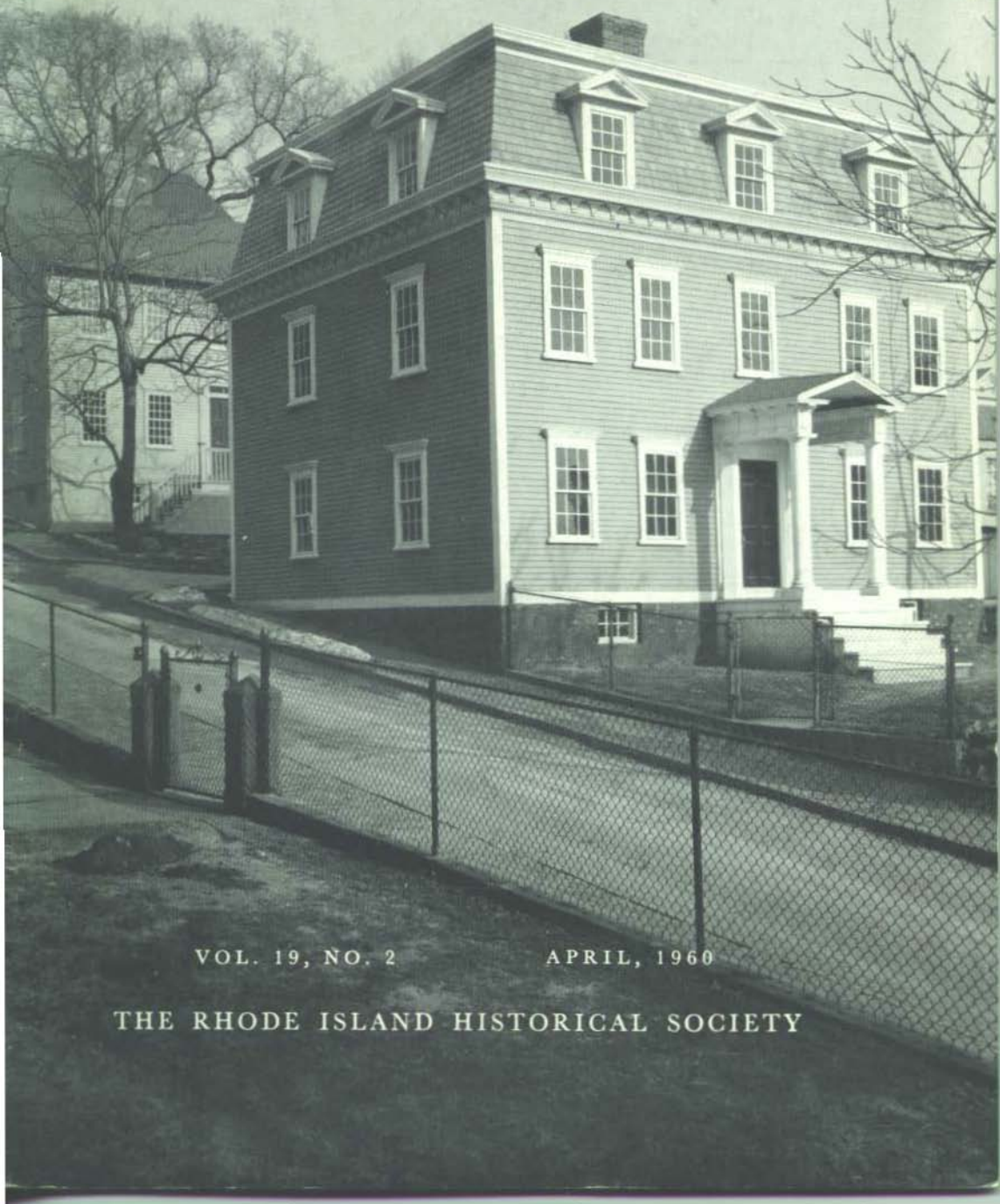


RHODE ISLAND HISTORY



VOL. 19, NO. 2

APRIL, 1960

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PUBLISHED BY THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
52 POWER STREET, PROVIDENCE 6, RHODE ISLAND

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ISSUED QUARTERLY AT PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND
(Second-class postage paid at Providence, Rhode Island)

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FRONT COVER

The Benjamin Allen House, 9 Church Street, Providence

Two years ago the City of Providence with the co-operation of the Providence Preservation Society applied for and received Federal funds to conduct a study of the historic area between the Providence River and Hope Street. Encouraged by the report of the study and its portent for the future, interested persons began to make significant improvements in the vicinity of Benefit Street. The Benjamin Allen House, built before 1790, has been rehabilitated by Mrs. Malcolm Chace, Jr. It is notable for its fine interior and the complex design of its woodwork. The Mansard roof, a later addition, has been left unchanged in the belief that a future purchaser would wish to adapt the rooms according to his own taste and requirements.

Photograph by Laurence E. Tilley

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NO. 2

A NOTE ON PROVIDENCE POLITICS IN THE AGE OF BRYAN

by ELMER E. CORNWELL, JR.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, Brown University

RHODE ISLAND is a fascinating laboratory for the political scientist. Its size makes even remote corners accessible, yet smallness by no means involves lack of complexity or representativeness. In many ways the state is typical of northeastern and New England industrial states, with all the social, economic and ethnic patterns such states exhibit and which have shaped their politics. Little Rhody is not only made to order for contemporary research, but for historical investigation of political trends as well. Systematic information is available to an unusual degree for detailed analysis of past voting patterns and their correlation with ethnic, socio-economic and similar factors. There are vote compilations in the various editions of the *Rhode Island Manual* and the *Journal Almanac*,¹ and invaluable material in the reports of the decennial state censuses taken regularly from 1865 until the 1930s midway between the Federal censuses. The census report for 1895, for example, which was used extensively in this study, contains a very ambitious compilation of data in an elaborate series of tabular breakdowns comprising over a thousand pages.² Most important of all, the breakdowns are presented not only for cities and towns but for wards within cities as well; hence they can be used in conjunction with comparable voting breakdowns.

As an initial experiment in bringing these various sources of information to bear on a specific problem it was decided to study voting patterns in Providence around the landmark election of 1896. The Presidential campaign of that year was one of the most hotly contested and bitter in history. More than any other between the age of

¹The former is a state publication and the latter is published by the *Providence Journal*.

²Published by the state.

Jackson and the age of Franklin Roosevelt, it pitted class appeals and class champions against one another. The speech given by Bryan in Providence on September 28th before an estimated crowd of 15,000 is a fair sample of the Democratic candidate's appeal to the working classes. After the long discussion of silver which represented his major stock in trade, he said: "... I want you to remember, that in this contest we have arrayed against us all the great bankers and wealth. We have none of these on our side. ... This is a question whether the people have a right to govern themselves, or whether these great corporations and trusts own this government. ..."³ In this same speech The Commoner implied the high stakes both sides felt were involved when he told his outdoor audience that if their employers were too frightened of the power of their creditors to defend themselves at the polls, the workers could use the secret ballot "... and release your employers from financial bondage."

In spite of all this, the general conclusion of historians about the 1896 election is that far from successfully wooing working class voters, Bryan actually drove them into the arms of the Republicans. Unlike preceding close elections, McKinley won a smashing victory, and, more than that, a pattern was set for top-heavy Republican majorities in states like Rhode Island with large labor populations for some time into the future. The election seemed to demonstrate, in other words, the lack of receptivity to "class" appeals on the part of labor — at least as phrased by Bryan. It also seemed to show the ability of the more conservative of America's two parties to both win and hold worker support, as the Republicans did in the industrial Northeast virtually until the Great Depression. The materials available for a detailed study of voting trends in Providence in the mid-1890s offer an exceptionally good opportunity to test these assumptions about the Bryan-McKinley contest of '96 and gather some data about general political alignments in the period.

First some figures for the city as a whole. Providence in 1895 contained some 38% of the total population of the state, or 145,472 souls, 68% of whom were native born and 32% foreign born.⁴ Of the roughly 34,000 legal voters, about 18,000, or more than half, were

³*Providence Journal*, September 29, 1896, p. 5, col. 4.

⁴The figures in this paragraph were gleaned from various tables in *Census of Rhode Island, 1895*. Specific references will be given for the data included in the tables set forth below.

of foreign parentage (including of course those who themselves were foreign born naturalized citizens). Occupationally, 67% of the working population were employed in transportation, in manufacturing, or as laborers (including apprentices).⁵ About 20% were listed under "trade" (storekeeping, and what today would be called white-collar work) and a little over 3% were grouped as "professional." The occupational figures do not include a category for "executive" and "managerial" people, who were apparently included in the total manufacturing and transportation categories.

Politically, Providence was safely in the Republican column in every Presidential election from 1868 onward, but by decreasing margins. In 1888 the G.O.P. carried the city by only 52% of the vote. Between 1888 and 1892 Amendment VII to the state constitution went into effect enfranchising for the first time naturalized citizens who were not property holders. Previously such citizens could vote only when they owned real property worth at least \$134. As might be expected, some 6,000 more Providence citizens went to the polls in 1892 to vote for President than had in 1888, and as also might be expected, the city went Democratic for the first time, though by a paper-thin margin. In 1896, however, the Republicans swept the city and garnered nearly 70% of the vote cast.

A look now at the situation on the ward level will reveal in more detail the factors that underlay these developments. The first question to be answered is as to the political allegiance of major voting groups within the city at this period. The vote distribution in 1892 will serve as the best measure of "normal" electoral behavior. In that year, for the third time in a row, Cleveland had been the Democratic standard bearer and this candidate consistency was doubtless matched by a corresponding consistency of voter behavior. Also, 1892 was the first election in which the recently enlarged electorate (which would also vote in 1896), had participated. Table I lists the ten wards in descending order of the percentage of Democratic vote cast for President in 1892.

Two wards stand out with an extremely high Democratic vote,

⁵"Working population" was not a category used in the table from which these figures came (Table XXXVI, p. 434f of the 1895 Census) but was arrived at by subtracting from the total Providence population, three categories appearing among the listed occupations: "domestic" (largely housewives), "scholars, students and children at home," and "unemployed over 16 years."

followed by four that hover around the 50% point, and then a shading off toward the heavily Republican end of the scale. Based on recent patterns of urban voting one would assume that some combination of ethnic and socio-economic factors would correlate with this alignment of wards by party choice. The obvious question is as to

TABLE I⁶

Ward ⁷	1892 Democratic Percentage	Percentage legal voters with native born father	Percentage legal voters with Irish born father
3	69	19	53
10	66	18	53
9	54	41	36
1	51	45	35
6	49	49	27
5	47	49	27
4	42	59	18
2	41	50	25
8	41	52	24
7	34	57	16

whether these relationships obtained similarly in the 1890s. In order to test the relevance of the ethnic factor first, the census tabulations of "legal voters" in the various wards were used. Legal voters were males aged twenty-one and over, less aliens and the small number of others not qualified to vote. In order to weigh the ethnic impact on political behavior as fully as possible, figures indicating voter parentage were used so as to include both foreign born and first generation American born voters. Hence in Table I, the percentage in each ward of legal voters claiming native white parentage is tabulated in the third column, and in the fourth, the percentage of voters whose father

⁶Voting data in this table and in Table III are from various issues of the *Rhode Island Manual*. Figures in the third and fourth columns are from the 1895 Census, Table L, p. 646ff.

⁷The wards in the 1890s divided the city roughly as follows: 1, as today, included roughly the southern third of the "east side"; 2 included all of the rest of the "east side" and was bounded on the west by the Moshassuck River; 3 was a pie-shaped slice bounded by the Moshassuck on the east and Admiral St., Douglas Ave. and Smith St. on the west; 10 included all of the rest of the city north and east of the Woonasquatucket River not already accounted for. Ward 4 embraced the central business district; 9 lay to the west of it embracing "federal hill"; 8 was the slice between Broadway and Cranston St.; 5 and 6 lay to the south of 4 along the harbor front with 6 reaching the Cranston line; and 7 included the remainder of the southern part of the city, bounded roughly by Broad and Cranston streets.

was born in Ireland. (At this period, though there were substantial groups in Providence of other nationalities, the group with by far the most important percentage of legal voters was the Irish.)

The relationship between party voting preference for a given ward and its ethnic composition is amazingly close. The two high Democratic wards are also the two with the smallest voter group of native white parentage, and the two with the highest Irish vote, in both instances by a wide margin. Throughout the rest of the last two columns there is a consistent tendency for the percentages to vary in a manner that corresponds closely with the percentage of Democratic vote. Only one ward — the fourth — spoils an otherwise near-perfect pattern. This ward encompassed the heart of the business district of downtown Providence, which apparently in some way accounts for its deviation. Clearly nationality was an extremely important factor in determining party allegiance in the late nineteenth century, and perhaps the most important one. It was at least as important then as it has seemed to be in recent decades, if not more so.

What of the socio-economic breakdown in relation to voting? Obviously this cannot be separated completely from the ethnic since immigrant background and lower class status have usually overlapped. However, in Table II the relative economic composition of the wards is measured against their voting behavior. The results do not display the amazing correlations found in Table I, but as one would expect the relationship between voting and economic situation is close. Wards 3 and 10 (and to a lesser extent ward 9) again stand out clearly from the rest with the highest percentages of workers by a wide margin, the lowest percentages of professional people and of people in "trade" (see above), and the highest average number of persons per dwelling unit — a useful indicator of the economic status of an area. One would hardly expect a perfect correlation between each of the last four columns and the second, throughout their lengths, hence the considerable degree of similarity that does obtain is obviously significant. (The correspondence would no doubt be closer than it is save for the fact that industry, though concentrated in the third and tenth wards, was also scattered so that all but one or two of the other wards had at least one major plant. Also, in days before the auto workers lived much closer to their jobs than today.⁸)

⁸Recall, also, that the "manufacturing" component in the over-all "worker" total included management people connected with manufacturing enterprises.

A comparison of Table I with Table II indicates that socio-economic status was an important determinant of party allegiance in the 1890s, though, interestingly enough, somewhat less important than nationality. Observation would tend to suggest that today the ethnic factor is still at least as important as the economic in the Northeast where non-Yankee groups bulk large, though stress is usually placed on the latter. It is certainly safe to conclude that Bryan went into the campaign of 1896 the apparent beneficiary of a group align-

TABLE II⁹

Ward	1892 Dem. %	Workers*	Professionals	Trade	Persons per Dwelling
3	69	77%	1.4%	15%	8.05
10	66	80	1.6	11	8.38
9	54	68	2.3	19	8.23
1	51	60	5.2	22	7.59
6	49	63	3.1	20	6.75
5	47	63	4.1	22	7.45
4	42	55	7.5	26	7.29
2	41	58	5.0	24	6.64
8	41	63	3.8	23	7.19
7	34	65	3.5	22	5.72

*Census categories of transportation, manufacturing and mechanics, and laborers and apprentices were combined to arrive at "workers" on the assumption that the bulk of individuals so tabulated were skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. See note 5 for method of arriving at "working population" on basis of which these percentages were calculated.

ment surprisingly like that which obtained in the New Deal era. In the 1890s as in the 1930s the Democrats could count on the support of the occupants of the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder and of voters of immigrant stock. The Bryan campaign seemed admirably adapted to exploit this kind of situation. To say that the "class" campaign that he waged boomeranged on the Democrats would be putting in mildly, however. In Providence the Republicans swamped their opponents.

Table III shows the 1896 outcome in Providence for the Democrats by wards as compared with 1892. Rhode Island was unaffected by the substantially increased voter turnout in the country as a whole,

⁹Occupational data are from the 1895 Census, Table XXXVI, p. 434f (and see also explanatory material on the occupational breakdowns used, p. 960ff). The data on persons per dwelling come from Table XII, p. 35f.

hence clearly McKinley carried Providence by winning formerly Democratic votes and not by inducing new voters to go to the polls.¹⁰ When such a major voter shift occurs it usually involves to some degree all major groups in the population, as apparently happened in this instance with at least a fifteen percentage point change to the Republicans in every ward. That workers accounted for a major share of this shift, however, can be seen in the fact that, by and large, the more Democratic the ward in 1892 the greater the percentage point shift in 1896 (the last column of Table III). The three most

TABLE III

	Dem. % 1892	Dem. % 1896	Dem. % pt. loss
Providence	50.08	31	19
Ward 3	69	52	17
10	66	44	22
9	54	28	26
1	51	31	20
6	49	29	20
5	47	28	19
4	42	23	19
2	41	26	15
8	41	23	18
7	34	18	16

Democratic wards (3, 9 and 10) dropped an average of nearly twenty-two points while the city average was nineteen points. A look at the two most heavily Democratic voting districts (each ward was divided into two or three such districts, for a total of twenty-two in the city) further underscores the shift in the labor vote. One of these was in the third ward and one in the tenth. Their Democratic percentages of 79 and 73 respectively in 1892 correlate closely with the fact that each contained the heaviest concentration of industrial plants in the ward. In these two districts in 1896 the Democrats lost 464 of the 1,399 votes they polled in the two in 1892. Two hundred and thirty-nine of these apparently went to the Republicans, the rest stayed home.

¹⁰The nationwide popular vote went up from 11.8 million in 1892 to 13.5 million in 1896.

The deviation of ward 3's behavior from the pattern of percentage loss is hard to explain. It may have been due to organizational strength and sense of solidarity in this most Democratic ward with a corresponding tendency for voter loyalty to persist. Perhaps also, if employer coercion was a factor in Providence as it was elsewhere,¹¹ it had a varying impact depending upon industrial diversity or similarity in a given area, prevalence of mill housing and the like. For example, ward 10 contained the textile concentration in the Woonasquatucket valley, many of whose operatives lived in mill houses (some of which are still in existence today). Such a situation would lend itself to employer coercion more readily than the more diversified industry in ward 3 which appears to have included machine manufacturing, textile finishing and even some quarry operations. (Ward 3 in this period covered the same area, roughly, that ward 4 does today.) Though the very high shift in ward 9 may be explainable in part in the foregoing terms, there may well have been an additional factor or factors involved.

Whatever the detailed explanation for the 1896 voting pattern, it seems obvious that the labor shift to the Republicans was exceedingly heavy and that there was a general blurring of the pre-existing group voting patterns not unlike that produced by the 1952 Republican victory. It was also a shift that persisted. Rhode Island as a whole, though it had never quite left the Republican column before 1896 (recall the narrow franchise before 1892), it was, from 1896 onward, solidly on the side of the Grand Old Party until 1928 save for Wilson's plurality in the three-cornered race of 1912. The Democracy gradually recovered in Providence, but it was not until 1916 that they again carried the city for their Presidential candidate, and it may well have been 1928 before the sharp group alignments of 1892 and labor's Democratic loyalty were fully restored.

¹¹Cf. Matthew Josephson, *The Politicos, 1865-1896*, Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1938, p. 702f.

NEWS — NOTES

An important addition to the Society's manuscript collections has been received through Mrs. Miller from the estate of William Davis Miller, a former president of the Society and author of many valuable books and articles dealing with the early history of southern Rhode Island. Among the papers is the original lease, dated June 8, 1659, from Coginiquant to Richard Smith and Richard Smith, Jr. for the lands surrounding their trading house at Cocumscussoc. Also of importance is correspondence of Elisha R. Potter (1764-1835), holder of many political offices in Rhode Island and a member of Congress for several terms, and of his son Elisha R. Potter, Jr., also a member of Congress, whose *The Early History of Narragansett*, published in 1835 as the third volume of the Society's *Collections*, is still a standard reference work.

* * *

For the third successive year the General Assembly has passed and the Governor has signed a bill appropriating \$6,000 for micro-filming the state-owned newspapers in the Society's custody. During the present fiscal year the following papers have been filmed: *Providence Morning Tribune*, 1906-1908; *Providence Evening Tribune*, 1906-1929; *News Tribune*, 1930-1937; *Providence Chronicle*, 1932-1951; *Providence Weekly Gazette*, 1867-1873; *General Advertiser and Providence Weekly*, 1873-1885; *Cranston City Times*, 1895-1920; *Newport Daily News*, 1938-1949.

Another act increases the permissible holdings of the Society from \$500,000 to \$1,500,000.

* * *

The Society has been named as a legatee in the will of Dr. Dudley A. Williams, who died January 16, 1960.

* * *

During the summer the Zoe Wilbour Collection of Lacy Sandwich Glass will be on exhibition.

EARLY 19TH CENTURY PROVIDENCE EXPORTS TO THE CARIBBEAN

by EARL C. TANNER¹

THE COMMODITIES which were shipped from Providence to the ports of the Caribbean in the early 19th century were of three sorts. First in importance were products of agriculture, fisheries, forestry, and the quarry. Most of the cargoes entering into this trade were made up exclusively of such items. Second, and less important, were miscellaneous re-exports of foreign goods. Such articles were sometimes added to cargoes of the first sort—rarely, if ever shipped alone. Third, and of gradually increasing significance after 1820, were domestic manufactures. Let us review three cargoes, one representative of each variety.

On April 24, 1807, the sloop *Warden*, Peter Mitchell master, cleared Providence for Nassau.² Built in Massachusetts, she had a burden of 44³⁵/₉₅ tons, measured 50'3" x 16'1" x 6'5½", and was ten years old.³ She was an unarmed merchant vessel, Providence owned, valued at \$1,200, and manned by a crew of five. The seventeen items of the *Warden's* cargo and their values at current prices in Providence were as follows:

30 barrels flour	\$ 228.75
6 barrels mess beef	72.00
16 half barrels ditto	104.00
7 barrels prime pork	140.00
2 barrels mess ditto	48.00
35 hams	65.80
8 kegs lard	69.53
90 bushels potatoes	22.50
45 barrels bread	196.08
3,500 feet boards	71.00
10 barrels vinegar	50.00
4 barrels walnuts	11.00
5 barrels ditto	14.00
50 boxes herring	37.50
15 barrels flour	116.25
5 barrels prime pork	100.00
5 barrels prime beef	45.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,391.41 ⁴

The first item on the manifest, flour, was a regular export from New England to the Caribbean. White settlers on the islands were accustomed to a wheat diet, but the climate of the West Indies was unsuitable for this crop. New England, itself, was not a great wheat producing area, but flour could be obtained at New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Richmond. Usually the commodity was shipped to Providence and there combined with other domestic products to make up an assorted cargo. Sometimes vessels would sail from Providence to one of the flour ports and from there direct to the Caribbean, this procedure being common in the case of large shipments. The amount of flour exported directly from Providence to the Caribbean varied considerably from year to year. In 1805, about 3,000 barrels were exported.⁵ In later years, the quantity was two or three times as large. Prices in Providence varied from \$7 to \$10, with greater fluctuations in extraordinary times.⁶ In the Caribbean, prices were extremely erratic, especially in wartime. An acute shortage on some one island sometimes drove the price to \$55.00 or higher.⁷ In such cases, as soon as the news was heard, American vessels would converge on that island and glut the market. The first vessels to arrive might sell at an extraordinary profit; later arrivals might find that prices would not even pay the duties. In the early 1820's, the flour trade with the Caribbean was so overdone that a cargo would hardly pay costs. Heavy losses were often sustained and

¹This article is adapted from the author's *Trade between the Port of Providence and Latin America 1800 to 1830* (typed Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1951), 81-87.

²All ships' papers referred to in this chapter are in the Providence Customs House papers at The Rhode Island Historical Society.

³Survey of Federal Archives, Division of Community Service Programs, Work Projects Administration, *Ship Registers and Enrollments of Providence, Rhode Island, 1773-1939* (Providence, 1941), I, 1090.

⁴As in the case of all outbound cargoes listed in this chapter, the commodities and prices are taken from ships' documents in the Providence Customs House papers.

⁵Export estimates in this chapter are based on an analysis of outbound manifests in the Providence Customs House papers.

⁶Prices quoted in the present chapter are compiled chiefly from newspapers and ships' papers. They are not intended to give precise price data, but merely to give some indication of the usual price ranges. Wartime shortages sometimes resulted in brief periods of higher prices than those indicated.

⁷*Providence Gazette*, November 26, 1808.

the papers were full of bad news about low prices.⁸

Further down on the manifest of the *Warden* is the item "45 barrels bread." This was another regular New England export. It was, of course, of the hard type: sea bread, navy bread, or pilot bread. One thousand to 3,000 barrels were exported annually from Providence where it could be bought at prices ranging from \$3 to 5. A fortunate shipper might sell at twice that price in the Caribbean. Wheat flour and bread were the major, but not the only, grain exports from Providence to the Caribbean. Minor exports were rye, oats, and Indian meal all obtained from southern New England and the middle Atlantic states.

Animal products were well represented in the cargo of the *Warden*. Beef, Item #2 on the manifest, was the article exported in largest quantity, 2,000 or 3,000 barrels a year being common. Supplies were obtained in New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, or locally (the *Warden's* beef was all from Connecticut). The prices in Providence averaged \$12, dropping as low as \$8 and rising to \$17. In the Caribbean, the article might be sold at an advance of 100% during the war or at little more than cost in hard times. Pork was always a more expensive meat, the average price in Providence being about \$18. At times, it went as high as \$27; late in the 1820's it fell to \$12. One or two thousand barrels a year were exported to the Caribbean where, in wartime, it could be sold at an advance of \$6 or \$8. Hog products, including pork, ham, bacon, chops, and sausages, were obtained from the same areas as beef and occasionally from as far south as Virginia. Other important annual products exported to the Caribbean were butter, cheese, soap, and tallow candles; of less importance were tongue, mutton, tallow, and lard. Livestock, particularly mules and oxen, were sometimes carried on deck. Forty mules constituted a typical shipment of livestock on a 130-ton vessel.⁹

An important item on the manifest of the *Warden* was "50 boxes herring." Fish exports to the Caribbean were of two types, dried and

⁸For example, "Markets at Cape Henry (Hayti) 8th May—glutted with American produce; 9000 barrels of flour afloat and in store, sales of which article had been made at \$6.25 payable in coffee at \$19 per cwt." In the same paper, "Markets at St. Jago de Cuba, May 1—glutted with American produce. Produce of Cuba very high." *Providence Patriot*, June 14, 1820.

⁹Poultry was also exported. Horses, for which Rhode Island was famous in the colonial period, were seldom exported in the 19th century.

pickled. Of the latter, herring was the most common, though menhaden and mackerel were also exported in quantity. Of the dried fish, cod was by far the most common. Lesser fish exports included alewives, shad, bass, hake, oysters, and whale oil. Rhode Island fish exports were almost exclusively the products of Massachusetts and Rhode Island fisheries. In Rhode Island the major centers were Block Island, Wickford, Greenwich, and Pawcatuck. In 1817, Block Island had thirty-three boats engaged in the cod and mackerel fisheries (the Providence fishing fleet produced little for export).¹⁰ In Massachusetts, fish products were obtained chiefly from Cape Cod ports and, in the case of whale oil, from Nantucket. Providence exports to the Caribbean amounted to about 1,500 to 2,000 quintals of dried fish and about the same number of barrels of pickled fish per year. Prices in Providence ranged from \$2 to \$5 per quintal or barrel. As in the case of beef and pork, prices fluctuated sharply in the Caribbean. Spermaceti candles, a somewhat remotely related product, were exported in rather large quantity—a few thousand pounds a year, purchased at 30¢ a pound. They brought, at times, up to 100% profit in the Caribbean.

Item #8 on the manifest of the *Warden*, was "90 bushels of potatoes." Potatoes were one of several vegetable exports which were locally produced. Potatoes were grown almost everywhere in Rhode Island, though not on the vast scale later practiced in the southern part of the state. Twenty thousand bushels, costing about 30¢ each, were exported in a good year, though the total was not always so high. In 1805, for example, only a little over 4,000 bushels were exported. Of the other vegetables, onions were the most important. These were mostly the product of Bristol and Warren, the former being rated as second only to Wethersfield in American onion production.¹¹ Vegetables exported in lesser quantities were beans, peas, beets, turnips, carrots, and walnuts. Exports to Surinam often included tobacco.

Item #10 on the manifest of the *Warden* was "3,500 feet boards." The type most in demand in the Caribbean was pine; the principal

¹⁰John C. Pease and John M. Niles, *A Gazetteer of the States of Connecticut and Rhode Island* (Hartford, 1819), 309.

¹¹For a contemporary discussion of Rhode Island agriculture, see Pease and Niles, *op. cit.*, 306-307, and *passim*. The statement on Bristol onions is on page 363.

source was North Carolina, and a secondary source was Maine. The price averaged around \$20 per thousand feet in Providence and proportionately higher in the Caribbean. The amount exported varied greatly from year to year. In 1805, for example, the total was 444,000 feet; in 1825, 270,000 feet. Other lumber products exported were staves, headings, and boxes made of red or white oak, which was obtained in Rhode Island or nearby states. Shingles and tar were likewise exported in significant quantities and were obtained from the sources of pine lumber: North Carolina and Maine.

On November 13, 1807, the brig *Mary*, Samuel Young, 2nd master, cleared Providence from Martinique. She was typical of the class of vessel most commonly employed in trade with the Caribbean: brigs or brigantines. The *Mary* was, in 1807, seven years old. She was Providence built, Providence owned, and had a burden of 96⁸⁷/₉₅ tons, and measured 64'6" x 19'4" x 9'.¹² She had one deck, no guns, and a crew of seven. The brig was valued at \$3,000 and her cargo at \$7,908.78. This cargo provides an excellent illustration of one variation from the more common type considered above. It consisted of the following items:

27 casks claret wine	\$ 594.00
74 bags corks	148.00
100 barrels menhaden fish	275.00
40 barrels prime beef	360.00
6 casks rice	150.00
46 barrels pork	670.00
30 boxes tallow candles	179.78
50 hogsheads Indian meal	1,100.00
40 barrels flour	320.00
13 casks whale oil	225.00
3,500 staves	56.00
13 barrels potatoes	13.00
28 half barrels lime	56.00
1,000 yellow nankeens	1,000.00
3 bales blue nankeens	2,400.00
1 bale gauze and handkerchiefs	113.00
1 box merchandise	209.00
20 barrels apples	40.00
	<hr/>
	\$7,908.78

Statistics for the state of Rhode Island indicate that re-exports of foreign goods to all markets during the first decade of the 19th century were approximately equal in value to exports of domestic prod-

¹² WPA, *op. cit.*, I, 703.

ucts. During the years 1805, 1806, and 1807 the amount of foreign re-exports exceeded the amount of domestic exports. The same was true in 1819 and 1821. During the War of 1812 and at the end of the third decade of the 19th century re-exports fell off sharply. In 1829 they amounted to only 1/7 of total exports for that year.

This pattern, however, was by no means uniform in every branch of the trade of Providence. In 1807, when re-exports were near their highest point, they accounted for roughly 3/4 of all exports to Europe and the Orient, but less than 1/4 of all exports to the Caribbean. Even this latter figure is deceiving. Of fifty-three Caribbean clearances that year, thirty manifested no re-exports whatsoever. Only ten had substantial quantities of re-exports on board. One of these ten was the *Mary*.

In the *Mary's* cargo were some familiar items: beef, pork, flour, potatoes, menhaden, tallow candles, Indian meal, whale oil, and staves. All of these were perfectly typical: if one was omitted, another would be included. Three domestic products, however, call for brief notice. Item #5 on the manifest, "6 casks rice," illustrates a minor but fairly common export of Providence. The article was obtained in this period almost exclusively from Georgia and South Carolina. Item #13, "28 half barrels lime," was of local origin. From the extensive deposits at Smithfield, Rhode Island, as many as 40,000 to 50,000 cases were taken annually.¹³ This product, though only occasionally exported to the Caribbean, played a vital role in the trade of Providence. It was shipped in very large quantity to domestic markets and helped to pay for the lumber, flour, beef, fish, and other products that were assembled at Providence for export to the Caribbean and elsewhere. The last item on the manifest of the *Mary*, "20 barrels apples," illustrates still another common, but minor, export. Apples, being perishable, were not ventured in large quantity but were often included in mixed cargoes to the extent of a few barrels. Cider and vinegar were likewise occasionally exported.

The foreign cargo of the *Mary* included several, but not all, of the usual re-exports to the Caribbean. Most important were undoubtedly the nankeens. These accounted for a very large proportion of all Providence re-exports to the Caribbean. Of Oriental goods, the next in demand were China silks and India cottons. The first item on the

¹³ Pease and Niles, *op. cit.*, 346.

manifest of the *Mary*, "27 casks claret wine," illustrates one of the most constant re-exports, alcoholic beverages. Sherry, Catalonia wine, and brandy were the usual varieties. The remaining foreign items, corks, gauze, handkerchiefs, and "merchandise," did not bulk large in Providence re-exports as a whole. Certain items, not included in the cargo of the *Mary*, are more deserving of discussion. Providence trade with the north of Europe made available a number of commodities suitable for re-export to the Caribbean. These included cordage, duck, sailcloth, soap, and tallow candles (the latter two in competition with domestic products). Finally, Holland cheese and butter (likewise in competition with domestic products) were regularly re-exported to the Caribbean.

On January 18, 1825, the brig *General Jackson*, William Greenman master, cleared Providence for Haiti. She was formerly the *Stockholm* and had been condemned in 1815 for breach of United States revenue laws. She had a burden of 127²³/₉₅ tons, measured 67'8" x 20'8" x 10'7" and carried no guns. She was Providence owned and was navigated by a crew of seven.¹⁴ Her cargo, worth \$5,391.00, gives proof of new industrial resources in Providence:

7 bales sheeting	\$ 907.00
3 bales brown sheeting	256.00
3 bales indigo stripes	294.00
2 bales ¾ checks	101.00
2 bales cotton goods	182.00
4 bales striped	400.00
1 bale apron checks	80.00
3 bales plaids	361.00
1 bale bleached shirtings	149.00
3 bales bleached sheetings	280.00
8 dozen plats	148.00
1 box cotton balls	56.00
28 half boxes soap	40.00
23 casks rice	454.00
169 half barrels flour	447.00
50 barrels flour	250.00
20 barrels tar	42.00
5 hogsheds codfish	104.00
8 barrels codfish	
1 crate jugs	20.00
4 dozen chairs	42.00
3 crates crockery ware	133.00
2 boxes crockery ware	
28 hams	44.00
4 casks cheese	30.00

10 kegs lard	42.00
20 half boxes soap	33.00
6 boxes 600 cannister gun powder	150.00
1 box buttons	100.00
20 kegs butter	60.00
5 casks cheese	70.00
1 barrel containing sundry articles of hardware	30.00
10 barrels flour	50.00
12 kegs lard	36.00
	<hr/> \$5,391.00

The Providence cotton industry was put on a successful basis by Moses Brown and Samuel Slater in 1790. Weaving continued as a handicraft until the introduction of power looms in 1817. Before the latter date, foreign exports were limited to small quantities of cotton yarn and such coarse fabrics as tickings, a Providence specialty at the time. After 1817, Rhode Island production of cheap cotton textiles rapidly expanded and sheetings, shirtings, stripes, checks, and plaids began to make their appearance in cargoes for the Caribbean. Items #1 to #10 on the manifest of the *General Jackson* are almost undoubtedly of Rhode Island origin. Other manufactured goods appeared with increasing frequency after 1820. Of these, hats, furniture, crockery, hardware, and buttons were included in the cargo of the *General Jackson*. It is not easy to say which of these items were of local manufacture and which imported from New York, Boston, or elsewhere. Some manufacturing of almost every kind was carried on in Providence, both for local consumption and for export. At the same time, manufactures of almost every sort were brought in from other cities. Among the distinctive manufactured exports of Providence and vicinity were small boats (of which about 700 a year were made in Cumberland to sell at \$20 to \$70 each),¹⁵ scythes, saddlery, jewelry, and furniture. Lesser manufactured exports, some of which originated in Providence, were bricks, nails, flatirons, lamp black, and snuff.

The cargo of the *General Jackson*, like that of the *Mary*, was exceptional. It illustrates a trend, but not a dominant trend, in exports to the Caribbean. From 1800 to 1830, the typical cargo in this trade was that of the *Warden*: flour, meat, fish, vegetables, and lumber.

¹⁴ WPA, *op. cit.*, I, 392.

¹⁵ Pease and Niles, *op. cit.*, 336.

A TORY'S CLAIM TO THE WANTON ESTATES

by SYDNEY W. JACKMAN

Assistant Professor of History, Bates College

[continued from January, 1960, v. 19, no. 1, page 7]

To Mr. Wanton, St. John, New Brunswick.

London, Percy street, June 1. 1792.

Dear Sir

I have just received your angry letter of the 28. of march last and have read it with astonishment: but, as I know that you will, in time, upon reflexion, think otherwise; I shall not suffer it to disturb me for a single minute. You have loaded me with reproach when I was entitled to your praise.

In 1788 I had a clear, legal demand upon you for £1897. 10. O currency, equal to £1423. 2. 6. sterling money; but to promote a cheerful, amicable and speedy settlement, I readily complied with your own proposal and relinquished £423. 2. 6. sterling of my claim.

You then required that I should resort to your brother's Representatives for his portion of the debt. — This was very unreasonable; because they were strangers to the transaction, and in a great measure strangers to me too. The loan had been negotiated wholly by yourself, and you was solely acquainted with the occasion and the circumstances of it; and lastly, I had derived no advantage from it, and ought not to have been put to any extraordinary trouble about it. I consented to your requisition therefore merely to accommodate you.

You then required that the Bond should be delivered to you upon your partial discharge of it. And here I confess, I am utterly at a loss to comprehend what could be your motive to interpose a condition, which it was impossible for me to concede to, and could tend only to delay the settlement. I am equally puzzled to account for your strong assertion that Mrs. Wilkinson would pay her father's part.

In December 1790. Messrs. Morrison and Wilkinson were in London and upon my stating the matter to them, they professed a readiness to contribute their share towards a settlement; but as they were to meet Mr. Atherton in London the following april, they wished to defer it, untill they could have an opportunity to confer together, and they would do what was reasonable.

Accordingly, they were all in Town with Mrs. Wilkinson in April. I saw them at my own house, and I saw them elsewhere. I looked every day, when they would communicate to me the result of their consultation; but, after being in Town three weeks, lo! they disappeared, one after another, without ever opening their lips to me upon the subject, nor have I received a syllable from them about it, from that day to this.

1960]

A Tory's Claim to the Wanton Estates

51

Fie! fie! shame upon you all! who will ever serve you, if they must be treated with such contempt and wrong?

I have thought it my duty thus calmly to remonstrate with you, and I trust you will hasten to rectify your mistake and to finish what you have begun.

You will see upon a revision of the whole matter, that I have borne with patience, and proceeded with moderation, and you will make it as pleasant to me in future as it always has been to assure you that I am with due consideration and attachment, Dear Sir,

invariably yours

* * *

London, Percy street, June 1. 1792.

Sir

I have received your letter of the 29th of march last, acquainting me with the settlement you have made with Mr. Wanton, and inclosing a bill drawn upon the Paymasters of the Army for £500 sterling, which has been presented and accepted.

I am sorry that after all the pains that have been taken to reconcile Mr. Wanton to his duty, and make it palatable to him, he should discover a disposition so unfriendly to those who sought to serve him. I do him the honour however to believe that he will think better when he has thought more of the matter.

I have written to the Representatives of the late Colonel Wanton to solicit their attention to my demand; but I doubt whether I shall be able to make any progress with them therein, without the bond, or the authenticated copy of it, as no one of them, except Capt. Darby, has ever seen it, or knows its existence or tenor, but from report. I must therefore request that you would, by the first safe conveyance, send me that copy, if you have it, and let the Original rest in your hands for farther advice. You will perceive by the inclosed letter to Mr. W. how little they have been disposed to attend to my demand; and I fear I shall not find myself so near the accomplishment of my wishes as I once thought I had reason to imagine.

Mr. Wanton will be so good as to discharge the note of hand he gave you, out of which you will be pleased to retain the amount of ten guineas for your extra trouble on my account, if satisfactory to you, and you will send me the residue by any convenient opportunity. In the mean time, I beg that you will accept my thanks for the assistance you have afforded me, and that you will always believe me to be with undissembled esteem and regard,

Sir,

your much obliged
and most obedient servt.,

Honble

J. Bliss Esq.

London, Percy street, Aug. 1. 1792.

Dear Sir

It is now more than two months since I applied to the Representatives of our late Brother respecting the bond given by J. and W.W. without receiving any satisfactory answer from them. In that time I have been favoured with a duplicate and triplicate of your Original of the 28th of March last; in each of which you repeat your assurance, that if I "will call upon Mrs. Wilkinson, she will pay me £500 on her father's part." I cannot suppose that this was a [mere] surmise, intended only to amuse me in a matter of so great concern to my family; and I conclude that she has heretofore signified her good disposition in some of her letters to you. I fear I shall be obliged by the delay I meet with to follow your directions, but as her fortune and fashion may make me diffident in my approach to her individually, in a case of comon concern, I beg you will be so good as to favour me with an extract of her letter upon the subject, or any other evidence you may have of her filial intentions to justify the liberty I may take with her. I confess I begin to suspect from their inattention to me, that you must have misunderstood her; for I am persuaded that through Captain Darby or some other way she is privy to what has taken place between us; and she cannot be ignorant of what I have written to her husband, who has not yet condescended to acknowledge my letter. Any assistance you can afford me will exceedingly oblige me, and as you must be impatient to have the bond delivered up, and to be disengaged from this unpleasant affair, you will at the same time promote your own wishes. As your opinion and advice would have weight and influence with your neice, a line to her might be of great service to me. However you may have been disturbed by any supposed mistake on my part in the transaction between us, I will not now doubt your disposition to promote the substantial justice that is due to me, and I submit it to you to manifest it in the way that will be most agreeable to you.

Mr. W. Coddington⁹ arrived here in april, after a very long passage from Jamaica, and expected to have sailed in the same vessel to Philadelphia, but the Owners have altered their intentions, and have resolved to sell her. In getting her out of Dock, about six weeks ago, Mr. C. caught a violent cold, and has been confined to the house, under the care of a Physician ever-since. He has now just got abroad again, and means to prosecute his design in some other vessel.

⁹Probably Asher Coddington of New Jersey. After New York was evacuated he went to St. John in New Brunswick. He later moved to Maudersville, New Brunswick. He died in 1828.

Your sister has been at Margate for three weeks past with her youngest daughter¹⁰ in pursuance of the advice of her Physician. My eldest Girl is with me and cordially joins me in kind regards to Mrs. w. and yourself.

I am with sentiments of attachment

Dear Sir

invariably yours

W. Wanton Esq.

St. John, New Brunswick

When you write to me, pray address to me in Percy street; as I have not the connexion with Mr. Brickwood,¹¹ which I had, while I was at Bermuda.

* * *

London, Percy street, Sept. 21. 1792

Dear Sir

The preceeding is copy of my letter to you of the 1st. of august, since which I have been without your favours. I have now the satisfaction to rectify your mistake respecting the process, which Mr. Bliss, at my request, issued upon the bond given to me by J. and W. Wanton.

It gave me great uneasiness while I supposed, from your hasty account of the matter, that he had proceeded with harshness and severity towards you: it gives me equal pleasure to learn, that you was not "arrested," and to know that you never was, on my behalf, a single moment, in the custody of any Officer whatever.

He can testify for me, that my resolutions have always been expressed with a tender regard to the connexion is between us, and contained the warmest wishes for an accommodation: and as I have reason to believe, that he has faithfully and discreetly performed what he undertook for me, I cannot delay to vindicate the honour of his proceeding, and if you would not wittingly wrong a man, who has only professionally dis-obliged you, you will think yourself equally concerned to do him justice.

I have not yet heard from your brother's heirs: when I do I will acquaint you with it. In the mean time, I rest, Dear Sir, unchangeably yours

W. Wanton Esq.

Saint John, New Brunswick.

¹⁰This daughter married in to the Tucker family of Bermuda and from her descendants comes the letter book which includes these letters.

¹¹Brickwood acted as Browne's agent in London when he was Governor of Bermuda.

Sept. 21. 1792.

Sir

Since my letter to you of the 1st of June last Mr. Robinson's¹² bill has been paid. I am also to acknowledge your favour of the 30th of June rectifying Mr. Wanton's mistake about the process issued against him. I am sorry to find him disposed to think and to represent in the most unfavourable light every circumstance of the affair between us. I thought I had exercised sufficient patience towards him, and had shewn him all the indulgence he could reasonably expect from me; and I still think that I did only what the duty I owed my family required of me. I easily forgive his misapprehensions of the business; but that he should entertain any resentment against a person, who was only employed professionally to solicit a legal demand, equally proves his want of knowledge, and his want of candour.

I have not yet heard from the heirs of Colonel Wanton, though I wrote to them last may; and I now wait for the paper I requested from you to renew my demand upon them.

When you have sealed the inclosed letter be so good as to hand it to Mr. Wanton, and to accept the respectful compliments of

#

Sir

The Honble

your most obedient Servant

J. Bliss Esq.

* * *

London, Percy street, Nov. 15, 1792.

Dear Sir

I have for some time past been expecting to hear from the heirs of the late Colonel Wanton respecting the demand, to which I have repeatedly solicited their attention. I now request that you would be so good as to inform me, whether they have come to any resolution upon the subject.

I am with due consideration,

Dear Sir

your faithful humble servant,

An answer in writing

is requested.

John Morrison Esq.

Chiswick

¹²Probably Beverly Robinson (1720-1792) of New York. He was the Colonel of the Loyal American Regiment. After the Revolution he was nominated to the Council of New Brunswick but never went to the colony. His son did so, however, and became an important figure. Beverly Robinson retired to England and received £17,000 from the British Government. He died near Bath. Why he owed money to Browne is not clear from the context of the letters.

Instead of an Answer in writing, Major Morrison came to me on Monday the 19th following, and shew me an anonymous statement of a supposed account between Joseph and William Wanton; and the State of Rhode Island; whereby it appeared, that the amount of the confiscations and sales of their estate, exceeded the amount of their debts, allowed and paid to their creditors, several hundred pounds.

I told him, that my demand had no relation to any supposed ballance, that might be stated between Joseph and William Wanton, and the State of Rhode Island; nor could it be satisfied in any such way. My claim lays against the heirs of the late Colonel Wanton.

He then said that Mr. Wm. Wanton had received £16100. which they had discovered by accident, and that he still withheld it.

I observed, that the heirs might through negligence or choice suffer Mr. W. Wanton to keep their whole interest; but that would be no satisfaction to their creditors.

He then said, that what he had received, he held only as a Trustee for his children. Here the conversation ended.

* * *

Percy street, Nov. 30, 1792.

Dear Sir

I beg leave to remind you, that I have not yet received your answer to my letter of the 15th. current, respecting the debt due to me from the estate of the late colonel Wanton. I trust that you will not think I press you upon the subject, when you recollect, how long it is, since I first notified my claim to those, whose business it is to see it satisfied; and when I assure you, that the amount of what is now due to me, is sufficient to command my most serious attention.

At the same time it is my most ardent wish, that the affair may be so conducted, as that the final adjustment may give entire satisfaction to all that are concerned in it.

I request that I may be favoured with a line from you, and that you will believe me to be with due consideration and regard.

Dear Sir

your most obedient Servant.

John Morrison Esq.

Chiswick.

Percy street, Dec. 12, 1792.

Dear Sir.

I have the honour of your letter of the 3rd instant. By your expression, "the sentiments of the parties concerned are inimical to your wishes," I understand, that the heirs of the late Colonel Wanton deny the debt, and are resolved not to pay it. If I am mistaken, you will please to set me right. If I am not, then I give you many thanks for your generous pity for my disappointed situation; but when my health will admit of it, and I can go abroad to do business, I shall put the bond into a course of legal proceedings, and then I trust my situation will soon be mended.

I am with unvaried regards

Dear Sir

your most obedient Servant

John Morrison Esq.

* * *

On saturday Dec. 15. Major Morrison came to me and proposed that, when the parties came to Town, which he expected would be in February, we should submit the matter to two Lawyers, to be chosen between us.

I told him that I should attend to no such proposal; that the matter in question contained no point of Law that required the opinion of Lawyers.

He repeated that he expected them in Town in February.

I told him, that the state of my health, the situation of my family, and the circumstances of the debt, would admit of no unnecessary delay; that they had considered, and conversed together upon the subject, and had formed their resolution: of they wished to consult farther, they might have an answer to any letter written to any one of them within ten days.

Here the conversation ended.

* * *

Copy to Mrs. Wilkinson

London, Percy street, December 12, 1792.

Dear Madam

A thought of that filial respect, which you must feel for the memory of your deceased father, and the respectful regard, which I feel for you, lead me to address to you the following letter: while your own personal concern in the subject to which it relates; and the information it will contain (which you ought to know and cannot have from any other) cannot fail to make it acceptable to you. I wish then to give you as clear

and concise an account as I can, of the origin of the engagement, which your father and his brother entred into with me many years ago, and of the circumstances that have since taken place respecting it, that you may form a just estimate of the claim I am now making upon your father's heirs, on account of what I have suffered from it. When we are equally well informed upon the subject, I think we shall not differ much in our sentiments about it.

In the year 1770 your Uncle Wanton came to me at Salem, and acquainted me, "that he and his brother, having occasion for a larger sum of money than they could raise within themselves, they had applied to Mr. Winthrop¹³ for a loan of what they wanted; That Mr. Winthrop was willing to accommodate them; but he had observed, upon the public security, he should expect that they would give him a good Bondsman, who resided in the Massachusetts Province." This, he added, occasioned his visit — to request that I would be bound with them. Though the sum he had mentioned was a very large one, and the objection, which Mr. Winthrop had made, of their not residing in the Massachusetts Bay, would have been equally valid, when made by me; yet I did not hesitate a moment to reply, that I should be happy to render them the service they requested. And so cheerful and ready was I in the business, that the arrangements were instantly made, and, it is a fact, that your Uncle came into my house in the evening after candlelight, and being pressed for time, left it before seven o'clock the next morning. In consequence of this agreement they received the money from the Treasury. Mr. Winthrop had my bond, and I had theirs.

Mr. Winthrop had received his interest annually and punctually from the Massachusetts Treasurer; and he expected to receive it in the same manner; but, it seems, it was neglected, and Mr. Winthrop complained to me about it. I remonstrated with my brethren upon it, but still it was not done: and in the year 1774 Mr. Winthrop wrote me a pressing letter, requiring that the principal and interest should be immediately paid, and threatening me with a law-suit, if his requisition was not complied with. I was exceedingly alarmed, and I immediately communicated it to your father, who, in answer to my letter, wrote me the following, which I have faithfully copied for your perusal.

Newport, dec. 1. 1774.

"Dear Brother"

"It gives me the greatest pain that you are made uneasy by our worthy Uncle's letter. — I will atone for it and make ample reparation, if my life is spared — I am chagrined beyond expression at the ill-timed and

¹³Probably John S. Winthrop, who was an uncle by marriage of Browne and Joseph and William Wanton.

cruel mode of application, but be assured no injury shall arise to you should the barbarous act be put in execution."

"As we are unprepared to pay that sum at present, beg the favour of you to write Mr. Winthrop that our expectations for payment of this debt are upon four vessels gone to Guinea, which expect the first of them in the West Indies by march, their cargoes will be remitted in cash and bills of exchange, and that he may rely upon being paid out of the first remittance. If this will not appease him, we beg this farther favour, that you will endeavor to hire the whole amount of any Gentleman at Boston, to whom if required we will secure by mortgaging real Estates (in all respects clear) to the amount of ten thousand pounds sterling value, besides the personal security of our father and selves. Should this be impracticable at Boston, I will go to Mr. Winthrop and tender him the above security, or will adopt any other method that you shall recommend. How much is wanted immediately? perhaps it may be collected here, as much as will answer his present demand."

"I will not, my dear Sir, upon no occasion, (especially this for which you are made uneasy) ever leave you a prey to anxiety, but share with you all your troubles, dividing with you my small purse to the last farthing, and by defending you with my person to my latest breath — This is not Rant — but the words of truth, and the effusions of a warm, grateful and affectionate heart."

And here, my dear Madam, I believe we must pause a minute to enquire, what would have been the feelings of my friend and brother, if upon writing the above letter, he could have been told, that in the year 1792, I should be supplicating from his heirs a compensation for the loss of property, taken from me in 1778, to discharge that very identical debt. I forbear every other suggestion. I would not willingly wound your feelings for a minute: but you know there are circumstances, that are inseparable from their cases.

The rebellion trod close upon the heels of that letter. Soon every one looked to their personal safety. Concerns of this kind were little regarded. I left the Country,¹⁴ and your father died in 1780. From the situation and circumstances of the family, during the war, nothing was said, or done, or expected by me: but Mr. Winthrop's heirs took care to have the fairest part of my estate in Connecticut set off to them, to discharge my bond.¹⁵

¹⁴Browne left America in March 1776 when Boston was evacuated.

¹⁵In this way Patriots were able to collect the debts owed to them by Loyalists. Unfortunately no real provision was made for Loyalists to collect debts owing to them in spite of the terms of the Treaty of 1783. Browne tried unsuccessfully to collect the monies owing to him from the Wanton property which had been confiscated.

When the peace took place, as the estates of your father and uncle in Rhode Island, were declared forfeited to the public; subject however to the payment of their debts; I presented a memorial to the Legislature of the State of Rhode Island; praying to be allowed and paid what was due to me on their bond; but though I solicited more than three years, I never could obtain the least attention to my Memorial: and as I could not compel them to regard it, I was obliged to abandon it. I then wrote to your Uncle, as he was the surviving Obligor. He very readily acknowledged the debt, and offered to pay me a certain sum; provided I would call upon his brother's children for their half of the debt. I could not refuse so reasonable a condition, and he has since paid me what he proposed. As soon as this was done, I wrote a circular letter in my last to the Representatives of the heirs of your late father, requesting their attention to my claim.

In answer to my letter to Mr. Atherton, he says, "As I have no other connection with the estate of Col. Wanton, than the care of his son, and of whatever may come to my hands for him, this being the case, I trust you will think with me that this matter, so far as it may concern the minor, had better rest till he comes of age." I could not but consider this proposal as a gross affront. It was sporting with my patience and deriding my credulity. It could not fail to close my correspondence with Mr. Atherton upon the subject. I assure you, that I consider my cause of too serious a nature to be treated in so ludicrous a manner.

At the same time I wrote to Captain Wilkinson, and I confess that I am astonished, that he has never vouchsafed to give me any kind of answer to my letter. When I saw him with Major Morrison at my house in January 1791, and mentioned the matter to them, there was something so frank, and open, and manly, in the manner in which Capt. W. condemned the delay I had met with, and professed a readiness to contribute towards the redress of my complaint, that I considered him as the advocate of my cause, and I relied upon his honour for the performance of his promise. It was said, that Mr. Atherton, Capt. Wilkinson and Major Morrison would all be in London in the following April: that then they should have an opportunity of conferring together upon the subject, and they would let me know the result of it. Accordingly they came — they met — they went away: but, I have never yet been informed of their resolution respecting my demand.

But to return to the month of May last. When Major Morrison and Capt. Darby left me for Stockton they assured me, that while they were there they would come to some agreement about my claim and acquaint me with it. I lately wrote to the Major requesting to be informed, "whether they had come to any resolution;" and in answer to my letter

he acquaints me, that "the sentiments of the parties concerned are inimical to my wishes;" by which I understand, that they do not acknowledge the debt, and that they are resolved not to pay it. If this is their resolution, I can only say, that I am exceedingly sorry for it, and that I shall forever lament the necessity that will drive me to seek by legal means for that redress, which I had infinitely rather obtain in a more peaceable way.

I will give you no farther trouble. If I have in any good measure answered the purpose I aimed at in writing, I shall think myself well paid for the pains I have taken. Pray present my kind compliments to Capt. W. and Miss M.¹⁶ and believe me to be with unvaried attachment and undessembled esteem

Dear Madam

your faithful humble servant

Mrs. Wilkinson

= * *

Principal £952.10.0. Massachusetts currency with interest at 6% from oct. 17 1770.

476. 5.0. Colonel Joseph Wanton's half to pay with interest
642.18.0. interest from october 17. 1770 to (say) april 17. 1793.

1119. 3.0. currency

equal to 839. 7.3. sterling due to W. Browne.

22y. 6mo.

12

270

476.5.0.

270

33320

952

20) 12852.0 (642.12.0.

120

6

85

642.18.0. interest.

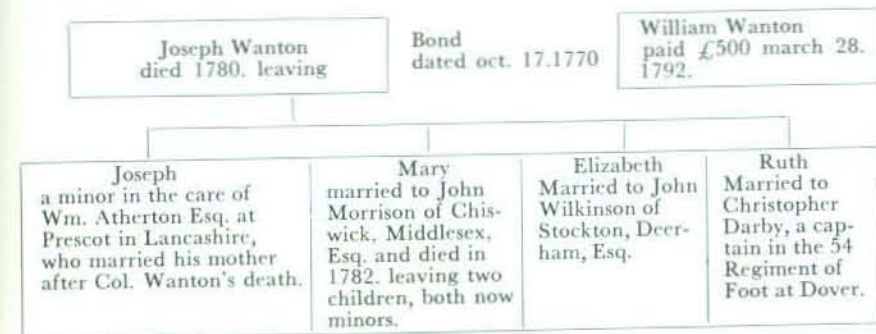
80

52

40

12

¹⁶Is this the daughter of Mary Wanton Morrison?



Original given to Mr Coore¹⁷ Jan. 22. 1793.

= * *

London, Percy street, Jan. 21. 1793.

Sir

Finding that by my late long indisposition I am unable to attend to and transact business myself, I have requested my friend Mr. Coore of Winchester street, London, to adjust and settle with the heirs of the late Colonel Wanton my demand upon his estate in their hands. You will be so good therefore as to call upon him for that purpose without delay as soon as you can make it convenient to you.

I am &c.

John Morrison Esq.

("in behalf of the heir under your care.")

Wm. Atherton Esq. line 7th.

("I beg you would hand to Mrs. Wilkinson the inclosed letter, which I have just received from Mr. Wanton, and at the same time present my kind compliments to her." line 9th)

John Wilkinson Esq.

(Kind compliments to Mrs Darby. A line from you by the return of the Post will oblige, Sir &c. line 9th)

Christopher Darby

Captain 54th. Regiment of Foot.

Dover Castle.

¹⁷He was one of Browne's solicitors and employed by him to settle the case.

[to be concluded]

THE 138TH ANNUAL MEETING

THE 138TH ANNUAL MEETING of The Rhode Island Historical Society was held at John Brown House on January 14, 1960.

President Edward Winsor called the meeting to order at 7:45 P.M.

The Secretary read the call of the meeting and declared a quorum to be present. The minutes of the previous Annual Meeting were approved.

Mr. Nathaniel M. Vose, Jr., Treasurer, read his report for the year ending June 30, 1959. A copy of Mr. Vose's report is printed in this issue on the inside back cover.

The Membership Committee, Mr. T. Brenton Bullock, Chairman, reported that 142 new members had been received during the year, and that the total membership as of December 31, 1959, was 1,828.

As the members stood in respect, Mr. Bullock then read the necrology. Members of the Society who died during the past year were:

Herbert H. Armstrong, M.D.	Mrs. Dana Lawrence
Prof. Sinclair W. Armstrong	Mrs. Frank W. Matteson
Mr. Albert A. Baker	Mrs. Jesse H. Metcalf
Mrs. William H. Bath	Mr. William Davis Miller
Mrs. Herbert G. Beede	Mr. Lewis S. Milner
Mrs. Horace G. Belcher	Mr. John V. Moore
Mr. George W. A. Carpenter	Mr. Frederick T. Moses
Miss Grace P. Chapin	Mr. Daniel H. Morrissey
Mr. Frank H. Cranston	Mr. Fred A. Otis
Mrs. G. Maurice Congdon	Miss Esther P. Parsons
Prof. Herbert Newell Couch	Mr. Russell M. Paull
Frank Anthony Cummings, M.D.	Mr. Frederick H. Paulson
Judge Charles R. Easton	Mr. Charles M. Perry
Mr. Charles A. Gale	Mr. Clarence H. Philbrick
Mr. Arthur L. Gardiner	Mr. George W. Potter
Mr. Robert H. I. Goddard	Mr. Elmer T. Priest
Mr. Joseph W. Grimes	Mr. Ralph S. Richmond
Mr. Samuel A. Hamin	Mrs. Brockholst M. Smith
Miss Charlotte I. Harris	Mr. James W. Tingley
Mr. Ross V. Hersey	Mr. William J. Tully
Mr. Frank L. Hinckley	Mrs. Walter I. Sweet
Mr. Richard Anderson Hoffman	Mr. William Bullock Waterman
Miss Louise Gardner Huling	Colonel Hunter C. White
Mr. Richard A. Hurley	Mr. B. Forest Wilcox
Mr. James H. Hyde	Mrs. Alonzo R. Williams
Mr. Ira W. Knight	Mr. W. Frederick Williams, Jr.
Capt. Frederick W. Laing, USN	

Mr. Burges Green, Chairman of the Museum Committee, reported

on the varied and interesting exhibits during the past year, including a show called "Printing by Type and Block" in which the famous Franklin press was the star attraction and the exhibit of Rhode Island pewter from the collection of Dr. Madelaine R. Brown and Mr. J. K. Ott.

Mr. John C. B. Washburn, Chairman of the Grounds and Buildings Committee, reported that expenses on John Brown House have been high during the past year. Major expenditures were for the restoration of the carriage house for the John Brown Chariot and repairs to the building, made after a survey by Charles A. Maguire Associates revealed joists on the third floor in weakened condition. New joists were installed and Mr. Washburn reported John Brown House once more structurally sound.

The Chariot Committee under the chairmanship of John Francis Brown reported its mission accomplished. The John Brown Chariot restored by Colonel Paul H. Downing, now stands resplendent in the carriage house. Mr. Brown expressed thanks to Mr. George W. Jones for his generously providing transportation for the chariot to and from Staten Island and to Mr. Monahan for his tireless work and success in obtaining necessary funds from the Rhode Island Foundation.

Mr. Clarkson A. Collins, 3rd, then gave his Annual Report as Librarian. The principal acquisition during the year was the William Harris Manuscript concerning King Philip's War, which the Society purchased for \$7,000.00 from a New York dealer after efforts to buy it at auction in England had failed. Mr. Collins stated that no single document of equal importance has ever been purchased by the Society, and that through generous gifts it was expected that capital funds would not have to be used.

In his Annual Report as Director of the Society Mr. Clifford P. Monahan said that an increasing number of visitors, including students and researchers, are availing themselves of the Society's resources. An additional member of the staff will eventually be needed to assist in the extended activities of the Society, particularly in the field of education. He cited the Harris Manuscript and the John Brown Chariot as highlights of the year and thanked the members of the Society for their generous support, financial and otherwise.

President Edward Winsor in a short Annual Address outlined some of the specific problems of the society during the past year and commended highly the work of the various committees.

The report of the Nominating Committee for officers for the ensuing year was submitted by Norman T. Bolles.

There being no further nominations, and upon motion duly made and

seconded, the nominations were closed and the Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for the slate as read. The officers being duly elected, Mr. Edward Winsor, who was re-elected President of the Society, said a few words of appreciation and the meeting adjourned at 8:15 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK L. HINCKLEY, JR., *Secretary*

Officers elected at the Annual Meeting, January 14, 1960

Edward Winsor	<i>president</i>
George C. Davis, Reuben C. Bates, M.D.	<i>vice presidents</i>
Frank L. Hinckley, Jr.	<i>secretary</i>
Clarence E. Sherman	<i>assistant secretary</i>
Nathaniel M. Vose, Jr.	<i>treasurer</i>
John H. Wells	<i>assistant treasurer</i>

MEMBERSHIP

O. Griswold Boynton, *chairman*
 Hugh B. Allison
 Gordon Holmes
 C. George Taylor
 Mrs. William W. White

GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS

John C. B. Washburn, *chairman*
 Norris G. Abbott, Jr.
 James D. Graham
 Lloyd W. Kent
 Mrs. William G. Roelker

LIBRARY

Mrs. Clifford K. Rathbone, *chairman*
 H. Glenn Brown
 Mrs. Axel A. Christensen
 Stuart C. Sherman
 Bradford F. Swan

MUSEUM

Burges Green, *chairman*
 Mrs. Alfred H. Morse
 Everett B. Nelson
 Mrs. Dwight H. Owen
 Mrs. Kenneth Shaw Safe

LECTURE

H. Cushman Anthony, *chairman*
 Mrs. Bruce M. Bigelow
 Mrs. Theodore R. Jeffers
 Harold E. Staples
 John W. Steere

FINANCE

Bayard Ewing, *chairman*
 S. Foster Hunt
 Charles B. Rockwell
 John Simmen
 William W. White

PUBLICATION

Ralph S. Anthony, *chairman*
 Francis H. Chafee, M.D.
 Houghton P. Metcalf, Jr.
 Paul C. Nicholson, Jr.
 Lawrence C. Wroth

AUDIT

H. Stanford McLeod, *chairman*
 F. Morris Cochran
 Fred Piggott

[The Executive Committee is composed of the officers; chairmen of the standing committees; members at large: Richard LeBaron Bowen, Henry C. Hart; Clifford P. Monahan, *director* and Dr. Grace M. Sherwood, *State Librarian, ex officio*.]

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

for 12 months ending June 30, 1959

INCOME		
Dues	\$ 9,735.00	
Investment Income (net)	11,004.60	
John Brown House Fund	191.16	
State of Rhode Island	8,500.00	
City of Providence	2,000.00	
Contributions—General	\$2,040.00	
Corporate	845.00	
Patriotic Societies	300.00	
Library Sales	404.21	
Outside Services (net)	132.50	
Miscellaneous	42.70	
From Chace Fund	500.00	\$35,695.17
EXPENSES		
Salaries	\$18,991.00	
Social Security Taxes	416.00	
Director's Discretionary Fund	572.94	
Supplies	926.51	
Telephone	440.39	
Membership	357.25	
Library	1,495.14	
Museum	*5,594.73	
Lectures	449.83	
Publications	3,911.90	
Heat, Light, and Housekeeping	2,064.32	
Grounds	1,451.52	
Building	2,140.62	
Insurance	459.14	
Miscellaneous	197.80	\$39,469.09
Other Net Income during year		\$3,773.92
		1,632.60
		\$2,141.32

*Includes \$4,205.97 over and above \$4,000. contribution received from Rhode Island Foundation for work on the Exhibition Room.

ASSETS

Cash	\$ 17,238.98
Special Funds	32,928.25
Investments	181,021.35
Fixed Assets	100,006.00
Other Assets	841.30

BALANCE SHEET

LIABILITIES, RESERVES AND SPECIAL FUNDS

John Brown House Fund	\$ 7,955.00
Jonathan Chace Fund	24,973.25
Life Membership Reserve	2,550.00
Fireproof Library Building	630.50
John Brown Chariot	
Restoration Reserve	3,894.93
William G. Roelker	
Memorial Reserve	293.15
Revolving Publication Fund	1,553.38
Reserve Book Fund	620.67
Quaker Material Purchases	
Reserve (Chace)	498.21
Anticipated Disbursements	
Reserve	806.75
General Endowments	\$242,928.49
Wilbour Fund Reserve	41,102.41
Irene Seabury Cummings	
Fund Reserve	5,000.00
Wing Fund Reserve	1,000.00
Surplus (Deficit)	509.86
	\$332,035.88

NATHANIEL M. VOSE, JR., *Treasurer*

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NEW MEMBERS

January 2 — March 28, 1960

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Mrs. Frederick W. Aldred | Mr. Edwin H. Hastings |
| Mrs. Robert S. Allingham | Warwick, R. I. |
| Mr. Louis I. Altshuler | Miss Dorothy J. Hildreth |
| Boston, Massachusetts | Mrs. Edward J. Keenan |
| Mr. James Holm Anderson | West Warwick, R. I. |
| Mrs. David A. Anness | Mr. and Mrs. Edmund H. Keiler |
| Warwick, R. I. | Mr. George R. Kenson |
| Mrs. Howard Bacon | Edgewood, R. I. |
| Mrs. Ralph C. Bangs | Miss Mildred A. Mackillop |
| Mrs. Lincoln E. Barber | Mr. and Mrs. Ogden W. McCagg |
| Mr. Robert M. Brayton | Mr. Charles Warren Oatley |
| Cranston, R. I. | Mr. Harry A. Ormiston |
| Mr. Robert W. Briggs | Brother Bertrand Peter, F.S.C. |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | Pawtucket, R. I. |
| Capt. and Mrs. John P. Cady | Mr. and Mrs. Thomas L. Reed |
| Mr. John King Cheesman | Dr. Brooks A. Sanderson |
| Warwick, R. I. | Mrs. Francis B. Sargent, Jr. |
| Miss Marion A. Cooke | Miss Mary L. Schaffner |
| Mr. John F. Crohan | Mr. Harold B. Schott |
| Rumford, R. I. | Rumford, R. I. |
| Mr. Francis J. Curran | Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Scott |
| Cranston, R. I. | Rumford, R. I. |
| Mr. Charles Hamilton Davison | Mrs. Kirk Smith |
| Mrs. Duncan Doolittle | Julius Stoll, Jr., M.D. |
| Wakefield, R. I. | Mr. Frederic Morse Taggart |
| Mrs. J. Cecil Ferguson | Mr. William T. Tobelman |
| Greene, R. I. | Greenville, R. I. |
| Mrs. Evert W. Freeman | Mrs. Edna C. White |
| Mr. Waldemar H. Fries | Mrs. Coval K. Wild |
| Mr. Franklin Jay Glickman | Warwick, R. I. |
| Mrs. James D. Graham | Mrs. W. Frederick Williams, Jr. |
| East Greenwich, R. I. | Reverend Dom Philip Wilson |
| Mrs. Putnam Gross | Portsmouth, R. I. |
| Mrs. Edwin C. Harris | Mrs. Edward Winsor |
| Esmond, R. I. | |