TO THE PUBLIC.

THERE has been a demand from time to time for a list of the names of those who have patronized the collection and contributed to the support of the library. These names are not in the catalogue, and the list is not complete. Some names are omitted, and some are incorrect. This list is not exhaustive, and it is not intended to be exhaustive. It is meant to serve as a guide to those who wish to contribute to the support of the library.

TO ALL WHO ARE DISPOSED TO PROMOTE THE INTERESTS OF THE LIBRARY, THE SOCIETY, AND THE CAUSE OF KNOWLEDGE.

We beg to announce that the library is now open to the public, and that all who wish to use it are welcome. The library is open from 9 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock in the evening.

Edward E. Andrews, Providence College.

"To the Public," the published 1773 design of Samuel Hopkins and Ezra Stiles named Bristol Yamma and John Quamine as missionaries. (American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.)

From Slavery to Freedom in Revolutionary Rhode Island

An introduction by Edward E. Andrews

IT WAS NOT UNTIL 1947 THAT PRINCETON University conferred an undergraduate degree upon a person of African descent. In that year, John Leroy Howard, James Everett Ward, and Arthur Jewell Wilson, Jr., all of whom had been admitted as part of a Naval training program during World War II several years before, received their undergraduate degrees. But they were not the first black students to be trained on that campus. Well before Princeton was a university, before it was called Princeton, and even before the United States existed as a nation, black students were on the grounds and in the halls of that college. Bristol Yamma and John Quamine, former African slaves who received their freedom in the early 1700s, were sent to The College of New Jersey on the eve of the Revolution in order to be trained to become Christian missionaries to Africa. Yamma and Quamine were not traditional, matriculating students, but rather personal pupils of the college president, John Witherspoon. At the behest of two Newport Congregationalists ministers named Rev. Samuel Hopkins and Rev. Ezra Stiles, Witherspoon agreed to participate in this compelling missionary scheme to educate two former slaves from Africa so that they could spread the gospel in their homeland. The American Revolution cut the mission short and unfortunately took Quamine's life, as he died aboard a privateer's ship in 1779. Nevertheless, the history of this fascinating mission, and more importantly the lives and experiences of the men who led it, is undoubtedly deserving of further exploration.

Quamine and Yamma are not completely obscure figures for scholars of early America. These two men, members of the first congregation in Newport, Rhode Island, named Bridget Yamma and John Quamine, who have been partially converted some years ago, and have been at that time instructed in the practice of a good Christian life, and have made good progress in Christian knowledge. The latter is son of a rich man at Annamasee, and was sent by his father to this place for an education among the English, and to return home with the profit one to whom he was committed to perform, for a good reward. But instead of being faithful to his trust, he told him a lie for hire. But God in his providence has put him in the power of both of them to obtain their freedom. They paid in part of the 500 dollars, which drew a prize of 300 dollars. With this, and some other money, they have purchased their freedom.

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and family genealogies, has assiduously and relentlessly tracked down virtually every local printed and archival scrap to illuminate the historical landscape in which these two men lived. Perhaps more importantly, Bamberg has attempted to help us more clearly envision the social world they inhabited. Her article makes it quite clear that Revolutionary Rhode Island was simultaneously shaped by sweeping and extensive transatlantic networks as well as by intimate, local, community connections. It should become the new starting point for any scholar interested in the lives of Bristol Yamma and John Quamine, and it helps pave the way for future researchers who want to understand the nature of black life in Newport and the social landscape that these people inhabited.
Bristol Yamma and John Quamine in Rhode Island

CHERRY FLETCHER BAMBERG

In August 1773, in the midst of pre-revolutionary turmoil, Newport Congregational ministers Reverend Samuel Hopkins and a somewhat reluctant Reverend Ezra Stiles published a pamphlet titled *To the Public* that had nothing at all to do with the politics of the day. They described a “Mission plan” or “design” to use free, educated men born in Africa, fluent in their native language, to spread Christianity in Africa. It was not a resettlement plan, nor was it overtly aimed at ending the slave trade or freeing American slaves. The idea of the mission as compensation for the “iniquity of the slave trade” was mentioned only briefly near the end of the prospectus.
To the Public was quite concrete: it named "two Negro men, members of the first Congregational church in Newport, Bristol Yamma and John Quamine," as the first missionaries. The little pamphlet described how John Quamine came to America, how he and Bristol Yamma were converted, their "good character as Christians," and their use of lottery winnings to buy their freedom. It appealed for money to clear their debts and to support the effort "to send the gospel to Guinea." The proposal rippled across the Atlantic world. While the plan ultimately connected people on three continents, most of the principals, black and white, lived and worshiped within fifteen minutes' walk of each other, some even closer, in the vibrant pre-Revolutionary world of Newport. Generations of scholars have studied the cultural, religious, and racial ramifications of the "mission design" that extend far beyond Newport. This article narrows the focus to the genesis of the 1773 mission design, the attempt to bring it into fruition, and especially, the lives of two involuntary Rhode Islanders, John Quamine and Bristol Yamma, who were selected to be the first missionaries.

The clerics behind the publication, Ezra Stiles and Samuel Hopkins, stand out among the diverse and fascinating residents of Newport before the Revolution. Both were born in Connecticut, and both were Yale graduates. Both had owned slaves; indeed, Ezra Stiles still did so at the time of the mission design. Reverend Samuel Hopkins (1721−1802), Yale 1741, was a relative newcomer in Newport when the idea of sending former slaves to Africa as missionaries dawned on him. A "New Light" minister and disciple of Jonathan Edwards, he had been called to the pulpit of the First Congregational Church with some controversy in April 1770, following the dismissal of the previous pastor, Reverend William Vinal, for alcoholism. This call came at a time when Hopkins, having himself been dismissed from his previous church in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, was contemplating a return to farming to support his wife and eight children. Hopkins arrived in Newport to find that the church included numerous slaves who had been taught by parishioner Sarah Osborn. She ran a school in her house that attracted students from far outside Newport, but for a time she also offered free classes on Sunday evenings for blacks, consisting principally of Bible stories and lectures on her deeply felt Christianity. Hopkins's thoughts about the plan and the people involved appear in his letters and published writings, but most clearly in his unpublished "Narrative." He saw the effort as part of God's plan. His "Narrative" begins, "God in his providence ordered it that two negroes should be brought to Newport from Guinea some years ago..." and the opening of every door, a recurrent image, is attributed to God's agency.

While younger than Hopkins, Ezra Stiles (1727−1795), Yale 1746, had been comfortably established in Newport as minister of Newport's Second Congregational Church since 1755. He read Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic—not just knew how to read the languages but regularly read complex religious documents in them. Stiles tended his flock with sermons, study groups, careful observation, and family visits at the same time that he corresponded with clergy of many denominations, not just in New England but around the world. He served as librarian of Newport's Redwood Library. Best of all, Stiles wrote down almost everything that he did or observed or thought. His Literary Diary and Itineraries offer invaluable insights into his world. His church records at Newport Historical Society Library contain a wealth of details down to such minutiae as attendance charts at services. The leading intellectual of Newport, Stiles had the reputation and international connections to lend credibility to the mission plan, if only he agreed. Consent was by no means assured. Ezra Stiles had deep reservations about the mercurial Samuel Hopkins. His diary is full of acerbic comments on Hopkins's unconventional start in Newport—for example, performing the Lord's Supper before being installed—and his "singularities" as to religion.

Before broaching the subject of the mission plan to Stiles, Samuel Hopkins tried to resolve some of the practical details for himself. He wrote an exploratory letter that was delivered to Rev. Philip Quaque at Cape Coast Castle in Guinea by Capt. John Toman on March 22, 1773. Quaque seemed uniquely positioned to advise. African-born and educated for ministry in England at the expense of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, an Anglican missionary organization, he was actively working at Cape Coast Castle near Annamaboe. Hopkins peppered him with questions. What were conditions like? Would the missionaries be safe? How much money would they need? Could Quaque help? Stiles had foreseen "vigorous opposition," but even he...
could not have imagined the extent of the problems detailed in Philip Quaqua’s gracious yet blunt response to Hopkins written on May 19, 1773. Philip Quaqua used terms (italicized for emphasis) such as savage, villainous, revengeful, malicious, and blood-thirsty to describe the Fante people of Annamaboe and its surroundings. The missionaries would likely be enticed into debaucheries and certainly bankrupted by “welcomes” at which they would be expected to provide gifts. Utterly dependent on the support of his friends in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in England, Quaqua himself would be unable to help the Newport missionaries. Quaqua’s letter should have raised serious doubts, even in such a passionate advocate as Hopkins, but his answer did not reach Newport until after the plan was already under way.

The lives of the two proposed missionaries, John Quauma and Bristol Yamma, are harder to trace than those of the renowned Hopkins, Osborn, and Stiles. Like most enslaved people in Rhode Island they left no vital records, deeds, probate, or newspaper evidence, scant census data and few gravestones. The one original document written by either man—Bristol Yamma’s letter to Moses Brown—is missing from the Rhode Island Historical Society Library. What we learn of Yamma and Quauma up to their selection for mission comes from the observations of Newports, based on what Yamma and Quauma told them, and in John Quauma’s case, on letters from Africa. Such documentary evidence as has been found lies principally in the records of the First and Second Congregational Churches of Newport.

The search is further complicated by naming conventions surrounding slavery. Quauma and Yamma had African names before arriving in Newport. These names were adapted for the slave status (typically a slave was called by a first name only, but his surname was that of his owner) and then often changed again with freedom. Hopkins explained one of these sequences: “The Negro name of the other is Yamma (now called Bristol Yamma),” omitting the intermediate stage of Bristol Coggsheal. When freed, Quauma / Quaun / Quamina / Quamin or Quamino. The changes were unofficial, and contemporaries were not necessarily consistent in their use of names. Then, too, the men’s wives, like all enslaved women, bore the surnames of their owners rather than those of their husbands. Thus, John Quauma’s wife Dutchess was known in Newport as Dutchess Channing until she was freed after John’s death, and a doctor’s account twenty years later still used that name. Children, seen as the property of the master’s master, also bore that family surname during slavery.

John Quauma’s history was a matter of great interest to Samuel Hopkins and Ezra Stiles. They were curious to find out where he was born, who his people were, and how he came to Newport. The background mattered to his potential as a missionary to Africa and showed where he might have the most influence. What we know of his childhood comes most clearly from Ezra Stiles. At Hopkins’s request, he interviewed “Quoam” on Sunday evening, April 11, 1773. Although Stiles never mentioned it in his diary, John Quauma, then about thirty, was no stranger to him. Between 1770 and 1772, Stiles had baptized John’s wife Dutchess and their two children, all the human property of his parishioner John Channing whom Stiles considered “an hospitable & generous friend.” Quaum did have a moving tale to tell: he said that he had been born into a wealthy family in Annamaboe on the African Gold Coast and that his father had sent him to Rhode Island in the care of an unnamed ship’s captain for education around 1754 or 1755 when he was ten years old. The desirous captain educated John Quauma briefly (very briefly as he was illiterate in the 1760s) and then sold him as a slave for life.

Remarkably, Samuel Hopkins was able to check this story. In response to Hopkins’s query, surely delivered by the captain of a Newport slave ship, Philip Quaqua at Cape Coast Castle near Annamaboe confirmed John Quauma’s African origins: “The minute account he entertains you with of his family and kindred is just.”
Quaque had met John Quamine's understandably overjoyed mother, although his father had died. Her exclamations of thanksgiving clearly show that she was a Christian: "It is enough! My son is yet alive! I hope, by God's blessing, to see him before I die." The family estates were in the hands of his "principal cousin," Ofree, "a great personage," who earnestly petitioned for Quaque's return. Hopkins was later able to inform Quaque that John Quamine had been brought to Rhode Island about nineteen years before by a Captain Linsey of Newport. Although Samuel Hopkins valued Bristol Yamna's faith more, we know details only of John Quamine's conversion. His interest in religion, first sparked in 1671 by Sarah Odom's teaching, led him on October 8, 1764, to dictate (as he still could not write) an account of his conversion to a female classmate to be given to Sarah Odom. His profession of faith led to his baptism in the First Congregational Church of Newport. On July 28, 1765, William Vinal wrote, "Bapt. & admitted Quamene Church serc of Capt. Benjamin Church." Benjamin Church was a distiller but also a prosperous farmer and landlord. In 1767, for example, he was taxed on three buildings, ten acres of land (a large holding for Newport), considerable livestock, and rental property valued at £808. Whether Benjamin Church was Quamine's one and only master has not been determined. Benjamin Church and Nathaniel Coggeshall, Jr., masters of John Quamine and Bristol Yamna respectively, had a family connection, and at least one slave, Cato Coggeshall, Jr., was transferred between the Coggeshall and Church families. No evidence has yet been discovered to prove that John Quiname also passed through the hands of the Coggeshalls into the Church family, but it remains a possibility.

Around 1769, John Quamine married Datchess Channing, who had been born in Africa ca. 1739. Of all the enslaved people in this story, Datchess is the easiest to trace. She belonged to the prominent Newport merchant John Channing and lived a comparatively long life. John's grandson, Reverend William Ellery Channing, the famous nineteenth-century Unitarian minister and abolitionist, wrote about her. Church records and gravestones fill the gap in vital records. Aside from those considerations, Dutchess was a colorful person who claimed royal ancestry in her homeland. Historians have written about her with varying accuracy, sometimes dismissing with slight notice her connection with John Quamine and the "mission design" so important to him.

William Ellery Channing's memoir of his father William Channing, written in 1841, first sparked interest in Dutchess: On one subject I think of his state of mind with sorrow. His father (John Channing), like most respectable merchants of that place, possessed slaves imported from Africa. They were the domestics of the family; and my father had no sensibility to the evil. I remember, however, with pleasure, the affectionate relationship which subsisted between him and the Africans (most of them aged) who continued to live with my grandfather. These were liberated after the Revolution, but nothing could remove them from their old home, where they rather ruled than served. One of the females used to speak of herself as the daughter of an African prince; and she certainly had much of the bearing of royalty. The dignity of her aspect and manner bespoke an uncommon woman. She was called Dutchess, probably on account of the rank she held in her own country. I knew her only after she was free and had an establishment of her own. Now and then she invited all the children of the various families with which she was connected to a party, and we were liberally feasted under her hospitable roof.

John Channing had grown up with slaves in the family. His mother's estate, which he administered in 1741, included a "nega woman" Phillis (£120) and her four-year-old son Caesar (£30). Not only did John Channing, like most affluent Newporters, own slaves himself, he was directly involved with buying and selling slaves. In May 1749, for example, Hugh McDaniel of Boston wrote to Channing asking about the "Negro
woman’ he had left with him. Had she sold yet? If not, could Channing please sell her at the best price he could get? John Channing’s papers at Newport Historical Society Library are included in the Papers of the American Slave Trade.

Like the Channings, Duchess belonged to the Second Congregational Church. She first appears in the church records of Ezra Stiles with the entry dated July 29, 1770: “Dutchess, Negro woman servant of John Channing, was publicly baptized & admitted into full Communion this afternoon.” The records show more than that Duchess was a religious woman. Ezra Stiles’s baptismal records for the five children of John and Duchess offer unique evidence of where Duchess was when they were born. The first three children, Betty, Charles, and Cynthia, were baptized at the church in Newport on September 2, 1770, January 26, 1772, and November 14, 1773, respectively, whereas Violet was baptized in Dighton, Massachusetts on June 16, 1776, and Katherine in Providence, Rhode Island on October 3, 1779.

Although Stiles specified that John Quamine was free in April 1773, the exact date of his manumission has not been established. Hopkins wrote that “his Master [Church] consented to give him his freedom, if he would add about 30 dollars to the 150; and if he would pay him the 150 now, he would set him at liberty & wait for the rest, till he could earn it.” Manumitting John Quamine seems to have been a business decision rather than an act of newly discovered conscience, in that Benjamin Church still owned two other slaves, a black man and a black woman, in 1774.

In raising money for the mission design, Bristol Yamma remained very much in the background compared to John Quamine, not because of any lesser intensity of his commitment, but because of his less compelling story. Bristol was for Hopkins the inspiration for the whole design, as he wrote in his “Narrative”:

I first got acquainted with Bristol and finding him more than common engaged in the things of religion; and remarkably steady, discerning and judicious, with respect to the nature of true religion, and the most important doctrines of the gospel; and that he yet retained his native language; and that Quamine spoke the same language with him, I conceived a strong desire that they [they] set to their native country, and preach the gospel to the people from which they sprang...”

Bristol Yamma had been a child slave in his own country, taken early enough in life that he remembered little of his family. Samuel Hopkins, writing to Rev. Philip Quaque in December 1773, explained:

The Negro name of the other is Yamma (now called Bristol Yamma). He is a Shuntoe [Asante]. Was born far up in ye Country, where I suppose ye chief body of that people live. Was taken captive when he was quite young by some neighbouring nation, and passed thro' several hands, before he got to ye sea at Annamaboe... He cannot give any particular account of his parents and ye family from which he sprung.

In his “Narrative” Hopkins expands slightly, noting that Bristol was from “the inland country, some hundreds of miles (as it is supposed) north of Annamaboe.”

Bristol had grown to manhood in Newport as the slave of Nathaniel Coggshall, Jr., a young merchant from an old Newfordin family. The 1767 estimate of his master’s rateable (taxable) estate showed significant wealth: one building with a lot, three slaves, 94 ounces of plate, four horses, one cow, £330 in money and trading stock, £292 10s. in rents, and £452 4s. in “rateables.” In 1772 Nathaniel Coggleshall, Jr., a merchant and importer of molasses, was assessed a tax of £3 8s., just slightly less than that paid by Benjamin Church, who then owned John Quamine.

Meticulous business records at Newport Historical Society show that Nathaniel Coggleshall, Jr., sold rum, wine, Madeira, tea, cider, chocolate, flour, sugar, pepper, ginger, nutmegs, mustard, lemons, as well as butter pots and chamber pots, candles, linen handkerchiefs, packs of cards, and sea coal. He also bought massive amounts of wood year round, presumably for use in his father’s distillery. When Nathaniel died in 1773 at the age of 44, the surviving fragment of his inventory reveals a luxurious house furnished with mahogany furniture, books and bookcases, a desk, tableware with silver and ivory handles, pewter and Delftware, punchbowls, a case for wine bottles, a picture, a carpet, a clock, and a globe in a mahogany case. The notes of hand alone were valued at more than £2,000. The house was twenty-four feet square with a fenced yard. It probably stood on the land Nathaniel had bought as a very young man. A generous lot by Newport standards, it had a fifty-foot frontage on the street and a depth of slightly more than one hundred feet. Whether Bristol lived in the elegant house itself is unknown, but Newport slaves commonly lived in outbuildings.

Nathaniel Coggleshall, Jr., and his family were committed members of the First Congregational Church long before Samuel Hopkins took over from the previous minister: William Vinal in 1770. Nathaniel’s father, also Nathaniel (“Deacon Coggleshall”), was a supporter of Sarah Osborn’s faction in the church. The younger Nathaniel had been a bit of a tearaway as a young man: he was disciplined by the First Congregational Church of Newport in 1757 for “loose vain and idle conversation” and swearing. He was by then on his third marriage and seems to have settled down soon after as father of a rapidly growing family. When he made his first will in 1765, Nathaniel Coggleshall, Jr., specified a bequest to...
Rev. Vinal of a suit of new clothes. His children were baptized in the church. Mingled with their baptism are those of Bristol Coggeshall, “colored servant” of Nathaniel, Jr., on July 10, 1768, and his daughter Venera on May 10, 1727, Phillips on November 13, 1776, and Jenny (the second of this name) on July 22, 1781. The absence of Samuel Hopkins from Newport and the closing of the church during the Revolution meant that children between Phillips and the second Jenny had to be baptized elsewhere. Ezra Stiles, who had been minister of the other Congregational church in Newport, baptized Bristol, Jr., and Ruth in Providence in 1779. First Congregational Church of Newport records are regrettably silent on Bristol’s marriage to Phillips North, which probably occurred between August 1688 and August 4, 1770 when no marriages appear in that church’s records.

Congregational church membership and slaveholding had not been seen as contradictory until Samuel Hopkins came to town. Church members, including Nathaniel Coggeshall, Sr., and his brother Thomas, had contributed to a fund, “To PURchase a Negro Boy to be Given to the Reverend Mr. Will Vinal,” in 1749. Like many distillers, Nathaniel Jr.’s family used a lot of slave labor. In 1774 Nathaniel’s father, “Deacon Nathaniel,” had nine blacks in his household: three men over sixteen, two boys, two women over sixteen, and three girls. Nathaniel’s brother, Billings Coggeshall, had ordered, “a Prince Man Slave” from Capt. Nathaniel Briggs as he set out for Africa in 1761. Sorting out the many branches of the white Coggeshall family in Newport is hard enough, but identifying Coggeshall slaves in Newport records—“Aunt Mereah” Coggeshall, Bacchus Coggeshall, Samuel Coggeshall, and Cash Coggeshall to name but a few—remains a complicated task for future scholars.

One of many impediments to the mission plan was that Bristol was still a slave as of April 8, 1773, when Stiles had carefully noted in his diary that John Quamime was a “free Negro,” and Bristol Yamma a “servant” (i. e., slave). By the time To the Public appeared in August 1773, Bristol Yamma had bought his freedom, partially with lottery winnings and partially with borrowed money. “God in his providence,” Hopkins said, had allowed Yamma and Quamime to win a shared lottery prize of $300. Bristol tried unsuccessfully to buy his freedom. In his “Narrative,” Hopkins said that “Bristol’s master utterly refused to free him on any condition whatsoever.” Hopkins did not give up and happily reported: “Not long after this Bristol’s Master was bro’t to consent to set him at liberty, if he were to deliver to him 200 dollars.” “Bro’t to consent” certainly suggests a lively session of pastoral counseling. Even with the one hundred and fifty dollars in lottery winnings, Bristol still needed fifty dollars. Hopkins said that he procured the money, Bristol promising to pay the debt with his labor. Why would a very wealthy family have insisted on that last fifty dollars from their earnest slave? We can speculate—that Bristol may have been too useful to release without a struggle or that the Coggeshalls feared the crippling of Newport’s economy—but there is no evidence as to motivation. Nathaniel Coggeshall, Jr., may have been too sick to make a decision. A week after To the Public was published—on September 6, 1773—he died in his forty-fifth year; Nathaniel’s widow Elizabeth died on December 16th, age forty-nine.

Moving back to the inception of mission design, let’s think about where it came from and how Hopkins convinced Stiles to back it. Samuel Hopkins had not come up with the idea of sending Africans back to Africa as missionaries completely on his own. John Quamime told Ezra Stiles that “ever since he tasted the Grace of the Lord Jesus he conceived a Thought and Earnest Desire or Wish that his Relations and Covenpeople in Africa might also come to a knowledge of and taste the same blesed Things.” Hopkins said that Bristol Yamma and John Quamime—after he approached them—told him that “before I came to Newport, they had talked of this matter between themselves.” The general idea was floating around the Atlantic world at the time. Hopkins, Osborn, and Stiles were well aware of the largely unsuccessful efforts of Native American missionaries in New England, Africa was a far more distant and dangerous place to spread the gospel. Although various young men had been taken from Africa to England and America for education, Philip Quaque was at the time the only African-born, theologically-trained Christian missionary in Africa.

Some obstacles did occur to the people involved. Ezra Stiles reacted very negatively the first time he heard of it, telling Hopkins that two men simply could not achieve his goals. He wrote in his diary:

I told him if 40 or 40 proper and well instructed Negroes could be procured, true Christians and inspired with the Spirit of Martyrdom and go forth and exposed ten or a dozen of them should meet Death in the Cause—and this conducted by a Society formed for the Purpose—there might be a hopeful prospect. But even this I feared would be taken up by the public and secularized...

An astute observer of politics in any situation Stiles also foresaw, long before the receipt of Quaque’s letter, “vigorous opposition” from Episcopalian traders at Cape Coast Castle and from Philip Quaque, the Anglican missionary with whom they had been in touch.

Despite his doubts, Ezra Stiles agreed to Hopkins’s request for him to meet with John Quamime in April 1773. It must have been a long evening in the Stiles house at 14 Clarke Street in Newport. The minister spent time evaluating John’s suitability for the project, listening to him read, finding out that he had only begun writing the previous winter, and talking to him about his convictions. Stiles had his doubts: “He is pretty judicious, but not communicative, and I am doubtful whether he would be apt to teach. He certainly wants much Improv’t to qualify him for the Gospel Ministry, if indeed such a thing were advisable. . .” Over the next few months, however, Stiles came reluctantly to support Hopkins’s project. In a letter in December 1773 he explained: “I confess God did not put it into my heart to originate this Design,” but when he reflected on the “injury & injustice” done Africans by the slave trade, he had “not a
Ezra Stiles’s house (now the Henderson home), 14 Clarke Street, Newport. Photograph by author, November 2014.


heart to oppose the least Attempt to carry the gospel among them.”

For all the fervor of Hopkins and the caution of Stiles, both men viewed Africans from their experiences with their own slaves and black people—free and enslaved—in their congregations. Both had followed Sarah Osborn’s example and taught religious classes for blacks in their homes after 1770. Forming a solid understanding of Guinea, never mind all of Africa, from the very mixed black population of Newport was, however, fraught with difficulties: the slaves had come from different places and different tribes at different times, some as children, some as adults. Neither minister had ever been to Africa’s Gold Coast, and the only other white people they knew who had been there were captains and crewmen on Newport slave ships. Capt. Pollipus Hammond, “a Guinea captain,” for example, belonged to the Second Congregational Church and was close to Stiles. Research materials on Africa that might have expanded their understanding were slim indeed in the Newport of 1773. Hopkins recommended that Phillis Wheatley look at “Guinea maps” and read Salmon’s Modern Gazetteer, a source that contains only a sentence or two on Cape Coast Castle and Annamaboe.

From this limited perspective neither seems to have considered the deep changes in the Africa the men left as children twenty years earlier. When they left Annamaboe, Cape Coast Castle had been an abandoned outpost, not a renovated fortress at the heart of the slave trade. Then there was the matter of language, “the language of a numerous, potent heathen nation in Guinea,” which Stiles and Hopkins rightly viewed as critical to the mission design. Philip Quaque’s significant problems in Cape Coast Castle, for example, were exacerbated by language problems—born a Fibu, he needed an interpreter for his preaching so as not to put off his Fante audience. His mission to Africa, in his own eyes and those of historians, was largely a failure. The linguistic problems of the Newport missionaries might, however, have gone beyond regional dialects: both Yamma and Quamine left Africa as children, with a child’s vocabulary that might have proved inadequate for the purpose of evangelism.

The sponsors were, frankly, somewhat cavalier about the families of the men. Rev. Samuel Hopkins and Rev. Ezra Stiles, who between them had baptized the eleven children in the two families by 1781, never mentioned Bristol Yamma and John Quamine as husbands and fathers in fund-raising or correspondences. These sources offer no suggestion that a wife accompany her husband on the mission. The silence is curious because Samuel Hopkins had wrestled with the problem at length. In July 1774 he wrote:

And as they [Bristol Yamma and John Quamine] were both married to professors of religion, who were slaves for life, and there was no way to obtain their liberty; and they had each of them a child, I particularly discussed the matter with them, and desired them to consider whether it was their duty, and they were willing to leave their wives and children in their situation and go to Guinea on the business proposed. They said if a door should be opened for them to go, they thought it was their duty, in such a case, to forsake wife and children and go and preach the gospel to the heathen heathen, leaving it with God to bring them back to their wives & children, or losing their wives and children to them, or not, as he should please to order. The silence about the families of the proposed missionaries engendered some curious ideas. John Thornton, the London benefactor of the young black poet Phillis Wheatley, suggested to her that she marry one of the two missionaries and go to Africa as part of the mission. Wheatley refused with wry humor, pointing out that she did not know them or the language of Annamaboe, but she never mentioned that the men were already married. It is true that married couples, one or both of whom were enslaved, did not often share households—John Quamine and his wife Dutchess Channing certainly did not—but the inadequate treatment of that aspect of their lives diminishes our understanding of their experience.
By the time Philip Quahe's discouraging letter arrived in Newport in September 1773, the die had been cast. Without hearing back, Hopkins and Stiles had circulated a "memorial" of the design in manuscript and then on August 30, 1773 published To the Public, an appeal for funding that outlined the project. Like successful abolitionist writings of the nineteenth century, it humanized the men by giving their names and telling their stories, especially that of John Quaumeine. The ministers did not publish To the Public in the local newspaper, The Newport Mercury, where it would have been seen mainly by Newporters, but as a separate flyer that could be mailed to any potential donor. It was printed by Solomon Southwick, the university-educated printer and publisher of the Mercury. The response was mixed. Money came in from sources far beyond Rhode Island, even from Scotland and London. The very first contribution, a substantial £8 3s. 4d. lawful money, was sent by a "religious society of women in Boston." Offers of moral support arrived. Phillis Wheatley, writing to Hopkins from Boston on February 7, 1774, promised "what I can do in influencing my Christian friends and acquaintance to promote this laudable design, shall not be lacking." Trenchant criticisms also came in. Dr. Charles Chauncy of Boston wrote hurlly Hopkins and Stiles in October 1773 that he thought that Quaumeine and Quaime should not be educated by Hopkins. Stiles wrote in his diary that Chauncy thought "the Negroes should better continue in Paganism than adopt Mr. H. scheme which he [Chauncy] judges far more blasphemous." By December 1773 John Quaume and Bristol Yamma were still in Newport, still waiting to be educated for ministry. No decision had been made about where they would happen. Stiles wrote on the 8th:

The Education of the 2 Negroes will probably be under Mr. Hopkins; he is willing & desirous that I should assist him therein, the which I shall be ready to do—... in that case the Superiority of his talents & influence will persuade the public that they are initiated in his scheme of Divinity. The matter however is undecided & Mr. Hopkins is very willing to be advised upon it & to have them sent abroad out of Newport for Education if this should be judged most expedient."

Writing on February 7, 1774 to Dr. Levi Hart in Preston, Connecticut, Hopkins seemed committed to education in Newport. He rejected a proposal to prepare them at Dartmouth, saying: "It is thought best the Negroes should continue at Newport as they can live cheaper here than elsewhere, and be instructed gratis." In the late summer they did go to live with "Mr. Hart," for two or three months, returning the last week in October. On November 21, 1774, the two men left for New Jersey for Congregational/Presbyterian theological training under John Witherspoon. The next day Ezra Stiles noted in his diary:

Yesterday Morning sailed from hence for New York in their Way to Princeton, Bristol Yamma & John Quaime two freed Negroes of this Town designed for an African Mission. We have sent them to reside sometime at Jersey College under the tuition of President Witherspoon.

Despite "a very severe Storm & high Wind—a very dangerous Gale," Stiles noted that the men arrived safely in New York. At Princeton, they did not attend classes with other students at Nassau Hall, but were privately tutored. Why Hopkins and Stiles, both Yale graduates, chose Witherspoon as a tutor is not entirely clear. His admiration for Jonathan Edwards undoubtedly appealed to Hopkins. The Reverend Doctor John Witherspoon had been recruited from his pupil in Scotland in 1766 and became president of Princeton only in 1768. His Scottish burr, which impeded his teaching of French, much have fallen strangely on the ears of his new pupils. Witherspoon did have Newport connections. He had stayed with Ezra Stiles on a fundraising trip in October 1770, and he had taught William Channing, Princeton 1769, whose family owned John Quaimeine's wife. Witherspoon's connections with the Scottish church undoubtedly paid a part in the large donation (£30) to the mission design from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in Edinburgh. Witherspoon was no abolitionist: he left two slaves in his will in 1794 and published instructions for masters on controlling their "servants." By the time Bristol Yamma and John Quaimeine arrived, Witherspoon was already preoccupied with his duties as a member of the Committee of Correspondence and later in the Continental Congress.

John Quaimeine and Bristol Yamma stayed in New Jersey just a few months in the winter of 1774–75. By February 21, 1775, Witherspoon was reporting to Hopkins that their money had run out. The two men were back in Newport probably by spring but certainly by early summer of 1775—John Quaimeine and his wife, a Newport slave who would not have been allowed to travel, had a daughter who was born in the spring of 1776. The Newport the men found on their return must have been almost unrecognizable as their home for decades. British ships, especially the Rose under Captain Wallace, shelled Newport and burned houses on Jamestown and Prudence Island in the fall of 1775. The blockaded harbor was empty of commercial vessels. On October 10, 1775, Ezra Stiles wrote poignantly echoing Lamentations, 1:1: "How does this Town sit solitary that once was full of People! I am not yet removed, altho' three quarters of my beloved Chh & Congregation are broken up and dispersed. Oh Jesus I commit them & myself to thy holy Keeping." His precious books, manuscripts, and furniture packed and sent away for safety since November 1775, Stiles spent the long, cold winter of 1775–76, "ready to depart at any Warning."

He rented a house in Dighton, Massachusetts in January and finally left Aquidneck Island on March 12, 1776. He wrote, "Embarked with my family seven persons & three loads of Goods in a Slap at Fogland Ferry. And this Evening at 6p Sailed from Fogland—at 10p anchored at Assonet." Within days he had carted his family and his goods to the house in Dighton, and he preached there that Sunday, the sound of "firing" at Boston audible during the service. He was to return to Newport occasionally but never as minister of his own church.

All of this chaos—the shelling, the burning, the exodus of Newporters from the island—preceded the Declaration of Independence, which was, coincidentally, to be signed by John Witherspoon. Unlike Stiles, Samuel Hopkins and his protégés stayed in Newport to the last moment, still hoping for the mission to proceed. Hopkins even tried to influence the Continental Congress. Writing to Massachusetts delegate Thomas Cushing from Newport on December 20, 1775, he discussed the idea of sending the "light of the gospel" to Africa as a small compensation for the slave trade. He noted: "The blacks there mentioned [in the first appeal] are now with me and have had the approbation of Dr. Witherspoon, with whom they spent the last winter." He continued:

They [John Quaimeine and Bristol Yamma] continue disposed to prosecute the design; and would be sent to Guinea in the spring, if any way for their being transported there should open, and money could be collected, sufficient to bear the expense. The proposal has met with good encouragement in England and Scotland,
and more than £30 sterling has been sent from there; and we had reason to expect more: But all communication of this kind is now stopped. Applications would be made to the Honorable Continental Congress, for their encouragement and patronage of this design, if there were no impropriety in it, and it should be thought it would be well received.²²

He forcefully expressed broader antislavery sentiments that year in A Dialogue Concerning the Slavery of the Africans, addressed "To the Honorable Members of the Continental Congress, Representatives of the Thirteen United American Colonies."

Hopkins had a second appeal for support of the mission design printed in Newport in April 1776, a period of intense conflict. Although it was signed again by both Stiles and Hopkins, Ezra Stiles never mentions the appeal or even Samuel Hopkins in his diary for this period. The two men had rapidly diverged in their interests, Stiles to an utter absorption in the struggle for America's liberty, Hopkins to a much harder antislavery stance. The first three pages of the second To the Public are a reprint of the original. The rest of the pamphlet reported on the progress of the mission design and appealed for further money to support the men, to purchase necessities for their voyage, and to provide funds for setting up schools in Africa, an idea never expressed in the first version. Hopkins added carefully chosen passages from letters of Philip Quaque and Phillis Wheatley. An unnamed relative of John Quaumine from Annamaboe, then in Newport, was said to be "pleased with the proposal to send blacks to treat his people" and to believe that the missionaries would be "kindly received, and attended to." Hopkins then introduced the idea of sending a third man, young Salmar Nubia (formerly Jack Mason). Hopkins acknowledged the difficulties: "...while we are struggling for our own civil and religious liberties, it will be peculiarly becoming and laudable to exert ourselves to procure the same blessings for others, so far as it is in our power."²³ Having sent his family to safety in Great Barrington, Massachusetts earlier, Samuel Hopkins stayed in his house at 46 Division Street until the British occupation of Newport in December 1776.²⁴ Sarah Osborn remained in Newport throughout the occupation, ill and hungry, grieving the death of her elderly husband in 1778. Her experiences are detailed with compassion in Sarah Osborn's World.²⁵

After his return from Princeton, John Quaumine, educated and qualified for missionary work, found that the money raised for the mission had lost its value in wartime depreciation. He was on his own, supporting himself by his labor in a devastated economy.²⁶ He attempted to forge a link with Moses Brown, a Quaker of Providence. In June 1776, the man who had only just learned to write in the winter of 1772, composed a letter in elegant style to Moses Brown, then in the early days of his abolitionist crusade.

Having some late understanding of your noble and distinguished character and boundless benevolence with regards to the unforfeited rights of the poor unhappy Africans of this province and of your sturdy petitions to the General Assemblies in their favor, has excited one of the nation, though an utter stranger, to present gratitude and thanks before you for all your excellent endeavors for the speedy salvation of his poor enslaved countrymen, and for what you were kindly disposed to do already of this kind in freeing all your servants. Hoping that you will be highly rewarded hereafter by Him who has promised to remember the merciful at the great recurring day.²⁶

Was he writing from Newport or Providence? We know that John Quaumine had been in Newport with Samuel Hopkins and Bristol Yamma in December 1775, but he was in Providence a few months later. Phillis Wheatley, then a refugee in Providence from Boston, wrote to her friend Obour Tanner in Newport on February 14, 1776: "This [letter] is handed to you by Mr. Lingo, with whom I and Mr. Quaumine passed the last evening very agreeably."²⁷

Between June 1776 when he wrote to Moses Brown and August 1779 when he died on a privateer ship, John Quaumine's story remains a mystery. He did not leave Newport with Hopkins or Stiles. He would have had no right to leave with his wife and his mistress. Many Newport men sailed on privateer ships, civilian vessels licensed to prey on the enemy, during the Revolution, but records are scanty. In 1843, Hopkins's protégé and biographer William Patten explained John's motivations: "...one of the students entered on board a privateer, with the desire not only to support in this way the cause of the army but to obtain money to purchase the freedom of his wife."²⁸ Newport being occupied, the ship must have sailed out of another port, Providence, say, or even one in Massachusetts or Connecticut. Without knowing her home port, we cannot even hazard a guess as to the name of the ship. No gravestone marks his burial place, if indeed he was not buried at sea. Ezra Stiles noted the death of John Quaumine in the fall of 1779: "Quaumino killed on Board a Privateer in Action about Aug last. Designated for African Mission."²⁹ Hopkins's immediate reaction is unknown. He mentioned John Quaumine's death, though not the circumstances, in 1784, noting only that it "cast a gloom on ye design."³⁰ The "mission design," in its first version, was a casualty of the Revolution. Bristol Coggeshall/Yamma lived in Newport and Providence into the 1790s, still in touch with Samuel Hopkins, still interested in going to Africa but never embarking on the voyage. If Newport records are largely silent about Bristol Coggeshall and his family, the Providence Town Council's residency examination of Phillis Yamma, a black widow, provides crucial details. Testifying in Providence on November 8, 1776, Phillis said that she was born at Newport, a slave to Widow North of Newport. She said that she had five children, Phillis, Bristol, Ruth, Samuel, and Jenny, and that she had married Bristol.
"Dutchess never remarried but carved out a life on her own in Newport as a baker."

Coggshall of Newport. They had moved from Newport to east Greenwich and then to Providence. She estimated that she had lived there about twenty years. This account does not jibe in all respects with town records—Bristol "Yammy" was counted in Newport as head of a household of six in the 1782 census—but it probably shows the broad outlines of their movements. From the previously mentioned baptisms of children, we know that the families of John Quamina and Bristol Yammy were in Providence by 1779. Phillis signed her testimony before the town council with an X. The council ordered her to return to Newport, her place of legal habitation.

The precise details of Bristol Yammy’s return to Providence remain to be discovered, but he was one of many freed slaves who moved there from the devastated town of Newport following the Revolution. He first appears on October 14, 1785, in the Laborers Account Books of Welcome Arnold, merchant and distiller. Small accounts with "Bristol Yammy (Truckman)" who was once entered as "Bristol Cogshall," show that he was probably doing the same type of work that he had done as a slave in Newport, carting and occasional work at the still house. His education under John Witherspoon may not have helped Bristol Yammy find a job appropriate to his learning, but his work for the fledgling African Union of Providence greatly contributed to the formation of a black community in that town. He still belonged to the African Union Society of Newport—a membership list dated April 25, 1789, includes "Bristol Yammy of Providence"—but he was very active in the Providence branch of the organization. Bristol Yammy Esqr gave "a very handsome Speech" concerning the "rising generation," among other topics at a special meeting in Newport on November 16, 1789. He was counted as head of a Providence household of seven in the federal census of 1790 and in the city census of 1791.

Bristol retained his close connection with Samuel Hopkins. Benjamin Quarles considered Yammy the leader of the Providence emigration scheme, a plan near and dear to Hopkins’s heart. When Moses Brown, who lived in Providence, offered to lend Hopkins "Ramsey’s Treatise," Hopkins suggested that he "commit it to the care of Bristol Yammy, a free negro in Providence whom I suppose you know." He added: "He will faithfully transmit it to me." In June 1791, writing to Dr. Levi Hart about his latest print, Hopkins noted: "Bristol Yammy is the first black on my list for a missionary." Bristol Yammy of Providence subscribed to the publication of Hopkins’s book, The System of Doctrines, in early 1793.

Bristol eventually died in North Carolina in January 1794. On July 29, 1793, Hopkins had written to Dr. Levi Hart, "Bristol Yammy is out of health and can do little or no business. He has been advised to go into a warmer climate, supposing it would conduce to his health." In July 9, 1794, he wrote Hart again, this time with distressing news: "Bristol Yammy is dead! He died, last January in North Carolina."

In 1796, the widowed Phillis Yammy was still in Providence. While she had been "a slave for life" when Hopkins wrote his "Narrative" in 1774, she had probably been manumitted before she and Bristol left Newport for East Greenwich in 1776. Whether or not Phillis obeyed the Providence Town Council’s order to return to Newport is unknown—many people ignored such warnings out—and tracing her movements has proved largely fruitless. Of her children living in 1796, Bristol, Samuel, and Jenny Yammy disappear as well. Two of her daughters, Phillis and Ruth, were in Newport by 1804 when they joined the First Congregational Church, and they appear to have lived the rest of their lives there. Phillis died at Newport on January 16, 1841, aged 68, unmarried. Her sister Ruth married Caesar Bonner, a well-known Newport figure, in 1804; the couple appear to have had no children. They disappear from censuses after 1830 when Caesar Bonner was shown as head of a Newport household of three free blacks, a man and two women, all 55–99 years old.

John Quamina’s widow Dutchess never remarried but carved out a life on her own in Newport as a baker. She remained loyal to the Channings. Dutchess appears to have stayed with or near her former mistress, John Channing’s widow Mary Chaloner Robinson Channing. The 1774 census of Rhode Island, the last to list her as a slave, shows five blacks—two men, a woman, and a girl—in the household of John’s widow Mary Channing. By June 16, 1776, Dutchess was in Dighton, Bristol County, Massachusetts where both the Channings and the Stiles family had taken refuge; Ezra Stiles baptized her daughter Violet there that day.

Her last child, born after John’s death, Katherine Church, as Stiles called her, was baptized at Providence on October 3, 1779, at the same time as Bristol and Ruth, children of Bristol Yammy. Ezra Stiles described Katharine as the daughter of "Sister Dutchess, widow of Quamina lately deceased. This the Quamina, designated for the African mission." Stiles preached at Providence that day, "near half my flock being in & about that town."

The 1782 census of Rhode Island lists Mrs. Channing, widow, with a household of seven, including a black man and black woman both over fifty. The next line shows Dutchess (no surname), age 22–50, and three girls under sixteen. The fact that Dutchess had only three girls—out of her four daughters and one son—in her household in 1782 suggests that, unless they had been sold, Charles and one daughter
had died by then. As Cynthia and Violet lived into the 1790s, the daughter could only have been Betsey or Katharine. Her listing by name as head of household confirms that Dutchess was by 1782 a free woman. In the light of the 1782 census, the assertion by some historians that she was the slave of John Channing’s son William seems unlikely to be true. While William Channing did cover some of her expenses—he paid for shoemaking for Dutchess and her “girl” in the late 1780s—he was not her master.

The distinction matters in that many popular sources place Dutchess in the home of William and Lucy Ellery Channing, a handsome building at 24 School St., Newport that still stands.

The early 1790s brought the death of Dutchess’s daughter Cynthia on January 31, 1791, in her eighteenth year, and daughter Violet on January 25, 1792, age fifteen years, eight months, and twenty-one days. Dutchess also remained loyal to her husband’s mentor, subscribing to the publication of Samuel Hopkins’s book, The System of Doctrines, in 1793. She appeared in the 1800 census, living alone. Dutchess was frequently sick the last few years of her life. Dr. Horace Senter, son of Dr. Isaac Senter of Newport, visited her and provided medicine three times in 1801, five times in 1802, and twice in 1803. Dutchess died in Newport on June 29, 1804, at age sixty-five. She is buried with her two daughters Cynthia and Violet in Section BG of Newport Historic Cemetery 3, the Common Burying Ground.

The Revolutionary War disrupted the “Mission Design” and effectively scattered the community that had engendered it. By the mid-1790s the men at the center of the “mission design,” John Quamine and Bristol Yamma, had both died outside Rhode Island, leaving families there. Only two of Yamma and Quamine’s many children—Phillis and Ruth Yamma—are known to have survived to adulthood, and these daughters left a slight mark on Rhode Island history. Ezra Stiles died in Connecticut in May 1795, after an illustrious career as president of Yale. Sarah Osborn died in Newport in 1796, silenced for decades by ill health. Samuel Hopkins returned to his ruined church building after the Revolution and lived to become a powerful voice in the early antislavery movement. He died in Newport in December 1803, still hoping for resettlement of former slaves in Africa. Dutchess Quamine died in Newport the next year.

Was the idea of sending John Quamine and Bristol Yamma to Africa as missionaries a good one by standards of the day? Even devout Congregationalists of the 1770s were divided on that topic, largely because Hopkins himself represented such a controversial faction in the ministry. In the view of pragmatic observers, was it in any way achievable? Perhaps that did not matter to Stiles and Hopkins. Stiles wrote in December 1773: “There are some projections for the Public good which we would not chuse to oppose but rather join in forward, tho’ the Success may be doubtful.” These people did achieve something with the abortive plan on which they expended so much effort. If the “mission design” failed in its particulars, it planted a seed that was to grow in the stoniest soil, a seed of respect for the intellectual and spiritual capacities of African-Americans.

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3. On July 23, 1776, Samuel Hopkins set about to write "A Narrative of the rise and progress of a proposed and attempt to send the Gospel to Guinea, by educating, and sending two negresses there to attempt to Christianize their brothers," [hereafter, Hopkins, A Narrative]... 

4. Philip Quaice, 111-112. For the subtext of this letter, see Andrews, Native Apologies, 202-203. While there is no doubt of Quaice’s sectarian prejudice against Congregationalists, he was not exaggerating his own precarious financial condition.

5. Philip Quaice, 114.

6. In this article his surname is silently standardized to "Quaicine," except in direct quotations.

7. Stiles wrote an informative memo- rial of his friend and prisoner upon his death in 1776. (Stiles, Literary Diary, 1:31-92) John Channing’s wife, Mary, remained a staunch member of the Second Congregational Church, hosting church meetings in her home, giving Stiles a Hebrew Bible that had belonged to her first husband, Dr. James Rob- erson, and receiving many visits from her minister. (Stiles, Literary Diary, 1:12, 141, 162, 357, 537, 547, 439, 434, 501, 564, 564).

8. This story is not nearly as unlikely as it sounds. Rev. Thomas 9. Thompson of New Jersey had been on the Gold Coast from about 1750 to 1754, preaching and seeking likely boys for education. Philip Quaice and two others had been sent to England in 1754. (Andrews, Native Apologies, 128-129). 

10. Philip Quaice, 115-117. Quaice refers to the practice of naming Quaice’s parents but, tantalizingly, does not include them in his description.

11. Philip Quaice, 119. Hopkins used this material in the second appeal, To the Public, in 1776 and in an extended note that appeared in his Memoir of the Life of Mrs. Sarah O’leary in 1799. Several sea captains named Linsky, Linsky, or Lindsey sailed out of Newport, but only David Lindsay has been identified as the captain of a slave, the Sierra Leone, in 1759. (Joy Coughtrey, The Nantucket Triangle, Rhode Island, and the Slave Trade [Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press, 1981], 190). David Lindsay became a freedom seeker in Rhode Island from Newport in May 1759. (John B. Bartlett, Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations [Providence, R.I.: State of Rhode Island, 1861], 6:240) in an undated suit (probably 1756). Stiles included David Lindsay in a list of members of "Mr. Vinal’s Meeting," viz., the First Congregational Church of Newport, Literary Diary, 1:44-55.

12. While the original is not known to exist, Broeks has deduced much of its character from a letter from Joseph Fish to Sarah O’leary, who had sent him a copy (Broeks, Sarah O’leary’s World, 252-53).

13. First Congregational Church of Newport, Marriage Baptisms, 1774-1813 [hereafter, First Congregational Church, Marriage Baptisms]...

14. Charles A. Watson and Cherry Fletcher Bamberger, " life of David Lindsay, " (Rhode Island Roots 40 [June 2014]: 8). [Hereafter, Watson and Bamberger, "1776 Baptism at Rhode Island Baptism Records [Rhode Island Roots 40 [June 2014]: 8]."

15. Mary Channing knew the name of John Channing who had died young in 1753. (Sherling, et al., Newport Colonial Burial Grounds, 27) The sentimentalized view of slavery was typical of nineteenth-century historical accounts.

16. Newport Probate Records, Newport County, Rhode Island,

17. John Channing had owned two slaves, perhaps including Duceschi, in 1767. (Watson and Bamberger, "1776 Baptism at Rhode Island Baptism Records [Rhode Island Roots 40 [June 2014]: 8]."

47. Stiles, Literary Diary, 2-276. He was more specific in the church record, noting after the record of the baptism of Katherine, daughter of Dutcher, that he also baptized "Bristol and Ruth Children of Bristol, another of the African Midden, and Phyllis his wife" (Second Congregational Church Records, 1728-1876, 190). At this time, Rev. Samuel Hopkins was preaching in Stanford, Connecticut, having left Newport when it was occupied by the British (Sketches of the Life of Rev. Samuel Hopkins, 77).
48. Treasurer's Ledger and Subscription Lists, 1744-1756, First Congregational Church, Newport, Rhode Island Historical Society Library. First Congregational Church of Newport Records, Mss 418, Folder 10, last page of the book.
50. Receipt of Nathaniel Briggs for 106 gallons of rum in payment for a slave from the Coast of Africa (Papers of the American Slave Trade (microfilm), Series B Part I [originally at Newport Historical Society Library], Slaves Manuscripts, reel 28, frame 275).
51. Stiles, Literary Diary, 1-35.
52. Hopkins, "A Narrative.,5."
54. Stiles, Literary Diary, 1-35.
57. See the discussion of various evaluations by Vincent Cerratto and Ty M. Repe in Philip Quasepe, 20-25.
59. Letter to John Thornton, Esq., October 30, 1797 in Complete Writings of Philip Weld, ed. Vincent Cerratto (New York: Penguin Books, 2001) [hereafter, Writings of Philip Weld], 199. Philip may have known Quamnie and Yamma personally, but Samuel Hopkins and his friend Chewar Tamer certainly did.
60. Beans and Andrews both offer some information on John Quamnie's family. Beans notes, however, "Yamma seems to have been single." (Beans, Sarah Obed's World, 207.)
62. Writings of Philip Weld, 121-22.
63. Stiles, Literary Diary, 14-14.
64. Stiles, Literary Diary, 1:359.
67. Stiles, Literary Diary, 1486.
69. Stiles, Literary Diary, 1727; W. E. Channing, Memoir, 12.
70. Sears, Sarah Obed's World, 283.
72. For an interesting collection of writings on Wipiscopen, see Jons Kaliel Wipiscopen, The Wipiscopen and the Genealogy of the Wipiscopen Family (Ft. Worth, Texas: Mirm Publishers, 1973). 57-78. Princeton University Library holds a substantial collection of Wipiscopen papers, including the letter of Step¬ hen West, 4 January 1774, to Ezra Sears and Samuel Hopkins (copy in Wipiscopen Collection, C0759, Box 3, Folder 12).
73. Revius, Sarah Obed's World, 294. Inflation was skyrocketing at the period, and money that may have seemed sufficient was likely not worth much. Hopkins probably sent most of his money right away: Every company cites a letter from Wipiscopen to Hopkins, February 22, 1775, that 149 that he sent to Sheffield and received the money sent from Newport and that both men were "becoming pretty good in reading and writing." (Cross¬ ford, Samuel Hopkins, 141, citing Wipiscopen to Hopkins, February 22, 1775, Mss, New York Pub¬ lic Library.)
74. Stiles, Literary Diary, 1624. He estimated that only thirty of one hundred and thirty families in his congregation remained.
75. Letter to John Lewis at Yale, January 21, 1776 (Stiles, Literary Diary, 1:758).
76. Stiles, Literary Diary, 1665.
77. Stiles, Literary Diary, 2:1. The sound, first heard around midnight, lasted until noon. William Channing, 101 of John Channing, 100 at Dighton with his family. His widowed mother Mary Channing was there too, with her household. When Stiles left Dighton in May 1777, he told half a bushel of salt and some "lugs fat" to Mrs. Channing, as he always called her (account book cited in Stiles, Literary Diary, 2:216). He returned in October 1777 to visit her and stayed at her house on October 14, 1777 (Stiles, Literary Diary, 2:212). Dighton, John Qua¬ mnie's wife, was also in Dighton as her child was baptized there in June 1776.
92. Providence Town Council Records, Providence City Archives. An earlier version of these meeting minutes adds the word "widow" (BG303: Providence Town Council Meeting Records, 1789-1799, origi-
nally 1795-1799 folder, Providence City Archives)

93. 1781 Census of Rhode Island [here-
after, 1781 Census of Rhode Island] and Theodore Foster Papers, Ms 644, Rhode Island Historical Society Library, 21. The household consisted of a man and woman between the ages of twenty-two and fifty, one boy and three girls under sixteen.

94. Transactions typically involved small quantities of spirits and sugar, balanced by payments for trucking (Welcome Arnold, Labors Book, 1785-1786, 24, 33, 45, 29, 74, 84, 1787-1788, 41, in "African Family Business Records" John Carter Brown Library, Providence, RI). The account was carried forward to the 1789 book, 75 (Bristol bought a hogshead of corn in February 1789 and worked a few days at the still house in February 1790). It was carried to Book 2, a volume that covered accounts from March 17, 1794, on April 26, 1799. Bristol then owed $13.16. and was owed $14, but the account showed no activity since 1790. These warm-weather books have not been catalogued, nor does the collection name currently appear in the library.

95. Although he probably belonged first to the Free African Union Society in Newport, founded in 1782, its surviving records do not begin until 1787. See: The Proceedings of the Free African Union Society & African Benevolent Society, Newport, Rhode Island, 1782-1844 (hereafter Robinson, Free African Union Society), ed. William H. Robin-
son (Providence, R.I.: The Urban League of Rhode Island, 1978), vii-x, for a discussion of records before 1787 and transcriptions of the records at Newport Historical Society Library. Bristol Yamma was moderator of the Providence group by September 22, 1789, and the Newport records show frequent correspondence with him there in the late 1780s. (Union Congregational Church, 1790-1796, MA 1767, Newport Historical Society Library, 26, 27, 38) [hereafter, Union Congreg. Church, 1790-96] The Union Church grew out of the earlier organization and held its records. Bristol’s daughter Phillis later belonged to this church.

96. Union Cong. Church, 1790-96, pg. 5-5. The records indicate that the meeting featured a debate over the relationship of the Providence and Newport organizations.

97. 1782 Census of Rhode Island, 142. In 1790 and 1801 his name appears between those of Patience Carter and Fortune Stoddard (1790 U.S. Census, Providence, Providence Co., R.I., roll 10, 181, 1791 Census of Rhode Island, Historical Society, 17)


100. Park, Works of Samuel Hopkins, 156.

101. Samuel Hopkins, The System of Dri-

102. Park, Works of Samuel Hopkins, 114-15. The warmer climate Hop-
kins envisioned was that of Sierra Leone, and he was hoping that the Connecticut Abolition Society might fund the trip. Another letter of October 31, 1793 suggests that Bristol himself had talked with Hart. (Park, Works of Samuel Hopkins, 1149)

103. Park, Works of Samuel Hopkins, 134.

104. First Cong. Church, 1744-1885, 64. Phillis, a "black," was admitted in May 1803, her sister Ruth a few months later.

105. The paper noted that she had been "a steadfast follower of Christ 38 years." The name Yamma disap-
pears from Rhode Island records with her death.

106. First Cong. Church, 1744-1843, 18. It was not Caesar Benson’s first marriage. He had been described as the stepfather of Isaac Cose, the black entrepreneur and abolition-
ist, who was born in 1792 in "the Narragansett Country" (Richard C. Youngquen, African-Americans in Newport [Newark, New Jersey: Provident Savings Bank, N.J., 1998], 555). Caesar Benson belonged to various black organizations including the Free African Union Society from at least 1810 (Robinson, Free African Union Society, 175, 176, 186, 189, 195) "Stately old Caesar Bunker" is described in Charles H. Dow, Newport: The City by the Bay (Newport: J.P. Sanborn, 1880), 84, and again in "Early Bakeries of Newport," The Newport Daily News, 23 April 1897, 3-5.


108. Account with John Remington, John Channing Account Book, Channing Family Papers, Box 52, folder 2, Newport Historical Society Library. The debts were incurred February 16, 1789, March 12, 1789, March 1, 1789, and March 10, 1790 long after Duchess was freed.


110. Stiles, Literary Diary, 216. The baptis-
ism was recorded in Second Cong. Church Records, 1742-1786, 47.

111. Stiles, Literary Diary, 1376; Second Cong. Church Records, 1742-1786, 29.

112. 1784 Census of Rhode Island, 15 (Mrs. Channing and Douches).

113. When John died in 1775, his twenty-
year-old son William, Prichard 1799, was studying law in Provi-
dence. For William Channing at Princeton and as a law student, see W. E. Channing. Memoir, 12.

114. See, for example, Newport. turnspire.com and williams.org/pb1377/Channing-Home, accessed November 14, 2014. The ownership of the building is somewhat complex. Dowling and Scully show that it came into the Channing family only in 1782 when it was bought by William’s brothers, Walter Channing. (Dowling and Scully, Architectural Heritage of Newport, 500) It is said to have been the birthplace of William Ellery Chann-
ing. Had the Widow Channing lived with William in Newport, Douches might have lived in the building, but as far as can be deter-
mined, William lived separately. (1785 Census of R.I., 13)

115. Sterling, et al., Newport Colonial Burial Grounds, 155. Cyndy and Violet are described on their elegant gravestones from the Ste-
tens shop as daughters of John and Douches Quimines.

116. Hopkins, System of Driptories, 116. Catherine Brekus points out the respect in Hopkins’s use of the title “Mrs Duchess Quimine” in the list of subscribers. (Brekus, Sarah Osborn’s World, 313)

117. 1800 U.S. Census, Newport, New-
port Co., R.I., roll 65, p. 28. Her for-
mer mistress Mary Channing, widow of John, died at the age of seventy one December 3, 1790, like his father John, William Channing died young, on September 24, 1793, aged forty-two. (Sterling et al., Newport Colonial Burial Grounds, 148, 155)

118. Dr. Isaac Storer Papers, Ms 165, vol. 18, Rhode Island Historical Society Library, n. p., roughly alphabetical by surname (in this case, “Channing”). Whoever went through the accounts after Dr. Horace Storer’s death in a duel in Charleston, S.C., wrote on the “one” side of the ledger on “the laboring negro woman — now dead — good for nothing” on August 12, 1805. The final three words are quite as disparaging as they seem: the writer used them to indicate which parents or estates could not be billed. In other such cases, he mentioned surviving children who might pay, a further indication that Dutchess outlived all her children.

119. Sterling, et al., Newport Colonial Burial Grounds, 177. Her gravestone bears a tribute to her character, written by William Ellery Chan-
ing, but does not mention that she was the widow of John Quimine.

120. The surface of the slate gravestone is slowly spalling off, and lichens obscure much of the inscription.

121. Stiles, Literary Diary, letter of December 8, 1775, p. 164.
The Memorial to Roger Williams

STEPHEN PORTER

THOMAS SUTTON’S CHARITY AT THE CHARTERHOUSE, NEAR Smithfield, in London, founded in 1611, consisted of an almshouse for eighty elderly men, known as Brothers, and a school for forty scholars. Both the Brothers and the scholars were nominated by the sixteen governors, who were entitled to put forward one candidate at a time for the school and the almshouse. The successful candidates entered when a vacancy occurred, in order of the seniority of the nominating governor. The scholars could be admitted between the ages of ten and fourteen, provided that their parents were poor.

Roger Williams was the son of a merchant-tailor in St. Sepulchre’s parish in London, and so was local to the Charterhouse. He was the third of four children, and while his father’s circumstances are unknown, Roger certainly met the further requirement that a scholar should be “well entred in learning” for his age.

The first depiction of the Charterhouse buildings was this perspective view by Johannes Kip, drawn c. 1668–74. © The Governors of Sutton’s Hospital.
Before his admission to the school he had been taking shorthand notes of sermons and of speeches in the court of Star Chamber for Sir Edward Coke, the great jurist. Coke was a strong supporter of Charterhouse, and had presided at the hearing of an action in the Court of King's Bench which challenged the founding of the charity; the court found in its favour. He was later appointed a governor of the Charterhouse and so it is no surprise that he should have nominated his precocious protege to a place. 2 Williams's admission was approved in June 1621 and he entered in the place of Francis Withie, who had been admitted to Magdalen Hall, Oxford. In July 1624 Williams was one of three scholars chosen to be sent to university with an exhibition (i.e. a grant to pay his expenses as a student) from Charterhouse, and he was admitted to Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1627. He held the exhibition until 1629. 3

Williams preferred to enter the church than to follow a career in the law, yet he declined the position of clergyman at two parishes and then sailed to New England, where he arrived early in 1631 and settled in Salem, Massachusetts. Uncomfortable with the regime there and apprehensive of the development of a clerical authoritarianism, he aroused controversy by his attacks on the established order. When he was faced with being sent back to England in 1636, he evaded arrest by abruptly leaving the colony and making a difficult journey in winter to Narragansett Bay, where he settled among the native population. There he founded Providence, the first settlement of Rhode Island. The new colony grew under his guidance, welcoming anyone, regardless of their faith. Civil government was conducted by a general assembly of inhabitants, which met monthly. Williams bought the land from the Native Americans and maintained friendly relations with them, studying their language and culture and publishing his findings in A Key Into the Language of America (1643).

Roger Williams returned to England in 1643 to obtain a charter for Rhode Island, which he achieved in 1644, and returned again in 1652 to secure its confirmation. His defense of toleration and argument that civil government did not have authority over religion were expounded in The Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience, which he published in London in 1644. Following the Restoration of the monarchy, another charter was granted, in 1663, Williams was an important figure in both the early history of the New England colonies and the Puritan revolution, for establishing not only the principle but the actual observance of freedom of worship, unhindered by state or church, the separation of church and state, and democratic government.

By the late nineteenth century the significance of Roger Williams's achievement in Rhode Island, with its importance in the evolution of the United States, was widely recognized. The great historian of the English Civil War and Interregnum, Samuel Rawson Gardiner, paid tribute to Williams as “a pleader for liberty of conscience” and considered that “if he was the most combative of reasoners, [he] was also one of the gentlest of men.” Gardiner was writing during a period when the leading seventeenth-century Puritans were commemorated in London by statues and busts: Oliver Cromwell outside the Houses of Parliament (1899), John Bunyan on Baptist Church House in Holborn (1903) and John Milton outside St Giles, Cripplegate (1904), and within that church a set of busts of Cromwell, Milton, Bunyan and Daniel Defoe (c.1900).

Among those who admired Williams's achievements and his legacy was Oscar S. Straus, who served as the United States Minister to the Ottoman Empire from 1887 to 1889 and again from 1898 to 1899. He was to be Secretary of Commerce and Labor from 1906 to 1909, before returning to the Ottoman Empire as Ambassador. Straus stressed that Williams was “the pioneer of Religious Liberty,” and so ranked him with Luther and Cromwell as the significant figures in the transition from the medieval world to that of the modern United States. Straus had an especial reason to recognize the value of William’s insistence on the freedom of worship, as a member of a Jewish family from Bavaria that had migrated in the early 1850s to the United States and been accepted there. Other members of his family became successful merchants, while he pursued a legal and political career and was the first Jew to hold office in an American cabinet. 4 Williams had argued for the readmission of the Jews to England during his stay in London in the early 1650s and Jews from New Amsterdam (later New York) settled in Rhode Island in the mid-1650s. Straus’s interest in Williams’s achievements...
culminated in a biography, published in 1894 as *Roger Williams, the Pioneer of Religious Liberty*. Strauss declared: “If I were asked to select from all the great men who have left their impress upon this continent... if I were asked whom to hold before the American people and the world to typify the American spirit of fairness, of freedom, of liberty in church and state, I would without any hesitation select that great prophet who established the first political community on the basis of a free church in a free state, the great and immortal Roger Williams.”

When on a visit to London in 1899 Strauss went to the Charterhouse, curious to see the place where Williams had been educated. He was met by William Haig Brown, who had taken over as Master in the previous year, having been Head Master of the school since 1863. It had been during his long tenure that the school had been moved from Charterhouse to Godalming, in 1872. The school building of 1614 had been demolished by the Merchant Taylors’ Company, which acquired that part of the site, but the principal buildings from the seventeenth century remained. They consisted of a courtyard mansion erected in the mid-1540s, which partly replaced and partly incorporated the buildings of a Carthusian priory founded in 1371, with additions from the establishment of the charity, including the school building, which was an adaptation of the court for real tennis built by the 4th Duke of Norfolk in 1571, an enlargement of the chapel and the construction of Chapel

Cloister to connect the principal group of buildings. The cloister is, therefore, a Jacobean, not a monastic, feature, which was used for the burials of Masters of the charity and its senior officials, with commemorative ledger slabs and wall tablets, and a large monument to those ex-pupils who had fought in the Crimean War. And so Haig Brown had much to show his visitor, both in the buildings and entries in the records.

Brown knew of Williams’s importance from Strauss’s biography, which he praised as they talked, going to his study and returning with his copy, blissfully unaware that the author was in fact the man he was talking to. Until then Strauss had maintained his anonymity, but of course now had to admit his identity. Looking around Chapel Cloister, he noticed the memorials to distinguished alumni of the school and “asked Dr. Brown whether he did not think it fitting that a tablet should be added in memory of Roger Williams,” offering to pay the expense. Brown agreed and made the practical arrangements. The plaque was designed by Howard Ince and was installed in Chapel Cloister in 1899. It carries the inscription:

*In Memory of Roger Williams
Formerly a Scholar of Charterhouse 1614
Founder of the State of Rhode Island and...*

The memorial plaque to Roger Williams in Chapel Cloister at Sutton’s Hospital, London, © Stephen Porter.

The Pioneer of Religious Liberty in America.
Placed here by Oscar S. Strauss
United States Minister to Turkey 1899.

Bower March and Frederick Arthur Crisp reproduced the wording in their compilation of Charterhouse alumni, published in 1913, and Williams’s significance as one of the most influential of the school’s pupils was recognized by Frank B. Chancellors and Henry S. Eeles, who included him among the twenty-six Charterhouse alumni contained in their Celebrated Carpenterings of 1936. The installation of the plaque in the Charterhouse was reported in The American Historical Review. Williams’s achievements had already been acknowledged in the United States, notably by a statue for the Capitol Building in Washington donated by the state of Rhode Island in 1872, and there are three statues of him in Providence. He is also commemorated by a statue at the Reformation Wall in Geneva, a project conceived in 1909 to celebrate the most important figures in the evolution of Protestant Christianity.

The Second World War brought the danger of air raids on London, and the possibility of evacuation. Initially, the Charterhouse community continued as normal, with the Brothers acting as fire-watchers, but during a heavy raid on the night of 10–11 May 1941 a fire-bomb set light to the roof of the range above Chapel Cloister. The water supply failed and, driven by a north-easterly wind, the fire spread to engulf much of the historic core. The range over Chapel Cloister collapsed and the cloister itself was damaged; the memorials closest to Chapel Tower were destroyed, including those to the novelist William Makepeace Thackeray and his friend the illustrator John Leech, and several of the others were damaged. Williams’s memorial was damaged but could be repaired, which was done as part of the restoration of the buildings carried out in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The Brothers were evacuated to Godalming after the fire but were able to return in 1951, and by 1958 the buildings were fully restored.

Little further attention was given to the monuments until the 400th anniversary of the charity, in 2011, when a new memorial to Thackeray was erected and that to Augustus Saunders, Head Master during the mid-nineteenth century, was cleaned. Since the post-war repair of Williams’s memorial the damage has again become visible, perhaps because of the nature of the cement used in the restoration. The significance of Roger Williams’s vision and achievement is arguably greater now, in light of the events of the twentieth century, than when the plaque was installed. And the plaque itself both commemorates one of the Charterhouse’s most distinguished alumni and marks a stage in the growing awareness of the development of religious toleration and democratic ideals.

2. Charterhouse Muniments, G1, Governors’ Assembly Orders, 1613–27, p. 87.
Rhode Island Book Notes

WINTER / SPRING 2015

From Occupastuexet to Red Bank: A History of Cole's Farm
HENRY A. L. BROWN
East Greenwich: Dark Entry Press, 2013

A history of a Warwick waterfront estate that was both a working farm and a summertime retreat for over two hundred years. The book includes recently transcribed Revolutionary-era letters to and from Col. Christopher Greene.

Decoding Roger Williams: The Lost Essay of Rhode Island's Founding Father
LINFORD FISHER, J. STANLEY LEMONS, & LUCAS MASON-BROWN
Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2014

A "mystery book" at the John Carter Brown Library was filled with indecipherable figures apparently written by Roger Williams. In 2011, Lucas Mason-Brown, a junior mathematics major at Brown University, cracked the code.

Ninigret, Sachem of the Niantics and Narragansetts
JULIE A. FISHER & DAVID J. SILVERMAN
Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2014

A biography of Ninigret (c.1600–1676) who was a sachem of the Niantic and Narragansett Indians. The authors show that Ninigret "was at the center of almost every major development involving southern New England Indians between the Pequot War of 1637–37 and King Philip's War of 1675–76."

Ratification of the Constitution by the States: Rhode Island, vols. 24, 25, 26
JOHN P. KAMINSKI, et al., eds.

Three volumes in a many volume edition of documents related to the ratification of the United States constitution. Dr. Patrick T. Conley was the consulting editor of these three volumes which all concern Rhode Island's ratification of the federal constitution.

Latino History in Rhode Island: Nuestras Raíces
MARFA V. MARTINEZ

History of the Latino community in Rhode Island with a focus on the four largest Latino groups in Rhode Island: Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, Colombians, and Guatemalans. The book includes a section on notable figures from Rhode Island's Latino community.

Cranston Revisited
SANDRA M. MOYER & THOMAS A. WORTHINGTON

A history of Cranston illustrated with photographs, including a rare photograph of the Hindenburg dirigible flying over Cranston just hours before it exploded and burned on May 6, 1937.

Between Land and Sea: The Atlantic Coast and the Transformation of New England
CHRISTOPHER L. PASTORE
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014

An ecological history of Narragansett Bay from the first European settlement in 1636 to the demise of the Blackstone Canal Company in 1849. This book discusses how the bay's complex ecology affected all aspects of settlers' lives and how the settlers, in turn, had an impact on the bay.

Aboard the Fabre Line to Providence: Immigration to Rhode Island
WILLIAM J. JENNINGS, JR., & PATRICK T. CONLEY

An illustrated history of the Fabre Line. Many immigrants to Rhode Island arrived on board Fabre Line vessels to begin their lives in the United States.

Kidnapping the Enemy: The Special Operations to Capture Generals Charles Lee and Richard Prescott
CHRISTIAN M. MCBRNEY
Yardley, Pa.: Westholme Publishing, 2014

A study of the 1776 kidnappings of American General Charles Lee in New Jersey, and the 1777 kidnapping of British General Richard Prescott, on Aquidneck Island. The daring band of Americans who captured Prescott were led by Rhode Islander William Barton.

Brown University The Campus Guide
RAYMOND P. RINEHART

A guide to the varied architecture of Brown University, with nine "architectural walks" through the campus. The volume is part of a series on campus architecture by Princeton Architectural Press.
Preserving Bristol: Restoring, Reviving and Remembering
RICHARD V. SIMPSON

A colorful history of Bristol's inhabitants and buildings during the Revolutionary War and War of 1812.

History Press (Charleston, S.C.) published a number of Rhode Island titles during 2014. Several are included in our listing above. Other volumes include:

H. PHILIP WEST, JR.
East Providence: Rhode Island Publications Society, 2014

A detailed examination of the scandals that revealed public corruption in Rhode Island between 1986 and 2004. The author, former executive director of Rhode Island's Common Cause, details the reforms that resulted from the exposure of wrongdoing in state government.

Rhode Island's Haunted Ramtail Factory
THOMAS D'AGUGLIO AND ARLINE NICHOLSON

Fort Adams: A History
JOHN DUCHESENEAU AND KATHLEEN TROOST-CRAMER

Remarkable Women of Rhode Island
FRANK GRZIB AND RUSSELL DE SIMONE

James DeWolf and the Rhode Island Slave Trade
CYNTHIA MESTAD JOHNSON

Murder at Rocky Point Park: Tragedy in Rhode Island's Summer Paradise
KELLY SULLIVAN NESSA

The Rhode Island Home Front in the Civil War Era
FRANK J. WILLIAMS & PATRICK T. CONLEY, eds.

A collection of essays relating to aspects of Rhode Island government and society during the Civil War. Topics covered include political dissension over the issue of slavery, Rhode Island's economy in the war years, the contribution of Rhode Island's Irish population to the war effort and the situation of the Irish in the aftermath of the war, and an essay on Rhode Islanders' literary and musical responses to the Civil War.