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COVER

COURT HOUSE, BRISTOL, RHODE ISLAND

Built in 1817, the Bristol Court House or State House, as it was also termed, served as one of the five Rhode Island capitol buildings until 1854, when an amendment to the constitution limited meetings of the General Assembly to Newport and Providence. Bristol was the youngest of the five capitols. Its first legislative session took place in 1785.

COLORED POST CARDS of JOHN BROWN HOUSE are now available.

1. The exterior of John Brown House
2. The Joseph Brown secretary (ca. 1760)
3. The drawing rooms
4. The dining room
5. The John Brown chariot made in Philadelphia in 1782

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORY

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NO. 1

ISRAEL ANGELL AND THE WEST IN 1788¹

by DWIGHT L. SMITH

Professor of History, Miami University

ISRAEL ANGELL, a prominent Rhode Islander and a patriot of the American Revolution, was interested in the opening of the West (the Ohio country) after the war. A wartime situation helped to create a similar interest in many other veterans and to present opportunities whereby it could be fulfilled.

An acute shortage of money and an abundance of unsettled land on the frontier made the offering of land bounty certificates in lieu of cash for enlistment and service during the Revolution a rather common practice. In general the seaboard colony-states that had trans-Appalachian charter-granted holdings surrendered them. They became the common property of all of the states when the new United States government was created during the war under the Articles of Confederation. The stipulation was made with these cessions that settlement would be encouraged in this vast public domain and that it would be nurtured and developed into new states on a basis of equality with the original thirteen.

The problem-hounded and wobbly new nation had a headache of rather mean proportions caused by the squatter and Indian-infested western country that Britain had surrendered in the peace treaty but was most reluctant to evacuate and turn over to the Americans. It became paramount for the government to evolve some sort of a working arrangement for the orderly opening and development of this

¹Acknowledgment is due The Rhode Island Historical Society, for permission to reproduce and edit the Angell journal. Research grants from Miami University and the American Philosophical Society for research on the Ohio Company of Associates have been of material aid for this project. The maps were prepared by John L. Bedford with the advice of Dr. John L. Thompson, Department of Geography, Miami University, and with the aid of Miss Janet L. Jones.

new national domain if it expected to hold on to it. The pattern for the survey and sale of the land was established in the Ordinance of 1785. A workable American colonial policy, whereby states could evolve, was set forth in the Ordinance of 1787.

Relevant to all of this was the fact that various schemes were proposed amongst the soldiers and officers towards the close of the war to pool their bounty certificates for the purchase of sizable chunks of land to promote settlement somewhere in the West. Prominent among these was the formalization of an idea of almost three hundred officers in the Newburgh Petition of 1783 to Congress. A specific request was made for an area in present southeastern Ohio.

Some of the prime movers and lobbyists of the petition became involved in the land survey conducted under provisions of the Ordinance of 1785. Reconnaissance of the area and comparing notes with others soon increased their enthusiasm. In January and February of 1786 notices appeared in New England newspapers explaining the idea and requesting interested persons to attend a meeting. On March 1, 1786, the now famous meeting at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston resulted in the establishment of the Ohio Company of Associates. Subsequent meetings — Rice's Tavern in Providence was also a principal meeting place of the officials — and a contract from Congress set things in motion. In the spring of 1788 a new settlement called Adelphi, later known as Marietta, was established on the Ohio River at the mouth of the Muskingum River. It was located on the east side of the Muskingum opposite Fort Harmar on the other bank.²

Israel Angell was involved in this venture and journeyed out to the

²The most readily available collection of Ohio Company manuscripts has been compiled in Archer Butler Hulbert (ed.), *The Records of the Original Proceedings of the Ohio Company* (2 vols., Marietta, 1917). Hulbert's introduction is the most extensive and satisfactory history of the company.

Sizable manuscript collections include those at the Campus Martius Museum in Marietta, Marietta College, Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland, Ohio Historical Society, and the Massachusetts Historical Society. Other published sources may be found in William P. Cutler and Julia P. Cutler, *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D.* (2 vols., Cincinnati, 1888); Charles S. Hall, *Life and Letters of Samuel Holden Parsons* (Binghamton, New York, 1905); Dwight L. Smith (ed.), *The Western Journals of John May: Ohio Company Agent and Business Adventurer* (Cincinnati, 1961); Rowena Buell (comp. and ed.), *The Memoirs of Rufus Putnam and Certain Official Papers and Correspondence* (Boston and New York, 1903).

Ohio country to look things over. Angell was born August 13, 1740, Old Style (August 24, New Style), a great-great-grandson of one Thomas Angell who was with Roger Williams on his flight which marked the founding of Providence. Israel was a farm lad who was trained by his father in the use of the blacksmith, carpenter, and cooper's tools and tutored by his ex-schoolteacher mother. He took service in the local militia seriously and soon became an officer. Then he was chosen as a field officer in the county regiment.

When the Revolution broke out, Rhode Island raised an "army of observation." Angell was commissioned a major and was soon participating in the siege of Boston. In another regiment he was moved up to a lieutenant-colonelcy and when the colonel died he was raised to that rank and given command. His regimental colors flew at such places as Brandywine, Red Bank, Valley Forge, Monmouth, and Springfield. After retiring from military life he returned to Johnston to his farm and cooperage business. These, the Society of the Cincinnati, the militia, a justice of the peace position, and civic duties kept him active. He also found time to make journeys to Philadelphia, upstate New York, Marietta, and other places to visit friends, or to check on proposed ventures in new settlements, in some of which he invested. It is said that in the year of his death, 1832, he had been contemplating marriage — his ninety-second year and what would have been his fourth wife!!³

In early August of 1788 Angell journeyed by horseback from his home in Johnston, Rhode Island, in a southwesterly direction to the northernmost bends of the Potomac River in western Maryland, in a northwesterly course to the Ohio River at Wheeling, and by boat down the Ohio to Marietta. Twelve days later he was heading up river again towards Wheeling. As directly as the topography would permit and the paths and roads take him, he traveled eastward to New York City and thence back to Johnston, where he arrived on October 9. "There Ended my Journey to the Wistern Country in 67 Days out of which I lay by 21 Days so that I compleated a Journey

³Biographical information is contained in Edward Field (ed.), *Diary of Colonel Israel Angell: Commanding the Second Rhode Island Continental Regiment during the American Revolution, 1778-1781* (Providence, 1899); Lewis L. Lovell, *Israel Angell: Colonel of the 2nd Rhode Island Regiment* (New York, 1921). These also contain miscellaneous documentary records, especially military and genealogical.

of 1548 Miles in 46 Days Travel."

Two purposes — personal and business — were served by this journey. Angell visited friends and wartime associates en route and at Marietta. He had also invested in the venture of the Ohio Company and was interested in its progress and prospects.⁴ Related to this there may have been still another reason. Although references are sparse it is evident that some differences of opinion developed on company matters that brought criticism from the Rhode Island members.⁵ It would seem natural that Angell would be vitally interested and it is probable that his conversations with company officials while at Marietta touched upon this misunderstanding. That he returned to the East via New York City and that he made it a point to see Richard Platt makes this conjecture yet more plausible. Platt was the company treasurer and seemed to exercise considerable executive function in the affairs of the company.⁶

Of immediate interest, Angell kept a journal of this trip to the West. The manuscript is preserved in the collections of The Rhode Island Historical Society. That he expected others to see this account of his journey is indicated by a remark in his entry for August 19: "here the reader may Judg . . ." The journal is reproduced here.

In places where the script was not readily decipherable it was necessary to exercise editorial judgment. Certain devices and apparatus have been introduced for the sake of clarity: Date lines are standardized. *And* and *etc.* are substituted for the ampersand and its variations wherever they occur. Obvious slips of the pen such as "where where I could possibly get entertainment" are corrected without notice. Angell uses "bin" and "ben" (for "been") interchangeably; they are uniformly rendered as "ben." Superior letters in the

⁴Angell owned shares in the company. Hulbert, *Records of the Ohio Company*, II, 235. He was also a landholder in the venture. *Ibid.*, index, 243, although this reference is not clear; Lovell, *Angell*, 25-26. See also his entry for September 7. He was involved in a somewhat similar venture in Vermont. Lovell, *Angell*, 25.

⁵Allusion is made to this difficulty by John May, a company agent from Massachusetts, who seemed to be acting in the role of a trouble shooter. Smith, *Journals of John May*, 51, 85, 122-123. For other related documents, see Elbert J. Benton (ed.), "Side Lights on the Ohio Company of Associates from the John May Papers," *Tract No. 97*, Western Reserve Historical Society (Cleveland, 1917), 116-138.

⁶Hulbert, *Records of the Ohio Company*, I and II, *passim*. It is not appropriate to dwell on this general situation here, but it does merit a full scale investigation and study by itself.

manuscript are brought down to the line of text; if the words in which these occur can be regarded as abbreviations a point or period is added to designate them as such; if they are contractions the missing letters are supplied in brackets. All other contractions are expanded to full words by bracketed letters if Angell's intention without this device is not readily apparent.

In the matter of punctuation: Where a mark in the manuscript is not clearly a point or a comma the one best suited for the occasion is chosen. The virgule or slanting line is introduced as a punctuation device where Angell's own punctuation is inadequate or lacking. Otherwise, every effort has been made to make as literal a rendition of the document into print as is possible.

A JOURNAL OF ISRAEL AN[GELL]

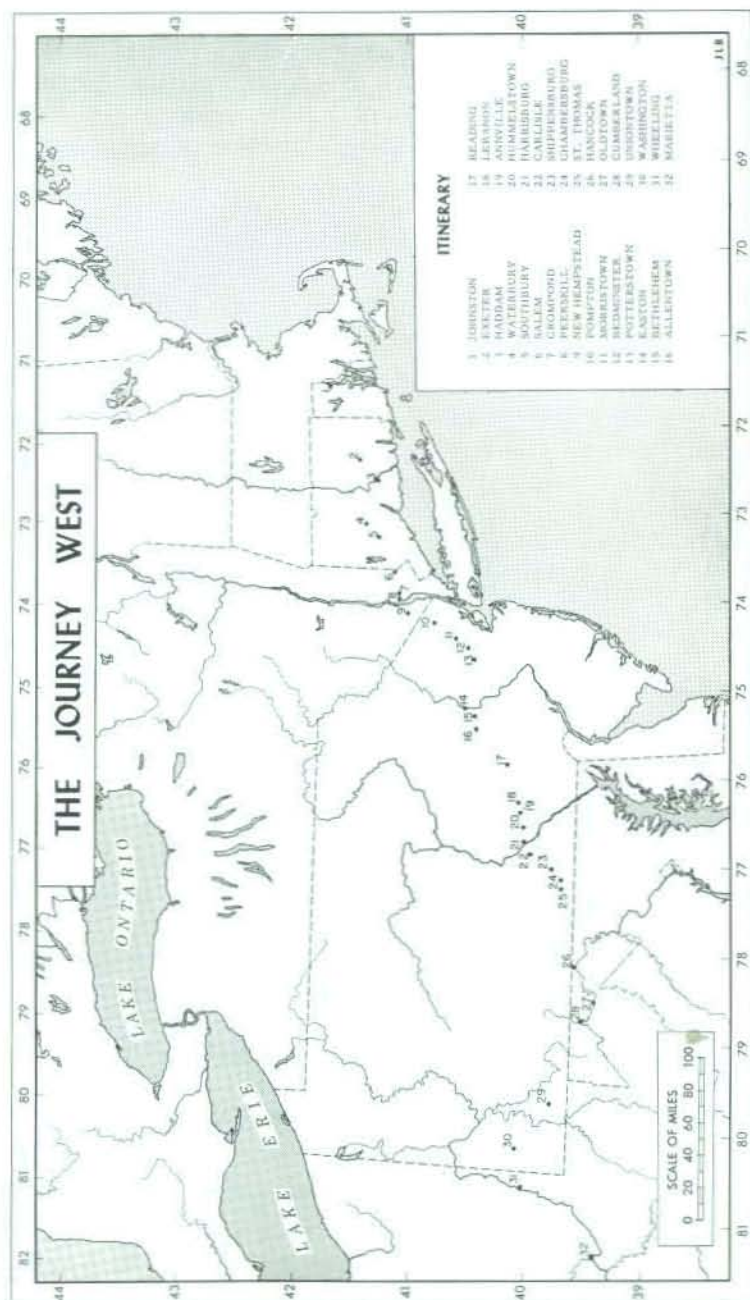
TRAVELS FROM JOHNSTON IN THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND
BEGUN THE 4RD⁷ AUGUST 1788

Monday, August 4, 1788: I left my hous this morning @ 2 oClock AM, with an Intention (the Lord willing) to go to the ohio Muskingum etc. it was an Exceeding foggy morning but Cleared off very hott. and was a Considerable of thunder in the afternoon though but a Small Sprinkling of Rain where I was and from the appearence of the Clowds beleave there was but Little aney where/ I traveled to Exeter parrish in Connecticut. there put up after traviling by the best cal[c]ulation I could make 73½ miles and two great a Days travel by one half.

Tuesday, August 5: Clear and very hott. Left Exeter parrish @ 4 oClock AM/ went Haddam/ there dind then went to Middletown/ crosed the River and went to Merriden Parrish/ there put up after traviling 31 miles. my hors proved very lame this Day

Wednesday, August 6: Clear and hott/ Left merriden @ 4 oClock AM. went to waterbury Mountain/ Breakfasted @ Barns Tavern then went to Waterbury and Dined. from thence to South Berry [Southbury]/ there put up after traviling 35 miles with my hors so lame that he could Scarcly Step. as I passed through Woodbury this afternoon I Saw a Number of people geathered in the Burying yard, and was taking up a corps that had ben buried 2 years the winter past.

⁷Originally written "3rd." Angell corrected the number but not the rest of the abbreviation.



to Satisfy a brother of the deceased, who was at the point of Death with the Consumption and as his Brother Died with the Same Disorder he consented [conceded?] that if his Corps was taken up and opened to the Air it would help him. there was a Considerable of thunder this afternoon but no rain of consequence here but a Shower to the Southward.

Thursday, August 7: Clowdey and more cooler than it had ben for two or a Days past. my hors appeared to be lamer to day than he had ben/ I went to the blacksmith to See if he could tel the cause — but he Said it was not in the Shewing and could not tel the occation/ So I hobbled on my Journey to Newtown 10 miles breakfasted then went to Danbury and Dined/ 10 miles more. here I had the fore Shoes taken of[f] my beast and new Set, but made the lameness no better. I went on to Salem in the State of New York 10 Miles/ there took up my Lodgings for the Night, at Majr. Walleses/ it Cleared off this Day/ In the forenoon exceeding hott, and Continued this day till Evening when there was a Small Shower which Cooled the Air.

Friday, August 8: Clear and plesant.

Left my Lodgings early this morning/ went to Crompond, to my frind Doctor Elias Cornelius where I arrived by Eight oClock.⁸ found the Doctors Sister and his Son with the made at home and well. but the Doctor was Absent having ben Called away the Evening before to a woman in traval, though he Soon Came home after I got there, and a Joyfull meeting we had where I Spent the Day

Saturday, August 9: Clear and plesant —

this being the last day of the week My good frind Cornelius Insisted On my tarring with him till the beginning of the Ensuing week which Invitation I Excepted. and we both went to a Quakers meating, where I heard a very Extreordinary Able Sermon preached by Silas Downing from Long Island.

Sunday, August 10: Clear and Cooler —

The Doctor and familey with my Self had agreed last Evening to go Meeting this Day, but the doctor was called away to See a Man that was thout to be near his end. and his disorder arose from a Strange and uncommon thing or accident. it was one Lawyer Crane/ he had a Swealing partly under One of his arms 4 or 5 Inches

⁸Many of these names here and on the return trip to the East are friends and associates from the days of the Revolution. See Field, *Diary of Angell*, and Lovell, *Angell*, in which these names occur frequently.

from his body, Which at times had ben very painfull. he and another Gentleman was riding togeather. the man with him as they were merry and jolley fooling with each other flung about half an Apple at him and hit the Swelling on his Arm which Instantly threw him into Such pain that he Sownded away and fell from his hors, and has not had his Sences much Sence, though this is the 3rd Day, Sence the Accident happened. I and the Doctors familey went to meeting where we had two very Able Sermons, preached by an Englishman, who was Settled in the Jersies. he was a Presbytearing minister/ at our Return to the Doctor found the Doctor at home but a man called Judg Crane hurrying him off to attend on the aforementioned man again/ at Evening the Doctor Returnd and a number of the Neighbours who I had formerly when in the Army ben acquainted with Came in togeather with a Number of young people, and Spent the Evening in Religious Conversation and reading, after which the Doctor went to prayer. and then all Retired.

Monday, August 11: A fine Clear plesunt morning/ after an Earley breakfast, took my leave of my good frind the Doctor and went on my journey. but being under Some Obligations to Stop and visit Several of my former Acquaintances Stopt first at Doctor Perrys 2nd at the widow Brewers, and 3rd Colo. Hoits/ they all insisted on my tarrying at least the Day but I could not content my Self to Stay as the weather was so fine for traveling. I also Stop[pe]d in peckskill Several times to See my old acquaintance. here I Saw the terriblest Ruins in the fields and Road by a heavy Shower which happned about two weeks before this. I Stop[pe]d about 1 mile Short of kings ferry⁹ and Dined, proceeded to the ferry where I was Detained a long time before the boat men could be looked up. I crosed about 6 oClock/ went to Kakaat¹⁰ where I put up for the night, having traveled but 25 miles —

Tuesday, August 12: A fine Clear Coole Morning/ left my Lodgings @ 5 oClock/ went to Soverins Tavern 8¼ miles/ breakfasted and went on/ I met two men this morning belonging to State of Rhode Island directly from Muskingum on their way to the State who had ben just 3 weeks on their journey and gave me information of the way. I went to my frinds Simon Vanasses in Pumpton [New Jersey]

⁹Kings Ferry operated across the Hudson from Verplanck to Stony Point. Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution* (2 vols., New York, 1952), II, 597.

¹⁰Present New Hempstead. *Ibid.*, II, 587.

and there Dind (13¾ miles from Soverings)/ the old man and Sons was absent in a medow to work/ went to Morris County 5 miles Short of the town/

Wednesday, August 13: Clear and plesant/ went on my journey @ ½ past 4 oClock through Morris town to the Widow Pruddens where in the war I had often made it my Quarters. breakfasted then went to Bedminster township/ Dind. 18 miles/ then went to potters town and refreshed where I Rec[eive]d Intilligence that there was two men to Set out for Pitsburg in a day or two from one Squire Hunts about 6 Miles on the road where I went and found that they had Set off that morning. the Gentleman Insisted on my tarrying with him that night which I excepted and better Entertainment I never met with in no part of the world/ I found him a gentleman in every respect — he had a most beautifull Seat about 700 Acers land a large Stone grist Mill, and oyl mill, and Saw mill

Thursday, August 14: Left my frind Hunt at half after 7 as he Insisted on my taking Breakfast. and in the mean time my old frind Genl. Maxfield came in and breakfasted with us. I went on to the dillawar crost over to east town [Easton, Pennsylvania] and there Dind/ 20 Miles/ then went to Bethlehem 12 Miles and from thence to Allens Town over the River Lahi 6 Miles/ there Tarried

Friday, August 15: This is the first Clowdy morning I have had on my Jorney/ left my lodgings at 5 oClock at which time it rained a little. went on Eight miles before I Breakfasted. then went to Redding. 28 miles Stopping by the way to Dine and feed etc. it Remained Clowdy but no Rain of Consequence/ I put up at Readding at a privat hous by reason of hors [huping?] —

Saturday, August 16: Clowdy and Cool. left Redding 7 oClock/ Crossed the School Kill, and when I had traveled about 14 Miles came to where it had Rained hard the evening before which made it bad traveling though there was none where I tarried. I went to Millers town¹¹ 33 miles/ there Put up/ on my way from Redding to this place I went through 3 Dutch Towns 2 but Small. one called Lebenon 5 miles from this a Considerable of a town/ it Continued Cool and Clowdy the whole Day.

Sunday, August 17: Clowdy and cool/ left my lodgings 5 oClock/ went to a town Called Humbles Town [Hummelstown] about 12

¹¹Present Annville. Thomas F. Gordon, *A Gazetteer of the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1832), part II, 16, 300; W. Scull, *A Map of Pennsylvania* (n.p., 1770).

miles/ there Breakfasted then went to Harrises Bourough [Harrisburg] on the Suscohannah River/ Crossed at harrises ferry/ Went on 2 Miles/ there Dined then proceeded to a tavern within 3 miles of Carlile/ put up for that night/ I found the Roads Exceeding muddy

Monday, August 18: Clowdy and Rained a little/ I went on my Journey at 5 oClock/ passed through Carlile 7 miles/ Breakfasted then went on 14 miles to Shippens Bourgh/ dined/ the Springs in this part of the world are one of the Greatist Curosities of the Country/ the country in General is badly watered/ I have rode 14 Miles this day where there was not a dropp of water to be Seen in a Drye time, being not a Spring nor brook in the distance only a few Sunken holes in the Earth where a little would naturely Stand/ Some Days after a rain and when you Come to a Spring it will Rise in a large River or Creek as they are Calld in this Country/ I have Crossed two Springs which in 40 rods rise to the bigness of Naspucket river at common times with us. I dismounted my hors yesterday and went to See one which Burst out of a Seam under a hill of Lime Rock the Seam being about 18 Inches wide and 10 or 12 feet Long. another Larg Stream came out of the Rock in a gentlemans Seller whos hous Stood about 15 feet from where this amazing flood, burst out before mentioned. I was Informed of another about Six miles from this which was So amazing great as t[o] be water Suficient to carry 3 pair of mill Stones the year round within 60 rods of the head. and a little below this one other Grist Mill Saw mill and forg all pleantifully Supplied the year round. I Saw one this Day which boiled out of the foot of a Small hill, the bigness of what we call the west River in North Providence at Common times or rather bigger as there appeared to be water Sufficient for a Saw mill, and after Crossing a fine Bottom of land about 150 rods run under a ledg of Limeston at the foot of a hill, and I was told it was Supposed came out Some Miles to the Eastward as there was a Stream about the Same bigness came out of a hill in that Direction/ I went to Chambers Town [Chambersburg]/ there put up/ here I found another Spring Equal to aney I had Seen.

Tuesday, August 19: an Exceeding Rainey Morning and Roads as Bad as ever I Saw them in the Spring/ left my lodgings 7 oClock/ went on the Road to [manuscript illegible]¹² about 10 miles then turnd away South to get to a place Called the Canolaways¹³ to one

¹²Probably in the vicinity of present St. Thomas, a few miles west of Chambersburg.

¹³In the vicinity of Hancock, Maryland, which is on the Potomac River between

Wm. Hunts where I expected to fall in with Esqr. Hunts Son of the Gersies and one of Mr. Wm. Hunts Sons who were going to Virginia/ I called in at a tavarn on the way this Day where I Saw a young lad about 14 years of Age in the greatest Extremity I ever Saw a person in my life and live with the Gravel/ the Doctor Come while I was there and was agoing to open him and tak the Stone out but as I was on a Jorney did not, Stay to See the opperation. this was the Disagreablest days travel I had met with as it rained the Greatist part of the Day and leaving the great Road had nothing but foot pathes over hills Mountains and through Valles of the richest Soil and heavest timber I yet ever Saw/ had several Deep Creeks to Cross and just at night the Termendeous mountain I yet was [assended?] to Clamber over/ the Inhabitants told me that I might Lead a hors over but part of the way was as bad as it would be to Lead a hors up aney Common Chamber Stairs however I got over Safe and when over found my Self in a Deep valey between two huge Mountaing in a thick wood and not a hors to be Seen nor aney Cleard land. and a thunder Shower just Spreading from one Mountain to the other/ I hurried along my blind foot paythe untill came to a large River which I could not tell wheather it was fordable however as there was a trail to it and another from it venturd in and found it to be nearly mid side to my hors but got Safe through/ went on about half a mile where I found 3 little Sorry log hutts and Some Cleard land — here I applied for quarters and an old Irish woman inform'd me that the place was hers and I might tarry as She was Sure it was too far to aney other hous for me to go that night, it being 8 miles to aney hous where I could possibly get entertainment/ their nighest nabour was 2 miles the way I was going. here was two men that belonged to the hous and an acquaintance of theirs all miserable Shabby looking creatures. they Seemed not to care to have much to Say to me but colected in one of their Small log hutts and was exceding merry/ the old woman was with them leaving me with her daughter who was wife to one of the men and two Children. togeather, we Sat up till past 9 oClock when we went to bed leaving the old woman and three men where they Continueud till midnight and then one of the men come to bead with me the others with their wives and the old woman with their wives

where the Great Tonoloway Creek and Tonoloway Creek empty into the Potomac from the north. Early maps referred to these streams as "Conoloway" or some variation. See, for example, Reading Howell, *A Map of the State of Pennsylvania* (n.p., 1792).

[sic]. here the reader may Judge wheather it was likely that I Slep much before they all broke up being 500 miles from my native Country among a people I knew not and in the most desolateest and Awful looking wilderness. however the[y] all appear'd to be Civil and you led me kindly [sic]. there was a most terrible thunder Shower gust as I got to this place

Wednesday, August 20: Clowdy

Left my good old Irish mother 5 oClock/ went on a winding round and over Mountaing through the most Disolate places I ever Saw crossing Deep Rivers untill I came to Mr. Wm. Hunts [in the vicinity of Hancock, Maryland]¹⁴ where I found the young men which went from Mr. Daniel Hunts Esqr. Jerseys on last Wednsday morning. they informd me that they could not go on till Sunday so I concluded to tarry and go with them it being so lonesom traveling a Wilderness alone

Thursday, August 21: I Remained the Day with my frind Hunt his Sone and Mr. Daniel Hunt Son of New Jersey/ went to the Hott Springs about 12 miles/¹⁵ this was a warm Day and Clear till the Afternoon when we had a thunder Shower, which prevented the young gentlemen from Returning from the Springs

Friday, August 22: Clowdy and foggy morning/ Spent the Day at Mr. Hunts. this afternoon the young men that went to the Springs Returnd/ these springs lay about 5 miles over Patomok River in Virginia/ there was a Small Shower this afternoon

Saturday, August 23: Clear and exceeding plesant morning. Last evening one Ferry living over the Alaganey Mountain on the Monongehaley River came to Mr. Hunts but brought no news of Consequence/ a heavey Thunder Shower this Afternoon —

Sunday, August 24: Clear and plesant Morning/ after Breakfast I left my frind Hunts and went forward in Co[mpany] with Rafe Hunt Son of Wm. Hunt and Rafe Hunt Son of Daniel Hunt Jersey Joseph Hunt and Wm. Birch of jersy/ we traveled into what is called the Merryland and Virginia Road, crossing over Mountains and through Deep Vallies/ after we got to the main Road we f[o]und it much the Same/ we traveled to Patomok, and then kept up the River/ we traveled 17 Miles then put up in a poor Hutt

¹⁴See note 13, above.

¹⁵From this and the subsequent entry, Angell probably visited what is the present resort area of Berkeley Springs, West Virginia.

Monday, August 25: Left our lodgings Earley/ went on over Huge Mountains Sometimes on the banks of the River then up the mountains, and could get no breakfast untill 11 oClock when we came to a Small town Called Old town in Marryland. we then went on and after about one hours Ride Came in Sight of the Allaganey Mountains/ this was a Clowdy and foggy morning but Soon Broak away hott. and a thunder Shower in the afternoon/ we went to Cumberland fort Where there was a Small Town/ here we tarried the night/ we traveled by Some the largest fields of tobacco I ever Saw. on the bottoms and in new land where the timber was all except the small Stuff Standing only girdled and half that not dead

Tuesday, August 26: Some Clowdy/ we had a most terrible Shower last night/ there is a great quantity of hay in this Country entirely lost. after giting our horses Shod we Engaged with the Alleganey mountains and for the worst Roads I ever Saw where aney person attempted to drive a waggon. we put up at one Joseph Mountain after traveling 28 Miles/ in this Days travel we passed through a number of good bottoms of land and extrordinary timber

Wednesday, August 27: A fine Clear morning/ left our Lodgings @ 5 oClock/ went on in as bad Road as could be and aney person git along 6 Miles/ there breakfasted — then went about 5 Miles further where the 3 hunts left us and went about a mile out of the Road to trade horse/ Mr. Birch and my Self went on to one John Cimmerleys two or three miles/ there waited untill 4 oClock in the Afternoon before they came up/ we then went on among the Moun-tains untill we came to the main branch of the Youghanney [Youghio-gheny] River which we forded but it was about Midside to a hors/ we then endeavoured to Reach a Tavern about 10 miles ahead though it was nearly Sunset/ this made it night before we had got half the way and the road taking Different [d]irections to avoid the muddy Sloughs led us into the woods and Rocks among the Mountains where we expected to have Remained the night. but being wett in Crossing the River and having no fire works with us, made us Strive exceeding hard to find, the way which with great Difficulty and Danger of breaking our necks we Did and got to the tavern by 11 oClock.

Thursday, August 28: Clear and pleasant/ left our lodgings at 6 oClock/ went on and after riding about an hour Saw two old hen Turkeys with as maney I beleave as 20 young ones with them/ they was not more then 20 yards from the Road. we rode nearly in among

them before they flew/ The young ones was more then half grown. this Country Abounds with them wild. we Decendid the Alleganey this morning and went into a town Called Becen Town¹⁶ where we Breakfasted. then went 9 or 10 miles to one River who had a Very Ellegent farm/ here we tarried the night.

Friday, August 29: Clear and plesant/ left our Lodgings this morning 6 oClock/ Rid round about the Neighbourhood viewing the land and took Dinner at Col Phillips—then went to one Clears [Clari]¹⁷ where we tarried the Night on the Banks of the Mononghealey—

Saturday, August 30: Clowdy/ Left my frind Thomas Clari and parted with my Companions in whose Company I had been Exceeding happy. Crosed the Monongahaley and betook my Self to the wilderness once more alone/ took the Road to a Small town Called Cat fish¹⁸ in Washington County Pensylvania/ I rode about 28 Miles this Day/ came to a tolerable hutt and plantation where I put up being very wet as it had rained very hard the greatest part of the After noon/ the Countrey I passed through this Day I Shall give no other Discription of more than to Say that the poorest I have Seen is equal to the best I ever Saw in New england.

Sunday, August 31: Left my lodgings early this morning/ Went to Washington Court hous to a Small town Called Catfish/ there breakfasted/ 12½ miles/ then went on for Wheeling. Stopt at a hous on the way to bait my hors and it happened to be a New England man from Connecticut by the name of Hitchcock. here I dind on venison. I proceeded on to one Colo. Shephards but the Roads being bad Night overtook me before I could Reach my Intended quarters. and there was not a hous or hut on the road. took a foot path and followed that till it brought me to a small log hutt where there was a woman and a boy. here I could get no entertainment but the woman was Kind enough to Send her little Son on about a mile to Shew me another foot payth which led to one Mr. Dodges and Irish man, where I got Entertainment, after traveling 32½ miles in the worst roads I ever Saw in the rain, which occationed

¹⁶Becson's Town was the original name of Uniontown, Pennsylvania. Lois Mulkearn and Edwin V. Pugh, *A Traveler's Guide to Historic Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh, 1954), 226.

¹⁷See entry for Saturday, August 30, below.

¹⁸Washington. Catfish Camp was a Revolutionary War militia rendezvous. Mulkearn and Pugh, *Guide to Historic Western Pennsylvania*, 319-320.

the Badness of the Roads

Monday, September 1: Clowdy and exceeding rainey—after Breakfast I left my good old frind Dodg and went on for Wheeling and it Imcadetly Set to raining as hard as I belcaved it ever Did and roads Exceeding bad and the land as good as land could be/ I Saw a large number of wild Turkes on my way this Day in 3 flocks. I arrived at one Colo. Shepherds on Wheeling Crek 6 miles Short of wheeling fort thence oated then proceeded to the fort, where I Arrived at 3 oClock/ on my way here I took a road leading up a Mountain leaving the road by the Creek. this road had ben cut so as to lead a hors up when the Roads was dry and was nearly 1 Mile nearer but it being So exceeding wet, that after I had got more than half way up I would ben glad to have given a considerable to have ben back but there was no gitting my beast about to git back and to go forward appeared Impossible. but however with mancy dangerous Struggles I got Safe up and bid adue to that road forevermore. on my arival at the fort found two boats had gone from there this morning/ So unluckey was I. however was Informd that there was one that would go in a day or too. here I had a view (for the first) of the great and famous River Ohio/ it was not So wide as I expected to finde it being les than ½ a mile.

Tuesday, September 2: Foggy morning but Soon Cleared off/ fine weather/ I kept watch of the River In hopes of gitting a passage. there was a Boat a fixing away which would Sal in a day or two. but I was determind to go in the first boat that went, and about 2 oClock there Came a boat down from Cross creek loaded with flowr with 3 hands on Board. I got a passage with them and proceeded down the River delighted with the prospect of So beautifull a Countrey. we rowed till dark but the greatest part of the night we only drifted with the Courint.

Wednesday, September 3: an Exceeding foggy morning/ we [Claspd?] to our Oars at day light and pulled forward with all our might and about 4 or 5 oClock PM arived in Sight of Muskingum, where I landed among Numbers of my old Accquaintans who welcomed me to these Delight-Shores and Beautifull Country. I took up my quarters at one Colo. Battles.¹⁹ we mett a number of Canows as we came down [who were] bound up [the river]

¹⁹Ebenezer Battelle was an agent of the Ohio Company. Hulbert, *Records of the Ohio Company*, I, 54.

THE EDWARD CARRINGTON COLLECTION

by JACQUES M. DOWNS

Assistant Professor of History, St. Francis College

LINING THE WHITE-TILED WALLS of an arched gallery leading off the Society's cavernous wine cellar, is one of the most valuable collections of early American commercial papers in the United States. In dozens of heavy, leather-bound volumes and in hundreds of bright blue document boxes are the records of Edward Carrington and his descendants — one of Rhode Island's greatest merchant-dynasties.

The Carrington papers had lain for generations in the attic of the Carrington House, across Power Street from the Society. It was not until the summer of 1960 that the collection — in paper bags, cardboard boxes, and even in loose piles — was moved to the basement of the John Brown House.

Once safely in the possession of the Society, the collection presented a formidable problem. All told, it consisted of about seventy-five cubic feet of grimy, disorganized papers and several hundred books, often worm-eaten, mildewed, and torn. Two generous grants from the American Philosophical Society¹ and the hard labor of several people² went into the sorting, cleaning, repairing, and boxing that the papers required.

The problem of salvage was complicated by the discovery that important parts of the collection apparently had been missing for years. Although some are still lost, at least the early records now seem to be essentially complete. Upwards of fifty additional volumes and several boxes of documents came to light in a search of the closets, bureaus, chests, and bookcases of Carrington House. Several ships' logs and two chests of legal documents were uncovered in the basement of the Rhode Island School of Design, and one letterbook turned up inexplicably on the shelves of the Society's library. Altogether, the papers now fill nearly three hundred boxes, and over four hundred separate volumes stand on the shelves of the little gallery in the Society's basement.

But the story the documents tell is more interesting than the humdrum work of raising the dust of a century and a half. The great bulk of the collection consists of the business records of Edward Carrington, Providence merchant and manufacturer from the 1790s to the 1840s.

¹*Viz.*: No. 376 from the Johnson Fund and 3099 from the Penrose Fund.

²Although they deserve something better, I should like at least to thank the most persistent of my helpers, *viz.*: Mrs. J. Carrol Fulkerson and Mr. Nino D. Scotti of Providence, and Mrs. Elizabeth W. Downs of Berkeley, California.

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The Edward Carrington Collection

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A much smaller amount of material concerns the business and personal lives of Edward Carrington II, and his son, Edward III.

Born in New Haven in 1775, Carrington moved to Providence as a very young man and became a clerk in the countinghouse of Seth Wheaton, Samuel Butler, and Richard Jackson. By the late 1790s, Carrington was sailing as supercargo on ships belonging to these and other Providence merchants. In this capacity, Carrington enjoyed rather indifferent success until 1802, when he sailed for China on the ship *Resource*, Captain William F. Megee.

Carrington remained almost exactly eight years in Canton, the only port in the Celestial Empire open to foreigners at that time. During this period of exile, Carrington amassed a considerable fortune. Indeed, in a good year his profit and loss account showed a gain of \$60,000 or more, and Carrington apparently did not include all of his earnings in this section of his ledger. He seems to have made most of his money speculating on his own account, but he also charged commissions against the business he transacted for stateside merchants and extracted fees from those he served in his position as American Consul in China, a post he held for most of his stay abroad.

Carrington's China records are invaluable. He kept a total of six letterbooks and two volumes of consular papers. These eight slim books probably constitute the most important part of the entire collection. The letterbooks are certainly the best China documents of their kind still extant,³ and the consular records are unique. The only comparable material on the subject is in the National Archives in Washington.

Carrington probably had about a quarter of a million dollars when he returned home in the spring of 1811. Over the next few years he put his money to work in commodity speculations, real estate, textile mills, privateering (during the War of 1812), and in the stock of banks, turnpikes, canals, and insurance companies. His principal interest, however, continued to be shipping until the 1820s. There is comparatively little material in the collection on the period between 1811 and 1815, because on September 23, 1815, a hurricane destroyed both Carrington's newly-built countinghouse and his store (warehouse) on South Water Street. The sole record book to survive was the ledger.⁴

³The only comparable manuscripts are the two small Sullivan Dorr letterbooks in the possession of Mr. Frank Mauran, III, of Providence, and the Samuel Russell & Co. letterbooks in the Library of Congress.

⁴Carrington may have kept his ledger at home. John Murray Forbes states that the practice of taking company books home was common with another great firm in the China trade — J. & T. H. Perkins, of Boston (John Murray Forbes, *Letters and Recollections* (Boston, 1889), I, 54.)

Only four months before the gale struck, Carrington and Samuel Wetmore, a merchant formerly of Middletown, Connecticut, formed the mercantile house of Edward Carrington and Company. This firm very shortly became the largest shipowner in Rhode Island⁵ and one of the most important in the country.⁶ Six months after the firm was organized, William Sturgis wrote Carrington,

You and Mr. Gray [William Gray of Salem] seem [to] be monopolizing all the navigation in the U States. A man must love trouble to want so many vessels. Why do you never give us an invitation to take a concern with you?⁷

Carrington's nephew stated years later that, at one time, his uncle had owned twenty-six vessels,⁸ which sailed in every ocean. Although the concern's chief business lay in the trade with the East Indies and Europe, E. Carrington & Co. vessels frequently appeared on the coast of Africa, Southern Asia, and many lands around the Pacific Basin.

Carrington's widespread international commerce required a considerable acquaintance with economic and political conditions all over the world. Consequently his correspondence was vast, frequently producing hundreds of incoming letters a month. These letters comprise by far the largest part of the collection and should prove to be of great interest to scholars, especially those concerned with South America and the Orient. The South American material is especially interesting (although spottier than the East Asian data) because much of it concerns the early 1820s, when revolutionary movements were overthrowing Spanish rule in the area. Carrington's vessels trafficked

⁵On file at the Society's library is a list of all ships registered at Providence for the year 1818. It is quoted in Robert Grieve, *The Sea Trade . . . in Rhode Island . . .* (Providence, 1902), 471-473. Carrington is credited with fifteen vessels, while the nearest competitor is Brown & Ives with ten.

⁶A New York merchant, Joseph Scoville, writing under the pen-name of Walter Barrett, wrote in 1862 that Carrington's East India trade alone was immense (*The Old Merchants of New York City* (N.Y., 1862), I, 45.) A Boston merchant writing to Hamburg to introduce a Carrington captain noted, "I have only to add that Messrs. Carrington & Co. rank among the first houses in the country." (J. Higgenson, Boston, to J. Berenberg Gossler, Hamburg, July 30, 1817.) N.B.: all letters referred to in this article are to be found in the Carrington collection.

⁷Bryant & Sturgis, Boston, to E. Carrington & Co., Providence, December 23, 1815.

⁸At no time, to my knowledge, did Carrington own more than eighteen ships simultaneously, but further research may prove the nephew, Isaac M. Bull, correct. He certainly should know; he worked for years in the firm's countinghouse at 122 South Water Street and for an even longer period served as Carrington's Canton agent. The figure given by Bull is from the *Biographical Cyclopaedia . . . of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1881) I, 81.

perilously in arms,⁹ furniture, and provisions in return for hides, horn, copper, silver,¹⁰ and tropical products. Together with other collections in the Providence area the Carrington papers afford a wealth of heretofore unused documentary material on our early commercial relations with Latin America.

Trade was the original source of his wealth, but Carrington interested himself in several other fields of enterprise. He was a leading promoter of the Blackstone Canal, linking Providence with Worcester, a project which has been described as "the greatest fiasco in Providence business history."¹¹ Carrington served as first president of the Blackstone Canal Company (1828-1830) after the Providence and Worcester companies merged. The first canal boat to transit the entire distance from Worcester was named the *Lady Carrington*.

As large as the Canal loomed in Carrington's life, there are surprisingly few business records on the subject in the collection. However, there is some correspondence, a few business papers, and seven miscellaneous account books.

Less spectacular but undoubtedly more important were Carrington's investments in manufacturing, particularly cotton mills. He built several factories in the Providence-Woonsocket area, including the well-known Hamlet and Clinton Mills. His records include material on at least eight other mills in which he owned shares.¹² By 1835 Carrington valued his manufacturing property alone at \$235,000, a very respectable sum indeed in the mid-1830s.

While Carrington continued his foreign trade, on a somewhat reduced scale after 1830, he seems to have had less time to devote to it and increasingly gave his best efforts to his American business. Eventually the extended nature of his operations appears to have become too much even for his appreciable talents. He apparently made the common mistake of tying up too much capital in real estate. He owned extensive properties in Rhode Island and also held title to

⁹He delivered at least one cargo of arms to General San Martin and also permitted a ship to be used as a troop transport.

¹⁰Silver, either Spanish or "republican" dollars, or bullion was the principal item of import in American ships to China prior to the mushroom growth of the opium trade and the consequent development among drug dealers of a brisk demand for bills of exchange on London.

¹¹William G. Roelker and Clarkson A. Collins III, *One Hundred Years of Providence Washington Insurance Company, 1799-1949* (Providence, 1949) 59.

¹²Namely: Blackstone Manufacturing Co., Mendon, Mass.; Carrington Manufacturing Co., Cumberland; Lonsdale Manufacturing Co., Smithfield; Providence Manufacturing Co., Crompton; Sterling Manufacturing Co., Sterling, Conn.; Union Manufacturing Co., Johnston; Smith Manufacturing Co., and Wenscott Manufacturing Co.

lands in Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and South Carolina. As early as 1829 Carrington found it necessary to make a conditional conveyance of much of the Rhode Island property to his friends Benjamin and Thomas C. Hoppin in return for their agreement to endorse notes for him and one of his factories.¹³ He went deeply into debt to finance his foreign trade, especially that to China. By 1835 Carrington owed Timothy Wiggin, American banker in London, over one-third of a million dollars.

It was this debt, his endorsement of notes for other people, and his inability to liquidate his real estate and manufacturing holdings that crippled Carrington. These difficulties and the generally disturbed business atmosphere of the middle 1830s probably prevented Carrington from establishing what certainly would have become a major American fortune. The depression of 1837-43 completed the ruin of his hopes and health. To judge from his papers, Carrington spent most of his last eight years of life attempting to meet his creditors' demands and nursing his ailing stomach temporarily back to health. The letters of this period make most dismal reading.

Carrington did not die a poor man despite all his problems. In his later years he transferred much property to his son Edward II. Moreover, because he was able to compromise with most of his creditors, his family was left in comfortable, if not affluent, circumstances.

Beginning about 1835 the papers contain an increasing amount of material on Edward Carrington II. He worked briefly, and apparently without salary,¹⁴ in the countinghouse of Padelford, Fay, & Company at Savannah. His purpose in moving to Georgia seems to have been doubly educational; he went to learn countinghouse procedure and the complexities of the cotton trade.¹⁵

Edward II appears to have done rather well following his return to Providence, although his father probably exercised a commanding influence on his affairs. Indeed, Carrington Senior frequently made

¹³This firm was the Providence Mfg. Co. in Warwick, run by Benjamin Cozzens for Carrington. Upon the latter's death the *Providence Journal* (September 15, 1865), remarked of his association with Carrington that Cozzens had not been "of a temper to remain in a subordinate position." Whatever the case, he and Carrington did not long remain in business together, and Cozzens went bankrupt in 1837.

¹⁴E. Carrington, Providence, to Padelford, Fay & Co., Savannah, November 27, 1836.

¹⁵Same, December 26, 1836. Edward II left December 27 for Savannah but returned early the following year. By the following April Carrington's letters to his son in Savannah were coming back to Providence.

major substantive decisions¹⁶ in his son's name and even wrote letters for him to sign.¹⁷ Whatever the cause, the younger man seems to have prospered even after his father's death in 1843 until the depression of 1857, when he suffered some severe reverses and withdrew from all business whatever. The Hamlet Mill, which his father had carefully kept protected from all creditors, Edward II sold to Isaac M. Bull, his first cousin and business associate. Thereafter the papers consist of personal and legal documents almost exclusively. On Edward Carrington III, there is comparatively very little. Members of the family have said that he burned most of his records.

For the years 1799-1835, however, the papers are remarkably complete. From 1835 until the first Carrington's death in December, 1843, there is much material, although a number of outgoing letters are missing. The letterbooks break off quite abruptly in 1834. The collection is even spottier for the period from 1843 until Edward II retired from active business. Unlike his father the son was neither a business genius nor a methodical record keeper. He often employed his business record books for several purposes; he used the backs of incoming letters to compose his replies or for calculations, and he occasionally neglected to date his correspondence. Worst of all is his careless handwriting, which is sometimes undecipherable. Hence the later part of the collection is rather more confused and difficult to use.

The collection is notably complete and tightly organized for the earlier period. Certainly a very remarkable aspect of this section of the papers is its continuity. The documents present a relatively unbroken record of the economic development of Rhode Island in the first half of the nineteenth century. The collection tells the story of the transformation of the state from a largely mercantile community relying upon international trade into a vastly productive series of manufacturing communities linked by railroads and the sea trade to the markets and raw materials of the South and West. Finally, even among the driest of the business papers of Edward I are traces of the personal narrative—the exhilaration of success and the agony of failure of an extraordinarily gifted man.

¹⁶By 1841 Carrington wrote his nephew (and agent in China) "I write this letter in lieu of Edward's addressing you, and you will consider it and all others I write as supplying his correspondence." (E. Carrington, Providence, to Isaac M. Bull/ Canton/, November 12, 1841.)

¹⁷See especially Edward II's letters for 1838 and 1839. There are a number of drafts in his father's hand, although the letterbook copy is in the crabbed writing of the younger man. Occasionally instructions from Carrington Sr. are appended for his son's enlightenment.

JOHN SMITH, THE MILLER, OF PROVIDENCE,
RHODE ISLAND

SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS

by CHARLES WILLIAM FARNHAM

[continued from October, 1962, p. 135]

FIFTH GENERATION

34 CHARLES⁵ SMITH (*Philip*,⁴ *John*,³ *John*,² *John*¹) of Providence, miller, died in Providence 12 April 1752, and his tombstone in the Smith burial lot at North Burial Ground records his death at twenty-five years, nine months, and six days. He married 16 March 1750/1 Elizabeth Peck of Rehoboth, Massachusetts.²⁵⁸ Probably she was the Mrs. Elizabeth Smith whose marriage to Uriah Arnold 19 August 1754 is recorded in Providence marriages.²⁵⁹ The Ballou genealogy lists the marriage of Uriah Arnold, son of David and Bathsheba (Ballou) Arnold, to Elizabeth Peck, daughter of Nathan of Rehoboth, b. 6 August 1726, but does not provide a first marriage and assumes that Elizabeth died about 1749, an obvious error, for the year of marriage was 1754.²⁶⁰ Rehoboth vital records list the birth of Elizabeth, daughter of Nathan and Patience (Carpenter) Peck, in 1726,²⁶¹ and Providence births name two children of Uriah and Elizabeth Arnold: Elizabeth, b. 20 April 1756 and Daniel, b. 24 November 1758.²⁶²

Charles Smith was the last of the miller Smiths to operate the grist mill in Providence set up by the original John Smith, the miller. After Charles's death as a young man the property was claimed by his first cousin, Martha Brown, daughter of John⁴ and Deborah (Angell) Smith and wife of Deputy Governor Elisha Brown, as the next legal kin. Thereafter it fell into Brown hands and remained in that family for many years.

The story of Charles's financial troubles, his death after a brief illness, and the quick move to claim the Smith holdings is set forth in a suit brought in the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, Providence, in the June term 1752.

²⁵⁸Arnold, *Vital Record of Rehoboth*, p. 499.

²⁵⁹Arnold, *op. cit.*

²⁶⁰Adin Ballou, *An Elaborate History and Genealogy of the Ballous in America . . .*, (Providence 1888), p. 107.

²⁶¹Arnold, *Vital Records of Rehoboth*, p. 705

²⁶²Arnold, *op. cit.*, 2:210.

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John Smith, the Miller, of Providence

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The suit of Elisha and Martha (Smith) Brown named as defendants Hannah Smith (widow of John³); Sarah Smith (Sarah Olney, mother of Charles and widow of Philip); Elizabeth Smith, widow of Charles; Mercy McClellan, widow, of Providence, who as earlier mentioned is presumed to be the widow of Humphrey McClellan and daughter of John Smith³; Elnathan Walker, fuller; and Obadiah Brown of Providence, whose connection with the case has not been discovered.

The plaintiffs, in an action of trespass and ejectment, alleged that on 10 April 1752 Charles Smith was seized in his own right in fee simple of about fifty acres of land in Providence, together with two dwelling houses, one grist mill, one fulling mill, one press house, and one chocolate mill, the land being bounded on the north, west and south by highways, on the east partly on land owned by the plaintiff, Elisha Brown, and Daniel Smith (son of Benjamin³), partly with Edward Thurber's land, partly with Thomas Owen's land, and partly with Mill River, the properties being known by the name of the Providence Mill.

The declaration continued that Charles died 12 April 1752 without issue and intestate. It added that Martha Brown was the only issue of John Smith, deceased, who was the eldest brother of Philip Smith, father of Charles, and was the nearest heir-at-law to Charles Smith. She became rightfully seized of the property of Charles at his death, it was claimed, and continued to hold the property until 20 May 1752 when the defendants with force and arms took the property and withheld it, to the plaintiffs' damage of ten thousand pounds.

The suit was tried at great length and with many depositions offered by friends and relatives of the principals. The situation was this: Charles Smith was critically ill shortly before the day he died, and witnesses told of visiting him and inquiring whether or not he had made a will, pointing out that unless he did, Elizabeth, his wife of eleven months, would lose the handsome dowry she had brought to the marriage. Charles was in deep financial difficulties, and his friends feared that if he died without a will, his wife would be left penniless. There was also some anxiety expressed that Hannah Smith, widow of Charles's grandfather, John³ might gain possession of the property.

Testimony was presented that Charles was finally prevailed upon to make a will. It stated that he gave all his lands, buildings and

movable goods to his wife Elizabeth excepting the thirds belonging to his grandmother, Hannah Smith, and his mother, Sarah Smith, during their natural life, but in case his wife should marry again after his decease, he ordered that she should have the full one-half of his lands and buildings and movable estate. He bequeathed the other half of the lands and buildings and movable estate to his mother, Sarah Smith, in case his widow remarried, but in case his mother should die before his widow remarried, he then ordered that what he had given to his mother should descend to his own rightful heirs. The will, made 10 April 1752, named his wife executrix.

The crux of the case was whether or not Charles was capable of making a will in his critical condition. A slip of paper with the jury's findings stated: "We find the will of Charles Smith not to be a lawful will. We therefore disannul and make void the same, and find for the plaintiffs ye land sued for, with ye buildings standing thereon, together with the costs of the case." Scratched out was the line "the rights of dower only excepted."

The Browns' court victory was briefly marred by the birth of a son, Charles Philip Smith, on 1 December of the same year to Charles Smith, miller, deceased, and Elizabeth.²⁶³ He lived but a short time, however, and was buried beside his father in North Burial Ground. The rights to the mill property by court action then returned to the Browns. A provision made in the will of Martha Brown for Charles Smith, "reputed son of Charles by Sarah Nash," was evidently a move to prevent a legal claim to the estate on the part of an illegitimate son.

Since Charles had been deeply in debt, a series of court actions by John Anthony Angell, Gideon Tripp, Sarah Nash, Richard Coman, Ezra Olney and Thomas Angell, son of Hope, were brought in the Common Pleas court, December 1753 term, against the infant Charles Philip Smith, which came to naught because of the child's death. On 11 June 1754 Elisha Brown and Charles's cousin, Daniel Smith, distiller, gave bond to Elizabeth, Charles's widow, for one thousand pounds with the condition that Elisha would discharge debts against the estate, holding on to the property, but clearing the way for the widow Elizabeth to collect accounts due her husband for her own use.

35 STEPHEN⁵ SMITH (*Israel*,⁴ *Joseph*,³ *John*,² *John*¹), the eldest child of Israel, was b. 6 May 1719; d. in Gloucester 7 July 1758,²⁶⁴

²⁶³*Ibid.*, 2:245.

²⁶⁴Gloucester Probate Book 1.

six days after the death of his mother, Elizabeth Smith. He died intestate and William Hawkins, grandson of said Elizabeth by her first marriage to William Hawkins, and Zebedee Hopkins, second husband of Ruth (Hawkins) Wade, widow of Nathaniel Wade and daughter of said Elizabeth, were named administrators, reporting an inventory of 842 pounds, 19 shillings, and 11 pence.

After Stephen's death Lt. William Hopkins appeared before the Gloucester Town Council as administrator for Stephen to report he had found places for binding out "some of Stephen's children" as follows: "Stephen Smith, an infant and son of the aforesaid Stephen, to be bound out to the said William (Hawkins) and said master to learn him to read and write and to give him two suits of clothes when of age."

"And Esek, son of the said Stephen, is to be put out to Zebedee Hopkins Jr. of this town (under the same conditions), and Peregrine, son of the said Stephen, is to be bound out to John Rounds of Scituate. . . ." At the same session Martha, under legal age and daughter of Stephen, deceased, appeared before the council to choose Abia Luther (Sr.) of Gloucester as her guardian.²⁶⁵

As earlier mentioned, the will of Joseph Smith, Stephen's grandfather, left to Stephen, Sr., all the farm and homestead house which belonged to Stephen's father, Israel Smith, deceased, excepting one-half to be shared by Stephen's mother while a widow.

On 9 July 1744 Joseph Smith deeded to grandson Stephen Smith a tract of sixty-three acres with dwelling house "where Stephen now dwells," bounded on the east by land of Robert Smith (Stephen's uncle) and land of Elisha Smith (his cousin), on the west by Nehemiah Man and on the north by land of Benjamin Smith (a cousin).²⁶⁶ Stephen Smith, "eldest son and heir of Israel Smith of Gloucester, deceased, on 28 November 1744 assigned rights to a tract that had belonged to his uncle, Joseph Smith of Providence, to Jeremy (Jeremiah) Smith, another uncle. The tract was on the east side of the bog meadow called Wenscott Meadow, adjoining the farm of John Brown."²⁶⁷

Another deed identifiable with Stephen is the transfer on 17 May 1755 of ten acres to Abia Luther for one hundred pounds, "the south-

²⁶⁵Gloucester Town Council Book 1.

²⁶⁶Gloucester Deeds, 3:48.

²⁶⁷Providence Deeds, 11:266.

west part of the farm where I dwell." The deed does not include the signature of Stephen's wife, signing off her dower rights.²⁶⁸ A search of Gloucester records has yielded no clue to her identity. It is likely she was not living at the time of Stephen's death, for she was not mentioned in the probate record for him.

CHILDREN OF STEPHEN⁵ SMITH:

- 82 I STEPHEN⁶ SMITH, JR. He lived in Gloucester until some time in the 1790s when he moved to Cooperstown, New York. His brother Esek was administrator of the estate of Obadiah Lewis, Jr., of Gloucester and in May 1796 petitioned to the General Assembly of Rhode Island for the sale of property of Obadiah, who had died in November 1793. The proceeds were to go to the wife and two children of Obadiah after debts were paid. In the petition Esek Smith stated he was own brother to the father of Obadiah Lewis's widow. He added that the widow had since remarried and with her husband and her two children had moved to Cooperstown where she had been joined by her father. Gloucester deeds are signed off by Mary as the wife of Obadiah Lewis.

Stephen Smith, Jr., deeded to his brother Esek of Gloucester on 9 December 1784 ten acres, the easterly part of the farm where Stephen lived. His wife Elizabeth yielded her dower rights.²⁶⁹ The marriage of Stephen Smith and Elizabeth Tincome, of Hezekiah Tincome (Tinkham) in Gloucester 27 October 1768 is recorded in Gloucester vital records.²⁷⁰

Stephen Jr. was a Revolutionary War soldier, serving with his brother Esek. Proof is lacking, but the index of Revolutionary War pension applicants includes a Stephen Smith whose wife was Elizabeth and who died 11 November 1845 at Morristown, St. Lawrence County, New York.²⁷¹ He might have been Stephen Jr. A son of Esek Smith, Arnold Smith, had moved to Morristown in the early 1800s.

- 83 II ESEK⁶ SMITH, a soldier of the Revolution, was born in Gloucester, but the first public record of him was in 1758 when he was bound out to Zebedee Hopkins, Jr. A deposition made in Gloucester 6 October 1836 by his widow, Renew Smith, in

applying for a pension on the Revolutionary War services of her husband, stated that Esek died 11 February 1817. Their son George Smith confirmed the date, adding that he died in Gloucester. No mention of Esek's death is found in Gloucester records, nor has a gravestone been found.

Renew's pension application stated she was married to Esek in Gloucester in November 1776. She was eighty-five when she made her declaration in 1836, which would place her natal year as 1751.²⁷² Despite extensive search Renew's parentage has not been established. The pension declaration included depositions of Obadiah Esten of Foster, Rhode Island, and his wife Joanna confirming the marriage and death dates of Esek and stating that Joanna was a sister of Renew. No record of Renew's death has been found. Her pension papers included a semi-annual allowance ending 4 March 1837, which may indicate her death date.

Possibly Esek was twice married, and Renew may have been his second wife. In an old genealogical record of the Owen family found at The Rhode Island Historical Society is listed the marriage of Abigail Smith, "daughter of Esek and Phebe Smith, born in 1770/1" to Oliver Owen. Her birthplace was given as Gloucester, and it was stated that she died at nineteen. If there was a first marriage, then "Esek Smith Jr." who appears in Gloucester deeds may have been a son by the first marriage.

Numerous Gloucester deeds for Esek indicate that Esek lived near his brother Stephen Jr. in the neighborhood of what is now Snake Hill Road and Paris Irons Road, in the south-central part of Gloucester, only a short distance from the northern borders of the adjoining towns of Scituate and Foster. His last transaction was recorded 13 Sept. 1804 when he sold to Robert Steere of Gloucester for \$2,000 three tracts in Gloucester.²⁷³ One of fifty acres with dwelling house and barns abutted William Page and Elizabeth Hawkins; the second was eight acres on the south side of South Killingly Road (Snake Hill Road) abutting land Esek had sold to Capt. John Greene; and the third was of nine acres that Esek had bought from Rufus Steere, abutting land of William Page, Jordan Sprague, and the land of the late Abia Luther (Sr.) deceased.

²⁷²*Ibid.*, W12976.

²⁷³Gloucester Deeds, 12:2.

²⁶⁸Gloucester Deeds, 5:480. ²⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 11:51. ²⁷⁰Arnold, *op. cit.*, 3:34.

²⁷¹Index of Rev. War Pension Applicants, R9728.

The following Revolutionary War service of Esek is abstracted from the official record in the National Archives in Washington: 1776 — Esek enlisted in Col. Nathaniel Blackman's Company, Col. Christopher Lippitt, as a private in the Rhode Island line of Continental troops, along with his brother Stephen Jr., and served in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, covering a period of six months; 1777 — several tours of duty as a private in Rhode Island militia, including the month of June at Warwick, Rhode Island, with Ensign Caleb Sheldon, Col. Chad Brown, and quartered for the winter in Providence; 1778 — private in Col. Chad Brown's regiment in General Sullivan's expedition to Newport.

CHILDREN OF ESEK⁶ AND RENEW SMITH:

- 1 ARNOLD⁷ SMITH was born in Glocester 1 Aug. 1779, and his birth recorded by his mother 24 Sept. 1800 when Arnold was twenty-one.²⁷⁴ He is identified in suits over debts brought against him in the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, Providence, as a cooper. He settled in Morristown, St. Lawrence County, New York, in 1808 where he kept the first public house. Later he moved to nearby Hammond, New York, where he held land from about 1812. He was the second postmaster of Hammond in 1824 and served as town clerk in 1833 and 1834.

The National Archives in Washington has a land bounty claim of Mercy Smith, widow of Arnold, on his services in the War of 1812. The claim, which was disallowed, stated Arnold Smith served fourteen days in the engineer service in October 1813 and that he died in Hammond on 21 March 1852. Her declaration, made 19 April 1855, stated that she was eighty and a resident of Hammond. It added that she was married to Arnold Smith in Glocester, Rhode Island, in March 1800 by one Waide (probably Wade), justice of peace, and that her maiden name was Mercy Dexter. Probably Mercy was the daughter of Gideon and Frelove Dexter and granddaughter of Peleg Dexter, all of Glocester. The heirs of Gideon Dexter on 1 Jan. 1796 sold a tract owned by Gideon to a neighbor, Charles Smith of Foster, Rhode Island, with the heirs identified

as sons William and Edward Dexter and daughters Joanna, Mercy, and Frelove, a minor, with the widow Frelove yielding her dower rights.²⁷⁵

There are numerous deeds in Glocester for Arnold. His wife was a signer on 2 March 1805 when Arnold quitclaimed to his brother George rights in a one-acre lot with buildings on South Killingly Road, which he and George had jointly purchased earlier from Benjamin Potter.²⁷⁶

Arnold's signature to a promissory note made in 1800 (among the documents in a Common Pleas Court suit in Providence) and his signatures while town clerk of Hammond in 1834 bear a close resemblance.

The gravestones for Arnold and Mercy have not been located in Hammond. Their children were Harriet (Smith) Blackmon, Charlotte (Smith) Dygert, Catherine Smith, and Chauncey Smith. Arnold and Mercy were great-great grandparents of Arnold Smith of Charlottesville, Virginia.

- 2 GEORGE⁷ SMITH gave his age as fifty-five years in 1836 when he made his deposition in support of the pension application of his mother, Renew Smith, stating that he was a resident of Glocester. While the birth of his brother Arnold was recorded in Glocester vital records, he was not listed. The marriage of George Smith, of Esek, and Phebe Wade of widow Mary Wade (widow of Zebulon Wade) was recorded in Glocester vital records 4 Aug. 1805.²⁷⁷ No children for George and Phebe were recorded.

A number of Glocester deeds in which the wife Phebe yielded her dower rights are on record. The last deed found for George with Phebe as a signer was on 29 June 1825 when he sold to Jeremiah Patterson the farm he had purchased from William Wood, called the Zeno Sprague farm.²⁷⁸ No death record for George or his wife Phebe has been found in Glocester. A George Smith is listed in the 1840 Glocester census, but no George appears in the 1850 census.

There is a possibility that Esek Smith may have had another daughter. Glocester probate records the appointment of George Smith of Glocester as guardian

²⁷⁴Glocester Births, 1:181.

²⁷⁵Glocester Deeds, 13:259.

²⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 15:475.

²⁷⁷Glocester Marriage Book 1:206.

²⁷⁸Glocester Deeds, 19:327.

for Smith, Wilmarth, Almira, and John Phillips. On 12 Dec. 1814 Martha Phillips, widow of John, appeared before Gloucester Town Council to take over the guardianship of her children, named above, with George Smith as surety.²⁷⁹ Presumably there was some family tie with George, and the fact that the first child was Smith Phillips would strengthen the assumption.

III PEREGRINE⁶ SMITH, bound out to John Round of Scituate, Rhode Island, after the death of his father, married 1 Jan. 1778 Zerviah Eddy of Peter and Mary (Round) Eddy in Scituate.²⁸⁰ He died, probably in Ira, Vermont, 20 March 1813.

His widow, who married second Joseph Tower, stated in her claim for a pension on the Revolutionary War services of Peregrine that he enlisted from Scituate in April 1775 for nine months under Capt. Isaac Hopkins in Col. Hitchcock's regiment. He was with Capt. Hopkins in the fall of 1777 and for the month of October 1778 served with Capt. Tourtellotte. Her declaration stated that she was born in 1756.²⁸¹

Children of Peregrine and Zerviah Smith, listed in the Eddy genealogy, included JOHN; JAMES, who married Hannah of James and Mary (Salisbury) Eddy; JOB; LEVI; ARNOLD; and POLLY. The family moved from Scituate to Vermont, where they lived in Clarendon, Pittsford, and Ira.²⁸²

Providence deeds include one recorded 4 April 1816 in which John Eddy and John Smith, son of Peregrine Smith, both of Foster, for \$50 paid by Oziel Hopkins, quitclaimed to Oziel a lot and building abutting Samuel W. Bridgham, Tristram Burgess, and Othniel Tripp, the same that George Brownell with Oziel Hopkins bought of Daniel Eddy of Foster in July 1806. Hannah, wife of John Smith, and Sarah, wife of John Eddy, yielded dower rights.²⁸³

IV MARTHA⁶ SMITH, it will be remembered, chose Abia Luther, Sr., of Gloucester as her guardian after the death of her father. Gloucester marriage records list the marriage on 29 Oct. 1758 of Abia Luther (Jr.) and Martha Smith.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁹Glocester Town Council, 2:528. ²⁸⁰Arnold, Scituate Marriages, 3:28.

²⁸¹Pension Book 65, Rhode Island State Archives.

²⁸²Ruth Story Devereux Eddy, *The Eddy Family in America . . .*, (Boston 1930), p. 147.

²⁸³Providence Deeds, 39:153. ²⁸⁴Glocester Marriages, 1:132.

There can be little doubt but she was the Martha who had been placed under the guardianship of Abia Jr.'s father.

Abia Luther of Gloucester sold to David Cowen of Gloucester for 1400 silver dollars on 10 Oct. 1797 a farm of eighty-two acres "where I live," abutting George Bowen, William Wade, and John Hawkins. His wife Martha yielded dower rights.²⁸⁵ Doubtless this sale was the signal for Abia's removal from Gloucester.

On 24 Sept. 1804 Abia Luther, "late of Gloucester and now of Hartwick, Otsego County, New York," sold to Nicholas Tucker of Gloucester for \$200 one-half part of a tract of 366 acres, the same tract Abia purchased from Benjamin Colwell.

Another deed 20 Aug. 1794 reveals the names of two sons of Abia and Martha. Squire Luther sold to Jeremiah Sweet of Gloucester "the lot that my honored father, Abia Luther Jr., gave to my brother Joshua Luther, by deed of gift, and is the same that Abia Jr. bought of Simeon Sweet."²⁸⁶

No children for Abia Jr. and Martha were recorded in Gloucester.

²⁸⁵Glocester Deeds, 15:444.

²⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 13:441.

[to be continued]

BOOK REVIEW

Moses Brown, Reluctant Reformer, by Mack Thompson, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, 1962, viii, 316 p., \$7.50.

If an institution, as Emerson said, is the lengthened shadow of one man, Moses Brown was, and still is, a man of many shadows, in which he has for too long been hidden. Only one institution in Providence bears his name, and yet both city and state are in no small measure indebted to him. From his mid-teen apprenticeship in his uncle's business until his death a few days before his ninety-eighth birthday, his services to town, state, and country were innumerable. Besides being a founder of several cultural societies, he was a champion of the cause of public education. His determined efforts, with those of others, brought Rhode Island College (Brown University) to Providence. He was a leader, almost a one-man development council, in promoting new industries, scientific farming, banking, and public sanitation and health. His work over many years to abolish the slave trade and his devotion to the cause of the freed Negro made him a leader in the anti-slavery movement not only in Rhode Island, but throughout New England.

It is this record, here barely suggested, which Dr. Mack Thompson, formerly of the history department of Brown University and now chairman of the humanities division of the University of California, presents in sufficient detail in his excellent biography, *Moses Brown, Reluctant Reformer*. As the title suggests, however, the book is more than an account of Moses Brown's works. It is also the story of his search for peace of mind and of his efforts to reconcile his spiritual needs with his worldly interests. For in 1774, after more than two years of spiritual travail following the death of his beloved wife, this enterprising, prosperous business man, this grandson of a Baptist minister and descendant of several generations of Baptists, sought and was granted refuge in the Society of Friends. He was nearly thirty-six years old.

Why did Moses Brown break with his family and his church, and what effects did his conversion to Quakerism have on his career? In answering these key questions Dr. Thompson gives us an interpretation of Moses Brown that is both moving and convincing.

Moses' conversion and the rest of his life, as Dr. Thompson tells us, were all of a piece with all that had gone before. For a while he withdrew from the affairs of the world, but not for long. He could not reconcile withdrawal with disapproval. Strong in him, as in his family line, was a sense of social responsibility, which was also in the Quaker tradition. With his new-found bearings, he went on to do great humanitarian work throughout the Revolution and to become "one of America's great humanitarians." In his years of study of Quaker writings he had found, not a program of action, but principles of conduct.

If we wish to understand why Moses Brown has remained for over a century in the shadow of his work, why this is the first well-rounded biography of the man, the answer is in Dr. Thompson's closing tribute: "If the desire for fortune was not present in Moses, neither was the desire for fame. There are those rare individuals who can work tirelessly and successfully for no other reason than a feeling of responsibility and a genuine love for mankind. Moses Brown was such a man."

Dr. Thompson's work is thorough, scholarly, well-written and admirably planned. It presents a warm portrait of a great, good man who deserves to be known, remembered, and honored — especially by the people of Rhode Island. Moses Brown School

WILLIAM PAXTON

EXHIBITIONS

January 13, 1963 to February 27, 1963

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PROVIDENCE DECORATIVE ARTS

Arranged by the Consultant Committee of the Providence Preservation Society

* * *

March 3, 1963 to April 10, 1963

NINETEENTH CENTURY CHINA TRADE GOODS

Arranged by the Study Group of the Pottery and Porcelain Club

NEWS — NOTES

The Consultant Group of the Providence Preservation Society has set up in our exhibition room a showing of EIGHTEENTH CENTURY DECORATIVE ARTS. The exhibition, illustrating the period of Dr. Sweeney's talk on *Rhode Island at Winterthur* to be given at the Society's headquarters on February 17, will be on view throughout the month.

From September through October the oil painting of GENERAL BURNSIDE AND HIS STAFF by Moses Wight was on loan to the Washington County Museum at Hagerstown, Maryland. The exhibition was the museum's contribution to the Centennial Commemoration of the Battle of Antietam and the Bicentennial of the founding of Hagerstown.

An exhibition, ALVAN FISHER, 1792-1863, AMERICAN PIONEER IN LANDSCAPE AND GENRE, has been prepared and arranged by Robert C. Vose, Jr., of Vose Galleries of Boston. The exhibition may be seen at The Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford through January 30, 1963, after which it will be moved in its entirety to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, where it may be seen from February 28 through April 7, 1963. The Rhode Island Historical Society has lent for the exhibition PROVIDENCE COVE, which Fisher painted for the Reverend T. D. Carlisle in 1818. After Carlisle's death it was bought by Charles H. Russell and placed on board a steamboat running between New York and Providence. It was left to the Society by Roswell E. Lockwood.

In order to protect John Brown House and its irreplaceable contents from possible destruction by fire, a sprinkler system has been installed. After much consideration it was decided not to extend the system to the vault, which houses the Society's invaluable manuscript collections. The vault itself is fireproof, but to avoid any chance of damage it will hereafter be closed to all except staff members.

Mrs. William B. Robinson has taken on the duties of secretary in the first floor office.

Mr. David C. Fenner of North Falmouth, Massachusetts, has given to the Society a collection of material relating to the ancient Fenner family of Rhode Island. Included are a fine portrait of his great great grandfather, Thomas Fenner (1773-1852), and a late eighteenth century maple desk in which the secondary wood is chestnut, indicating a Rhode Island origin.

Mr. John H. Wells continues his fine work of indexing the Rhode Island census of 1865. In addition to the towns listed in the July issue of *Rhode Island History* [v. 21, no. 3, inside front cover] he has completed Burrillville, Foster, Glocester, Johnston, and Scituate; at present he is working on Smithfield. The volunteer service of other members would be welcome on similar projects.

An unusual gift to the Society is the arms chest of the famous Brown and Ives ship *Ann and Hope*, received from the estate of Horace G. Belcher. It is made of pine, is five and a half feet long, nineteen inches across the top, and eighteen inches deep. The front bears the carved inscription "Ann & Hope Arm Chest."

Oliver Hazard Perry's certificate of membership in the Newport Marine Society, an important addition to our Perry material, has recently been purchased.

Annual Meeting for Members

January 20, 1963

Sunday

2.30 p.m.

NEW MEMBERS

September 10, 1962 to December 10, 1962

Captain Frank C. Acker, U.S.N. (Ret.)	Mr. Julian H. Hanks Slocum, R. I.
Mrs. Frank C. Acker	Mr. Zenas J. Kevorkian Cranston, R. I.
Mr. Charles W. Briggs, Jr. Rumford, R. I.	Mr. Harry Kizirian
Mrs. Charles W. Briggs, Jr. Rumford, R. I.	Mr. Raymond A. Parker
Mr. Frank G. Briggs Coventry, R. I.	Mrs. Raymond A. Parker
Mrs. Frank G. Briggs Coventry, R. I.	Mr. Frederick A. Peirce Rumford, R. I.
Mr. Harry A. Britt Barrington, R. I.	Mr. Italo L. Pellini
Mr. John M. Bumsted	Mr. Raymond Anthony Perry Cranston, R. I.
Mrs. Alfred L. Curry Greenville, R. I.	Miss Marion W. Ricketson Rumford, R. I.
Mrs. Vincent R. Deignan, Jr.	Mr. Lee L. Verstandig
Mr. Ralph W. Dexter Pawtucket, R. I.	Mr. George L. Walling Austin, Texas
Mr. George A. Flynn	Mrs. Gilbert W. Warren Rumford, R. I.
Mr. Frederick R. Griffiths	Mr. Grafton H. Willey, III Barrington, R. I.

LECTURES

January 20, 1963

Sunday

3.30 p.m.

The Independent Historical Society

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

* * *

February 17, 1963

Sunday

3.30 p.m.

Rhode Island at Wintertthur

JOHN A. H. SWEENEY

* * *

March 17, 1963

Sunday

3:30 p.m.

Edward Carrington, China Trader

JACQUES M. DOWNS