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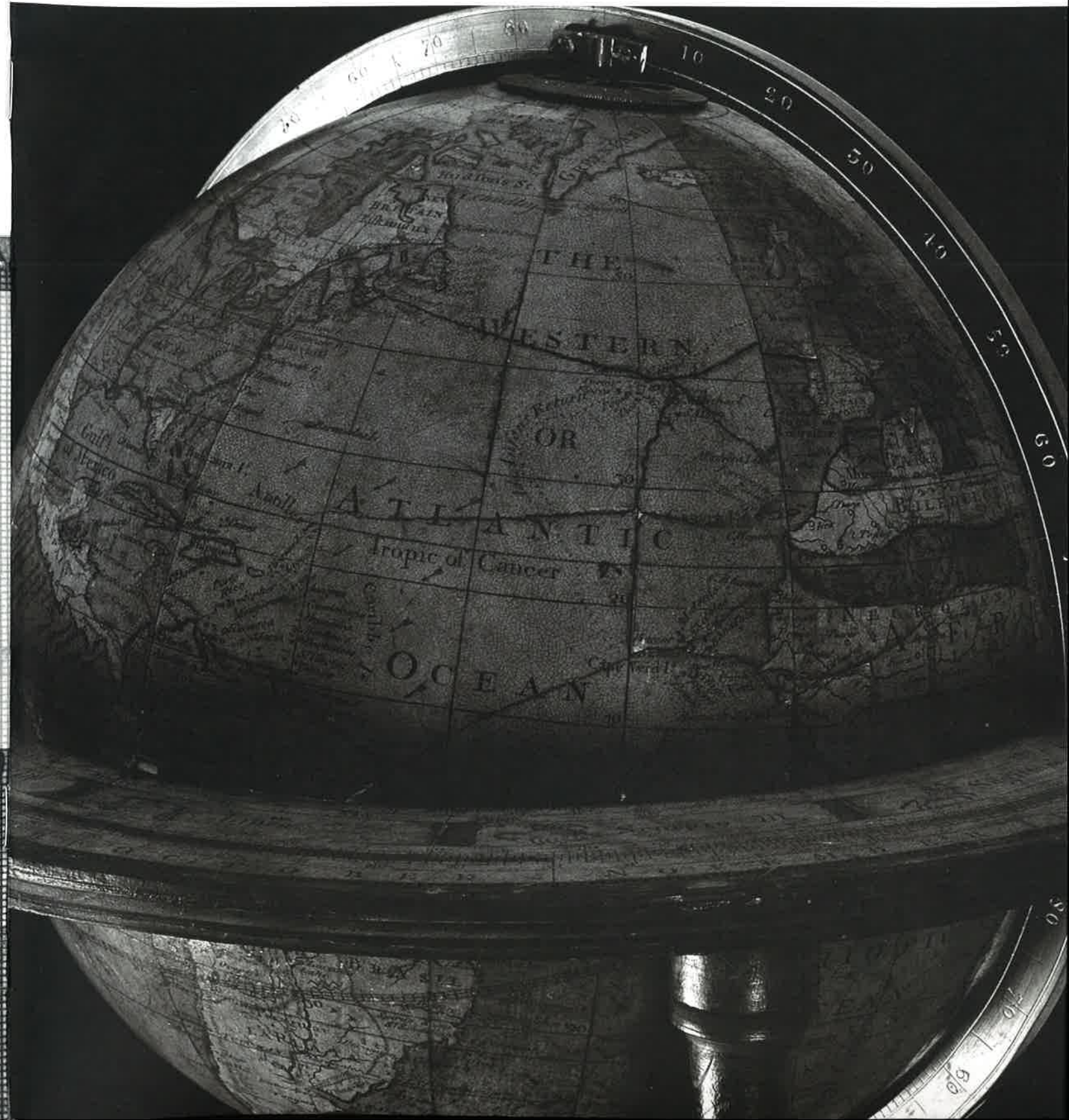
RHODE ISLAND HISTORY

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IN THE NEXT ISSUE

Newport cleric Ezra Stiles accuses Providence Baptist clergyman and President of Brown, James Manning of being a Tory sympathizer during the Revolutionary War. Irish-born Rhode Islanders enlist to fight in the Civil War with a promise that they will gain citizenship.



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 1770s, 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 Congregationalist 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.¹

Quamine and Yamma are not completely obscure figures for scholars of early America. There has been some work done on them, but their story has often been marshaled into the service of a larger interpretive narrative or framework. Joseph Conforti discussed the mission as a way to illuminate the racial implications of Rev. Samuel Hopkins's provocative theology, as well as to examine Hopkins's understanding of and relationship with slavery and the slave trade. Catherine Brekus has recently explored it as part of her award-winning and impressive study of Sarah Osborn, an evangelical woman in Newport who led a religious revival that included whites as well as blacks. I have also written about this missionary project, but mainly as a way to shed light on the history of missions that were operated by Amerindians, Afro-American slaves, and Africans.² The story of Quamine and Yamma has therefore served manifold purposes for scholars trying to understand theological controversies, changes in religious mentalities, and the dynamic and intercultural nature of early modern missionary work.

What hasn't been accomplished, however, is a richly detailed analysis of Bristol Yamma and John Quamine *for their own sake*. That is why Cherry Bamberg's contribution in the pages that follow is so useful, and so very welcome. Bamberg, a Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists who has published over a dozen works on town council records, diaries,

TO THE PUBLIC.

THERE has been a design formed, and some attempts have lately been made, to send the gospel to Guinea, by encouraging and furnishing two men to go and preach the gospel to their brethren there: And a memorial was drawn up some time since, with this view; and a number of copies in manuscript were dispersed, which is now offered to the public.

TO all who are desirous to promote the kingdom of Christ on earth, in the salvation of sinners, the following narrative and proposal are offered, to excite and elicit their charity and prayers.

There are two Negro men, members of the first congregational church in Newport, on Rhode Island, named *Bristol Yamma*, and *John Quamine*, who were happily converted some years ago; and have from that time sustained a good character as christians, and have made good proficiency in christian knowledge. The latter is son of a rich man at Annamaboe, and was sent by his father to this place for an education among the English, and then to return home: Which the person to whom he was committed engaged to perform, for a good reward. But instead of being faithful to his trust, he sold him a slave for life. But God in his providence has put it in the power of both of them to obtain their freedom. They joined in purchasing a ticket in a lottery, which drew a prize of 300 dollars. With this, and some other help they have purchased their liberty. The former is, however, 50 dollars in debt, as he could not purchase his freedom under 200 dollars which

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

"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.)

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. ♦

Edward E. Andrews, Providence College

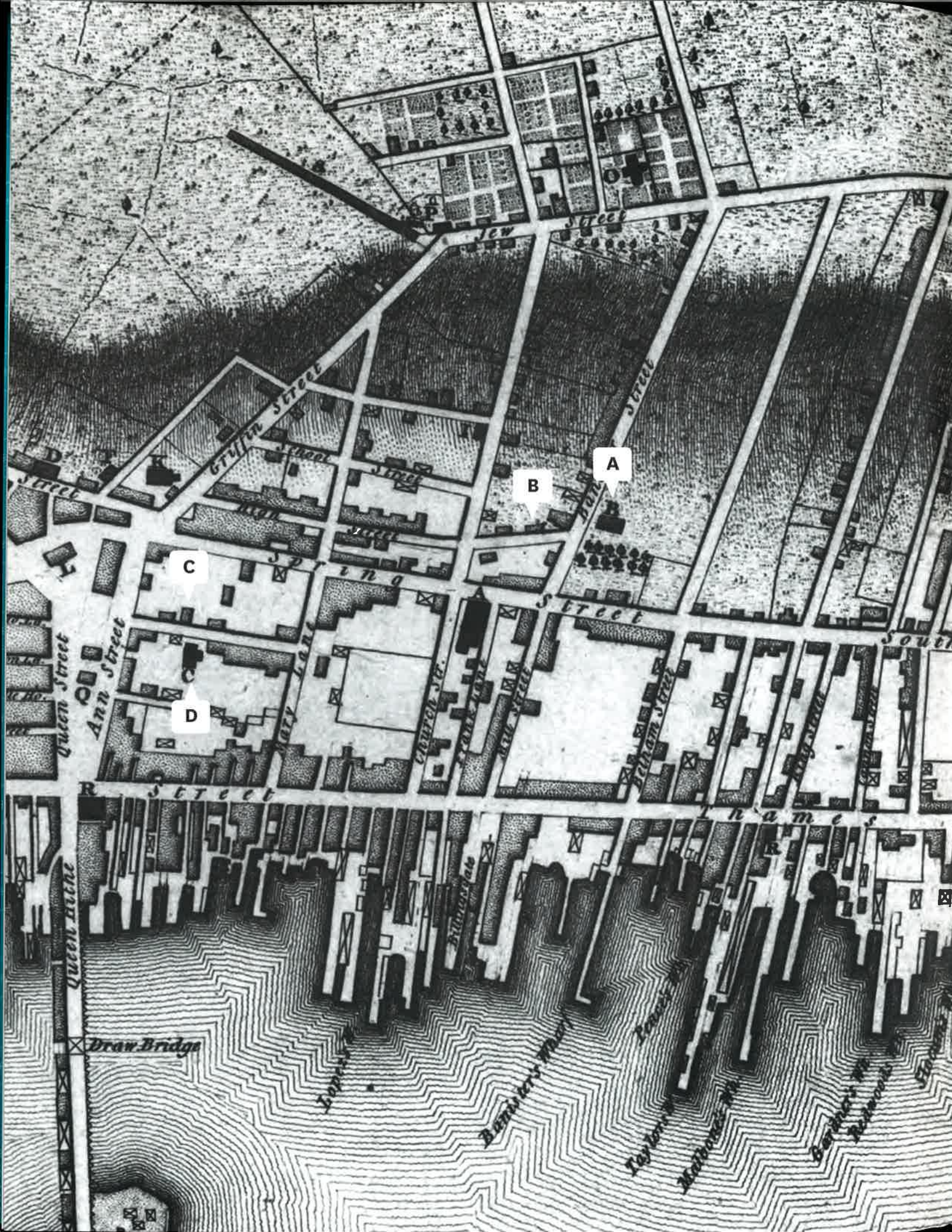
Bristol Yamma and John Quamine in Rhode Island

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. ¶

A Plan for the Town of Newport in Rhode Island. Surveyed by Charles Blaskowitz, engraved and publish'd by Willm. Faden. Library of Congress Maps of North America, 1750-1789, 1013, Catalog #74692105. Detail with author's notes. All four marked buildings still stand.

- A: First Congregational Church, 83 Mill St.
- B: Samuel Hopkins's house, 46 Division St.
- C: Ezra Stiles's house, 14 Clarke St.
- D: Second Congregational Church, 13-17 Clarke St.





Samuel Hopkins, 1721–1803. Oil on canvas by unidentified artist of the American school, ca. 1801. Dimensions: 60 x 52.4 cm; in frame, 78.8 x 70.8 x 6.3 cm. Artwork 01.159. Massachusetts Historical Society. Artwork 01.159, Painting Storage Racks A10.

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.”¹ 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.² 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 (1721–1803), 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.³ 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



Sarah Osborn's house, Osborne Court, Newport. Photograph, n.d., Newport Historical Society, P1495.

Christianity.⁴ Hopkins's thoughts about the plan and the people involved appear in his letters and published writings, but most clearly in his unpublished “Narrative.”⁵ 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.⁶

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.⁷ 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 “Singularity” as to religion.⁸

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, 1773.⁹ 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?¹⁰ Stiles had foreseen “vigorous opposition,” but even he



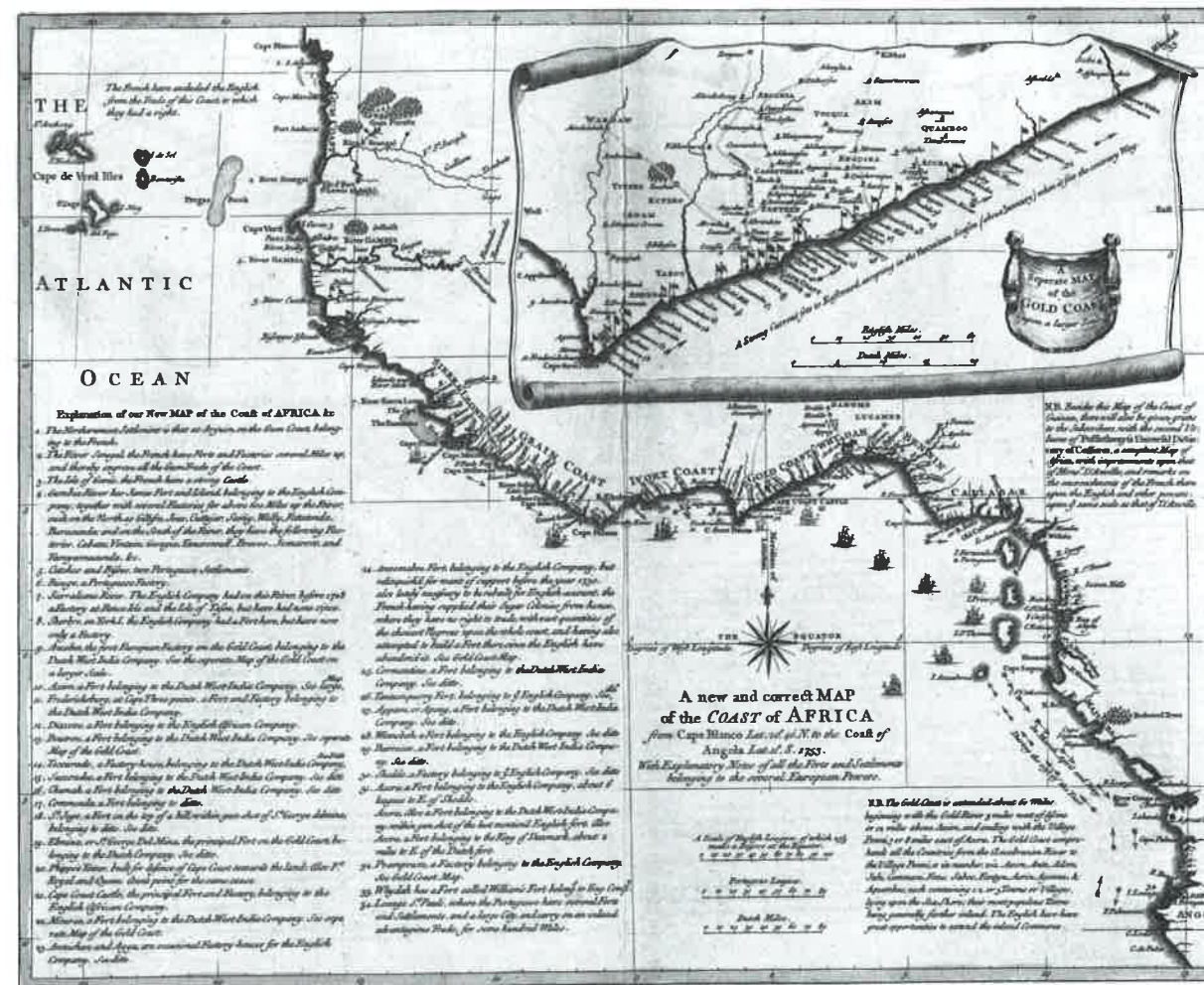
Ezra Stiles, 1727–1795. Oil on canvas by Nathaniel Smibert, 1734–1756, signed on reverse and dated 2 April 1756 (*Old-time New England, Bulletin of the Society for the Preservation of Antiquities*, 11 [1920–1921]: 55). Dimensions: 73.7 x 62.9 cm. Yale University Art Gallery. Gift of graduates to the University, 1919.11.

could not have imagined the extent of the problems detailed in Philip Quaque's gracious yet blunt response to Hopkins written on May 19, 1773. Philip Quaque 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, Quaque himself would be unable to help the Newport missionaries.¹¹ Quaque'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 Quamine 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 Quamine up to their selection for mission comes from

the observations of Newporters, based on what Yamma and Quamine told them, and, in John Quamine'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. Quamine 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 Coggeshall.¹² When freed, Quamance / Quaum / Quamino Church became John Quamance, Quamine, or Quamino.¹³ 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 Quamine's wife Dutchess was known



A New and Correct Map of the Coast of Africa, R.W. Seale (London: J & P Knapton, 1753?). Harvard Map Collection (Pusey), Map—LC 68735 1753, N4. Courtesy of Harvard Map Collections, Harvard University.

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 mother's master, also bore that family surname during slavery.

John Quamine'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 "Quaum" on Sunday evening, April 11, 1773. Although Stiles never mentioned it in his diary, John Quamine, 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."¹⁴ 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 devious captain educated John Quamine briefly (very briefly as he was illiterate in the 1760s) and then sold him as a slave for life.¹⁵

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 Quaque at Cape Coast Castle near Annamaboe confirmed John Quamine's African origins: "The minute account he entertains you with of his family and kindred is just."

27. Quamince Church, Servant of Capt. Benj^a. Church was admitted
 to Communion with our Church, after being baptized. July 28. 1765
 28. Eliza Gibbs ju^r. was admitted to the Communion of our Church. March 29. 1767.
 29. Sarah Coffey (Widow) was admitted to the Communion of our Church. March 29. 1767.
 30. Joseph Clark ju^r. was baptized & admitted to the Communion of our Church. March 29. 1767.
 31. Lydia Gibbs (Wife of Eliza Gibbs ju^r.) was bapt^d. & admitted to the Communion of our Church. March 29. 1767.
 32. Sarah Balch (Wife of Tim^o. Balch) was admitted to the Communion of our Ch^h. June 10 1768
 33. Bristol Coggeshall, Serv^t of Nath^l. Coggeshall jun^r. was admitted to Com^m. July 10. 1768 with our Ch^h.
 34. Obour Tanner, Serv^t of James Tanner was admitted to the Communion of our Ch^h. July 10. 1768.
 Thus far this record was kept by Mr. Vinal.

Admissions of "Quamince" Church, Bristol Coggeshall, and Obour Tanner to the First Congregational Church. First Congregational Church of Newport, Marriages and Baptisms, 1744-1825, Newport Historical Society Library, Mss 832, p. 61.

John Channing, about 1747-49, by Robert Feke, ca. 1707-ca. 1751. Oil on canvas, 127 x 101.92 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Mr. Augustus Eustis, 64.1008.



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," Oforee, "a great personage," who earnestly petitioned for Quamine's return.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷

Although Samuel Hopkins valued Bristol Yamma's faith more, we know details only of John Quamine's conversion. His interest in religion, first sparked in 1761 by Sarah Osborn'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 Osborn.¹⁸ His profession of faith led to his baptism in the First Congregational Church of Newport. On July 28, 1765, William Vinal wrote, "Bapt^d & admitted Quamence Church serv^t of Capt. Benjamin Church."¹⁹ 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 £808.²⁰ 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 Yamma respectively, had a family connection, and at least one slave, Cato Coggeshall, Jr., was transferred between the Coggeshall and Church families.²¹ No evidence has yet been discovered to prove that John Quamine also passed through the hands of the Coggeshalls into the Church family, but it remains a possibility.

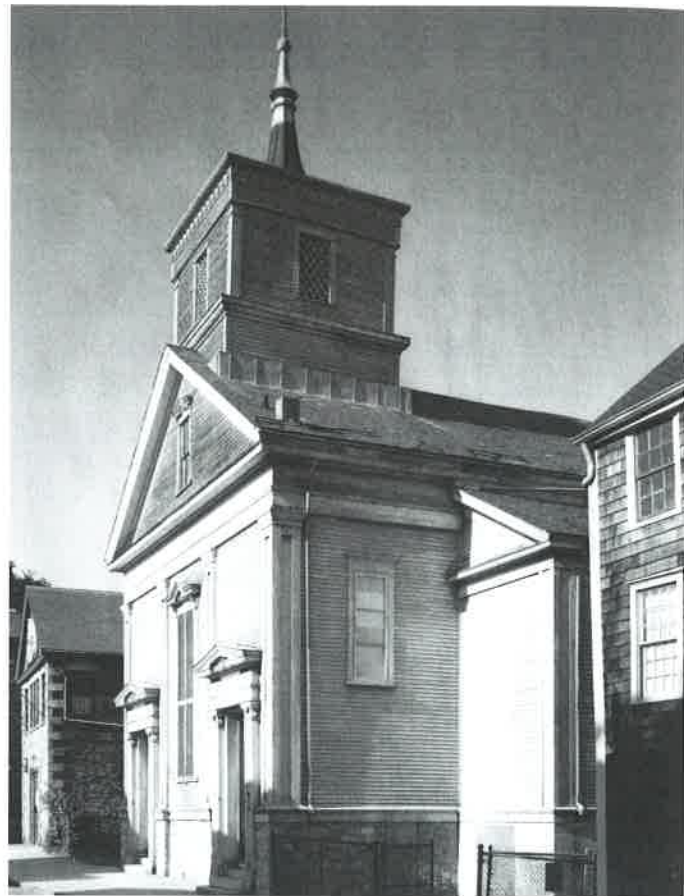
Around 1769, John Quamine married Dutchess Channing, who had been born in Africa ca. 1739.²² Of all the enslaved people in this story, Dutchess is the easiest to trace. She belonged to the prominent Newport merchant John Channing and lived a comparatively long life. John's grandson, Reverend William 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.²³

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 Duchess, 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.²⁴

John Channing had grown up with slaves in the family. His mother's estate, which he administered in 1741, included a "negro woman" Phillis (£120) and her four-year-old son Caesar (£30).²⁵ 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



Second Congregational Church of Newport, View from the Northeast. Photograph by Cervin Robinson, 1970. Library of Congress HABS RI, 3-NEWP, 71—2.

woman” he had left with him. Had she sold yet? If not, could Channing please sell her at the best price he could get?²⁶ John Channing’s papers at Newport Historical Society Library are included in the Papers of the American Slave Trade.²⁷

Like the Channings, Dutchess 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.”²⁸ The records show more than that Dutchess was a religious woman. Ezra Stiles’s baptismal records for the five children of John and Dutchess offer unique evidence of where Dutchess was when they were born. The first three children, Bettey, 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, 1779.²⁹

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.”³⁰ 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 1774.³¹

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 [tear]nt to their native country, and preach the gospel to the people from which they sprang....³²

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 *Shantee* [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 sprang.³³

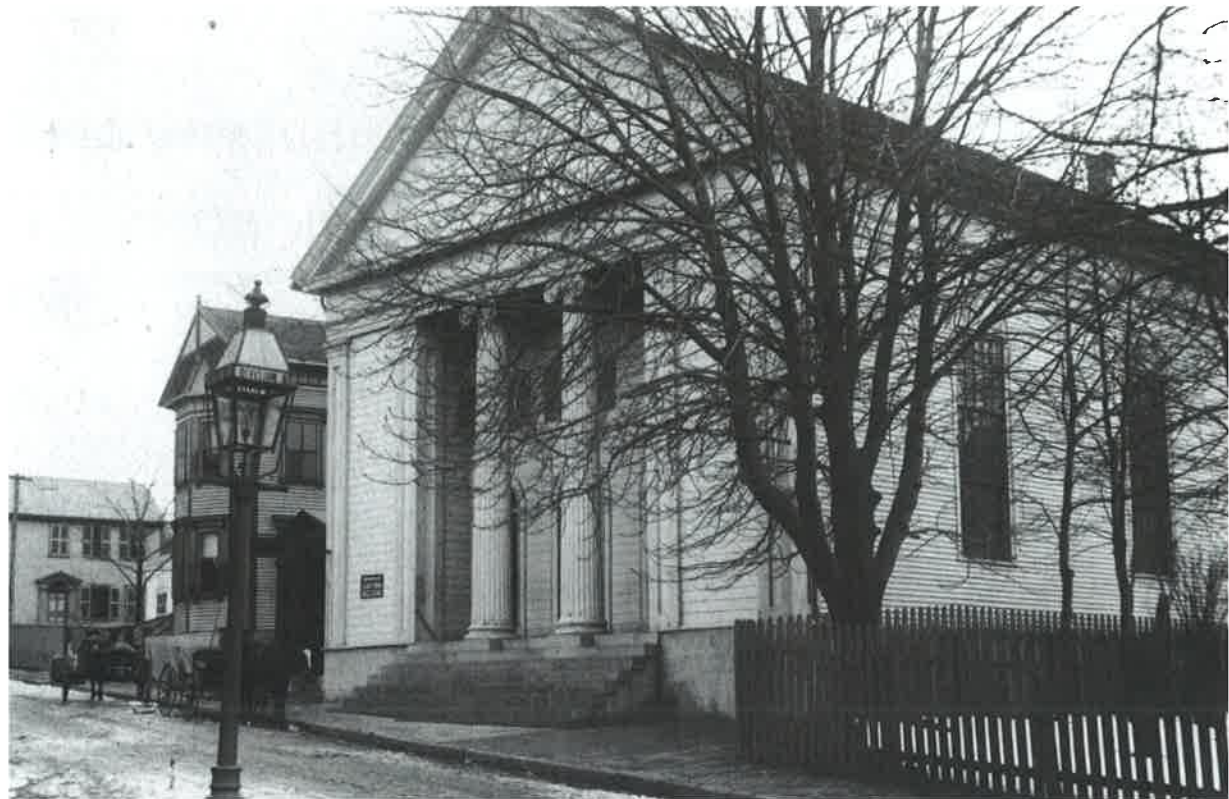
In his “Narrative” Hopkins expands slightly, noting that Bristol was from “the inland country, some hundreds of miles (as it is supposed) north of Annamaboe.”³⁴

Bristol had grown to manhood in Newport as the slave of Nathaniel Coggeshall, Jr., a young merchant from an old Newport 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, £300 in money and trading stock, £292 10s. in rents, and £452 4s. in “rateables.”³⁵ In 1772 Nathaniel Coggeshall, 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.³⁶ Meticulous business records at Newport Historical Society show that Nathaniel Coggeshall, Jr., sold rum, wine, Madeira, tea, cider, chocolate, flour, sugar, pepper, ginger, nutmegs, mustard, lemons, as well as butter pots and chamber pots,

“He cannot give any particular account of his parents and ye family from which he sprang.”

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.³⁷ 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 £2,000.³⁸ The house was twenty-four feet square with a fenced yard.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ Whether Bristol lived in the elegant house itself is unknown, but Newport slaves commonly lived in outbuildings.⁴¹

Nathaniel Coggeshall, 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 Coggeshall”), was a supporter of Sarah Osborn’s faction in the church.⁴² 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.⁴³ He was by then on his third marriage and seems to have settled down soon after as father of a rapidly growing family.⁴⁴ When he made his first will in 1763, Nathaniel Coggeshall, Jr., specified a bequest to



First Congregational Church of Newport, 83 Mill Street. Photograph, Newport Historical Society P19494, n.d. Although the photograph is undated, analysis of adjacent buildings at 81 and 85 Mill St. indicates that it was taken between 1883 and 1892.

Rev. Vinal of a suit of new clothes.⁴⁵ His children were baptized in the church. Mingled with their baptisms are those of Bristol Coggeshall, “colored servant” of Nathaniel, Jr., on July 10, 1768, and his daughters Jenny on May 10, 1772, Phillis on November 13, 1774, and Jenny (the second of this name) on July 22, 1781.⁴⁶ The absence of Samuel Hopkins from Newport and the closing of the church during the Revolution meant that children between Phillis 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 1779.⁴⁷ First Congregational Church of Newport records are regrettably silent on Bristol’s marriage to Phillis North, which probably occurred between August 1768 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 Purchis a Negro Boy to be Given to the Reverend Mr. Will^m Vinal,” in 1749.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ Nathaniel’s brother, Billings Coggeshall, had ordered, “a Prime Man Slave” from Capt. Nathaniel Briggs as he set out for Africa in 1761.⁵⁰ 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 Quamine was a “free Negro,” and Bristol Yamma a “servant” (i. e., slave).⁵¹ 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 Quamine 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 ref[tear] 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.⁵² 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.⁵³

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 Quamine 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 Countrymen in Africa might also come to a knowledge of and taste the same blessed Things.”⁵⁴ Hopkins said that Bristol Yamma and John Quamine—after he approached them—told him that “before I came to Newport, they had talked of this matter between themselves.”⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷

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 30 or 40 proper and well instructed Negroes could be procured, true Christians and inspired with the Spirit of Martyrdom and go forth and expected 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. . .⁵⁸

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 who supported them.

Despite his doubts, Ezra Stiles agreed to Hopkins’s request for him to meet with John Quamine in April 1773. It must have been a long evening in the Stiles house at 14 Clarke Street in Newport.⁵⁹ 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 adviseable. . .”⁶⁰ Over the next few months, however, Stiles came reluctantly to support Hopkins’s project. In a letter in December 1773 Stiles 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.

Phillis Wheatley. Engraving after Scipio Morehead [slave of Rev. John Morehead of Boston], Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-40054, frontispiece of Phillis Wheatley, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* (London, 1773).



heart to oppose the least Attempt to carry the gospel among them.”⁶¹

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.⁶² 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.⁶³

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.⁶⁴ Philip Quaque’s significant problems in Cape Coast Castle, for example, were exacerbated by language problems—born a Fetu, he needed an interpreter for his preaching so as not to put off his Fante audience.⁶⁵ His mission to Africa, in his own eyes and those of historians, was largely a failure.⁶⁶ 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 correspondence. 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 discuss’d 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 perishing heathen, leaving it with God to bring them back to their wives & children, or bring their wives and children to them, or not; as he should please to order.⁶⁷

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.⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹

By the time Philip Quaque'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 Quamine. 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."⁷⁰ 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."⁷¹ Trenchant criticisms also came in. Dr. Charles Chauncy of Boston wrote huffily to Stiles in October 1773 that he thought that Yamma and Quamine should not be educated by Hopkins. Stiles noted in his diary that Chauncey thought "the Negroes should better continue in Paganism than adopt Mr. H. scheme which he [Chauncey] judges far more blasphemous."⁷²

By December 1773 John Quamine and Bristol Yamma were still in Newport, still waiting to be educated for ministry. No decision had been made about how or where that 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—tho' 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 undetermined & Mr. Hopkins is very willing to be advised upon it & to have them sent abroad out of Newport for Education if this should be judg'd mostly expedient.⁷³

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*."⁷⁴ In the late summer they did go to live with "Mr. Hart," for two or three months, returning the last week in October.⁷⁵ 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 & Jn^o Quamine 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.⁷⁶ 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 pulpit in Scotland in 1766 and became president of Princeton only in 1768. His Scottish burr, which impeded his teaching of French, must have fallen strangely on the ears of his new pupils.⁷⁷ 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 Quamine's wife.⁷⁸ Witherspoon's connections

with the Scottish church undoubtedly played a part in the large donation (£30) to the mission design from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in Edinburgh.⁷⁹ Witherspoon was no abolitionist: he left two slaves in his will in 1794 and published instructions for masters on

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 Sloop at Fogland Ferry. And this Evening at VII^h Sailed from Fogland—at II^h anchored

"The Newport the men found on their return must have been almost unrecognizable as their home for decades."

controlling their "servants."⁸⁰ By the time Bristol Yamma and John Quamine arrived, Witherspoon was already preoccupied with his duties as a member of the Committee of Correspondence and later in the Continental Congress.⁸¹

John Quamine 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.⁸² The two men were back in Newport probably by spring but certainly by early summer of 1775—John Quamine 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 belov'd Ch^h & Congregation are broken up and dispersed. Oh JESUS I commit them & myself to thy holy Keeping."⁸³ His precious books, manuscripts, and furniture packed and sent away for safety since November 1775, Stiles spent the long, cold winter of 1776, "ready to depart at any Warning."⁸⁴

at Assonet."⁸⁵ Within days he had carted his family and his goods to the house in Dighton, and he preached there that Sunday, the sound of "fireing" at Boston audible during the service.⁸⁶ 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 29, 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 Quamine 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 expence. The proposal has met with good encouragement in England and Scotland,

and more than £30 sterl. has been sent from thence; and we had reason to expect more: But all communication of this kind is now stopped. Application 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.⁸⁷

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 Quamine 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.”⁸⁸ 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 1776.⁸⁹ 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*.⁹⁰

After his return from Princeton, John Quamine, 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.⁹¹ He attempted to forge a link with Moses Brown, a Quaker of Providence. In June 1776, the man who had only 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 sundry petitions to the General Assemblies in their favor, has excited one of that 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 reckoning day.⁹²

Was he writing from Newport or Providence? We know that John Quamine 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. Quamine passed the last evening very agreeably.”⁹³



Samuel Hopkins's house. Photograph, Newport Historical Society, P5751, N.D.

Between June 1776 when he wrote to Moses Brown and August 1779 when he died on a privateer ship, John Quamine’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 her 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.”⁹⁴ 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 Quamine in the fall of 1779: “Quaumino killed

on Board a Privateer in Action about Aug last. Designated for African Mission.”⁹⁵ Hopkins’s immediate reaction is unknown. He mentioned John Quamine’s death, though not the circumstances, in 1784, noting only that it “cast a gloom on ye design.”⁹⁶ 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, 1796, 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.”

Coggeshall of Newport. They had moved from Newport to East Greenwich and then to Providence. She estimated that she had lived there about twenty years.⁹⁷ 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 census⁹⁸—but it probably shows the broad outlines of their movements. From the previously mentioned baptisms of children, we know that the families of John Quamine and Bristol Yamma 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 Yamma’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 Yamma (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.⁹⁹ His education under John Witherspoon may not have helped Bristol Yamma 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 Yamma of

Providence”—but he was very active in the Providence branch of the organization.¹⁰⁰ “Bristol Yamma Esq” gave “a very handsome Speech” concerning the “rising generation,” among other topics at a special meeting in Newport on November 16, 1789.¹⁰¹ He was counted as head of a Providence household of seven in the federal census of 1790 and in the city census of 1791.¹⁰²

Bristol retained his close connection with Samuel Hopkins. Benjamin Quarles considered Yamma the leader of the Providence emigration scheme, a plan near and dear to Hopkins’s heart.¹⁰³ 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 Yamma, a free negro in Providence whom I suppose you know.” He added: “He will faithfully transmit it to me.”¹⁰⁴ In June 1791, writing to Dr. Levi Hart about his latest plan, Hopkins noted: “Bristol Yamma is the first black on my list for a missionary.”¹⁰⁵ Bristol Yamma of Providence subscribed to the publication of Hopkins’s book, *The System of Doctrines*, in early 1793.¹⁰⁶

Bristol eventually died in North Carolina in January 1794. On July 29, 1793, Hopkins had written to Dr. Levi Hart, “Bristol Yamma 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.”¹⁰⁷ On June 9, 1794, he wrote Hart again, this time with distressing news: “Bristol Yamma is dead! He died, last January in North Carolina.”¹⁰⁸

In 1796, the widowed Phillis Yamma 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 Yamma disappear as well. Two of her daughters, Phillis and Ruth, were in Newport by 1804 when they joined the First Congregational Church,



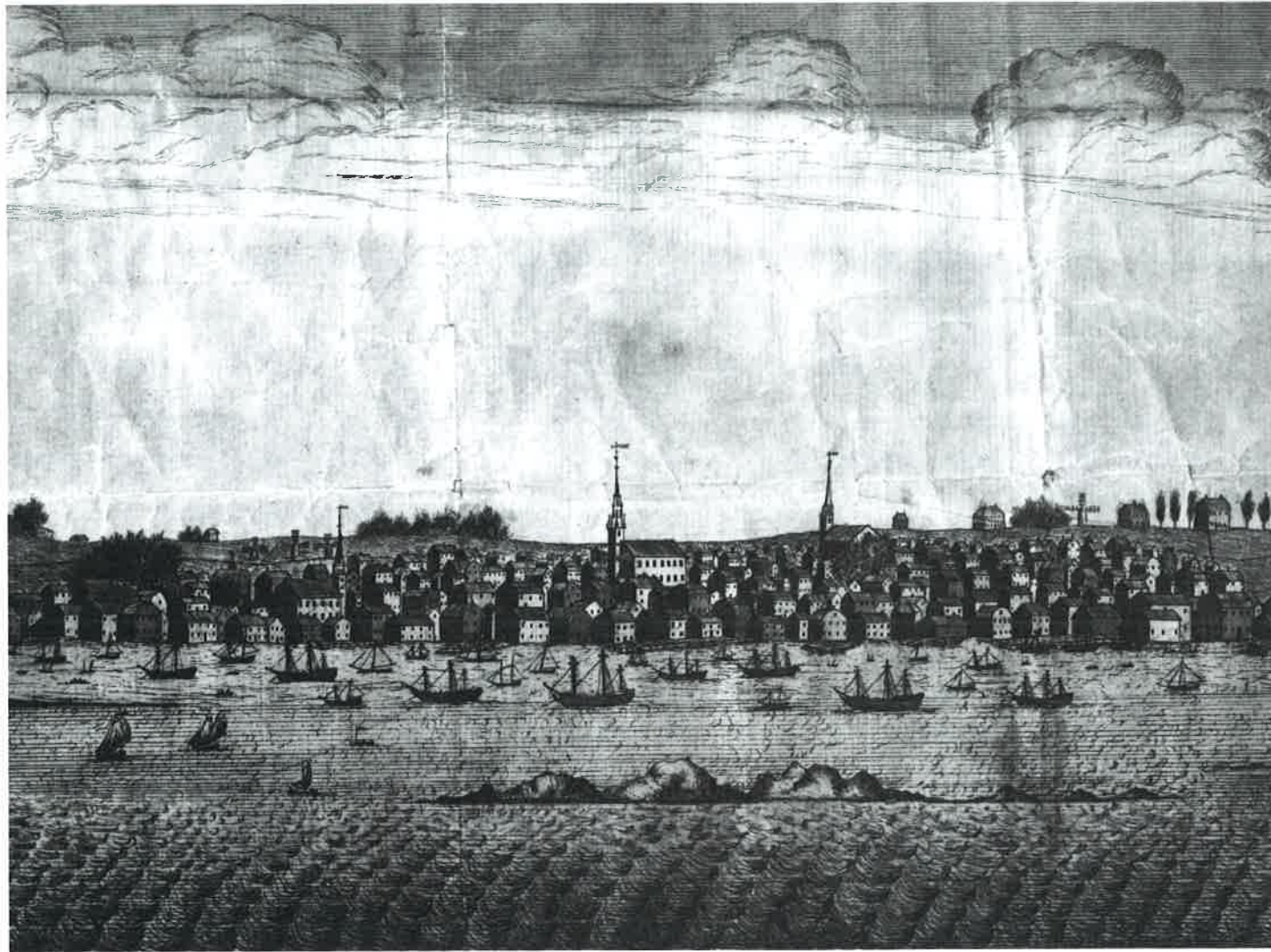
Mary Channing (Mrs. John Channing) about 1747–49, by Robert Feke, ca. 1707–ca. 1751. Oil on canvas, 127 x 101.92 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Mr. Augustus Eustis. 64.1009.

and they appear to have lived the rest of their lives there.¹⁰⁹ Phillis died at Newport on January 16, 1841, aged 68, unmarried.¹¹⁰ Her sister Ruth married Caesar Bonner, a well-known Newport figure, in 1804; the couple appear to have had no children.¹¹¹ 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.¹¹²

John Quamine’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.¹¹³ 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.¹¹⁴ 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.¹¹⁵

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 Yamma. Ezra Stiles described Katharine as the daughter of “Sister Dutchess, widow of Quaumino lately deceased. This the Quaumino designated for the African mission.” Stiles preached at Providence that day, “near half my flock being in & about that town.”¹¹⁶

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



A South-West View of Newport, by Samuel King, 1795. Print, Newport Historical Society, 91.35.1.

had died by then. As Cynthia and Violet lived into the 1790s, the daughter could only have been Bettey or Katharine. Her listing by name as head of household confirms that Dutchess was by 1782 a free woman.¹¹⁷ 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 “gairl” in the late 1780s—he was not her master.¹¹⁸ 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.¹¹⁹

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.¹²⁰ Dutchess also remained loyal to her husband's mentor, subscribing to the publication of Samuel Hopkins's book, *The System of Doctrines*, in 1793.¹²¹ She appeared in the 1800 census, living alone.¹²² 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 1803.¹²³ 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.¹²⁴

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 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 Quamino 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^e, tho' the Success may be doubtful.”¹²⁵ 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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1. The College of New Jersey, as Princeton was known until 1896, granted a handful of graduate degrees to African Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See "African Americans and Princeton University: A Brief History," Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University, accessed September 22, 2014, http://www.princeton.edu/mudd/news/faq/topics/African_Americans.shtml
2. See Joseph A. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement: Calvinism, the Congregational Ministry, and Reform in New England Between the Great Awakenings* (Grand Rapids: Christian University Press, 1981); Catherine A. Brekus, *Sarah Osborn's World: The Rise of Evangelical Christianity in Early America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); and Edward E. Andrews, *Native Apostles: Black and Indian Missionaries in the British Atlantic World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013).

1. Ezra Stiles and Samuel Hopkins, *To the Public*. Newport, R.I., presumed printed by Solomon Southwick. The eight-page version of April 1776, which includes the earlier version unchanged, is available on Microfiche [New York: Readex Microprint, 1985] 11 x 15 cm. (Early American imprints. First series; no. 14803).
2. Joseph A. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Christian College Consortium, 1981) [hereafter, Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins*] relates the project to Hopkins's theology in Chapter 9, "The Conversion of Africa," 142–158. The latest and best studies are Edward E. Andrews, *Native Apostles* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013) [hereafter, Andrews, *Native Apostles*], and Catherine A. Brekus, *Sarah Osborn's World: The Rise of Evangelical Christianity in Early America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2013). [hereafter, Brekus, *Sarah Osborn's World*]
3. Biographical studies of Hopkins have been appearing regularly since his death. His own autobiography, *Sketches of the Life of the Late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D., Pastor of the first Congregational Church in Newport, Written by Himself; Interspersed with Marginal Notes Extracted From His Private Diary; To Which Is Added: A Dialogue, By The Same Hand, On The Nature And Extent Of True Christian Submission; Also A Serious Address To Professing Christians: Closed By Dr. Hart's Sermon At His Funeral: With An Introduction To The Whole, By The Editor*, was published by Stephen West in Hartford, Conn. in 1805. Rev. William Patten, who served as Hopkins's assistant for decades, wrote *Reminiscences of the Late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D.D., of Newport, R.I.: Illustrative of His Character and Doctrines, With Incidental Subjects. From an intimacy with him of twenty-one years, while Pastor of a sister Church in said town* (Providence, R.I.: Isaac A. Cady, 1843) [hereafter, Patten, *Reminiscences of Samuel Hopkins*]. Edwards Amasa Park carried on the tradition with *Works Of Samuel Hopkins, D.D., First Pastor Of The Church In Great Barrington, Mass., Afterward Pastor Of The First Congregational Church In*

Newport, R.I., With A Memoir Of His Life And Character. 3 vols. (Boston, Mass.: Doctrinal Book and Tract Society, 1852) [hereafter, Park, *Works of Samuel Hopkins*].

4. Sarah Osborn's nicely restored house still stands on Osborn Court, off Church Street, Newport. See Sheryl Kujawa's "The Great Awakening of Sarah Osborn and the Female Society of the First Congregational Church in Newport," *Newport History* 65 (Spring 1994):133–153.
5. On July 23, 1774, Samuel Hopkins set about to write "A Narrative of the rise & progress of a proposal and attempt to send the Gospel to Guinea, by educating, and sending two negroes there to attempt to Christianize their brethren," [hereafter, Hopkins, "A Narrative"] adding notes for the rest of the year. The "Narrative," which had "lain dormant almost ten years," resumed on March 22, 1784 with a one-page summary of events. (Simon Gratz Mss. [Eminent Clergymen], Case 8, Box 23, Pennsylvania Historical Society). The fifteen pages of closely written text at Pennsylvania Historical Society have not been published.
6. Hopkins, "A Narrative," 1.
7. The diaries of Ezra Stiles, now at the Beinecke Library at Yale, were published as *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D.*, ed. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, 3 vols. (N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901) [hereafter, Stiles, *Literary Diary*]. A second book, *Extracts from the Itineraries and Other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles, D. D., LL. D., 1755–1794: With a Selection from His Correspondence*, ed. Franklin Bowditch Dexter (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1916) [hereafter, Stiles, *Itineraries*] offers travel notes, collected data on myriad topics, profiles of contemporaries, and correspondence.
8. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:20n, 36–37.
9. The letter may have been written as early as November 1772. Rhode Island newspapers carried several notices of the departure of the ship *Virginia* under Capt. Toman for Africa, including that of November 28, 1772 (*Newport Mercury*, November 28, 1772, p. 3). Ezra Stiles married Toman to Patty Newton, visited him, propounded both of

them for covenant, and baptized three of their children. (Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:422, 506, 572, 592; 2:427)

10. *The Life and Letters of Philip Quaque, the First African Anglican Missionary*, ed. Vincent Carretta and Ty M. Reese (Atlanta, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 2013) [hereafter, Philip Quaque], 8–9. 110–111.
11. Philip Quaque, 111–114. For the subtext of this letter, see Andrews, *Native Apostles*, 202–203. While there is no doubt of Quaque's sectarian prejudice against Congregationalists, he was not exaggerating his own precarious financial condition.
12. Philip Quaque, 114.
13. In this article his surname is silently standardized to "Quamine," except in direct quotations.
14. Stiles wrote an informative memorial of his friend and parishioner upon his death in 1771. (Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:91–92) John Channing's widow, 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 Robinson, and receiving many visits from her minister. (Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:28, 102, 142, 259, 327, 409, 428, 434, 504, 507, 615, 650, 664).
15. This story is not nearly as unlikely as it sounds. Rev. Thomas Thompson of New Jersey had been on the Gold Coast from about 1750 to 1754, preaching and seeking likely boys for education. Philip Quaque and two others had been sent to England in 1754. (Andrews, *Native Apostles*, 126–28, 132)
16. Philip Quaque, 115–117. Quaque refers to verifying the names of Quamine's parents but, tantalizingly, does not include them in his description.
17. Philip Quaque, 119. Hopkins used this material in the second appeal, *To the Public*, in 1776 and in an extended note that appeared in his *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Sarah Osborn* in 1799. Several sea captains named Linsey, Linzey, or Lindsay sailed out of Newport, but only
18. While the original is not known to exist, Brekus has deduced much of its character from a letter from Joseph Fish to Sarah Osborn, who had sent him a copy (Brekus, *Sarah Osborn's World*, 252–53).
19. First Congregational Church of Newport, Marriages Baptisms 1744–1825 [hereafter, First Cong. Church, 1744–1825], Newport Historical Society Library, Mss. 832, 26 (baptism), 61 (admission to the church), both July 28, 1765.
20. Charles A. Watson and Cherry Fletcher Bamberg, "1767 Estimates of Rateable Estate for Newport, Part One." (*Rhode Island Roots* 40 [June 2014]: 84). [Hereafter, Watson and Bamberg, "1767 Estimates of Rateable Estate for Newport, Part One"]
21. It was a complicated relationship. At the time of "Quamance's" baptism, his master Benjamin Church was married to his second wife Bathsheba Coggeshall Cranston Church, niece of Nathaniel Coggeshall, Sr. Cato Coggeshall, Jr., who was the son of Nathaniel's slave Cato, belonged to Bathsheba's daughter by her first husband, Mary Cranston Checkly. (See, "The Cato Coggeshalls: An African-American Family of Newport and Providence, Rhode Island," *The American Genealogist* 85 [April 2011, pub. May 2012]: 171–73.) After Benjamin Church's death Mary Cranston Checkly married Ezra Stiles as his second wife in 1782.
22. Her year of birth is estimated from her age at death in 1804, 65 years according to her gravestone. The precise circumstances of the marriage are unknown. This year is the

David Lindsay has been identified as the captain of a slaver, the *Sierra Leone*, in 1755. (Jay Coughtry, *The Notorious Triangle, Rhode Island and the Slave Trade* [Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University, 1981], 150). David Lindsay became a freeman of Rhode Island from Newport in May 1759. (John R. Bartlett, *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* [Providence, R.I.: State of Rhode Island, 1861], 6:202) In an undated list (probably 1760) Stiles included David Lindsay in a list of members of "Mr. Vinal's Meeting," i.e., the First Congregational Church of Newport (Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:44–45).

estimate of Youngken, *African-Americans in Newport*, 71. Their first child was baptized in September 1770.

23. She was a noted baker (recipes survive) and also an independent black businesswoman. See Laura Schenone, *A Thousand Years Over a Hot Stove: A History of American Women Told through Food, Recipes, and Remembrances* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003), 69–71. An extended biographical article by Theresa Guzman Stokes, "Duchess Quamino: The Pastry Queen of RI," appeared in *East Bay Newspapers*, 22 February 2005. Duchess participated in the fledgling black organizations formerly reserved for men. For her part in the Free African Union as shareholder in the Palls and Biers Society, see Catherine Adams and Elizabeth H. Pleck, *Love of Freedom: Black Women in Colonial and Revolutionary New England* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 179–80. Her most recent appearance is in a charming diorama at Loeb Visitors Center of Touro Synagogue in Newport.
24. This letter first appeared in Wilkins Updike, *Memoirs of the Rhode-Island Bar* (Boston, Mass.: T.H. Webb & Co, 1842), 100–101. It was reprinted in *Memoir of William Ellery Channing* [hereafter, W. E. Channing, *Memoir*], three vols. [1848] (8th ed., Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, & Co., 1860), 1:17. Mary Channing was the widow of John Channing who had died young in 1731. (Sterling, et al., *Newport Colonial Burial Grounds*, 148) The sentimentalized view of slavery was typical of nineteenth-century historical accounts.
25. Newport Probate Records, Newport City Hall, 8:157.
26. John Channing had owned two slaves, perhaps including Dutchess, in 1767. (Watson and Bamberg, "1767 Estimates of Rateable Estate for Newport, Part One," 84) Hugh McDaniel, Boston, to John Channing, Newport, 29 May 1749, Papers of the American Slave Trade (microfilm), Series B, Part 1, reel 28, frame 294.
27. *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of Papers of the American Slave Trade, Part 1: Selected Collections, Series B: Selections: from the Newport Historical Society*, Jay Coughtry and Martin

- Schipper, eds., compiled by Daniel Lewis, 2004. Most of the papers are those of the Gibbs & Channing partnership, but specific references to John Channing occur at 9: 0155; 12: 0052; 35: 0125.
28. Newport, Second Congregational Church Records, 1728–1786 [hereafter Second Cong. Church Records, 1728–1786], Newport Historical Society Library, Mss 838B, 60.
29. Second Cong. Church Records, 1728–1786, 42, 44, 45, 47, 190. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:68, 207, 421, 2:16, 376. With the first, Stiles noted that in the afternoon, he “baptized a Negro infant on acco of her Mother, a member of my Church.”
30. Hopkins, “A Narrative,” 2.
31. Judith C. Harbold, “1774 Census of Newport (Part 1),” *Rhode Island Roots* 35 (March 2009): 10.
32. Hopkins, “A Narrative,” 1–2.
33. *Philip Quaque*, 114–115. Material in square brackets from the editors of that book. Brekus describes both Quamine and Yamma as Ashantis from modern-day Ghana. (Brekus, *Sarah Osborn's World*, 281) Andrews follows Hopkins in identifying Quamine as a Fantee and Yamma as an Ashanti. (Andrews, *Native Apostles*, 203)
34. Hopkins, “A Narrative,” 1.
35. Watson and Bamberg, “1767 Estimates of Rateable Estate for Newport (Part One),” 84.
36. Elaine Forman Crane, *A Dependent People: Newport, Rhode Island in the Revolutionary Era* (Bronx, N.Y.: Fordham University Press, 1985), 27. The molasses was destined for his father's distillery.
37. Nathaniel Coggeshall, Day Book, 1754, #536; Nathaniel Coggeshall, Ledger #2, 1764–1767, #404; Nathaniel Coggeshall, Receipt Book, 1758–1770, #1802; Nathaniel Coggeshall, Receipt Book, 1763–1773, Newport Historical Society Library. Entries include frequent charges for carting.
38. Nathaniel and his wife Elizabeth died within three months of each other. Both made wills that exist only as fragments in very damaged town council records (Newport Town Council and Probate Records, Newport Historical Society Library, 18:163 [Nathaniel's 1763 will, later revoked], 255–56 [Nathaniel's 1773 will and inventory]; 18:259–60, 264 [Elizabeth's 1773 will and a few lines of inventory]). Page 256 is torn, and the final page of the inventory, which would have shown slaves and the total value of the estate, is missing. Nathaniel Coggeshall, Sr., and his surviving son Billings Coggeshall were executors of both wills. The estate was still open in March 1781. (*The Newport Mercury*, March 3, 1781, p. [4])
39. Nathaniel Coggeshall, Sr., and Billings Coggeshall tried to sell the house at auction in January 1774, but had to settle for renting it. (*The Newport Mercury*, January 3, 1774, p. 3; January 17, 1774, p. 4) Nathaniel Jr.'s dwelling house and fencing sustained damages estimated at £108 12s. during the British occupation of Newport. (Revolutionary War Claims for Damages, 1776–1781, C# 00252, Rhode Island State Archives, 22)
40. Newport Land Evidence, 3:259. The lot abutted his father's land.
41. Hessian officer Captain Friedrich von der Malsburg noted in 1776 that the typical Newport house had slave quarters and stables in the yard. (Walter K. Schroder, *The Hessian Occupation of Newport and Rhode Island, 1776–1779* [Westminster, Md.: Heritage Books, 2005], 67)
42. See Cherry Fletcher Bamberg, “The Cato Coggeshalls: An African-American Family of Newport and Providence, Rhode Island,” *The American Genealogist*, 85 (2011): 141–50, 171–74. [Hereafter, Bamberg, “The Cato Coggeshalls”] The Coggeshalls were two of the many distillers in Newport before the Revolution.
43. First Congregational Church of Newport, Marriages Baptisms and Miscellaneous, 1744–1825 [hereafter, First Congregational Church, 1744–1825], vol. 832, Newport Historical Society Library, 115–116. He had to confess his faults before his child could be baptized.
44. For his family, see Charles Peirce Coggeshall and Thellwell P. Coggeshall, *The Coggeshalls in America* (Boston, Mass.: C.E. Goodspeed and Co., 1930), 60–61.
45. Newport Town Council and Probate, 1706–1776 Misc., Newport Historical Society Library, 18:255.
46. First Congregational Church, 1744–1825, 27. Jenny's baptism appears twice in Arnold, once under the surname Coggeshall, and once—mangled into a marriage record by a superfluous comma—as “Yammace, Jenny, of Bristol, and Phyllis Coggeshall, July 22, 1781. (James N. Arnold, *Vital Record of Rhode Island 1636–1850* [hereafter, Arnold, RIVR], [21 vols., Providence, R. I.: Narragansett Historical Publishing Company, 1891–1912], 8:428)
47. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 2:376. He was more specific in the church record, noting after the record of the baptism of Katherine Church, daughter of Dutchess, that he also baptized “Bristol and Ruth Children of Bristol, another of the African Mission, and Phyllis his Wife” (Second Cong. Church Records, 1728–1786, 190). At this time Rev. Samuel Hopkins was preaching in Stamford, 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.
49. Cherry Fletcher Bamberg, “The 1774 Census of Rhode Island: Newport (Part 2),” *Rhode Island Roots*, 35 (2009):83.
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 1 [originals at Newport Historical Society Library], Slaves Manuscripts, reel 28, frame 275).
51. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:363.
52. Hopkins, “A Narrative,” 3.
53. John Eylers Sterling, Barbara J. Austin, Letty R. Champion, *Newport, Rhode Island Colonial Burial Grounds*, ed. Cherry Fletcher Bamberg FASG (Hope, R. I.: Rhode Island Genealogical Society, 2009) [hereafter, Sterling et al., *Newport Colonial Burial Grounds*], 211.
54. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:366.
55. Hopkins, “A Narrative,” 2.
56. See Andrews, *Native Apostles*, 208–212. Sarah Osborn corresponded with Joseph Fish, missionary to the Narragansetts. (Barbara E. Lacey, “The Bonds of Friendship: Sarah Osborn of Newport and the Reverend Joseph Fish of Stonington, 1743–1779,” *Rhode Island History* 45 (November 1986): 127–136) Stiles collected information on Native American people in his *Itineraries*, sketching their buildings, noting their numbers in different towns, and their connections with organized religion.
57. For an overview of such designs, readers should turn to Edward Andrews's explanation of the national and international aspects in *Native Apostles*.
58. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:364.
59. The comfortable house at 14 Clarke Street, opposite the church building, still stands, though much changed in the nineteenth century. For a description and map, see Antoinette F. Downing and Vincent J. Scully, Jr., *The Architectural Heritage of Newport Rhode Island 1640–1915* [1952] (2nd ed., New York: Harvard University Press, 1967) [hereafter, Downing and Scully, *Architectural Heritage of Newport*], 459–61.
60. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:366.
61. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:364–65, n.1.
62. A member of the Second Congregational Church for almost thirty-four years, Polipus Hammond was, according to Stiles, “a Pillar in the Congregation.” Stiles further noted: “He was many years a Guinea Captain; he had then no doubt of the Slave Trade. But I have reason to think that if he had his Life to live over again, he would not chuse to spend it buying and selling the human species.” (Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:340)
63. Thomas Salmon's book, *Salmon's Modern Gazetteer*, was and still is available in Newport at The Redwood Library in the 1746 edition. (*The 1764 Catalogue of the Redwood Library Company at Newport, Rhode Island*, ed. Marcus A. McCorison [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965], 67) Stiles, who served as librarian of the Redwood, must have seen it there.
64. Hopkins, “A Narrative,” 6.
65. Kwasi Konadu, *The Akan Diaspora in the Americas* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 67.
66. See the discussion of various evaluations by Vincent Carretta and Ty M. Reese in *Philip Quaque*, 20–25.
67. Hopkins, “A Narrative,” 3.
68. Letter to John Thornton, Esq., October 30, 1774, in *Complete Writings by Phillis Wheatley*, ed. Vincent Carretta (New York: Penguin Books, 2001) [hereafter, *Writings of Phillis Wheatley*], 159. Phillis may not have known Quamine and Yamma personally, but Samuel Hopkins and her friend Obour Tanner certainly did.
69. Brekus and Andrews both offer some information on John Quamine's family. Brekus notes, however, “Yamma seems to have been single.” (Brekus, *Sarah Osborn's World*, 282)
70. Hopkins, “A Narrative,” 4.
71. *Writings of Phillis Wheatley*, 151–52.
72. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:414.
73. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:365n.
74. Park, *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 132.
75. Hopkins, “A Narrative,” 11.
76. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:486.
77. Richard Harrison, *Princetonians 1769–1775, A Biographical Dictionary* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1980), xvii.
78. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:72; W. E. Channing, *Memoir*, 12.
79. Brekus, *Sarah Osborn's World*, 283.
80. Aims McGuinness '90 and Joelle Godfrey '89, “Presence of Blacks on Campus Extends to 1700s,” *Daily Princetonian*, February 6, 1989, p. 6.
81. For an interesting collection of writings on Witherspoon, see John Bailey Witherspoon, *The History and the Genealogy of the Witherspoon Family* (Fort Worth, Texas: Miran Publishers, 1973), 57–78. Princeton University Library holds a substantial collection of Witherspoon's papers, including the letter of Stephen West, 4 January 1774, to Ezra Stiles and Samuel Hopkins (John Witherspoon Collection, 1765–1794, Co274, Box 3, Folder 12).
82. Brekus, *Sarah Osborn's World*, 294. Inflation was skyrocketing at the period, and money that may have seemed sufficient was likely not worth much. Hopkins probably sent more money right away. Conforti cites a letter from Witherspoon to Hopkins, February 27, 1775, that says that Bristol Yamma had received the money sent from Newport and that both men were “becoming pretty good in reading and writing.” (Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins*, 146, citing Witherspoon to Hopkins, February 27, 1775, Misc. Mss, New York Public Library)
83. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:624. He estimated that only thirty of one hundred and thirty families in his congregation remained.
84. Letter to John Lewis at Yale, January 21, 1776 (Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:658).
85. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 1:665.
86. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 2:1. The sound, first heard around midnight, lasted until noon. William Channing, son of John Channing, was at Dighton with his family. His widowed mother Mary Channing was there too, with her household. When Stiles left Dighton in May 1777, he sold half a bushel of salt and some “hogs fat” to Mrs. Channing, as he always called her (account book cited in Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 2:161). He returned in October 1777 to visit her and stayed at her house on October 9, 1779 (Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 2:221). Dutchess, John Quamine's wife, was also in Dighton as her child was baptized there in June 1776.
87. Samuel Hopkins to Thomas Cushing, December 29, 1775 (*Founding Families: Digital Editions of the Papers of the Winthrops and the Adamses*, ed. C. James Taylor [Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 2007], <http://www.masshist.org/apde2/>, accessed 20 October 2014).

88. Park, *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 136.
89. Stiles noted in his diary for December 12, 1776, "I hear that Rev. Mr Hopkins has escaped from Newport." (Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 2:96; Park, *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 90) The Samuel Hopkins House still stands. (See Downing and Scully, *Architectural Heritage of Newport*, 501.) Hopkins went to pulpits in Great Barrington and Newburyport, Mass., and Canterbury and North Stamford, Conn.
90. Brekus, *Sarah Osborn's World*, 291-301.
91. Hopkins, "A Narrative," 15.
92. The congratulations were not entirely timely as Moses Brown had manumitted his slaves in 1773. The original letter, catalogued at the Rhode Island Historical Society Library, is missing, and thus there is no way to evaluate the original handwriting, spelling, and mechanics or to look for clues as to where it was composed. It was transcribed in Mack Thompson's *Moses Brown, Reluctant Reformer* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 105, and in Philip S. Foner's *Blacks in the American Revolution*, Contributions in American History, vol. 55 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975), 21.
93. In 2005 Swann Galleries in New York auctioned this letter to an anonymous bidder for \$253,000. (A photo of the first page, transcript, and auction information were posted online Monday, November 28, 2005 in a blog titled "Phyllis Wheatley Letter + Banned Books" at <http://jstheater.blogspot.com/2005/11/phyllis-wheatley-letter-banned-books.html>, accessed October 20, 2014.)
94. Patten, *Reminiscences of Samuel Hopkins*, 86-87. While Patten offers no evidence, he was close to Hopkins and worked with the African Humane Society in Newport in the early nineteenth century.
95. *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 2:378
96. Hopkins, "A Narrative," 15. The only time Hopkins mentioned Quamine's death in print, the reference is curiously vague: "Before the war was over the latter [John Quamine] died." (Hopkins, *Memoirs of Sarah Osborn*, 78n)
97. Providence Town Council Records, Providence City Archives, 7:118. An earlier version of these meeting minutes adds the word "widow." (RG100, Providence Town Council Meeting Records, 1789-1799 [originals], 1795-1799 folder, Providence City Archives)
98. 1782 Census of Rhode Island [hereafter, 1782 Census of Rhode Island] Theodore Foster Papers, Mss 424, 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.
99. Transactions typically involved small quantities of spirits and sugar, balanced by payments for trucking (Welcome Arnold, *Labourers Book*, 1785-1786, 22, 33, 45, 59, 74, 84; 1787-1788, 9, 41, in "Arnold Family Business Records," John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I. The account was carried forward to the 1789 book, 73 (Bristol bought a bushel of corn in February 1789 and worked a few days at the still house in February 1790). It was carried to Book 7, a volume that covered accounts from March 17, 1794, on April 26, 1799. Bristol then owed £1 1d. and was owed 9s., but the account showed no activity since 1790. These worm-eaten books have not been catalogued, nor does the collection name currently appear in indices at the library.
100. Although he probably belonged first to the Free African Union Society in Newport, founded in 1780, its surviving records do not begin until 1787. See: *The Proceedings of the Free African Union Society & African Benevolent Society, Newport, Rhode Island, 1780-1824* [hereafter Robinson, *Free African Union Society*], ed. William H. Robinson (Providence, R.I.: The Urban League of Rhode Island, 1976), viii-ix, 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, Mss 1674B, Newport Historical Society Library, 25, 27, 38) [Hereafter, Union Cong. Church, 1790-96]

The Union Church grew out of the earlier organization and held its records. Bristol's daughter Phyllis later belonged to this church.

101. Union Cong. Church, 1790-96, 52-53. The records indicate that the meeting featured a debate over the relationship of the Providence and Newport organizations.
102. 1782 Census of Rhode Island, 142. In 1790 and 1791 his name appears between those of Patience Gardner and Fortune Stafford. (1790 U. S. Census, Providence, Providence Co., R. I., roll 10, 187; 1791 Census of Providence, Rhode Island Historical Society, 17)
103. Benjamin Quarles, *Black Mosaic: Essays in Afro-American History and Historiography*, repr. of earlier essays (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 61.
104. Park, *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 122.
105. Park, *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 136.
106. Samuel Hopkins, *The System of Doctrines*, 2 vols. (Boston, Mass.: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1793) [hereafter, Hopkins, *System of Doctrines*], 1:xi.
107. Park, *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 1:148. The warmer climate Hopkins 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*, 1:149)
108. Park, *Works of Samuel Hopkins*, 1:149.
109. First Cong. Church, 1744-1825, 64. Phyllis, "a black," was admitted in May 1804, her sister Ruth a few months later.
110. The paper noted that she had been "a steadfast follower of Christ 38 years." The name Yamma disappears from Rhode Island records with her death.
111. First Cong. Church, 1744-1825, 18. It was not Caesar Bonner's first marriage. He has been described as the stepfather of Isaac Rice, the black entrepreneur and abolitionist, who was born in 1792 in "the

Narragansett Country." (Richard C. Youngken, *African-Americans in Newport* [hereafter, Youngken, *African-Americans in Newport*] [2nd printing, Newport, R.I.: Newport Historical Society, 1998], 55). Caesar Bonner belonged to various black organizations including the Free African Union Society from at least 1810. (Robinson, *Free African Union Society*, 157, 175-76, 188, 195-96) "Stately old Caesar Bonner" is described in Charles H. Dow, *Newport: the City by the Sea* (Newport: J.P. Sanborn, 1880), 84, and again in "Early Bakeries of Newport," *The Newport Daily News*, 23 April 1897, p.3.

112. 1830 U.S. Census, Newport, Newport Co., R. I., roll 167, p. 8.
113. Account with John Remington, John Channing Account Book, Channing Family Papers, Box 52, folder 2, Newport Historical Society Library. The debts were incurred February 6, 1787, March 17, 1787, March 1, 1789, and March 10, 1789, long after Duchess was freed.
114. Judith C. Harbold, "1774 Census of Rhode Island: Newport (Part 1)," *Rhode Island Roots* 35 (March 2009): 17.
115. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 2:16. The baptism was recorded in Second Cong. Church Records, 1728-1786, 47.
116. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, 2:376; Second Cong. Church Records, 1728-1786, 190.
117. 1782 Census of Rhode Island, 15 (Mrs. Channing and Dutchess).
118. When John died in 1771, his twenty-year-old son William, Princeton 1769, was studying law in Providence. For William Channing at Princeton and as a law student, see W. E. Channing, *Memoir*, 12.
119. See, for example, Newport.toursphere.com and wikimapia.org/21810377/William-Ellery-Channing-Home, accessed November 10, 2013. The ownership of the building is somewhat complex. Downing and Scully show that it came into the Channing family only in 1782 when it was bought by William's brother, Walter Channing. (Downing and Scully, *Architectural Heritage of Newport*,

500) It is said to have been the birthplace of William Ellery Channing. Had the Widow Channing lived with William in Newport, Dutchess might have lived in the building, but as far as can be determined, William lived separately. (1782 Census of R.I., 13)

120. Sterling, et al., *Newport Colonial Burial Grounds*, 155, 177. Cynthia and Violet are described on their elegant gravestones from the Stevens shop as daughters of John and Dutchess Quamino.
121. Hopkins, *System of Doctrines*, 1:xi. Catherine Brekus points out the respect in Hopkins's use of her title "Mrs Dutchess Quamino" in the list of subscribers. (Brekus, *Sarah Osborn's World*, 313)
122. 1800 U.S. Census, Newport, Newport Co., R. I., roll 46, p. 238. Her former mistress Mary Channing, widow of John, died at the age of seventy on 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)
123. Dr. Isaac Senter Papers, Mss 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 Senter's death in a duel in Charleston, S. C., wrote on the "con" side of the ledger "an old laboring negro woman -- now dead -- good for nothing" on August 12, 1805. The final three words are not quite as disparaging as they seem: the writer used them to indicate which patients 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.
124. Sterling, et al., *Newport Colonial Burial Grounds*, 177. Her gravestone bears a tribute to her character, written by William Ellery Channing, but does not mention that she was the widow of John Quamine. The surface of the slate gravestone is slowly spalling off, and lichens obscure much of the inscription.
125. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, letter of December 8, 1773, 364n.



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. 1688-94. © The Governors of Sutton's Hospital.



ROGER WILLIAMS RECEIVED BY THE INDIANS.

There is no known contemporary portrait of Roger Williams. This is a depiction of Williams's arrival in the Narragansett country (RHi X3 5445).

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 1651 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



Diplomat Oscar Straus (1850–1926) took a keen interest in preserving Roger Williams's legacy of religious tolerance. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, n.d., LC-DIG-ggbain—07194 (digital file from original negative).

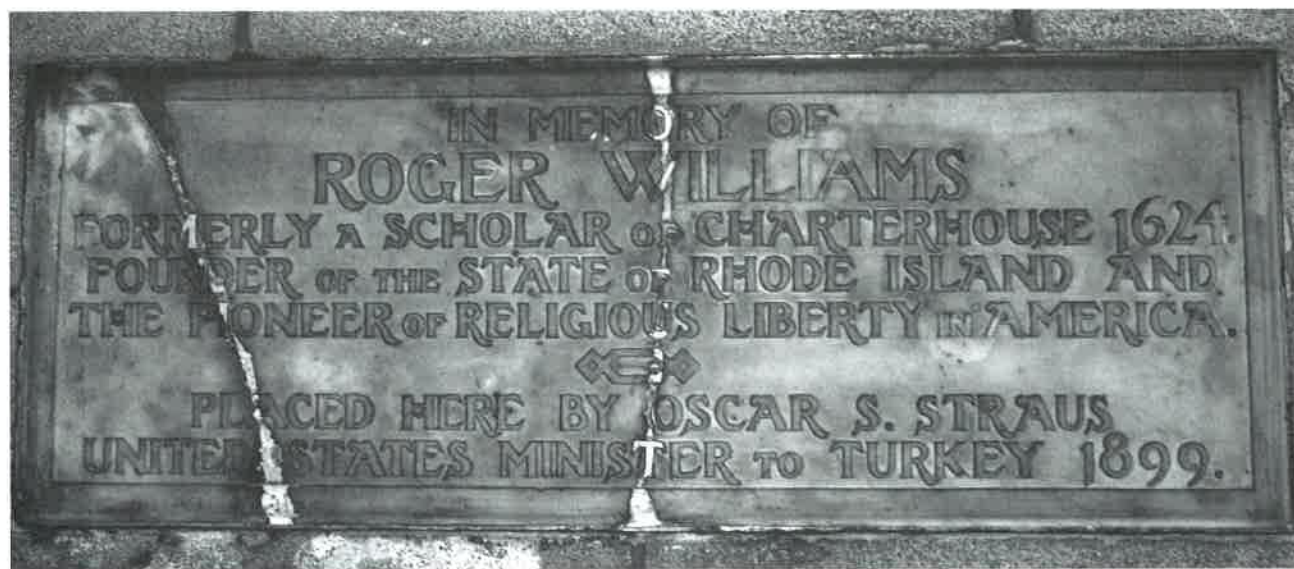
1663. Williams was an important figure in both the early history of the New England colonies and the Puritan revolution, for establishing not only the principle but the actual observance of freedom of worship, unhindered by state or church, the separation of church and state, and democratic government.

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."³ 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 Williams'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



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

culminated in a biography, published in 1894 as *Roger Williams, the Pioneer of Religious Liberty*. Straus 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."⁵

When on a visit to London in 1898 Straus went to the Charterhouse, curious to see the place where Williams had been educated. He was shown around 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 chapel with 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 Straus'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 Straus 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 1624
Founder of the State of Rhode Island and*

*The Pioneer of Religious Liberty in America.
Placed here by Oscar S. Straus
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. Chancellor and Henry S. Eeles, who included him among the twenty-six Charterhouse alumni contained in their *Celebrated Carthusians* of 1936. The installation of the plaque in the Charterhouse was reported in *The American Historical Review*.⁶ 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.

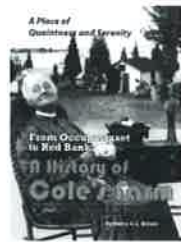
Little further attention was given to the monuments until the 400th anniversary of the charity, in 2011, when a new memorial to Thackeray was erected and that to Augustus Saunders, Head Master during the mid-nineteenth century, was cleaned. Since the post-war repair of Williams's memorial the damage 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 the 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. ♦

Dr. Stephen Porter is the archivist of Sutton's Hospital in Charterhouse, a charity established in 1611, and he has been studying its history for twenty years. His account of the charity is entitled The London Charterhouse (2009). He is also the author of a number of books on London's history, including The Great Fire of London (1996), The Great Plague (1999), Shakespeare's London (2009) and Pepys's London (2011). An earlier version of this article appeared in Sutton Hospital's in-house periodical, The Charterhouse Magazine, 34 (July 2014): 6–9.

1. Steven Sheppard, ed., *The Selected Writings and Speeches of Sir Edward Coke*, 3 vols. (Indianapolis, Liberty Fund, 2003), 1: 347–52.
2. Charterhouse Muniments, G/2/1 Governors' Assembly Orders, 1613–37, p. 87.
3. Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War 1642–1649*, 5 vols. (London: Longman, 1886), 1: 287–89.
4. Oscar S. Straus, *Under Four Administrations: From Cleveland to Taft* (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1922), 120–121.
5. Oscar S. Straus, *Roger Williams: The Pioneer of Religious Liberty* (New York: Century Co., 1894), pp. ix–xii.
6. *The American Historical Review* 5 (1899): 406–422.

Rhode Island Book Notes

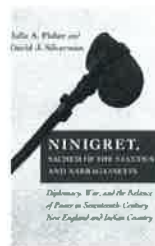
WINTER / SPRING 2015



From Occupastuxet to Red Bank: A History of Cole's Farm

HENRY A. L. BROWN
East Greenwich: Dark Entry Press, 2013

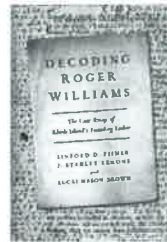
A history of a Warwick waterfront estate that was both a working farm and a summertime retreat for over two hundred years. The book includes recently transcribed Revolutionary-era letters to and from Col. Christopher Greene.



Ninigret, Sachem of the Niantics and Narragansetts

JULIE A. FISHER &
DAVID J. SILVERMAN
Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2014

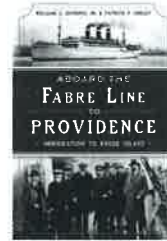
A biography of Ninigret (c.1600–1676) who was a sachem of the Niantic and Narragansett Indians. The authors show that Ninigret “was at the center of almost every major development involving southern New England Indians between the Pequot War of 1636–37 and King Philip’s War of 1675–76.”



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.



Aboard the Fabre Line to Providence: Immigration to Rhode Island

WILLIAM J. JENNINGS, JR.,
& PATRICK T. CONLEY
Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2013

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.



Ratification of the Constitution by the States: Rhode Island, vols. 24, 25, 26

JOHN P. KAMINSKI, et al., eds.
Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2013

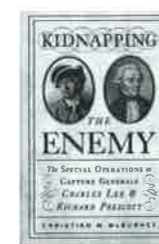
Three volumes in a many volume edition of documents related to the ratification of the United States constitution. Dr. Patrick T. Conley was the consulting editor of these three volumes which all concern Rhode Island’s ratification of the federal constitution.



Latino History in Rhode Island: Nuestras Raices

MARTA V. MARTINEZ
Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2014

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.



Kidnapping the Enemy: The Special Operations to Capture Generals Charles Lee and Richard Prescott

CHRISTIAN M. MCBURNEY
Yardley, Pa.: Westholme Publishing, 2014

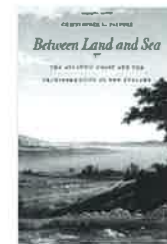
A study of the 1776 kidnappings of American General Charles Lee in New Jersey, and the 1777 kidnapping of British General Richard Prescott, on Aquidneck Island. The daring band of Americans who captured Prescott were led by Rhode Islander William Barton.



Cranston Revisited

SANDRA M. MOYER &
THOMAS A. WORTHINGTON
Mount Pleasant, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2014

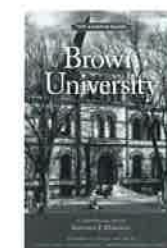
A history of Cranston illustrated with photographs, including a rare photograph of the Hindenburg dirigible flying over Cranston just hours before it exploded and burned on May 6, 1937.



Between Land and Sea: The Atlantic Coast and the Transformation of New England

CHRISTOPHER L. PASTORE
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014

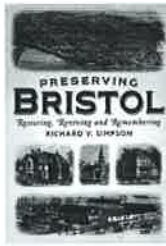
An ecological history of Narragansett Bay from the first European settlement in 1636 to the demise of the Blackstone Canal Company in 1849. This book discusses how the bay’s complex ecology affected all aspects of settlers’ lives and how the settlers, in turn, had an impact on the bay.



Brown University: The Campus Guide

RAYMOND P. RHINEHART
New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2013

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
Charleston, S.C.: Fonthill Media, 2014

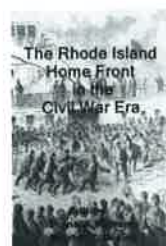
A colorful history of Bristol's inhabitants and buildings during the Revolutionary War and War of 1812.



Secrets & Scandals: Reforming Rhode Island 1986-2006

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.

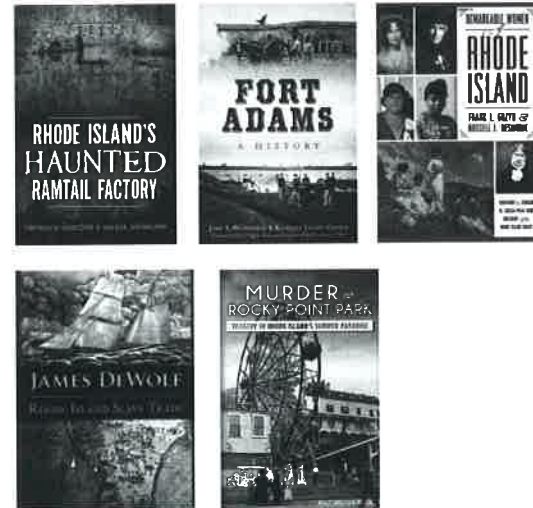


The Rhode Island Home Front in the Civil War Era

FRANK J. WILLIAMS &
PATRICK T. CONLEY, eds.
Nashua, N.H.: Taos Press, 2013

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.

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



Rhode Island's Haunted Ramtail Factory

THOMAS D'AGOSTINO AND ARLINE NICHOLSON

Fort Adams: A History

JOHN DUCHESNEAU AND KATHLEEN TROOST-CRAMER

Remarkable Women of Rhode Island

FRANK GRZYB 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 PEZZA