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Painted by Randolph Peale

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORY

VOL. 1 JULY 1942 NO. 3

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An Italian Painter Comes to Rhode Island

HELEN NERNEY *

Several years ago a canning company published an article which began: "Michele Felice Corné is a name epicures should revere, for canning lore tells us that he is the man who introduced tomatoes into the American diet. Aside from that, nobody seemed to know who he was, or what he did besides acting as a 'tomato missionary'." Much the same thing might be said by Rhode Islanders who admire the fine architecture and romantic decoration of the early 19th century: many of them know Corné only as the painter who decorated the interior of the Sullivan Dorr House,² 109 Benefit Street, Providence, and who painted on the walls of "The Mount" in Bristol scenes from the story of *Paul and Virginia* and a view of the owner's sugar plantation in Cuba.³

* Helen Nerney is an assistant on the staff of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

¹ "Corné and Tomatoes", *Canco, The Magazine of the American Canning Company*. April 1939, 6.

² See Biographical Note, page 72.

³ "The Mount," built by "Captain Jim" De Wolf (1808), was destroyed by fire in 1904. A picture of the drawing room—probably decorated by Corné—may be found in Alicia H. Middleton's *Life in Carolina and Nece England* (Bristol, 1929), 101.

His work in the Dorr Mansion, the best remaining example of his domestic wall decoration, stimulates one to explore further into his life and works. It is well-known that Corné as a young man came to this country in the year 1800. He sought passage on an American ship from the Captain, Elias Haskett Derby, Jr.⁴ It was for Derby's brother John that Corné executed the commission of painting the ceiling of the Derby cupola which now stands as a summer house in the garden of the Essex Institute in Salem. Its ceiling is stained but the colors are still distinct. One can pick out the ship *Mt. Vernon* which had brought the artist to this country and which he chose to paint again and again in watercolors and oils.

Corné's marine paintings won the approval of sea-going men for their accuracy. According to Dr. William Bentley in 1804: "Mr. Corné continues to enjoy his reputation as a painter of ships. In every house we see ships of our harbor delineated for those who have navigated them. Painting before unknown in its first efforts, is now common among our children."⁵

To be sure, Corné tried his hand in other fields. He copied a painting of old Governor Endecott that was pronounced fair.⁶ Other portraits, many of which are now in the Salem East India Marine Hall, were often not as good. Critics have doubted the authenticity of the so-called self-portrait in the Redwood Library at Newport, saying that it is superior to his work in quality of line and handling of form.

Corné had slightly more success as a sign painter and as the assistant of Samuel McIntyre, woodcarver and architect of Salem. In addition, he had acquired two pupils, one of whom, George Ropes, soon became as well known as his teacher as a painter of ships. Corné was also becoming

⁴ Robert E. Peabody, "A Voyage to the Mediterranean during the Napoleonic Wars," *Publications, The Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXXII, 505-14, at 513.

⁵ W. Bentley, *Diary of William Bentley* (Salem, 1907), III, 68.

⁶ Now hanging in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester.

known as a painter of wall-paper and frescoed wall decoration in and around Salem. In several old houses we find murals that stylistically resemble so strongly his known work in the Dorr Mansion, that there is little doubt that they are by his hand. He was called to Boston to decorate the Hancock House and in 1810 he repeated the same view in fresco for Sullivan Dorr, a view of his old home, the romantic Bay of Naples.⁷

In the Dorr Mansion this scene is found in the parlor, illustrated on page 68. The subtle line and colors blend easily with the rich yet delicate mahogany furniture, none of which breaks the line of painting above the dado. Less romantic minds find here a strong resemblance to an engraving of Hogarth whose work Corné frequently copied. Even so, in this scene, as throughout the house, his rendering makes it his own. He was able to combine accuracy of detail with well planned space. The continuity of the pictures in this room is particularly remarkable, and although the accent is on the scenic bay and a classical ruin on the opposite wall, one is attracted to a rocky scene in the corner which shows seemingly hundreds of tiny soldiers in scarlet coats winding their way up among the cliffs from the shore. As in a Chinese painting of the Northern school, one continues to find small vivacious figures almost hidden in the landscape.

In the central hallway, so characteristic of the houses of the early 1800's, there is the same charming continuity between rural landscapes, ruins, and a hunting scene. Winding up the stairway to the hall above are lilacs, snowballs, roses and other flowers from a New England garden against a rich background of masses of brilliant green foliage. (See background of illustration.) No words or

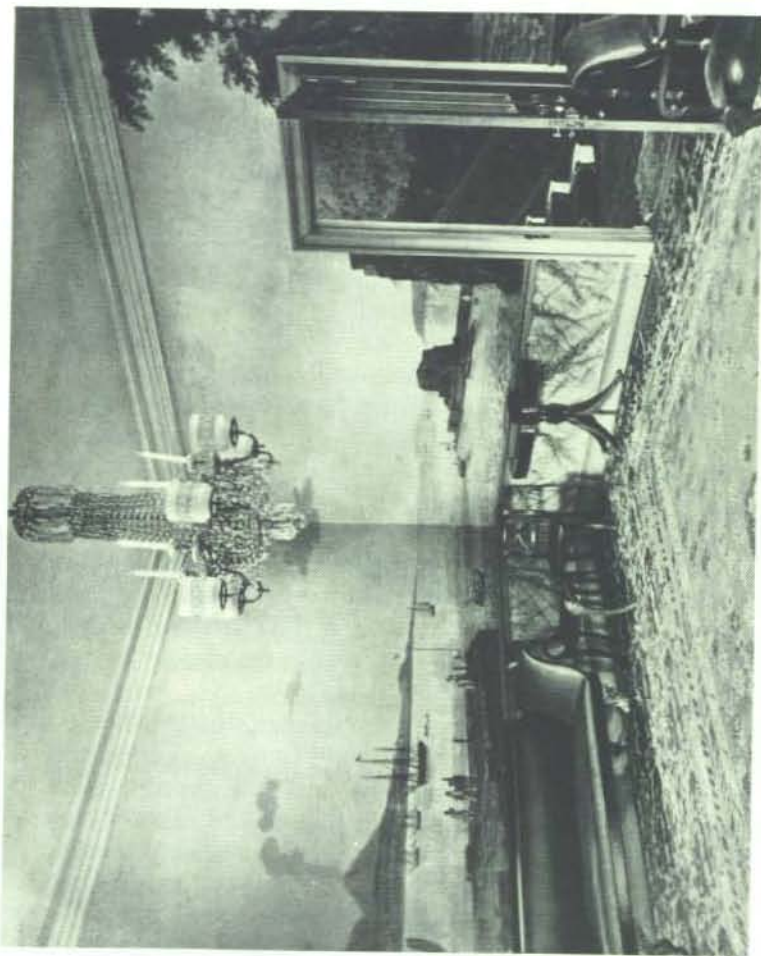
⁷ This and other frescoes in the Dorr Mansion are reproduced in the book: *Photographs of the Frescoes on the Walls of the Front Entry and Parlor of the House, 109 Benefit Street* (Providence, 1877) which was given by Mrs. Henry G. Russell to the Rhode Island School of Design Library from the library of her mother, Mrs. Ann Allen (Dorr) Ives, daughter of Sullivan Dorr and wife of Moses Brown Ives.

reproductions can possibly convey the vivacity or the charm in the simple rendering of his tiny figures in their romantic landscapes. Technical dexterity found in some of his sketches is lacking, but the figures have a jerky action that is engaging in its gaiety. It is amusing to find in one corner an incongruous hunting scene in Africa. Two gentlemen quaintly dressed, even to top hats, are shown kneeling beneath palm trees and shooting at two tropical birds casually heading toward a clump of trees which might easily grow in the Dorr garden.

That particular scene brings to mind another in the Salem East India Marine Hall. It is found on a firescreen and the title is *Cape Town, Africa*. We realize Corné's better known work *The Canton Factories* was done from an engraving, because of similar reproductions of the view by other artists. All the same, it is amusing to think of his painting any such scenes successfully, having seen neither Africa nor the Orient except in pictures. One cannot help but smile again when looking at his so-called *Landing of the Pilgrims*, (another painting no larger than the fire screen).⁸ It shows a band of red-coated soldiers landing on a shore too rocky to be Massachusetts, and the ship that is moored off-shore is a British man-o'-war. It is, of course, possible that this picture has been misnamed or was a copy, and was not a product of his unrestrained imagination.

The demand for his work was nearly exhausted when the beginning of the War of 1812 aroused patriotic fervor and he moved to Boston to greater fame and fortune. His experience in marine painting stood him in good stead. A large exhibition painting of the battle between the *Constitution* and the *Guerriere* executed simply, on white paper with opaque water colors, a method he had used to decorate the walls of houses, was the beginning of his success. Scenes of other naval encounters, completed in rapid succession, were praised by the naval experts for their exactness with respect to the relative sizes and posi-

⁸ The paintings mentioned form only a part of the interesting collection of Corné's work found in the East India Marine Hall, Salem.



HAY OF NAPLES BY MICHELE FELICE CORNÉ IN PARLOR OF SULLIVAN DORR MANSION

tions of the ships. These large exhibition pieces were shown at a small fee, in and around Boston, and were acclaimed for some years until the excitement of the war began to decline.⁹ Unfortunately, too, the works had been done rapidly with inexpensive materials and were beginning to show the wear and tear of their existence. A few that remain are tucked away in the Peabody Museum. Reproductions of Corné's more lasting illustrations of naval battles may be found in Abel C. Bowen's *Naval Monument*.¹⁰ The originals of these engraved plates are preserved at the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

Once again Corné was shrewd enough to realize that his popularity was dwindling and the time had come to move. So it was that in 1822 he retired to Newport with his friend and assistant, "Billy" Bottomore, who had served him for so many years, laying on washes, preparing paints and cleaning brushes. In Newport it was Bottomore who actively supported the household by selling Italian pastries. Corné's own income was a source of great amusement to Corné. He was 74 when he paid a total premium of \$1,570 for an annuity to the Hospital Life Insurance Company which during the remaining fourteen years of his life, paid him a total of \$3,000. Corné was keenly alive to the disappointment and surprise of the company. Mason, in his *Reminiscences of Newport*, quotes him as saying, "with his wheezy voice and a laugh that nearly choked him: 'De prezzedent; he say he very glad I so well, but I know he lie all de time; he no know how much marcaroni, how much oil, how much tomato I eat. My grandfather die when he one hundred, my father when he 102 and I, I live forever!'"¹¹

In looking back over what we know of the life of Michele

⁹ Dr. Bentley speaks of going "with my young females to see Corné's *Bay of Naples* (exhibited in Crombie's Salem Hotel, \$.25)." His naval paintings were undoubtedly exhibited in the same way. Bentley, *op. cit.*, III, 481.

¹⁰ Abel C. Bowen, *Naval Monument* (Boston, 1816).

¹¹ George C. Mason, *Reminiscences of Newport* (Newport, 1884), 339.

Felice Corné, he shows himself to have been a most interesting personality. Coming to this country without money and without a knowledge of the language, coming into an art world that barely existed beyond a small group of portrait painters and a few architects, he made a place for himself as an artist and in the select social circles of Salem. His probable acceptance into Boston society has never been described. In Newport, as in Salem, however, he made a definite place for himself in the community. It was in Newport that he happily completed his life, painting scenes on his own walls of distant Naples or of Newport harbor seen from his window. At other times people would gather around him to hear and chuckle at stories of his adventures as a young Neapolitan soldier.

His life had been long and happy. Although his ability was never outstanding and he never fully achieved great artistic fame, his popularity remained constant because he had the talent of giving people what they wanted as the times changed. In Salem it had been paintings of their ships; in Boston, the wartime paintings; and both places, when the opportunity arose, romantic wall paintings and portraits. It was in Newport that he had his final triumph. After years of praising the luscious fruit, he at last persuaded his friends to share in his enjoyment of tomatoes.

Today, on the front of his Newport home, still standing at the corner of Corné Street, there is a marker; it reads:

Home of the Artist
MICHELE FELICE CORNÉ
Who Introduced the Tomato
Into This Country

In a nearby cemetery, the lines on a simple gravestone read:

Michele Corne
Born on the Island of Elba
Italy
Died July 10, 1845
Aged 83 years

By some strange quirk of fate, a man who devoted over a half century of his life to painting, is better known because of the tomato.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

SULLIVAN DORR (1778-1858)

Sullivan Dorr, born in Boston, October 12, 1778, and died in Providence, in 1858. He was the tenth child and seventh son of Ebenezer Dorr, and fourth in descent from Edward Dorr, the emigrant. Ebenezer Dorr was born in Roxbury, March 20, 1739, and died in Boston, September 29, 1809; married first Abigail Cunningham, January 7, 1762; (died April 10, 1796;) and second Eliza Flink, (died June 10, 1831.) Ebenezer Dorr moved to Boston (1763) and as late as 1767, he was specified in the local directories as a leather dresser, later as a merchant with a store at No. 27 Long Wharf, Boston. By October 19, 1772, he and Caleb Davis of Boston, as owners of the Schooner *Dove*, gave sailing orders to Asa Hatch the master for a voyage to Baltimore and back. In the Davis Papers in the *Massachusetts Historical Society*, are records of Davis and Dorr doing business together as early as 1761-65.

The next record of the Dorrs is on the North West Coast, where they went early in the fur trade and from that it was an easy, in fact necessary step to their trade with China. Two letter books of Sullivan Dorr, and a book of inventories and instructions for anybody who succeeded him in Canton, owned by Frank Mauran Jr., a descendant, have been transcribed and are on deposit in the Rhode Island Historical Society. From these books comes this summary of the introduction of a young man not yet 21 years of age to the China Trade in its early days. This record of four years in Canton, September 1799-January 1803, is the earliest known continuous record of any prolonged stay at Canton. Dorr went to Canton when about 20 years old, and his early correspondence is largely with his father and the firm of J. and J. Dorr, (his brothers Joseph, born December 2, 1767, and John, born October 2, 1770). Later he corresponded with his brother Andrew Cunningham Dorr, born August 11, 1772. J. and J. Dorr in 1796, had offices at 10 Kilby Street, Boston.

Returning to this country, Sullivan Dorr married Lydia, daughter of Zachariah and Ann (Crawford) Allen, sister of Philip Allen, Governor (1851-53), U. S. Senator (1853-59) and Zachariah Allen, the originator of mutual fire insurance. Among the children of Sullivan and Lydia (Allen) Dorr were Thomas Wilson, of the "Dorr War," Ann Allen, wife of Moses B. Ives and Mary Throop, wife of Judge Samuel Ames.

Sullivan Dorr was the second President of the Providence Washington Insurance Co. (1838-58) and Trustee of Brown University (1813-58).

HOWARD CORNING

The Essex Institute

The Revolutionary Correspondence of Nathanael Greene and John Adams

by BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG

(Continued from *Rhode Island History*, Volume I, No. 2, p. 55)

On May 24 Adams again wrote Greene:²⁸

Philadelphia May 24, 1777

During the civil Wars in Rome, in the time of Sylla, and young Marius, after the Death of the older Marius, Sylla commanded one army against Mithradates King of Pontus, and Fimbria another. Both were in Arms against the same foreign enemy: but Sylla and Fimbria were equally enemies to each other, commanding different Armies in the Service of different Parties at Rome, which were disputing which had the legal Authority. Sylla patched up a Peace with Mithradates and marched against Fimbria.— The two generals fortified their camps.— The Soldiers, of both Armies, of the same Nation, the same City, the same Language, Religion, Manners, Tastes and Habits, instead of skirmishing, with each other, when they met upon Parties for Forage, Saluted one another, with great Cordiality.— Some from Fimbria's Camp, came Secretely into that of Sylla, to see their Friends. In these clandestine visits, Sylla's soldiers, instructed by their general, and furnished with Money, won over those of Fimbria, by Secret Bribes. These returning corrupted others: many came off, in the night. The Desertion became general.— Shame and Punishment lost their influence, and at last whole Companies, carried off their colours to Sylla.— Fimbria finding himself betrayed, solicited an Interview with Sylla, but being denied it, returned to Pergamus, entered the Temple of Esculapius and ran himself through with his sword.

Howe is no Sylla, but he is manifestly aping two of Sylla's Tricks, holding out Proposals of Terms and bribing Soldiers to desert, but you see, he is endeavoring to make a Fimbria of somebody. Many of the Troops from Pennsylvania Maryland and Virginia are natives of England, Scotland, and Ireland, who have indentured over here and been sold for their Passages, or transported as Convicts and have hired and served here as Coachmen, Hostlers, and other Servants.

They have no Tie to this Country.— They have no Principles, They love Howe as well as Washington, and his Army better than ours. These things give Howe great opportunities to corrupt and seduce them.

²⁸ Both this and the letter of May 9, 1777 (last letter in the previous installment) are in private hands.

The next letter, a long reply by Greene on May 28, to Adams' letter of May 9, is one of the most penetrating and outspoken letters of the Revolutionary period.²⁹ Greene said:

Camp Middlebrook, May 28, 1777

Dear Sir

I received a letter from you some days since. I have it not with me and therefore cannot be very particular in the answer. I remember you lament, the general corruption of manners, the increase of vicious habits, that prevail in the army. It is a serious truth, and much to be lamented. I know of nothing that a people can receive in exchange for the loss of their morals that is an equivalent. I am sensible of the force and justice of your remarks, that the vices of the army prevent many from engaging in the service, more than the hardships and dangers attending it.

I am not one of those fine gentlemen who despises all moral rectitude and religious duties. Although I am no enthusiast, nevertheless I most devoutly believe in the observance of religious duties.

I have had it hinted to me, that General Schuyler was about to be created President of the Congress, and to hold his military command in the army. I take this early opportunity of expressing my abhorrence of such a measure. No free people ought to admit a junction of the civil and military; and no men of good principles with virtuous intentions would ask it, or ever accept of an appointment which may be improved by corruption to the prejudice and injury of the rights of a free people. The best way to guard against evil is to avoid temptation. If General Schuyler is a mind to be in Congress, let him resign his commission, and not hold two offices so incompatible one with the other. I have no objections to General Schuyler as a general, neither have I to his being President of the Congress, if he is thought to be the most suitable person for that important trust. But he must cease to be a general before he commences a member of Congress. I will not hold a commission under that State who blends those two characters together. I think them incompatible with the safety of a free people, and I can assure you, I am not fighting for a change of masters, but to have none but the law.

I must again repeat the impropriety of making so many foreign officers; a very considerable part of our force will get into their hands: what method can Great Britain take to defeat us more effectively than to introduce a great number of foreigners into the army; and bind them to their interest, by some very interesting considerations; that this is practicable, nobody will doubt. That we ought to guard against it, everybody must allow. British gold may reason forceably with those whose hopes and future expectations are not connected with the people they betray.

²⁹ Greene's *Greene*, I, 416-417.

I am told by Capt. Moduit, a French gentleman lately created a captain in the train of artillery, that one De Cudre [Du Coudray] is engaged by Mr. Dean as major general of the train.³⁰ The impropriety of putting a foreigner at the head of such a department must be obvious to everybody, besides the impropriety, you will deprive the army of a most valuable officer, universally acknowledged as such. The exchange will be much against you, besides the injustice you will do to a man who has served you with fidelity and reputation. I beg you will take it under consideration seasonably. I know not the powers of Mr. Dean, but I think such powers are dangerous and unfit to trust with any man. If this gentleman is to be appointed a major general, I wish it may be of the foot instead of the artillery.

Our army is now encamped, and I hope will be very soon compleatly organized, fit for some important purposes.

Believe me to be affectionately your friend and humble servant,

N. Greene

Adams replied on June 2:

Philadelphia June 2 1777

Dear Sir — Yours of 28 Ult. is before me. . . . It is certain that Religion and Morality, have no less obligations upon Armies, than upon Cities and contribute no less to the Happiness of Soldiers than of Citizens. There is One Principle of Religion, which has contributed vastly to the excellence of Armies, who had very little else of Religion or morality, the Principle I mean is the sound obligation of Oaths, which among both Romans and Britains, who seem to have placed the whole of Religion and morality in the punctual observance of them, have done wonders.— It is this alone which prevents Desertions from your Enemies.— I think our Chaplains ought to make the Solemn nature and the Sacred Obligation of Oaths the favourite Subject of their Sermons to the Soldiery.— Odd as it may seem, I cannot help considering a Serious Sense of the Solemnity of an Oath as the Corner Stone of Discipline, and that it might be made to contribute more, to the order of the Army, than any or all of the Instruments of Punishment.

The Information you rec'd, that General Schuyler, was about to be created President, and to hold his Command in the Army, was a mistake.— No Gentleman, would have been willing for that, as I know. I am pretty sure at least that a vast Majority would have detested the Thought. G. Schuyler is reserved for another State. What that will be Time must discover.

It is, in my humble opinion, utterly improper, that this Gent^m should hold a Seat in Congress, and a Command in the Army, and I took the first opportunity to express my opinion of the Inconsistency and Danger of it.— I think his Constituents much to blame for the late choice of

³⁰ See below.



JOHN ADAMS POINTING TO THE TREATY OF PARIS
 Painted by John Singleton Copley in London (1787)
 Courtesy of Harvard University

him.— I shall think him much to blame if he does not immediately resign his seat.— if he does not, I hope some Gentleman will bring in a Motion, to destroy the Precedent, by obliging him to quit his seat or his command. What the success of such a motion will be I know not—but I believe such a motion will be made.

I agree entirely in your sentiments concerning the Danger of entrusting so many important Commands to foreigners.— Mr. Deane I fear has exceeded his Powers.— Mr Du Coudray, shall never have my consent, to be at the Head of the Artillery.—and I believe he will have few advocates for placing him there. I hope, none.

Pray what is your opinion of General Conway.³¹ He acquired a good Reputation here.—

It gives me great Joy, Sir, to find by your Letter, that you begin to feel your Army to be respectable.— We are anxious to hear from Peekskill, what numbers are collected there.

* * * * *

Before Greene got around to answering this Adams wrote him another letter which appears to have terminated the correspondence on an unfriendly note. Adams' letter arose out of the following incident. Shortly after the Declaration of Independence, Congress sent Silas Deane, a well-known patriot leader of Connecticut, to Paris to secure aid from France, including the services of several good engineers for the American army. As soon as it was noised about Paris that Deane was looking for officers, he was besieged with pressing applications for high commissions in the American army by French officers retired from active service after the close of the Seven Years (French and Indian) War. Their applications were, in many cases, supported by men of influence and by the assistance which the applicants themselves afforded in obtaining military supplies from the French government. Deane, eager to conciliate the powerful patrons of the applicants and to secure the continuance of their own good offices, lost his head, went beyond his instructions and entered into agreements for high commissions to be granted in various departments of the army.

³¹ Thomas Conway, a French officer of Irish birth, who had had many years of service in the French infantry. Congress appointed him inspector-general of the American Army, with the rank of major general, on December 13, 1777. He was the Conway of the alleged "Conway Cabal."

When these Frenchmen began to appear in Philadelphia, armed with Deane's ill-considered agreements, Congress was dismayed. Deane was ordered to make no further commitments, but this left unsolved the question of what to do about those previously made. Congressman Richard Henry Lee of Virginia wrote Washington of Congress' problem, in a distressed letter of May 22, 1777, from which I quoted at length in my *Washington and the Revolution*.³² If Deane's agreements were repudiated, the disgruntled Frenchmen, returning to France, might wreck the negotiations for the all-important French Alliance. If Congress honored Deane's engagements with those who were not engineers, it would burden itself with the expense of superfluous officers, and, worse still, would create dissatisfaction among the American officers who would be out-ranked by the newly appointed Frenchmen.

Particularly thorny was the case of Colonel Phillippe Tronson du Coudray, referred to in Greene's letter of May 28 and Adams' reply of June 2, 1777. Deane had agreed that he was to be appointed a Major-general in the American army, with a commission pre-dated to August 1, 1776, the date of Deane's agreement with him, and that he was to have command of the American artillery. The pre-dating would make Du Coudray senior to Major-general John Sullivan of New Hampshire and to Greene, both of whom had been promoted to major-generalcies on August 9, 1776; his appointment as head of the artillery would give him direct command over Brigadier-general Henry Knox of Massachusetts, the American artillery chief.

Sullivan, Greene, and Knox were naturally unhappy over the prospective elevation of du Coudray, and if they had protested or resigned independently of each other, their action might have been defensible, despite the critical situation in which their defection would have left the main army. But they went far beyond this. The three of them wrote Congress on the same date (July 1, 1777) threatening that if the rumored action in favor of Du Coudray was

³² *q.v.*, pp. 38-40.

taken, they would be under the necessity of resigning. (See Greene's *Greene*, I, 420, for Greene's letter). This was close to blackmail, not to say mutiny, and, since all three of the recalcitrant generals were New England men, their action must have been a severe blow to Adams.³³ The latter wrote Greene on July 7, 1777:³⁴

* * * * *

Philadelphia July 7, 1777

My dear Sir:

I never before took hold of a Pen to write to my Friend General Green, without Pleasure, but I think myself obliged to do it now upon a Subject that gives me a great deal of Pain.

The Three Letters from the Generals Sullivan, Green and Knox, have interrupted the Deliberations of Congress, and given many of the Members of it much Uneasiness. They thought themselves bound, in Honour and Justice, to the great Body of People whom they represent, to pass the Resolution which, before this Letter reaches you, will be communicated to you by General Washington.

The Contract between Mr. Deane and Monsr Du Coudray, is not yet decided upon. It is in itself one of the most delicate, and perplexing Transactions that has ever fallen in our Way: but those three Letters instead of relieving Us has only increased our Mortification.

Many great Questions arise upon that Contract. Such as these, whether Mr Deane had authority to make it?— if he had not, how far it is consistent with sound Policy to confirm it.— What Merit Mons. Du Coudray has in procuring, Cannon, Arms, Ammunition and other Things for our Use.—What Interest the French Court may take in our Compliance with the Contract? What Mons. Du Coudray's Abilities to serve Us really are?— How far we may comply consistently with Justice to our own Officers? And how far such a Trust may be confided to a foreign officer, with safety to the public interest etc. etc. etc. In the midst of these Deliberations, the Three Letters are received, threatening that if we full-fill the Contract, Three Officers, on whom We have depended, will resign in the Midst of the Campaign when the attention of every officer ought to be wholly taken up in penetrating the designs of the Enemy, and in Efforts to defeat them.

³³ Congress resolved on July 7, 1777 that these officers apologize for their improper attempt to influence the decision of Congress, or retire from the Army. On July 19, 1777, Greene wrote Congress an acceptable letter of explanation. (See Greene's *Greene*, I, 422-26.)

³⁴ The first three paragraphs of this letter have been printed in Volume II of *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, Edmund Cody Burnett, ed. (Washington, D. C., 1923), but the next ten paragraphs were omitted by Burnett and are printed here for the first time. They come from a letter in private hands.

If We disagree to that Contract, what will our Constituents say? what will foreign Nations say? our Journals, upon which the Three Letters must appear will be read by both.

Will not foreign Nations say, that the Ambition and Turbulance of three of our best officers, necessitated us to violate our Public Faith?

What Confidence will any Nation have in our Promises, if they think that our authority is so feeble, among our own People, and even among our own officers, that we cannot perform our Covenants for fear of obliging them.?

What will our Constituents say? You have lost the Friendship of foreign Persons, you have broken a Covenant with one of the best Officers in Europe, and why? because your own officers, would not permit you to preserve your own Honour.

It is impossible now for Congress, even to determine that Deane had no Authority to make the Bargain, without exposing themselves to the Reflections that their own officers intimidated them into it.

I must be excused, my Friend in saying, that if you or the other Generals, Sullivan and Knox, had seriously considered the Nature of a free Constitution, and the Necessity of preserving the Authority of the Civil Powers above the military, you never would have written such Letters.

The Right of our officers to resign, I shall not dispute, and he must judge for himself, what Cause will justify him:—but surely you ought to have waited, till Mon. Du Coudray, had appeared in Camp and assumed the command, before you resigned. or at least untill you had seen an attested Copy of our Journal in which he was appointed to supersede you.

I must needs freely say, that there is more of Rashness, Passions and even Wantonness in the Proceeding than I ever expected to see in my Friend Green and those in whose Judgment and Discretion I had the utmost Confidence.— if the Letters had been written to individual Members of Congress, in private Confidence, desiring to be informed what Congress has done, and conveying the same sentiments, it would have been attended with no evil Consequences, but Letters addressed to Congress, which must be recorded in the Journals and published for the Inspection of all the World, are exposed to the Reflections of all the World, and one Instance of the kind passing with Impunity establishes a Precedent for all future Officers, and one Stride after another will be taken, one Breach of the Privilege of Congress after another will be made, and one Contempt of its Authority after another will be offered, untill the Officers of the Army, will do as most others have done, wrest all Authority out of civil Hands, and set up a Tyrant of their own.

I hope these Letters will have no Influence upon Congress in determining Du Coudray's Pretensions, but of this I am sure, they will not induce them to grant him less rank and Emoluments, than they would otherwise have allowed him.

Nothing in this affair gives me more Pain, than the Necessity, you have laid Us under of passing a Resolution, which will lessen your Characters, and diminish the Confidence which the good People of America have in your Judgment, and attachment to the Principles of Liberty. But there was not one Member of Congress who dared to justify the Letters, very few who could say a word in Mitigation or Excuse. It was universally considered, as betraying the Liberties of the People, to pass them by uncensured. Some were even for dismissing all three of you instantly from the service, others for ordering you to Philadelphia, under arrest to answer for this offence.

The Resolution expresses an Expectation that some Acknowledgment or Apology will be made. I sincerely hope it will, for I think that on a cool Reconsideration of those Letters, the Impropriety and Danger of them must be manifest. I would be far from dictating to you, or giving advice unasked, but I really think, that a Declaration that you had no Intention to influence Congress, to contemn its Authority or infringe the Liberties of the People or the Priviledges of Congress, a Declaration that you have the fullest Confidence in the Justice of Congress and their Deliberations for the public good, is the least that you can do, provided you can do this with Truth and Sincerity, if not I think you ought to leave the Service.

* * * * *

Congress escaped as best it could from its dilemma by creating a new office—"inspector general of ordinance and military manufacturies"—for du Coudray and (apparently with his consent) by dating his commission as major-general the day it was issued. But no further communication between Greene and Adams seems to have taken place until March 18, 1780, when Adams, now one of the American Commissioners to France, wrote Greene, now Quartermaster General of the American Army, as follows:³⁵

Paris March 18, 1780

Dear Sir—

Give me leave by the opportunity of the Viscount de Noailles, to take this method of reviving a Correspondence, which has been interrupted almost three Years, but was one of the most pleasing I ever had.

It is unnecessary to say anything of the Expedition with which the Letter is intended to go, because I hope it will reveal itself to you, in accounts which will make themselves heard and understood by all the World.

³⁵ This letter is in private hands.

As there is a probability that there will be more frequent Communication, with America this Summer, than there ever has been, let me beg the favor of your Sentiments, both upon Subjects of Policy and War.

Every Operation of your Army has its influence upon all the Powers of Europe—in France, Spain, England, Ireland, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, Prussia, Portugal, and even in the German Empire.

America is the City, set upon a Hill, I do not think myself guilty of exaggeration, vanity or Presumption, when I say, that the proceedings of Congress are more attended to, than those of any Court in Europe, & the motion of our Armies than any of theirs—and there are more political Lies made and circulated about both, than all the rest: which renders genuine Intelligence, from good Authority, the more interesting & important.

There is a great Variety of Policy on foot in England, Ireland, Holland, and among the northern Powers, all tending to favour the Cause of America, which is promoted by nothing more than by prompt and accurate Intelligence.

I am, Sir, as much as ever, your Friend
and Servant

[John Adams]

Major General Nathanael Greene.

By the time the Viscount de Noailles, Lafayette's brother-in-law, reached America, Greene had gone south to take command of the Southern army, and it was probably some time before the "Count de Noel," as Greene called him, got the letter into Greene's hands. On January 28, 1782, Greene replied to Adams:

Head Quarters near Charlestown
January 28th 1782 —

Dear Sir

Our correspondence has been long broken off. I had the honor of a line from you by the Count de Noel; but I am at a loss to tell whether I was indebted to you or to him for it. However in that letter you express a wish to renew our correspondence. I should have readily complied with your desire, but as the correspondence had dropped from your disinclination and not mine, and as my situation at the time I was favored with your letter could not make my correspondence more valuable, or of more importance than it ever had been, I [manuscript torn]

I [understand] you had let in some prejudices to my disadvantage, such as my being more influenced by men than measures and that in the field I had neither activity or enterprise. However mortifying these things were, my pride would not permit me to undeceive you; and such was my situation at that time that it would have been difficult, if not

impracticable had I attempted it. Next I have a very great respect to men, I readily confess, but politically, no further than they are necessary to measures. The good of my country has ever been my first and great object, and I defy malice itself, to fix upon a single instance wherein I have departed from this line in consideration of private attachments. I honor virtue where ever I find it, [manuscript torn]

My military conduct must speak for itself. I have only to observe that I have not been at liberty to follow my own genius 'till lately, and here I have had more embarrassments than is proper to disclose to the world. However the American arms have gained some advantages. My public letters will have given you some idea of it; but the previous measures which led to important events and the reasons for these measures must lay in the dark, until a more leisure hour. Let it suffice to say that this part of the United States have had a narrow escape. I was seven months in the field without taking my cloths off [manuscript torn]

The advantages we have gained here added to the capture of the british in Virginia we flatter ourselves will work some important advantages for us in Europe, and we are impatiently waiting to hear of the effect should we be disappointed. The people are determined to defend themselves from age to age rather than give up their independence.

If you still feel the same inclination that you expressed in your letter by Count de Noel I shall be happy to correspond with you and I shall take a pleasure in communicating every thing important from this department

I am
N Gr[eeene]

His Excellency
John Adams Esqr.

The above letter is Greene's file copy.³⁶ The original has not been found, and neither has a reply been discovered. It is therefore probable that Greene's letter never reached Adams and that he and Greene each erroneously supposed that the other had no desire to continue the correspondence. The misunderstanding, if misunderstanding there was, could not be cleared up by a meeting of the two men because Adams did not return to America until 1788, two years after Greene had died on the Georgia plantation where he settled after the War.

THE END

³⁶ In the Greene Papers at the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich. A small portion of the letter has been previously published in Greene's *Greene*.



LAST MEETING IN OLD CABINET, APRIL 21, 1942
 Left to right: Westcote H. Chesebrough (*Asst. Sec.*), Dr. John B. Rae (*Speaker*),
 Harris H. Bucklin (*President*).

Last Meeting Held at the Old Cabinet

The evening of April 21, 1942, the Rhode Island Historical Society held its last meeting in the cabinet at 68 Waterman street, which had been its home since 1844; meetings of the future will be held in the society's new building, the historic John Brown House at 52 Power street.

The old cabinet was dedicated on November 20, 1844, with Professor William Gammell of Brown University delivering the dedicatory address, which was printed, in pamphlet form, the same year.

A note at the back of the pamphlet gives some interesting statistics on the building which Professor Gammell referred to as a "chaste and commodious structure." The front measured 30 feet, six inches; it was 50 feet, six inches deep; and from the ground to the top of the cornice it measured 29 feet.

The note goes on to describe the interior, making special mention of the fact that "the principal room contains galleries on three sides."

The white balustraded gallery, since grown to cover four sides of the interior, came in for special mention from Col. H. Anthony Dyer, who was called upon by Harris H. Bucklin, the president, for a few remarks appropriate to the farewell, at the conclusion of the paper read by Dr. John B. Rae of Massachusetts Institute of Technology on the centennial of the Dorr War.

Professor Gammell, when he dedicated the cabinet, had remarked that it was "henceforth to become the permanent depository of our collections for Rhode Island history."

By a strange coincidence, the new depository of the society's collections is actually Professor Gammell's former home. His entire married life was spent in the Brown House, which was left to his wife, Elizabeth Amory Ives Gammell, by her father, Robert Hale Ives.

B. F. S.

A Rhode Islander Goes West to Indiana (1817-1818)

Communicated by GEORGE A. WHITE, JR.

(Continued from *Rhode Island History*, Volume 1, No. 2, p. 63)

Dear Father

Vigo County Ina 27th April 1818

[Repeats terms of purchase]

I paid 500 in cash which has now left me about 50 dollars in all that I have. I have kept an exact account of all my expenses which when you see I am confident you will not think me by any means extravagant—My board this winter has been much higher than I expected[;] we have paid \$3.40 pr week for myself & horse exclusive of washing and mending which I have not yet settled for—However it was as cheap as we could have been boarded for any where about here. Provisions and grain are so scarce our only fare was Hogmeat and Buckwheat—In my last I mentioned that corn was up to 75 cts pr bu. It now can't be got at any price & Major Markles ground which paid some 15 and some 17 bushels pr Acre he now realises from 11 to 12 dols cash. In one of my former letters I mentioned that it rented for 5 dols[;] I thought that high.

The power of Attorney which was lost when I last wrote is now found and the Land is in my possession and the bill will be presented immediately. Do by all means request Mr J[acobs] to accept the bill and you will furnish the money in twenty days[—]it is drawn 20 days after sight [—]for I pray by all means for it not to be protested even if it should not meet with your approbation. For if the first payment is secured so that I am not obliged to sell I can then find a purchaser that would give me something handsome for my bargain.

I am rearly affraid that you will think I have done wrong in drawing with out your permission but rearly there was no other way that the business could be done and Jenckes said if I ment to purchase now is the time for there will never be such another opportunity and he should not hesitate if he was in my place. Therefore considering every thing and if you should not approve of it there can be so ready a sale besides something to be made by it I hope you will not think me imprudent— . . .

The best lands here was taken by the Canadians therefore they are all paid for or rather ware given them and they estimate their value by saying it will cost 11 or 12 dollars to clear heavy timbered Land and then the stumps are in the way for a number of years and after all not so good as the Prairie which wants nothing but fencing and braking to have old farms. It requires a pretty strong team to break up with but the furrows turn as smooth and level as a flower—There is a great inconvenience here

respecting help for it is almost impossible to get it. 15 dollars is the price that I know of two or three have hired out for & 75 cts and found is what Jenckes gives pr hundred for getting out rails so that help comes very high[;] the only way for a man is to engage his help to the Eastward if he can for a term of years . . .

I presume Daniel J[enckes] is ready by the time this reaches you for a start out here. John expects him this summer and I wish you would accompany him as by that time I think the roads must be very good. If you do by all means take the Steam boats and stage as far as Chambersburgh [Pennsylvania] then purchase a horse to cross the mountains. They may be much dryer than when we crossed yet they must be very bad theer is so much traveling and heavy waggoning—

On your arival at Pittsburgh get yourself and Horse onboard of a boat and if you wish to pass through Ky stop at Limestone. It is much better and cheaper than traveling through Ohio for all the road north of Zainsville is through a very broaken and rather poor Country and indeed through out the state that I passed through the Lands ware rather poor except on the river bottoms & Most beautifull on the Scioto about Chillicothe.

Limestone is a pretty place and a place of considerable business[;] it is situated upon the bank of the river and a very steep high hill in the rear of the town. You will be much pleased with the country on your arival and for about 20 miles. When you come in the neighbourhood of the Blue Licks it is as rocky and barron a country as I ever saw for about a dozen miles when you again come in to one of the most pleasant countries you have ever seen[,] the soil as fine as can be possible to imagine and continues so through Paris Lexington and Frankfort after leaving which place it becomes more broaken though the land is very good in general to Louisville which is a fine place and I think will be one of the biggest in the western World. Town lots have been sold there for 20 and 21 thousand dols and one lot of an Acre and half was sold last fall for 40 thousand. It was on the river near Shippingport.

After crossing the river and enter[ing] this State the scene is changed and on the road to Vincennes you pass through a poor tract of hilly and broaken land with extensive barrons. There is however some small tracts of bottom that is pretty good about White river—On your arival near the Wabash the country improves, on both sides of the river there never was better soil.

Vincennes though settled so long is now but a small place. It is now improving very fast. There has lately been erected a steam saw mil with two pair of saws which saw 5 thousand feet pr day and now are erecting a very large steam flour mill.

But this country is far the best in the state. There is Honey Creek Fort Harrison & Otter Creek Prairies and besides timbered land is very good in general. At Terre Haute they are about building a brick Court House. It is to be 55 feet square[,] the largest and best in the state and

it is expected that little town will improve very much this summer.
I am dear Father your Dutifull Son

John

in traveling be shure to stop at the stage
houses for if you miss them your fare will be
poor in general

Dear Eliza It was with the greatest pleasure that I received yours of
the 1 of March. I had begun to think that I was quite forgotten and I
rearily hope that no trifling excuse will in future prevent your writing.
Am happy to hear that you had so pleasant visit at Providence. John
thinks that he had better have the money to buy cows with than Daniel
to give Parties. He thinks it a speculation of Daniels to git married for
he [has] written that miss W is very sick—Poor WB I think must have
been very much put to the blush but if he was out here he would get
used to it for there is nothing to be done but kissing the girls. There can
be no play but there are pawns to redeem and of course the girls must
be kissed.

On Saturday I returned from Vincennes as far as Duncantown where
A Potter lives and staid all night with him. I am sorry that I wrote any
thing about his wife before I has [had] seen her. It was what I had
been told up here. She is quite a pretty girl and I believe a very smart
one. I hope you have not mentioned what I wrote so that his mother
has heard it for I have been misinformed.

On Sunday I went to Shaker [torn] town to meeting. It is a beautifull
place haveing fine Orchards and [torn] gardens. They [the Shakers]
all gather in a house near the meeting house so [torn] They all come
to meeting in a string the women in one door and men in the other.
Every one have their nail for their hats or bonets and they sit on the
floor with their hands over their knees[,] men and women facing.

The womans dress is a mole cap with strings though not tyed and
handkerchief maid like the collar of a shirt with 2 buttons[,] blue
shawls 3 [feet?] square with narrow white borders[,] snuff coloured
gowns with check aprons and check pocket Handkerchiefs hung over
their arms. There were about 80 in all. They all sung to gether and
kept time by rising on their toes and then on their heels. There was a
kind of exortation[,] though not by one of the best Elders—Was very
much disappointed in their not dancing. Suppose the reason was there
were so many worldlings there[—]about 20 who went for curiosity—

It is very healthy here now and was so last season and is considered
much more so than down below on the river.

John

* * * *

Vigo County May 30th 1818

Dear Father

Yours of the 19th of April came safe to hand on the 23 inst informing
me that you did not intend visiting this part of the Country this season

which I am very sorry for since I have purchased . . . I have felt much
better since the receipt of your letter as I am now confident that the
purchase I have made meets with your approbation. I did not myself
like the manner that it was done but there was no other way and it could
not make much difference wheather Drawn on you or Mr Jacobs as
the sight was 20 days—there was but one bill drawn dated 18th of
April and made payable to the order of Daniel W Douglass the agent—
I wish you to be particular about this to prevent a false Draft being
presented—

I have given a bond also for 1200 dollars conditioned for the payment
of 600 on or before the 18th of April 1819 and secured by mortgage on
the land. This also I wish you to be ready to pay by that time. I think
that may be done by J. F. Jenkins of Canandagua if the Doct would prefer
the money there. I shall write to him in the course of the summer to
know where he wishes it to be paid. I think it is not more than 130 miles
from Canandagua to where the Doct lives. [The cancelled mortgage
is with the original letters.]

I am rearily sorry you did not see J. Jacobs as he is coming directly
here. He has given no doubt a very flattering discription of the country.
He will make his fortune here directly. He sells more goods than all
the other Merchants in Vincennes. Alexis Le Roy who came with him
speaks french[;] therefore they do the business of all the French people
there. On his return he intends putting a store at THaute. There are
2 there now but I suspect when he comes he will undersell them—

The lots in town that ware given as a donation to the County ware
sold on the 20 inst[,] 70 in number. The amount of sale was 12800
and some odd dollars. They have arisson 50 per cent since last Sale. Some
sold for 400, 453, 451 &c. The one that sold for 453 was sold again the
same evening at private sale for 500 dollars.

It is expected that most of the people that bought will build this year.
The Court House is to be of brick to be finished in a very handsome
manner 55 feet sqr with a spire. The cost of the contracts now entered
into is about 14000 dollars[;] perhaps when finished it will cost 15000.
To be finished this Autumn—

I have now by me about 55 dollars. My board came much higher than
I expected it would for the manner in which we lived. Our fare was
Buckwheat or Corn bread without butter[,] hot water without shugar[,]
and Hog meat altogether for which we paid pr week 2 dollars[,] for my
washing mending &c 50 cts[,] for my Horse 1.40[,] which for the time
I stayed there was \$42.20 . . .

Corn is now up to 1 dol pr bu and none is to be had at that price. For
seeds it may be 2 dols[,] for none has any but Major Markle about here.

You can have no idea of the emigration here. People are all over the
country hunting lands. A great many have taken lands on the Grand
Prairie over the Illinoi. It is said to be quite wet. It reaches for 60 or
70 miles wide and I do not know how long.

We get the [Rhode Island] news pretty much by the *American*²⁹ which JJ takes. It comes very regular not haveing mist once since they began to come—Tell Susan³⁰ that I have a beautifull little pet Fawn which I wish she had. Some time since I found a wild Turkeys nest with 13 eggs which I have set under hens—

Not haveing any thing more to write I remain Dear Father your
Son *John*

Remember me to all the family and friends.

John Corlis leaves here on Thursday for Ky. Jenckes nor myself have neither found out his object in coming out as he has not appeared to do any thing.

The soldiers leave here for Fort Wane [Wayne] the 10 of June when there will not be any garrison on this side of the State that is occupied by soldiers.

Terre Haute In June 2 25

[To] Captn Samuel Packard
North Kingstown
Rhode Island

[No endorsement]

²⁹The *Rhode Island American & General Advertiser*, formerly the *American*, published in Providence from October 21, 1809 to December 30, 1823. On January 2, 1824 it became the *Rhode Island American* and was published under that name until October 7, 1825, when it changed its name again, this time to *Rhode Island American and Providence Gazette*. As such it was published from October 11, 1825 to July 17, 1829. At the period alluded to it was published in Providence on Tuesday and Friday by F. Y. Carlisle & Co. There is a complete file in the Library of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

³⁰The letter writer's sister, Susan Caroline, born May 20, 1805. She married William Gorton Bowen of Coventry.

(To be concluded in the next issue)

Notes and Documents

THE GREAT SUFFRAGE PARADE *Communicated by DR. JOHN B. RAE*

During the year of agitation that preceded the Dorr Rebellion, the suffrage reformers sought to arouse public opinion by a series of parades and demonstrations, patterned consciously on the "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" campaign of 1840. By far the greatest and most colorful of these spectacles was the suffrage parade held in Providence on April 17, 1841, in which more than 3,000 marchers took part and which was claimed to be the biggest procession ever seen in Providence up to that time. The *New Age*, organ of the Rhode Island Suffrage Association,

announced on April 15 that the parade would form on Benefit Street, and then march to Transit Street, through Transit to Main, up Main to the Bridge, up Westminster and High Streets¹ to the Hoyle Tavern, down High through Broad to Chestnut, down to Elm, down Elm to Eddy, up Eddy and Richmond to Broad, through Broad and Weybosset to the Bridge, up North Main to Smith, and so to Jefferson Plain, where an ox, a calf, and a hog were to be roasted whole, and presumably after the ox, calf, and hog had been disposed of — addresses would be delivered.

Inclement weather on the 17th cancelled the oratory, but the parade and the collation were held according to plan. The following account of the celebration comes from the *New Age* of April 23, 1841.

While the bells for the first time in this city were ringing to the call of equal rights, the people began to assemble in their different Wards and form themselves into companies under the direction of their ward marshals and at the time appointed were conducted by the assistant marshals of the day to their different stations on Benefit street, and formed a line extending nearly the whole length of the street. The right of the procession resting on Wickenden street, were the Butchers of the city, on horseback, under the direction of their Marshal, John Parkus, Esq. with white frocks and a blue sash, with a splendid banner in the centre, bearing on it a representation of the Ox which they so generously presented us, with the motto, 'I die for Liberty;' on the reverse 'Always ready.'

Next in the procession came the Revolutionary Soldiers in five Carriages, 22 in number, with a banner bearing the following inscription — 'We have fought for Freedom;' on the reverse — 'Shall we die without our freedom.'

In their rear followed the Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements with the Chaplains and Officers of the Rhode Island Suffrage Association preceded by the National Flag dressed in mourning.

Next came the American Brass Band, fourteen in number, whose music was admired through out, particularly the Suffrage quick step, a new piece of music composed expressly for the occasion by Mr. Cartee, one of their members. Following them was Ward No. 1, under their Chief Marshal, Wm. M. Webster, and his assistants, with a splendid banner bearing the following mottoes — 'We are American Citizens' — on the reverse, 'Each State shall have a Republican form of Government.'

Next came Ward No. 2, under the direction of their Chief Marshal,

¹High Street at that time was the present Westminster Street, from the junction of Westminster and Weybosset Streets westward.

Mr. Wm. Wentworth and his assistants, bearing a banner with the following inscription — *'We have Petitioned in vain'* — on the reverse, *'We will be Free.'*

Next came the Third Ward under their Chief Marshal, Col. Wm. Blanding and his 8 assistants, with the men all sized and in perfect order according to military tactics, with a banner bearing the following motto. *'The last days of Rhode Island Aristocracy'* — on the reverse, *'First dawn of Rhode Island Freedom.'*

Next came the Woonasquetucket Association, together with the citizens of Olneyville, under their Chief Marshal, Asahel Steere, Esq. with a band of Music, consisting of twenty two pieces and carrying two banners, with the following mottoes. — Woonasquetucket Banner, *'Vox Populi Vox Dei.'* The voice of the people is the voice of God. On the reverse, the same.

The Olneyville Banner, on one side was the late President Harrison's dying words — *'We wish the true principles of government understood and carried out. We ask nothing more.'* On the reverse, an extract from President Tyler's Inaugural Address. — *'Freedom of opinion and Suffrage, the birthright of every American citizen.'*

Next in the procession were the citizens of Pawtucket under the direction of their Chief Marshal, Pardon M. Jencks, Esq. and his Assistants, bearing a banner with the following inscriptions. — *'Worth makes the man, but sand and gravel the voter.'* On the reverse, *'Virtue, patriotism and Intelligence, vs. one hundred and thirty-four dollars worth of dirt.'*²

Next the citizens from Slatersville with a banner and a band of music under the direction of a Marshal. (The motto on this banner we have not got.)

Next came a large centre Banner borne by Mr. Noel Mathewson of this city, having inscribed on it "GREENE, BARTON, PERRY." On the reverse, ROGER WILLIAMS, STEPHEN HOPKINS, WILLIAM ELLERY."

Following came the citizens of Smithfield under their Marshal bearing a banner with the motto — *'Rhode Island says she will be free. Spirit of 1776.'* On the reverse, *'We ask for liberty. No dodging the question. The Charter, Rhode Island's Last Shackle.'*

After them came a large number of citizens from Warren, Bristol, Newport, Warwick, Cranston, Scituate and most of the other towns in the State.

Next came the Amateur Band of this city, blowing its mutual notes for the first time to the call of Liberty and equal rights.

Next in the procession were the citizens of the fourth Ward under the direction of their Chief Marshal, Oren Claffin, Esq. and his assistants, with two splendid Banners with the mottoes — *'No taxation without*

²The qualification for voting in Rhode Island was the ownership of a freehold estate worth at least \$134.

Representation.' On the Reverse, *'Suffrage, the Inalienable right of Man.'* The other banner, *'Rhode Island Waking up,'* represented by an old man just rising up from a couch on the left elbow and rubbing his eyes with his right hand, in a yawn exclaiming *'How long I have slept!'* On the reverse is two fire engines each playing two streams upon a sand bank on which stands a landholder with a bag of money in his hands, exclaiming, *'Rascals! they have too much liberty already, we must look out for our foundation.'* In his rear stands a being labelled eldest son,³ who exclaims *'La! Pa! Who are those impudent fellows.'* Whilst the Captain of the Hose calls out *'work like men and we will soon level their sand bank.'* Another exclaims *'our cause is just. The people are the Sovereign.'*

We think it one of the best banners carried in the procession.

Next came the Woonsocket Suffrage Association, under the direction of their Chief Marshal and his assistants, preceded by a band of music, and bearing two splendid banners, containing the following mottoes. 1st. *'A Constitution. Rhode Island comes late, but come she will.'* On the reverse, *'Her citizens know their rights and are prepared to maintain them.'* 2d banner, *'King Charles Charter. Those that do the voting must do the fighting.'* On the reverse, *'The Landholder's Convention in November. Does your Ma'ma know you are out.'*⁴

Next the fifth Ward under the direction of Samuel N. Shaw, Esq. and his assistants, bearing a banner, with the motto — *'Liberty or Revolution.'* On the reverse, *'Our Grandfathers of 1776. Our Fathers of 1812. Ourselves in 1841.'*

Following them were the citizens of the sixth ward under the direction of Col. B. Hopkins and his assistants, bearing a splendid banner, with the words — *'In union there is strength,'* represented by two hands clasped with a mutual grip, showing that they are united in their struggle for Liberty and equal rights. On the reverse, *'We know our Rights.'*

The next in order were the citizens on horseback in large numbers which added greatly to the dignity of the procession.

The next in the procession were the Coachmen and Stagemen, under the direction of their Marshal, dressed in blue frocks, bearing the flag of the Union, with the words inscribed thereon, *'We know we are right. We'll drive ahead.'*

On the left came the Draymen, about 60 in number on horseback under Marshal Col. Oakes, dressed in white frocks, bearing in good style, a banner with a motto, on one side, *'The Terror of Oppression.'* On the

³The eldest son of a freeholder was permitted to vote.

⁴This inscription refers to a constitutional convention called by the General Assembly in the preceding February, which authorized to reapportion the state legislature but was given no special instructions regarding suffrage reform. Participation was restricted to freeholders. Ultimately this convention, yielding to public pressure, produced a constitution almost as liberal as the "People's Constitution" drawn up by the Suffrage Party, but this document was rejected at the polls, mainly because of the opposition of the Dorrites.

other, "Our rights we will maintain." With a horse and a dray painted in good style.

The procession, after having been formed with great expedition, considering its great length, by the Chief Marshal, Lieut. Col. V. N. Edwards, and his assistants, Capt. H. Baily, Lieut. Wm. H. Hopkins, Col. H. Wales, Benj. Arnold, Jr., T. L. Warner, and D. P. Capwell, Esqrs. commenced moving on the route designated by the Committee on Arrangements.

The length of the procession was so great that on the arrival of the Butchers at the enclosure on Jefferson's Plain, that the draymen were crossing the Bridge on Market Square.²

After the procession had entered the enclosure, the one hundredth Psalm was sung by the multitude, and a prayer offered perfectly appropriate to the occasion by the Rev. Mr. Balch, chaplain, after which, owing to the immense multitude congregated together, the Ox, calf, and pig, with the mammoth loaf of brown bread, & c. were speedily devoured. The inclemency of the weather prevented the reading of toasts and the address on the Plain, and they were put over to the meeting at the Town house this evening. The procession again formed and paraded the streets designated by the committee of arrangements to the City Hotel, where each section was dismissed in the most perfect order, at 3 o'clock, P. M. by the Chief Marshal.

²The parade, in other words, extended from Market Square up North Main and Smith Streets to approximately the site of the State House Annex.

A PLYMOUTH FRIEND OF ROGER WILLIAMS

By Bradford Fuller Swan

Biographers of Roger Williams have had little to say about his stay in Plymouth Colony, probably because source material is extremely scarce in comparison with the copious comments of Winthrop during Williams's stay at Salem and the lengthy court records of the banishment proceedings.

It is satisfying, therefore, to report that Williams made at least one good friend at Plymouth. The friend was Dr. Samuel Fuller, the kind-hearted Mayflower physician.

In Dr. Fuller's will, proved 30 July 1633, the physician bequeaths to his son Samuel "also two other Acres of land w^{ch} were given me by Edward Bircher scituate & being at Strawberry hill if m^r Roger Williams refuse to accept them as formerly he hath done."

Further on in this same document the following appears:

"Whatsoever m^r Roger Williams is indebted to me upon my booke for phisick I freely give him."¹

Two reasons for this friendship present themselves immediately. In the first place, Dr. Fuller appears to have been deacon of the Plymouth

¹ Dr. Fuller's will is the first entered in the *Plymouth Colony Wills and Inven-*

church during Williams's term as assistant to the pastor, Mr. Ralph Smith.² Such a circumstance would naturally bring them into close acquaintance.

In the second place, Dr. Fuller has been reported as holding ardent Separatist views; Williams's Separatism at this time is, of course, well known. In the spring of 1629, the authorities at Salem had appealed to Plymouth for medical assistance to handle cases of scurvy and similar diseases afflicting the newly-arrived colonists. Governor Bradford sent Dr. Fuller to Salem's aid.³

That Dr. Fuller did not hesitate to air his views on religion while he was at Salem, and that they met with considerable approval among the townspeople, is apparent from John Endicott's letter to Governor Bradford, thanking him for Dr. Fuller's assistance.⁴

Just how much Dr. Fuller is responsible for having prepared the Salem ground to receive the seeds of Williams's staunch Separatism, and other questions as to the relationship between the Mayflower doctor and Rhode Island's founder seem to offer subject matter for research. Perhaps more can be unearthed on Williams's stay at Plymouth by running down this trail.⁵

Book Review

THE BROWN PAPERS

The Record of a Rhode Island Business Family

By James B. Hedges

American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, Vol. 51, pp. 21-36.

Professor Hedges' article is a summary of several years of work with the collection of approximately 350,000 papers, on deposit in the John Carter *torics*, Vol. I. It is also printed in Vol. II of Fuller's three-volume *Fuller Genealogy*. The will is intensely interesting; Dr. Fuller's character is admirably indicated by the bequests, one of which gave to the Plymouth Church the first calf his brown cow bore after his death. The fund established with this animal is still in existence, I believe.

² Winthrop's *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 91.

³ Bradford's *History* (Commonwealth ed.), p. 315.

⁴ Bradford's *History*, pp. 315-316.

⁵ Ernest Sutherland Bates, in *American Faith*, gives great credit to Fuller for developing Separatism at Salem. If Dr. Fuller was the link between Salem and Plymouth, he may have had a hand in bringing Williams there from Salem, after Williams's first trouble in the Bay. Bates makes Fuller an extremely important figure in the religious development of the Massachusetts colonies. The close relation between Dr. Fuller's death and Williams's departure from Plymouth, although dates are only approximate, may be worth study. Williams's first child was born in Plymouth the first week in August, probably not long after Dr. Fuller's death. Did Williams lose his strongest supporter when Fuller died, and remain only long enough for Mary Williams to have her child? Morton's "Memorial" hints that many were "unwilling" to give him a dismissal; did Dr. Fuller's death turn the tide against those who were prevailing upon Williams to stay? Or was it Dr. Fuller's death which inspired Williams to move away? These are hypothetical questions; they should not be confused with history.

Brown Library, which deal with the multifarious activities of the Brown family from 1726 to 1913.

They are significant, he writes: "first, because the Brown family touched so many different facets of American business life: second, because the family habit of destroying nothing that was important; this resulted in an initial completeness of the collection which no subsequent, self-appointed guardian of the family's reputation has seen fit to impair. The papers, therefore, give the plain, unvarnished version of several important chapters in the history of American business. They are notable in the third place because of their time span. There are, of course, many collections of papers covering one or two generations of a given family or business but it is doubtful if there is another large body of documents in America representing seven generations of one business family, whose dominant business interest shifted from one generation to another. The Browns were a flourishing business concern at the time of the Seven Years' War; their activities were vastly greater and more complex when the American Civil War broke out a hundred years later."

In Professor Hedges' opinion the Brown papers will be "indispensable" to the one who will some day write the history, of intercolonial trade prior to the Revolution. Preoccupation with business did not prevent the writers from referring to elections and other political matters in Rhode Island and the other colonies. The dealings of the Browns with the government during the Revolution are fully revealed; and their correspondence with merchants from Savannah to Portland reflects the economic and military situation of the whole country.

In 1796 began the partnership of Brown & Ives whose files are "rich in records of the Baltic, China and East India trade," until 1838 when they sold their last ship, having completed the transfer of the capital accumulated in maritime trade to manufacture and works of internal improvement.

After 1815 Brown & Ives became one of two dominant groups in southern New England in cotton manufacturing, controlling hundreds of thousands of spindles. Again transferring their profits to other fields, after 1840 Brown & Ives became interested in railways: as participants in the financing of virtually all lines west of the Hudson; and active promoters of several early lines in the Mississippi valley.

Their attention was next attracted to mining, where they were largely concerned with opening the Marquette range. "Probably," Professor Hedges asserts, "no other group of land speculators in our history dealt in wild lands on so many different frontiers or over so long a period as did the Browns."

These are but a few of the topics on which the Brown papers shed new light. All who have been privileged to see the preliminary survey will be glad to learn that arrangements have been made to complete the calendaring and that Professor Hedges will embody the results of his investigations in a full length report which will be published.

W. G. ROELKER

Rhode Island Historical Society.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

TREASURER'S REPORT

The figures of non-operating receipts were omitted from the condensed Treasurer's Report printed in the last issue. Correct report follows:

Income Account for the year 1941

Cash on hand Jan. 1, 1941.....		\$ 1,988.75
<i>Receipts</i>		
Annual Dues.....	\$4,405.25	
Dividends and Interest.....	3,274.15	
Rental of Rooms.....	150.00	
Sale of Publications.....	95.95	
State Appropriation.....	1,375.00	
State Purchase of Newspapers.....	203.94	
Sundries.....	186.05	
Total Operating Income.....		\$ 9,690.34
Contributions received.....		14,353.50
Sale of securities.....		3,152.81
		<u>\$29,185.40</u>
<i>Disbursements</i>		
Salaries and Library Expenses.....	\$7,330.11	
Books and Periodicals.....	360.42	
Heat, Insurance, Ordinary Repairs.....	893.38	
Publications Committee.....	973.09	
Membership Committee.....	49.08	
Lecture Committee.....	335.24	
Total Operating Disbursements.....		\$ 9,941.32
Renovation 1941.....		4,230.00
Purchase of Securities.....		3,152.81
Cash on hand Dec. 31, 1941.....		11,861.27
		<u>\$29,185.40</u>

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1941

<i>Assets:</i>		
Cash and Savings Deposit.....	\$12,264.84	
Investments.....	67,344.82	
Property (Real estate, books, etc.).....	75,006.00	
		<u>\$154,615.66</u>
<i>Liabilities:</i>		
Fund Reserves, less Principal deficit.....	\$154,054.94	
Income Surplus.....	560.72	
		<u>\$154,615.66</u>

ROBERT T. DOWNS,

Treasurer

The accounts of the Society were audited by Alfred J. Viera under the direction of the Audit Committee, John H. Wells, Chairman.

News—Notes of the Rhode Island Historical Society

On Tuesday, July 7, 1942, we shall open the John Brown House to our members and the public. Not all of the library and collections have been moved to our new home, but the most frequently used material is now in place.

John Brown House will be open daily from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.; Tuesday evening from 7 to 9 p.m.; and Sunday afternoon, from 3 to 5 p.m.

* * * *

Advanced Instruction in Research and Mechanics at Brown University began in the Old Cabinet, 68 Waterman Street, on June 15, 1942.

Some Recent Accessions

MANUSCRIPTS:

Letter from Rochambeau to Ephraim Bowen, 1780.

Letter from Olney Winsor of Providence, describing a visit to the Washingtons at Mount Vernon, March 31, 1788.

Civil War correspondence, gift of Mrs. George W. Gardner.

GENEALOGIES:

The Virginia Carys, Fairfax Cary (N. Y. 1919).

The Eaton Family of Nova Scotia, A. W. H. Eaton (Privately Printed, 1929).

A Genealogical Record of John Spofford and Elizabeth Scott, J. Spofford, (Boston, 1888).

The Tillinghast Genealogy (Typewritten).

MISCELLANEOUS:

A Venture in Remembrance, M. A. DeWolf Howe (Boston, 1941), gift of author.

Newport Tower, Philip A. Means (N. Y., 1942), gift of author.

The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut, C. R. Keller (New Haven, 1942).

Percussion Colt Revolvers (N. Y., 1942).

The Underground Railroad in Massachusetts, W. H. Siebert (1936).

Old Automobiles. Two scrap books.

The Continental Congress, E. C. Burnett (Boston, 1941).

Dictionary of American History, 6 Volumes (N. Y., 1940).

W. G. R.