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September 1, 1958
November 30, 1958

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THE FURNISHINGS OF NEWPORT HOUSES, 1780-1800
by Wendell D. Garrett

Few styles of furniture, indeed few examples of the decorative arts, have withstood the changing stylistic fashions of nearly two hundred years so well as the Newport school of cabinetmaking. An age which no longer uses mohair sofas, which finds most bentwood rocking chairs tedious and neglects rosewood hall stands, finds the graceful lines and comfortable proportions of Newport furniture fresh in impact and contemporary in style. Like the Philadelphia cabinetmakers to the south, Newport's joiners and carvers created some of the finest furniture in eighteenth-century America. Newport block-front case pieces, with their alternating receding and protruding façades surmounted by shells, may well be the finest expression of the baroque ever executed in American art. Ralph E. Carpenter's analysis of The Rhode Island Historical Society's collection in recent issues of this journal illustrates this fact ably. This paper is an attempt to supplement his findings by documenting the furnishings (excluding the furniture) to be found in Newport interiors from 1780 to 1800.*

Studies of Newport interior furnishing have in the past been complicated by a concern with antiquarianism — an activity sometimes associated with history, sometimes denied that benefit. But an investigation of the wills and inventories, filed in the Probate Court of Newport, reveal illuminating norms, as well as some disconcerting variations, which persisted among Newporters in furnishing their homes. "Wills and inventories," says Nina Fletcher Little, "are the

*This article represents with some revision chapter IV, pp. 79-114, of the author's Master of Arts thesis, "The Newport Rhode Island Interior, 1780-1800," Winterthur Program, University of Delaware, 1957. A copy has been placed in the library of The Rhode Island Historical Society and those wishing further documentation may consult it.
best sources of information concerning the contents of the house itself.” This study is based primarily on forty-seven such inventories (from a total of 396 recorded for the period) which list the estates of the deceased room by room.

There is hardly a more tangled or complex phase of interior decoration to analyze than that of carpets. The problem of nomenclature alone has increased with passing years. In 1803 Thomas Sheraton defined a carpet simply as “a sort of covering of stuff . . . of various manufactories, [which] has been a leading article of a well furnished house, for some years past.” Carpets were used widely in Newport homes from all indications in the inventories. One of Rochambeau’s officers noticed that “in many of the houses there are carpets also, even upon their stairs.” George G. Channing in recalling his childhood in Newport around 1800 said of the parlors: “A carpet was the most expensive article, yet it was seldom of a higher grade than a ‘Kidderminster.’”

The “Scotch” or “Scots” carpet was to be found frequently in Newport bedchambers. Sheraton said that a “Scots carpet . . . is one of the most inferior kind.” They were made of nettle and consequently had a coarse texture of prickles or stinging hairs. Throughout this period the Newport Mercury was advertising “Fashionable Scots Carpeting.” Some homes had as many as three of them. The appraisal value placed upon Scots carpets is intermediate between the highly appraised Wilton carpets and the lower-priced homespun carpets. A good Wilton was valued at approximately six pounds, a Scots at three pounds, while a homespun carpet was worth about three shillings.

The Wilton was a carpet having a back of stout linen thread through which the wool surface was woven. The upper surface of the wool was then rib cut so as to produce a velvet pile. This type of carpet was usually found only in the largest estates. Three out of four found were in estates totaling over a thousand pounds.

The same might be said of Turkey carpets. They were found only in estates of a thousand pounds or more. Such a carpet was usually manufactured in Turkey of richly colored wools and had a deep pile, cut so as to resemble velvet. Channing was probably referring to Turkey carpets which he had seen in Newport when he described the following scene:

Light was not then excluded by window shades and blinds: hence the colors of a carpet quickly faded from fiery red, deep blue, and grass green, to brick color, to pale lilac, and to the salt-water hue.

The canvas carpet was the most frequently mentioned type in the inventories. It was made of coarse unbleached cloth which was woven from hemp or flax. More often than not it was used as an entry carpet.

One would have been able to find numerous other types of carpets and floor coverings in these houses including rag carpets, straw floor mats, homespun carpets, woolen floor carpets, painted carpets, and Guinea carpets. Moreover, carpets were listed in most any room of the house from the garret to the cellar. No home studied, however, had carpets in every room of the house. The one room which consistently had them was the great chamber or master bedroom. Carpets were found in nearly 75 per cent of the great chambers, 50 per cent of the parlors, 30 per cent of the keeping rooms, 20 per cent of the great rooms, and 16 per cent of the bed chambers other than the great chamber.

The decorative quality of the carpeted floors was matched by the treatment of the walls in Newport houses. One of the French officers was impressed by the fact that “they make use of wall-papers which serve for tapestry; they have them very handsome.” As early as 1750 a traveler, James Birket, stopped in Newport and wrote the following comment:

The houses in general make a good Appearance . . . many of the rooms being hung with Printed Canvas and paper &c which looks very neat. Others are wainscoted and painted as in other places.

The Newport Mercury advertised in 1793 “a beautiful assortment of paper hanging for rooms.” One can imagine the colorful effect of these walls in combination with bedrooms furnished with “six red plush bottomed chairs.”

One generalization that can be made concerning window curtains in Newport during this period is that they were both rare and largely confined to bedchambers. Only two of thirty-one parlors had window curtains—a suit of green hare-skin in one instance and a suit of calico in the other. It is impossible to tell what percentage of bedchambers had window curtains, because there is often no distinction
made between bed curtains and window curtains. If there were window curtains in only one room, they were usually in the great chamber. When found in more than one room, they were usually in a lesser bedchamber.

In the majority of cases, the fabrics used in the curtains were not given. Among the fabrics mentioned, however, calico and furniture check were used more than any other materials. Green and red harrateen along with chintz, damask, copper plate linen, patchwork, and homespun were used for window curtains. It is plain enough from the high value placed upon them that curtains were a luxury item in most Newport homes. The cost of fabric made window curtains almost prohibitive in more than one room. This is illustrated in the case of one parlor in which the window curtains were appraised at six times the value of the tea table in the room. In another inventory the "4 White window Curtains and Valens" were equivalent in value to the estimate placed on one mahogany chair.

One of the chief values of these inventories is their detailed portrayal of the commonplace and typical objects. The upholstery fabrics, for example, were given in nearly half of the inventories for chair seats. There were, to be sure, consistent patterns found in the treatment given to chairs in different rooms which reflect an adherence to a widely accepted style.

To serious students of American decorative arts, there are many questions concerning the use of upholstery fabrics on period furniture which are yet unanswered. To some of these questions this study offers some tentative answers. In the first place, parlor chairs as seen in the inventories were usually covered with leather or horsehair, but never fabrics. An analysis of twenty parlors shows that 75 per cent had leather bottomed chairs, 20 per cent had horsehair chair seats, and 5 per cent had flag seats. Furthermore, the favorite type of chair found in bedchambers had either straw, harrateen, or leather seats. Almost 45 per cent of the chairs found in bedrooms were straw bottomed, 31 per cent were harrateen, and 14 per cent were leather. Among the bedchamber inventories there is also one instance where horsehair was used, one instance of calico covers, and one case where a bedchamber was furnished with Windsor chairs. Finally, there is evidence that harmony was sometimes sought in a bedchamber by using matching fabrics for the chairs and the bed hangings. In one in-
The Furnishings of Newport Houses, 1780-1800

Diaper and damask were mentioned from time to time as the fabrics most commonly used for tablecloths, napkins, and towels. Diaper was a linen fabric which was woven with patterns showing up by opposite reflections from its surface. The pattern consisted usually of crossing lines forming diamonds in which the spaces were filled with either parallel lines, leaves, or dots. Damask, on the other hand, was a twilled linen fabric with designs which showed up by opposite reflections of light from its surface. The difference then was one of surface design and texture. In addition to the frequent mentions of diaper and damask, there were scattered references to such fabrics as calamanco, oilcloth, and striped gauze. The frequent advertisements in the Newport Mercury of numerous types of “just-arrived” cloth would seem to indicate that a large percentage of household fabrics were imported.

The history of lighting and illumination is an interesting chapter in the textbook of eighteenth-century invention and innovation. Candlesticks and lamps were not kept in the rooms where they were used (as many historic house restorations would lead one to believe), but were generally kept centrally located in the kitchen. In 96 per cent of the kitchen inventories, candlesticks were kept there. The largest part of these by far were brass, but there were iron candlesticks in at least four of the twenty kitchens in addition to the brass. One inventory in 1785 contained two pairs of fluted candlesticks while another listed two pairs of tin candlesticks in the kitchen. Occasionally one can find glass and plated candlesticks listed in the parlor inventories. Stored in the closets of two different homes were a “pair of japanned candlesticks” and a “pair of white candlesticks.” Out of seventy-eight inventories of bedchambers studied, only three contained lighting devices— one had two pairs of tin candlesticks, one had two pairs of “princess metal candlesticks,” and another had a lantern. While the average number of candlesticks per kitchen was five, there seems to exist a proportional ratio between the number found in a home to the size of the estate.

Copious quotations of lanterns in the entry, lamps in the kitchens, candlemolds in the kitchens and garrets, and snuffers in kitchens and parlors stress the importance of artificial lighting in the homes. Channing states from experience that “candles were a great luxury” at this time. Even though many of the candles were homemade, the newspapers ran advertisements on “Imported from New York . . . Dip’d Tallow Candles in Boxes.” Speaking of the 1790’s Channing recalled that:

Our forefathers were content to grope at night by the light of a farthing candle, and, to ignite it, had recourse to a tinder-box, with its flint and steel accompaniments.

While the candles were usually kept in a tin candlebox in the kitchen, there is one occurrence of a candlebox in a bedchamber in addition to one “brass candlebox” in a kitchen closet. Glass lamps and “oil lamps” are outnumbered heavily by brass candlesticks in all of these inventories.

It has been claimed that “andirons were in all [New England] households, except a few of abject poverty.” The Newport inventories are rich in their content of heating and fireplace implements. Many of these andirons with their short feet with an upright pillar of brass in front have survived until today. These “handirons,” as they were often called in the records, came in pairs and were placed at each side of the hearth to support the burning wood. The parlor nearly always had “one pair of handirons, shovel, tongs, and fender.” The hearth brush and bellows were often included. One Newporter said:

It was a general impression, that the brightness of those [andirons] which could be polished was a sign of the neatness which prevailed in the house.

The shovel and tongs were important tools in tending a fire. The inventories often distinguish between the brass and steel shovel and tongs. The bellows which were used to blow the fire were made of an upper and lower board joined by flexible leather sides. Channing remembered that:

The bellows and the hearth brush (the former studded with polished nails, and the latter painted in lines or circles) hung at opposite sides of the fireplace, more for show than use.

A later historian of New England contends that bellows were of costly wood and leather, with brass nails and nose, varnished and burnished, they were once seen in every front room, suspended on one side, and a brush on the other, of the fireplace.
It is easy to imagine the decorative quality which the “Morocco leather bellows,” advertised in the Newport Mercury in 1784, and a painted hearth brush added to a Newport parlor.

The parlor hearth might have been furnished mainly for display, but the kitchen fireplace was stocked for more obvious practical reasons. Here one can find spits, jacks, ovens, toasters, and tramrels in addition to the andirons, tongs, shovels, brushes, and bellows.

Nearly all of the better than average estates had in the kitchen a jack (a machine for turning the spit when roasting meat) and a spit (a slender sharp pointed rod used for thrusting into meat to be roasted). The tramrel was a series of rings or links to bear a bent implement for holding pots at different heights over a fire. Toasters and ovens appear in nearly every kitchen. The following graphic picture has been left of a Newport kitchen fireplace:

Roasting was done on a long spit, arranged for rotatory motion, upon two large kitchen andirons, having crotchett supports. In many cases smoke-jacks were used; in others, weights became the moving power.

The warming pan in nearly every home was kept in the kitchen. In Newport “warming pans were used in cases of sickness, and by stealth at other times, when the thermometer ranged in the neighborhood of zero.”

One gains the impression when reading these inventories that weapons were often used as decorative aspects of some rooms. Primarily, guns and swords were kept in bedchambers. Occasionally one can find an “old gun” stored in the garret, a cutlass in a keeping room, or an “old firelock” in a kitchen. In one great chamber a “horseman’s pistol” and a “silver hilted sword” seemed to be an important part of the furnishings of the room. One very masculine bedchamber was outfitted with “1 Pipe Box, Tobacco Tongs, 1 pair Pistols, Old Cutlass, and 1 Map.” From all evidence swords and pistols comprise the largest part of the weapons found in Newport homes.

The eighteenth-century interest in science is evident among Newports in the various measuring instruments they owned. Money scales and steelyards were often kept in the kitchen for weighing. Time-keeping instruments such as clocks, watches, and hour glasses are found in nearly every estate. One shopkeeper left “44 Time Glasses” at his death. The only weather instrument found was a barometer in a parlor. Since Newport was preoccupied with maritime navigation, numerous estates contain a compass, a quadrant, and a spyglass. One of the most interesting inventories of this period was that of “Mr. John Webber, late of Stratton in the County of Somerset, Great Britain, who died in Newport at the House of Mr. Charles Trish the fourth day of May, 1784.” His inventory contains the following items:

- A Magnifying Glass and 2 Bundle Prints
- 1 Fumigating Bellows with 2 Pipes
- 1 small Painting Box with Paints
- 1 Set Setting Instruments for teeth
- A air pump for the Breast & 5 glasses
- A Case of Mathematical Instruments
- 1 Small Camera Obscura
- 1 Large ditto
- 1 Pocket Perspective Glass
- 1 Opera Glass in Shagreen Case
- 1 Magnifying Glass for Viewing Linnen
- 1 Hydrostatic Balance
- A Copper Instrument, name & use unknown.

It seems highly significant that such a “man of science” resided in Newport in the 1780’s. Such a man unfortunately tends to be anonymous. Provincialism, poverty, and a paucity of records have combined to obscure both his and the majority of the other middle-class personalities.

Watches were evidently considered as part of the furnishings of rooms, for Channing remarks that “gold watches for show were displayed on great occasions.” Silver watches, however, were the most common type found and they appear quite often in relatively small inventories. Brissot de Warville observed while in America:

“...The Americans must have watches; this admirable invention carries with it such a degree of utility for even the poor classes of society, that it ought not to be considered as a simple acquisition of luxury.

A good description of a silver watch was given in the following notice in the Newport Mercury, January 19, 1786:

Stolen out of the House of the Subscriber last Night a SILVER WATCH almost new, Maker’s Name, Thomas Wagstaff, had a braided green Silk and Worsted String, in Room of a Chain, a
Copper Hook as Part of a Woman’s Equipage; the Crystal cracked considerably. . . . All watchmakers are requested to examine those Watches that are brought them for sale.

From all indications, watches were placed upon a table or a desk in either the great chamber or parlor. Their importance in the decorative scheme seems unquestioned since they were always listed with the furnishings rather than with the jewelry or wearing apparel.

Equally significant in the homes was the importance of art. This is demonstrated in the pictures and prints which decorated the walls and the waxworks which enriched the rooms. Pictures are listed in both small and large estates. One mariner’s inventory, for example, which was valued at only £11.9s.0d contained “1 Dozen Small Pictures.” The inventory of a wealthy merchant, moreover, contained “73 pictures of different Sorts and Sizes — £10.19s.0d.” Although not every home had prints and pictures, among those inventories which did list pictures, there was an average of ten pictures to an estate and there were numerous rooms which had six or more pictures.

It is hard to generalize on the distribution of pictures within the rooms of a house. Matters of taste are not matters of morals, and the right or wrong of decorative arrangement was open to individual decision. One inventory shows that there were pictures in seven rooms: ten in the entry, nine in the parlor, six in the great chamber, six in another chamber, five in the bedroom, five in the great room, and a map in the bedroom chamber. Pictures in another inventory were divided among three rooms in the following numbers: seven in the parlor, twelve in the great chamber, and “7 old pictures” in the garret. Sometimes the largest number of pictures was hung in the parlor. One inventory, for example, shows ten pictures in the parlor, five in the great chamber, and six in the “chamber over the parlor.”

Only in several isolated cases were the subjects of the pictures given. One inventory listed “5 Family Portraits” and another showed “2 Family Pictures, Gilt Frames.” Two inventories had “two images” that might have been some form of a silhouette. A Spanish traveler at Newport in 1784, Francisco Miranda, wrote:

I went to say goodbye to all my friends, and in the house of Mrs. Hunter I saw two original paintings by Salvator Rosa which were very fine.
Specific prints which were noted were “1 Print of Elder Hiscox” and “Doctor Guise’s likeness.” A traveler in New England around 1821 noticed that “the print shops of Europe supplied us with representations of their warlike triumphs, their beneficent actions, their illustrious men.” Another form of pictorial representation were the “wax work” boxes, of which at least three inventories had a pair.

While some pictures were being painted at Newport, there is evidence that many of the pictures for sale were imported. The Newport Mercury advertised in 1784, “Just imported... Pictures glazed and framed.” The inventory of a painter who died in 1786, however, reveals a stock of “1 doz. Large Glass Pictures, 1 doz. small ditto, 2 Painted ditto.” Interest in art is illustrated by a copy of the quarto volume, The Practice of Perspective, found in a Newporter’s library in the 1780’s. Thus, even the small product of local artists cannot be dismissed categorically in view of this patronage and local interest.

Within this artistic context maps emerged as important decorative objects. They, too, appeared in either the parlor or the bedchamber. Even “1 Map of the United States, ‘much torn’” was not too insignificant to be mentioned. Newspapers consistently advertised “English maps of different parts.” This interest in geography was widespread enough for one merchant to have on hand at his death, “19 Dictionary Books of Geography... and 58 Maps.” Even the well-known cabinetmaker, Christopher Townsend, owned “4 old Maps.”

Needlework pieces or “samplers” were also used in Newport to ornament walls. Early examples of stitches, embroidery patterns, lettering and numerals in rows were like pages from an instruction book. Later came design and composition, the sampler treated as a whole, a piece of art for its own sake. An authority on Rhode Island samplers states that “the Sampler as a decorative picture began to flourish most numerously in the late 1790’s and for forty years waxed strong.”

The history that has come down to us of late eighteenth-century music has been written mostly in terms of the extant instruments. Several aspects of music in Newport can be seen in the inventories. One merchant had on hand “50 doz. more or less ballads” in his shop. The Mercury advertised a spinet in the following 1773 notice:

For sale, a spinet of a proper size for a little Miss, and of a
much as they were interested in building up what has been called "traditional repositories of culture"; (4) that English rather than Continental influences predominated in philosophy, medicine, science, and all other fields. And finally, (5) these books show that if we are to assume a substantial influence of design books in cabinet-making and architecture during the eighteenth century, much more evidence of such influence needs to be found than has been forthcoming in these libraries. One inventory does list "1 Builder's Dictionary, Practice of Perspective (Quarto), and Dictionary of Arts and Sciences." John Goddard's inventory unfortunately simply groups his library as "Sundry Books." George C. Mason, in writing his history of Newport, contends however that "Goddard's copy of Chippendale's quarto volume of designs is now [1884] owned by a cabinet-maker in Newport." Added investigation of these design book problems is obviously needed, and a complete study of the contents of private libraries in Newport would be a good starting point.

Recreation in various forms has been a basic part of American life and culture from the beginning, and so has the controversy about it. It would be difficult to tell which indoor game was the most popular in Newport of the three — backgammon, billiards, or cards. Backgammon tables are mentioned frequently in the inventories. Backgammon was a game played on a board consisting of two parts of a table top united by a hinge, with draught-men whose moves were determined by the throw of dice. The Newport Mercury advertised a billiard table for sale in 1783 "with all its Apparatus complete." Billiard tables with their smooth cloth-covered surface, solid ivory balls, and long tapering cues occasionally turn up in Newport inventories. Card tables are frequently mentioned throughout the inventories, more as a part of the regular furniture of a room than as a special gaming table. For the most part, though not invariably, such tables of gaming were in the bedchamber.

Much time and ink could be spent in describing the glassware found in Newport homes at the end of the eighteenth century. One inventory, for instance, lists the following variety of glass pieces:

7 Glass Decanters different sizes
18 Wind Glasses, Goblets, & Tumblers
2 Punch Glasses with Covers
2 Water Goblets, broken stoppers
1 Glass Salver
This is essentially just a glimpse of the variety of forms to be found. Glass candlesticks, glass demijohns, painted glass cups, beer glasses, glass vinegar cruets, and glass sugar pots with covers represent only a part of the glassware listed. As early as 1785 there are “2 large Cut Glass Decanters” mentioned in one estate. Like the china, glass was usually kept in the parlor or parlor closet. Surprisingly enough the kitchens contained very little glass. The fact that it was listed in the parlor rather than the kitchen would indicate the decorative value it had in placement and use.

Added to the glassware of the house was the chinaware of brilliant colors and various forms. To paint a broad canvas with statistical lists and comparative ratios of the china within various homes would only obscure the detail. The amount of china to be found in these inventories is overwhelming. Certain conclusions are evident from the material analyzed. First of all, nearly every home had some china; usually the amount varied proportionately with the size of the estate. One historian states that during the 1790’s in Newport:

It was the custom in the latter part of the last century [eighteenth] … for young married persons, or friends who intended to make a present to a young couple, to send out to Canton for their table service. Their monogram was inscribed in gold on each piece, sometimes within an oval, but often on an escutcheon, backed by an ermine mantle, surmounted by a wreath, on which were a pair of doves.

Gilt-edged china is specifically mentioned in some of the better estates, while in others a distinction is made between “burnt china” and the ordinary china. Whether this was done to separate products of Europe from those of China or whether it was done to distinguish between different qualities of earthenware from China is a question unanswered by the inventories. The high value placed upon china is illustrated by references to it “patched with putty” yet still in use. The description of the china is usually limited to its colors, such as “red and white,” “blue and white,” and “black and red.”

Several French officers noticed the prevalent use of china in New-
which was, even on so small a scale, a fascinating diversion.

What then of the furnishings that filled Newport’s houses at the close of the eighteenth century? What do they tell us of Newport’s arts and crafts? What do they tell us of the ambitions of its citizenry? What do they tell us of the interiors that served the needs of everyday living? The most striking development in the better Newport interiors was the general conformity to a highly developed scheme of interior decoration. The parlor, with its walls covered with printed paper, its tables set with colorful china, its mahogany chairs upholstered with stained leather, and its floor covered with a bright carpet, was only one room of many types which was furnished in a relatively consistent manner. The high standard of interior decoration achieved in Newport was the result, to a large extent, of a prosperous economy of an earlier period fed by world-wide trade routes.

The story of the furnishings of Newport interiors is a summary of the glory of the golden age of maritime supremacy before the Revolution. Commerce and trade carried Newport ships over a complicated network of routes; this trade, intercontinental, fostered a spirit of regional independence of thought and action which was especially characterized in its cabinetwork and imaginative interiors. Porcelain from China, mahogany from the West Indies, carpets from Turkey, and wallpaper from England are but several examples of this trade.

The five most significant characteristics of Newport interiors with relation to their furnishings were: (1) the widespread conformity to decorative schemes especially in the parlor, keeping room, and great chamber; (2) the consistent use of china and glass in conspicuous places, probably as symbols of status; (3) the deep interest in music, art, and literature expressed in house furnishing; (4) the general recourse to comfort through numerous lighting and heating devices; and (5) the growing devotion to scientific thought by the use of measuring instruments for time, weight, and weather. The first two reflected the aesthetic interest in beautifying the home. The last three represented the pragmatic interest in equipping the home with useful objects.

From these people, their homes, and their interiors, the French officers departed with the sad words: “We quitted Newport with great regret.”
UTOPIAN SOCIALISM IN RHODE ISLAND
1845—1850
by Charles R. Crowe
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In that golden age of American reform movements, the decade from 1840 to 1850, plans for the total reconstruction of society existed in great abundance, but none evoked a more enthusiastic response than the socialism of Charles Fourier. The French author of "the principles of Universal Unity" proposed to end personal loneliness and social isolation by placing people in closely knit "Phalanxes" of two thousand persons; to ensure social co-operation by instituting collective patterns of work, education, recreation, and family living; to destroy savage competitiveness and economic exploitation by dividing profits equitably among capital, "talent," and labor after every person had been granted social security, full educational rights, and reasonable leisure; to eliminate mechanical drudgery by permitting free and frequent changes of occupation; and to construct a perfect democracy by allowing for the election of all political and economic leaders.

The Fourierist philosophy was brought to the United States by Albert Brisbane, a young American intellectual with a passion for political philosophy and a hatred for social injustice, who spent almost a decade abroad seeking a solution for contemporary evils. A formal course of study under Fourier provided Brisbane with answers for all of his questions. He returned to America in 1838 and two years later captured the sympathetic attention of many American reformers by publishing The Social Destiny of Man. In 1843 Horace Greeley, who was fast earning a national reputation as a journalist and a reformer, sold a front-page column of the New York Tribune to Brisbane for the propagation of socialism. Brisbane's articles bore fruit in the Fourierist communities which were formed in New York, Pennsylvania, and the Midwest, during 1843 and 1844. When the

1 Fourier's significant writings are in Oeuvres Completes (Paris, 1841-81), 6 vols.
2 On Brisbane's travels and studies abroad, see Redelia Brisbane, Albert Brisbane, A Mental Biography (Boston, 1893).
3 The Social Destiny of Man had a surprising sale and became the political textbook of American Fourierists.

celebrated Brook Farm community of West Roxbury, Massachusetts, became a Fourierist Phalanx and the propaganda center of the movement shifted from New York to Brook Farm and Boston, Rhode Islanders began to hear more about the new social gospel.

In 1845 more Phalanxes were established and the first efforts to unite advocates and sympathizers in a national organization were made. The formation of the New England Fourier Society was the initial step. Several Rhode Islanders played a pioneer role in the organization and Dr. Peleg Clarke of Coventry was elected a vice-president in January, 1846. Clarke, who rapidly became a national leader of the "Associationists," went in May, 1844, to New York as a Rhode Island delegate to the first convention of the "American Union of Associationists." The leaders of the American Union hoped to establish Phalanxes which would meet all of Fourier's rigid specifications and they believed that a few successful communal examples would quickly convert the entire society. To aid in the realization of this long-range goal, "affiliated Unions" of the national organization were to be established throughout the United States to raise funds, sponsor lectures, and use other devices to spread socialistic doctrines. Since there were not, in the beginning, enough Rhode Island Fourierists to justify the formation of a Union in the state, advocates had to attend meetings of the Boston Union. Peleg Clarke, John L. Clarke, and Joseph J. Cooke played major roles in the Boston Union and the New England Fourier Society. Peleg Clarke was important enough to serve in the absence of George Ripley as acting president of the New England organization for the December, 1846 meeting.

The same Rhode Island triumvirate was largely responsible for

4 On Brook Farm as a Fourierist community, the best books are Marianne Dwight's Letters From Brook Farm, 1844-1847, ed., Amy L. Reed (Poughkeepsie, N. Y., 1928); and J. T. Codman's Brook Farm Historic and Personal Memoirs (Boston, 1894).
5 The Harbinger (Brook Farm and New York) contains accounts of almost all of the local, state, regional, and national Fourierist meetings.
7 For an example see "Boston Union," Harbinger, IV (1846), 20-27.
8 "Boston Meeting," Harbinger, IV (1847), 78. J. L. Clarke and Cooke were citizens of Providence. Cooke was the ablest of the three as a propagandist. For an example of his work, see "Voice of the Press," Harbinger, VI (1847), 57-58.
the creation of the Providence Union in 1847. Prior to the spring of that year, Fourierism had aroused little public interest in the state and the movement was kept alive only by informal weekly meetings held under the guidance of Peleg Clarke. The group, however, gradually gained adherents until there were enough sympathizers to warrant an organizational drive. A series of speeches and rallies was chosen as the best means to arouse and sustain public interest. For several days in March, 1847, Albert Brisbane, William Henry Channing, a celebrated radical Unitarian minister who provided religious leadership for the Fourierists, and John Orvis, a fiery young reformer from the Vermont hills, lectured to large and enthusiastic audiences. George Ripley, who was president of the Brook Farm community and editor of the newspaper organ of the Associationists, The Harbinger, informed his readers that Rhode Islanders had given the best initial response to a new lecture series in the history of the movement. The Providence newspapers rejected the socialist gospel, but they were reasonably polite and their opinions did not diminish the demands of Providence liberals for more rallies and speeches. Ripley continued to express his approval of events in Providence: "we regard Rhode Island as one of the most promising fields of labor open to our lecturers. There are among its inhabitants many of the noblest and most uncompromising friends of reform, and whose minds are a fit soil into which to commit the seed of Social Unity."  

The second series of lectures, inaugurated by Ripley on April 14, aroused an even more ardent response among Rhode Island liberals. Taking as his topic the evils of modern industrial society, Ripley spoke to an audience which included "the busy politician, the observant editor, the shrewd practical businessman, the devoted reformer, the mechanic," and men of many other ranks and classes. The Brook Farm leader demonstrated the causes of "social wretchedness, of harrowing anxieties, unrest, and ennui . . . of ignorance, degradation, and sensuality, and of outrageous fraud and crime."  

The following evening Brisbane's calm and precise analysis of social evils and their historical origins provided an interesting contrast to Ripley's impassioned oratory. For the third session Brisbane presented a more colorful lecture on the Phalanx which he illustrated

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9 "Our Lecturers," Harbinger, IV (1847), 302-3.
10 "Ibid.
11 "Providence Lectures," Harbinger, IV (1847), 335-6.
12 Association in Rhode Island," Harbinger, IV (1847), 389. When Christian socialists formed the "Religious Union of Associationists" in Boston, Chace became an active member of the group.
13 "Providence Lectures," Harbinger, IV (1847), 335-6.
14 "Providence Letter," Harbinger, VI (1848), 166.
happy with three young girls from six to eight years of age, who sang
“He doeth all things.” Speeches by the Reverend J. C. Lovejoy and
Henry Clapp, Jr., were followed by the eloquent talks of two fugitive slaves, William Brown and Henry Bibb, who spoke of their personal trials and the general plight of the slave. Then plans were made for a Rhode Island convention of the Liberty Party. (Cooke expressed the hope that Associationists might soon be holding similar political conventions.) Another fugitive slave named Myers aroused general hilarity by satirizing the “obedience sermons” of his former master, a Baptist minister. The general mood became serious when Myers told of an episode in which his sister, an almost white mulatto girl, had been momentarily confused with her master’s daughter. The planter, seeing the slave girl before the plantation house one evening, took her by the arm and led her through the door before he realized his mistake. Most of the family treated the incident as a joke, but the daughter insisted that the mulatto’s hair be shorn to the scalp. Myers’ description of his sister’s humiliation evoked a wave of intense sympathy from the audience. When Myers had finished and the meeting was over, Cooke moved through conversational groups talking earnestly of socialism.

The importance of abolitionist good will to the Rhode Island Associationists was dramatically illustrated by the Osborne McDaniel episode.  
15 McDaniel, while attempting to arouse interest in Fourierism among hostile Southerners, admitted in Franklin, Louisiana, that the abolitionists were “rash” and “violent.” The Associationists in their efforts to arouse public indignation over the degradation of the industrial worker often suggested that the worker fared worse than the Negro slave, but McDaniel failed to realize that this line of attack was meant for Boston and not Louisiana. In order to preserve good relations between Associationists and Abolitionists John L. Clarke of Providence felt compelled to write a letter to The Harbinger repudiating McDaniel’s views. Clarke insisted that McDaniel’s lecture was contrary to the true beliefs of Associationists and served only to quiet the uneasy consciences of Southerners. Clarke took this opportunity to assure peace men, temperance advocates, and other reformers of Associationist sympathy.

The Rhode Island Fourierists discovered many supporters in the

15“Providence Letter,” Harbinger, VI (1848), 125.

Anti-Slavery Society and hoped to find more in the Mechanics Association of Providence. Cooke faithfully attended dozens of lectures in Mechanics Hall by the Reverend T. S. King on “the Revelations of God in History” (Cooke found support in the lecture for his Christian Socialism); by the wily Massachusetts politician, Ben F. Butler, on the duties of the working class; by the Rev. Henry Giles of Providence on “the worth of liberty” (Cooke assured the mechanics that this concept of liberty could be realized only in Association); by the wealthy and pompous businessman Stephen Van Rensselaer on the virtues of the business entrepreneur; by George W. Greene, a Rhode Island diplomat, on Italian society; by Barnas Sears of Providence, on Hamburg, Germany (Cooke suggested that the familial, friendly Germans made Hamburg sound almost like an Association). 16 For all of Cooke’s diligence and willingness to suffer boredom and irrelevance few recruits were found in the Mechanics Association.

Converts came in from other reform groups 17 and from the general public, but not so rapidly as the Union leaders had hoped. Providence officials were able to send only modest financial contributions to the American Union. However, the Rhode Island leaders, Cooke, Peleg Clarke, and John L. Clarke, served the national movement well. The Rhode Island Union was not formed until April, 1847, but for two years afterward, its leaders were constantly in the thick of the fight for socialism. In May, 1847, they went to Boston for a meeting which was preparatory to the annual convention of the American Union. Cooke served on a committee which prepared resolutions calling for more affiliated Unions; efforts to assist labor unions and co-operatives; an emphasis on the Christian aspects of Association; declarations of sympathy for abolition, women’s rights, pacifism, and other reforms; and support for advocates of an organized “Universal Brotherhood” and a “Universal Church.” 18 Similar actions were taken later in May at the New York convention of the American Union which the Rhode Island triumvirate also attended. 19 Fourierist leaders had high hopes for new gains in 1847 and 1848 in spite of the failure of so many socialist communities.

17For a brief account of some reform activities in Rhode Island during the 1840’s, see Charles R. Crowe, "Transcendentalism and the Newness in Rhode Island," Rhode Island History, XIV (1955), 33-46.
18“Boston Union,” Harbinger, IV (1847), 401-2.
19“Providence Letter,” Harbinger, VI (1847), 59.
The Rhode Island leaders returned to Providence from New York and began to make arrangements for additional series of speeches and rallies. In December, 1847, William Henry Channing came down from Boston to assist the executive committee. While the other Rhode Island leaders busied themselves with these operations, Joseph J. Cooke began a tour of the western Phalanxes for the American Union. He was welcomed enthusiastically, particularly by the Wisconsin Phalanx, and the reports which he sent to The Harbinger provided a valuable link in the chain of socialist communications.

With the rallies and speeches by Ripley, Channing, Greeley, and John S. Dwight in January and February, 1848, enthusiasm for Fourierism reached a peak in Rhode Island and soon began to decline. The anti-slavery movement in the state, as well as in the nation, tended to monopolize an increasingly large amount of reform energy each year. The Providence Union did, in 1848, launch a successful drive to persuade the state legislature to grant a charter to the Providence Benefit Union, a new Fourierist inspired co-operative store.

The Providence Union apparently existed until 1850, and Rhode Island leaders continued to be active in the Boston Union, the New England Fourier Society, and the American Union during 1848 and 1849. By 1850 on both state and national levels only forlorn hopes for the revival of a dying movement remained. Fourierism was never a mass movement in Rhode Island, but for a few brief years it had gained the enthusiastic attention of local reformers, made socialist converts of many of them, and produced a trio of able leaders who made substantial contributions to the national movement.

BOOK REVIEWS


During recent years Rhode Islanders have been looking at the less-than-robust economy of the state with increasing concern. Industrialists, financiers, and politicians have discussed both cause and cure. Social scientists also are inescapably involved. Economists, sociologists, political scientists, historians, all have specialized skills which should enable them to probe deeply and with insight.

Five years ago, with his Economic Development and Population Growth in Rhode Island, Dr. Kurt B. Mayer of the Brown University Department of Sociology began a promising series of studies of the population of the state. This first study provided an over-all view of the subject throughout the entire span of time since Roger Williams came to settle Providence. The current study, in which Dr. Goldstein has joined, focuses upon the major role that migration has played in the growth and changing composition of the state's population since 1870. Four basic topics are covered: the significance of migration, migration as a factor in the population growth of Rhode Island, the characteristics of migrants, and the origin and destination of native-born migrants. Data for this analysis came largely from the University of Pennsylvania study of Population Redistribution and Economic Growth, United States, 1870-1950, directed by Simon Kuznets and Dorothy Swaine Thomas, generously made available even before publication, and the methodology used was much influenced by that same study.

Although designed primarily for use by other social scientists, this volume will interest anyone concerned with the history and present state of Rhode Island. Between 1870 and 1910 the state's population grew by 250 per cent, almost identical with the nation's 233 per cent. In Rhode Island, migration accounted for no less than 64 per cent of the total population growth in this period. The first decade of the 20th century produced a net migration of over 74,000, an all-time high. From then on growth has been at a much slower pace and less affected by migration. In fact, in two decades, the thirties and the fifties, out-migration has exceeded in-migration, the result of the severe restriction of foreign immigration and the relative weakness of the state's economy. Manufacturing employment has never since equaled the peak reached in 1919, a decline directly tied to the steady decline of the textile industry. Although industrial diversification has taken place in the last twenty years (textile employment dropped from 36 per cent of all manufacturing employment in 1939 to 30 per cent in 1956), Rhode Island still depends on textiles more than any other New England state. As employment in this
industry shrinks without comparable enlargement of opportunities in other industries, not only does migration into the state decline, but increasing numbers leave the state for more attractive jobs elsewhere. Rhode Island's excess of out-migrants over in-migrants over the past quarter century is helping to adjust the labor force to the jobs available, but it is nevertheless a sure proof that the state's economy has lost the vigorous qualities that it once had.

Mayer and Goldstein also describe the characteristics of the migrants to and from Rhode Island. Extensive immigration from Ireland, French-speaking Canada, and Italy established a Roman Catholic majority by 1905, and with immigration from many other countries such as Germany, Sweden, Portugal, Russia, and Poland, developed great cultural diversity. Negroes have been relatively few; the state has not participated in the extensive Negro migrations from the South that have occurred since World War I. Since 1910 native white out-migrants have exceeded native white in-migrants, with a trend toward increase of the excess clearly evident. Although males usually tend to outnumber females in migrant groups, 54 per cent of the net migration gain of Rhode Island between 1870 and 1950 were females, probably the result of the employment opportunities available in the textile industry. The age group between 15 and 24 years has been most attracted to the state, and, conversely, it is the people over 44 years of age who have been leaving the state in largest numbers since 1910. Finally, it is interesting to note the relationship between Rhode Island and other states. Prior to 1850 many more Rhode Islanders moved to other states than natives of such states came to Rhode Island. Then, with expanding industrial opportunities, the trend reversed itself, so that in 1880 there were more Rhode Island residents born in other states than there were native Rhode Islanders living outside the state. By 1950, the balance had shifted the other way again, with 161,000 native Rhode Islanders living outside the state, and 160,000 residents of Rhode Island born outside of the state. The 1960 census will probably reveal even a greater difference.

Everyone genuinely concerned about the welfare of the state should read the book for himself, and study its numerous tables with care. It provides information basic to an understanding of the characteristics and problems of Rhode Island. For persons with a wider interest in American history, economics, and sociology, the study will prove most attractive because of its completeness and the clarity with which it is presented will enable them to fit its findings with confidence into the larger patterns which concern them.

The Ecology of Providence, by the same authors, presents in 32 tables and 33 maps, all organized on the basis of the 37 census tracts, a wide variety of data about the people in Rhode Island's capital city. Population characteristics, such as sex and age distributions, educational status, employment, income level, are given in careful detail. Housing in each of the census tracts is described fully in a statistical manner. Finally, data on births, deaths, communicable diseases, mental illness, crime, and juvenile delinquency, are included. No attempt at interpretation is made, but the material is here for obtaining a far clearer and more realistic understanding of the city.

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These volumes make a contribution valuable both to Rhode Islanders in general and to professional scholars. They are free from error and attractively printed. Drs. Mayer and Goldstein and the Brown University Press are to be congratulated on the excellence of their work.

University of Rhode Island

WILLIAM D. METZ


At first glance this impressively lengthy list of names and facts appears to be merely a useful reference work for those who need information about printers and booksellers of Rhode Island. However, there is much more here: a valuable contribution to the intellectual history of the state, with side lights on the fascinating activities of the people responsible for spreading the printed word when it had more significance in communication than it has now.

Fortunately for Rhode Island history, H. Glenn Brown and Maude O. Brown moved to that state in 1944, not long after completing their directory of the Philadelphia book trade. Hardly had they unpacked when friends began to hint that the book trade in their new home needed their skilful ministrations. With cheerful grace they set to work, examining the directories of Providence, Newport, and Pawtucket, the newspapers of a dozen cities and towns, plus all the relevant books. The hundreds of references gathered have been expertly organized into one alphabetical list from Arunah Shepshon Ahell to Zion's Friend, a Baptist weekly published in the 1830's. For a leg-mappe, there is a chronological index of names and a chronological index of newspapers and magazines by city.

The meat of the work is in the detailed information about practically every member of the book trade, but its charm lies in the vignettes scattered through the references. John Carter printings a notice in 1775 that "an engraver would find encouragement" in the town of Providence; an announcement in 1827 that at a meeting held at Minard's Hotel "a society was formed under the title of Providence Typographical Society," accompanied by a reference to a description of the toasts drunk at the meeting; Benjamin L. Hall, the printer who "may have made the first paper collar, but was too young and inexperienced to patent it."

Now that this directory is published, catalogers will find it easier to date some Rhode Island items, bibliography will more quickly obtain information about Rhode Island printers, and students of American civilization will have a convenient index to the Rhode Island book trade before 1865. Mr. and Mrs. Brown's directory will assume its rightful place on the reference shelves of many a library where it will live a useful life for many years to come.

Simmons College

BOLLO G. SILVER
A HAZARD-RHODES CONNECTION
by Charles W. Farnham

A deed from Foster, Rhode Island, Deed Book I, page 132, contains a number of names, attested by ownership of abutting lands. Establishment of some of these persons had been sought with long effort, and the finding of the deed during other search problems proved their existence and directed further successful proof.

Thomas R. Hazard, Grantor, was son of Thomas Hazard, "Virginia Tom," who after the Revolution removed to Canada with his second wife, Eunice (Rhodes) Hazard and family. She was the youngest child of Captain William Rhodes and Mary (Sheldon) Rhodes of Cranston.

1. Thomas R. Hazard of Queens County the Island of St. John's in the Gulf of St. Lawrence Merchant ... for the sum of Twelve hundred Silver Spanish Milled Dollars to me paid by Thomas Lloyd Halsey of Providence in the County of Providence and State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Merchant ....

Convey to him the said Thomas Lloyd Halsey his heirs and ... A certain Farm or Tract of Land Situate and being in the Town of Foster in the County of Providence containing about Two Hundred Acres be the Land more or less. Butted and Bounded as follows to wit Southerly on Land belonging to Henry Easton Wasterly on land belonging to Philomen Hines and also on a strip of Land laid out to James Seaman and others and part of it being in the Logwood Swamp Northerly on Land belonging to the Heirs of Doctor Robert Gibbs Deceased Easterly on Land belonging to Nathaniel Hale and which formerly belonged to the Farm of Samuel Winsor and Southerly and Easterly on Land of William Round; the premises hereby conveyed being the same which formerly belonged to the L. William Rhodes Esq. late of Cranston Deceased and was partly occupied in the lifetime of the L. William Rhodes by Henry Greene and was then Situated in the Town of Scituate since when the Said premises have been occupied by Samuel Cole Dec'd under lease from Thor Hazard and is now occupied by the family of the said Samuel Cole Dec'd ... the same which was formerly set to me the Grantor by the name of Thomas Hazard the younger by the Kin of the said William Rhodes Esq. Dec'd as by their Deed date the 25th Day of October A D 1773 and Duly Record in the records of the said Town of Scituate together with the Dwelling House and other buildings on the same premises being ...............

Signed Thomas R. Hazard
Witnessed Jonathan Gladding
Daniel Cooke Justice Peace

The deed of 1773 referred to above includes excellent genealogical material apropos of the heirs of Captain William Rhodes, who was lost at sea in 1772.

NEWS — NOTES

On October 18, 1958, The Rhode Island Historical Society sponsored a bus trip to Old Sturbridge Village. Forty-one persons took advantage of this opportunity to stroll about the streets of this recreated village and to hear Mrs. Margaret B. Munier talk on the General Salem Towne House, latest acquisition of the Village. This was the second historic tour organized by the Society, and additional ones are contemplated.

* * *

Volunteer workers continue to help the library by compiling much-needed indexes to books and manuscripts which would otherwise be very difficult to use. Mrs. John F. Westman has indexed on cards the Rev. David Benedict's (1779-1874) manuscript notebook of vital records. She has also typed the index to a manuscript Harrington genealogy written by the late Mrs. William H. Eddy, which will be microcarded. Mr. John H. Wells had previously compiled the index for this manuscript. Last year he indexed the 1850 census of Rhode Island, and has now completed the 1860 census, begun by Major Byron Bussey.

* * *

During the summer the Francis Alexander portrait of Mrs. James Fenner and child was cleaned and restored to its pristine state by Mr. Morton C. Bradley, Jr. Many of our fine portraits are in need of Mr. Bradley's attention and gifts for this purpose will be greatly appreciated.

* * *

The Gilbert Stuart Memorial has lent the Society a portrait of Mrs. Simon Forrester of Salem, Massachusetts, painted by Stuart. It will be on display at John Brown House during the winter months. It is particularly gratifying to have this portrait, since there is no portrait by Rhode Island's most famous painter in our collection.

* * *

The Society's new exhibition room was formally opened on October 23 with an exhibition of John Brown materials, the greater part of which was lent by Mr. Norman Herreshoff of Bristol, Rhode Island. Among the outstanding items were a pair of Newport card tables (probably made by Edmund Townsend); a Hong punch bowl;
a fan with Sarah Brown's initials embroidered in silk and also decorated with the Hongs at Canton, China; a miniature by Malbone of John Brown (lent by the New-York Historical Society); and a portrait of Alice (Brown) Mason by Francis Alexander, lent by Mr. William Grosvenor of Newport, Rhode Island.

The Society has cooperated with various organizations by lending from our collections. Edward L. Peckham's water colors of Rhode Island flora were lent to the Rhode Island Federation of Garden Clubs and furniture was lent to the Providence Junior League for the antique show which they sponsored at Rhodes-on-the-Pawtuxet.

A beginning has been made in preserving on microfilm the State's important newspaper collection in the custody of The Rhode Island Historical Society. The Providence News, 1891-1929, has been filmed and a filming of the Evening Telegram has been started. This work has been made possible by an appropriation of $6,000 by the General Assembly for use during the current fiscal year. It is anticipated that similar appropriations in the future will prevent the remaining newspapers from being lost through gradual disintegration.

LECTURES

February 15, 1959, Sunday 3:30 p.m.

The Great Road
(illustrated with slides)

CHARLES H. LEACH, Columnist, Pantoeket Times

March 15, 1959, Sunday 3:30 p.m.

Four Colonial Houses in Rhode Island
(illustrated with slides)

ABBOTT LOWELL CUMMINGS, Assistant Director, The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities

April 16, 1959, Thursday 8:15 p.m.

The Battle of Roanoke Island — 1862
Gen. Burnside and The Union's First Victory
(illustrated with slides)

LEONARD J. PANAGGIO, Rhode Island Development Council