GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE (1695/96-1758).
FIRST CITIZEN OF WARWICK TO BE ELECTED GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY.
Portrait in oil on canvas, signed and dated, by Peter Pelham.
Warwick Tercentenary, see page 40.  Courtesy of Mrs. Edith Ruelker Curtis

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Samuell Gorton's Master Stroke
by WILLIAM GREENE ROELKER

Always adept in dealing with the Indians, on April 19, 1644, Samuell Gorton made his master stroke. Exploiting to the full the astonishment of the Indians at his miraculous escape from the clutches of the Massachusetts authorities, he made a treaty with the Narragansett Sachems bringing "those Princes and People to a submission & acknowledge ment of his said Royal Maj" [Charles I] and his successors Kings of England as their supreme Lords and Sovereign of that country."

This statement reveals the importance which the treaty of submission had already assumed by 1678. When the sub mission was made on April 19, 1644, Gorton's keen legal mind undoubtedly appreciated that his position before the English authorities would be strengthened thereby, but it is

Samuell Gorton (he always wrote his first name Samuell) was a master publicist. Immediately upon reaching London in 1646 he published a full account of his difficulties with the Massachusetts authorities under the title, Simplicities Defence Against Seven-Headed Policy, republished, with notes by William R. Staples as volume II, Rhode Island Historical Society Collections, hereafter R. I. H. S. Coll. The particular reference is at 157-160. For a condensed account, see note 27.

3From the reply ofRandall[1] Howlden and [Major] John Green[e], July 30, 1678, in the answer of the agents of Massachusetts. The full transcription is to be found in John Carter Brown Historical Transcripts, 1618-1746, 9 volumes, hereafter J. C. B. Transcripts, 1666-1682,
giving him credit for too much foresight to say that he anticipated the vital role which the treaty was to play in protecting Rhode Island from the aggressions of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

This treaty, the like of which had never been made between English and natives in North America, established in the King an indefeasible title to the Indians' land and satisfied the desire for conformity to legalism so ingrained in the mind of the 17th century Englishman. Barely more than an empty form at the time it was made, the treaty of subjection took on real substance when it became necessary to negotiate a new charter after the restoration of Charles II.

The Patent procured by Roger Williams in 1643/44 had Parliamentary authority only, since it had been granted during the English Civil War when Charles I was in flight from London. Rhode Island, like the other New England colonies, had "adhered" to Cromwell and the Protectorate, but now there was a new deal.

No. [147]; abstract in Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1677-1680, No. 767.

Irving B. Richman comments that the submission was probably Indian in origin but furthered by Gorton. "Be that as it may, the act in the sequel proved to be of controlling importance for Rhode Island. In the capable hands of Randall Holden and [Major] John Greene it saved to the commonwealth—as we shall see in Chapter XV. — the rich province of Narragansett," Rhode Island, Its Making and Meaning (N. Y., 1908, 2nd ed.), 235.

Richman's thoughtful study remains the best interpretation of the period 1636-83.

The text of the treaty is to be found in J. C. B. Transcripts, 1619-66, No. 16, and is printed in full in Records of the Colony of Rhode Island (Providence, 1856-65), hereafter R. I. C. R., at I, 134-36; and two letters on the subject, one from the Sachems to Massachusetts, and another from John Warner, Secretary, to the General Court, at I, 136-40.

"From Rhode Island's letter of May 1659 to Richard Cromwell: "We have found (notwithstanding our sister colony's [Massachusetts] anger against us) high favour with the most honorable Council of State, established by authority of parliament, from whose noble hands, we also received letters of gracious confirmation and refreshings. And lastly (which is unspeakable merriment and joye unto us), your highness' dearest father was pleased, under his own hand and seal [R. I. C. R., I, 316-17] to refresh us also as with the dew upon the grass, and as with a clowde of the latter raine unto us." R. I. C. R., I, 413, see also "Harris Papers," R. I. H. S. Coll., X, 269.

"The restoration of the king," writes Professor Charles M. Andrews, "rendered doubtful the legal validity of the patent of 1644. It is to be remembered that parliament, though acting in the king's name, had issued the document without following, as far as we know, the regular process required for a letters patent, and also that the patent had served in Rhode Island to enforce principles, analogous to those of the Commonwealth and Protectorate which England had just discarded." It was, therefore, of first importance for Rhode Island to demonstrate her loyalty to the new king. Her agent must be tactful and shrewd and be armed with the proper credentials. The treaty of submission by the Narragansett Sachems to the king's late father, Charles I, was ready at hand to prove Rhode Island's loyalty as well as the legality of her claims.

A letter from Dr. John Clarke in London announcing the accession of Charles II was read to the General Court sitting at Warwick, October 18, 1660. First of the New England colonies to take such action, the Court immediately ordered the King to be proclaimed "tomorrow morning at eight of the clock." At the same session the Court authorized a committee "to draw up a draught of a commission" to be sent to John Clarke, Physician, appointing him our undoubted agent and Attorney; to all lawful intents and purposes lawfully tending unto the preservation of all and singular the
privileges, liberties, boundaries and eminencies of this Colony, as according to the true intent and meaning of all contained in our said charter, against all unlawful usurpations, intrusions, and claims of any person or persons, on any pretences, or by any combination whatsoever; nor doubting but the same gracious hand of Providence, which moved the most potent and royal power abovesaid, to give and grant as the abovesaid free charter, will also still continue to preserve us in our just rights and privileges, by the gracious favour of the power and royal majestic abovesaid. Whereunto we acknowledge all humble submission and loyal subjection. 7

There the matter rested until May 21, 1661, when the General Court meeting at Newport

having much upon their hearts the consideration of that dutifull obedience, legally and unfayned humble affection that this Collony doth owe and bear unto the crowne and dignity of his most excellent majestic, our dread soveraigne Lord the King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland;

took the occasion

in all humble and thankfull manner, to present and prostrate ourselves, and that at his Majesties feet, and to beseech his Majesties favourable continuation of his goodness unto us, his most faithfull, tho poore and unworthy subjects in these remote partes of the world; and the better to declare our loyalty and humble service unto his majestic, do apoynt our trusty and well beloved frend and agent to present our acknowledgments accordingly... 8

No agent was appointed at this session though £200 was voted for his expenses. And in order to arm him for the difficult negotiation, the Court ordered that the treasured evidences of “our just rights and priviledges,” meaning the “charter of Mr. Roger Williams” and the “subjection of the Narragansett Indians unto his majestic” procured by Samuell Gorton, be sent “for the use of the Collony, by our agent or agents in England.” 9

In spite of the order of the Court to the delegates of the towns “to consulte and make some progresse in the matter, on or before the 24th day of June,” 10 action was further delayed until a letter arrived from Dr. Clarke, August 27, 1661. 11 This letter must have contained his acceptance of the arduous task, for the Court ordered:

that Mr. Arnold, Mr. Dyre, and Joseph Torrey, are desired to draw up a letter to Mr. John Clarke, of thankfulness, and to draw out his commission that was drawn up at the Courte at Warwick, October the 18th, 1660,” [and to send the money which had been pledged] to Mr. John Clarke, our agent in England. 12

None of Dr. Clarke’s many letters to the Colony appear to have survived. Nothing is known of their contents except the one received June the 17th, 1662, “wherein he declareth that our affayres are in a forward way to be efected theare [at Court] to the great comfort of the Collony, and that monyes only are wanting to manndage the matter...” 13

Shortly after receipt of his commission Dr. Clarke drafted a petition to the King which was received in the Colonial Office, January 29, 1661/62. A second, received February 5th, repeats the former petition and includes the plea that the petitioners

have it much on their hearts (if they may be permitted) to hold forth a lively experiment, that a flourishing civil State may stand, yea, and best be maintained, and that among English spirits, with a full liberty in religious concernments... 14

This phrase, so liberal as to startle contemporaries, was carried over verbatim into the Charter of 1663. 15

6Slowness of communications probably accounts for the delay. In case Clarke should refuse, the Court nominated a list of men from which the agent should be selected: “Mr. Benedict Arnold, Mr. John Greene, Mr. William Dyre, Mr. Randall Hoiliden, Mr. Samuel Gorton and Mr. Roger Williams.” R. I. C. R., I, 441-42; Arnold, I, 276.

7 R. I. C. R., I, 448. It seems clear to the writer that only a draft of the commision was made, October 18, 1660, pending receipt of word that Dr. Clarke was willing to undertake the business. The commision does not appear to have issued until August 27, 1661, which would explain why his first petition to the King was not received in the Colonial office until January 29, 1661/62, Cf. Andrews, II, 38.

8 R. I. C. R., I, 441-42. The difficulty of procuring funds with which to meet the agent’s expenses is shown by the request that drafts resulting from the sale of horses in the Barbadoes be turned in to the authorities for forwarding to London, ibid, I, 483.


10 This his Majestys grant was started at by his Majestys high officers of state, who were to view it in course before the sealing, but, fearing the lions roaring, they crouched, against their wills, in obedience to his Majestys pleasure,” Roger Williams to Major Mason, June 22, 1670, Narragansett Club Publications (Providence, 1867-74). VI, 346.
Underlying the references to a desire for liberty of conscience as the special aim of the Colony, there is, in both petitions, a particular emphasis on the declaration that the code of laws adopted in 1647 is "so neare the laws of England, as the nature and constitution of the place would admit." If the influence of Samuell Gorton cannot be traced directly in the terms of this code, nevertheless its spirit conforms to his well-known devotion to the English common law.

But the influence of the treaty of subjection is quite apparent, though it appears to have escaped the attention of other writers. Arnold states correctly that one of the reasons for granting the charter is that the petitioners "are seized and possessed by purchase and consent of the said natives to their full content, of such lands, islands," and that this clause is a recognition of Roger Williams' doctrine that the paramount title was in the natives, "and the right, first obtained from them by purchase, was only confirmed by patent from the crown." This is unquestionably one legal basis for the charter.

Arnold, however, overlooks the other legal base on which the charter rests: the treaty of subjection of the Narragansett Sachems, referred to in the clause stating that the people of Rhode Island had "by neare neighbourhoode to and friendlie societie with the greate bodie of the Narragansett Indians, given them encouragement, of their owne acorde, to subject themselves, their people and landes, unto us; whereby, as is hoped, there may, in due tyme, by the blessing of God upon their endeavours, bee layd a sure foudnation of happinesse to all America." 15

Another direct reference to the treaty appears in the clause making it unlawful "to invade or molest the native Indians, or any other inhabitants, inhabiting within the bounds and lymits hereafter mentioned (they having sub-

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15 R. I. C. R., I, 487, there are three distinct references to the laws of England.
16 Arnold, I, 290-92.
the Gortonists, and obtain an outlet on Narragansett Bay.\textsuperscript{21} If anyone had doubts of the real purpose they were soon resolved when Atherton, now a major, appeared with Governor John Winthrop of Connecticut at the head of a land company which, in 1659, purchased Quidnesset and Namscook (Boston) Neck from Coginchaug, Chief Sachem of the Narragansetts.\textsuperscript{22}

By making these purchases the Atherton Company flouted the act of the General Assembly of November 21, 1658, forbidding any further purchases of lands or islands from the Indians within the precincts of this Colony, but such only as are soe allowed to doe, and ordered therein by an express order of a court of commissioners . . . .\textsuperscript{23}

Letters of protest were ordered to be sent to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, the General Court of Massachusetts and “Major Atherton and others joined with him, concerning several purchases of lands made in our colony contrary to law by several of the Massachusetts and others.”\textsuperscript{24}

Another attempt was made eighteen months later (May, 1661), the committee writing: “We doe desire that all rational, manly and civill information and respect be used so as the matter may be fayrly scane and ended, if it may be . . . .”\textsuperscript{25} But all to no avail, Atherton continued to pursue his illegal course.

Thus began a series of encroachments which kept Rhode Island in a state of siege for upwards of three quarters of a

\textsuperscript{21} Simplicities Defence,” R. I. H. S. Coll., II, 52-150; Winthrop, II, 102, 164-77; W. G. Roelker, Massachusetts’ War with Samuel Gorton (R. I. Pendulum, 1942), 4-7; Cf. Andrus, II, 15, Note 2.

\textsuperscript{22} There were two purchases: one, June 17, 1659, is found in R. I. C. R., I, 464, transcribed from J. C. B. Transcript, 1658-1666, No. 18. The second is found in R. I. C. R., III, 277, and bears the date July 4, 1659; it is transcribed from J. C. B. Transcript, 1662-1689, No. 233, where it is dated 1687. But in The Narragansett Mortgage, Publication No. 19 (1925), Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, the date is given as July 4, 1659, though the source is R. I. C. R., III, 277. Arnold places both purchases in 1659, see I, 272.

\textsuperscript{23} R. I. C. R., I, 403-404; Cf. 401.

\textsuperscript{24} R. I. C. R., I, 421, Aug. 23, 1659.

\textsuperscript{25} R. I. C. R., I, 438.

\textsuperscript{26} R. I. C. R., IV, 370-73, from J. C. B. Transcript, 1708-35, No. 559.

\textsuperscript{27} After the restoration of Charles II Gorton sent a summarized version of Simplicities Defence in the form of a letter of April 4th, 1662, to Lord Chancellor Hyde and enclosed a copy of the act of submission by the Narragansett Sachems, April 19, 1664.

The following passage describes the events pertinent to this study: “Now in these transactions before our Release it was bruited among these Indians of whom we had purchased our plantation, that we could not escape with our lives, for the massachusetts
Thus the treaty of subjection of the Narrangansett Sachems received official recognition as the basis of Rhode Island’s title to the Narragansett country. Samuell Gorton had indeed made a master stroke.

Rhode Island History

The Scott Family Needle Work

by Richard LeBaron Bowen

Of all the early Rhode Island needle work that has come down to us from the middle of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, Elizabeth Scott, of Newport, Rhode Island, has left more examples of her handiwork than is recorded in any other New England family. One piece is now 201 years old, others are 182 and 134 years old.

Richard Scott came to Providence about 1637 and died there about 1680. Shortly after 1700 his grandson John, the head of the Scott family, left Providence and settled at Newport where the records of this main line of the family are found.

Elizabeth Scott, Richard Scott’s great-great-granddaughter, made a sampler at Newport in 1741 when she was six years old, and embroidered the Scott Arms, quarterly of eight, about 1760. Shortly after 1800 she made an embroidered Memorial to her nephew and his wife John Cookson and Martha Scott. Her granddaughter, and pupil, Sarah Cookson (Scott) DeBlois, Richard Scott’s great-great-great-great-granddaughter (about 1825) made a finely detailed piece of embroidery entitled “The Fisherman’s Return at Sunset.” These four pieces have been care-

*Richard LeBaron Bowen is a student of heraldry and of early New England history and genealogy. He is the author of Rhode Island Colonial Money and its Counterfeiting (1647-1726), Publication No. 34, (1942) Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, and has in preparation a Documentary History of Rochesters, and besides other papers, is the author of a series of historical articles entitled Early Rochesters Families and Events currently appearing in the New England Historical and Genealogical REGISTER. He is a Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists; a life member of the Society of Genealogists of London; the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and a member of its Committee on Heraldry; the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and the Rhode Island Historical Society.


b. Later research shows clearly that the Scott Arms, and the Memorial to John Cookson Scott and his wife Martha, were embroidered by Elizabeth Scott, and could not have been done by her granddaughter, Elizabeth, as stated in N. E. Hist. Gen. Register, vol. XCVI (1942), p. 18.
fully handed down in the family, and to-day, two hundred and one years after the first piece was made, are all together in the possession of Mrs. Lillian7 (DeBlois) Fox6 of Rehoboth, Massachusetts, a Richard Scott descendant in the tenth generation. So much is known about the makers of this needle work, and the families of its various owners down through the years, that these pieces of embroidery might properly be called "pedigreed."

Besides their importance as examples of colonial art, pieces of needlework are often the only surviving record of the little girls and young women who made them, and of genealogical data not available in any other place.

* * *

In early Colonial days it seems to have been true that "girls were never considered worth educating, except in the graces," and it seems to have been equally true that boys must be educated, as shown by the growth of Grammar Schools, Latin Schools and Colleges. This inequality in education is best shown in early deeds, where, the husband attached his signature and his wife often signed by making a mark. There is little or no record of the very early education of girls at Newport, or, for that matter, in the State of Rhode Island. There seems no doubt that throughout this early period girls were entirely dependent for education on the early "Dame School" and the later "Finishing School." The Dame Schools were schools for small children, kept mainly in kitchens, and no records of them are extant. The Finishing Schools came later, and of these we do have some records. Nearly all the early existing samplers, and other examples of embroidery, which have survived, were probably made in these early schools where girls were chiefly taught needle work.

Rhode Island samplers dated prior to 1800 are comparatively rare, and there are very few dated previous to 1750. In 1920, the Rhode Island Historical Society held a Loan

c. Mrs. Frank B. Fox.

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This name is undoubtedly “Clossen,” and is not an early Newport name, but is found at this date at Tiverton, (eight miles distant) and at Little Compton, (eleven miles distant) both in Rhode Island. A Mary Clossen was born at Tiverton, 7 April 1717, daughter of Jeremiah and Elizabeth Clossen. She would have been the right age to make this sampler, and fits in better than a Mary Clossen who was born at Little Compton in 1716. If the parents of Mary Clossen lived at Newport, in 1725, there seems to be no record surviving.

(No. 2)

“ELIZABETH CHASE, 10 yrs.; 21" x 8"; 2 alphabets; chain and cross-stitch; verse:
‘Lord give me wisdom to Direct my ways, I beg not riches nor yet length of days.’”

[American Samplers, p. 136].

This sampler, loaned by Mrs. Daniel Beckwith, is listed in American Samplers as of 1800-30, a century too late, as it was undoubtedly made at Newport in 1730 by the Elizabeth Chase who was born at Newport, 10 March 1719-20, daughter of John and Anne Chase.

(No. 3)

“SARAH BAILEY, 1738; 11" yrs.; 8" x 16"; 3 alphabets; cross and queen-stitch; conventional border; rose and carnation, queen-stitch strawberries; verse:
‘It is no wonder that men turn to Clay When Rocks & Stones and monuments decay.’”

[American Samplers, p. 31].

This sampler, in the cabinet of the Newport Historical Society, was clearly made by Sarah, the daughter of Samuel and Alice Bailey, born (14 February 1727) at Middletown,
2485 eighteenth and nineteenth century samplers recorded in American Samplers. This would seem to indicate the influence of the same local Newport school, or teacher.

Scott Sampler, No. 4

The first, and oldest example of Scott needle work, is the sampler made at Newport by Elizabeth Scott, 29 July 1741. She was the daughter of George Scott (John, John, Richard) and was baptized at Trinity Church, Newport, 11 June 1735, so she was just a few days over six years of age when she finished the sampler. She died unmarried at Newport, 4 January 1809, age 73 yrs. Her grandmother, Elizabeth (Wanton) Scott, first used the Scott seal on a deed in 1712.

This sampler, here illustrated, is made on the customary brown colored linen, sheeting weave, of a count of 32 x 42 threads per square inch. It has hemmed edges, and it is 8½ inches wide by 10½ inches long. It has a vine border separated from the main body of the sampler with a line in light blue cross-stitch. The top panel has five rose buds, of which four are blue and yellow, and one red and yellow. The four petals of the rose are in satin-stitch, outlined with cross-stitch. The roses are separated by a dividing line design. Then there are three lines of the cross-stitch, above, between and below two lines of verse. The top line is yellow and red, the middle line is blue, and the bottom is red. The verse is broken into two lines: “LORD GIVE ME WISDOM TO DIRECT MY WAYS.” The words are in yellow, dark blue, light blue and red. In the main panel are carnations on either side of an open rose, with rose buds on the ends. A tree is in one corner, and a bird and tree in the other, both done in cross and satin-stitches. There are three cross-stitch lines, in blue, yellow and blue, between which are the lines: “ELIZABETH SCOT IS MY NAME WITH MY NEEDLE I WROUGHT THE SAME.” Below the light blue lines are the words: “IN THE 6 YEARS OF MY AGE JULY THE 29 1741.”

This 1741 sampler descended from Elizabeth Scott to Mary Smith (Scott) Hunter; to her nephew Capt. John Scott DeBlois; to his brother Edward Thatcher DeBlois; to his son John Edward DeBlois; to his daughter, Mrs. Lillian (DeBlois) Fox, the present and sixth owner, through five generations, in two hundred and one years.

k. Not 5 years as stated in American Samplers, p. 74.
l. Trinity Church Record.
It is strange that the custom of embroidering arms seems to have been limited to New England. So far [1921] none have been found without its bounds, and the period from 1750 to 1770 was by far the most prolific. This was the period in New England when arms were generally appropriated with little or no regard to the right of the family to bear arms. The American Samplers lists thirty-nine embroidered arms and hatchments, but records none for Rhode Island.

About 1760 Elizabeth Scott embroidered the "SCOTS ARMS," quarterly of eight, here illustrated, spelling Scott with one "t" just as she did on her sampler (1741). This is the second oldest piece of Scott needlework, and is also the only known embroidered coat-of-arms of a Rhode Island family, although the writer knows of a Rhode Island family hatchment, dated about 1800. When Elizabeth Scott decided to embroider the Scott Arms, she had as a pattern to copy, the family quartered Arms of Edward Scott (the elder, clother) of Glemsford, co. Suffolk, England, father of her great-great-grandfather, Richard Scott of Providence. This was painted in colors for Edward in England, about 1608, on a heavy membrane of vellum 17 3/4 inches wide by 19 3/4 inches high. The escutcheon is 33/4 inches wide by 4 3/4 inches high, on which are the Scott Arms, quarterly of eight, as follows:

1. SCOTT. Argent three catersine wheels sable a bordure engrafted gules.
2. BEAUFITZ. Argent a saltire engrafted gules between four Cornish choughs sable beaked and legged gules.
4. PASHLEY. Purpure a lion rampant or crowned or.
5. SERIEULX. Argent a saltire sable between twelve cherries gules stalked vert.
6. NORMANVILLE. Argent on a fess double-coatined gules three fleurs-de-lys argent.
7. GOWER. Gules a fesso between six crosses patee fitchée argent.
8. SCOTT. As the first.

The Scott Arms, quarterly, of eight, are embroidered over a full size tracing made of the arms painted in England, and are worked on a heavy piece of striped silk, sateen weave, laced over a pine embroidery frame 16" x 13". This pine frame is made of strips of wood 1½" by 5/16", halved and pinned together with a series of holes ½" from the outside edge, and spaced ½" apart, through which silk lacings are passed to hold the silk taut.

Above the escutcheon is a helmet, the back part of which is shaded vert, with visor and edges or. The wreath is argent and sable, out of which rises the crest: a demi-griffin wings elevated sable beaked and legged or. This same Scott crest is given in a descent entered in the 1st Visitation of Kent, 1530/1, commencing with Sir John Scott, of Smeath, who married Anne Pympe.

On the crest, and in the center of the escutcheon, is a crescent or on which is a mullet gules, the marks of cadency used to indicate the various branches, or cadets, of a family, indicating the third son of the second.

The arms, helmet, crest and mantling, are outlined in black silk thread in the long-stitch. The argent fields and argent charges of the different coats are embroidered. The Pashley and Gower fields are in satin-stitch, as are the heavy colored charges on all of the coats except the rampant lion on the Pashley coat. The body of the griffin, the helmet and mantling, are in satin-stitch. Gold metal covered silk is used on the griffin’s claws and beak of the crest; on the visor and the trimmings of the helmet; on the lower tassels of the mantling, and on the rampant lion of the Pashley coat. This gold covered silk was laid lengthwise and couch-stitched with yellow silk, which has now faded to a light cream color. A buffian-stitch is used on the griffin’s legs.

The field on the Pashley arms is shown as a yellowish green, which was as near as Elizabeth could interpret the brownish color to which the original purple on the parchment painting had faded.

The sunlight has bleached the original bright colors of the embroidered silk, especially the reds, which have faded to a light russet. The gold metal covered silk has tarnished in places to almost a black. The silk thread on the back of the arms, away from the sunlight, still shows the original bright colors.

The arms are faithfully reproduced in silk, even to the marks of cadency. The only slip in copying was that five of the six catherine wheels in the Scott coats have five spokes instead of six, which, of course, is of no importance.

This embroidery is framed under glass on which is painted a 1½" black border with two gold leaf bands. On the black border, at the bottom of the picture, is printed in gold leaf letters, “SCOT’S ARMS.” At some time the gold leaf frame was painted over with a black jap-o-lack paint, and at a later date this was partly washed off on the right hand side and the bottom of the frame, as can be seen in the illustration.

The embroidered Scott Arms of 1760 was given by Elizabeth Scott to John Cookson Scott; to Mary Smith (Scott) Hunter; to John Scott DeBlois; to Edward Thatcher DeBlois; to John Edward DeBlois; to Lillian (DeBlois) Fox, the present, and seventh owner, in six generations, in one hundred eighty four years.

(To be continued)

WANTED: City Directories, Tax Books, Records of Religious and Social Organizations. All issues of Rhode Island Historical Society Collections and Rhode Island History, especially January 1930, April and July, 1942.
The Development of The Neck
A Chronicle of the East Side of Providence
by John Hutchins Cady, F.A.I.A.

This is the first installment, in condensed form, of an unpublished history entitled "The Civic and Architectural Development of Providence." Other installments will appear from time to time.

CHAPTER I. 1636-1676

Early in the year 1636 Roger Williams, an exile from Salem, started on a pilgrimage to found a colony that would be free from religious control. Accompanied by four companions he steered his course in a southeasterly direction across country, through snow and ice, arriving in April at a spot on the shore of Ten Mile river near its confluence with Seekonk river. Several weeks were spent there, during which time the group was increased by a few new arrivals.

Roger Williams apparently did not realize at first that he still was on soil of the Plymouth Colony whose bounds extended westerly to the Seekonk river. That fact was made known to him by Governor Winslow of Plymouth who advised him to remove to the other side of the water where the country was free from any English claims or patents. Accordingly, on a day in the early summer of 1636, Williams started on a scouting expedition with Thomas Angell, one of his followers, to seek another spot.

The bounds, according to the Plymouth patent of 1622, were "one-half of the river called Narragansett," interpreted to mean the present Seekonk and Providence rivers, Narragansett bay and Sakonnet river.

They proceeded in a canoe down Seekonk river, paused on the opposite shore at Slate Rock, passed through the narrows where Weybosset Point projected from the westerly shore, entered a tidewater cove into which Moshassuck river flowed from the north and Woonasquatucket river from the west, and landed on the east shore near a fresh water spring.

Roger Williams surveyed the neck of land which he had skirted. A hill rose sharply, east of the spring, to a height of two hundred feet. The descent to the east and south was more gradual. Thick forests covered most of the territory, with swamps at the lower levels. A brook flowed southerly through the neck, curving westerly near its mouth to discharge into Mile End cove. Between the bend of the brook and the southerly shore of the neck Foxes Hill rose to a height of about 40 feet. A graveley beach extended from

1 Roger Williams: Key into the Language of America (London, 1643), p. 2. Slate Rock was buried to a depth of about 20 feet during regrading operations in 1878. A monument, erected 1906 by the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers, on Roger Williams Square at Gano and Power streets, marks the spot.

2 Providence river, upper harbor

3 Weybosset Point was located about where Westminster Street commences.

4 The spring site, located at the corner of North Main Street and Alamo Lane, was presented to the city in 1930 by Judge J. Jerome Hahn. A park was established there and a well curb, designed by Norman M. Isham, was erected within which the spring still flows.

5 The Great Swamp covered most of the present area of Providence east of Hope Street and north of Doyle Avenue; Cat Swamp was farther south, centering, approximately, at the intersection of Lloyd and Elmgrove avenues.

6 The brook, for most of its course, followed the line of Brook Street; Mile End cove was located where Bridge Street leads to Point Street bridge.

7 A fort was established on Foxes Hill during the Revolution, later replaced by a resort known as Fox Point Observatory; the hill was leveled, 1875.
Fox Point northerly to the mouth of Moshassuck river.\textsuperscript{11} Having determined that the region was well adapted for a settlement Williams negotiated a purchase of land from the Narragansett sachems Canonicus and Miantonomi. Shortly afterwards he and his followers abandoned their former settlement by Ten Mile river, moved over to the spring, and there planted the town of Providence. A clearing was made at the foot of the hillside, near the spring, where shelters were put up for habitation until the settlers were able to construct more permanent dwellings.

The purchase from the Indians was confirmed in a deed to Roger Williams executed in March, 1637.\textsuperscript{12} The territory acquired included the lands west of Seekonk river and the Great Salt river into which it flowed, its other bounds extending from the river and fields at Pawtucket southwesterly to Neutaconkanut Hill and then southeasterly to Pawtuxet river.

The neck of land between Seekonk river on the east and the Great Salt river, the Cove, and Moshassuck river on the west, extending southerly to Fox Point, was called Moshassuck by the Indians. The settlers re-named it the Neck to distinguish it from the other lands of Providence; it is now known as the East Side.

As new arrivals joined the colony Roger Williams determined to share with his "loving friends and neighbors" the lands which he had received from the Indians and his agreement to that effect was confirmed in a deed executed, October 8, 1638, by himself and 12 others by which, for a consideration of £30 payable to him by the inhabitants, they and such others as should later be admitted to fellowship were granted equal rights in the territory.\textsuperscript{13} The bounds of the colony were considerably extended by later conveyances.

\textsuperscript{11} South Water and Canal streets follow the original shore line. The mouth of Moshassuck river was at Smith Street.


\textsuperscript{13} R. I. C. R., I, 19.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NECK

from the Indians. To each person admitted to fellowship there was allotted a home lot, a 6-acre lot for planting, an extent of meadow or pasture land for cattle, and a tract of wood land, to an aggregate area of about 100 acres.

Not all of the residents of the town were admitted immediately to fellowship. Some time between 1638 and 1640 a civil compact was drawn up and signed by 12 members of the colony by which they promised "active or passive obedience in civil things" without land grants;\textsuperscript{14} and in 1645 an agreement was signed by 29 persons who were granted 25 acres of land apiece without voting rights.\textsuperscript{15}

In 1640 a document known as the "Combination" was executed, setting up a form of government for the colony. It was signed by 29 voters enfranchised at the time of its execution and subsequently by 9 others.\textsuperscript{16}

Upon application by Roger Williams a patent of incorporation, uniting Providence with the colonies of Portsmouth and Newport, settled 1638 and 1639, respectively, was granted in 1644 by the Governor and Commissioners of His Majesty's subjects in America, acting under authority of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, and was adopted in 1647.\textsuperscript{17} At the first "General Court of Election" held in that year Warwick was admitted to the colony.\textsuperscript{18}

Within a year or two after Providence had been settled the "Towne street"\textsuperscript{19} was laid out, following the shore for most of its length at an elevation of a few feet above tide-water and bearing away from the shore, up a hillside\textsuperscript{20} near

\textsuperscript{14} The Early Records of the Town of Providence, collected and printed by the Record Commissioners (Providence, 1892-1915), hereafter E. R. P., I, 1.

\textsuperscript{15} E. R. P., II, 29.

\textsuperscript{16} R. I. C. R., I, 27; Doc. Hist., p. 119.

\textsuperscript{17} R. I. C. R., I, 143-146.

\textsuperscript{18} R. I. C. R., I, 148.

\textsuperscript{19} North and South Main streets.

\textsuperscript{20} Constitution Hill.
its northern end; and a systematic division was made of the lands bordering the street to provide home lots for the settlers. The principal source of information with respect to the lots is contained in a manuscript prepared about 1645 by Chad Brown, John Throckmorton and Gregory Dexter, entitled “A revised List” (saving Correction, with Addition) of Lands and Meddows, As they were originally Lotted, from the beginning of the Plantation of Providence...” This manuscript gives a list of the owners of the home lots, 52 in number, as well as those of the agricultural and wood lands.

While no maps have been preserved which would indicate the precise location of the home lots, sufficient documentary evidence has been available to permit the approximate reconstruction of the original town pattern. The home lots were laid out upon a section of the Neck now bounded, approximately, by North and South Main, Wickenden, Hope and Olney streets. The 6-acre lots were located, some to the south and east of the home lots on the Neck, and others north of Woonasquatucket river. The meadow land and wood lots lay between Woonasquatucket and Pawtuxet rivers, extending from Providence river westerly to Olneyville.

The map facing page 26 shows the approximate location of the home lots, superimposed on the present highway pattern. The lots were in a row, each extending easterly from the Towne street (North and South Main) to the Highway at the Head of the Lots (Hope Street). The sequence of lots was interrupted by two lanes, also extend-

21 The manuscript is in the office of the city clerk.

22 Charles W. Hopkins: The Home Lots of the Early Settlers (Providence, 1886), hereafter Hopkins.

23 Olney Street has generally been accepted as the northerly boundary of the lots. Actually it is about 100 feet north of the boundary, as proven by the allotment of land within the intervening area as part of the second division of lots in 1718 (Cady: “The Division of the Home Lots of Providence,” Rhode Island Historical Society Collections, hereafter R. I. H. S. C., 31, 101)."
The Southerly Portion of The Neck in the 17th Century showing houses standing on the home lots 1650.
ing from highway to highway; one is now Meeting Street, the other Power Street. The lots varied in width from 100 to 135 feet, in length from 1600 to 3000 feet, and in area from 4½ to 8½ acres. It is probable that the longitudinal bounds of the lots originally were intended as straight parallel lines. Methods of surveying were rather crude in the early years of the colony, which may account for slight irregularities in the bounds, as revealed by later surveys.

How soon after their arrival the settlers commenced the erection of houses is unknown. Among the early settlers was William Carpenter, a skilled builder, formerly of Amesbury, Wiltshire, who probably brought tools with him and did not long delay in using them. At first only stone and raw forest products were available in the town for building purposes. There were limestone beds to the north and west, and a lime kiln was established in the settlement in 1648. Tools and other building materials were transported by water, probably from Boston and New Amsterdam.

The early documents which have been preserved give very little information about the houses of the early period. Our knowledge of Providence dwellings is based largely upon measurements and analyses made of certain houses in Rhode Island which survived for 200 years or more. The Roger Mowry house (1653-1900) which stood on Abbott Street, one-half mile north of the home lots, was one of

24 The identification of Hope Street as the original Highway at the Head of the Lots is proven by surveys of the present Meeting and Power Streets made 1731-38 (E. R. P., IX, 59, 76). The courses were platted in poles, a measure of length varying from 16 to 18 feet. On the basis of a 17½ foot pole for Meeting Street and a 16½ foot pole for Power Street the total lengths of Meeting Street (177 poles) and Power Street (134 poles) as established from the Towne street to the Highway at the Head of the Lots 1731-38 agree with the present lengths of those streets from North and South Main, respectively, to Hope Street.

25 E. R. P., XV, 12.
these. When the foundations of Roger Williams’ house at the corner of North Main and Howland Streets were excavated in 1906 measurements made by Norman M. Isham strengthened his conviction that the early houses on the Towne street were like Mowry’s.  

The typical house plan included a single room, or “hall” about 15 by 17 feet in area and about 6½ feet high, with a great stone fireplace at one end and a winding flight of stairs or a ladder leading to a chamber under the roof. The foundations were very shallow; where there was 


a cellar it consisted simply of a hole with sloping sides for the storage of vegetables, reached by a trap door in the floor or by an outside cellarway. As more rooms were needed additions were made by extending the house lengthwise, or building a lean-to at the rear, or both.

This type of house, as exemplified by the Mowry house (page 28), was a story and a half high with a steep gable roof, clapboarded walls, casement windows, and a huge stone-end chimney. Somewhat Gothic in style, it reflects also a rural English precedents. British prototypes may still be seen in Wiltshire, from which county William Carpenter emigrated, and in Sussex and various east coast towns. The chimneys of those houses, however, were brick, a material not available in Rhode Island in the early period. The Providence houses were framed with oak sills, posts and girts, dovetailed together and secured by wooden pins, with a “summer beam” spanning the main ceiling from girt to girt, carrying the joists of the floor above.

Many New England villages were built around a large common or green on which the public buildings faced. The
topography of the area where Providence was settled was not appropriate for such a development and no public buildings were built until the last years of the 17th century. Town quarters were established from 1644 to 1647 in a dwelling erected by Ezekiel Holliman (page 32), the location of which is marked by a tablet at the street railway tunnel portal on North Main Street. Except during those years there was no permanent location for town meetings.

The earliest "civic center" grew up in the vicinity of the falls of the Moshassuck, a short distance north of the present Mill Street bridge, where the town grist mill was established in 1646. John Smith, one of the original settlers, was a miller by trade. He was granted a home lot and erected a house on the Towne street just north of the present Cathedral of St. John, but soon sold that property and removed to the Moshassuck valley. In 1646 the town granted him "the valley wherein his house stands in case he set up a mill". Upon its erection the mill became the center of the town's activities. On every second and third day of the week it was used "for grinding of the Corne of the Towne." On other days it served as a place for informal gatherings by the townspeople and for occasional town meetings and religious services. The miller died about 1649 and was succeeded by his son John Smith, Jr.

There is evidence that some form of police protection was maintained by the town for, in the year 1649, it was "Ordered that our Constable shall have a staffe made him whereby he shall be knowne to have the authority of the Towne-Constable." One of his duties undoubtedly was to enforce the liquor laws, it being ordered in 1650 "that if any man sell any Wine or strong Liquors in his house, he shall also entertaine strangers to bed & board, but any man shall have his liberty to sell without doores no man forbidding him."

The town appropriated no funds for the maintenance of its highways in the early years. Instead it was ordered "that every man shall mend and make good the high way before his house Lot or Lots, within the Compass of this neck, to that Carts may passe & repasse freely." Later on every man was required to work on the highways three days a year and furnish teams and oxen.

The tax rate recorded in 1650 indicated that 34 houses were standing on the home lots that year, as follows:

Gregory Dexter, a former London printer, erected a house on the northernmost lot in 1644. He was town clerk at one time, served as president of Providence and Warwick 1653-54, and was ordained pastor of the Baptists in 1654. Elder Pardon Tillinghast built at the head of Constitution Hill in 1649, on the lot originally granted to Thomas Painter, and moved later to the south end of the town. The original settlers built between the present Cady Street and the foot of Constitution Hill but Roger Williams, whose house is memorialized by a tablet on a building at 273 North Main Street, was the only one to remain there in residence; William Arnold and William Harris removed to Pawtuxet, John Smith moved to the Moshassuck Valley (page 30), Joshua Verin left the colony, and all sold their properties.

Between Cady and North Court streets were the Daniels and Sweet houses. Alice Daniels became the second wife of John Greene who joined the Pawtuxet colony, 1638; John

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29 Rhode Island Land Evidence, IV, 54.
30 E. R. P., II, 42.
32 E. R. P., II, 45.
33 E. R. P., II, 44.
37 The colony was disrupted 1651-1654, Portsmouth and Newport submitting to Gov. Coddington's rule, and Providence and Warwick carrying on the government in accordance with the patent of 1644.
Greene, Jr., later became owner of the Towne street property. John Sweet died and his house and land were acquired by Edward Manton. The house of Thomas Olney, the first town treasurer, stood where the railroad viaduct enters the tunnel. Francis Weston built on the site of the First Baptist Meeting House. He was one of the original Shawomet (Warwick) purchasers in 1643; his estate on the Towne street was purchased after his death in 1645 by Thomas Angell (page 22). Richard Waterman, who gave Waterman Street its name, built within the lines of that highway. Near the entrance to the street railway tunnel a house was built by Ezekiel Holliman, formerly of Hertford County, England, who baptized Roger Williams in 1639 and was immediately baptized by him. The property was purchased 1640 by Hugh Bewitt who sold it to the town ing 1644 (page 30) and repurchased it 1647.

On the next three lots extending southerly to the present College Street houses were built, respectively, by Stukeley Westcott, who removed to Shawomet and sold to Samuel Bennett; William Reynolds, who sold to Robert Williams; and Daniel Abbott, who died 1647 and whose property later was owned, successively, by Robert Morris, Robert Williams and Daniel Abbott, Jr. Within the bounds of College Street was the house of Chad Brown, a surveyor, who was ordained pastor of the Baptists in 1642.

John Warner built on the site of the present Providence County Court House and, on his removal to Warwick in 1642, the property passed to William Field and later to George Richards. Field erected a house in 1647 near the site of the present 50 South Main Street; it was used from time to time for town meetings, and was one of the few survivors of the Indians’ attack in 1676 (page 36). Houses were built between the present Crawford and Planet streets by John Field (father of William Field), Joshua Winsor, Thomas Harris (brother of William Harris), Adam Goodwin, and William Burrows, respectively. William Mann built on the south side of Planet Street.

The lane which afterwards became Power Street was bordered by the lot of William Wickenden on the north and that of Nicholas Power on the south. Wickenden, a member of the town council and one-time pastor of the Baptists, built a house in 1639 which he sold to Ralph Earle, together with a “2-pole square of ground,” and moved to the vicinity of Foxes Hill; in 1646 Christopher Unthank acquired the remainder of the lot. Nicholas Power erected a house in 1639 and later purchased the next lot south, originally in possession of Widow Joan Tyler. He died 1657 and his property was inherited by his widow Jane and on her death, in 1667, by her son Nicholas Power II, who married Rebecca Rhodes in 1672 and was killed in the Great Swamp Fight of 1675. Widow Jane Sears built in 1641 on the next lot adjoining which subsequently was acquired by Roger Williams’ son Daniel, who married Nicholas Power II’s widow in 1676; part of the lot is incorporated in Williams Street, which took its name from the founder of the colony.

Between Williams and Transit Streets were the houses erected by Thomas Hopkins, Edward Hart, Joshua Winsor and Hugh Bewitt. Hart sold his property to Robert West about 1643; Winsor built a house in 1650 on the lot originally assigned to Matthew Weston, to which he moved from his former dwelling. Bewitt’s property passed to William Hawkins 1644 and later to James Ashton, and the house was built by one of the three. The dwellings south of Transit Street were built by William Hawkins and Christopher Unthank; the latter moved to Shawomet and sold his property to Thomas Roberts.

28 Later known as the Field Garrison House. “The old Garrison house and lot was, in 1772 or ’73, purchased by Mr. Joseph Brown. The old house which stood thirty or forty feet east of the street, was then taken down. Many of its timbers were very large and sound; it having been built when the whole town was a forest, and wood plenty. Mr. Brown, in 1774, erected the elegant house owned and occupied [until 1929] by the Providence Bank.” —Edwin M. Stone, The Life and Recollections of John Howland (Providence, 1857), p. 24.
Rhode Island History

The tax list of 1650 also records the names of certain home owners on the Neck outside the home lots. These include Thomas Suckling and William Wickenden to the south, Arthur Fenner to the East, and John Browne, Christopher Smith, William Fenner, Widow Smith, and John Jones to the north. Beyond the confines of the Neck two house owners were listed on the west side of the river and seven at Pawtuxet.

The “civic center” was further developed in 1655 by the establishment of a tannery, operated by Thomas Olney, Jr., a short distance east of the mill “out by ye Stampers.”

A highway leading to the mill and tannery was laid out at that time which branched northerly from the Towne Street at the foot of the hill and followed the lines of the present Mill, Bark and Hewes streets, swinging easterly to intercept the Common Road to Pawtucket, the northerly extension of the Towne Street.

The first bridge across Providence river was erected in 1660 at a cost of £160, connecting the east shore with Weybosset Point, at the location of the present Market Square, and providing access to the meadow lands. The crossing had been made previously by a ford in the river over which the Indians had trailed for many years. Not long after the bridge had been built two of its trestles gave way and specifications were drawn for its reconstruction, as follows: “They are to make Timber worke in the forme of a square, diamond fashion which shall serve in the steed of those two Tressells that are downe, and shall rare it up in

39 E. R. P., II, 83. Stampers was the former name of a hill rising from the east side of Moshassuck river to the present Carleton Davis Boulevard.

“It has been handed down by tradition, that soon after the settlement of Providence, a body of Indians approached the town in a hostile manner. Some of the townsmen by running and stamping on this hill, induced them to believe that there was a large number of men stationed there to oppose them, upon which they relinquished their design and retired. From this circumstance the hill was always called Stampers’ hill, or more generally, the Stampers.”—William R. Staples: *Annals of the Town of Providence* (Providence, 1843), hereafter Staples, p. 117.


The Development of the Neck

The river to make up the Bridge and lay sufficient Gice over the said diamond unto the other Tressells next it on both sides and to planke with plankeuy until it be sufficiently planked... and also to procure posts and railes and raile up the Bridge where the defects are, and also to set up new posts where they are wanting at the end of the Bridge as well at the owne end as the other...” Further repairs were required from time to time and eventually the cost of its maintenance proved so great that the bridge was abandoned and was torn down or washed away. It was not until 1711 that the next span was erected at that location, and the river ford was again used in the interim.

A bridge of smaller proportions was built across Moshassuck river in 1662 where Randall Square is now located, connecting the mill highway with the 6-acre lots on the other side. According to the vote at town meeting in May of that year the bridge was to be completed “before the next hay tyme.”

By a conveyance on the part of the Indians in 1659 the territory of the town of Providence was extended 20 miles westerly “from a hill, called Fox’s hill, upon a straight line, running up into the country between Pawtucket [Blackstone] and Pawtuxette river,” including practically all of the present Providence County east of Blackstone, Seekonk and Providence rivers. Three years later, in 1663, Charles II of England granted the colony of Rhode Island a new charter, superseding the patent of 1644 (page 25) and naming as the first governor Benedict Arnold, who subsequently was elected by the freemen of the colony.

On March 30, 1676, Providence was attacked by the Indians. Previously a large proportion of the citizens had removed to Newport with their families and effects, leaving only 27 men to defend the town. They established a gar-
rison in William Field’s house (page 33), the windows of which had been fitted with gratings; although those men succeeded in defending their garrison the Indians were successful in burning most of the other houses on the Towne street, as well as the mill, the tannery and the miller’s house on Moshassuck river. John Smith, Jr., the miller, was then town clerk and the records were in his possession. “They were thrown from his burning house into the mill pond to preserve them from the flames, and to the present day they bear plenary evidence of the two-fold dangers they escaped, and the two-fold injury they suffered.”

A few weeks after the Indians’ attack a King’s Garrison of seven men was established in Providence under Captain Arthur Fenner. No further fighting developed in the town, however, and the inhabitants gradually drifted back to Providence and commenced to clear away the ruins and to start rebuilding.

Staples, p. 166.

To be continued

RECEIPT FOR SHAVING CAPTAIN JOSEPH TILLINGHAST (1735-1816) FROM JOHN HOWLAND (1757-1834), OWNER OF A HAIR-DRESSER’S SHOP, ON THE SITE OF THE PRESENT PROVIDENCE WASHINGTON INSURANCE COMPANY, NORTH MAIN STREET.

JOHN HOWLAND, SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, WAS AUDITOR AND TREASURER OF THE TOWN OF PROVIDENCE AND A FATHER OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM; THE JOHN HOWLAND SCHOOL IS NAMED FOR HIM.

Book Reviews

THE NEWPORT TOWER — NORSE CHURCH OR STONE-BUILT WINDMILL

By Philip Ainsworth Means


Only so long as the historical profession looks with interest upon the reappraisal of data and conclusions can it be regarded as a vital force in scholarship. This truism has once more been asserted by the publication of Mr. Means’s book on the stone tower in Touro Park, Newport, probably the best-known artificial landmark in the United States. There were many who sought to dissuade Mr. Means from undertaking his investigation, many who criticised him for doing so, and many others who merely tolerated his activities. As one of this last group the present writer wishes now to climb upon the Means band wagon. This is not to say that Mr. Means has proven his contention; he is far from thinking that himself. It is, however, an expression of belief that he has most effectively reopened a question which informed and uninformed opinion had long ago considered closed, and has shown, furthermore, that the earlier solution of that question was reached through an obvious and too easy interpretation of documentary data.

For a great many years the generally accepted explanation of the existence of the Newport tower had been that it was a structure erected by Governor Benedict Arnold as a windmill for grinding corn, modeled upon a circular windmill at Chesterton in Warwickshire, near which Governor Arnold had been born and reared. This theory had its origin and support in the phrase of Arnold’s will which described the tower as “my Stone built Wind-mill”. Against this interpretation Mr. Means opposes certain general considerations and at least two special ones of direct bearing. If the tower was designed as a windmill, he asks, why was “it made to rest on eight chunky but feeble-looking columns which are ill-suited to withstand the strains and stresses of windmilling? And where were the millstones placed? If they were situated in that open space within the circle of columns, what would prevent the newly-ground meal from being blown in all directions before it could be gathered into sacks? And if they were to be placed in the room over the arches, why was there an open fireplace in that room, a fireplace whose flames would have been very dangerous because of the highly combustible dust rising from the revolving millstones?”

From these queries of high pertinence, Mr. Means goes on to comment upon the fact that the tower is an architectural anomaly in America. Here is a circular building of stone standing in a part of the world where most other old buildings are rectangular and made of brick or wood. The
column and arch construction of its lower story are elements extremely rare in New England building before 1700. It is, in short, "that rarity of rarities in our country—an ancient circular, stone built ruin."

The first of the special considerations which Mr. Means brings to bear against the Arnold theory is that the Governor did not aver that he himself had erected the tower from the ground up for use as a windmill, but simply referred to it by way of identification as "my Stone Built Wind-mill". His second consideration is the evidence, based upon the researches of several genealogists, that Governor Arnold was not born and reared near Chesterton in Warwickshire, but at Ilchester in Somerset, and that in all probability he never saw the ornamental structure or astronomical observatory at Chesterton which, it is believed, was not converted to use as a windmill until long after his departure from England.

This is the barest outline of Mr. Means's argument against the Arnold theory, extensively set forth in his sections headed "The History of the Two Rival Theories" and "Critical Examination of the Arnold Theory." These are introduced by a section in which appear the most thorough examination yet made of the tower from the architectural standpoint and a searching appraisal of documentary and legendary references to the structure. In the many chapters of these three sections is found a relentless analysis, occasionally abusive in manner where it is a question of "Arnoldist" writings, of the extensive literature of the subject, chronologically arranged for the century or more of controversy which began with a series of letters published in the Providence Gazette from April to August, 1823. These sections are fully illustrated by a large number of reproductions of paintings and prints of the tower, modern photographs of the whole structure and of its details, and measured architects' drawings.

In Part IV of his book Mr. Means discusses the theory opposed to the Benedict Arnold Windmill conception of the Newport structure, that is, the conception of it as the central tower of a church built in the twelfth or thirteenth century by Norse residents of North America. Every reader is quick to realize the difficulties which face Mr. Means in this constructive portion of his study. Scholars have accepted the Norse discovery and settlement of the eleventh century as substantially true, but even those who never question the historic fact of that event are quick to admit that the hazes of time and the paucity of records have left in a flourishing state of doubt the questions of where the Norse settlements were made and how long they were maintained. This aspect of history has not been Mr. Means's specialty, but he brings to the consideration of it a prolonged reading and study of the small group of documents that exist and of the large literature which has grown out of them. He finds himself in the position of one who must build upon an insecure foundation, erect a theory upon data replete with unresolved questions. He does this with fairness, honesty, and decent humility, succeeding in the construction of an hypothesis which he thus expresses: "What remains of the Newport tower looks very like the circular arced central cylinder of a Norse round church with floors and chambers above the arches."

The fact that we have here one hypothesis erected upon another, that is, upon the hypothesis that the Norse remained in North America until the thirteenth century is fairly presented to the reader by Mr. Means, though implicitly and explicitly he shows himself willing and more than willing to believe in both premise and conclusion.

Mr. Means's description of Norwegian and other round churches is as full and as well illustrated by photographs and plans as his chapter on windmills. The analogy between the round church, widely disseminated throughout the old world, and the Newport tower seems to go deeper than a mere chance physical resemblance. It is easy, therefore, for many of the historians and lay folk who have read Mr. Means's book to accept his hypothesis as a starting point for further discussion. One lays down the long and closely articulated argument with the feeling that he has undergone an intellectual experience, and that is the end and aim of works of letters and research. Few there can be who do not join earnestly in the author's suggestion that the Newport city authorities permit the carrying out of simple excavations which might uncover the ambulatory wall of a Norse round church, or other evidence that would push back by some hundreds of years the horizons of North American history.

John Carter Brown Library

Lawrence C. Wroth

Walks Around Providence
By John Hutchins Cady

Mr. Cady's guide book fills a long felt want. Native and stranger alike continuously ask for such information as is here provided. Many a lifelong resident will find that Mr. Cady by peopling visible Providence with the architects and owners has brought new life to the familiar streets and created a new interest in every-day surroundings.

Walks Around Providence is a compact condensation of years of study by the author, long Chairman of the City Plan Commission.

The "Walks" are well chosen — and are not too long. They may be followed easily on the map; the directions are simple and adequate; the size is convenient for the pocket.

No one interested in Providence should be without it. We have it on sale.

Rhode Island Historical Society

William G. Roelker
Warwick Tercentenary (1643-1943)

Shawomet, later renamed Warwick in honor of Robert, Earl of that name, was settled in January, 1643, according to our present day calendar.

Led by Samuell Gorton, Randall Holden and John Greene, a dozen heads of families, finding themselves unwelcome to their neighbors at Pappatogue (now Roger Williams Park), removed south of the Pawtuxet river "into another part of the Nanyanset Bay, further from the Massachusetts, and where none of the English . . . had anything to do, but only Indians, the true natives, of whom we bought a parcel of land, called Shawomet . . . not only of Myan-tonomy, chief Sachem . . .; but also with the free consent of the inhabitants . . ."

The original deed, now in the John Carter Brown Library, is here reproduced for the first time, as one of a series of articles and illustrations marking the Tercentenary.

The painting of Governor William Greene (1695/96-1758) on the cover is one of the earliest portraits of a worthy of Warwick, few of whose inhabitants could afford to indulge in such luxuries. Signed and dated (1750) by Peter Pelham, it is one of two or three known portraits by the step-father of John Singleton Copley.

Some consequences of the treaty of submission by the Narragansett Sachems to King Charles I, which have been previously overlooked, are developed in "Samuell Gorton's Master Stroke," by W. G. Roelker, appearing in this issue.

W. G. R.

2 This series made be said to have begun with "The Revolutionary Correspondence of Nathanael Greene and John Adams," by Bernhard Knollenberg, Rhode Island History, I, No. 2 (April, 1942), 43-55 and No. 3 (July, 1942), 78-83. The cover of this issue is a reproduction of a portrait in oil of General Greene by Rembrandt Peale not Randolph Peale, as erroneously stated. No. 4 (October, 1942) contains the Order of Exercises and principal addresses at the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of General Nathanael Greene, Warwick's most famous son, 109-25.
Role of an Historical Society
in Time of War

by KENNETH B. MURDOCK

President, Colonial Society of Massachusetts

on the occasion of its FIFTIETH anniversary, November 23, 1942

A problem uppermost in the minds of many of us has been, I am sure, the proper role of a Society such as this in time of war. It has seemed to me and to the Council — and I hope that you will all agree — that our chance to be useful is as great as ever, and that for us to continue our corporate activities, is not less, but possibly even more, important than in times of peace. About the eventual success of our arms against the Axis none of us have any doubt, but success in arms comes not simply by arms, and a truly successful peace must be worked for if it is to follow our successes in the field. I, at least, believe that a sense of the values which humane studies alone can teach; a consciousness of our great historical tradition; a realization that what we are fighting to preserve is what our ancestors more than once risked their lives to save for us; a passionate conviction of the validity of the great values in our American past; are necessary if our morale during the struggle is to be at its highest, and if the peace that is to come is to make a fit world for free men.

I have been seeing a good deal in the past few months of boys who are studying history and literature on the eve of going actively into the fight. They are intensely eager for the fight, intensely eager to win it whatever the cost, but they are as eager to make themselves able to fight better by understanding deeply what they are fighting for, and rightly they turn to the humanities for assurance and inspiration. They are fully conscious of what we perhaps too often forget — that they are fighting enemies who have used education and scholarship as weapons in war. Those enemies have distorted history and have perverted the arts, but their distorted history, perverted art, and false philosophy, have become part of the military strength of their fighting men. We have better weapons than they in true history. We need not pervert or distort or falsify in supplying our men with what they need to understand and to believe, but we cannot equip them with what they need to face the foes they must face unless we keep alive such values as this Society fifty years ago was founded to perpetuate. Our service in this Society may be small but, however small, it is part of what must be, if we are to succeed, an effort in which every educational and scholarly agency must join.