The Political Consequences of the Burning of the Gaspee

by Eugene Wulsin

In close pursuit of the sloop Hannah—suspected of evading the revenue laws—H. M. S. Gaspee went ashore on Namquid Point in the afternoon of June 9, 1772. Word of her plight soon spread in the little Town of Providence and the young merchants whose trading had been interfered with on many occasions by the arbitrary conduct of her commander determined to take advantage of the opportunity to destroy her. A party of townsmen under the command of Captain Abraham Whipple set out after dark in a flotilla of long boats furnished by John Brown and burned her to the water's edge. In the melee Lt. Dudingston was wounded and a distinguished historian has written that his was the first British blood shed in the American War of Independence. Destruction of a British man-of-war and the injury of an officer were undoubtedly contributing causes to the mounting friction between Great Britain and the colonists. But the whole episode in all probability would have been forgotten if it had not occasioned the appointment of a

* Portion of a paper offered in partial satisfaction of the requirements for an A.B. degree in American History at Harvard University. Eugene Wulsin is now a Sergeant in the Engineers, A.U.S.

Royal Commission clothed with authority to transport any suspect to England for trial. In the opinion of a noted authority "It was the sitting of the Court at Newport which disturbed the colonists more than the burning of the Gaspee itself, although the burning of the vessel inspired the sitting of the Court."

Within a few hours of the destruction of the schooner Governor Joseph Wanton issued a proclamation offering liberal rewards to anyone furnishing evidence sufficient to convict the offenders. No one came forward to claim the rewards, though it was impossible in a town of less than five thousand inhabitants to conceal the participants in such a conspicuous affair. Nothing came of this attempt to apprehend the culprits. But when the news reached England the King issued a proclamation offering £1,000 reward for the arrest and conviction of the two leaders and inducements to anyone who might implicate the rest and a commission was issued to Governor Wanton, Daniel Horsmanden, Frederick Smythe and Peter Oliver, chief justices of New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts, and Robert Auchmuty, judge of vice-admiralty at Boston, to inquire and report on the facts. Six months had passed since the destruction of the schooner; three months had gone since the Rhode Island court, and even Admiral Montagu, had given up all hope of bringing the perpetrators to justice. Now the case was reopened by a court with powers which endangered judicial rights in all the colonies, viz., the power to seize anyone even suspected of complicity and to send them to England for trial and also instructions to the military to send troops to Rhode Island to back up the commission's demands. Here was "a case of violated right bearing on the people of all the colonies" for which Sam Adams had been looking to fire the enthusiasm of the committees of correspondence.  

THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES .... GASPEE

In contrast to the few days following the burning of the schooner in June, the news of the Commission and the accompanying letter from Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of the Colonies, to Governor Wanton, brought an immediate and violent explosion of sentiment. "The high commission court, the star chamber court, the court of inquiry, for the trial of the burners of the Gaspee at Rhode Island are the present topic of conversation. The Governor of that Colony has communicated to the assembly this letter from the Earl of Dartmouth. The Colonies are in great distress, and have applied to their neighbors for advice how to evade or sustain the shock," noted John Adams in his Diary for December 29th.

The letter from Lord Dartmouth, dated September 4, was a severe indictment of the people of Rhode Island and caused as much comment as the news of the commission. In it he revealed the official attitude toward the incident when he said, "The particulars of that atrocious proceeding have, by the King's command, been examined and considered with the greatest attention; and although there are some circumstances attending it in regard to the robbery and plunder of the vessel, which, separately considered, might bring it within the description of an act of piracy, yet, in the obvious view of the whole transaction, and taking all the circumstances together, the offence is, in the opinion of the law servants of the crown, who have been consulted upon that question, of a much deeper dye, and is considered in no other light, than as an act of high treason, viz.: levying war against the king."

Governor Wanton presented this letter before the Rhode Island legislature in accordance with the colonial law, and from there it got into newspapers all over New England.

4 Lord Dartmouth to the Governor of Rhode Island, Bartlett, op. cit., p. 51.
5 Letter from Chief Justice Samuel Horsmanden to the Earl of Dartmouth, February 20, 1775, ibid., p. 130.
Massachusetts Spy or Thomas's Weekly Journal carried the major part of the letter on December 31. The Newport Mercury printed it on January 11, quoting the Boston Gazette as its source. A British Bostonian, supposed to be John Allen, delivered "an Oration on the Beauties of Liberty" at the Second Baptist Church in Boston in which he openly attacked Lord Dartmouth. “If the Rhode Islanders suffer this infringement of their liberties, granted them by their charter from the King of England let them never complain of any hardships they may suffer from any tyranny; for was there ever such cruelty, injustice, and barbarity united against a free people before?”

The label of treason attached to a group of Providence merchants (including John Brown), provided much cause for alarm and comment, but far more important to the colonies as a whole was the appointment of the Royal Commission. It was this that made the issue an American, not merely a Rhode Island affair, and offered a real threat to the rights and liberties of the colonists from the Canadian border to Georgia.

Under a Boston heading there appeared in the Newport Mercury on December 28 a clear statement of the feeling of Americans:

"The idea of seizing a number of persons under the points of bayonets and transporting them three thousand miles for trial, where whether guilty or innocent, they must unavoidably fall victims alike to revenge and prejudice, is shocking to humanity, repugnant to every dictate of reason, liberty and justice, and in which Americans and freemen ought to acquiesce.

If the burning of the Gaspee schooner was a matter of serious importance, much more so are the methods pursued by the British Administration in consequence of it. . . . To have a set of crown officers commissioned by the ministry and supported by ships and troops to inquire into offenses against the crown, instead of the ordinary and constitutional method of a grand jury, carries an implication that the people of that colony were all so deeply tainted with rebellious principles as that they are not to be trusted by the crown.”

In the press and in private correspondence the newly commissioned court was referred to as a star chamber in memory of the days of Charles I, and a court of inquisition. It certainly was neither of these, but feeling ran high against a court which could resort to force if necessary and which could ride roughshod over all the existing laws and legal procedure in Rhode Island's charter. A law passed in 1769 by the colonial legislature forbade the transportation of any person from the colony for trial, and since 1763 it had been illegal to imprison or try a man except by his peers and the law of the colony. If the King could disregard these fundamental laws, America was completely at his mercy.

The alarm and opposition to the royal orders crystallized generally around three points in the commission. The first was the extra-legal character of the court which endangered all local law and which was set up in defiance of the regular courts; the second, the power to transport overseas for trial, which had been bitterly opposed before and threatened all the colonies; and the third, the orders issued to General Thomas Gage to be ready to march to the aid of the commissioners if he were needed. The memory of the Boston "Massacre" in 1770, which occurred when troops were in Boston to enforce the revenue acts, was still fresh in the minds of the men of New England. There was also rumor that Admiral Montagu had sworn to lay Newport and Providence in ashes and now saw his chance.

The commission gathered in Newport, where it would conduct its investigation, on January 5. Meanwhile a group of prominent citizens, including Darius Sessions, Deputy-Governor, and Stephen Hopkins, Chief Justice of Rhode Island, had been formulating the attitude which the citizens of the colony would take in regard to the commission. In a moment of despair they wrote to Sam Adams begging his
advice on their course of action and asking “in what manner this colony [Rhode Island] had best behave in this critical situation.”

His reply was lengthy but to the point. He felt that the administration was seeking an excuse to take away Rhode Island's charter, and advised non-co-operation as the best course of action. Governor Wanton should refuse to call the Commissioners and write to Lord Dartmouth his reasons. Stating his long-founded fears of a war, he urged moderation to prevent its outbreak, but in the same breath warned against giving-in completely. The commission in Rhode Island must not become a precedent for violating charters at will: “It has ever been my opinion that an attack on the liberties of one colony is an attack on the liberties of all.”

Here he shows the conviction that was growing in Union of all the colonies was the only answer to English aggression. The commission sitting at Newport did much to help the cause by appearing during six months as a living example of the tyranny of Parliament and the King.

What he should do in case the commission turned to him for arrests was the chief concern of Stephen Hopkins, Chief Justice of Rhode Island. Was he to bow to their will and turn over his neighbors to the Admiral in Boston, acknowledging the legality of the commission, or defy the crown and refuse to make the arrests? He referred the problem to the Rhode Island legislature sitting at East Greenwich on January 11, but the answer came back to use his own discretion in the matter. He then rose and declared that “for the purpose of Transportation for Trial he would neither apprehend by his own Order nor suffer any executive Officers in the Colony to do it.” He was never asked to support the conviction, because the commission never found anyone to arrest, but his position remained as an obstacle to any

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16 Letter from Dr. Stiles to Elihu Spencer, February 16, 1773, in Stiles, Diary, vol. 1, p. 349.
17 Letter from Admiral Montagu to the Commissioners, January 19, 1773, Bartlett, op. cit., p. 100.
18 Newport Mercury, April 26, 1772.
Anybody who had had any connection with the affair six months before kept discreetly silent or found some excuse for not appearing before the court. Seven of the witnesses summoned to appear in Newport pleaded absence because of old age, bad health, or business affairs, and those that did appear shed no new light on the case.20

After three weeks of futile investigation the commissioners "broke up [on January 21] having adjourned to 26th of May."21 In a letter to Lord Dartmouth they gave inclement weather as their reason but in all probability it was the complete lack of evidence. Rumors of bribery by some merchants of Providence, anxious to prevent any arrests, circulated around Newport,22 but no confirmation was ever established. In any case, the storm which had burst so violently upon Rhode Island in December had passed over, leaving only a few gentle breezes in its wake. No arrests had been made, nothing new had come to light, and it looked to all as though the Crown had once again been defeated in its designs to crush America.

Nathanael Greene, later a brilliant General in the Revolutionary Army, bitterly attacked the attitude of the Rhode Island Assembly towards the Commission in January, 1773, saying that the Assembly "seems to have lost all that spirit of independence and public virtue that has ever distinguished them since they have first been incorporated, and sunk down into a tame submission and entire acquiescence to ministerial mandates."23 The Assembly, however, was willing to let the Commission proceed, for to interfere or make a hostile move at that time might well have brought General Gage marching down from Boston. It was better for some other colony to take the lead in protest against the court.

In spite of this apathy on the part of the people of Rhode Island when they saw nothing would result from the Commision's investigations, the leading men in other parts of the continent were not willing to let the matter drop. Although the Crown had failed to secure convictions in this particular case, a precedent had been established for dealing with acts of violence against the Crown officials that bode ill to the freedom of Americans. Before the Commissioners reassembled in May to continue their investigations, the machinery for a closer union of the colonies than had been in existence for eight years had been set up. The work of the court in promoting American liberty had been far more successful than its work on behalf of the Crown.

Because news traveled slowly in 1772, especially in the winter, the gentlemen of Virginia did not begin to hear rumors of the Rhode Island Commission until January, 1773, and even then the facts were obscured. Virginia was far away from New England both in miles and in spirit. Most Virginians looked on New Yorkers as radical Yankees who were likely to do almost anything in defiance of English authority. They had been drawn together at the time of the Stamp Act Congress in 1765, but since then the two divisions of America had drifted apart. Yet it was from Virginia that the next move came as a result of the Gaspee commission, after the assemblies of Rhode Island and Massachusetts had failed to act. The spirit of union for all the colonies had long been alive in the South, as was shown by the Virginia resolves of 1769, but the inactivity of the subsequent two years had lessened its force. The colonies had subsequently fought their individual battles with England.

Realizing this deplorable state of affairs, Richard Henry Lee on February 4, 1773, opened a correspondence with Sam Adams in Boston, motivated in great part by the spotty news of the Gaspee Commission and its powers. "To be firmly attached to the cause of liberty on virtuous principles, is a powerful cause of union, and renders proper the most easy communication of sentiment," he wrote. "At this distance, and through the uncertain medium of newspapers, we may never, perhaps, have received a just account of this
affair [the destruction of the Gaspee]... and this [overseas trial] is so unreasonable, and so unconstitutional a stretch of power, that I hope it will never be permitted to take place while a spark of virtue or one manly sentiment remains in America.24

The Virginia Gazette printed articles second and third hand, taken from New England papers telling of the commission and condemning its unconstitutionality.25 In this way Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and Richard Henry Lee learned of the events in Rhode Island which soon became a topic of conversation among the men in the House of Burgesses.

The result of this discussion, one which was far-reaching in its effects, can best be shown by quoting the words of Thomas Jefferson in his autobiography:

But a court of inquiry held in Rhode Island in 1772 with a power to send persons to England to be tried for offenses committed here was considered at our session of the spring of 1773 as demanding attention. Not thinking our old and leading members up to the point of forwardness and zeal which the times required, Mr. Henry, R. H. Lee, Francis L. Lee, Mr. Carr,26 and myself agreed to meet in the evening in a private room of the Raleigh to consult on the state of things... We were all sensible that the most urgent of all measures was that of coming to an understanding with all the other colonies to consider the British claims as a common cause to all, and to produce a unity of action: and for this purpose that a committee of correspondence in each colony would be the best instrument for intercommunication: and that their first measure would probably be to propose a meeting of deputies from every colony at some central place who should be charged with the direction of the measures which should be taken by all.27

How large a part the Gaspee Commission had in producing this revolutionary step is extremely difficult to ascertain. It undoubtedly loomed large in the minds of the group in Virginia, but the hazy knowledge they seemed to have of its

25 Virginia Gazette, January 21, January 28, February 18, 1773.
26 Dubrey Carr, Jefferson's brother-in-law.

true powers and the circumstances surrounding its reason for being indicates curiosity rather than indignation. They realized a threat to American liberty was being launched at Rhode Island, but exactly what it was and how it was being countered they had no swift or sure means of finding out. Until they knew they could take no real action.

The realization that the colonies must stand together and unite against England, that the repeated attempts at taxation, revenue collection, and illegal judicial procedure would continue, certainly was present in the minds of the men in the Raleigh Tavern, for no one incident like the Rhode Island Commission could cause such revolutionary action. It was the many incidents of the eight-year fight with Parliament and the King which provided the background of resentment and concern, but it was the news of this further unwarranted act that forced the decision. Lee, Jefferson, and Henry were not fanatics like Sam Adams in Boston, who practically single-handed kept up the fight against England for almost two years. They were patriotic men, loyal to the King but first of all loyal to their countrymen. The idea of a committee of correspondence was not new and the Virginians had the example of the Massachusetts committees started by Sam Adams in November, although they probably knew little about them.

Thus the Gaspee Commission provided a double impetus toward the formation of the intercolonial committees of correspondence. On the one hand, the scanty knowledge of such an important event convinced the Virginians that a swift and certain system of communication between the colonies was necessary; and, secondly, this latest attack on America showed them that union and cooperation was necessary. It took a violent threat against their very existence as free men to bring the colonists together.

(There is a worthwhile discussion of this subject in Origins of the American Revolution, by John C. Miller, pp. 325-29, published since this paper was written, ed.)

"To be concluded"
The Old Town Pounds of Rhode Island

by Anne Crawford Allen Holst

In the early days of the Colonies, lost livestock was a serious business to the frugal settlers. Provision was made rapidly to care for such lost animals in tight enclosures, where they could not possibly cause harm to the hard-plantled crops, and where the valued animals could safely await their owners. Such enclosures in New England were called Pounds, and, maintained by the Town, were each in charge of a Pound Keeper who was annually appointed by the Town Council.

But changing times and the Machine Age have caused the Town Pounds to lose their useful value. And, today, it behooves the Antiquarian to search out and record those last remnants of the old Town Pounds, before they too, are lost in the memories of past history. Some are gone entirely, without even benefit of written history. Others are recorded as having been located on such and such a site. While still others existed in scattered and forlorn remains that are scarcely recognizable. And there are a few that are, today, in well preserved, usable condition.

The Town Pounds of New England were made from the handiest, sturdiest material available—the native rocks. Each Pound reflected the Township in no small manner. Some were small, and poorly built, reflecting the pinched and narrow-minded citizens of the town. Others were large, well-built, solid affairs that indicated citizens of substance. And then, there was the famous Round Pound in Connecticut, near the Rhode Island-Connecticut line, that indicated a frank love of beauty, a desire to build character and solidness into what they left for posterity.

However, the Town Pounds with which this short article is concerned are the old Town Pounds of Rhode Island. But a partial survey of these has been completed, this interesting work being cut short by lack of time and gasoline rationing. For it takes a surprising amount of both time and gasoline to search out and photograph these works in stone.
Each Rhode Island Pound had some little feature, which made it quite distinctive from the others. Worth mentioning are the quaint stone steps beside the southwest corner of the Glocester Town Pound, the lovely old Road Marking stone beside the South Kingstown Town Pound at Curtis Corners, the brook that flows through the corner of the Foster Town Pound (making it quite unnecessary to water the stock therein twice a day), the open shed that is said to have been built in the West Greenwich Town Pound, and the nice cornerposts on the front of the North Kingstown Pound. And there are many others.

Cranston Town Pounds—None now existing. One of the Town Pounds was located at the corners of Wilbur Avenue and Phoenix Avenue, west of the village of Oaklawn. Nothing remains of it at this time.

Exeter Town Pounds—Located on the Ten Rod Road, or so-called Victory Highway, west of the Widow Sweet Road, on the north side of the highway. Stone walls in bad condition. Gate renewed not too long ago.

Foster Town Pounds—Located on the Greenbush Road, about a mile west of Foster Center. In good usable condition. Gateway very fine. The gate of a most attractive and original pattern. Gate apparently is original. Brook running through the southwest corner of the Pound.

East Greenwich Town Pounds—The only authenticated site of a Town Pound, which is still in use, is that of the open cellar beneath the barn on the Town Farm on First Avenue in the village of East Greenwich.

The probable site, though not authenticated, of the Pound in the western part of the Town, is that located about 1000 feet east of Tarbox Corners on Middle Road, on the south side of the road. Little remains, except an intriguing bit of stone work that may, or may not, have been either a feed trough or a base for a wooden water tub.

West Greenwich Town Pounds—Located on top of Nooseneck Hill on the south side of the Robin Hollow Road. In bad repair. A small, low stone-walled Pound, with an extremely narrow entrance. It is said that an open shed was formerly built on the side of the barn (still existing) to shelter the animals, though all trace of the shed has vanished.

Glocester Town Pounds—Located on the east side of the Chopmist Hill Road, a scant mile from the village of Chepachet. The high stone walls, well built and capped, and the fine old iron gate, as well as the Pound’s unusual triangular shape, make this Pound one of the most outstanding in the state. A small flight of three stone steps beside the southwest corner of the Pound lend great interest.

Hopkinton Town Pounds—All of the Town Pounds of this town are still in existence, though all are unusable. The southern Pound is located on Chase Hill Road about
three-quarter miles southwest of the Bradford-Ashaway State Highway. The stonewalls are still good, but there is no gate, and the interior of the Pound has been completely overgrown. The central Pound is located on the south side of the Woodville Road about one-quarter mile east of the Nooseneck Road (or Route 3) at Hopkinton City. This Pound is also in an overgrown condition, and lacking a gate. Some of the walls are down. The northern Pound is located on the north side of the Skunk Hill Road, about one mile west of the junction with the Arcadia Road. In very bad condition, minus gate, broken walls, and completely overgrown. At the southwest corner of Pound a small brook flows, where the water for the interior stock was obtained. It is interesting to note that all of the Town Pounds of the Town of Hopkinton are of identical pattern.

North Kingstown Town Pounds—Located on the north side of the Ten Rod Road, or so-called Victory Highway, about 1000 feet west of Collation Corners. A rather large Town Pound, with low stonewalls, in usable condition today. Cornerposts on front wall are worthy of notice.

South Kingstown Town Pounds—Located north of Curtis Corners on the back road to Little Rest. Gate and stonewalls in original condition. Pound is in usable condition today. Beside the northwest corner of the Pound is one of the lovely old road marking stones on the face of which is carved

"To Little Rest 2 mi. 1814"

North Providence Town Pounds—Apparently there was only one Town Pound. A verbatim description, as given the writer, is inserted here: "It was a high, tight board fence enclosing a house lot on the north side of Mineral Spring Avenue about one look east of Douglas Avenue. Between Douglas Avenue and Lexington Avenue the hill flattens out for not over 100 feet just before it starts a short upgrade to Lexington Avenue. The Pound was on the north side of the street on that flat. It remained there until the Town removed the lock-up to the old school lot. A fence was built around the lot and it became a combined brise-de-poule and Pound, as it remains today, though unused and ramshackle. I suppose the old Pound was built when the Town was divided in the '70s, and I can remember its occasional use, with a lot of hard feeling on the part of those who owned the critters."

Richmond Town Pounds—Located on the old "Miss Virginia Brown Road," a dirt road running north from Richmond Town House. About three-quarter miles due north of Richmond Town House. An exceptionally fine Town Pound. The walls are well over eight feet high, and very well built. The huge gate is the biggest Town Pound gate in Rhode Island! Pound is in good usable condition today.

Scituate Town Pounds—This survey was started too late to include any of the old Scituate Town Pounds, all of which now lie beneath the waters of the Scituate Reservoir. Though difficult to obtain information, the writer believes one was located in the village of Richmond, and one in the nearby village of Kent.

Warwick Town Pounds—The only existing Town Pound in the city of Warwick is located on the north side of Cowssett Road about 600 feet east of Love Lane. The gate, and probably the gateway, is a renewal. However, it is in good usable condition today. The last Pound Keeper appointed was the late Amasa Sprague, and since Warwick has become a City, the office of Pound Keeper apparently has been done away with.

As an interesting short sidelight on the subject of Town Pounds, and to conclude this article, the writer has been told of a most amusing custom, of long-time standing apparently, that is still in existence in neighboring New England states. On Town Meeting Day, it seems, it is still the custom to appoint the Town's newly-wedded male citizen as Town Pound Keeper!
A Painting of Roger Williams

by Bradford F. Swan

A mid-19th century painting by Peter F. Rothermel, entitled "The Banishment of Roger Williams," was given to the Rhode Island Historical Society in December by Miss T. Aldrich.

The painting is not a likeness of the founder of Providence—no portrait from life of Roger Williams has ever been discovered, nor has there ever been any indication that he sat for his portrait during his lifetime. The Rothermel painting is, instead, a fine example of the romantic painting which was so popular in America during the last century.

It shows Roger Williams striking out from Salem in the midst of a gloomy, winter landscape, just as the sun is setting. Snow carpets the forest floor, and a cruel wind whips through the dark and forbidding trees that fill most of the background.

The painting is not dated, but according to Charles R. Henschel of M. Knoedler & Co., through whom it was acquired, Rothermel began painting historical subjects after he visited Europe in 1856. The artist was born in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, in 1817. He studied under Bass Otis and set up as a portrait painter in Philadelphia in 1840. He died in 1895 near Pottstown, Pennsylvania.

Acquisition of the painting by the Society is indeed fortunate, because in recent years the output of the American romantic painters of the 19th century has been reappraised by art critics and found to have an entirely justified place in the development of American art. More and more are the romantics winning critical acclaim.

1 See front cover.
2 Mr. Swan, A.B. (Yale) 1930, is theatre critic for the Providence Journal, and has supervision of art news for that newspaper.
3 For a full discussion of the existence of any authentic portrait of Williams, see Sidney S. Rider, "An Inquiry Concerning the Authenticity of an Alleged Portrait of Roger Williams," R. I. Historical Tracts, 2nd Series, No. 2 (Providence, 1891).
4 The Museum of Art, R. I. School of Design, last year acquired "The Landing of Roger Williams," by Alonzo Chappel. The writer has recently discovered that this painting was reproduced on a Staffordshire plate made by Rowland, Marcellos Co., circa 1800.

Asa Whitney’s Effort in Rhode Island to Promote a Railroad to the Pacific

Communicated by John B. Rae

The original of the accompanying letter is in Volume 11 of the Dorr Manuscripts in the Brown University Library. It shows with remarkable clarity the astonishing effort which Whitney put into his single-minded and virtually single-handed crusade for a railroad to the Pacific—the itinerary described in this letter was a substantial one for those days, and yet it was only a small part of Whitney's travels. The fact that he corresponded with Dorr concerning his project has a particular interest, inasmuch as Walter S. Burges, Dorr’s closest friend, was one of the original incorporators of the Union Pacific R. R.

[Asa Whitney to Thomas W. Dorr]

New York Hotel, N. Y., Nov. 1, 1847

Dear Sir

I regret that I had not the pleasure of seeing you when I passed through your city last week during your absence. I had just returned from Vermont where the Legislature of that State had by a unanimous vote passed resolutions in favor of and requesting their delegates in Congress to vote for my project for a Railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific. From your city I visited the Legislature of your State, where I was fiercely opposed by Mr. Ames1 of your city, but on taking the Ayes and Noses, there were but two of the latter. I cannot understand the cause of his opposition, but it appeared almost personal. Mr. Thurston2 was present and did all he could for me as did all our friends and I was rather pleased than otherwise, that the opposition came from that side, hereafter something may be made of it. A Mr. Atwater3 called on me an Engineer I was pleased with him, he is intelligent. He desires a copy of my explanation before the legislature for publication, and said he could have it published in the

1 Samuel Ames, Attorney at 10 College St., Dorr’s brother-in-law, but a political opponent. In fact, he had been an outstanding law and Order man during the Dorr Rebellion. He knew that Whitney was a friend of Dorr, his opposition was undoubtedly personal.
2 Benjamin B. Thurston, of Hopkinton, prominent in Democratic circles in Rhode Island at this time.
3 Stephen Atwater, partner with N. R. Shubarth, in the firm of Atwater & Shubarth, civil engineers, 12 South Main Street.
Recent Publications of Interest to Rhode Island


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Of Genealogical Interest

The Society has a large and ever-increasing collection of published genealogies, and in addition, has ample manuscript material, including the Angell, Bates, Briggs, Calef, Chapin, Eddy, Greene, Root collections, and others.

These manuscript genealogies, in general, contain invaluable information. Let us review briefly the Bates and Briggs collections.

The Bates collection consists of material collected by Mrs. Louise Prosser Bates, who was a well-known Rhode Island genealogist.

There are eighty-seven volumes of scrapbooks of her notes and letters, all indexed. These cover numerous Rhode Island families such as, Arnold, Baker, Cross, Cottrell, Greene, Lawton, Northrup, Remington, Reynolds, Sherman, Waite, and many others. Mrs. Bates also copied Vital, Probate, Land, Council and Town Meeting records from many original sources, and these are all included and indexed.

This collection also has three volumes designated as "The Peirce Manuscripts" of North Kingstown Town Meeting, Council, and Land Records. One volume contains a good Gardiner family genealogy.

The Bates collection is of great value to the genealogical researcher as the index tells at a glance whether or not the name sought is to be found in it. Once the searcher finds the name, quite frequently he will find too, that Mrs. Bates has worked on the same problem, or some part of it, and even when he does not find the exact data, Mrs. Bates' material will give clues as to where to look for the missing connection.

The Briggs collection was presented to the Society some years ago by Anthony Tarbox Briggs. Mr. Briggs was born April 1, 1831, at Washington, R. I., the son of Russell and Sarah Polly (Tarbox) Briggs. He later resided in Millbury, where he was a selectman, then went to Boston, where he was connected with the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, and lived in Cambridge. He was
greatly interested in genealogy and collected a large amount of valuable information which he had catalogued and gave to the Rhode Island Historical Society. He married Ella Maria Eddy on October 17, 1872, at Millbury. Mrs. Briggs was a graduate of the Oread Collegiate Institute of Worcester, one of the very early schools to give a college education to girls. They had three children, born in Millbury: Florence Elizabeth Briggs, b. June 28, 1874; d. April 23, 1875; Russell Eddy Briggs, b. May 30, 1877, and Sarah Marie Briggs, b. Mar. 23, 1880. Mr. Briggs died May 15, 1918, at Cambridge.

This collection is housed in the Manuscript Room, 3rd floor, and consists of forty-five notebooks filled with family data, five scrapbooks of newspaper clippings (mostly genealogical material), three scrapbooks of Wills, and also scrapbooks covering nearly three hundred cemeteries scattered throughout Rhode Island.

Just outside the Manuscript Room is a large filing case containing an index to the Briggs collection. The upper part of the case is an index to the collection as a whole and covers many families. Below is another section which contains a special index to those families which are most thoroughly covered.

There is a special index drawer for the families of each of the following: John Andrews, William Arnold, John Greene, Surgeon, John Briggs of North Kingstown, George Briggs, Briggs (Miscellaneous), John Coggeshall, John Greene of Quidnesset, Greene (Miscellaneous), Samuel Gorton, Elkanah Johnson, Johnson (Miscellaneous), Henry Matteson, John Spencer, John Tarbox, George Wightman.

Whether a professional worker, student, or merely a genealogical enthusiast, a wealth of material is to be found in these interesting collections which are available to anyone seeking them.

Pemberton of St. Albans

The Mother of Roger Williams

by G. Andrews Moriarty, A.M., LL.B., F.S.A.

For more than fifty years it has been known that the mother of Roger Williams was a member of the gentle family of Pemberton of St. Albans, co. Herts., and from time to time scattered notices of the family have appeared in various places but, as yet, no adequate account of the family has been published. In 1923 a pedigree of the family was printed by the Rev. Robert Pemberton, Rector of Ingatestone, co. Essex, in his "Pemberton Pedigrees", but it is a mere skeleton pedigree, without documentation. The following article, therefore, will be an attempt to give an account of the various members of the family in the 16th and 17th centuries—that is, of the immediate relatives of Roger Williams bearing the name of Pemberton, and with this will be combined what is known about Roger's paternal ancestry.

The Pembertons of St. Albans arose from obscurity, evidently by trade in that town, and in London, in the middle of the 16th century, the period when the social revolution brought so many new men to the front. There can, however, be little doubt that they descended from some cadet and obscure branch of the ancient and gentle house of Pemberton of Pemberton, co. Lancs., which was founded by Adam de Pemberton, who flourished about 1154 [Pemberton Pedigrees, op. cit., Chart I]. In the Visitation of Herts. for 1634, where a pedigree of the St. Albans family is given, it is stated that the founder, Robert Pemberton, was said "to have come out of Cheshire." In the "Visitation of Northants," for 1681, which contains a pedigree of one branch of the St. Albans family, the name of the founder is given as Geoffrey, not Robert, and he is stated to have come from Wiston, co. Lancs., to St. Albans and to have been descended from the Pembertons of Pemberton. Con-
temporary records conclusively prove that the name of the first proven ancestor of our family was Robert and not Geoffrey. It may be suggested, however, that Geoffrey may have been the father of Robert. In this connection it should be noted that on 10 June 1589 Geoffrey Pemberton of St. Albans, husbandman, brought a bill in chancery against Margery Jacon and her sons Robert and Raffe for a certain message in Marston, co. Chester, conveyed about seven years before (1582) for debt by one Hugh Jacon to the Orator [Chanc. Poc. Eliz. P. p. 9 no. 1]. It is possible that this Geoffrey was the father of Robert, the first known ancestor of the St. Albans family, but in that case he must have been a very aged man in 1589. It may also be noted that a John Pemberton of St. Albans made his will on 23 Jan. 1509/10, proved 20 Feb. 1509/10. He resided in St. Andrews Parish and directed that he be buried in St. Andrews burying ground in the churchyard of St. Peter’s parish (where our family later resided, as will duly appear). He bequeathed to the shrine of St. Albans “my scutcheon of silver enamelled with the arms of St. Albans to be hanged on the shrine to the honor of God and Holy St. Albans.” He left his house in Hey Bowe to his daughter Jane and his house in Barrowestyle in Forsley parish (in St. Albans) to his sister Elizabeth Pemberton and made his wife Joan his residuary legatee [Archdeacon et al., Wallingford” fo. 146, 1471-1536]. These records show that early in the 16th century the name of Pemberton already occurs in the town.

No connection between the St. Albans family and the gentle family of Pemberton settled at Rushden, in the neighboring county of Northampton, has been proved and it is not certain where, in our pedigree, Raphael Pemberton, Esq., of St. Peter’s parish, St. Albans, belonged. It may be suggested that he was perhaps a son of the first Robert. In this connection it should be noted that the name Raphael also occurs in the Rushden family and this may indicate a kinship between the two families. Be this as it may, the first proved ancestor of our St. Albans family was Robert Pemberton who lived in St. Peter’s parish in that borough in the middle of the 16th century.

The evidences upon which the pedigree is based will now be given (such as have already been printed will be given in an abridged form, with a reference to the fuller abstract) and these will be followed by a pedigree arranged in the standard American form.

Wills.

WILL OF ROGER STOKES of St. Albans, mercer, dated 18 Feb. 1573/4, proved 29 March 1574. To be buried in the church of St. Albans. To the poor of St. Albans. To the parson of St. Albans to preach a sermon at my burial. To the free school of St. Albans. To son Robert, after the decease of my wife Ellyn, lands at Potterscrouch, both free and copyhold, said Robert to pay my younger son Roger £60 within four years of coming into said lands. To wife Ellen the use of my free and copyhold lands in St. Peter’s Street in St. Albans and my tenement in Fishpole St. in St. Albans. Said wife to keep my two sons at the University of Cambridge, or Oxford, until they shall be 26 years old and to then give them £20 each. To son Roger, after my wife’s death, my house and lands in St. Peter’s Street, my tenement in Fishpole St. and all the lease of my shops and tenements in Way House Gate. To cousin (nephew) Roger Pemberton 20 within one year of my decease. Wife Ellen residuary legatee and executrix. Overseers, Thomas Bowldinge gent. and “Robert Pemberton, my brother-in-law”; to each of them a black gown of the value of 8/ per yard. [Archdeacon, St. Albans, Finkleaster, fo. 66; New Eng. Hist. & Gen. Register, vol. 97, p. 174].


WILL of ROGER STOKES of St. Albans, mercer, dated 3 July 1578, proved 4 Aug. 1578. To father-in-law John Arnold, one of the chief burgesses of St. Albans. To father-in-law John Sheeld late of St. Albans. To brother Robert Stokes and Thomas Holden, M.A., “my title &c. in several leases of the two tenements wherein I now dwell, to be equally divided.” Residuary legatee and executor, brother Robert Stokes. The executor nominated being dead administration granted to Roger Pemberton next of kin. [P.C.C. 32 Langley; Register, vol. 43, p. 294].

Nuncapative WILL of EMMA STOKES, wife of Roger Stokes of St. Albans, dated 3 July 1578, proved 11 Sept. 1578. To be buried in St. Peter’s
churchnard. To sister Mary Arnold my wedding gown. To Elizabeth, 
Agnes and Sarah Arnold, and to Gardiner's wife. To Goodwives Durham 
and Stilton, and to Henry Gardiner [Archdec. St. Albans 38 Clopton].

MEMORIAE & VIRTUTIS SACRUM 
here Lyeth Roger Pemberton Esq.—sometime high shereif of 
this county who by his laste will ordained six aymes houses 
to be build nerre the churche for six poore widowes & rates 
given out of his Mann of Shelton in the county of bed for 
thirty pounds per annum forever for their mayntenance to whose 
poore memory Elizabeth his loveinge wyfe & Raph Pemberton 
their duttyfull sonne marie of this towne executors of his last 
will have dedicated this memoriance. He lived well & departed 
this lyfe the 13 of November 1627 in the 72 yeare of his age 
where nowe his body reste in expectacion of a joyfull resurrection.

BRASS TABLET IN ST. PETER'S CHURCH, ST. ALBANS, CO. HERTS.

PEMBERTON OF ST. ALBANS

Will of Robert Stokes of St. Albans, Master of Arts, dated 2 Aug. 
1578, proved 4 Aug. 1578. To cozen Roger Pemberton "all my cu-
stomary and copyhold lands in the Manor of Park and my freehold lands 
in the manors of Park, Burene, Gorham and Westwick," &c. To friend 
Thomas Holden lands in St. Peter's Street, To John Sutton and cousin 
Thomas Blackbourn. To "my aunt Pemberton an angell of gold." 
[P.C.C. 32 Langley; register, vol. 43, p. 294].

The above wills prove conclusively that Robert Pemberton married Catherine, sister of Roger Stokes, Sr., the tes-
tator of 1574. The Stokes family had long been settled in 
St. Albans and on 29 Aug. 1448 the will of Robert Stoke 
"furber" of St. Albans was proved in the Archdeaconry 
Court [Archdec. St. Albans 55 Stoneham].

Administration on the goods of Robert Pemberton of St. Albans 
deceased was granted to his widow Katherine on 30 Sept. 1578 [Archdec. 
St. Albans Admons].

Will of Robert Pemberton of St. Albans gent., dated 13 Nov. 1624, 
proved 5 Dec. 1627. To be buried in the church of St. Mary-le-Bow in 
London. Provides for the erection of an almshouse for six poor widows 
on land purchased for that purpose in Bowgate in St. Peters parish. To 
"my three sons John, Robert and Ralph and my son Woolley." To 
son-in-law Robert Woolley "a gold signet ring with my arms engraved 
thereon" and a like gift to brother-in-law Francis Kemps. Rings to 
brathers-in-law Nicholas Cotthet and Jeremy Odell. Rings to wife and 
doughter Tecla Woolley. To three daughters-in-law Katherine, Susan 
and Frances Pembertons rings. To "cozen" (nephew) and Godson Roger 
Williams £10. To godsons Ralph Cotthet and Roger Odell. To grand-
children Ellen Woolley and the three Elizabeth Pembertons rings. Execu-
tors "my wife and my son Ralph." Codicill 7 Nov. 1627 names other 
grandchildren including Robert, son of John Pemberton [P.C.C. 117 
Skinner; register, vol. 18].

Will of James Williams citizen and merchant tailor of London, 
dated 7 Sept. 1620, proved 19 Nov. 1621. Names wife Alice and three 
songs Sydrack, Roger, and Robert Williams, also daughter Katherine, wife 
of Ralph Wightman, citizen and merchant tailor of London, and her son 
James Wrightman. Goddaughters Elizabeth Pemberton, Ellen Woolley, 
and Elizabeth Bryan. Kinwoman Alice Harris. To the poor of St.
Pemberton of St. Albans

Bond by Alice Williams of London for payment of legacies to Roger and Robert Williams (minors), sons of James Williams 16 March 1622/3 [Orphan's Recognizances 1590-1635].

Parish Registers

St. Albans Parish, St. Albans.

Baptisms

Randall Pemberton, 19 March 1559/60.
Ellen Pemberton, 22 Nov. 1561.
John Pemberton son of Robert, 20 June 1563.
Alice Pemberton, daughter of Robert, 18 Feb. 1564/5.
Elizabeth Moore daughter of Raffe, 18 March 1564/5.
Mary Pemberton daughter of Robert, 1 Feb. 1566/7.
Sarah Pemberton daughter of Robert, 26 Sept. 1568.
Robert Woolley son of Robert, 7 March 1590/1.

Marriages

Roger Stokes and Emme Arnold, 9 June 1578.
Robert Rawlinson and Mary Pemberton, 19 Sept. 1586.

Burials

Robert Pemberton, 13 Dec. 1560.
Joan Pemberton, 8 Jan. 1560/1.
Randall Pemberton, 6 July 1561.
Roger Stokes, 4 July 1578.
Robert Pemberton, 16 July 1578.
John Pemberton, 19 July 1578.
Robert Stokes, 5 Aug. 1578.
Florence Pemberton, 6 Aug. 1578.
Ellen Pemberton, 7 Aug. 1578.

St. Peter's Parish, St. Albans.

Baptisms

Elizabeth Pemberton daughter of Roger, 27 Dec. 1585.
Robert Pemberton son of Mr. Roger, 23 Dec. 1586.
Elizabeth Pemberton daughter of Mr. Roger, 26 May 1590.
Tecla Pemberton daughter of Mr. Roger, 27 Sept. 1592.
Ellen Woolley daughter of Mr. Robert, 15 Oct. 1611.
Roger Woolley son of Mr. Robert, 12 Nov. 1612.
Robert Woolley son of Mr. Robert, 2 Aug. 1615.
Elizabeth Woolley daughter of Mr. Robert, 15 June 1618.
Elizabeth Pemberton daughter of Rafe and Frances, 30 Nov. 1618.
**RHODE ISLAND HISTORY**

Katherine Woolley daughter of Mr. Robert and Tecla, 25 July 1620.

Frances Pemberton daughter of Rafe and Frances, 21 Aug. 1620.

**Marriages**

Mr. Samuel Bedford and Mrs. Frances Pemberton, 28 Dec. 1644.

**Burials**

Mrs. Mary Pemberton wife of Mr. Raphael Esq., 1 May 1610. [There is a discrepancy between this date and the death date given in her inquisition post mortem.]

Roger Pemberton son of Mr. John, 27 July 1611.

Roger Woolley son of Mr. Robert, 9 Dec. 1615.

Mr. Roger Pemberton Esq., 20 Nov. 1627.

John Woolley son of Mr. Robert, 31 March 1628.

Mr. Robert Pemberton, 29 May 1628.

Martha Pemberton daughter of Mr. John, 12 July 1628.

Susan (widow) of Mr. John († Robert) Pemberton, 9 Nov. 1630.

Katherine Pemberton wife of Mr. John, 2 Dec. 1630.

Elizabeth Pemberton daughter of Mr. John, 21 March 1625.

Mr. Ralph Pemberton, 11 Oct. 1644.

Mr. John Pemberton, 7 Jan. 1644/5. [This does not agree with the date of his death given in his inquisition post mortem.]

Mrs. Elizabeth Pemberton widow, 15 July 1645.

Anne Pemberton daughter of Mr. Ralph, 22 March 1654.

Anne Pemberton daughter of Mr. Robert, 13 May 1658.

Mrs. Frances Pemberton widow 25, May 1659.

**PUTNEY PARISH, CO. SURREY.**

**Marriages.**

Mr. Roger Williams and Mrs. Frances Jones, 4 Aug. 1670.

**Burials.**

Wife of Sidrach Williams gentleman, 10 July 1637.

**LONDON MARRIAGE LICENSES [COL. CHESTER].**


Roger Pemberton of St. Albans and Elizabeth Moore spinster of the same at St. Anne and Agnes Church, London 6, May 1579. [cf. register, vol. 43, pp. 294, 295].

*(To be continued)*

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**Book Reviews**

**MILL VILLAGE**

*By* Alberic A. Archambault


Since knowledge, sentiment, and entertainment are three requisites to be gained from reading, here's an exceedingly readable book. It tells of factory life in rural Eastern Connecticut and adjoining Rhode Island, beginning back in the '70s when the small mills that dotted the river landscapes of those regions were already giving way to their larger successors.

There have been many books written of local "mill life," both of early and latter days, but the most of them deal with such life in the larger textile centers. "Mill Village," however, is all that its title implies, in its locale, its incidents, and its characters. Thereby, it supplies a great many things which have been lacking in our historical recordings. Then, too, it is refreshingly reminiscent to those who are old enough to have lived and worked in the factory settlements of that era.

The time is coincident with the French Canadian migration from the farms and hamlets of the northern country to the New England mill centers. The story is built around the members of one of these migrating families and their experiences in adjusting themselves to the strange conditions of a strange land. The intimate recital of these experiences gives a novel insight into the loyalty to church and language, the industry, thrift, and progressive spirit of a race that has contributed materially to the achievement of New England's prominence in the Nation.

Of historical interest are the every-day events of the period, many of which today seem like unreasonable hardships. But everybody in the little hemmed-in communities experienced the same hardships and, to a great degree, successfully endured them.

The country or "company" store, the tenement homes, the all-pervading mill bell, the rural amusements, the primitive and limited means of transportation, politics, churches, schools, lawyers, the occasional newspaper, the beginning and development of social and industrial changes—all these, with a charming love story written in, make up a vivid picture of a life that has for the most part vanished from our industrial scene.

The author's language is in that familiar chatty style which maintains unbroken the thread of tense human interest. The tale is now and then spiced with a sly and fascinating humor that cleverly accents characters, customs, and conditions. Readers of this book will be surprised to learn just how "the other half" lived, and worked, and thought, right in the shadow of a great city's luxury and culture, and no longer ago than is within the memory of lots of folks now living.

Providence

GEORGE W. GARDNER
Some Gifts Recently Received

From a member who desires to remain anonymous $1,000 War Bond, Series G, the interest of $25.00 to be used in payment of a sustaining membership.

From Miss Lucy T. Aldrich, "The Banishment of Roger Williams," an historic painting by Peter F. Rothermel, of Luzerne County, Penn. See page 18.

From Hon. Frederick S. Peck, an additional gift of a group of eighty-six letters of Major General Nathanael Greene, largely pertaining to his duties as Quartermaster General.

From Governor J. Howard McGrath, the first sheet of American-Austrian stamps presented to him by Antoine Gazda.


From the compiler, Herbert A. Wilcox, *Daniel Wilcox* (South Pasadena, California, 1943).


From the compiler Charles B. Welch, *Descendants of James Welch* (Tacoma, Wash., 1943).


From the author, Miss Margaret Bingham Stillwell, *While Benefit Street Was Young* (Providence, 1943).

From the author, Mrs. Dorothy C. Walter, *Lovecraft and Benefit Street* (North Montpelier, Vermont, 1943).


From the author, Hon. Alberic A. Archambault *The Samsons* (Boston, 1941); *Mill Village* (Toronto, 1943).

From the Wayland (Mass.) Public Library, *Old-time Wayland* (Privately printed, 1926); *The Town of Wayland in the Civil War of 1861-1865* (Wayland, 1871).
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