [Metacom](#) of Mount Hope, but stood instead, curiously, for the term of art

Pollution⁹⁰

— because this white man, named Thomas Saddeler, had been observed to have been taking his mare to “a certaine obscure and woodey place, on Mount Hope,” and to have there been engaging in sexual intercourse with her.⁹¹




“As the star of the Indian descended,
that of the Puritans rose ever higher.”

— Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, *THE CHARLES*,
NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63

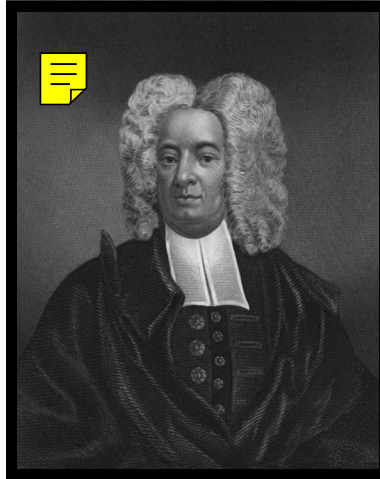


90. Bear in mind in regard to this term **pollution** that the concept **perversion** would not formally enter out medical terminology until 1842, when it would be defined in Duglison’s *MEDICAL LEXICON* as one of the four modifications of function in disease, the other three modifications of function being **augmentation**, **diminution**, and **abolition**.

91. Although we don’t have a record of what happened to the mare, in such cases we know the abused animal was always offed. No way would they have left the mare to the mercy of this Tommy and, also, no way would any other white man have been willing to take charge of it.

As the Reverend [Cotton Mather](#) would put the matter in 1692, 

We have shamefully Indianized in all these abominable things.... Our Indian wars are not over yet.



As Jill Lepore has more recently phrased the matter, relying upon a heightened level of sarcasm and self-awareness,

After fourteen months of bloodshed, followed by three years of intermittent fighting, the colonists were right back where they started, as "Heathenish," as Indian, as ever. Philip's death was only a hollow victory. Depravity still soiled New England... Tempted by the devil, corrupted by the Indian wilderness, Englishmen were still degenerating into beasts.



What was a poor white man to do?

Here, then, was the solution to the colonists' dilemma ... wage the war, and win it, by whatever means necessary, and then write about it, to win it again. The first would be a victory of wounds, the second a victory of words.



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September 1, Monday: The white settlement at [Mount Hope](#) was designated as “[Bristol](#).”

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1682

After the Great Swamp Fight and death of Canonchet, about 3,000 [Narragansett](#) women, children, and old people remained from the pre-war population of about 5,000. At this point, in signing a peace treaty with the English, only 500 remained. Since the Eastern Niantic had remained neutral throughout the war, these surviving Narragansett were permitted to join them on their small reservation near Charleston, [Rhode Island](#). This combined tribe has since then been referred to as the Narragansett.

Josiah Chapin built the 1st saw-mill in Mendon, upon Muddy Brook, just north from Post’s Lane. Matthias Puffer constructed a new grist-mill on the site of the one, built by Benjamin Albee, that had burned during the race war. The town’s original blacksmith, Joseph Stevens, being dead, James Bick was to have a 10-acre lot for taking up “the town’s smithery work,” but as it would turn out, this man would neither do the work nor pay for his lot — and he would refuse to leave. Finally the town constable would resolve the problem by pulling down Bick’s fences (whereupon this man would next show up in Rhode, or Rogue, Island).

[RHODE ISLAND](#)



ROGUE ISLAND

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May 6: The Reverend [Roger Williams](#) wrote to Governor [Simon Bradstreet](#), characterizing himself as “old and weak and bruised (with rupture and colic) and lameness on both my feet.” He had summed up his life under 22 headings: “By my fireside I have recollected the discourses, which (by many tedious journeys) I have had with the scattered English at Narragansett before the war and since. I have reduced them unto these twenty-two heads (enclosed) which is near thirty sheets of my writing. I would send them to the Narragansetts and others; ther is no controversy in them, only an endeavour of a particular match of each poor sinner to his maker.” He asked the governor for advice as to printing this, and alluded to the accounts he had received from England of the beheadings of Shaftsbury and Howard, and of the conflicting accounts he had received of their having been reprieved, etc. while indicating that he desired to put these difficulties into perspective: “But these are but sublunaries, temporaries and trivials. Eternity, O Eternity, is our business.”

[RHODE ISLAND](#)

1683

In [Rhode Island](#), a [William Coddington](#) was again in charge — but this was the namesake son born on January 18, 1651 (or 1652), as the father had died in office on November 1, 1678, aged 77 years.

[Roger Williams](#) died (the precise day of this Reverend’s death is unknown, but we fancy that it occurred sometime between January 16th and March 16th). He was buried in the orchard in the rear of his homestead lot at Towne Street (now North Main Street) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), within the boundaries of the What Cheer farm, at a site said to have been of his own choosing. (After many years his remains would be searched for and nothing whatever would be found other than tree roots, and so some soil that was darker than other nearby soil was arbitrarily shoveled into a soapbox which was then stored in the vault of a descendant in the North Burial Ground.

[DIGGING UP THE DEAD](#)

In 1936 the contents of this soapbox would be sealed within a bronze container and set into the base of the monument erected to his memory on Prospect Terrace. In news reports from time to time, you will observe the comment “We’ve lost track of the location at which Williams was originally buried,” reference is seldom made



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to the dubiousness of the contents of the base of the monument on Prospect Terrace. Curiously, also, while these journalistic efforts are **always** accompanied by a visual, either a sketch or a painting or a statue of Williams, they **never** confess that since no-one took the trouble to describe Williams while he was alive, none of us have **ever had any idea** what he might have looked like — not how tall he was, not what color hair he had, or any other aspect of his physicality. Why is it that they are so careful about the original gravesite while so careless about the appearance, and of the provenance of the supposed artifacts? —This inconsistency seems to be a trade tradition.)



The box is down here, but what's actually in the box?

Here is how the situation would be described in Wilfred Harold Munro's 1881 PICTURESQUE RHODE ISLAND. PEN AND PENCIL SKETCHES OF THE SCENERY AND HISTORY OF ITS CITIES, TOWNS, AND HAMLETS, AND OF MEN WHO HAVE MADE THEM FAMOUS (Providence RI: J.A. & R.A. Reid):

Early in the year 1683, at the ripe age of eighty-four, Roger Williams was gathered to his fathers. Precisely how or when his death occurred is not known. He was buried in a spot said to have been selected by himself on What Cheer, not far from the place where he first landed on Rhode Island shores. At the head of his grave an apple-tree stood for many years. Not long ago, when the grave was opened, the roots of this tree were found to have passed through the space the body is supposed to have occupied. From the main root smaller branches had followed the course of the arms and legs. This singular specimen is still preserved, and may be seen in the Museum of Brown University.⁹²

A few months after his unsuccessful raid on St. Augustine, Captain [Thomas Paine](#) showed up in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) bearing apparently forged sailing papers. Although allegedly he was a privateer with a commission from Sir Thomas Lynch, these papers described Lynch as a "Gentleman of the King's Bed Chamber" rather than as a Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, something that was a dead giveaway. Also, the signature on this proffered document evidently bore little resemblance to Lynch's known signature.

PIRACY

92. Actually, Brown University doesn't have any "Museum of Brown University" and nobody I talked to on campus had any idea where such a "singular specimen" might be being stored.



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1684

Joseph Crandall the son of Joseph Crandall and grandson of John Crandall was born in [Westerly, Rhode Island](#), and would die on February 17, 1750 in Westerly. He had married Anna Langworthy on February 16, 1716 in Westerly (she had been born during 1688 there and died during 1773 there).

Friend [William Penn](#) said something exceedingly Thoreauvian, declaring that “Governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments. Let men be good, and government cannot be bad. If it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be ever so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their tune.”



The Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had asked other Friends throughout America to send delegations to this year’s meeting in Philadelphia, but the only delegations to arrive were from [Rhode Island](#) and from [Maryland](#).

March 6, Monday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), [Friend Walter Clarke](#) got married with the widowed [Friend](#) Freeborn Hart Williams, age 47.



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May 2, Tuesday: [Baron de Lahontan](#) reported from Beaurpré in New France that “In truth, the peasants here live much more comfortably than do many gentlemen in France. When I say peasants, I am in error. One must say habitants, since here, the word peasant is no more welcome than it is in Spain.”

[Friend](#) Thomas Fish of [Portsmouth](#) [[Aquidneck Island](#), [Rhode Island](#)] designated, to his “Grandson Preserved Fish⁹³ the sonn and heire of my Sonn Thomas Fish Late of Portsmouth ... to be by him ... Possessed ... after the terme of Sixteen years ... which will be in the year one Thousand Seven hundred the Late Dwelling house of my ... Sonn Thomas Fish Deceased ... with ... all ... Lands Orchards, Gardens, and Out houses ... in Portsmouth ... containeing ... fiteene Acres ... Bounded on the North by Stephen Cornells Land on the East by the Land Lately belonging to Thomas Cooke Deceased on the South and West by the Highwayes or common of said Towne ... second day of may ... one Thousand six hundred Eighty and four

Wit.
Thomas Ward
Ammy Ward
Mary Billing

Thomas fish

Thomas Fish ... 2: day of may 1684 ... Did ... acknowledge this ... John Albro: Assistant”

November 8, Wednesday: In [Newport](#), [Rhode Island](#), Mary Coggshall, the wife of John Coggshall and mother of [Friend](#) Joshua Coggshall of [Portsmouth](#), died.

1685

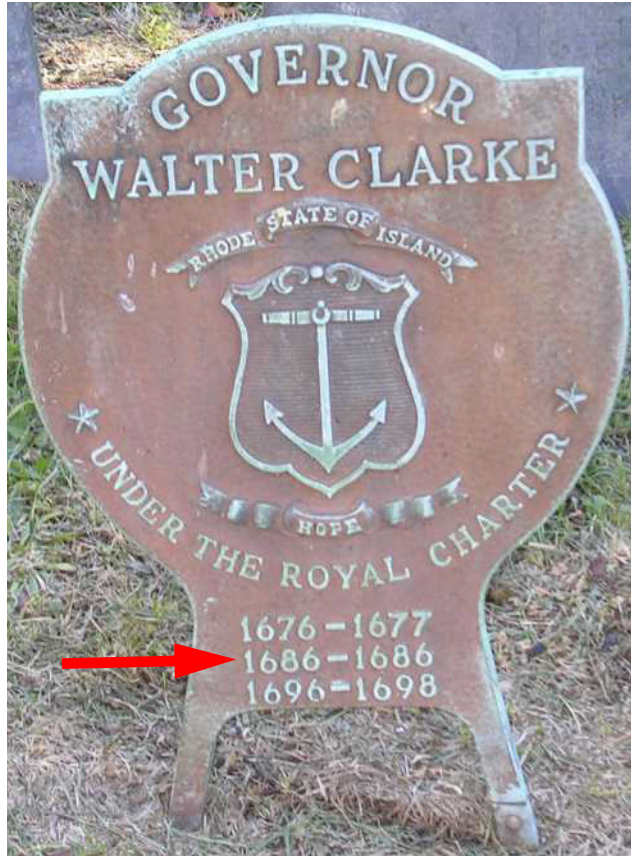
In [Rhode Island](#) Henry Bull was in charge, and Edward Randolph was in the area.

EDWARD RANDOLPH

93. This Friend Preserved (pronounced pre-SER-vedd) Fish (1679-1745) would when he would grow up become the father of Friend Preserved Fish (1713-1813) the centenarian blacksmith of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, and the grandfather of Preserved Fish (1766-1846), a whaling captain who became a merchant first in New Bedford, Massachusetts and then in New-York, and then make himself one of the 28 brokers who created what would eventually become known as the New York Stock Exchange. The family was Huguenot and Quaker. The Preserved of the 3d generation was a convert to Episcopalianism and his remains, as befit an extremely wealthy man, are in Vault 75 of the New York City Marble Cemetery on Manhattan Island.

1686

In [Rhode Island](#), the deputy governor, Friend [Walter Clarke](#), was again elected governor, until the Charter



superseded him by Sir Edmund Andros (but he would be restored to office in 1689). When Sir Edmund Andros



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demanded the colony's charter document, Governor Clarke asked for delay "until a fitter season."



[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)

Sir Edmund Andros assumed authority over the Colony by appointment from Great Britain, and there were no sessions of the General Assembly, but affairs of State were conducted by officers of his selection till 1691, as herewith given:

Rhode Island Members of Sir Edmund Andros 1st Council, held at Boston: John Coggeshall, Richard Arnold, Walter Clarke, Walter Newbury, John Alborough.



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During the interruption in government caused by [King James II](#)'s abortive effort to merge the Massachusetts Bay settlements under royal governor Sir Edmund Andros, the [Huguenots](#) would manage to establish a French

congregation of 45 families in the southeastern part of [East Greenwich](#) (for instance, the Mawney family, whose name in France had been "Le Moigne"). Purchasing some 5000 acres of Narragansett land from the Atherton Land Company, they allotted their farms, planted trees and hedgerows, and began raising crops. There would be friction, however, with their English-speaking neighbors in [Rhode Island](#), over meadows and hay, and the French would remain only until 1691.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

In the autumn of 1686 about forty-five of these French families had come to Rhode Island, and on November 4 had purchased of the Atherton proprietors a large tract of land in the northern part of Kingstown. Here two dozen dwellings were soon erected, lands were cultivated, and a church established. Hardly was the settlement begun when the refugees unwittingly became involved in the bitter dispute over the Narragansett lands that had been so long in progress. In July 1687, some residents of East Greenwich and of Kingstown forcibly carried off forty loads of hay from the Frenchmen's meadows. The Huguenot minister immediately hurried to Boston to make complaint before Governor Andros. When summoned to explain their proceedings, the Greenwich men asserted that the lands in question had been laid out to them nine years before by the Rhode Island government. Andros, unable to make any final decision upon the case, ordered that the cut hay should be equally divided between the English and the French. Although no further encroachment was made upon the settlement during Andros's rule, the precedent thus set was followed a few years later, this time with more harmful results. In the summer of 1691 some inhabitants of East Greenwich, evidently of the more rude and lawless portion of the population, subjected the Huguenots to many annoyances and indignities. Monsieur Ayrault, the old French doctor, thus quaintly refers to their afflictions: "We were molested by the vulgar sort of the people, who, flinging down our fences, laid open our lands to ruin, so that all benefit thereby we were deprived of. Ruin looked on us in a dismal state, our wives and children living in fear of the threats of many unruly persons." He describes how finally the ill treatment became so pronounced that his companions were compelled to flee from the colony, thus being "forced away from their lands and houses, orchards and vineyards." Rhode Island has been accused, and perhaps justly, of not doing enough to repress such disorderly proceedings. There was some justice in the claim of the East Greenwich men that the Atherton proprietors had unscrupulously sold to the refugees a tract of land to which Rhode Island had the prior claim; but the claimants should have sought retribution by legal



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means and not taken the law into their own hands. We can excuse to a certain extent the Westerly participants in the broils and frays upon the southwest border, but the injuries inflicted upon these inoffensive Huguenots can only be condemned as hasty and willful. The Rhode Island legislators, although evidently disapproving of these actions, were either too indifferent or else too familiar with such disorders to repress the persecutors with the arm of the law.

[King James II](#) banned the first New York House of Representatives and prohibited printing presses. The colony's new Charter of Liberties was disallowed. The Crown established the Dominion of New England, covering all lands from New Jersey to Maine.

Businessman Stephanus Van Cortlandt would be appointed mayor of New-York for this and each of the next two years. A new seal was granted to the city, bearing a beaver, a windmill, a flour barrel, a cross, and two Indians.



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1687

Governor Sir Edmund Andros attempted, but failed, to mediate a dispute in [Rhode Island](#) over meadows and hay between the French-speaking Huguenots in the southeastern part of [East Greenwich RI](#) and their English-

HDT

WHAT?

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speaking neighbors.



- 1687 The palace of Versailles, near Paris, finished by Louis XIV.
- 1688 The Revolution in Great Britain begins; November 5, King James abdicates; and retires to France, December 3.
- 1689 King William and Queen Mary, daughter and son-in-law to James, are proclaimed, February 16.
- Viscount Dundee stands out for James in Scotland, but is killed by general Mackey, at the battle of Killycrankie; upon which the Highlanders, wearied with repeated misfortunes, disperse.
- The land-tax passed in England.
- The toleration act passed in ditto.
- Several bishops are deprived for not taking the oath to king William.
- William Fuller, who pretended to prove the prince of Wales spurious, was voted by the commons to be a notorious cheat, impostor, and false accuser.
- 1690 The battle of the Boyne gained by William against James in Ireland.
- 1691 The war in Ireland finished by the surrender of Limerick to William.
- 1692 The English and Dutch fleets, commanded by admiral Russel, defeat the French fleet off La Hogue.
- 1693 Bayonets at the end of loaded muskets first used by the French against the Confederates in the battle of Turin.
- The duchy of Hanover made the ninth electorate.
- Bank of England established by king William.
- The first public lottery was drawn this year.
- Massacre of Highlanders at Glenco, by king William's troops.
- 1694 Queen Mary dies at the age of 33, and William reigns alone.
- Stamp duties instituted in England.
- 1696 The peace of Ryswick.
- 1699 The Scots settled a colony at the isthmus of Darien, in America, and called it Caledonia.
- 1700 Charles XII. of Sweden begins his reign.



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In this year the Eleazar Arnold house was being built on Great Road in Quisnicket ([Lincoln](#)), [Rhode Island](#).



From 1687 to 1691. Court of Quarter-Session held Newport & Rochester: Judge Francis Brinley, Chairman.

Lt.-Col. Peleg Sanford, Maj. Richard Smith, Capt. John Fones, Capt. Arthur Fenner, Capt. James Pendleton, John Coggeshall, Caleb Carr, Sr., Symon Ray, Randall Holden.

1687. Constables: Henry Briteman, Newport.

George Sisson, Thomas Durfee, of Portsmouth.

Jacob Mott, Robert Westgate, Jireh Bull.

John Easton, Jr., John Headley, William Hancock, New Shoreham.

Joseph Mowry, Jamestown.

Justice of the Peace, Kings Province: Capt. John Fones.

Overseers of the Poor: John Maxon, John Fairfield, Haversham.

James Reynolds, Samuel Albro, Rochester.

Capt. Clement Weaver, John Heath, Deptford.

Nathaniel Waterman, Pardon Tillinghast, Shadrack Manton, Providence.

Samuel Stafford, Moses Lippitt, Warwick.

Nicholas Carr, Oliver Arnold, James Towne.

Gideon Freeborn, John Borden, Mathew Borden, Portsmouth.

John Woodman, Benedict Arnold, Lawrence Turner, Peter Easton, Newport.

Robert Guthridge, Nathaniel Niles, New Shoreham.

Lt.-Col. Peleg Sanford, Thomas Ward, Newport.



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The pirate ketch *Sparrow* docked in Boston out of Barbados with Boston native Richard Narramore as its master. According to his tale, he had been hired by 18 pirates “at a cost of 40 pieces of eight each, to deliver them at different places” along the East Coast, from New-York to Newfoundland. These former [pirates](#) were returning home with their treasure. One had been dropped off at Gardner’s Island at the east end of Long Island with his two chests full of gold or dirty laundry, then Christopher Goff had been dropped off at [Newport, Rhode Island](#), and two men with small chests had been dropped off at Damaras Cove, and Thomas Scudder had gone to Salem, and John Danson and his hoard had wound up in Boston. John Danson, Thomas Scudder, Christopher Goff, Edward Calley, and Thomas Dunston were collected and brought before the magistrates. In John Danson’s confiscated chest 900 pieces of eight were discovered, and these men made no bones about the fact that they had been pirates — but since the court had no witnesses, they were released to spend their treasures. “Go thou and sin no more.” Christopher Goff would be employed by the Massachusetts General Court to patrol the coast.

The former [pirate](#) Captain [Thomas Paine](#) owned land in [Newport, Rhode Island](#).

At [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Gideon Crawford arrived from Scotland to set up in business. (He would marry there with Freeloove Fenner.)

January: On the command of Royal Governor Sir Edmund Andros, [Friend Walter Clarke](#) accepted a place in the general council for New England and allowed the government of [Rhode Island](#) to be dissolved. He would continue his functions under the royal commissioner.

June 18, Wednesday: In order to obtain the reward that [Providence, Rhode Island](#) was offering, a native American named Nimrod brought into town the heads of the five wolf pups he had killed. One such wolf hunter would carry on this business to the extent of petitioning the town to set off a part of the Common land, as his reward.

November: When Royal Governor Sir Edmund Andros returned from Connecticut to [Rhode Island](#), [Friend Walter Clarke](#) received him with courtesy and turned the seal of the colony over to him to be destroyed — but he had sent the colony’s charter document to his brother asking that it be concealed in some place unknown to himself.

1688

When a [pirate](#) named Peterson and his crew were brought before a court in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) during this year, a jury of their friends and neighbors of course found them not guilty. “What, my neighbor is a pirate? — I simply cannot credit that!”



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The former [pirate](#) Captain [Thomas Paine](#) was residing at [Newport](#), and at about this time he married with Mercy Carr, daughter of Justice Caleb Carr (who would become governor of [Rhode Island](#)). He also served on a grand jury. (This makes one wonder whether he served on the grand jury that refused to indict the pirate Peterson.)





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ROGUE ISLAND

It is better to have hired Men to till your Land. Negroes cost from twenty to forty Pistoles, according as they are skilful or robust; there is no Danger that they will leave you, nor hired Help likewise, for the Moment one is missing from the Town, you have only to notify the Savages, who, provided you promise them Something, and describe the Man to them, he is right soon found. But it happens rarely that they quit you, for they would know not where to go, there being few trodden roads, and those which are trodden lead to English Towns or Villages, which, on your writing, will immediately send back your Men. There are Ship-captains who might take them off; but that is open Larceny and would be rigorously punished. Houses of Brick and Frame can be built cheaply, as regards Materials, but the Labor of Workmen is very dear; a Man cannot be got to work for less than twenty-four Pence a Day and found.

... Pasturage abounds here. You can raise every Kind of Cattle, which thrive well. An Ox costs from twelve to fifteen Crowns; a Cow, eight to ten; Horses, from ten to fifty Crowns, and in Plenty. There are even wild ones in the Woods, which are yours, if you can catch them. Foals are sometimes caught. Beef costs two Pence the Pound; Mutton, two Pence; Pork from two to three Pence, according to the Season; Flour fourteen Shillings the one hundred and twelve Pound, all bolted; Fish is very cheap, and Vegetables also; Cabbage, Turnips, Onions and Carrots abound here. Moreover, there are Quantities of Nuts, Chestnuts and Hazelnuts wild. These Nuts are small, but of wonderful Flavor. I have been told that there are other Sorts which we shall see in the Season. I am assured that the Woods are full of Strawberries in their Season. I have seen Quantities of wild Grapevine, and eaten Grapes of very good Flavor, kept by one of my Friends. There is no Doubt that the Vine will do very well; there is some little planted in the Country, which has grown. There is Difficulty in getting the European Vine. If some little could be had, much more would be planted. Those who mean to come over thence, should strive to bring with them of the best.

... The Rivers are full of Fish, and we have so great a Quantity of Sea and River Fish that no Account is made of them. There are here Craftsmen of every Kind, and particularly Carpenters for the building of Ships. The Day after my Arrival, I saw them put into the Water one of three hundred Tons, and since, they have launched two others somewhat smaller.



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To come into this Country, you should embark at London, whence a Ship sails every alternate Month. The fittest Season to embark is the End of March; or, the End of August and Beginning of September are the true Seasons, more especially because it is neither too warm nor too cold, and you are then no longer in the Season of the Calms, which are frequent in Summer, and which cause Vessels to spend four Months passing thence. Beyond the Fact that the Heats often occasion Sickness on board, there are no Fatigues to undergo, when one has by him good Store of Refreshments and of all Kinds. It is well, too, to have a Surgeon on the Ship on which you take Passage, as we had on ours. In Regard to the Dangers, Care must be taken to embark on a good Vessel, equipped with an ample Crew and with Cannon, and well provided with Victual, above all, that Bread and Water are not lacking. As for the Route, I have said sufficient above; there is no Danger except in nearing the Land, and on the Banks of Sand found on the Way. We took Soundings in two Places off Cape Sable, which is near Port-Royal or Acadia, where we found ninety Fathoms. At that Time we were only twenty Leagues from Land; we stood off, and came upon St. George's Bank, which is eighty Leagues from Boston, and there found one hundred Fathoms. From that Point, we took no more Soundings, for three Days after we sighted Cape Coot, which is twenty Leagues from Boston towards the South, and on the Morrow we arrived at Boston, after having fallen in with a Number of very pretty Islands that lie in Front of Boston, most of them cultivated and inhabited by Peasants, which form a very fine View. Boston is situated at the Head of a Bay possibly three or four Leagues in Circumference, shut in by the Islands of which I have told you. Whatever may be the Weather, Vessels lie there in Safety. The Town is built on the Slope of a little Hill, and is as large as La Rochelle. The Town and the Land outside are not more than three Miles in Circuit, for it is almost an Island; it would only be necessary to cut through a Width of three hundred Paces, all Sand, which in less than twice twenty-four Hours would make Boston an Island washed on all Sides by the Sea. The Town is almost wholly built of wooden Houses; but since there have been some ravages by Fire, building of Wood is no longer allowed, so that at this present writing very handsome Houses of Brick are going up. I ought to have told you, at the Beginning of this Article, that you pay in London for Passage here twenty Crowns and twenty-four if you prefer to pay in Boston, so that it is better to pay here than in London; you have one Crown over, since one hundred Pounds at London, are equal to one hundred and twenty-five here, so that the twenty Crowns one must pay at London are twenty-five Crowns here, by reason of the twenty-five per cent., and twenty-four is all one



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There is here no Religion other than the Presbyterian, the Anglican, Anabaptist, and our own. We have not any Papists, at least that are known to us....

In Regard to acquiring Land, that which is taken up in the Noraganzet Country costs twenty Pounds sterling per hundred Acres Cash down, and twenty-five on Time, for three Years; but Payment is not made because it is not known whether that Country will remain in the Hands of the Proprietors, wrongly thus called, or belong to the King. Until this Matter be decided, no Payment will be made; in all Cases one cannot be obliged to pay more than the Price above mentioned, and in accordance with the Terms of Contract approved before the Town-mayors. We are even assured that if the King holds the Land, the Price will be Nothing, or at least very little, the Crown contenting itself with a small seignorial reservation, so that one can sell and let, the Property being one's own. The Nicmock Country is the private Property of the President, and Land there costs Nothing. I do not yet know the Quantity they give to each Family; some Persons have told me, from fifty to one hundred [Acres], according to Families.... It rests with those who wish to take up Land to take it in one of the two Countries on the Seashore, or in the Interior. The Nicmock Country is in the Interior, and twenty Leagues from Boston, and an equal Distance from the Sea, so that, when they wish to send or receive Anything from Boston, it must be carted. There are little Rivers and Ponds around this Settlement, fruitful in Fish, and Woods full of Game. M. Bondet is their Minister. The Inhabitants are as yet only fifty-two Persons. The Noraganzet Country is four Miles from the Sea, and consequently it has more Commerce with the Sea Islands, as Boston [two words illegible], and the Island of Rodislan, which is only ten Miles away. This Island, they tell me, is well-settled, and with a great Trade, which I know of my own Knowledge. There are at Noraganzet about one hundred Persons; M. Carré is their Minister.

... You can bring with you hired Help in any Vocation whatever; there is an absolute Need of them to till the Land. You may also own Negroes and Negresses; there is not a House in Boston, however small may be its Means, that has not one or two. There are those that have five or six, and all make a good Living. You employ Savages to work your Fields, in Consideration of one Shilling and a half a Day and Board, which is eighteen Pence; it being always understood that you must provide them with Beasts or Utensils for Labor.

ALERT
ALERT
ALERT





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This Town carries on a great Trade with the Islands of America and with Spain. They carry to the Islands Flour, Salt Beef, Salt Pork, Cod, Staves, Salt Salmon, Salt Mackerel, Onions, and Oysters salted in Barrels, great Quantities of which are taken here; and for their Return they bring Sugar, Cotton Wool, Molasses, Indigo, Sago and Pieces of [illegible]. In the trade with Spain, they carry only dried Fish, which is to be had here at eight to twelve Shillings the Quintal, according to Quality; the Return Cargo is in Oils, Wine and Brandy, and other Merchandise which comes by Way of London, for Nothing can be imported here, coming from a foreign Port, unless it has first been to London and paid the half Duty, after which it can be transported here, where for all Duty one-half per cent is paid for Importation, since Merchandise for Exportation pays Nothing at all.

... You must disabuse yourself of the Impression that Advantages are here offered to Refugees. It is true that in the Beginning some Subsistence was furnished them, but at Present there is a Need of some for those who shall bring Nothing. At Nicmock, as I have before said, Land is given for Nothing, and at Noraganzet it must be bought at twenty to twenty-five Pounds Sterling the Hundred Acres, so that whoever brings Nothing here, finds Nothing. It is very true that Living is exceedingly cheap, and that with a little one can make a good Settlement. A family of three or four Persons can make with fifty Pistoles a fine Settlement; but it needs not less than that. Those who bring much, do well in Proportion.

... One can come to this Country, and return the same as in Europe. There is the greatest Liberty, and you may live without any Constraint. Those who desire to come into this Country, should get themselves naturalized (*fridanniser*) in London in order to be free to carry on Business in any sort of Merchandise, and to trade with the English Islands, without which they cannot do so.

[Subsequent letter report:] ... I forgot to tell you that there is here [Noraganzet] a Temple of Anabaptists, for as to the other Sects of which I spoke in my Report concerning Noraganzet, it is only for that Country and not for Boston, for we have here no religions other than the Anglican, the Presbyterian, the Anabaptists and our own [Huguenot]. As for Papists, I have discovered since being here eight or ten, three of whom are French and come to our Church, and the others are Irish; with the Exception of the Surgeon who has a Family, the others are here only in Passage.



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April 7, Wednesday: The Massachusetts churches sent the Reverend Increase Mather to England to petition for the renewal of the Massachusetts charter.

Sir Edmund Andros was given a new commission by [King James II](#), making him governor of a “Dominion of New England” consisting of the “United Colonies” of New England, New York and New Jersey.

READ THE FULL TEXT

Under this new arrangement, [Friend Walter Clarke](#) was appointed to the governor’s council to represent [Rhode Island](#). When this Royal Governor would be overthrown, this colony would resume its separate charter government, but Friend Walter, carefully not being to blatant about resuming his former post, would for the first ten months allow the deputy governor to fill in for him.

1688. Constables: Sam’l Whipple, Gideon Crawford, Ephraim Pierce, Providence.
Nicholas Cotterill, Joseph Stanton, Haversham.
James Carder, John Rhodes, Warwick.
Jeremiah Smith, Thomas Durfee, John Keas, Portsmouth.
William Gardiner, Rochester.
George Cook, James Towne.
William Rathbone, New Shoreham.
Nathaniel Coddington, Shubael Painter, Benjamin Sherman, Newport.
Sealer at Portsmouth: Robert Lawton.

1689

In roughly this timeperiod, a [hermit](#) of Braintree, Massachusetts called “Tom Revel” was being rumored to be a [regicide](#), or holy man gone crazy. He lived with a pig, in a habitation that seemed to other residents of the area to resemble a pigsty. Whitney’s HISTORY OF QUINCY offered the tale that, when the man died, the Governor of the Province and other distinguished men came out from Boston and served as his pall-bearers. Several facts point to this being sheer fantasy: we know of no regicide of this name, we know that government officials could not have dared to display such public honor to one of the regicides, and we know that they would have been unwilling to show public honor to a mere hermit.



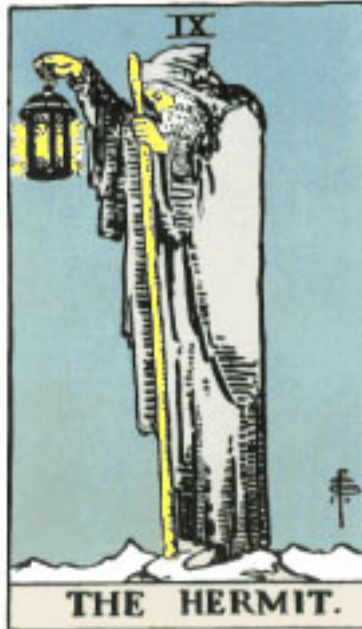
In what would become Windham, New Hampshire a mystery man named John Cates or Kates, who had been around New England at least since 1686, built the initial house. There has been a report that he had come to New England from Virginia, and it was considered possible that he had been the passenger from London who appeared under that name in the manifest of the ship *Safety* as of 1635. He withdrew from society, living for some time as a [hermit](#) in a cave near Windsor. There has been the idle speculation that he was one of the [regicides](#), hiding out, but that seems implausible. The Boston genealogist James Savage has suggested that

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perhaps John Cates had been merely a “misanthropic humorist, perhaps had been a [buccaneer](#), and thought seclusion his safest course.” We know now that he had not always been an isolate, as it would be discovered upon his death on July 16, 1697 that in his will, filed on May 5, 1696, he mentioned offspring in England. In this will he donated land for a community school, and for the poor of Windham, and money to the church (the popular tale that he what he had donated to the church was a set of silver plate is not accurate).



The Sieur Raveneau de Lussan, apparently in debt to some creditors in Paris and unable to continue his fashionable life, had become involved in several [buccaneering](#) expeditions which had taken place in the West Indies and the Pacific coast of South America. In this year he published his *HISTOIRE DES FILIBUSTIERS DE LA MER DE SUD* which would later be translated into English as *JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE INTO THE SOUTH SEAS IN 1684 AND THE FOLLOWING YEARS WITH THE FILIBUSTERS*.

When French [privateers](#) threatened [Block Island](#), a Captain [Thomas Paine](#) (later to become an associate of Captain [William Kidd](#)) sailed from [Newport, Rhode Island](#) and succeeded in driving them off. But where was Captain Kidd himself? In this year he was a member of a privateer crew that commandeered a French ship and brought it to the English colony on the island of Nevis in the Caribbean. Governor Christopher Codrington renamed this ship *Blessed William* in honor of King William III and appointed Kidd to be its captain, with a privateer appointment to defend the island against the French and an agreement that to pay for



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this service he would be entitled to anything he could seize from the French (it would be interpreting this commission very liberally that would get Kidd into beaucoup trouble as a [pirate](#), and lead to his hanging in irons).



In [Newport](#), the [Quakers](#) agreed that “the Yearly Men and Womens Meeting which useth to be at William Coddinton’s shall be ye first part at ye Meeting House and later part for ye affayers of ye Church to be at Walter Newberry’s.” The meetinghouse referred to would presumably have been the repurposed residence that had been donated by the governor, Friend Nicholas Easton.



GREAT MEETINGHOUSE

In [Rhode Island](#), Henry Bull was in charge. From this year into 1763, there would be intermittent colonial wars between England and France, a 75-year struggle for empire that would frequently involve this little colony’s men, money, and ships.



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April 16, Saturday (April 6, Saturday, Old Style): Novelist-playwright Aphra Behn, the first professional female British author, died in London.

John Wilkinson of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), son of Lawrence Wilkinson, got married with Deborah Wilkinson. They would have John Wilkinson, born during March 1690, Mercy Wilkinson, born on June 30, 1694, Sarah Wilkinson, born on June 22, 1696, Freelove Wilkinson, born on July 25, 1701, Daniel Wilkinson, born on June 8, 1703, and Jeremiah Wilkinson, born on June 4, 1707 (it was this youngest son Jeremiah Wilkinson who would become the father of [Jemimah Wilkinson](#), the “Publik Universal Friend” of [Cumberland](#)).

[WILKINSON FAMILY](#)

1690

In [Rhode Island](#), John Easton was governor. An anonymous document titled “A Short Account of the Present State of New England” was published.

EXCERPT FROM DOCUMENT

1690. Special Constable throughout the Main Land: Capt. Andrew Edmonds.
General Sergeant: Charles Tillinghast.
Portsmouth Train Band: Capt. Albro, Lt. Cook.
Prior to the organizing of legislative government, the towns of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport each maintained a local government; selecting their own officers, both civil and military, entirely separate and independent of each other, though afterwards embraced in the same colony.
Warwick never exercised any power of government nor proceeded to elect any officers until the organization of Government in 1647, but by charter from Earl of Warwick, dated March, 1643, which went into effect May, 1647, these three towns were granted all the privileges of selfgovernment, under the name of The Incorporation of Providence Plantations in Narragansett Bay in New England.



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When Henry Bull was elected again as governor of [Rhode Island](#), [Friend Walter Clarke](#) refused, for motives of politics, to deliver up the colonial charter and state records.



The 1st whale killed by a white Nantucketer had been a gray whale (locally known as a “scrag”) that had become trapped in the island’s harbor. In this year, Ichabod Paddock was induced to relocate from Cape Cod to [Nantucket Island](#) in order to teach the Nantucketers something they were eager to learn: techniques for offshore whaling. In decades the Atlantic population of these gray whales would be wiped out.

Summer: Three French [privateers](#) raided [Block Island](#). Captain [Thomas Paine](#) and Captain John Godfrey sailed from [Newport, Rhode Island](#) and fought them off.

September: Captain [Thomas Paine](#) was on a commission appointed by the [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly to apportion the taxes of Jamestown. The former [pirate](#) owned a farm at the north end of Conanicut Island.

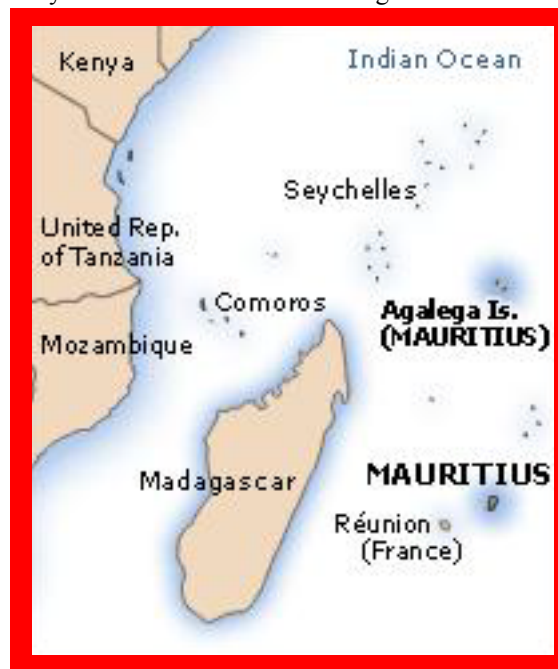


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1691

[Rhode Island](#) born [Thomas Tew](#) purchased a share in the 70-ton sloop *Amity* from some merchants in Bermuda. Sailing with Captain Tew was another sloop commanded by George Drew. Unable to obtain a privateering commission from the Rhode Island Governor, Tew sailed the *Amity* from [Newport](#) to Bermuda and was sold, for £300 sterling, a commission “to attack French vessels,” by Governor Benjamin Fletcher there, who considered Captain Tew to be “a very pleasant man who tells wonderful stories.” Tew then sailed to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean to plunder local shipping. They had been fitted out and commissioned to sail with instructions to take the French factory at Garee on the river Gambia in West Africa. On the voyage out, a storm caused Drew’s sloop to spring her mast and the two vessels lost sight of each other. Captain Tew did not think much of raiding a factory with little or no hope of gold. He therefore proposed raiding other ships and his crew unanimously accepted the change in course. They sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and up the east coast of Africa to the Gulf of Aden at the Red Sea. Just as they reached the entrance to the Red Sea they saw a richly laden Arabian vessel full of soldiers, guns, and gold. She was taken without loss and £3,000 sterling was each man’s share. From there they set sail to the island of Madagascar.





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There 24 of the crew elected to retire and enjoy a life of ease in that delightful climate.



The rest of the company remained with Captain Tew and he set sail for America. Barely out of port he encountered a ship under command of Captain Mission, a famous [pirate](#) from France. Mission had earlier established a pirate haven and colony on Madagascar by the name of "Libertatia." Captain Tew and crew were welcome converts. Madagascar was ideally located and had no government. It is about three times the size of North Carolina. Captain Mission, desiring to strengthen his colony, decided to send a ship to Guinea to seize slave ships. He offered Tew the command of the expedition and gave him a crew of 200 men. After passing the Cape of Good Hope, Captain Tew captured a Dutch East Indianman with 18 guns. He lost one man but got several chests of English Crowns. Nine of the Dutchmen joined his company and the rest were put ashore. Off the coast of Angola, Thomas captured an English vessel with 240 slaves. They were returned to Libertatia after a short voyage around Madagascar, Thomas had the "Amity" refitted and set sail for America. From his New England home port he sent word to his partners in Bermuda to send for their share of the profits from his voyage. Captain Tew's share came to 8000 pounds sterling. Captain Tew applied to Sir William Phips, Governor of Massachusetts, for a new privateering commission, but was refused. However John Easton, Governor of [Rhode Island](#), for 500 pounds sterling issued such a commission. Captain Tew tied up with Frederick Phillips of New York. He backed a new venture and soon the ship *Frederick* was on its way around the Cape and anchored at Libertatia. Captain Tew and Mission each with a ship and 250 men, headed for the Red Sea. Off the coast of Arabia, they came upon a large ship with 1,000 pilgrims, bound for Mecca. They quickly took the ship and put all but 100 teenage girls ashore. They then headed back to Libertatia. The guns from the captured ship were used to help fortify the pirate colony. Not long after that, 5 tall ships from Portugal carrying 50 guns each attacked the pirate haven. Two of the ships were sunk, one was captured, and two escaped. Word of this battle with the pirates spread around Europe and America. Captain Tew was then made Admiral of the Pirate Fleet and at once sought to build up the level of manpower of this pirate Kingdom. First

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Stack of the Artist of Kouroo - Project
Pilgrim Costumes



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he sailed to his old shipmates on the other side of Madagascar. They said no thanks as they preferred their new way of life. While Thomas was ashore, a violent storm came up and wrecked his ship and all 300 men aboard drowned. Weeks later Mission came looking for Tew and once more the two were united. However the news went from bad to worse. Mission had sent out a 2nd ship, this left him with only a token force with women and children. Natives stormed the pirate fort during the night and Mission barely escaped with 45 men, 2 sloops, and a considerable treasure. They decided to go home. They split the treasure and each took a sloop and headed toward the Cape. Before reaching the Cape, Mission went down in a storm. [Thomas Tew](#) made it back to America and for the time being retired in [Rhode Island](#). His men took their share of loot and quietly dispersed. However it did not take long for the men to squander their shares and soon they were soliciting Tew to make another run.

PRIVATEERING

4th of "4th mo.": On the 4th of June, in the records of the [Rhode-Island](#) quarterly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), a notation was made that "it was proposed that some have a mind to buy Sucklin's lot of land at [Providence](#)" for a meetinghouse. (Apparently this deal went through, but "Sucklin's lot of land" was tiny and objectionably close to the road. Most likely, it was one of the smaller warehouse lots on the west side of the main town thoroughfare rather than one of the adequately sized house lots on the east side of this street. A decision would eventually be reached that this lot could not accommodate a structure that was 30 feet square, and so it would be exchanged for another larger lot farther out, near the new 2-story stone-end dwelling house that Eleazer Arnold had just erected, located at 487 Great Road in [Lincoln](#).)



1692

Although some remained in [Newport](#), most of the [Huguenots](#) who had in 1686 taken to farming in a French-speaking colony in [Rhode Island](#) had by this point departed. In France they had been largely of the merchant class, and they had passed on mostly to New-York and Boston. Among the Huguenots who had remained in Rhode Island was the Jamain family of Newport, headed by Etienne (Stephen) Jamain.

August 9, Saturday: Lawrence Wilkinson of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) died.

WILKINSON FAMILY



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1694

When Captain John Hore of [Rhode Island](#) (related to the Hoar family of Concord), under a [privateer](#)'s commission issued in Jamaica, captured a French ship and sailed his prize home, there was no legal body in that colony to certify the legitimacy his possession of this vessel and its cargo. In response to Captain Hore's petition, Rhode Island for the first time established an Admiralty Court which duly declared the seizure to have been legitimate. Captain Hore would rename his prize the *John and Rebecca* and refit it as a privateer — and in the following year would sail off to the Red Sea and the East Indies to engage in flat out [piracy](#).

Captain Hore's career as a pirate skipper aboard his *John and Rebecca* would not prove long and successful.

The *Pelican* would also originate in [Rhode Island](#) as a prize seized from the French, duly condemned and then refitted with 16 guns, some *pateraras* which fired stones, and a crew of 100. Rhode Island Governor Walter Clares would issue a customs commission for the ship to voyage to Jamaica. Captain Colly appointed the Deputy Collector of Customs, Gardiner, as legal attorney to take care of business for them. Several of the original sailors, who wanted to return to Jamaica, refused to sail on the vessel because they knew it wasn't actually heading for Jamaica. It seemed to be common knowledge locally, that Captain Colly and his crew intended "to cruise on the Moors, not intending to Pirate among the Europeans, but honestly and quietly to rob what Moors be in their way." When Captain Colly took the *Pelican* to sea, it headed for Madagascar and a career as a pirate vessel.

Spring: Captain [Thomas Tew](#) and the 70-ton sloop *Amity* were back home at [Newport, Rhode Island](#) with "100,000 pounds sterling worth of ivory, gold, silver, and jewels," and each of his sixty [privateers](#) "with 1,200 pounds apiece," enough to retire on comfortably. Tew deposited his treasure, some suspect at Sakonnet Point or Patience Island, and recruited a new crew to return to Madagascar, an island known in those days as "[Pirates Kingdom](#)."



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September/October: One of the deadliest of Caribbean hurricanes hit off Barbados.



The [pirate Thomas Tew](#) was staffing his sloop *Amity* for another voyage. Meanwhile, John or Joseph Banks of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) was preparing the bark *Portsmouth Adventure* and William Mayes of Newport was preparing the brigantine *Pearl* and Captain Thomas Wake of Boston had brought his bark *Susanna* to Newport to join with them. Captain Want, also a Rhode Islander, would bring the brigantine *Dolphin* to join them. They were convinced that at their destination “the mony was as plenty as stones, & sand,” and that since the people there were Infidels who had no knowledge of God’s Truth, “it was no sin to kill them.”⁹⁴

November 2, Tuesday: By this date Captain [Thomas Tew](#)’s sloop *Amity* and Captain Thomas Wake’s bark *Susanna* had sailed from [Newport, Rhode Island](#).

PIRACY

94. These guys really understood Christianity, didn’t they?



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November 8, Monday: For the sum of £300 sterling, Governor Benjamin Fletcher of New-York,⁹⁵ who considered Captain [Thomas Tew](#) of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) to be “a very pleasant man who tells wonderful stories,” offered him a privateering commission to use his *Amity* to harass French shipping. He would be joined by Captain Want of the Carolinas, and Captain Wake in another vessel, and –forgetting all that noise about being at war with the French– they would proceed directly to the mouth of the Red Sea.

PIRACY

December 24, Friday: Alice Ashton Angell, born and baptized about February 1, 1617/1618 in St. Albans Abbey, Hertfordshire, England, wed to Thomas Angell on April 10, 1643 in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), widowed there less than four months before, died and was buried in Providence, Rhode Island.

Here Followeth the Record of the last will & Testament of Alice Angell of Providence (deceased).

Be it knowne unto all People by these presents That I Alice Angell of the Towne of Providence in the Narraganset Bay in New England (widdow) being now very weake of Body but (through mercy) of sound & Perfect memory do make this to be my last will & Testament. I do give & bequeath unto my foure daughters (viz) Anphillis Smith, deborah Sabeer, Alice Whipple and Margery Whipple all my weareing Apparreill both Woollen & linnen Equally to be devided amongst them, & more over to my Daughter Deborah Sabeer I give one Chamber Pott & two wooden Traves which formerly belonged to my son Hope, & also I give unto my daughter Alice Whipple one Trunke & a Deske which my mother gave to me; Item I do give & bequeath to my son James Angell five Pounds in money. Item, All the Remainder of my goods not before disposed of I do give unto my Two sons (to witt) John Angell & James Angell Equally to be betweene them two devided; And I do make ordaine & appoynt my son James Angell to be my Executor who shall see that my Body be decently buried and performe this my will according to my true Meaneing & intent therein, In witness whereof I do hereunto set my hand & seale the one & Twentyeth day of October Anno: One Thousand six hundred ninty & foure.

And farther my will is, that Each of my foure daughters aforesd shall have so much of my Pewter as may be for a Remembrance of me. memorandum the three lines & the piece of line blotted out was allowed of by ye Testator, it being something mistaken by the scribe & should not have been there.

The marke of X Alice Angell.

Signed & Sealed in the presence of Tho. Olney, Nathaniell Waterman, Epenetus Olney.

James Angell Executor to the Will on the other side of this Paper Written: & Tho. Olney & Nathaniell Waterman & Epenetus Olney witnesses to the said will, have the 15th day of January 1694/5 given Engagement unto the sd Will. The sd will hath the 15th of January 1694/5 been Examined by the Towne Councill of Providence. Attests Tho. Olney Towne Clarke. Recorded August ye 18th 1711 p Tho. Olney Clerk. Herefolloweth ye Record of the Inventory of the Estate of ye deceased Alice Angell of Providence. The Inventory of the Estate of ye deceased Alice Angell: Taken & made January ye 21: 1694/5.

95. Governor Benjamin Fletcher had been appointed in 1692, and would lose his office in April 1698 in part because of such dealings with [privateers](#). In his own defense he is reported to have commented “I was just trying to make them Christians and correct some of their bad language.”



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- weareing Apparrill
- 7 white linnen square Neckcloathes
- 2 blue neckcloathes
- 3 Capps
- 8 Capps & Cofes, white linnen
- 6 head dressings & four Cross Cloathes
- 4 P of Gloves & a Poket handkercherf
- Other small weareing linnen old & worne
- 2 blue Aprons, 1 Greene apron, & one homespun one
- 2 wast Coats
- 3 Petty Coates
- a fine shift & 2 old ones
- sevrall other coats, 1 P of bodyeases & other Apparrill old & much worne
- 1 P of new stockins & other stokins & shooes
- 5 Pounds in Money
- A Trunke & a Deske
- 3 Old bolsters, not fethers, 2 pillowes, & an old straw bed
- A very old flock bedd much Worne & light
- A Fether bed & bolster
- A Fether bed & bolster
- An old boster & 3 old Pillowes
- 4 P of Tow sheets
- 1 P of fine Pillow beers
- 5 Pillow beers
- 5 Napkins
- 4 Towells & a small Table Cloath
- 2 Pillow beers
- 1 P of Blancketts
- 1 P dutch Blancketts
- 1 Rugg Called a smooth Rugg
- 1 Coverlidd
- 1 P of old Blancketts
- 1 old worne out Rugg
- 3 old linnen Cloathes that things were wrapt in
- 3 old Blanketts
- 2 basens & a Pewter Platter
- 2 Chamber potts
- 1 leakey quart pot, 2 pint pots old, & 1 halfe pint pott
- 2 old Pewter small dishes, 2 Poringers, 2 spoones
- An old small bason & Poringers a saucer & 2 old spoons
- 2 small old Bell Mettle posnetts, a brass Candlestick a brass morter & Pestle
- An old brass Chafeing dish & a brass skillet, no frame worne out & Patcht
- 4 Indian woodden dishes, 2 Trayes & a boul
- 1 old Turned boul, a dish, a platter & a skim dish
- 1 old Runlet
- 1 old Earthern pot, a Pann & small dish



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

- 3 old brass Kittles, little better than old brass
- 1 small Iron Pott & small old Iron Kettle
- 1 Frying Pann
- 1 old warming pan
- 1 Tramill, an Eech hooke, an old Grid Iron, a P of Pott hookes, a P of Tongs, a slice handle & a spitt & P of bellows
- 6 Glass pint bottles
- 4 long necked bottles of glass
- 3 old sponnes
- An old lookeing Glass
- 1 Pillo beers
- 3 bed steds
- 5 Chests, a box, & antoher box with drawers
- 1000 of Pinns
- 5 Chaires
- Old Tubbs & such Lumber
- A Table
- A Joynt forme
- A settle

The sum Totall, Errors Excepted, amounts to 46 pounds, 5s., 2d. The abovesd Inventory is a just appriseall of ye Estate of sd Alice Angell; of what was brought to our vew, Taken & Made ye day & yeare abovesd by us Tho: Olney, Nathaniell Waterman. The 12t day of ffebruary 1694/5 James Angell the Executor of the deceased Alice Angell hath made oath to the truth of ye Inventory above written; And also Tho: Olney & Nathaniell Waterman. Recorded August ye 21: 1711 P Tho: Olney Clerk.

1695

Judge Samuel Sewall donated 500 acres of land from the Pettaquamscutt Purchase in [Narragansett](#) Country, for the support of a schoolmaster at [Kingston, Rhode Island](#).

English officials were not only criticizing [Rhode Island](#) for failing to observe the customs laws, but also for serving as an actual base for [pirates](#). The Earl of Bellomont financed an expedition by Captain [William Kidd](#) against pirates “from New England, Rode Island, New York, and other parts in America.”

The [Rhode Island](#) legislature established an annual tax rate of 1s. 8d. for each negro man servant and 10s. for each negro woman servant. (That’s according to the published history book but this can only be a printer’s typo, for the tax on ownership of a female [slave](#) could not conceivably have been that much more than the tax on a male. More likely, the tax on a female slave would have been 10p., or perhaps 1s.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT



RHODE ISLAND

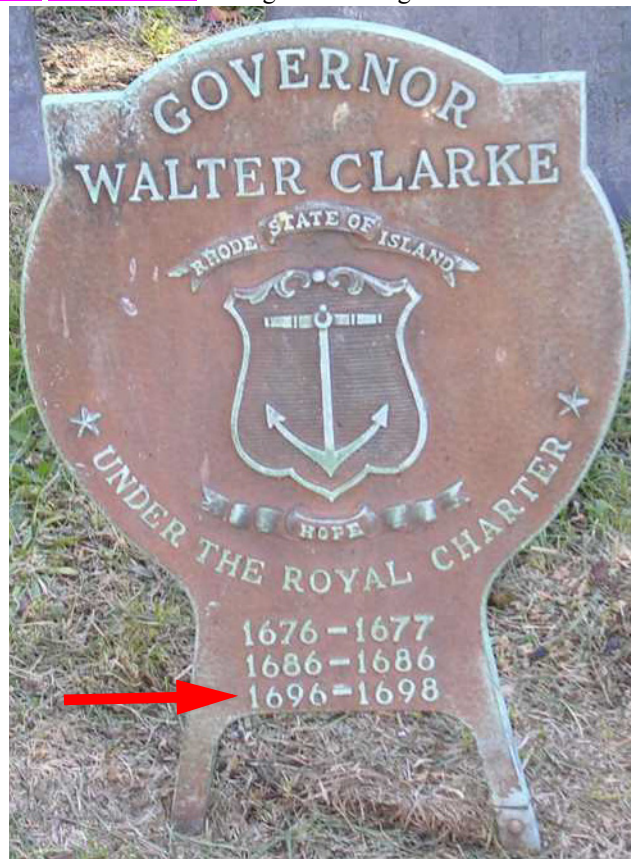
ROGUE ISLAND

In [Rhode Island](#), Governor Caleb Carr died, leaving land in [Newport](#) and a share in Gould Island to his daughter and her husband, the former [pirate](#) Captain [Thomas Paine](#).

June: The American captains [Thomas Tew](#), Want, and Thomas Wake, whose charter had been to harass French shipping, had positioned their [privateers](#) at the mouth of the Red Sea. With not a French ship anywhere on the horizon, they pursued some ships of the Great Mogul of India. Captain Tew's *Amity* was too slow to keep up but along the way he had a chance to capture another such ship — and in the process this [pirate](#) captain of the vessel *Amity* from [Rhode Island](#) got himself shot dead. His crew of 40 then surrendered, according to one story, or, according to another story, managed to seize the prize despite the death of their leader and despite being outnumbered 3 to 1.

1696

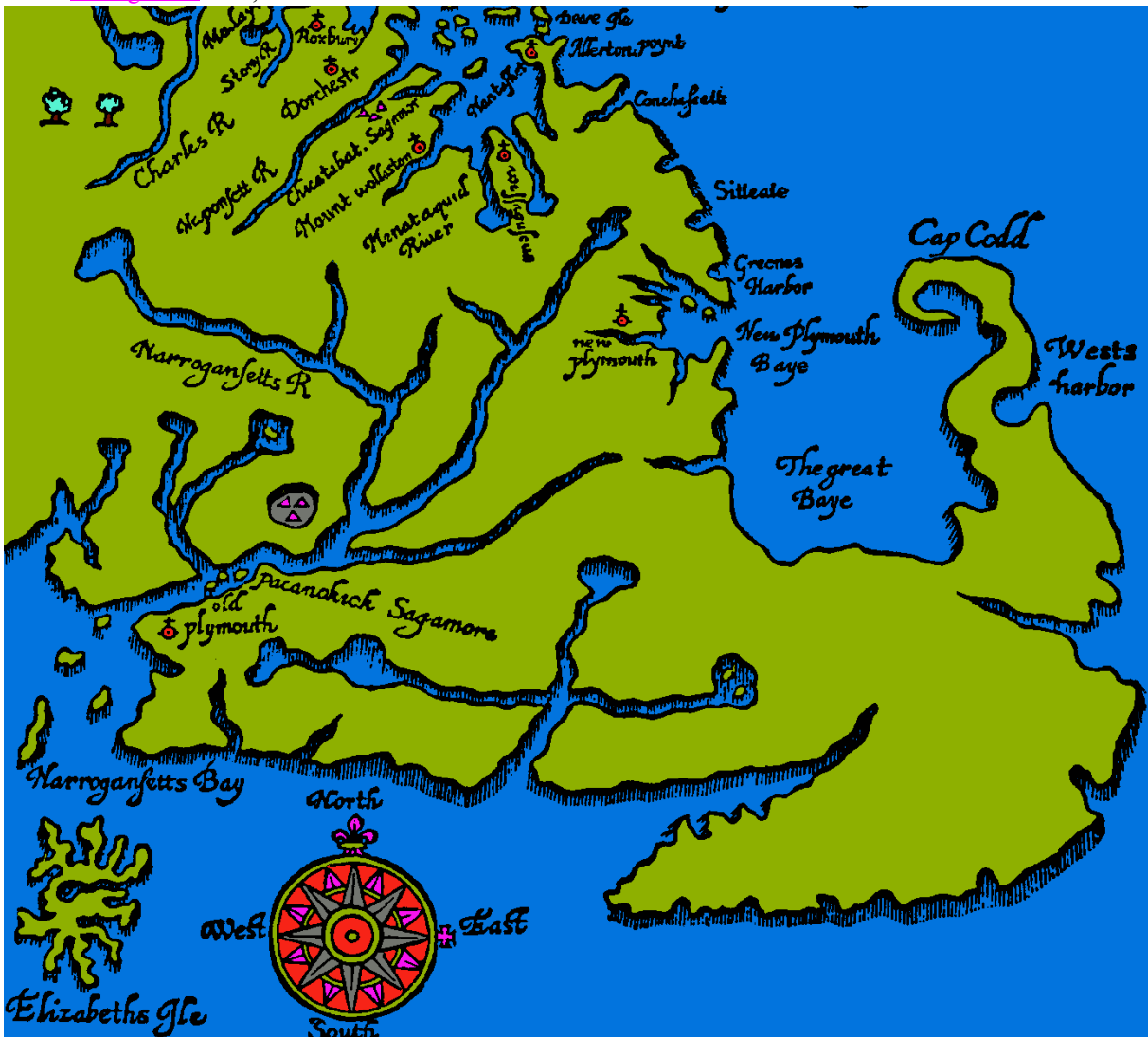
In [Rhode Island](#), [Friend Walter Clarke](#) was again elected governor.



ROGUE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND

Considering free roaming Native Americans and other darkies to be at least as much a social nuisance as the gypsies of Europe or the geckos of Lisbon, and alleging that there had been “divers thefts and robberies,” the [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly restricted black slaves and native Americans, including those of the local [Narragansett](#) tribe, to their homes after 9PM.



The brigantine *Seaflower*, which had been exporting native American [slaves](#) to the Bahamas, was brought from Africa with a cargo of 47 black slaves and stopped off in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) with 19 of them as yet unpurchased, and after being able to dispose of 14 of them locally, marched the remaining 5 overland to [Boston](#) to turn them over to the owners of the vessel.

Meanwhile, in Pennsylvania, Friends Cadwalader Morgan and William Southeby were persuading the Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) to advise Quakers to “be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more negroes.”

THE TRAFFIC IN MAN-BODY



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

"That Friends be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more negroes." Bettle, "Notices of Negro Slavery," in Penn. Hist. Soc. Mem. (1864), I. 383.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: One of the first American protests against the slave-trade came from certain German Friends, in 1688, at a Weekly Meeting held in Germantown, Pennsylvania. "These are the reasons," wrote "Garret henderich, derick up de graeff, Francis daniell Pastorius, and Abraham up Den graef," "why we are against the traffick of men-body, as followeth: Is there any that would be done or handled at this manner?... Now, tho they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men like as we will be done ourselves; making no difference of what generation, descent or colour they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike?"⁹⁶ This little leaven helped slowly to work a revolution in the attitude of this great sect toward slavery and the slave-trade. The Yearly Meeting at first postponed the matter, "It having so General a Relation to many other Parts."⁹⁷ Eventually, however, in 1696, the Yearly Meeting advised "That Friends be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more Negroes."⁹⁸ This advice was repeated in stronger terms for a quarter-century,⁹⁹ and by that time Sandiford, Benezet, Lay, and Woolman had begun their crusade. In 1754 the Friends took a step farther and made the purchase of slaves a matter of discipline.¹⁰⁰ Four years later the Yearly Meeting expressed itself clearly as "against every branch of this practice," and declared that if "any professing with us should persist to vindicate it, and be concerned in importing, selling or purchasing slaves, the respective Monthly Meetings to which they belong should manifest their disunion with such persons."¹⁰¹ Further, manumission was recommended, and in 1776 made compulsory.¹⁰² The effect of this attitude of the Friends was early manifested in the legislation of all the colonies where the sect was influential, and particularly in Pennsylvania.

One of the first duty acts (1710) laid a restrictive duty of 40s. on slaves, and was eventually disallowed.¹⁰³ In 1712 William Southeby petitioned the Assembly totally to abolish slavery. This the Assembly naturally refused to attempt; but the same year, in response to another petition "signed by many hands," they passed an "Act to prevent the Importation of Negroes and Indians,"¹⁰⁴ – the first enactment of its kind in America. This act was inspired largely by the general fear of insurrection which succeeded the "Negro-plot" of 1712 in New York. It

96. From fac-simile copy, published at Germantown in 1880. Cf. Whittier's poem, "Pennsylvania Hall" (POETICAL WORKS, Riverside ed., III. 62); and Proud, HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA (1797), I. 219.

97. From fac-simile copy, published at Germantown in 1880.

98. Bettle, NOTICES OF NEGRO SLAVERY, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM. (1864), I. 383.

99. Cf. Bettle, NOTICES OF NEGRO SLAVERY, PASSIM.

100. Janney, HISTORY OF THE FRIENDS, III. 315-7.

101. HISTORY OF THE FRIENDS, III. 317.

102. Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 395.

103. PENN. COL. REC. (1852), II. 530; Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 415.

104. LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, COLLECTED, etc., 1714, page 165; Bettle, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 387.



ROGUE ISLAND

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declared: "Whereas, divers Plots and Insurrections have frequently happened, not only in the Islands but on the Main Land of *America*, by Negroes, which have been carried on so far that several of the inhabitants have been barbarously Murthered, an Instance whereof we have lately had in our Neighboring Colony of *New York*,"¹⁰⁵ etc. It then proceeded to lay a prohibitive duty of £20 on all slaves imported. These acts were quickly disposed of in England. Three duty acts affecting Negroes, including the prohibitory act, were in 1713 disallowed, and it was directed that "the Dep^{ty} Gov^r Council and Assembly of Pensilvania, be & they are hereby Strictly Enjoyed & required not to permit the said Laws ... to be from henceforward put in Execution."¹⁰⁶ The Assembly repealed these laws, but in 1715 passed another laying a duty of £5, which was also eventually disallowed.¹⁰⁷ Other acts, the provisions of which are not clear, were passed in 1720 and 1722,¹⁰⁸ and in 1725-1726 the duty on Negroes was raised to the restrictive figure of £10.¹⁰⁹ This duty, for some reason not apparent, was lowered to £2 in 1729,¹¹⁰ but restored again in 1761.¹¹¹ A struggle occurred over this last measure, the Friends petitioning for it, and the Philadelphia merchants against it, declaring that "We, the subscribers, ever desirous to extend the Trade of this Province, have seen, for some time past, the many inconveniencys the Inhabitants have suffer'd for want of Labourers and artificers, ... have for some time encouraged the importation of Negroes;" they prayed therefore at least for a delay in passing the measure.¹¹² The law, nevertheless, after much debate and altercation with the governor, finally passed. These repeated acts nearly stopped the trade, and the manumission or sale of Negroes by the Friends decreased the number of slaves in the province. The rising spirit of independence enabled the colony, in 1773, to restore the prohibitive duty of £20 and make it perpetual.¹¹³ After the Revolution unpaid duties on slaves were collected and the slaves registered,¹¹⁴ and in 1780 an "Act for the gradual Abolition of Slavery" was passed.¹¹⁵ As there were probably at no time before the war more than 11,000 slaves in Pennsylvania,¹¹⁶ the task thus accomplished was not so formidable as in many other States. As it was, participation in the slave-trade outside the colony was

105. See preamble of the act.

106. The Pennsylvanians did not allow their laws to reach England until long after they were passed: PENN. ARCHIVES, I. 161-2; COL. REC., II. 572-3. These acts were disallowed Feb. 20, 1713. Another duty act was passed in 1712, supplementary to the Act of 1710 (COL. REC., II. 553). The contents are unknown.

107. ACTS AND LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1715, page 270; Chalmers, OPINIONS, II. 118. Before the disallowance was known, the act had been continued by the Act of 1718: Carey and Bioren, LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1700-1802, I. 118; PENN. COL. REC., III. 38.

108. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 165; PENN. COL. REC., III. 171; Bettie, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 389, note.

109. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 214; Bettie, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 388. Possibly there were two acts this year.

110. LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA (ed. 1742), page 354, ch. 287. Possibly some change in the currency made this change appear greater than it was.

111. Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 371; ACTS OF ASSEMBLY (ed. 1782), page 149; Dallas, LAWS, I. 406, ch. 379. This act was renewed in 1768: Carey and Bioren, LAWS, I. 451; PENN. COL. REC., IX. 472, 637, 641.

112. PENN. COL. REC., VIII. 576.

113. A large petition called for this bill. Much altercation ensued with the governor: Dallas, LAWS, I. 671, ch. 692; PENN. COL. REC., X. 77; Bettie, in PENN. HIST. SOC. MEM., I. 388-9.

114. Dallas, LAWS, I. 782, ch. 810.

115. LAWS, I. 838, ch. 881.



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not prohibited until 1788.¹¹⁷

It seems probable that in the original Swedish settlements along the Delaware slavery was prohibited.¹¹⁸ This measure had, however, little practical effect; for as soon as the Dutch got control the slave-trade was opened, although, as it appears, to no large extent. After the fall of the Dutch Delaware came into English hands. Not until 1775 do we find any legislation on the slave-trade. In that year the colony attempted to prohibit the importation of slaves, but the governor vetoed the bill.¹¹⁹ Finally, in 1776 by the Constitution, and in 1787 by law, importation and exportation were both prohibited.¹²⁰

January 26, Thursday: Captain [William Kidd](#) received a commission from King William III of England to take his [privateer](#) vessel, the *Adventure Galley*, out from New-York to capture the notorious [Rhode Island pirates](#) [Thomas Tew](#), William Mayes, and Thomas Wake:

William the Third, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our trusty and well beloved – Capt. Robert Kidd, commander of the Adventure Galley with a crew of 80 men and mounting 30 guns. Greeting: whereas we are informed, that Capt. Thomas Too, John Ireland, Capt. Thomas Wake, and Capt. William Maze or Mace, and other subjects, natives or inhabitants of New-York, and elsewhere, in our plantations in America, have associated themselves with diverse others, wicked and ill-disposed persons, and do, against the law of nations, commit many and great piracies, robberies and depredations on the seas upon the parts of America, and in other parts, to the great hindrance and discouragement of trade and navigation, and to the great danger and hurt of our loving subjects, our allies, and all others, navigating the seas upon their lawful occasions. Now know ye, that we being desirous to prevent the aforesaid mischief's, and as much as in us lies, to bring the said pirates, freebooters and sea-rovers to justice, have thought fit, and do hereby give and grant to the said Robert Kidd, to whom our commissioners for exercising the office of Lord High Admiral of England, have granted a commission as a private man-of-war, bearing date the 11th day of December, 1695, and unto the commander of the said ship for the time being, and unto the officers, mariners, and others which shall be under your command, full power and authority to apprehend, seize, and take into your custody as well the said Capt. Thomas Too, John Ireland, Capt. Thomas Wake and Capt. Win. Maze or Mace, as all such pirates, free-booters, and searovers, being either our

116. There exist but few estimates of the number of slaves in this colony: –

In 1721, 2,500-5,000. DOC. REL. COL. HIST. NEW YORK, V. 604.

In 1754, 11,000. Bancroft, HIST. OF UNITED STATES (1883), II. 391.

In 1760, very few. Burnaby, TRAVELS THROUGH N. AMER. (2d ed.), page 81.

In 1775, 2,000. PENN. ARCHIVES, IV 597.

117. Dallas, LAWS, II. 586.

118. Cf. ARGONAUTICA GUSTAVIANA, pages 21-3; DEL. HIST. SOC. PAPERS, III. 10; HAZARD'S REGISTER, IV. 221, §§ 23, 24; HAZARD'S ANNALS, page 372; Armstrong, RECORD OF UPLAND COURT, pages 29-30, and notes.

119. Force, AMERICAN ARCHIVES, 4th Ser., II. 128-9.

120. AMERICAN ARCHIVES, 5th Ser., I. 1178; LAWS OF DELAWARE, 1797 (Newcastle ed.), page 884, ch. 145 b.



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subjects, or of other nations associated with them, which you shall meet with upon the seas or coasts, with all their ships and vessels, and all such merchandises, money, goods, and wares as shall be found on board, or with them, in case they shall willingly yield themselves; but if they will not yield without fighting, then you are by force to compel them to yield.

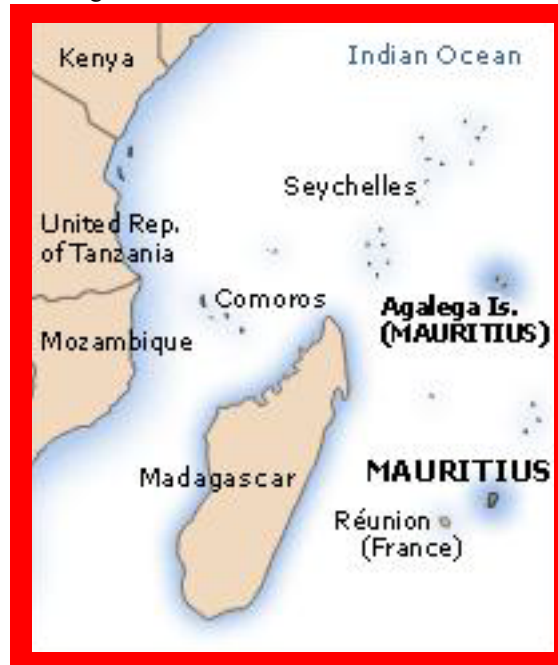
And we also require you to bring, or cause to be brought, such pirates, freebooters, or sea-rovers, as you shall seize, to a legal trial, to the end they may be proceeded against according to the law in such cases. And we do hereby command all our officers, ministers, and other of our loving subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting to you in the premises. And we do hereby enjoin you to keep an exact journal of your proceedings in execution of the premises, and set down the names of such pirates, and of their officers and company, and the names of such ships and vessels as you shall by virtue of these presents take and seize, and the quantities of arms, ammunition, provision, and lading of such ships, and the true value of the same, as near as you can judge.

In witness whereof, we have caused our great seal of England to be affixed to these presents. Given at our court in Kensington, the 26th day of January, 1695, in the 7th year of our reign.

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After several months of no success, Captain [William Kidd](#) would take on new crewmembers and sail again. By the time they reached Madagascar they had been able to loot several ships, but not enough to pay the salaries the crew was demanding.



When Captain Kidd refused his gunner William Moore's demand that they attack any ship they came upon, Moore attempted mutiny and was killed by Kidd (he hit him on the head with a wooden bucket). When they reached Madagascar, 90 members of this 150-man crew deserted.



Three years later, upon his return, he would find he faced charges of [piracy](#) for the manner in which he had been interpreting this permission, and of murder for the killing of the mutineer. He would deposit some of his loot with the owner of Gardiners Island, which is at the eastern tip of Paumanok Long Island. Since British law required that all accused of piracy receive their trials in England, Kidd would be transported there. He would be found guilty of piracy and murder, and would [hang](#) on May 23, 1701. The only portion of his loot

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ever to be recovered would be that portion which had been listed on the witnessed manifest at Gardiners Island. Some assert that the bulk of his loot is still under the sands of Campobello Island, which is just across the Canadian boundary. Others assert, on the basis of some cryptic remarks that Kidd made just before the noose choked off his breath, that the loot is buried somewhere near Old Saybrook, in Connecticut.



January 29, 1696: Thomas Randall was [hanged](#) for murder at Stonebridge Kingsland.

Fall: The trial in London for [piracy](#) of some members of Henry Every's crew resulted in such damaging information about [Rhode Island](#)'s governmental looseness that the Board of Trade began to wonder whether it might be necessary to revoke that colony's charter.

1697

[Gabriel Bernon](#) relocated permanently from [Boston](#) to [Rhode Island](#). While in Massachusetts, he had been a member of the French Church in Boston, but in [Newport](#), where he initially settled, he joined the Trinity Church, which was Episcopal, which is to say, part of the Church of England.



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February: When Captain [William Kidd](#)'s *Adventure Galley* stopped off at the island of Mehila in the Comoros for some urgently needed repairs, 50 crewmen were lost to fever and disease.

[PRIVATEERING](#)

Captain [John Hoar](#) arrived at Saint Mary's Island, a [pirate](#) haven. The natives attacked and Hoar was killed. (This namesake grandson of [John Hoar](#) of [Concord](#) thus predeceased the ancestor after whom he had been named.)

The Board of Trade wrote from England to [Rhode Island](#) to warn that "due care should be taken for the future, that no pirates or sea-robbers be anywhere sheltered or entertained, under the severest penalties." Their letter went on to explain that they were well aware of the sort of stunts that the Rhode Island settlement had been pulling off: "We are obliged, in giving you this notice, to recommend it so much the more particularly to your care, by reason that upon occasion of the late trials of some of Avery's crew here, several informations have been transmitted to us, wherein mention is made of Rhode Island as a place where pirates are ordinarily too kindly entertained; some of the expressions in those papers are as follows: 'William Mews, a pirate, fitted out at Rhode Island. Thomas Jones is concerned in the Old Bark, with Captain Want, and lives in Rhode Island. Want is gone into the Gulf of Persia, and in all probability is either at Rhode Island or Carolina by this time. Want's wife lives there. Want broke up there about three years ago, after a good voyage, and spent his money there, and in Pennsylvania.' These, and such like things, we say, obliges us to more strictly require of you that an extraordinary care be henceforwards taken in that Island for the preventing and suppressing such like practices; and particularly that all persons who are anyways involved in that guilt, be sought out and punished, according to the utmost severity of the law; of which we expect a particular account."

[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)

April: The Board of Trade considered a letter from Captain Benjamin Davis of [Boston](#) informing them of "such a bloody crew of privateers at [Rhode Island](#) that the Government cannot rule them, and the sober men are in fear of their lives." The governor, [Friend Walter Clarke](#), made no response.

[PIRATE](#)

Another letter of complaint was therefore sent out, this one in regard to [Rhode Island](#)'s persistent neglect to prosecute those who were evading payment of duties and customs. Although the colony had enacted during July 1696 that no vessel owner could procure a commission unless he provided a bond of a thousand pounds that he would "not proceed upon any unlawful act," the letter noted that for some reason this measure had been ineffectual. This letter went on, to warn the colony that it might well lose its charter unless it promptly cleaned up its act.

[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)



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June: At the court in Philadelphia, in the presence of Governor Markham, and justices Edward Shippen, Charles Sanders, John Farmer, and Charles Sober, and Attorney General David Lloyd, and Thomas Robinson representing the Earl of Romney, the case of James Brown, member of assembly and son-in-law to Governor Markham, came to trial. Jan Mathias, a Swede, and Peter Clawson, a Dutchman, brought to testify against him, offered the court only long and vague tales of numerous voyages to distant places, with apparent intent to cover over any direct or voluntary piracies of their own. Neither witness alleged any positive culpability to Brown. As the court recorded no decision, it seems likely that Brown was dismissed without punishment. They alleged that in Africa, they had been forced into Captain Avery's pirate vessel and in it had subdued a great Turk in the Red sea, and had taken its money and let it go, but that other than that they had not met with much success. Being at length in the East Indies in 1693/1694, the accused, James Brown, had come on board from the "New Bark" out of Rhode Island, and asked for safe passage home to Rhode Island. The testimony was that after Brown had come on board, there had been no further [piracy](#). They had come across the Atlantic to Cat Island, and had thence gone to [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#), where they and some others had been discharged. Some of them had gone to New London and some to New-York, finally to West Jersey, and then to Philadelphia, where hearing that a man had come to seize Avery and all his men, and that there was also a proclamation of pardon, they had forthwith surrendered to the authorities, etc.

1698

A court of admiralty had been created in [Rhode Island](#), contrary to the wishes of [Friend Walter Clarke](#), and he withheld the commission of the judge and was threatened with impeachment.

Required to take an oath of allegiance to the King of England in order to continue as governor, which as a Quaker he was unable to do, [Friend Walter Clarke](#) resigned in favor of his nephew Samuel Cranston,¹²¹ whose father John Cranston had once been governor, who became the new governor of [Rhode Island](#). His long administration, until 1727, would establish internal unity and bring the colony into a working relationship with the government in London.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

Robert Munday and George Cutler were arrested as [pirates](#) and a large sum of money was found in their ship *Fowy*, along with various East Indies commodities. Their trials indicate that the legal system of [Rhode Island](#) amounted to a money-laundering scheme for piracy — they were immediately set free on bail, with the rule of this legalistic pawnshop being that if no one showed up to claim the cash and goods and levy charges against them, they would of course be acquitted.

121. Samuel Cranston had been born on August 16, 1659. He married Mary Hart during 1680 in [Newport](#). Mary was born during 1663 in Newport. She died on September 17, 1710 in Newport and was buried in Newport's Clifton Burial Ground. Samuel would be 30 times successively chosen by the voters, holding this office until his death on April 26, 1727 in Newport — probably longer than any other American politician ever required to seek annual re-election. The town of [Cranston, Rhode Island](#) would be named for Governor Samuel Cranston. (The Quaker meetinghouse erected in 1729 there still stands.) (The blue flag of Cranston bears a shield is red with a white border, with on the shield a representation of three white cranes; under the shield there is a white ribbon with a red border, and the words DUM VIGILO CURO imposed in yellow and gold. This design was taken from the coat of arms of Governor Samuel Cranston. The motto is said to render into English as "While I watch, I care.")

RHODE ISLAND

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The former [pirate](#) Captain [Thomas Paine](#) became a freeman of [Rhode Island](#).



The British Parliament did away with the Royal African Company's monopoly on the international [slave](#) trade, opening it to all British merchants, who would in some cases carry on a triangular trade from New England to Africa to the Caribbean islands to New England. Merchant vessels would carry New England rum to African slavers, and African slaves on the "[Middle Passage](#)" to the West Indies, and West Indian sugar and molasses to New England — for the rum distilleries there.

There would be numerous distilleries on the shores of the [Narragansett Bay](#). Roughly half the spirits produced there would be consumed in New England, and the other half would be high-proof stuff intended for trading along the coast of Africa.

The 1st legal slaving venture out of Bristol, England: the *Beginning* carried enslaved Africans from Africa to Jamaica.

[TRIANGULAR TRADE](#)

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In 1698 Parliamentary interference with



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the trade began. By the Statute 9 and 10 William and Mary, chapter 26, private traders, on payment of a duty of 10% on English goods exported to Africa, were allowed to participate in the trade. This was brought about by the clamor of the merchants, especially the "American Merchants," who "in their Petition suggest, that it would be a great Benefit to the Kingdom to secure the Trade by maintaining Forts and Castles there, with an equal Duty upon all Goods exported."¹²² This plan, being a compromise between maintaining the monopoly intact and entirely abolishing it, was adopted, and the statute declared the trade "highly Beneficial and Advantageous to this Kingdom, and to the Plantations and Colonies thereunto belonging." Having thus gained practically free admittance to the field, English merchants sought to exclude other nations by securing a monopoly of the lucrative Spanish colonial slave-trade. Their object was finally accomplished by the signing of the Assiento in 1713.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: South Carolina had the largest and most widely developed slave-trade of any of the continental colonies. This was owing to the character of her settlers, her nearness to the West Indian slave marts, and the early development of certain staple crops, such as rice, which were adapted to slave labor.¹²³ Moreover, this colony suffered much less interference from the home government than many other colonies; thus it is possible here to trace the untrammelled development of slave-trade restrictions in a typical planting community.

As early as 1698 the slave-trade to South Carolina had reached such proportions that it was thought that "the great number of negroes which of late have been imported into this Collony may endanger the safety thereof." The immigration of white servants was therefore encouraged by a special law.¹²⁴ Increase of immigration reduced this disproportion, but Negroes continued to be imported in such numbers as to afford considerable revenue from a moderate duty on them. About the time when the Assiento was signed, the slave-trade so increased that, scarcely a year after the consummation of that momentous agreement, two heavy duty acts were passed, because "the number of Negroes do extremely increase in this Province, and through the afflicting providence of God, the white persons do not proportionately multiply, by reason whereof, the safety of the said Province is greatly endangered."¹²⁵ The trade, however, by reason of the encouragement abroad and of increased business activity in exporting naval stores at home, suffered scarcely any check, although repeated acts, reciting the danger incident to a "great importation of Negroes," were passed, laying high duties.¹²⁶ Finally, in 1717, an additional duty of £40,¹²⁷ although due in

122. Quoted in REPORT OF THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL, under "Most Material Proceedings in the House of Commons," Vol. I. Part I. An import duty of 10% on all goods, except Negroes, imported from Africa to England and the colonies was also laid. The proceeds of these duties went to the Royal African Company.

123. Cf. Hewatt, HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF S. CAROLINA AND GEORGIA (1779), I. 120 ff.; reprinted in S.C. HIST. COLL. (1836), I. 108 ff.

124. Cooper, STATUTES AT LARGE OF S. CAROLINA, II. 153.

125. The text of the first act is not extant: cf. Cooper, STATUTES, III. 56. For the second, see Cooper, VII. 365, 367.

126. Cf. Grimké, PUBLIC LAWS OF S. CAROLINA, page xvi, No. 362; Cooper, STATUTES, II. 649. Cf. also GOVERNOR JOHNSON TO THE BOARD OF TRADE, Jan. 12, 1719-20; reprinted in Rivers, EARLY HISTORY OF S. CAROLINA (1874), App., xii.



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depreciated currency, succeeded so nearly in stopping the trade that, two years later, all existing duties were repealed and one of £10 substituted.¹²⁸ This continued during the time of resistance to the proprietary government, but by 1734 the importation had again reached large proportions. "We must therefore beg leave," the colonists write in that year, "to inform your Majesty, that, amidst our other perilous circumstances, we are subject to many intestine dangers from the great number of negroes that are now among us, who amount at least to twenty-two thousand persons, and are three to one of all your Majesty's white subjects in this province. Insurrections against us have been often attempted."¹²⁹ In 1740 an insurrection under a slave, Cato, at Stono, caused such widespread alarm that a prohibitory duty of £100 was immediately laid.¹³⁰ Importation was again checked; but in 1751 the colony sought to devise a plan whereby the slightly restricted immigration of Negroes should provide a fund to encourage the importation of white servants, "to prevent the mischiefs that may be attended by the great importation of negroes into this Province."¹³¹ Many white servants were thus encouraged to settle in the colony; but so much larger was the influx of black slaves that the colony, in 1760, totally prohibited the slave-trade. This act was promptly disallowed by the Privy Council and the governor reprimanded;¹³² but the colony declared that "an importation of negroes, equal in number to what have been imported of late years, may prove of the most dangerous consequence in many respects to this Province, and the best way to obviate such danger will be by imposing such an additional duty upon them as may totally prevent the evils."¹³³ A prohibitive duty of £100 was accordingly imposed in 1764.¹³⁴ This duty probably continued until the Revolution.

March 22, Sunday: [James Brown II](#) was born in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

127. Cooper, STATUTES, VII. 368.

128. Cooper, STATUTES, III. 56.

129. From a memorial signed by the governor, President of the Council, and Speaker of the House, dated April 9, 1734, printed in Hewatt, HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF S. CAROLINA AND GEORGIA (1779), II. 39; reprinted in S.C. Hist. Coll. (1836), I. 305-6. Cf. N.C. COL. REC., II. 421.

130. Cooper, STATUTES, III. 556; Grimké, PUBLIC LAWS, page xxxi, No. 694. Cf. Ramsay, HISTORY OF S. CAROLINA, I. 110.

131. Cooper, STATUTES, III. 739.

132. The text of this law has not been found. Cf. Burge, COMMENTARIES ON COLONIAL AND FOREIGN LAWS, I. 737, note; Stevens, HISTORY OF GEORGIA, I. 286. See instructions of the governor of New Hampshire, June 30, 1761, in Gordon, HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, I. letter 2.

133. Cooper, STATUTES, IV. 187.

134. This duty avoided the letter of the English instructions by making the duty payable by the first purchasers, and not by the importers. Cf. Cooper, STATUTES, IV. 187.



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April: The accused local [pirate](#) William Downs escaped from the [Newport, Rhode Island](#) jail when the Under Sheriff let him out to “ease himself.” (Usually, in Newport, if a trial was not expected to clear the local citizen who had been accused of piracy, the prisoner would receive the advantage of a wonderfully negligent sheriff and jailer. No sheriff or under sheriff would ever be charged with negligence for having allowed a local-boy pirate type to escape from custody.)

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary for this month included the following entries:

April 17 (Old Style): *Mr. Morbus on: 3.Act:14. The holy Sacrament followed, at which I communicated with my Wife, being to go to Lond, to be with her D. Drapers lying in.*

April 19 (Old Style): *My Wife went with my sick sonn &c to Lond[on]*

April 21 (Old Style): *The Czar of Mosco[vy] went from my house towards Russia, &c:*



May: The new government of Governor Cranston in [Rhode Island](#) issued a general proclamation warning the citizenry that [pirates](#) were not to be harbored, nor were stolen goods to be received. It instructed its officers to detain anyone found to be flashing suspicious amounts of foreign coin or merchandise. Governor Cranston wrote a response to the Board of Trade's long letter of complaint of over a year earlier, claiming ignorance of the pirates they had enumerated and asserting that very much to the contrary, no Rhode Islander would ever countenance any fancy goings on. Then a few weeks later, Randolph, while at Newport upon his return from New-York, wrote to the Board of Trade citing that Rhode Island was an utterly lawless place and pointing out that “The Governor and his two uncles have been very great gainers by the pirates which have frequented Rhode Island. Three or four vessels have been fitted out from thence to the Red Sea. Walter Clarke, the late Governor, and his brother, now the Recorder of the place, have countenanced pirates and enriched themselves thereby.”

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

[John Evelyn](#)'s diary for this month included the following entries:



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May 8 (Old Style): *Extraordinary greate Snow, & frost, nipping & spoiling the Corne and other fruits universaly, & threatning famine, Corne at 9s. per bushell, & all thi[ng]s else extraordinary deare: The french K[ing] preparing a greate Fleete, and army at Land, as is thought ready to invade Spaine & his dominion, expecting the death of that valetudinary King: Poland still in Confusion: The Czar landed in Holland: My daugh[t]er Draper brought to bed of a fine Boy:...*

May 19 (Old Style): *Was my Grandson Draper Christn'd William; they would faine have had it Evelyn (making me Godfather as I was) but for some reasons I desired it might be William: Sir Jo: Conniers stood for me; The Godmother was one Mrs. Brent, a Relation of my Son in Laws, a very fine prudent Lady: The Weather was so very Cold, wett & unseasonable as had not ben known by any almost alive, not onely in this nation but most part of Europe: all tree fruits ruined, & threatning the rest with famine.*

May 23 (Old Style): *I came from Wotton to Lond[on] about suffering a Recovery, about a new, & unreasonable Settlement of the Estate in Surry, which I was advised not to do:*

May 29 (Old Style): *... E. India-Comp: like to be broken & dissolved, to set up another who offered to subscribe two Millions, to the greate alarme of the other.*

May 30 (Old Style): *I dined at [Mr. Pepyss](#), where I heard that rare Voice, Mr. Pate, who was lately come from Italy, reputed the most excellent singer, ever England had: he sang indeede many rare Italian Recitatives, &c: & severall compositions of the last Mr. Pursal,¹³⁵ esteemed the best composer of any Englishman hitherto:*



135.Henry Purcell (c. 1658-1695).



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August: The Board of Trade wrote to Governor Samuel Cranston of [Rhode Island](#), rejecting his defense of his colony's irregular trade and its toleration of [piracy](#) as "defensive." "You know better," they commented. They marveled at "how you could write that." They suspected that the governor of this colony was just stringing them along — but the best they could produce in response amounted to impotent sarcasm by letter (and we all know how much that's worth).

September 6, Saturday: One of Henry Avery or Every's [pirates](#), John Devin, was apprehended in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).





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September 20, Saturday: The [pirate](#) John Devin was taken before the magistrates of [Providence](#). According to his testimony the pirate captain Henry Avery or Every had come to that city after leaving Madagascar.



“In April of 1696, Capt. Every, alias Bridgemen, came to the harbor of Providence with the ship *Charles*, alias *Fancy*, where the captain and his ships crew, I being one of them, left the *Charles* behind and purchased other vessels to make their way to Ireland.” John Devin implied that the Governor of [Rhode Island](#) had assisted Avery in purchasing a vessel and supplies to escape. Devin would be held in the local jail for a couple of months and then set free to enjoy his treasure. Some believe that Henry Avery or Every took the name Tom Bridgeman in Ireland and lived for many comfortable years near Broadhaven on the island’s west coast.

December: The Board of Trade complained to King William III of England that the irregular trade and piracy conducted out of [Rhode Island](#) ports “have been very notorious,” and recommended that he issue a writ of *quo warranto* for revocation of the colony’s charter. The commission to investigate the situation reported 25 paragraphs of irregularities. Among these were the issuance by Deputy Governor Green of commissions to persons who then committed [piracy](#) in the seas of India, and the “countenancing and harbouring of pirates.” The Rhode Island government of course would promise to try hard to reform.

December: When the *Nassau* had arrived at New-York and [Newport, Rhode Island](#) from Madagascar, Captain Edward Coats had found that the £700 in silver he had given to Governor Fletcher was useless as Fletcher had been recalled in disgrace to England. In this month Colonel Baynard of New-York testified before the London Board of Trade that despite this setback, Captain Coats had gotten his treasure ashore, for “pieces of Arabian gold are common in New-York and Rhode Island, after the arrival there of [pirate](#) Captain Coats from the Red Sea.”

[Christmas](#): Theophilus Turner viewed, protruding from a Madagascar mud flat, “the ribs of Captain Hoar’s ship, who sailed out of New England.” This was [pirate](#) Captain John Hore’s *John and Rebecca*, which had fitted out in [Rhode Island](#) — the ship and its crew had been attacked by natives.



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1699

[Rhode Island](#) had become the only New England colony to make extensive use of black [slaves](#) both for labor and as a commodity in trade. The major [international slave trade](#) markets in the American colonies were located (now hear this) at [Newport](#) and at [Bristol](#). This factoid has been so heavily papered over by the revisionist-history industry that we don't now have any idea where they had positioned their slave barracoons. At least a few of the slave importers (now hear this) and at least a few of the [privateers](#) were [Quakers](#).

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The rigorous climate of New England, the character of her settlers, and their pronounced political views gave slavery an even slighter basis here than in the Middle colonies. The significance of New England in the African slave-trade does not therefore lie in the fact that she early discountenanced the system of slavery and stopped importation; but rather in the fact that her citizens, being the traders of the New World, early took part in the carrying slave-trade and furnished slaves to the other colonies. An inquiry, therefore, into the efforts of the New England colonies to suppress the slave-trade would fall naturally into two parts: first, and chiefly, an investigation of the efforts to stop the participation of citizens in the carrying slave-trade; secondly, an examination of the efforts made to banish the slave-trade from New England soil.

In this year the Narragansett Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) began. (In the following year it would change its name to the [East Greenwich](#) Monthly Meeting.)

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The completion of the [Great Meetinghouse](#) of the [Friends](#) at [Newport, Rhode Island](#) on the land donated in 1676 by Friend Nicholas Easton made this the largest structure of any kind in the colonies between Boston and New-York. They set the new building back from the existing house that they had inherited from Friend Nicholas Easton, on Farewell Street. One thousand worshippers could be seated.¹³⁶






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The former [pirate](#) Captain [Thomas Paine](#) of [Rhode Island](#) was involved with Captain [William Kidd](#) and with James Gillam, who sailed up the West Passage of the Narragansett Bay and anchored off his farm at the north end of Conanicut Island. They sent a boat and Captain Paine went aboard. He accepted some sums intended for the support of Mrs. Kidd in [Boston](#).



136. Although this view of the meetinghouse is from a lithograph made in 1865, it dates to approximately 1740 since the lithograph was based upon an over-mantle oil painting that is at the Newport Historical Society. The image depicts the meetinghouse still in its original square configuration, and still with its steeple. Notice that after there weren't enough Quakers in Rhode Island anymore, to justify such a large structure, it would be repurposed in 1905  as a black amusement center, hosting dances and that sort of thing — but that after it had been restored as a Quaker meetinghouse for purposes of the [Newport](#) tourist industry and carriage trade, no mention would be made in the tourist literature that the structure had also served as a black dancehall! —Gee, I wonder why it might be that the irony of it all so escapes people....

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The former [pirate](#) Captain [Thomas Paine](#) became one of the founding funders of the Anglican church, Trinity Church, in [Newport](#).



During the late 17th Century, [Rhode Island](#) had been more or less a safe haven for pirates, who brought in a lot of hard currency and were quite a support for the local economy. “When I was at Rhode Island, there was one Palmer a Pyrat who was out on Bail, for they cannot be persuaded to keep a Pyrat there in Gaol: they love em too well.” However, during the century to follow, Rhode Island would be developing its own extensive merchant fleet, at risk from the pirates, and in consequence, this benevolent indifference to [piracy](#) would gradually be changing in the direction of hostility. In the 17th Century, a retired pirate had married a Governor’s daughter and come to live next door to the Governor’s mansion; in the 18th, some pirates would actually be arrested and not allowed to walk out of unlocked jail cells. The government of Rhode Island would begin to put pressure on the local venturesome seamen, at least by 1714, to accept commissions and become “[privateers](#)” rather than pirates, and pledge to attack only French and Spanish vessels, and leave the English vessels alone. Some pirates would be [hanged](#) in Newport in 1723 (unprecedented), in 1738, and in 1760.



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March 18, Wednesday: Joe Brodish had sailed under Captain Thomas Gulleck as boatswain aboard the 350-ton, 22-gun merchant ship *Adventure*, but when the ship appeared off the coast of Connecticut on this day, at [Block Island](#) and Gardiners Island, Gulleck was not to be seen and Brodish was in charge. The *Adventure* then sailed for the Caribbean and when it would return would attempt to deposit its gains at John Gardner's "[Pirate Bank](#)." A storm would prevent the crew of the *Adventure* from landing there, and the ship would go on to [Newport](#) where two of the men would be arrested while attempting to purchase a sloop. Brodish purchased a sloop from a passing fisherman and transferred some of his treasure from the *Adventure* to the sloop. Then the two vessels sailed to Montauk Point, where the *Adventure* sank in a raging sea, taking much treasure to the bottom. The crew manage to swim ashore, and later took the sloop and the remaining treasure on to Maine. Brodish and a one-eyed man named Tee Wetherly would be arrested in Boston, and nine other members also would be detained in various parts of [Rhode Island](#) and Massachusetts during April, with about £300 pounds sterling in their possession. Each crewman of the *Adventure* was said to have received 1,500 pieces of eight as his share. Some £3,000, with jewels, belonging to Brodish, would be seized by authorities at the home of Henry Pierson, Nassau Island, New York. Brodish and Wetherly would spend a couple of months in jail, and then on June 25, 1699 jailkeeper Caleb Ray would allege that they had escaped. Governor Bellmont suspected that this jailkeeper, who was a cousin or uncle of Brodish, had let the men go. Bellmont offered a reward of 200 pieces of eight for the capture of Brodish and 100 for the capture of Thee Wetherly. A bounty hunter named Essacambuit caught up with the duo in Saco, Maine. They escaped twice from this bounty hunter but each time were recaptured, and upon their arrival in Boston Governor Bellmont had them shipped to England, where they would be [hung](#).

March 28, Saturday: George Cutler was tried for [piracy](#) before the Court of General Tryalls at [Newport, Rhode Island](#) and guess what, no one showed up to claim the cash and goods and levy charges against him. Questioned as to how he had come into all that money, Cutler avowed that he picked it up in various places, included being willed some of it by a resident of Madagascar. Wink wink, nudge nudge. The jury of his peers then acquitted. A few months later, as one of the wealthy men of the town, Cutler would join with Captain [Thomas Paine](#) and others in signing a petition for the assignment of an Anglican minister to Newport — thus becoming, along with the wealthy [Huguenot](#) merchant [Gabriel Bernon](#), a founder of Trinity Church (Huguenots and pirates, assimilating with a vengeance).

26, 4th mo.: The New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the Religious Society of [Friends](#) dissociated itself from the wealthy [Quaker](#) of Salem, Friend Thomas Maule, who had in 1695 issued a pamphlet TRUTH HELD FORTH in which he had suggested that God was so displeased at the Puritan persecution of his people the Quakers that He was unleashing [witches](#) and Indians to punish New England.

The New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the Religious Society of [Friends](#) established a [Rhode Island](#) Quarterly Meeting, headquartered in [East Greenwich](#) and consisting of three Monthly Meetings:

- Dartmouth Monthly Meeting.
- [Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting.
- Narragansett (which became [Greenwich](#)), held for a time at Kingston and hence sometimes referred to as "Kingston Meeting," but in 1700 relocated to "the New Meeting in East Greenwich," where it remained until in 1707 the Quarterly Meeting directed that it should be held at [Providence](#), Greenwich, [Kingstown](#), and East Greenwich alternately, which was the case until in the 4th mo. of 1718 Providence Monthly Meeting was set off and established by Quarterly Meeting. In 3d. mo. 1743 it was again divided, and the new grouping was named "Kingston Monthly Meeting" — this became South Kingstown Monthly Meeting, headquartered at Hopkinton.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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5th mo.: A “monthly meeting for business” was established by the advice of the yearly meeting for New-England, to be known as “[Greenwich](#) monthly meeting.” This meeting embraced all the members of the society living west of Narraganset Bay. Soon after the organization of this monthly meeting, the [Friends](#) of [Providence](#) sent representatives to that meeting.

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July 1, Wednesday: Captain [William Kidd](#) had sailed the *Adventure Galley* from New-York three years earlier, with a commission to prey upon the enemies of England. When he learned that he had been declared a pirate, he transferred some of his loot to a sloop, the *St. Anthony*, and leaving the *Quedah Merchant* behind in the Caribbean, set sail for New England to clear his name. He seems to have gone directly to Oyster Bay, where he contacted an attorney, James Emmot, whom he asked to approach Bellomont. Bellomont wrote:

Captain Kidd in a sloop richly laden, came to Rhode Island, and sent one Emot to Boston to treat about his admission and security. He said Kidd had left the great Moorish ship he took in India, called the *Quedah Merchant*, in a creek on the coast of Hispaniola, with goods to the value of 30,000 pounds.

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While safely harboring at [Block Island](#), which was under the jurisdiction of the colony of [Rhode Island](#) &



Providence Plantations, he negotiated at long range with the Governor of the Bay Colony, the Earl of Bellermont, cousin to the King of England, for a full pardon for the manner in which he had been interpreting this commission while upon the high seas, and received the promise “I make no manner of doubt but to obtain the King’s pardon to you.” Kidd gave the current owner of Gardiners Island, Jonathan Gardiner the grandson of Lion Gardiner, “four pieces of Arabian Gold” and asked him to accept custody of “three negroes, two boys and a girl, ashore, to keep till he, the said Kidd, should call for them.” Kidd also presented Gardiner with some



luxurious silk fabric — a piece hangs today on a wall of that island’s manor house. Gardiner would reveal to the authorities that during his visit to his island Captain Kidd had also buried “a chest and a box of Gold, a bundle of quilts, and four bales of goods” half a mile inland from the western coastline, marking the burial spot with a pile of rocks. (The trove was estimated at the time to be worth £20,000, which would be more than \$1,000,000 in our greenbacks today. Every item was on a witnessed manifest and this buried trove was not the total loot, but was merely the due share of the Earl of Bellermont. Some assert that the bulk of Kidd’s treasure is still under the sands of Campobello Island, which is just across the Canadian boundary. Others assert, on the basis of some cryptic remarks Kidd made just before the first noose took his breath away, that he had been able



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to bury something of substance somewhere near Old Saybrook in Connecticut. The vine-covered cairn still stands on Gardiners Island above the hole emptied by the governor, and nearby there is a granite marker erected during the 19th Century.)



Two members of Kidd's crew "who went by the names of Cook and Parrot" gave Gardiner "two bags of Silver ... which weighed thirty pounds ... a small bundle of gold, gold dust of about a pound weight ... a sash and a pair of worsted stockings." Kidd sent jewels to Boston care of his attorney, James Emmot, for presentation to Bellomont's wife. Then, with all his bargaining chips in place, Kidd ventured to Boston, carrying with him his documentary proofs that the ships he had seized were all of French registration in accordance with his contract of privateering. His best bet, as he must have realized, was his continued control over the *Quedah Merchant* back in the Caribbean. On this day, however, when he sailed into Boston harbor, he found himself unexpectedly taken under arrest by the officers of Governor Bellermont, facing charges of [piracy](#). Colonel Robert Livingston's own self-interest was at stake for, in concert with some other crown officers in England, he had had a 1/5th share in the enterprise, so he attempted to be of assistance, offering suggestions for a resolution of the difficulties. For some reason, however, Livingston's attempts at a resolution would fail.¹³⁷ Isaac Norris, Senior would write that "We have four men in prison, taken up as pirates, supposed to be Kid's men. Shelly, of New York has brought to these parts some scores of them, and there is a sharp look out to take them. We have various reports of their riches, and money hid between this and the capes. There were landed about twenty men, as we understand, at each cape, and several are gone to York. A sloop has been seen cruising off the capes for a considerable time, but has not meddled with any vessel as yet, though she has spoken with several." Presumably these men had some hint that Kidd's treasure was greater than he had reported, and that he was holding something back from them? Since British law required that all accused of piracy receive trial in England, Kidd would be transported there. The ships' papers he had in his possession, documentary proof that all the ships he had captured had been sailing under French authority, would be sequestered from him by the prosecution, and he would be found guilty of piracy and murder and [hanged](#) on May 23, 1701.¹³⁸

[PRIVATEERING](#)

Joseph Bradish, probably a son of Joseph Bradish and a grandson of Robert Bradish of Cambridge, was sent to England with Captain [William Kidd](#) and also would hang in London for piracy.

137. Robert Livingston would settle in Albany, New York, becoming Lord of the 160,000-acre Manor of Livingston. In 1695 he would become Secretary of Indian Affairs, and from 1709 to 1711 he would be a prominent member of the New York Provincial Assembly, rising in 1716 to the post of Speaker of the Assembly. He would die in his bed in 1728 at the age of 74.

138. The Earl of Romney, the Earl of Orford, Sir John Somers, and the Duke of Shrewsbury would never acknowledge their involvement with [William Kidd](#) and would be protected behind the veil of appearances the court so carefully wove.

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August: The Earl of Bellomont accused Captain [Thomas Paine](#) of possession of some of Captain [William Kidd pirate](#) treasure, and searched his [Rhode Island](#) property. Producing some gold, Paine protested that it should not be seized, because it was his own, because his friend Willie-boy had offered it to him as a gift. (Will this piece of Rhode Island nonsense go down in history as the greatest inventive excuse ever offered?)



After arresting [William Kidd](#) and his crew, Bellomont also sent men to Gardiners Island to seize the concealed loot — estimated at the time to be worth £20,000 (around £2 million in today's value). All the treasure Kidd deposited there was uncovered and removed. Gardiner, who some historians have suggested was in league with Kidd, gave a statement to Bellomont in which he said that on the day Kidd and his men concealed the treasure, Kidd told him to “take three Negroes, two boys and a girl, ashore, to keep till he, the said Kidd, should call for them” and was therefore away from the island and not party to Kidd's seditious actions. Kidd gave Gardiner gifts of cloth and four pieces of Arabian Gold. Gardiner said Kidd also buried a chest and a box of Gold, a bundle of quilts, and four bales of goods. Two members of Kidd's crew, named Cook and Parrot, gave Gardiner two bags of Silver which weighed thirty pounds, a small bundle of gold, gold dust of about a pound weight, a sash and a pair of worsted stockings. Bellomont's manifest of the cargo brought back accounted for 1,111 ounces of gold, 2,353 ounces of silver, over a pound of precious stones (i.e. rubies and diamonds), 57



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bags of sugar, and 41 bags of miscellaneous goods and artifacts.¹³⁹

PRIVATEERING

October: The Earl of Bellomont complained to the Board of Trade that the government of [Rhode Island](#) “cannot be persuaded to keep a Pyrat there in Gaol: they love em too well.”¹⁴⁰

PIRACY

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

November 27, Friday: The Earl of Bellomont presented to the Privy Council a report on the conduct of [Rhode Island](#) which bulleted a list of 25 irregularities. For instance, he reported that the Deputy Governor of the colony, John Greene, had been issuing [privateering](#) commissions to captains who would then go off to commit [piracy](#) in the sea of India. He reported that the colony had been “countenancing” and “harbouring” pirates by either allowing them to escape from jail or acquitting them when they were obviously guilty.¹⁴¹

LORD BELLOMONT’S REPORT

CONTINUE TO READ CHRONOLOGICALLY

139. The Earl of Bellomont would die in New-York in February 1701, three months prior to the execution of [William Kidd](#) — having in search of buried treasure driven himself to the point of insanity.

140. The Earl of Bellomont would die in New-York in February 1701, three months prior to the execution of [William Kidd](#) — having in search of buried treasure driven himself to the point of insanity.

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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: September 4, 2013



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ARRGH ATOMATED RESARCH REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, upon someone's request we have pulled it out of the hat of a pirate that has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (depicted above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of data modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture. This is data mining. To respond to such a request for information, we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the program has obvious deficiencies and so we need to go back into the data modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and do a recompile of the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process which you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place your requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>.
Arrgh.