The Free African American Cultural Landscape: Newport, RI, 1774-1826

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Abstract

The dissertation, "The Free African American Cultural Landscape: Newport, Rhode Island, 1774-1826," examines, through documentary evidence and material culture, the processes of community integration at Newport, development and maintenance of an African American elite, and community disintegration in the form of repatriation of community leaders to Africa. The dissertation also examines the nature and scale of social interaction—such as community events, marriage patterns, and neighborhood development—within the African American community between approximately 1774 (the year of the first census of free African Americans in Newport) and 1826 (the year community leaders emigrated to Liberia). This analysis is placed within the context of contemporary theory in African American Ethnohistory and the presentation of African American history in Newport. Census documents, diaries, probates, deeds, and correspondence of the Free African Union Society of Newport offer primary accounts of the lifeways of African Americans in Newport during this time period.

While an African American community developed out of the recognition of a general African identity based on eighteenth century racial ideologies, this dissertation explores the emergence and mechanisms of social stratification *within* the African American community and the negotiation of racial and class identities. This dissertation serves as a critical and reflexive assessment of African American history in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, specifically critiquing the absence of African American history in Newport public memory, tourism, and the landscape.

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If I listed everyone who somehow assisted or just helped make my life bearable during this process (from my students to my friends to my son's teachers), I could fill an entire book! I apologize for any omissions.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

As early as 1789, even though most had been born in the United States, some African Americans in Newport conceded:

> We…being strangers & outcasts in a strange land, attended with many disadvantages and evils, with respect to living, which are like to continue on us and on our children, while we and they live in this country, and the yet more wretched state of many hundreds of thousands of our brethren, who are in the most abject slavery, in the West Indies, and in the American States, many of whom are treated in the most inhumane and cruel manner, and are sunk down in ignorance, stupidity and vice, and considering the unhappy state and circumstances of our brethren, the nations in Africa, from whom we sprang, being in heathenish darkness and barbarity, and are, and have been for many years, many of them, so foolish and wicked as to sell one another into Slavery, by which means many millions have lost their lives, or been transported to a Land of Slavery…by proposing and endeavouring to effect their *return to their own country*[1] and their settlement there, w here they may be more happy than they can be here…[Robinson 1976:25].

Why did this group of free, property-owing African Americans view themselves as "strangers in a strange land?" How did they envision their present role, their past and their future in Newport, Rhode Island? Why did they articulate—at a time when colonizationist schemes were being denounced by other free African American organizations—a desire to return to "their own country?"

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[1] Italics mine

Newport, Rhode Island has maintained an evolving and complex African American community that is little known and less studied. This project expands upon previous work by incorporating anthropological theory and is a diachronic and dialectical analysis of the African American community over approximately 60 years. It is part of a growing list of works on African American history in New England (Brown and Rose 2001; Deetz 1977; Lee 2005; Piersen 1988; Sammons 2004; Stewart 1975; Young Armstead 1999). The task at hand is to integrate African American histories into the larger historical narrative and recognize the conflicts and contradictions which were present in the African American "community."

The dissertation first places African Americans in early Newport in the context of the eighteenth-century Atlantic world and the emerging African Diaspora. The relevance and utility of African American ethnohistory is examined and the development of the early African American community in Newport is explored. The dissertation then addresses the theoretical complexities inherent in using documents as artifact, landscape as artifact, and the problem with urban archaeology. Material evidence, specifically historical documents and the evolution of the landscape, is discussed in the context of the African American community, while the documentary record provides information about class, race, and community development. Finally, the study of the current landscape reveals current attitudes about African American history, address the relationship between landscape, history and ideology, and finally documents African American agency in the preservation of their history.

This dissertation is a comprehensive study of the social processes that played a role in the development of the African American community in Newport, Rhode Island in

the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The research contributes to a broader exploration of African American ethnohistory, specifically in the northeastern United States. Finally, the development and maintenance of social stratification within the African American community and the social implications of the repatriation of community leaders to Africa will be explored.

In particular, the dissertation examines the nature and scale of social interaction—such as community events, marriage patterns and neighborhood development—within the African American community between approximately 1774 (the year of the first census of free African Americans in Newport) and 1826 (the year two prominent community leaders and two dozen others "repatriated" to Liberia). The research is based on documentary, material, and landscape data; the latter defined as the development of the physical landscape as it relates to the African American community. This includes the ideological significance of the landscape for the African community and how the evolving capitalist landscape reinforced social structure. This data will enable the placement of African Americans into the physical and social landscape of Newport between 1774 and 1826, a period of Newport African American history which has been largely overlooked.

Theoretically, this work applies critical theory and reflexivity to address class, social hierarchy, race, community, landscape, and social structure. It will expand upon Mrozowski's (2006) Marxist-oriented study of the development of the Newport landscape from the period of mercantile capitalism through the period of industrial capitalism in New England. Mrozowski did not include an analysis of African Americans in the analysis of the changing landscape, as his primary focus was on the

power differentials between wealthy and middling Euro Americans. However, Mrozowski's discussion of social power relationships based on Newport's mercantile capitalist economy has greatly informed the perspective of this dissertation. The dissertation will also expand upon Garman's (1992) hermeneutic study of material expressions of ethnicity in death. His work presents a hypothesis of how African Americans viewed themselves and how they were viewed by Euro Americans in Newport. Garman used seventeenth through nineteenth century documentary records left by the ruling white families, the symbolic arrangement of space within the Common Burying Ground, and the gravestones of African Americans to reconstruct Newport's color line (1992:14). This dissertation incorporates some of Garman's theses into the cultural and physical landscape of Newport, RI.

This project involves four major methodological approaches 1) a material analysis of African American culture utilizing archaeological data, probate inventories, and diaries; 2) a documentary investigation of African American history in Newport; 3) historical landscape analysis; and 4) survey of the contemporary community to assess African Americans in the "public memory" of Newport.

Due to my inability to access relevant archaeological sites for this project, I primarily utilize documentary and landscape[2] evidence. This approach limits the questions that can be asked because of the limitations of our ability to extract complete information from this type of material evidence. The primary approach to this project is ethnohistorical (Oestreich Lurie 1961). Primary documents, historical maps, material

[2] For the purposes of this dissertation, a *cultural landscape* is defined as something which encompasses all aspects of culturally defined space (including historically derived meanings specific places of interaction). The landscape is viewed as an important aspect of social relations which embodies the history, structure, and contexts of human behavior—it is not a passive or uninformative residue of human behavior (Hood 1996).

culture and oral data are utilized although primary documents and material culture regarding African American lifeways during this period are scarce (Baker 1978). An African American ethnohistory of Newport can reconstruct the processes and patterns of change and continuity, including (Stoffle and Shimkin 1980):

1. *Populations and communities and their defining characteristics* – What were the demographic trends among African Americans during this period and what were the trends attributable to? Where were African American households located on the landscape? How can household structure be defined on the basis of size, composition, and gender relations? Why were there multiple African American neighborhoods? How shall we define the "African American Community?" What were the economic opportunities available to African Americans?

2. *Institutions, social structures and behavior patterns* – How did institutions structure social interaction? How did the legal status of African Americans (free, enslaved, to be emancipated, etc.) affect social interaction? How did "African" institutions (and regional communications between such institutions) contribute to "African" and/or "African American" identity? When and why did specific African American institutions emerge? How did these institutions reflect and influence the goals of the community? What do these institutions reveal about community interaction and status within the African American community?

3. *Physical and social environments (especially constraints and modifications)* – How did African Americans conceive of and work within the cultural landscape in Newport? How did the evolving urban landscape affect the African American

community? How did African Americans actively shape and define that landscape for themselves? What can the modern landscape tell us about Newport's African American history?

4. *Critical events* – How did events such the Revolutionary War, Gradual Emancipation, and racial riots (outside of Newport) affect the African American Community?

5. *Charismatic figures* – Which individuals were able lead the community and why?

Documentary and material analysis of populations, institutions, physical and cultural landscapes, events, and charismatic individuals using ethnohistoric data, and the material record (specifically, written data and the physical landscape) helps define the community. This work examines African Americans on the cultural landscape of early Newport; contributes to a more inclusive understanding of the patterns and processes of social systems in the northeast, and provides a broader understanding of African American ethnohistory in the northeast.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN NEWPORT

Newport is located on Aquidneck Island in Narragansett Bay, Rhode Island. The city came to prominence as a successful seaport, mostly based on the slave trade and other commerce (see Withey 1984, Coughtry 1981). Because of local merchants' heavy trafficking in slaves, Newport always had a substantial African American population. In 1755, African Americans, both slave and free, constituted 17% of Newport's population. Furthermore, throughout the eighteenth century, 25% of all African Americans in Rhode Island resided in Newport (Piersen 1988: 15). The nature of urban slavery in Newport

also had an effect on subsequent community development. Newport slaves were not acquired for farming or plantation-type labor. Instead, Euro American merchants and craftsmen purchased skilled craftsmen or trained their slaves. Consequently by the mid-eighteenth century, a class-stratified African American community was beginning to develop (Newport probate records, Robinson 1976). While economic opportunities were limited for African Americans due to racism, many Africans and African Americans could be economically self-sufficient after emancipation. Newport's continued involvement in maritime trade created an employment niche for unskilled laborers in the service industry and at sea, and gave impetus to the development an African American class structure.

African Americans who had enough resources to purchase property developed enclaves at the northern and southern margins of Newport and established a distinct African American community with separate, often parallel institutions. Community leaders founded separate schools, civic organizations, and churches between 1780 and 1826. The initial African American institutions were based on African and European traditions and the creativity of African Americans adapting to freedom. This dissertation examines how African American institutions were not only a mechanism of 'self-help' for the community, but legitimated the social order that African American community leaders established.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

This dissertation primarily utilizes critical theory to undertake discussion about Newport's past and how it relates to the present African American community. Critical theory, which is built upon Hegelian dialecticism, emerged as a Leftist movement in the

1950s which sought to “emancipate people from domination” (McGuire 1992: 37). Modern critical theory in anthropology focuses on the relationship between ideology and domination. It is reflexive in that it engages in deconstruction, questions anthropological assumptions and the production of knowledge, and strips power from dominant ideas (McGuire 1992: 38). Critical theorists who have undertaken African American ethnohistory have utilized Marxist theory and dialecticism to focus on the relationship between the African American past and the present and explore the contradictions inherent in racism and inequality (Leone 1995; Mullins 2006; Shackel 2005; Thomas 2002). Critical theory highlights anthropology and archaeology as a part of the production of knowledge; therefore these disciplines are subject to dominant ideology and complicit in reinforcing present values (Foucault 2000: 15, 256-7, 330-31; Nassaney 1989: 78; Wylie 1985: 138). Critical theory is utilized in the study of African Americans in Newport in order to understand the development of the historical landscape and how contemporary politics and ideologies of today shape interpretations of the past (Nassaney 1989; Paynter 1990).

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Urban Landscape: Similar to written history, the modern landscape also is constructed and interpreted to legitimate the current social order and perpetuate current ideology. Elite groups which can secure the labor and capital to engage in earth-moving projects have had the power to influence the interpretation history and the perpetuation of ideology through the landscape (Seibert 2001: 77). While space is usually defined as a natural category, the social landscape is an “ideological concept that represents how

specific classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature" (Pruecel & Meskell 2004: 219).

This project asks several specific questions regarding the landscape of Newport. I explore African American perceptions and use of the landscape as it related to aggregation, labor, mobility, resource extraction, and significant communal places, as well as the relationship between landscape and power/inequality during this time period through the use of historic maps, documentary sources and anecdotal evidence. Mrozowski (2006) has studied the Newport landscape in the context of class development in early capitalism as reflected in material culture and use of space. Do African American households in the early national period resonate with the patterns that Mrozowski identifies—such as the middle class inclination to separate domestic and work space—or do we need a new theoretical framework to address questions particular to the African American community during this time period? To explore such questions I utilize critical theory to analyze the historic landscape, urban development, household economy and land use in Newport, specifically highlighting the role of social power relationships in the development of the landscape.

An important aspect of landscape is social control. Withey has noted that merchant leaders in Newport banded together to control the lower classes (Withey 1984:17), instigating laws such as curfews (1984: 72). The "lower classes" would have included Euro American laborers, slaves, and free African Americans – all of whom represented a potential threat to social order. Was the urban landscape designed by town developers, politicians, and elites such that African Americans and other 'lower sorts' might be controlled through surveillance? Were there landscape patterns comparable to

those on plantations (Armstrong and Kelley 2000) and industrial sites (Shackel and Larsen 2000) which allowed those in power to monitor and control the movement of free African Americans? And if so, what resistance mechanisms were employed by individual African Americans and the community at large to subvert such inequality? A related topic is the ideology of the landscape in terms of what places were symbolically significant; how did the African American landscape relate to and differ from the Euro American landscape? Finally, with respect to mobility on the Newport landscape, I explore the development of distinct African American residential enclaves in Newport. These enclaves may have been the result of external constraints, internal motives, or a combination of the two.

I will also explore the social dynamics and development of the early community. Research questions include:

a) How did free and enslaved African Americans negotiate marriage, family, and childrearing under conditions of oppression?

b) How did the social structure of Newport affect the African American community? How did the economy and labor regulations affect community development and migration?

c) How was internal community social organization defined and upheld? What were the role and importance of African American civic and religious organizations in the formation and development of the African American community in Newport?

d) What strategies (resistance, accommodation, adaptation, etc.) did the community utilize for social and physical survival and prosperity?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research regarding Newport's African American past involve four avenues of study:

a) Documents: Records such as census documents, city guides, and newspapers were essential in locating sites and interpreting African American community development, specifically residential movement. Other records, including wills, probates, and deeds are utilized in assessing the personal wealth of individuals. Vital records provide some information about marriage/kinship patterns. Court records and records from civic organizations, such as the African Benevolent Society, the African Union Society, and church records were crucial in providing specifics about community development and cohesion as well as internal community structure. Although "shovel-in-ground" comparative archaeological investigation is not possible at this time, documentary evidence often reveals information about use of household space, diet, and economy.

b) Study of the physical landscape and its evolution by "walking the city" (Blackmar 1988) and historical maps: This methodology facilitate a diachronic analysis of the Newport landscape, specifically in the context of African Americans. The built environment is a significant means of communication (Anderson & Moore 1988)—the evolution of landscape over time reflects and reinforces class and race divisions. Furthermore, the near *absence* of African American history on the Newport landscape speaks to the "telling" of Newport history and reflects current class and race divisions in Newport. Finally, an important aspect of the study of the current landscape

will be the efforts of the current African American community to preserve the Newport landscape as African American history. This conscious effort to root African Americans to the landscape reflects the agency and concern for history within the current African American community. The methodology for such a study involves oral interviews with community members that are actively engaged in the preservation of Newport's African American past.

c) Comparative analysis of historical and anthropological data was essential to this project. The study of African Diaspora community development (Bennett 2003, Blassingame 1979, Mintz 1974, Mintz and Price 1992) as well as patterns of development specific to free African American communities in the northeastern United States (Cottrol 1982 and 1998, Greene 1942, Horton 1979, Geismar 1982, Sammons and Cunningham 2004) and social hierarchies within the African American community (Mullins 1999, Winch 2000), provides a theoretical and historical context in which to analyze early African American community development and structuring in Newport. Archaeological analysis of other free African American households, (Paynter 1990, Baker 1978) and communities (Bower 1991, Bridges and Salwen 1980, Deagan and Landers 1999, Geismar 1982, Mullins 1999) may provide patterns specific to African American households with respect to consumerism, use of space, and economy, or demonstrate these were more a factor of economics than "race."

d) Archaeological data from Bacchus Overing House provides information on consumer choices (specifically in ceramics), foodways, and economy.

e) Survey data gathered from two focus groups is utilized to assess the presence or absence of African Americans in the public memory of Newport. The data demonstrates differences in the way contemporary Euro Americans and African Americans envision antebellum Newport history as well as the degree to which both Euro Americans and African Americans are aware of historic African American sites.

This work represents the interpretation of an African American community by an historical archaeologist that is a "native" of the community under investigation. Therefore, it is also necessary that this work is reflexive and account for my own motivations and biases in presenting this particular history. This dissertation represents an interpretation from an African American *voice,* a term in historical archaeology which implies speaking out for oneself, hearing and listening, and raises the issue of "creating large enough political alliances among different constituencies to achieve desired change" (Leone 1999:10).

In recent years, a criticism levied against historical archaeology argues that the interpretation of historically underrepresented groups is being carried out predominantly by Euro Americans and not by the minority groups associated with historic sites (Agbe-Davies 2003, Perry and Paynter 1999). Leone notes:

> The vast majority of research has come from white, lower-middle-class to middle-class archaeological workers, separated by race…from parallel groups of African Americans. The likelihood exists that some African Americans would interpret the material on African-American pasts differently and even pose quite different questions. [Leone 1999: 10]

Chapter Two focuses on African American ethnohistory in theory and contains a literature review of ethnohistorical studies which inform this dissertation. Since the community of study was stigmatized on the basis of race, Chapter Two also engages in a discussion of race and power. This chapter provides the theoretical framework in which the concept and ideology of race are used in this dissertation.

Chapter Three provides a theoretical overview on the utility of material culture in ethnohistorical studies and reviews African American archaeological investigations. This chapter provides data on African American material culture in Newport utilizing archaeological data from the Bacchus Overing House, data from wills and probate inventories and the accounts and diaries of Caesar Lyndon, an enslaved African American.

Chapter Four provides an in-depth ethnohistory of the African American community in Newport between 1774 and 1826. It focuses on the demographics, institutions, individuals and events which shaped the community.

Finally, Chapter Five is a discussion of the ideological significance of the presentation of history in Newport and the significance of the past and present landscape of Newport—the historic resort location. This chapter also highlights the lack of an archaeological or historical signature indicating a historical African American presence on the landscape. The process of "forgetting" or erasing the African American presence in New England has been well documented (Pope Melish 1998). This chapter explores how and why the historic presence of African Americans was erased from Newport history and the landscape. Leone (1995:264) has noted that societies based upon a

hierarchy which requires the enslavement or impoverishment of particular groups tend to reproduce such hierarchies on the landscape through time. This chapter also addresses the inequalities represented on the present landscape for contemporary African Americans and other low-income persons. This chapter deconstructs the local history of Newport in order to explore the ideologies which have reinforced the neglect of African American history in Newport.

The final conundrum is this: If African Americans are put back onto Newport's historical landscape, it will be of great interest to African Americans and African American tourists to the area; however similar studies in Boston and Annapolis have pointed out that "black people want to know how they got to be here now… [w]hite people, on the other hand, do not want such knowledge" (Leone 1995: 262; Bower 1984). In what ways then, do we incorporate the histories of those who challenge the ideologies perpetuated by popular history?

CHAPTER 2: NORTHEASTERN AFRICAN AMERICAN ETHNOHISTORY IN THEORY

North American ethnohistory has tended to focus on native populations of the New World, however, the task of writing New World history will not be complete until the perspective of New World Africans is incorporated (Stoffle & Shimkin 1980). The ways in which scholars define and legitimate African American ethnohistory varies based on theoretical perspectives and the insights one hopes to gain through research. Theoretical perspectives on the past, in turn, are heavily influenced by present ideologies and concerns (Leone 2005: 170-191; Nassaney 1989). "Objective" interpretations of archaeological and ethnohistorical materials are "ideologically charged while serving to empower those with access to the record (Nassaney 1989; Paynter 1990). The agency of once marginalized communities and the participation of African Americans in the interpretation of their own histories has influenced the questions asked of the historical record and the data collected. As Mintz predicted in 1970, "it is the carriers of these *cultures* who are asking today's questions, and providing irresistible answers" (Mintz 1970:14). Since this dissertation reflexively focuses on the relationship between the past and the present—how a particular "then" has created "now," as well as how present ideologies shape our interpretations of the past—it will be fruitful to conduct a brief overview of anthropological and historical approaches to interpreting the African American past in the Northeastern United States.

When Oestreich Lurie assessed "ethnohistory" in 1961, anthropologists were beginning to understand that the multidisciplinary methods involved with ethnohistoric research (ethnology, archaeology, linguistics, documents, and oral history) could and

should be applied beyond special "exotic" peoples, though up to that time ethnohistory was not used in such a manner. Rather, anthropologists had a tendency to use ethnohistory in an exclusionary manner which "ghettoized" history and failed to integrate marginalized individuals into the larger historical narrative (Axtell 1997: 23). The critique of these earlier assumptions and errors in ethnohistorical research resulted in an ethnohistory better suited to study all groups and incorporate ethnic histories into a global context. An ethnohistoric approach is the most appropriate methodology for my research as it is holistic and connects Newport African American society to critical, reflexive, and dialectical theories of cultural development and change. In a larger context, integrating African American ethnohistory into a global arena has demonstrated that European social and economic dominance was neither inevitable nor the result of passive, inferior, or ignorant indigenous peoples (Wolf 1997: 9). Ethnohistory allows us to have "imaginative double-vision"—through critical research, we can see the people we study as emically[3] as possible, however, the luxury of hindsight allows us to see people as objectively as possible in ways that they could not see themselves (Axtell 1997: 23).

Ethnohistory of African Americans in New England (or, the in "North" generally) has long lagged behind such studies in the South and the Caribbean, where the presence and contributions of African peoples was not so easily "forgotten" as these locations contain substantial historical and modern populations (Pope Melish 1998). Archaeological interest in African Americans began in the late 1960s, when historians began to recognize their tendency to focus on the homes and documents of the elite. Scholars began to study American culture from the "bottom up" and give voice to the "inarticulate peoples of the past" (Ascher & Fairbanks 1974: 7-16; Orser 1996:160-161).

[3] Emic perspectives attempt to analyze culture from as "native" a point of view as possible

"Historical archaeologists had shown, for instance, that they could excavate an antebellum plantation and completely ignore the slaves who had lived, toiled, and died there" (Orser 1996: 161). With a primary focus on plantation contexts, African American archaeology and ethnohistory initially focused on Southern and Caribbean plantations.

Until the mid-1970s, New England anthropology and archaeology focused on New England *prehistoric* Native American groups and developed models with which to understand European contact (Stoffle & Shimkin 1980: 1). However, since the interpretation of the past cannot be divorced from the way we view the present, New England ethnohistory has become entangled with contemporary political discourses (Nassaney 1989: 78). The recent political focus on historic Native *and* African American agency, resistance, persistence, and continuity is largely a result of the Civil Rights movement, North American Indian protests and the Federal Recognition process (Axtell 1991: 3; Nassaney 1989: 89). This complicates New England ethnohistory further because archaeologists and ethnohistorians are faced with the political implications of their research and interpretive models. As a result of long-standing historical biases, it has become essential to recognize multiple viewpoints and that interpretations of change and continuity come from particular points of view (Nassaney 1989).

While Trigger discourages the distortion of data to suit current political sentiment, multivocality can provide a broader understanding of past and current social relationships (Trigger 1982: 6). African American ethnohistory should not be viewed as a goal unto itself, but as an aspect of a larger, complicated whole. Multidisciplinary, multivocal research focusing on communities, institutions, physical and social environments, and

critical events ultimately create a more complete and more inclusive history of individual groups and the phenomenon of globalization (Stoffle and Shimkin 1980: 9).

Ethnohistorical work involves the integration of documents, archaeology, oral history, and linguistics with the recognition that each source has its limitations. Documents such as court documents, deeds, wills, and tax documents can provide information on social organization, economies and the ways in which African Americans negotiated their daily lives (Feder 1994; Greene 1942; Piersen 1988). Documents, however, have the problem of perspective, mediation (i.e. the role of gatekeepers who decide what should be included in history), and finiteness. In particular, documents regarding African Americans are scarce and documents *written* by African Americans (particularly in the seventeenth through early nineteenth century) are very rare (Baker 1978: 1; Oestriech Lurie 1961: 89). Therefore, the best method to overcome the biases of historical documents is the use of multiple lines of evidence—deconstruction and critical analysis of historical documents, a return to primary documents, tying historical data to the material record in a way that places documents in historical and social contexts, and the critical analysis of the physical landscape and landscape ideologies (Rubertone 1989). The ethnohistory employed in this dissertation follows Deetz, Schuyler and others who, "while not abandoning the notion of excavation's place in historical archaeologists' repertoire…draw into their purview a culture's entire material culture vocabulary—from foods to performances to cultural landscape" (DeCunzo 1996: 5).

Material evidence often sheds light upon unwritten aspects of history. Archaeology provides ethnohistorians with data regarding demography, settlement, residence, trade, politics ritual behavior, and material culture *(*Bragdon 1996; Brenner

1988; Crosby 1988; Day 1962; Fagan 2005; McBride and Bellantoni 1983; Trigger 1982). A multidisciplinary approach which couples archaeological analysis with ethnohistoric models based upon oral histories, the material record, and primary documents can contextualize African American history and provide evidence of change, continuity, and cultural meaning systems of enslaved and free African American communities, as well as Euro American communities. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, comparative archaeology of specific historic African American households in Newport is problematic. Differential preservation, urban taphonomic processes[4] and access to relevant archaeological sites located on private property hinders correlation between archaeological data and ethnohistoric hypotheses.

AFRICAN AMERICAN ETHNOHISTORIC MODELS

Since the 1960s, various theoretical perspectives have been applied to research concerning historic African Americans and will inform this dissertation. Paynter (1990: 54) discusses the "status perspective" as one in which the differentiation between Euro- and African American (material) culture is believed to be directly related to stratification in capitalist societies and racism. Under this theoretical paradigm, specific institutional and cultural forms developed within the African American community out of necessity because African Americans were not fully incorporated into Euro American society. This approach is often based on statistical and institutional studies of specific communities.

W.E.B. Du Bois is considered the "Father of African American Ethnohistory." His *The Suppression of the Slave Trade* (1896), *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899), and *The*

[4] Taphonomy refers to the processes which affect artifacts once they are deposited (i.e. weathering, frost heave, human and animal disturbances, etc.)

Black North in 1901 (1901) were among the earliest attempts to provide a demographic and institutional analysis of African American culture based on the status perspective. Du Bois focused on the legacy of slavery and the continued marginalization of African Americans through residential, labor, and social segregation. Similarly, Litwack's *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860* (1961) compiled demographic data on northern African American communities and analyzed the process of emancipation, African American migration to northern cities, and racial animosity and violence.

Lorenzo Greene's *The Negro in Colonial New England* (1942) is an early comprehensive study of African American life in New England. Greene begins with the Puritan slave trade and discusses the social repercussions of slavery. Greene explores African American social life including labor, family, slaves before the law, and religion. Greene also explores the life of free African Americans during this period, utilizing primary and historical documents available at the time. He details the many mechanisms of Euro American control and African American resistance and discusses how African Americans negotiated their lives within the system of slavery. Finally, he examines the meaning of "freedom" in colonial New England as it pertained to African Americans. Horton and Horton's study of Black Bostonians (1979), Schuyler's archaeology at Sandy Ground (1980), Geismar's study of Skunk Hollow (1982), and Sammons and Cunningham's work on "Black Portsmouth" (2004) are included as works that use a "status-based approach" (see Paynter 1990). This approach was also utilized by Young Armstead (1999) in her comparative study of Newport, RI, and Saratoga Springs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Young Armstead demonstrates the restrictions placed on African Americans, such as labor and housing as a result of racism.

She argues, however, that African Americans "transformed circumscribed space into an autonomous world," relying on kinship, institutions, and other mechanisms of community-building (Young Armstead 1999: 2).

Culturist perspectives are based on the theoretical postulates of Melville Herskovits (1941, 1966). Herskovits argued that there were two major cultural groupings in West Africa, and that these cultures were transmitted from Africa; therefore African Americans exhibit(ed) a "cultural unity." More recent interpretations of the culturist paradigm recognize that forced separation between black and white led to "different social systems of status, behavior and symbolism" (Mintz and Price 1992: 6). The interpretation of the Parting Ways site in Plymouth, MA (Deetz 1977) is based on the culturist perspective. With regard to proxemics[5] and material culture, Deetz proposes that an African American "mindset" dictated by ostracism and the utilization of African "survivals" led to specific cultural forms (Deetz 1977: 148-53; Paynter 1990: 53). However, the search for African survivals has been critiqued as viewing African American culture as a series of "defeats and losses" (Mintz 1974: 39) and ignores the fact that while archaeologists have tended to focus on artifacts that could be directly related to Africa, material culture and practices which are derived from Africa in fact represent a small portion of what was actually utilized at African American sites (Zierden 2005). Furthermore, Whitten and Szwed argue that Herskovits' focus on survivals and the assertion that there was an underlying African American "psyche" exaggerates the differences between African Americans and others and is ultimately detrimental to African Americans because it supports the false racial ideology of biological differences between African Americans and Euro Americans (Whitten and Szwed 1970: 28-29).

[5] the cultural use of space in architecture and social interaction

Other anthropologists and historians have focused on creolization or assimilation. Built upon Greene's *The Negro in Colonial New England* (1942), *Black Yankees* (Piersen 1988) explores the lifeways of the African American community in the context of the development of institutions and community. Piersen asserts that New England African Americans were almost wholly assimilated into white society because of the conditions of New England "family" slavery. He mentions urban clustering in cities like Newport, but neglects that this type of interaction may have functioned to retain a degree of African culture. Piersen's model also largely neglects African American agency in cultural processes and favors a position of passive borrowing over a theory of "active selection" or "active borrowing." Stoffle and Shimkin propose that rather than attributing institutional and cultural development to passive borrowing, ethnohistorians should focus on models which emphasize proactive cultural and social adaptation (Stoffle and Shimkin1980: 4).

Mintz and Price (1992) overviewed the development of African American culture in the context of creolization and active borrowing. They counter Herskovits' assertion that African culture could be transmitted to the New World or that African American culture could be traced to specific African societies (Mintz and Price1992:15). Rather, general *grammatical principles*, or cognitive orientations and basic assumptions about social relations that underlie and shape behavioral responses, are ultimately responsible for African American cultural forms (Mintz and Price 1992:10). Creolization models also take into account that cultural characteristics developed under the "social and physical conditions with which the slaves had to deal" and that, ultimately, peoples of African origin were seeking to "make comprehensible the destinies imposed upon them

by brute force" (Mintz 1970: 8). In response to the polarization between "domination/resistance" and "creolization/assimilation" theories, Garman proposed *resistant accommodation* as a dialectical method of studying resistance and assimilation as a perpetual dialogue in the lives of historical African Americans (Garman 1998: 136). Under such a framework, scholars can acknowledge the constraints which would have pushed African Americans toward assimilation and at the same time recognize their resistance to an ideology of black inferiority.

More recently, ethnohistorians have focused on the relationship between race and the development and maintenance of capitalism. This "race-class perspective" in African American ethnohistory focuses on the color line as a "fundamental feature of political economy" in that the concept of a racial hierarchy is used to justify unequal access to wealth, power, and prestige (Paynter 1990: 54). Race, a social construct and not a biological reality, may be a useful framework with which to study the history of capitalism. Studies focusing on "race" allow us to uncover its prehistory and history and allow us a privileged understanding of structures of power and inequality (Gosden 2006:2). The race-class perspective is closely related to radical theory in that it posits that racism is a necessary feature of capitalism. Research conducted under this paradigm often involves issues of domination and resistance and views African American consumer choice and aesthetics as a method of "deliberately drawing on Africanisms in the face of white racism (Garman 1992:8). Otto (1980), Bower (1984), and Ferguson (1992), and Mullins (1999) focus on choices in the material expression of culture in a white-dominated market. Stuckey (1987) explains such choices and the development of

an “African” American consciousness in the North as a way for individuals to take pride in their identity (Stuckey 1987: 214). He goes on to state:

> What was once noted in the nineteenth century but has since been ignored by almost all scholars is that African cultural influence in the North was widespread and continuous during the slave era. The power of that influence was due in part to slaves and free blacks seeking out each other for cultural reinforcement, their relative scarcity contributing to their determination to be in each other’s company and to the vitality with which they expressed themselves culturally… [Stuckey 1987:74]

One potential disadvantage of a race-class perspective, specifically for archaeologists, is the difficulty in assigning race or ethnicity to archaeological assemblages, which are also the product of economics—assemblages from impoverished Euro American households may be identical to assemblages from impoverished African Americans (Baker 1978; Mullins 2006: 68; Cusick1995a: 77, 1995b: 341). Furthermore, this perspective tends to neglect internal divisions of class and prestige within African American communities that may function independently of race.

One of the most recent approaches to African American ethnohistory has been Diasporism—an attempt to understand how the “Black Atlantic” came to be as it is and how the method, timing, and character of dispersal of African peoples throughout the globe shaped descendant communities, what their common features are and how and why they differ. The diasporic perspective shows much promise and could provide a useful framework within which to study the African-descended community in Newport, particularly how they relate to the African Diaspora. Therefore, I will give a somewhat

in-depth discussion of the diasporic approach and current research under this paradigm, although it is not necessarily the theoretical focus of this dissertation.

While a diasporic perspective is not incompatible with historical archaeology, it has a different focus; if historical archaeology is the attempt to discover how Western Europe came to dominate the world, diasporic approaches in anthropology, history and archaeology focus on and attempt to link those dispersed by a particular political economy based upon colonialism and imperialism. Diasporas are "ambivalent, even embattled, over basic features" (Clifford 1994: 306). If ideal "diaspora communities" are defined on the basis of: 1) dispersal from a center (homeland) to a periphery; 2) maintenance of a memory or vision of the original homeland; 3) the belief that they are not accepted by their host country; 4) a desire to return to the original homeland; 5) commitment to the restoration of their homeland; and 6) consciousness and solidarity defined by a continuing relationship to the homeland (Safran 1991: 83–84), many of the communities considered to be of the African diaspora do not meet the criteria. Therefore, it is important to not only recognize the impact of colonialism and slavery on African diaspora communities, but that there is considerable variation among them—to the extent that some see themselves as fully African and possess desire a return to Africa, such as Jamaican Rastafarians, and others do not adopt an African identity at all, as in Mexico (Bennett 2003; Chevannes 1998; Holt 1999: 36; Jones 2004; Lewis 1994; Palmer 2000: 29). Consequently, any study of diasporism must be geographically and temporally specific. The use of the term "diaspora" has both methodological and political implications because it implies both the acknowledgment of separation from a homeland and presumes a kind of unity (Holt 1999: 35). In addition, diasporism changes

temporally, dependent upon "changing possibilities—obstacles, openings, antagonisms, and connections—in…host countries and transnationally." A shared history of "displacement, suffering…or resistance, may be as important as the projection of a specific origin" (Clifford 1994: 306).

In the 1990s, it was common to focus on the "Afro-Atlantic" Diaspora resulting from the slave trade, but this focus has been geographically and temporally modified to reflect the dispersion of African-descended peoples throughout the Arabian Peninsula and Asia (Alpers 2000; Byfield 2000; Rajshekar1995). Furthermore, diaspora communities may not share political consciousness because of differences in class, perceived racial differences (as between "blacks" and "mulattos"), or based on marked gender inequality (Palmer 2000: 27; Sundiata 1996: 13; Williams 1999: 107). "Diaspora" as an academic, postcolonial, and largely British-American discourse may be imposed upon individuals and communities who do not see themselves as part of the very dialogue academia uses to categorize them, and it is essential to appreciate that there is no one concept of "blackness" or "Africanness" (Sundiata 1996: 13; Williams 1999: 107) . However, an etic analysis based upon the impact of colonialism, slavery, and agency under the umbrella of "diaspora" is appropriate as each community of African descent had to in one way or another negotiate identity in a racialized world system.

"Diaspora" is a conversation about the present as much as the past. Historical circumstances, political regimes, religion, conditions of labor, and contact among cultures and ethnic groups are but a few of the factors which help determine identity and may cross-cut or undermine diasporism (Butler 2000; Clifford 1994: 313). Although the dominant diaspora dialogues are about race, diaspora is equally about feeling global,

articulating politics, feelings of displacement and inequality, and a shared history of suffering. Therefore, "Diaspora" in different geographical settings has different meanings and different manifestations. Diasporism waxes and wanes with historical circumstances and groups that once disassociated from or denied Africanity may utilize diasporic political dialogue (Blackshire-Belay 2001; Butler 2000; Clifford 1994: 306; Helg 1997; Streiker 1997; Wade 1995). For example, the late twentieth century focus on the Afro-Atlantic Diaspora largely ignored African migration across the Indian Ocean (Alpers 2000; Byfield 2000). The discussion of the African Diaspora on the Arabian Peninsula and throughout Asia has coincided with the use of Africanity as political dialogue among the Dalits ("Untouchables") of India, who see their oppression as directly related to the global oppression of people of African descent (Rajshekar 1997). Diasporism is not racial, but political. The study and expression of diaspora is as much about the present as the past. As scholars continue to define, refine, and debate the African Diaspora, it continues to evolve, shift focus and redefine itself.

Van Den Berghe's pioneering study on *The African Diaspora in Brazil, Mexico, and the United States* (1976) sought to explain how conditions of slavery and the colonial economies in the above areas defined the concept of race and the significance and articulation of African ancestry within Brazilian, Mexican, and North American cultures. However, his study viewed race and identity as principally shaped by European political and socioeconomic forces which determined ethnic clustering and modes of production, and he did not look to Africa or "Black Cosmopolitanism" as a source of self-identification or ethnic history. His and subsequent studies of identity within the African diaspora recognized that not all African-descended peoples espouse a diasporic identity

and that such sentiments arose under conditions that were often particular to Anglo-America (Berlin 1980, 1998; Gomez 2005, 2006; Lovejoy 2000; Lovejoy and Trotman 2003; Mann 2001; Sundiata 1996: 13; Williams 1999). While these studies shifted the dominant diaspora paradigm from a distinctly American perspective to one which begins in Africa and which recognizes spatial and temporal variation within the diaspora, they did not necessarily account for African agency in the establishment of early communities, nor the role of early ethnic identities (such as Manding, Igbo, Yoruba, etc.) in the practice of resistance, accommodation, and community and institution building (Lovejoy 2000, Lovejoy 2003: 32; Lovejoy and Trotman 2003).

In the absence of an "African" identity—which did not develop until the eighteenth century—ethnic identity was profoundly important in shaping colonial African-descended communities (Palmer 2000). As Butler suggests, ethnic identity and history may have played an important role in the development of "alternative" communities because "concentrations of African nationalities during the slave trade could have led to the preservation of a distinct, cohesive set of traditions (Butler 2000: 132). It can therefore be argued that the maintenance, manipulation or loss of ethnicity in the eighteenth century was also a primary factor in shaping modern identities throughout the African Diaspora. Recent work has highlighted the conscious choices as well as the outside forces which shaped identity throughout the African diaspora in areas such as the United States, Brazil, Costa Rica, Mexico, Europe, and India, such as those focusing on the development of Pan-Africanism or the "myth" of invisible blackness (Blackshire-Belay 2001; Christian 1998; Nassy Brown 1998; Olien 1980; Wade 1995).

Although African Americans were externally labeled as "African," "negro," or "black," African Americans in the northeast utilized and negotiated their identities to create communities and operate as a corporate political group. The nature of northern slavery and the institutionalization of hypodescent[6] in early America set the boundaries within which enslaved and free persons of African descent created distinct communities. These communities were separate from, and had no opportunity to be a part of, the white majority with regards to equal access to political or socioeconomic resources. Therefore, African-descended peoples in America had to create their own, often parallel institutions and communities. While these individuals replicated and internalized many of the Euro American institutions they were partially incorporated into, they also looked to Africa and sought continuities consistent with African culture(s) and tradition. Eighteenth century African-descended peoples in the northeastern United States were able to create and maintain an African identity utilizing various mechanisms—which contradicts the idea that northern slaves and freepersons lost all African culture and had become completely assimilated into the dominant European culture and gives credence to theories of African American agency in the maintenance of culture (Piersen 1988; Van Den Berghe 1976: 532).

In his discussion on the development of racial systems, Van Den Berghe (1976) lists the primary factors in the development of racial attitudes or identities in former slave regimes as: 1) whether societies had multilayered racial taxonomies (as in Ibero-America) versus dichotomous racial taxonomies (as in the U.S.); 2) the presence,

[6] Hypodescent is the North American method of ascribing race in which race is assigned to an individual based on the most socially "inferior" racial group to which that individual's parents are assigned. For example, an individual with one "white" parent and one "black" parent is labeled "black," and individual with one Asian parent and one "black" parent is also labeled "black."

absence, or integration of indigenous communities; 3) the mortality rate of the slave community and whether it was high enough to necessitate a constant flow of African-born individuals, as in Brazil; and 4) the degree of (African) ethnic clustering or endogamy, which determined 5) the degree and tolerance of cultural pluralism. In most of the above criteria, the northeastern United States differed from the rest of the Americas and even the southern United States. Although initially, children of mixed European and African ancestry were listed on census and other documents as "mulatto" and children of mixed Native American and African ancestry were documented as "mustee," law and social sentiment supported a dichotomous system based on hypodescent. The native population of the northeastern United States was either pushed out, enslaved, or on the margins of Euro American society. Based on an ideology of racial purity and the desire to see Native Americans disappear, Euro Americans often lumped Native Americans and African Americans together as "Negro" even though this did not necessarily reflect self-identification or community networks (Wallis Herndon and Sekatau 1997) . With the exception of New Amsterdam in the early seventeenth century, there seem to be few records that indicate significant ethnic clustering in the north among African Americans, and "the propensity of Northern whites to lump blacks together mitigated interracial differences…[which] gave a new direction to Afro American culture" (Berlin 1980: 53). The African American mortality rate, while higher than the white mortality rate in most of the north, did not dictate mass and continuous exports from Africa. Based on these factors, the northeast would never see the cultural and social pluralism of Ibero-America.

The diasporic approach has highlighted that during the eighteenth century, in most slave regimes, *ethnicity* was the primary method of identification, and there was no "pan-African" ideology.

Lovejoy defines ethnicity as:

> …a characteristic of groups of people, in which groups sharing common ethnicity are usually perceived to be largely biologically self-perpetuating, to share fundamental cultural values, to comprise a common field of communication, and to identity themselves and be identified by others as constituting a recognizable group. [Lovejoy 2003: 10]

Barth (1998: 15) defines ethnic groups based upon boundary maintenance rather than intrinsic qualities to a particular group. He states that "ethnic" designates a population that is largely self-perpetuating, shares fundamental cultural values, makes up a field of communication and interaction, has a membership which identifies itself and is identified by others as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order. The maintenance of an ethnic group depends on the exhibition of particular traits of culture. Since Barth's ethnic groups are based on interaction and social boundaries, ethnicity is highly variable and may overlap with the concept of race—particularly in former slave regimes. Furthermore, there are areas of the diaspora where ethnic identity is related to African ethnic groups (Yoruba, Igbo, Akan, etc.) and cross-cuts racial identification. Ultimately then, ethnic identification is the byproduct of cultural interaction and the need to establish boundaries and that as interaction, communications, economy, and politics change, so does ethnic identification (Lovejoy 2000: 10; 2003: 10). Ethnic identities are also subject to geographic variation—ethnic identities meant

different things in Brazil, Mexico, Virginia, Cuba and the northeast (Chambers 2000: 58). Furthermore, ethnic identification is open to "reinterpretation and reinvention of the present and past" and can be further cross-cut and complicated by gender, and by caste and/or caste (Lovejoy 2000: 10). Such fluidity means that ethnic identities are as much a product of the constraints of slavery as the agency and manipulation of the enslaved (if not more so). Europeans may have set social boundaries during slavery, but African-descended peoples in the eighteenth century had the power to utilize a continuum of possibilities within those boundaries.

While there is no evidence indicating ethnic affiliations among African-descended residents of seventeenth and eighteenth century Newport, Palmer suggests that, in general until the late nineteenth century, the use of "African" is in fact a misnomer because there was no "African or trans-ethnic, regional, or continentally based diaspora, and it is more appropriate to speak in terms of Yoruba, Akan, and Malinke diasporas until that time (2000: 29). Ethnic identities were the primary method of self-identification for African descended peoples throughout the Americas up to the eighteenth century. Often, the particulars of slavery or marriage resulted in the "redefinition of ethnic allegiance" or the adoption of alternate African identities (Lovejoy 2000: 32). Even if, as evidence suggests, many were 'adopting' ethnic identities which did not necessarily reflect their communities of origin in Africa, this still points to the preference for an ethnic identity over a continental African identity (Cárceres Gómez 2003: 130). These ethnic designations were the products of preexisting social interactions between Africans in West Africa during the era of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and earlier (Lovejoy 2000: 11). Organization along ethnic lines was especially prevalent in urban America, where

there was a considerable amount of interaction between members of the same ethnic groups (Bennett 2003: 89; Thornton 1998: 202). Future research may uncover why this was not the case in Newport.

Mintz and Price (1992), Frazier (1949), and others argue that the Middle Passage ultimately destroyed any "real" African culture and that once in the Americas, Africans had to build new identities as African-Americans based on generalized "grammatical principles"—in which individual ethnic groups/identities were forged to create a distinctly African-American culture (Mintz and Price 1992: 10). While all recognize the physical and psychological trauma of the Middle Passage, the above arguments may oversimplify and over-dramatize African de-culturation. "When, how quickly, and under whose direction [assimilation occurred] are surely subjects of research and reflection" and generalizing African life in America to "deep level cultural principles" ignores the fact that, the experience of the Middle Passage may have—culturally—been solely a temporary debilitation (Lovejoy 2000: 9, 12; Thornton 1998: 162).

In the eighteenth century, approximately three-quarters of enslaved people imported to the northern United States were individuals born in Africa, likely in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, Senegambia, Liberia, the Grain and Windward Coasts, and Central Africa (Piersen 1988: 7). Four African regions supplied about 90 percent of enslaved Africans to Jamaica who were subsequently shipped to New York, South Carolina, Rhode Island, Virginia, and Maryland in the eighteenth century—the Bight of Biafra represented 34.5 percent of imported Africans, the Gold Coast, 28.9 percent, West-Central Africa, 14.5 percent, and the Bight of Benin, 11.2 percent (Rucker 2006: 33). As the eighteenth century continued, merchants in the northeast began to import

enslaved people directly from Africa rather than via Jamaica, but continued to transport slaves from the same areas of Africa (Berlin 1980: 51; Coughtry 1981; Rucker 2006: 34). Documents do not suggest any self-imposed division (endogamy, settlement, etc.) between ethnic groups in the northeastern United States; however Rucker has noted the Akan (Gold Coast) cultural connections to the 1712 New York City Revolts, and that most of the participants were Africans, "many of whom did not yet speak English and still carried tribal names" (Berlin 1980: 53; Rucker 2006: 35). Future studies of urban slave ports in the northeast where there was substantial clustering of Africans may provide more information on the nature of ethnic ties in the northeastern United States. However, it is argued here that whatever the nature of earlier ethnic ties, by the closing decades of the eighteenth century, enslaved and free black people in the northeast favored an African identity over any ethnic affiliations.

A diasporic framework is useful in studies of the African American community in Newport because individuals saw themselves as related to other African-descended peoples across the globe in relation to socioeconomic status—so much so that in 1826, a group of prominent community members "repatriated" to Africa. Letters, written by the members of the Newport Free African Union Society in 1789, and in which they explicitly refer to themselves as "outcasts," "outsiders," and "African" clearly points to diasporic consciousness in the late eighteenth century (Robinson 1976; Warren 1990: 16). It can be argued, therefore that an African diasporic consciousness began among free and enslaved African Americans in the North in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. It was here that separate black institutions defined community life and political consciousness. These institutions were self-labeled "African," and were not created

along ethnic lines, but according to the prevailing racial taxonomy based on hypodescent. The nature of urban Northern slavery was one external factor in the development of diasporic consciousness. Free time, urban clustering and the practice of "hiring out," specifically on ships, allowed for community development, interaction with a wide range of individuals from various African nations, and first-hand exposure to the universal plight of African-descended peoples across the globe. While an "African" identity and "blackness" were at first imposed upon these individuals to reflect their perceived inferiority, African-descended peoples created an African identity as a political discourse in the eighteenth century. They were able to create, negotiate, and maintain an African identity in several ways, including: the use of the term "African" in the formation of new institutions and the recognition of a common plight with other African-descended peoples around the world, reliance upon and social elevation of individuals with direct relationships to Africa and/or individuals who were perceived to be African royalty, maintenance of African language(s) including the naming of children, global communication networks made possible by the large number of African American males at sea, syncretic religion[7] and performance, and anti-slavery activity.

An important mechanism which underscored emerging diasporic consciousness in the eighteenth century was travel by sea. Throughout the eighteenth century a large number of African and African American males, both enslaved and free, were employed at sea (Putney 1987). African American sailors were usually high status individuals in the community and "were central to an African sense of self, economic survival, and freedom…" (Bolster 1997: 2). It may have been African American mariners and the

[7] Recently, restoration on an early eighteenth century Newport home (the Wanton-Lyman-Hazard House) has uncovered cowry shells, blue beads, and pins within the floor boards of slave quarters (in an attic). These point to some degree of continuity in African religious practices and spirituality.

emergence of "black cosmopolitanism" in the eighteenth century which nurtured early diasporism. Travel by sea spread news of the conditions of slavery, slave revolts, and other events throughout the Atlantic. African American and Caribbean sailors spread accounts of the revolution in Saint Domingue in the 1790s, the progress of the colony of Liberia, and may have inspired revolts in slave regimes throughout the Atlantic (Atkins 1996: 23; Scott 1991: 41). Finally, the freedom of movement afforded by maritime work allowed African Americans from the northeast to witness the lives of other African-descended peoples first-hand. This not only nurtured their own diasporic identity, but:

> May have played a pivotal role in…keeping alive a truly international, Afro-Atlantic perspective, one which remained acutely conscious of the common threads tying together the African diaspora… [Scott 1991: 52]

Throughout the Afro-Atlantic, the abolition era seems to have erased ethnic identities and fostered the emergence of "black" or "African" as a broad-based ethnic category (Butler 1999: 123). Furthermore, African-penned texts during the abolitionist era demonstrate a diasporic consciousness, in which the African "community [was] defining itself in contradistinction to a larger hegemony" (van Wyk Smith 1991: 127) Africa and African-descended peoples were in the consciousness of African Americans and by the early nineteenth century, "it was rare for a visionary not to have a sense of a more broadly-defined, African-derived community extending beyond geopolitical boundaries (Gomez 2006: 11). African Americans in the northeast became increasingly critical of the evils of southern slavery. In the north, black abolitionism was met with much white hostility, particularly in large cities (Du Bois 1967: 35; Milne 2002: 136), further strengthening the northern black community.

Clifford discusses the black diaspora in Britain, which in many ways parallels the African American experience. For example, he states:

> …the black diaspora culture currently being articulated in postcolonial Britain is concerned to struggle for different ways to be "British"—ways to stay and be different, to be British *and something else* complexly related to Africa and the Americas, to share histories of enslavement, racist subordination, cultural survival, hybridization, resistance, and political rebellion. [Clifford 1994: 308]

Again, the ways in which we study the past cannot be divorced from the present (Nassaney 1989: 78). The diasporic approach emerged in anthropological studies of African Americans emerged in the context of the Civil Rights movement. Perhaps, there is nowhere that the diasporic sentiment is greater than among African-descended peoples in the United States (inside and outside of academia) because nowhere else, except perhaps South Africa, has "White" been so clearly set off from "Black" (Sundiata 1996: 13; Van Den Berghe 1976: 542), even in the "free" North. Ultimately, in the United States, extreme diasporism separated the "African" from the "African American," with the former emigrating to colonies in West Africa, and the latter remaining in the U.S. struggling to elevate their status in a country they believed belonged to them as much as anyone else, and rejecting the designation "African" for "colored" or "brown" in the attempt to resist colonization schemes and racism, and to protect property, and legal rights (Abasiattai 1992; Brooks 1974; Stuckey 1987: 193-244). Today, as in Britain, the African Diaspora is not about emigration, but the effort to be *American* and something complexly related to Africa. African American diasporic consciousness is rooted in eighteenth century northeastern political dialogue and the conscious articulation of a

continental identity over ethnic divisions. Academic diasporic approaches are ultimately rooted in such contemporary political discourses.

The diasporic approach highlights "Black Cosmopolitanism" (see Nwankwo 2005), the relationship between slavery in Newport and the emerging global capitalist market (see Wolf 1997), and may contribute to future anthropologists who have had culturist leanings. The diasporic approach will be introduced in this dissertation in Chapter Four in the context of identity and the discussion of "repatriation" of some members of the Newport African American community to Liberia during the colonization movement.

As discussed earlier, this dissertation primarily utilizes critical theory to explore Newport's history and how it relates to the present African American community. Critical theorists who have undertaken African American ethnohistory have utilized Marxist theory and dialecticism to understand the relationship between the African American past and the present and explore the contradictions inherent in racism and inequality (Leone 1995; Mullins 2006; Shackel 2005; Thomas 2002). Neo-Marxist approaches engage us in discussion about anthropology and archaeology as a part of the production of knowledge which are thus subject to dominant ideology and serve to legitimate and reinforce present values (Foucault 2000: 15, 256-7, 330-31; Nassaney 1989: 78; Wylie 1985: 138). For example, Thomas (2002) focuses on the development of African American identity throughout history. Leone (1995) studied the development of a "Panoptic" Annapolis in the context of growing capitalism and the way African American history is interpreted on the current landscape by residents, scholars, and tourists. Leone delves into the politics of "then" and how they have created a specific

"now." Mullins (1996) documented urban renewal in Indiana and the racialization of the modern urban landscape with regard to development and displacement. Finally, Shackel has studied the relationship between history (and *memory*), ideology, power and the landscape in the construction of historical sites and monuments and their relationship to heritage tourism (Shackel 2003, 2005). Critical theory is the most useful paradigm under which to study the development of the landscape in Newport, how African Americans and their history is represented to modern tourists and how African Americans are remembered by local residents—African American and Euro American. Critical theory lends itself to dialectical and reflexive approaches in the understanding of the development of the historical landscape and how the politics and ideologies of today shape interpretations of the past (Nassaney 1989; Paynter 1990). It also allows for a discussion of the relationship between capitalism, racism (past and present), landscape and history. Critical theory addresses many of the theoretical concerns of status perspective, race-class perspective, and diasporism. Furthermore, critical theory facilitates a discussion of stratification which relegated African Americans to the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder as well as stratification within the African American community and allows for a broad discussion of African American agency under the constraints of white capitalism in the past and present. Discussing the above issues in a dialectical manner has the advantage of revealing the contradictions inherent in inequality—such as the kin/alien contradictions in Newport slavery (Pope Melish 1998: 28), white dominance and the power of African Americans to act in the face of such dominance, the pressure for African Americans to behave "morally" while acknowledging the reality that they would never be fully enfranchised, and the other daily

contradictions that face(d) the African American community in Newport. Finally, as in the examples listed above, the application of critical theory in the interpretation of the cultural landscape in Newport will open a dialogue between the past and the present and address questions of politics, public memory, race and "history for whom."

RACE AND POWER

On several levels, this work will focus on the interplay between socially constructed race and racism (past and present) and social power relationships. While historical archaeologists had until the late 1990s skirted issues of race and power in favor of studying ethnic boundary maintenance, recent interests in power and ideology have brought the issue of race to the forefront in historical archaeological studies (Orser 1998). Two major theoretical issues need to be addressed with regard to race—issues which until recently have hindered the archaeological and anthropological study of race. One problem with anthropological studies of race has been the tendency of anthropologists (and Americans in general) to equate race and ethnicity. The second issue is the tendency for the Marxist dialectical perspective (advocated above) to favor class over race and mask issues of race by presuming that capitalists exploit all wage laborers equally, while ignoring that a "racial worldview" which has sustained a capitalist mode of production has indeed benefited the Euro American working class at the expense of African Americans. This further neglects the elevation of the Euro American working class over African Americans through "diminished competition for social status, custom and law, [and] from jobs and positions available only to whites" (Smedley 1993: 225). Furthermore, Marxist theorists who favor class over race neglect that the "white working class shares the same exploitative, self-aggrandizing, and oppressive capitalist ethos of

the bourgeoisie and essentially the same (sometimes *more* pronounced) racial ideology" (Smedley 1993: 226). Race therefore cultivates opposing interests between the working class because racial categories "insulate more advantaged workers against competition from below" (Wolf 1997: 380-381). However, dialectical theories which account for race can identify the conflicts and interrelationships which produce changes in social structure and are an "important corrective to the slave/free antimony" (Bolland 1981: 616). Alternatively, simplistic applications of Marxist theory which ignore race in favor of class or theorists who equate race with ethnicity make it possible for scholars to ignore racism as an ideology which upholds social inequalities and therefore perpetuate those inequalities (Orser 1998: 662).

This dissertation utilizes the concept of race because it was imposed upon eighteenth and nineteenth century African Americans and was therefore a part of their daily experience and shaped social relationships. While most scholars will refute that there are biological races, the concept of race is prevalent in the enculturation of individuals in the United States. The fact that we learn race and associated racial "characteristics" and stereotypes from infancy on makes it a part of our everyday practice and thus reifies social divisions based on race. Studies based on the development of the concept of race, ideologies of race and racism, and the place of race in the capitalism are therefore essential to uncover structures of power and inequality, how racism is an essential component of modernity, and—in the context of this dissertation—how race is present in past and present landscapes (Gosden 2006; Mullins 2006). Race as a method of classification developed and became most pronounced during the most intensive phases of European expansion (Smedley 1993: 25; Wolf 1997: 380). Ultimately, we

should think of race as a worldview—"a cosmological ordering system that divides the word's people into biologically discrete and exclusive groups" and the belief that these groups are unequal based on certain intrinsic qualities (Smedley 1993: 18). Therefore, race is ultimately about "inequality of rank in a society in which competition for wealth and power are played out at the individual level" and "nontranscendable social distance" (Smedley 1993: 20-21) and in these ways functions similar to caste (Barth 1998: 27; Berreman 1979: 14).

Although in the United States, our concept of race ("biology") often overlaps with our concept of ethnicity (culture), these are two separate entities. Although after the Civil Rights Movement, African Americans began asserting their "blackness" as ethnic, cultural and *chosen* (see Blu 1979), race is still ultimately outwardly imposed (based on skin color and an ideology of hypodescent in the U.S.), while ethnicity is a chosen cultural affiliation based on social distance, common practices, common history and ideology. Further complicating the boundary between race and ethnicity is the ability for both to be cross-cut by class.

Since "power and social relations are inextricably linked" and race is ultimately about social distance and inequality, a discussion of social power relationships—and specifically how power relates to the development of the landscape and material culture—is an important component of this work (Orser 1996: 175; Smedley 1993: 20). Power results from the control of strategic resources and the exercise of control over the livelihood of others (Berreman 1981). Although slavery was ultimately based on brutality and coercion, a hypothesis based on domination through coercion alone is problematic. Effective power usually entails a dominant ideology or "regime of truth"

(such as race) which legitimates those in power and make the socioeconomic position of lower classes (and races) appear natural (Foucault 2000: xix ; Miller et al.1989: 9). Most often, ideological constructs are used to "get people to behave." The ideology of white superiority/black inferiority was supported through manipulation of the Bible and a manipulation of African and European histories which made Africans responsible for their enslavement. Simply put, the "heathen" state of Africans in Africa was used justification for their enslavement and domination. Furthermore, slavery was initially seen as redemptive for African Americans since it was the only method through which they could become civilized (Smedley 1993: 106). In discussing the domination of African Americans in Newport during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is important to recognize that slavery was not the only method of dominating the African American population. The application of discriminatory laws (vagrancy laws aimed at African Americans, curfews, etc.), manipulation of the landscape, and social restrictions all point to the fact that domination persisted even after the end of slavery when the relations of domination changed (Bolland 1981: 591). As recent studies of "whiteness" have highlighted, the concept of black inferiority was systematically reinforced through law, social convention and the historical development of an ideology "whiteness" (Epperson 2001; Paynter 2001).

Generally, ideology establishes domination by representing the interests of a minority of persons as universal, by denying or disguising contradictions (such as kin/alien and human/chattel contradictions of slavery), and by making the present seem like the natural state of affairs. Successful ideologies promote obedience and create the type of subjects suitable to be supportive of social relations and inserts people into places

predefined by the structures of social formation (Miller et al. 1989: 9). Ideological dogmas attempt to reinforce controls by restricting discourses on alternate reality (such as black equality). In this way, ideologies are forms of "mind colonization" in which cultural controls based on ideologies of science, sexuality and social categories are exercised. Because it denied African peoples their very humanity, the ideologies of white superiority were not successful in maintaining a system of slavery. The fact that in order to be successful, power must work directly and personally to maintain the conditions for daily domination, the "many petty acts of resistance" of slaves and overt rebellion of enslaved and free Africans doomed the system of slavery to fail. Additionally, successful domination is such because it is not based on coercion, withholding and "no," but offers "pleasure, knowledge, and discourse" (Foucault 2000: 120). Slavery and the domination of free Africans was based on coercion, violence and was essentially a series of "nos." Ironically however, in terms of "resistance," both African Americans and Euro American abolitionists in Newport appealed to dominant ideological constructs to overturn the system of slavery.

Anthropologists view power as a set of relationships between individuals—or as a description of the ways in which some act on others (Foucault 2000: 340). There is a distinction between the terms *power to* (get things accomplished) and *power over* (domination), neither of which is all-encompassing because power only exists when it is exercised by some on others and when it is put into action (Foucault 2000: 340; Orser 1996: 175), therefore, an essential component to a discussion of power is that of resistance. While African Americans were dominated through European control of land and labor whether individuals were enslaved or "free," the relationship was not one-

sided. There were overt acts of resistance, such as rebellion, marronage, and murder, as well as covert acts of resistance, or the use of what Scott refers to as "weapons of the weak" (1985). Because domination takes place through ideological, cultural, and political realms, it was also through these spheres that African Americans resisted European domination.

Resistance must go beyond simply denouncing violence or institutions, it must question the rationale of power relationships; it is an opposition to the effects of power linked with knowledge, and it questions the status of the individual and revolves around "who we are" (Foucault 2000: 331). The nature of resistance is influenced by forms of labor and beliefs about the probability and severity of retaliation and therefore often takes different paths (Scott 1985: 34). Miller (1989: 72) distinguished between two modes of resistance—one outward-facing, focusing on mass appeals to legitimacy which often involve appeals to texts to cleanse them of manipulation, and other inward facing, based on individual assertions of spirituality which are alternatives to, yet coexist with dominant ideologies (1989). African American resistance in New England appealed to American notions of Christianity, a rhetoric of freedom and equality and were therefore outward-facing, mass appeals.

African Americans were stripped of their freedom through the transition into "subjects" as defined by their relations to production (as slaves). North American slavery was based on a racial and economic system of differentiation which rationalized new power relations, put in place various mechanisms of control, and institutionalized race relations in order to reproduce the power relationships between African Americans and Euro Americans (through law, religion, and practice) (Foucault 2000: 344). According

to Foucault, subjects are constructed within symbolic structures which are in turn generative of their degree of autonomy; enslaved and free Africans were defined by a (seemingly) total *lack* of autonomy and were therefore subjects of "legitimate" coercion and domination. Berreman (1981) notes that in the modern capitalist system, a lack of disposable income, property and/or freedom of movement subjects individuals to stigmatism. The laws and social conventions regarding African Americans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries served to reinforce such stigmatism.

Domination is a particular type of power which acts upon individuals or groups counter to their aspirations or demands and takes place in the home, government institutions, and the workplace (Miller 1987: 2). Weber defined domination as the ability for one person to impose his will upon others despite resistance—but this is a one-sided perspective of domination. It is more useful to discuss power as a dialectic—the power to dominate and the power to act in the face of domination (Thomas 1998), because the field of dominance is continually contested, particularly when the primary method of domination is violence or coercion (Miller et al. 1989: 16). Dialectic approaches are based on uncovering the tensions inherent in racism and slavery and provide a context for African agency. By studying power as it relates to race in a dialectical manner, anthropologists can uncover the contradiction between domination and the power to act in the face of domination through practice and material.

For example, in particularly coercive systems, like Jamaica, enslaved and "free" Africans often fled plantations and refused to work on estates. There were also covert yet outward assertions of identity through the use of spatial arrangements which mimicked African proxemics rather than accepting the standardized "rowed" houses planters

preferred because they facilitated “panopticism” and the refusal to work on plantations after the abolition of slavery (see Armstrong and Kelly 2000, Foucault 2000; Leone 1995; Thomas 1998) . As Thomas found (1998) on southern plantations, and Handler found in Barbados, enslaved Africans may have resisted planter dominance largely through ideological strategies, such as the use of hand charms which may have protected them and warded off evil, the maintenance parts of African religions, such as “obeah” practitioners, and the belief that they would “return” home in death. This is perhaps the appropriate context in which to interpret the African religious items recently uncovered at the Wanton-Lyman-Hazard House in Newport (see p. 42, this chapter).

In New England, where African Americans lived within the homes and institutions of those who enslaved them (but were only partially integrated), violent revolt and rebellion were rare (see Rucker 2006) but formal methods of resistance were common, such as the implementation of African societies, the development of African churches and schools, emigration schemes, and support for abolition. The development of early diasporism in New England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gave African Americans there a broader framework within which they could resist oppression and dominance. While enslaved African Americans also resisted oppression by running away, establishing separatist communities (see Geismar 1982) or joining Native American communities, most of the formal methods of resistance in New England sought to counter the ideology of black inferiority by developing separate parallel institutions; however, in many cases this was based upon *acceptance* of white ideology (i.e. being good Christians, becoming formally educated, temperance, sexual modesty, etc.) and was thus not true inversion, which Miller (1989: 66) defines as practices which are antithetical

to yet emerge from the dominant cosmology. African Americans acted primarily through utilizing the system which dominated them to improve their circumstances and overcome their domination, thus highlighting the pervasiveness of dominant ideologies. For example, New England slave owners and traders justified slavery as redemptive—it was the only way Africans could be brought into civilization; however, many were opposed to instructing their slaves in Christianity or baptizing them as this would make them Christians and pose a conflict in the treatment of slaves as chattel. African Americans in New England resisted oppression by asserting that the dominant white community adhere to the established ideologies of freedom and equal opportunity.

The study of resistance has misplaced the emphasis on rebellion—in the Caribbean and New England there were daily, consistent, and effective *undramatic* conflicts amounting to "many petty acts of resistance which in total "may [have made] utter shambles of the policies dreamed up by their would be superiors" (Scott 1985: 36). People do not simply react to objective conditions, but to the interpretation they place on those conditions as mediated by the values embedded in concrete practices (Scott 1985: 40), and it is through the study of concrete practices we might find petty acts of resistance. Recent studies have pointed to the use of "calculated conformity," mockery, jokes, and fake deference as "weapons of the weak" (Burton 2000: 54; Scott 1985: 40). The most "dramatic" yet covert manifestation of this is in the Negro Elections of New England and Carnivale in the Caribbean (which have similar origins and practices). While these were long believed to be ridiculous attempts by African peoples to approximate European culture, more recent studies (Burton 2000; Wade 1981) point out

that these were in fact inversion techniques which "silently" but openly mocked European culture.

Other forms of inversion include the ideological reconstruction of the past. While the dominant are constantly attempting to assert their power through ideologies and histories which legitimate them and make the dominated responsible for their own position of inferiority, the dominated often "cast a nostalgic, sympathetic eye" on their past prior to such domination and "create a world turned upside down" by slavery and inequality (Scott 1985: 179). By holding on to idealized visions of Africa and a longing to return, free and enslaved Africans in Newport and elsewhere resisted their oppression on ideological terms.

The symbolic use of identity through material (Leone 1995) is another powerful method of resistance. However, it is important to recognize that "choice" takes place within the context of constraint (Nader 1997: 715-717; Mintz 1985: 162). The use of materials in contexts different than that of the dominant classes, the choice of the enslaved to incorporate wild foods into their diets, the choice of free African Americans to utilize the term "African" over "Negro," and the negotiation of class/caste identity through differential use all point to the symbolic use of identity among African Americans—enslaved and free.

Little attention has been paid to how those out of power may overturn or disrupt the social order of inequality. These forms of resistance, including malingering, sabotage, rebellion, organized banditry, systematic "opting out," dramatic overthrows, replacement, and dismantlings (Paynter 1989: 386) such as those that took place in New England and the Caribbean are often overlooked as *causes* of overturning the social order

(as new social order is often explained economically or the result of dominant political decision-making). However, we should recognize that "not all power bases are monopolized at one time" and that some are in the hands of potential resistors (Paynter 1989: 386). Furthermore, we should explore the relationship between such acts of resistance and new, emergent systems of domination (Bolland 1981: 593). This aspect of power relationships will be integral to the study of how the marginalization of African Americans in eighteenth and nineteenth century Newport relates to the marginalization of their history today. Furthermore, since racial terminologies contain "deep-seated notions of social inequality, studies of domination and resistance should constitute a major focus of research in historical archaeology (Orser 1998: 666; Paynter & McGuire 1991). Terms such as "white," "negro," "mulatto," "African," etc. are used by social groups to connote identity and ideology. This dissertation focuses on divisions within the African American community; however even internal divisions must be contextualized within the prevailing racial ideology. We must also be aware of the theoretical impact of racial terminology as they relate to historical archaeology—and not fall victim to categorizing "community" as an entity based solely upon race.

CHAPTER THREE: AFRICAN AMERICAN MATERIAL CULTURE FROM NEWPORT

This chapter outlines the utility of material culture and material culture theories in the interpretation of historic African American lifeways. It addresses theory, methods, and the results of excavations previously done on historic African American sites in Newport as well as the site tested for this dissertation. As an actively manipulated and highly symbolic entity, material culture may reveal much about past behaviors and ideologies; however, it is questionable whether archaeologists have been able to reveal the complex meanings of material culture, particularly in the context of subordinate groups.

BLACK PROSPERITY – THE LIFE AND DEATH OF CAESAR LYNDON

In order to open discussion about African American material culture in the late eighteenth century, let's listen to the voice of Caesar Lyndon through his memoirs (Rhode Island Historical Society). His diaries and accounts are a historical rarity—a primary document written by and about an African American in eighteenth century New England[8].

December 23rd, 1763 *charged patrons £42'19'6 for items including jacket buttons, ribbons, mohair, etc.*

May 10th, 1765 *ordered 12 cups and 12 saucers*

July 18th, 1765 *We made about 40 gallons of currant wine and on the 19th of July we made about 20 gallons more*

November 24th, 1765 *sold ½ bushel beets to Cudjo Wanton for £2 0' 0'*

December 17th, 1765 *1 Linen blue and white handkerchief for Neptune £3 8' 0'*

January 3rd, 1766 *Received 1 silk handkerchief for Neptune £9 0'0'*

Friday, June 27th 1766 *put five bunches turnups in the market house to sell for Neptune*

[8] This is an excerpt of the Caesar Lyndon accounts and diaries which are currently stored at the Rhode Island Historical Society. Some accounts and entries are paraphrased and/or summarized (by me) for expediency.

August 9th, 1766 *Lent Mrs. Sarah Robinson (an Indian Mulatto) 1 pittance, £1'2'*

Tuesday, August 12th 1766 *This day the following persons took a pleasant ride out to Portsmouth are as follows, Viz:*

Boston Vose
Zingo Steven and Phyllis Lyndon
Nepton Sisson and Wife
Prince Thurston
Caesar Lyndon and Sarah Searing

Necessaries for support of nature are as follows, viz.

To a pigg [sic] to roast	*£8 10' 0'*
To so much paid for house room	*£7 4' 0'*
To wine	*£3 12' 0'*
To bread	*£7 8' 0'*
To rum	*£2 10' 0'*
To green corn, 6 of limes for punch	*£4 0' 0'*
To sugar	*£2 4' 0'*
To butter	*£1 0' 0'*
To tea (40f?) coffee (157?)	*£2 15' 0'*
To 1 pint rum for killing pig	*£0 10' 0'*
	£33 13' 0'

October 7th, 1766 *Lent neighbor Hammon money*

Saturday Morning, October 11th, 1766 *bought 1 pair silver knee buckles at £10'7 sold my old pair at same time for £2 also gave £3'15'0 for yellow pair knee bans put on my leather breeches*

Wednesday, October 29th, 1766 *sold 150 roots celery to Aaron Lopez*

November 22nd, 1766 *Lent neighbor Hammon money*

Tuesday, March 31st, 1767 *Lent Mr. Primus Searing 2 English six pences and 3 copper*

Tuesday, May 5th, 1767 *Lent Mr. Sharper Ellery a 20 bill*

Wednesday, Morning of May 6th, 1767 *lent Mr. Hammond Tanner £8 afterwards he returned back 20 bill*

Saturday, August 1, 1767 *This morning Caesar finished painting Sarah Searing's bed chamber after he had before this morning white-washed the same. Painted the woodwork blue.*

Tuesday evening, October 6th, 1767 *Caesar L. and Sarah S. were lawfully married by the Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles.*

Tuesday, July 5th 1768 *Sarah Searing and Bess Thurston went away on a journey for Bristol between the hours of three and four o'clock afternoon*

Tuesday, August 9th 1768 *friend Boston Vose arrived from Suriname and brought home for me 6 China cups and saucers also 1 looking glass yellow round the frame glass £12 of cups and £9'16 the net proceeds of one ¼ pint of a hog weighed near about 100 weight.*

Thursday, September 11th, 1768 *Lent Primus Searing 1 dollar in Silver*

December 31st, 1768 *had a new knife put into Caesar's best ivory handle*

Wednesday near evening, March 15th, 1769 *bought one razor and a pair of Pinch back knee buckles for 1 pistareen and 4 coppers of a man who said he came from Boston or that government. The knee buckles Caesar gave to his friend Bristol.*

May 4th, 1769 *Caesar finished planting beets in Esq. Ellery's garden Tuesday, May 2nd 1769. Caesar and Hammond hired Mr. Christopher Ellery's garden. What Caesar planted was for ½ the produce at four dollars annum also the same Tuesday paid 8£0 for plowing the same lot*

Saturday, January 27th, 1770 *Master gave Caesar a pair New leather breeches and also gave Prince one pair his old leather breeches at the same time. Caesar's breeches yellow and Prince's cloth colour £32'0*

Caesar Lyndon was what we might consider "well-off" by Euro American or African American standards. He was a successful businessman who had African American and Euro American clientele. He brokered produce at the common market fro other African Americans. He engaged in entrepreneurial activities such as hiring out land for gardening, selling sows for a return of either part of the litter or money. He lent money to friends and other community members in need, suggesting a "social" circle or network within the African American community. He had enough leisure time and disposable income to make day trips to Portsmouth (approximately 7 miles away) by carriage and

drink wine (which, at the time was illegal for African Americans—especially slaves—to consume), roast pigs, buy fine ceramic sets. Caesar also had friends who traveled throughout the Atlantic and brought him extravagant gifts. In the obituary of his wife (Sarah Searing, who died in 1826) Caesar was revered as "well known in this town as a man of color of remarkable attainments" (Newport Mercury 2/9/1826). However, Caesar was also enslaved, legally restricted from being entertained by "free" African Americans, legally restricted in his movements and legally restricted from trading with Euro Americans. He internalized the dominant ideology of capitalism, and notions of genteel behavior as demonstrated in his purchases; and he at least partially internalized prevailing racial ideology, as he referred to Sarah Robinson as an "Indian Mulatto." How was he able to accomplish this prosperity in spite of being African American and enslaved in the eighteenth century? How likely was Caesar's experience, among African Americans? Were there exceptions to the numerous "Black Codes" and restrictions? Among enslaved males in Newport? For example, documents prove that another enslaved man, Occramer Marycoo (Newport Gardner) operated a music school and engaged in other activities while enslaved.

By the end of Caesar's life in 1796, he was free, but absolutely destitute as evidenced by his letter to tax collector Jacob Richardson (see below). He fought with the board of the Free African Union Society because they had only paid him a fraction of his salary (Robinson 1988: 33). He wrote a letter to tax collector Jacob Richardson to "pray favor me with 2 dollars worth, or proportionate amount of the prize[9], with yourself which I hope, we may be entitled to, and for mortality sake, write something from under your

[9] The grand prize was described as a " Superb Hotel, with baths, outhouses, and to cost 50,000 dollars" with eight prizes of lesser valued also offered.

hand, that may entitle me to the amount of 2 dollars worth" (Rhode Island Historical Society) so that he might win even one of the lesser prizes. What happened? Did the war leave him destitute as it did so many other Newport merchants? Or, did his prosperity decline once he was no longer a slave and Euro Americans became increasingly uncomfortable with the presence of free African Americans, and were perhaps even less tolerant of those who blurred the color line? Or did some other tragedy befall him and his wife Sarah, who died in 1826 (Newport Mercury)?

This chapter will analyze African American material culture in Newport. Using data from a Phase I excavation at the Bacchus Overing House, probate analysis, the Caesar Lyndon diaries, and other documentary evidence, I apply material culture to the interpretation of African American economics, gender relationships, labor, consumer choice, family relationships, foodways and cosmopolitanism (see Chapter Four). I try to ascertain what patterns are visible in African American assemblages, whether they accurately reflect status, economy, occupation or gender and in what ways they differ from Euro American assemblages from the same period.

MATERIAL CULTURE IN HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

A number of African Americans born in the 1920s and 1930s have a portrait of John F. Kennedy in their living room. To many African Americans in this segment of the population, Kennedy is considered the most significant American president because he was a champion of Civil Rights. His portrait therefore symbolically represents freedom from oppression, the overturning of a repressive system, hopes of equality, and martyrdom. The same portrait sits in the homes of many other Americans—Catholics who revere him as the first Catholic president and may see religious significance in his

presidency; Irish-Catholic Americans who are proud that "one of theirs" made it to the office of the President of the United States and therefore his portrait symbolizes nationalist pride. This example illustrates that the meaning of material culture varies with context—these meanings only exist in "multi-component, cultural and systemic contexts" which "incorporate many scales, from minutes to millennia, from the individual to the global (DeCunzo 1996: 12). As with Kennedy's portrait, the ideological meanings embedded in all material culture vary according to who owns and uses it. Since different groups can embed different meanings into the same items, it is extremely difficult to assign race or ethnicity to most material culture. Additionally, we should not assume that identical assemblages in Euro American and African American middle-class homes mean that these assemblages reflect a similar lived experience (Leone et al. 2005: 583). The last half century of archaeological research on African American sites has highlighted the fluidity and manipulability of material culture (Baker 1978; Mullins 1999; Orser 1998; Paynter et al. 1996; Schuyler 1980; Singleton 1995, 1999). It has also underscored the need to take into account the "intricacies of cultural construction under conditions of economic and political domination" when interpreting African American material culture (Leone et al. 2005: 582; Orser 1998).

Material culture can be defined broadly to include "everything people have made, every material consequence of people's actions, and every way people have altered their physical world and their bodies" (DeCunzo 1996: 13-14). Henry Glassie (1988) advocated that the incorporation of material culture and landscape analyses to make all histories an holistic and anthropological pursuit. Material culture analysis is an important supplement and/or corrective to written history as throughout history, "the powerful,

literate few speak plainly for the powerless, nonliterary many" (Glassie 1988: 72). The incorporation of primary documents—such as vital statistics, deeds, and probates—folk literature and oral history, and the development of the landscape can reveal functional uses and ideological meanings of things (Glassie 1988). These items inform the ethnohistory of African Americans in this dissertation. While debates continue in archaeology regarding the extent to which we can draw conclusions from material analysis, specifically for African Americans, most archaeologists agree that theoretical frameworks guide the questions asked of data from studies of material life.

As discussed in Chapter One, the material life of historical African Americans was more theoretically explored during and after the Civil Rights movement in the United States. In general, it is during this era that the history of marginalized people began to pique the curiosity of scholars. In the 1960s, some scholars called for a "bottom-up" approach to counter the predominance of elite narratives in history and to account for disenfranchised peoples, such as slaves and the working class, throughout history (Ascher & Fairbanks 1971; Orser 1996: 160). For example, Baker believed that the ceramics at Black Lucy's Garden could shed light on "patterns of material culture distinctive of Afro-American behavior (Baker 1978: 29). In the same vein, Beaudry et al. (1991) argue for an "inside-out" perspective and the use of *artifacts as text and symbol*. This approach was an important corrective to logical positivism. It advocates the role of artifacts in the construction of symbolic identity and the power of material symbols when they are used "out of context" or in ways other than they are meant to be used/interpreted by the dominant cultural tradition (Beaudry et al. 1991: 155). Rather than employing the

perspective of "cultural domination," "bottom up" and "inside out" approaches utilize Gramsci's idea of "cultural hegemony."

Gramsci posited that social classes maintain their own distinct ideologies based on their perceived self-interests and that the resulting competing ideologies must be negotiated within the cultural arena (Counihan 1986; Orser 1996: 168). These competing ideologies are embedded in the uses of material culture. Cultural hegemony models advocate that if we can "decode" the meanings of material culture in their specific contexts we can subsequently decode cultural systems. Orser, however questions our ability to read artifacts as texts because we are removed from the cultures of study (Orser 1996: 164). Furthermore, because of this temporal/social space between archaeologists and historians and past peoples, interpretation is not directly based on those who left material culture behind, but is "borrowed wholesale from the published works of Levi-Strauss, Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, Marx, and others" (Carson 1997: 412). The uses of cultural hegemony in the interpretation of material culture may also have limitations. While marginalized peoples are free to choose their own ideology and symbols to enact culture and class ideologies, they do not have unlimited access to the material goods which can be used as symbols (Orser 1996: 176).

Paynter and McGuire point out that until the 1990s, archaeologists tended to ignore the role of social power—how people manage to convince others to adopt new cultural practices, how groups participate in their own oppression, the domination through the control of resources—in the interpretation of material culture (Paynter & McGuire 1991: 1-10). However, incorporating previous analyses which focused on cultural hegemony, they state that archaeologists must recognize that subordinates may

act in a compliant manner in social spaces where they are viewed by superordinates, but are defiant and critical of authority when in their own social arenas (Paynter & McGuire 1991: 16). Furthermore, oppressed groups have access to particular types of power which dominant groups may ignore or overlook. This may include refusal to abide by the rules of the dominant group, outward acceptance paired with inner resentment and mockery, fake deference or the use of subordination "to inspire guilt," and more complex interpretations of social situations and statuses (McCarthy 1997: 364; Scott 1985). This is critical to keep in mind when analyzing household assemblages, probate records, and even historical landscapes as these contain the material data of historically marginalized peoples and are often the arenas where cultures of resistance are constructed. Further complicating the above issues is the variation in cultural practices of marginalized peoples. For example, while the portrait of Kennedy mentioned above may represent the overturn of the American system to African Americans, to many other Americans Kennedy symbolically represents the *maintenance* of a traditional American way of life.

We must also recognize that there are multiple influences and interactions which affect the interpretation of material culture. Bower highlights the complexities in studying African American material culture in Boston, where differences in class as well as "English culture, the urban nature of Boston, the port, geography, settlement patterns which allowed African Americans to be in close contact" all contributed to the development of African American culture (Bower 1991). Most recently in studies of African American material culture, "the analysis of material culture is structured to distinguish dominance and resistance, acculturation, creolization, continuity or discontinuity of an African heritage" (Leone et al. 2005: 582). While studies in African

American material culture still tend to concentrate on African and African American traditions and "culture," this dissertation and other recent studies also work to uncover the dynamic, fluid aspects of African American culture and identity. Archaeologist Anne Agbe-Davies writes:

> For example, years ago archaeologists saw mass-produced English pottery on slave-quarters sites as evidence that something uniquely African, or African-American, had been lost. More nuanced research has shown that even though the pottery is English, the forms we find, and perhaps even the decorations, conform to cultural preferences that we don't see at Euro-American sites. The people living in the slave quarters didn't have a static concept of culture (unlike many archaeologists!). It wasn't where the pottery came from but how they used it that mattered to them. [Agbe-Davies 2003]

The above examples illustrate that simplistic economic explanations are insufficient to assess African American material culture. While the presence or absence of material culture may point to purchasing power or manipulation of the environment, only when we understand the complexities of symbolic identity and the symbolism embedded in material culture will we begin to uncover the "meaning" of material culture on African American sites.

AFRICAN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Early archaeological studies of African American life focused on southern plantations and conditions of life during slavery. While this discourse was limited, it was in this context that historical archaeologists began to study and theorize about African American identity, domination and resistance, and race (Orser 1998: 63). Although off-plantation

contexts are more difficult as African Americans may not co-reside, may be scattered, or transient (Singleton 1999: 15), work on free African American sites as well as non-plantation sites of enslavement has revealed that although all African Americans were subject to domination and racism, African American "culture" was not monolithic and manifested internal dynamics including class, "color," and gender differences.

While the early focus on American slavery centered on the New World and failed to incorporate a global or diasporic perspective (Leone et al. 2005; Orser 1998: 64; see also Wolf 1997), it opened up theoretical discourses on African American material culture. The material culture of African Americans on plantations has been theoretically and methodologically approached from culturist perspectives which seek to analyze African influence, acculturation/assimilationist perspectives that focus on the adoption of Euro American material culture (thus, ideology) by African Americans, and status-based or race-class perspectives which inference the social position of African Americans (Paynter 1990; Singleton 1999). More recent studies have incorporated theories of power and focused on cultural interaction, domination and resistance and have integrated a diasporic perspective (see Chapter Two).

In her overview of plantation archaeology in the American south, Howson (1990) details the complexities in analyzing and interpreting the material culture of slaves. These issues extend to the archaeology of African American sites in general as both enslaved and free African Americans were subject to domination based on race and class. In both cases, archaeologists have tried to correlate either culture (i.e. African survivals, assimilation, or adaptive strategies) or economy (i.e. class and status) with material culture. As discussed in Chapter Two of this dissertation, each of these perspectives

simplifies the African American experience and may neglect the dynamic uses of material culture and variations in African American "culture."

Culturist perspectives attempt to document African cultural continuity based on Herskovits' (1941)conception of Africanisms. Herskovits promoted cultural continuity and countered the assumption that the Middle Passage and subsequent enslavement utterly destroyed all traces of African culture (Frazier 1957). Culturist historical archaeologists search for clear stylistic markers of African culture and/or African American patterns in the material record and assume the enslaved individual's desire to maintain African culture and a desire to return to his or her homeland (Deetz 1977; Emerson 1999; Ferguson 1992, 1999). Work conducted from this perspective is usually highly politically charged because it involves questions about cultural roots and African American agency (Howson 1990:79). While much of this research identifies some continuity in aesthetics and practice, the diversity of enslaved Africans precluded the direct transmission of "intact" culture and institutions from Africa. Rather, much of what was constructed would have been the result of general principles and broad cultural themes from West Africa (Mintz & Price 1992). For example, Ferguson (1980) made a case for African-influenced pottery in his classic study of Colono ware. He has also studied incisions (crosses and other markings) on Colono ware from South Carolina (1999). Through study of West African cosmological signs and tracing enslaved peoples back to African origins, Ferguson demonstrates that such markings may indeed point to cultural continuity among African Americans, particularly with regard to religion.

Other plantation studies which include the culturist perspective are Wilkie's *Creating Freedom* (2000), in which she studied the construction of identity in Louisiana

through the active selection of African, European, and Native American cultures by all Louisianans. Wilkie demonstrates however, that in addition to cultural borrowing, the majority of enslaved Louisianans were from Senegambia and enslaved Africans brought with them their languages, religions, oral traditions and ways of life (Wilkie 2000: 120). Off-plantation culturist studies include Deetz' *Parting Ways* (1977) and Leone & Fry's (1999) study of indoor and outdoor caches in which enslaved peoples in Southern cities would place ideological symbols (such as pins, buttons, and cowry shells) in northeast corners of rooms and under hearths "to direct spirits, protect, diagnose, and foretell" (Leone & Fry 1999: 380), and McCarthy's (1997) study of African and African American "performance," identity, and material culture in nineteenth-century Philadelphia burial customs. In particular, McCarthy studies the ways in which African Americans in early nineteenth century Philadelphia manipulated material culture and engaged in symbolic behavior, such as burial and other religious practices to express sociocultural identity. Contrarily, work such as that on the Elmwood, Illinois site (Bastian 1999) highlights the difficulties which arise when African American sites exhibit work patterns, spatial patterning, and material culture similar to that on Euro American sites thus obscuring the differences in use and ownership of material culture (Bastian 1999: 291). Even taking all of the above into account, archaeologists have generally moved away from the search for African cultural and stylistic markers in material assemblages (beads, crystals, shells, etc.) as they usually are not sufficient in quantity and precision to lend themselves to interpretation and they usually represent a fraction of what is found on African American sites (Singleton 1995; Zierden 2005). However, the identification of African "retentions"

in the context of resistance transcends the culturist paradigm and may address issues of power, agency, and resistance.

While the culturist (structural-functionalist) search for Africanisms in material culture has been critiqued, culturist interpretations of historic African Americans have been revived through diasporic approaches to the study of African American material culture. Diasporic approaches "reemphasize the historical interconnectedness of Africans and the colonial sites they occupied" throughout the world (Leone et al. 2005: 576). Truly diasporic perspectives broaden the interpretation of material culture beyond the "Black Atlantic" and the United States to incorporate aesthetics, identity and adaptive strategies in Europe, South America, and India. Of particular interest within diasporic studies of material culture are studies of maroon villages and their descendant communities as these groups created early independent communities in opposition to white planter-class culture and often openly incorporated African elements into social structure (Deagan & Landers 1999; Klamon-Koptyoff 1978; Leone et al. 2005)

Other off-plantation studies include those which focus on the development of African American separatist communities or enclaves and the associated material culture under a status perspective paradigm. The material culture from these locations and their descendant communities provide insight into the development of free African American society in the seventeenth through twentieth centuries, a new way in which to study "resistance" to white dominance, and the symbolic identity of African Americans who had the opportunity to develop communities on their own terms. For example, Schuyler's (1980) study of the tiny "racial island" of Sandy Ground, Staten Island, NY, examines the development of an free African American enclave during slavery and

afterward. Schuyler utilizes the "status perspective" and focuses on the effects of "economic perturbations" on African American demography, marriage, and residence patterns and eventually, all other aspects of culture (Schuyler 1980: 57).

Geismar (1982) viewed status within the African American township of Skunk Hollow, New Jersey. She used documentary evidence, such as census data (when available), tax records, land holdings and material assemblages to trace the development of the community during and after slavery. She researched employment data and landholdings to point out the relative affluence of African Americans who lived in Skunk Hollow in comparison to those who lived in other, white-dominated townships. She also traced socioeconomic ranking within the community. Using South's (1977) quantitative-comparative approach and Miller's ceramic index (1991), Geismar interpreted the material culture of Skunk Hollow as reflecting:

> its economic marginality, but compared with other nineteenth-century Afro-American sites, such as Black Lucy's Garden and the slave component of the Cannon's Point Plantation, [the assemblages] demonstrate its relative affluence. [Geismar 1982: 170]

As the material data was perceived as similar to Euro American material culture, status, rather than hermeneutics or identity informed the interpretation of Skunk Hollow. These findings are particularly relevant to the study of African American material culture in Newport.

Recent studies highlight African American consumer culture and study material culture as it relates to consumerism, identity, and resistance to white ideological hegemony. Focusing on capitalism and consumerism, such studies trace the ways in

which material culture found on African American sites can reveal "selective use of white dominated markets" and engaged in discourses involving class identity (Mullins 1999). These studies reveal that "integration into and resistance to the market occurred simultaneously" (Leone 1995: 262, Mullins 1999, 2004). While African American consumer culture may at times be indistinguishable from Euro American material culture, on known African American sites, material culture should be explored to reveal the association between symbolic identity and material culture. In addition to economic interpretations, items of personal adornment, items reflecting "performance" of social identity such as specialized attire (McCarthy 1997), and foodways can be interpreted in the context of individuals and groups presenting and reaffirming symbolic identities or resistance to white-dominated markets. For example, one of the few identifiable markers of African identity found at the Elmwood, IL, site was a hair pomade jar. Traditionally, nineteenth-century cosmetics and hair straightening products have been interpreted as material culture which reflected assimilation or a desire to imitate Euro American culture as hair pomades allowed African American men and women to wear their hair in styles similar to those of Euro Americans. However, Mullins' (1999) work challenges this assumption as his study of African American consumer culture in Annapolis highlights the role of cosmetics in African American entrepreneurship. He is hesitant to "paint a marginalized African subject vigilantly maintaining oppositional identity" because material culture simultaneously reproduces, negotiates, and resists dominant ideology and structural inequalities and archaeological studies must account for this ambivalence (Mullins 2004: 197, 201). Archaeologists of African American material culture are in a unique position to expose how consumption patterns affect self-identification and the

articulation of politics, and the implication of consumerism in wage labor and cash economies (Mullins 2004: 202). Shackel's work in New Philadelphia, IL, the first African American town established before the Civil War (2006) also uncovered few differences in material culture between African American and Euro American sites. However, there were differences in the faunal assemblages of African American sites, possibly owing to lack of access to some markets, racial exclusion or economics which led African Americans to supplement their foods with wild game and larger percentages of pork. Focusing on agency, Franklin (2001) saw the differences in African and Euro American faunal assemblages at Rich Neck Plantation (Williamsburg, VA) as reflecting conscious choices in foodways by both African Americans and Euro Americans as a method of asserting identity.

The political nature of African American archaeology also adds to the complexity of interpretation and preservation efforts. For example, Shackel (2003) cites both the Heyward Shepherd Memorial and the Shaw Memorial as highlighting issues of race and raising uncomfortable questions about the "public presentation" of African American history. He discusses the Heyward Shepherd Memorial in Harper's Ferry as a "Faithful Slave monument" which reflects the "Lost Cause" ideology of the Jim Crow Era. Therefore, the memorial, which was dedicated to an enslaved individual, was used by the white population to "justify the existing social system and to demonize John Brown…" (Shackel 2003: 83). The newspaper editorial which eulogized Shepherd referred to him as "an unoffending trust worthy free Negro man" (Shackel 2003: 83). The memorial, erected in 1931 was denounced by African Americans because it was both anti-John Brown and created an image of passive African Americans in order to support the Lost

Cause ideology. The debate over the memorial continues into the *present* because it is part of a larger campaign by:

> …southern heritage groups such as the UDC [United Daughters of the Confederacy] and the SCV [Sons of Confederate Veterans] to remember a Lost Cause and to justify the system of plantation South. These southern heritage groups believed that Shepherd was true to the existing system, and therefore the monument became a vehicle to show the world that African Americans did not take up arms against the South or revolt against the institution of slavery because they were content with the status quo [Shackel 2003: 112]

Shackel also summarizes the debate surrounding Saint-Gaudens' Robert Gould Shaw 54th Massachusetts (black) Infantry Memorial. Although the memorial is currently interpreted and celebrated as an African American monument, this was not the intention of Saint-Gaudens—who, because of his own feelings toward African Americans (Shackel 2003: 131)—likely intended the African American soldiers to be nothing more than a "background" for Shaw. Shackel's analysis of the (now-called) 54th Massachusetts Infantry Memorial highlights that landscapes, material culture, and history itself has various meanings to differing groups of people. Specifically, referring to Saint-Gaudens' monument, "ethnic groups and social classes mold and reshape the view of the monument as social and political circumstances change within the group as well as within the country" (Shackel 2003: 143).

Mullins and Shackel highlight the need for hermeneutic interpretations when engaging African American material culture. We must ask who is "reading" material culture, who/what is it intended for, how is it actively manipulated, and what conflicts

arise over the interpretations of material culture? In Chapter Four, I address how material culture and the landscape are "read" among different populations in Newport. I will also utilize the diaries of Caesar Lyndon, to interpret the presence of pork on the Bacchus Overing site as not only representing marginality and poverty, but African American entrepreneurship, and the mechanisms African Americans used to "improve" their socioeconomic status. Ironically, although it appears the ideology of capitalism, consumption and gentility penetrated the African American community, the methods African Americans used to access wealth and property, such as increasing number of household members and diversification of household labor very much went against white middle class sensibilities.

AFRICAN AMERICAN MATERIAL CULTURE STUDIES: NEWPORT, RI

Rubertone et al's (1980) study of the Isaac Rice House and Garman's (1992) study of the African American section of the common cemetery, "God's Little Acre," specifically address African American material culture in Newport and were used to inform my own analysis of African American material culture.

Excavation at the Isaac Rice house, located at the intersection of William and Thomas Streets in Newport, was undertaken when the Rice family made plans to make the first floor of the home into a museum of their family and African American history in Newport (Mrozowski, personal communication 2005). Excavation focused on the area under the first floor of the structure when the floor itself was removed for repair. Rubertone et al. utilized deeds, probate records and census data to supplement the archaeological work. Since the house was in possession of the Rice family from ca. 1820

onward, John Rice, a living descendant of Isaac Rice, was able to provide oral history which revealed a great deal of data about the architectural history of the house.

While most of the historic assemblage is believed to have preceded Isaac Rice's occupation of the homestead, materials collected during modern restoration work indicated that there are deposits on the property which date to the occupation of Isaac Rice. Rubertone et al. proposed that further work be done to identify the spatial configuration of the site through time, identify structural changes in the household (i.e. gender and occupation), and to explore how the Rice family adapted to the social and economic environment of nineteenth-century Newport (Rubertone et al. 1979: 27). Although at the time, Rubertone et al. advocated (among other things) the search for ethnicity and African survivals in the assemblage (Rubertone et al. 1979: 28), the overall proposal called for the integration of documentary, oral, and archaeological evidence to analyze the Rice homestead as it relates to African Americans in Newport[10].

Garman used seventeenth through nineteenth century documentary records left by the ruling white families, the symbolic arrangement of space within the Common Burying Ground, and the gravestones of African Americans to reconstruct Newport's color line (Garman 1992: 14). His study underscores the "segregation of the landscape of death" with African Americans being buried in the northern end of the burying ground, farther away from the entry and in a less orderly arrangement than other markers. According to Pope Melish, segregation of cemeteries was another way "whites symbolically acted out the removal of Negroes" (Pope Melish 1998: 185).

[10] I contacted John Rice to be included in this dissertation, but declined because there is a tree on the property that is believed to date back to the occupation of Isaac Rice and he feared that any excavation outside of the house would destroy the root system of the tree.

In relation to material culture in particular Garman explores the surface area, material and epitaph texts within the cemetery to explore "how readers [white, black, male, female, young, old, enslaved, free] would have understood the messages that the gravestones of African Americans broadcast during this time period" (Garman1992:77). Garman determines that there two principal categories of gravestones during the period of slavery (Garman 1992:83):

1) those commissioned by African Americans which were read
    a. by other free African Americans, with collective pride and group identity
    b. by enslaved African Americans, with bitterness and/or hope
    c. by whites with an "ostensible indifference to the emerging pride of a community" of resistance
2) monuments commissioned by whites for enslaved African Americans between approximately 1720 and 1800, which were read
    a. by free African Americans as reminders of their freedom but simultaneously the enslavement of other African Americans
    b. by enslaved African Americans with bitterness and resentment
    c. by lower class whites as "an assertion of elite authority
    d. by elites as a measure of competition and conspicuous consumption

Through his study of the material culture of death, Garman highlights the complexities in reading material culture—as our interpretations vary depending on through whom we are trying to speak (yet, we must be able to interpret through multiple "voices" to fully analyze it). He determines that the "readers" of African American burial markers during the early nineteenth century were "almost exclusively African Americans" (Garman

1992: 91), since the practice of slavery was increasingly scrutinized and whites were no longer commissioning headstones for African Americans. During this period African Americans masked specific racial/ethnic identities, indicating their own ambivalence over their "free status."

This dissertation utilizes Garman's hermeneutics—specifically asking, how did African Americans symbolically use the material culture that is recovered in the archaeological record and which is recorded in documents such as probates and diaries; and how did they "read" the landscape around them? Although there is currently little surviving material evidence that directly ties African Americans in Newport from this period to Africa or African belief systems, the recent discovery of a slave cache containing pins, cowry shells, and beads in the Wanton- Lyman-Hazard house in Newport has pointed to continuity in African ideology through the eighteenth century (Ruth Taylor, personal communication). This dissertation associates material culture with integration *and* resistance, symbolic identities, and everyday realities. For example, although African Americans aspired to own property, educate their children and have material wealth, they also recognized that white society frustrated their goals. Therefore, they adaptively used alternative methods to access material wealth, which often contradicted white middle-class ethos. By utilizing this theoretical framework, we can dialectically investigate free African American marginality and affluence.

THE PROBLEMS OF URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Rothschild and diZerega Wall (2004) overview the issues which confront urban archaeologists that seek to uncover the lifeways of marginalized peoples. As with many large-scale urban archaeological projects, their Seneca Village project was problematic as

it: 1) was located in New York's Central Park; 2) required community involvement in all aspects of the project; and 3) the modern park was important to and used by various contemporary groups with varying agendas. Although the project involved college undergraduate interns, public outreach, an advisory committee including historians of African American and Irish history, members of descendent communities and others who were interested in the project, at the time of the publication of their article (2004), no excavation had taken place (though in 2003, they were permitted to core). The primary problem seemed to be that Central Park falls under the jurisdiction of New York Parks and Recreation, and the official attitude toward the Village "has been characterized by what appears to be a reluctance that it ever existed" (Rothschild & diZerega Wall 2004: 34). Parks and Recreation informed the advisory committee that they could not excavate the village because they did not want to set a precedent which allowed the public to penetrate the surface of the park—though Rothschild & diZerega Wall point out that Columbia University had been granted permission to excavate in the park a few years earlier (Rothschild & diZerega Wall 2004: 35). As with my study of Newport, the documentary evidence provided a great deal of insight into the Seneca Village (Irish and African American) community. However, the lack of archaeological information leaves the interpretation of the lifeways of marginalized communities incomplete. As would archaeology in Newport, "excavation would help modern-day New Yorkers recognize and acknowledge the significant role African Americans have played in the city's past, a role that is usually denied" (Rothschild & diZerega Wall 2004: 35).

Prior to reflexive theoretical perspectives in urban landscape archaeology (see Chapter Two), most urban historical archaeology projects sought to identify how and

why the urban hierarchy in North America become more highly stratified between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They also examined the relationships among residential settlement patterns, material attribute patterns, and the behavior of different socioeconomic-ethnic groups within this changing hierarchy (Mrozowski 1984; Cressey & Stephens 1982: 43). Furthermore, these studies often sought to place cities into core-peripheral frameworks and into the globalizing market economy. Many problems confront the urban archaeologist—many more confront those who attempt to study areas with a lack of standing (original) structures, significant amounts of urban fill, subdivision of land, and in the case of Newport, rapid gentrification. Other problems common to all urban sites include: the intensity of land use and rapid turnover of private property which diminishes occupation range, the subdivision of properties into increasingly smaller lots, which requires access to multiple sites to analyze spatial patterning and architectural history, a lack of standing vernacular structures, large land moving projects which create urban fill and re-carve the landscape, and finally, public relations and community involvement. These problems are compounded in areas which have been historically occupied by marginalized people, as their sites are not seen as worthy of preservation.

While Cressey and Stephens note that areas that are particularly characterized by transience are unreliable for archaeological data and Rubertone found that fill trash does not conform to any particular artifact pattern, we should not dismiss the process of urban filling as archaeologically significant (Cressey & Stephens 1982: 51).

> If the goal of urban historical archaeology is to delineate patterns and understand the processes as part of long-term and ongoing trajectories of change, it does not

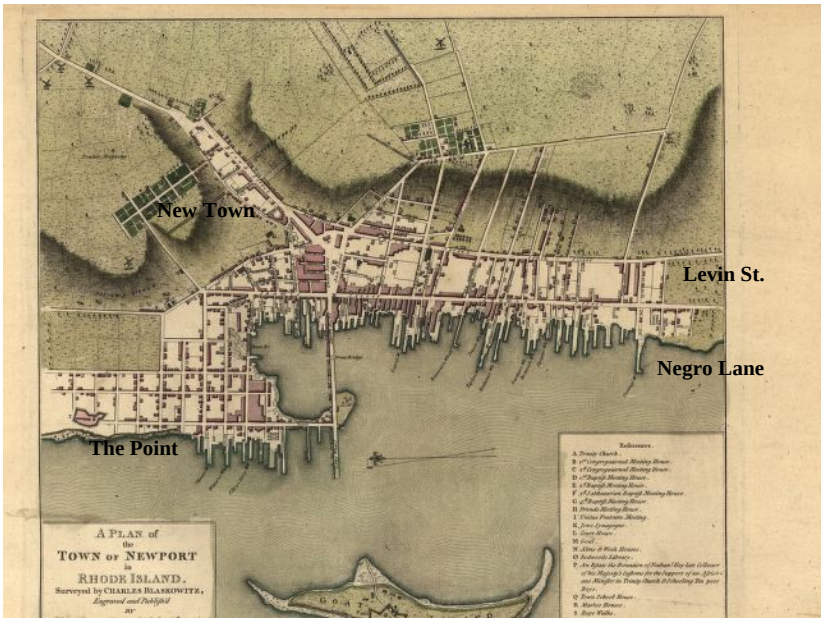
> make sense to dismiss part of this record as having little or no value for cultural interpretation. [Rubertone 1982: 137]

For example, Snowtown a mixed African American and Euro American neighborhood in Providence, Rhode Island, characterized by poverty and transience, provided a wealth of archaeological data despite significant urban taphonomic processes at the site. The artifactual remains at the Snowtown would not be expected for individuals of the socioeconomic status known for the area between 1800 and 1840 (Artemel et al. 1984). This data demonstrates that in an increasingly industrial city, those who are marginalized by capitalism may still engage in conspicuous consumption and/or engage in informal economies. Though subject to similar taphonomic processes, the stratification of three separate fill layers at the Bacchus Overing House (Benard 2006) reflects architectural modification at the site since approximately 1790 and three excavated test units point to use of extra-domestic space. Unlike Snowtown, this project dealt with a lack of access to archaeological sites to conduct comparative analysis of African American lifeways; therefore the ethnohistory of African Americans in Newport (Chapter Four), relies heavily upon documentary and landscape evidence.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL TESTING AT THE BACCHUS OVERING HOUSE

This dissertation was initially designed to engage in discussion of material culture of free, property-owning African Americans in Newport between 1774 and 1826 through archaeological analysis. Newport land records and probates indicate over 2 dozen African Americans—including mariners, laborers, and small business owners—began purchasing property in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Known property owners include Zingo Stevens, a former slave who purchased a “mansion house” on The

Point (Newport Probates 5:371), Arthur Tikey Flagg, who owned two dwellings as—one on Lower Thames and the other on The Point as early as 1807 (Newport Probates 4:685; Newport Land Records 10: 283), and other Point landowners such as Cuff Rodman (Newport Land Records 26:397), Kirby Rodman (Newport Probate 4:383), Quash Mowatt (15:262), Frank Challoner (Newport Land Records 31:7), and Robert Keith, who had a home on Lower Thames (Newport Probate 3:186). Bess Brown, owned a dwelling in "New Town," as early as 1794 (Newport probate 2:353), and her grandson George Johnson, owned property on Spruce St. in New Town as well (Newport Probate 6:86). Newport Gardner, Salmar Nubia, and Bacchus Overing, owned property on Pope St. (Newport Land Records 12: 65, 15: 266, 15:407). There were also some African American landowners in this period that purchased property on Levin St., on the southern end of town, including Abraham Casey and Cesar Bonner.



Map 1. Blaskowitz 1777 map of Newport, Rhode Island (courtesy of the Library of Congress), demonstrating different clusters of African American property owners (added by author)

African American properties tended to cluster on the northern and southern margins of town and property ownership became an increasingly important method of wealth maintenance in the eighteenth century. My goal was to examine household assemblages of free African American property-owning families to assess wealth, diet, symbolic identity and use of space. Additionally, I wanted to account for the free African Americans formal and informal Newport economy as well as establish ties between African Americans in Newport at this time and the African Diaspora. After approximately six months of deed, probate, city directory, and historic maps research, I was able to locate a number of likely sites for excavation. Eighteen copies of the following letter were sent to property owners:

January 15, 2006

Dear Newport Landowner,

My name is Akeia Benard. I am a Newport native, Salve alumnus, and a PhD candidate at the University of Connecticut in the Department of Anthropology. I am planning to conduct an archaeological survey in Newport over the spring and summer of 2006 through the University of Connecticut to identify the location of several historic Newport homes dating from the late 1700s through the late 1800s. Research conducted at Newport City Hall and the Newport Historical Society has narrowed down the most likely locations of these important historic sites, one of them being on your property.

The survey will require digging small test pits 50cm x 50cm (or, 20in x 20in) at 5 meter intervals (about 17 feet apart). The interval can be adjusted according to the dimensions of each yard and to avoid gardens, structures, etc. All soil will be screened over plastic sheeting and promptly replaced, along with the top layer, and disturbance to your property will be minimal. Most property owners will not even know where test pits were located after I am finished. Each individual property survey should be complete in one to three days, allowing for rain days, property owner schedules, etc.

The survey will be conducted as part of my dissertation research for the University of Connecticut and will primarily be conducted by me. On a few occasions, with property owner permission and for educational purposes, I may have some (approx. 5-10) Thomson Junior High School and/or Rogers High School students visit the site. On opportunities where students are allowed to visit the sites, I will also advise the Newport Daily News of our activities (with landowner permission). All information gathered from this research will be shared with local residents and will be housed in Newport at a location that is accessible to the public.

We hope you will support this project by agreeing to allow access to your property for this brief survey. I have also included a copy of the contract to be signed by myself and the landowner once permission is

granted. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at 860-416-4557, or by email at akeia.benard@uconn.edu. I look forward to continuing this important research and to sharing our results with you.

Sincerely,

Akeia A. Benard, M.A.
University of Connecticut
Department of Anthropology

All of these letters were sent to addresses on "The Point," Pope St. and the William/Levin St. neighborhood, areas which often have plaques near the front door claiming the residence belonged to a prominent individual in Newport history (such as a merchant, trader, or businessman). Deed research demonstrated that these properties had either originally been owned by African Americans and/or African Americans had occupied the site for at least at least 20 years. After three weeks, I followed up with phone calls and/or in-person visits to properties. Most did not respond at all. One person agreed but subsequently did not return phone calls, another family was in the process of selling the property, so unfortunately because of timing, excavation was not possible. Finally another family allowed testing on their property. After the field season was complete, a friend of the family that allowed for the excavation on their property offered to help convince homeowners on The Point that this project was worthy of pursuit. Perhaps in the future, with a better environment for public relations regarding African American history in Newport, the obstacles which prevented excavation in 2006 will be removed.

Bacchus Overing House

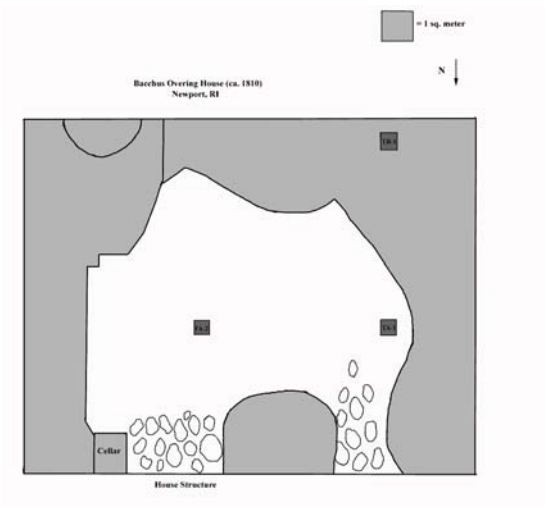
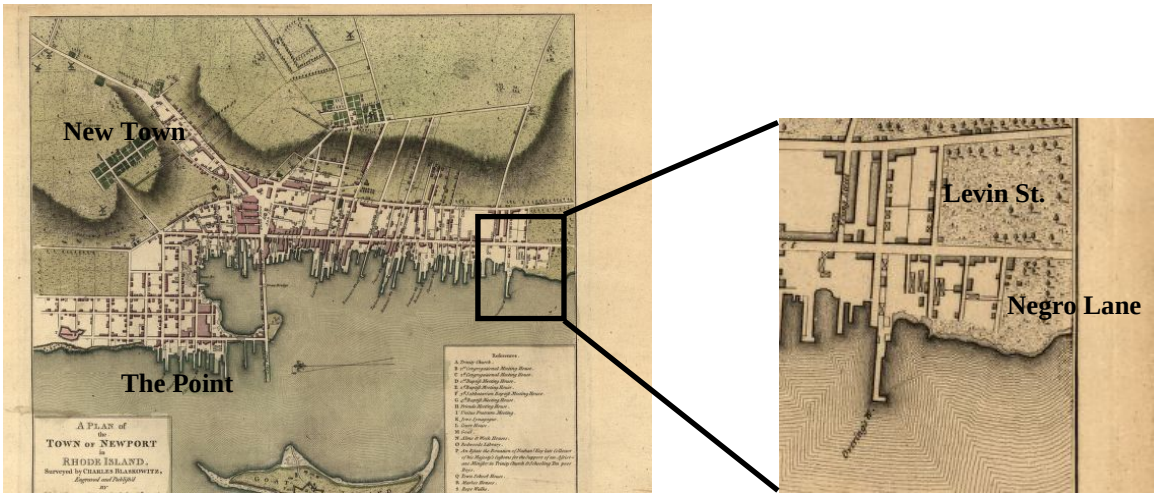


Figure 1. Excavation Plan of Bacchus Overing House (rear yard)

In *African Americans in Newport*, Youngken (1998) documents the location of the Bacchus Overing House, which was occupied by Overing by at least 1810 (although census records suggest he was on the property by 1790). The property was sold by his son Paul Overing in either 1858 or 1875 to Isaac Clarke, who appears on an 1883 Tax Assessor's plot map. Bacchus Overing appears to have owned a large portion of the south side of the street which he and Paul continuously subdivided between 1810 and 1858 (Newport Land Records 12:65, 13:498, 21:55, 43:551) . The house, which is not the original structure, is located on Pope St. in Newport, RI, just uphill from the wharf (see Fig#)[11]. Although Pope St. is now centrally located in Newport, at the time the street was occupied by Bacchus Overing, Newport Gardner, Salmar Nubia and other free African American property owners, it was on the southern edge of the town (see Map 1), removed

[11] The wharf and distillery was owned by John Henry Overing, who owned several slaves. Although there is no documentary evidence suggesting a relationship between John Henry Overing and Bacchus, the surname, proximity of John Henry Overing's distillery to Bacchus Overing's home, and the fact the Bacchus Overing was also a distiller, make it likely that Bacchus was formerly the slave of John Henry Overing.

from the site of the majority of the Euro American population[12]. It was referred to as "Negro Lane" in an advertisement for a property auction in the December, 29th 1803 issue of the Newport Mercury. Pope St. represents one of the earliest free African American enclaves in Newport, the others being "The Point" and the William/Levin St. neighborhood, and New Town. These neighborhoods were also likely the sites of a great deal of (unsupervised) interaction among free African Americans.



Map 2. Blaskowitz Map of Newport 1777 (Courtesy of the Library of Congress), Negro Lane and Levin Street enlarged

Since there was not sufficient archaeological data available to conduct a comparative study of different African American-owned sites in Newport during this period, the primary questions which guided the excavation at Bacchus Overing house were: 1) could the testing reveal information from the occupation period of Bacchus Overing?; 2) does the data reveal any information about the economy, gender roles, or spatial use of the Overing family; 3) does archaeological data on Newport historic African American sites contain information which is useful for the interpretation of

[12] There were Euro Americans who lived on Pope St. as well as on The Point and the William/Levin St. neighborhood. However, these areas are considered "enclaves" as they were neighborhoods where free African American property owners clustered.

African American lifeways in eighteenth and nineteenth century Newport? For example, what can we infer about household or "community" economy, will the information gathered from excavations of African American sites contribute to the interpretation of free African American interaction, use of household space, and family structure?

DATA

Three test units were excavated in the back yard of the property (Figure 2) approximately five meters apart, accounting for yard space, the homeowner's garden, and other structures. Each unit was .5 meters x .5 meters and approximately one meter deep. The test units closest to the structure were labeled TA-1, TA-2, and the test unit near the fence line was labeled TB-1 (see fig#). Each test unit contained significant layers of artifact-rich fill.

Stratification within the fill suggests that there were at least three soil deposition events above the A Horizon (see Figure 2). Therefore, rather than analyzing strata arbitrarily (i.e. by 10 centimeter layers), material data was organized by strata as defined by soil type, the depths of which varied from test unit to test unit. Each strata is believed to correlate with a discrete "fill episode," (see Figure 2). These fill episodes were further confirmed by Mean Ceramic Date analysis (South 1977).

The Buried A Horizon, characterized by dark brown, silty fine sand, had a mean ceramic date (South 1977) of 1801 to 1808 and represents the occupation of Bacchus and Paul Overing. The artifacts within this layer included mostly domestic items including ceramics, which represented 35% of the assemblage. The ceramics ranged from coarse lead-glazed earthenwares (redware) to more refined earthenwares (creamware, pearlware, and whiteware), salt-glazed stoneware, and porcelains (bone china, and

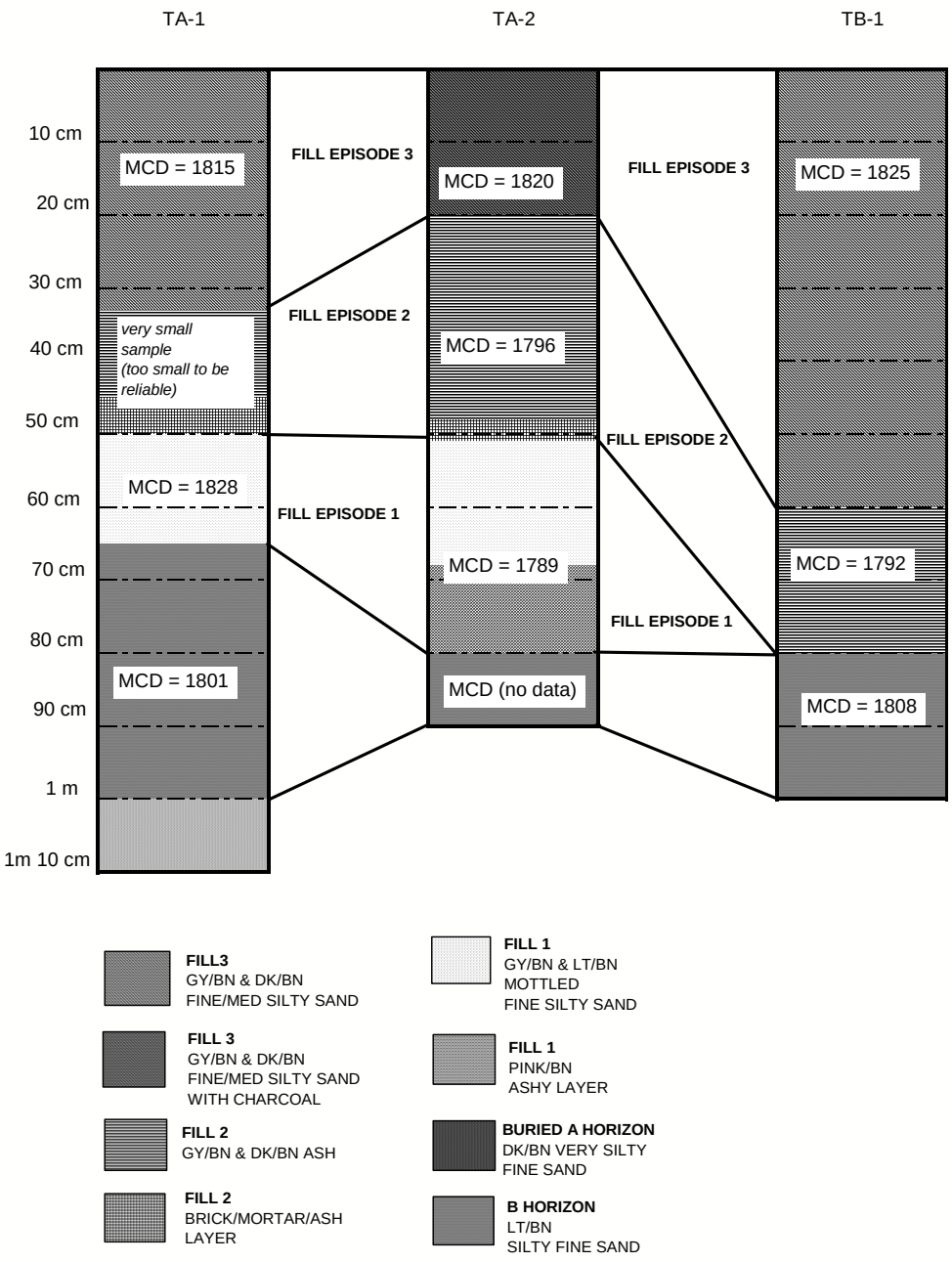


Figure 2. Stratigraphy of Test Units. MCD = Mean Ceramic Dates. Note that TB-1, which was located near the property line (see Fig. #) and within the home owner's garden, was subject to disturbance from digging for fence posts and gardening. An 1883 Tax Assessor's map indicates that there was an outbuilding over TB-1

English blue and white). It is plausible that the coarse earthenwares represent utilitarian vessels while the refined earthenwares were utilized for table settings. Because the

excavation consisted only of test units, no minimum vessel counts were conducted to discern whether any matching sets were represented.

The A Horizon also contained unidentified metals (presumably from one large container), which represented 27% of the A Horizon assemblage. There was a great deal of architectural debris, such as nails, bricks, mortar and window glass, which represented 12% of the material from the A Horizon. Four percent of the assemblage from the A Horizon consisted of coal and ash refuse, which was commonly dumped adjacent to house structures. Glass vessels represented 3% of the assemblage and personal items, including a glass bead and 4 pipe bowl fragments, represented one percent.

The faunal assemblage in the A horizon, which totaled 18% of the material remains recovered in the stratum, predominantly contained shell, there were one avian bone, two fish vertebra, and 18 mammal remains, including goat, cow, and pig. The mammal remains in each stratum were not particularly good cuts of meat, suggesting either on-site butchery, maintenance of domestic animals on the property or the purchase of less expensive cuts of meat. There were several unidentified cranial elements, a cow incisor, premolar, sawed thoracic vertebra, another juvenile vertebral end, and a juvenile calcaneus. There were several sheep or goat elements[13], including 2 ribs, a vertebra, metatarsal mid-shaft, and an inominate. The A horizon also contained a pig scapula.

Fill Episode 1 had a mean ceramic date which varied between unit TA-1 (1828) and unit TA-2 (1789) (South 1977) and had a soil type which was not present in unit TB-1 at all. This soil was characterized by a great deal of greyish ash, most likely coal waste from a household stove and/or furnace (Timothy Ives, personal communication), which

[13] With the exception of a few elements the skeletal remains of sheep and goats are usually indistinguishable from one another

would be a plausible explanation for why the soil type does not appear in TB-1, located about 11 meters from the structure. This type of ash dumping began around the 1820s and continued through the nineteenth century. Therefore, this fill is most likely associated with an early structure on the property and the differences in mean ceramic dates may be the result of digging or burying the ash.

According to South (1978), a typical household artifact assemblage found around a structure will contain a high ratio of Kitchen Group (i.e. ceramic) artifacts in comparison to Architectural Group artifacts. The architectural debris in this layer was comprised 22% of the recovered material remains—the same percentage as ceramics. According to South's pattern, this ratio indicates significant structural changes during the time period, such as demolition or rebuilding which may also explain the discrepancy in mean ceramic dates between units TA-1 and TA-2. Architectural debris included a large mortar sample (47% of total architectural debris), 17 nails, spikes or hooks (27% of total architectural debris), a large broken brick and brick fragments and broken window glass. The presence of this volume of construction debris and the presence of a high overall percentage of architectural debris (South 1978) supports the hypothesis that structural changes took place during the creation of this fill episode.

There was also a significant amount of charcoal and coal/ash refuse (19% of material recovered from this stratum) indicating a possible structure fire and/or continued stove or furnace dumping in this area. This stratum contained less coarse earthenware and a greater number of whiteware, and pearlware pieces. The faunal assemblage contained a large bivalve sample (which may or may not represent food refuse). There was one calcined bone in this stratum as well as a cow radius and the head of a juvenile

humerus. There were also several sheep or goat elements, including the distal end of a humerus (which exhibited cut marks) and an astragulus. There was a small sample of bottle/container glass present and only one personal item (a metal shirt pin).

Fill Episode 2 has a tight mean ceramic date which varies between 1792 and 1796 (there was not enough of a sample to draw a mean ceramic date from TA-1). The fact that these dates precede those from the A Horizon suggests that this layer resulted from significant structural changes on the property such as digging for a cellar. Fill episode 2 is primarily composed of ash (grey and dark brown) and contains a layer of brick and mortar. This suggests that rather than coal dumping activity, there may have been a structure fire and demolition material may have been used as landscaping fill. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that the same layer occurs in TB-1, 11 meters from the structure, because previous coal ash dumping had occurred adjacent to the structure. Therefore, unless the fill was hauled in from somewhere else, it is likely from an earlier house on the property which was removed when digging the current basement or from a collapsed structure (i.e. from a fire) which may also explain the large number of construction nails, window glass, etc. This stratum is also believed to reflect the occupation of Bacchus Overing. This stratum contained few ceramics (only 3% of the assemblage), including pearlware, whiteware, and porcelain. The material remains in the stratum were primarily architectural debris (42%), half of which was brick. There was also a great deal of mortar, nails and spikes and window glass. Therefore, it is possible that this was a discard area for architectural refuse. However, the presence of a significant amount of coal slag, coal and ash (21%) and the ashy composition of the soil in this stratum indicate a possible structural fire and rebuilding activity. The stratum also

contained oyster and other bivalve shells, mammal bones, including a sawed mammalian long bone, a cow shaft fragment, and the distal humerus of a goat, and several unidentified metal fragments.

The top layer, Fill Episode 3 has a Mean Ceramic Date of 1815 to 1825 and dates to the occupation period of Bacchus Overing, who died in 1819. However, it should be noted that in TB-1 there was significant disturbance from digging for a fence post and modern gardening activity which resulted in many modern artifacts (plastic cup lids, aluminum construction materials, etc) being distributed throughout the unit. The presence of significant amounts of coal in TA-2 (18% of the materials recovered from this stratum) suggests continued coal ash dumping adjacent to the structure. This stratum likely also originates from demolition and reconstruction activity based on the presence of a large number of nails and other architectural debris, which represented 38% of the total assemblage and included L-Shaped (flooring) nails, a large number of bricks (n=62), a large sample of window glass, and furniture hardware. The stratum also contained a number of personal domestic items, which represent leisure activity and personal care such as a bone toothbrush, a clay marble, a glass medicine bottle, and several kaolin pipe fragments.

Metals included a mousetrap spring and a shoe eyelet. The faunal remains (14% of the assemblage) included a large number of bivalve and oyster remains, a fish vertebra, a juvenile sheep or goat tibia, a goat molar several other unidentified juvenile bones, several unidentified cranial elements, and the distal end of the shaft of a cow femur. Ceramics were primarily whiteware (transfer-printed), pearlware and porcelain.

DISCUSSION: MATERIAL CULTURE AT BACCHUS OVERING HOUSE

Most of the artifacts from the test units were domestic items, including ceramics, glassware, window glass and other architectural debris, faunal material (shell and bone), and personal items. The mean ceramic dates suggest that at least one, if not two of the fill episodes correlate with occupation by Bacchus Overing. While probates and other documentary sources point to the joint use of domestic space as industrial space among African Americans during this period, there is no evidence for this at the Bacchus Overing House (probably because he was a distiller and lived in proximity to his place of employment).

The ceramics at Bacchus Overing House are similar to those found on middling Euro American sites (Mrozowski 1984). However, it would be a mistake to assume these items were acquired in the same ways or had the same meaning to African Americans. Material culture has no inherent meaning, rather it is assigned meaning by the social groups and individuals that own and utilize it. Furthermore, it is possible that these ceramics may not even be useful to infer economic status. As noted by (Artemel et al. 1984), individuals in Snowtown, Providence, RI had ceramics which did not accurately reflect their socioeconomic status. It has been noted that high-quality ceramics have been gifted (as in the case of domestic service), obtained with monies acquired through an informal economy (i.e. community barter or illicit activities) or may represent conspicuous consumption—individuals making certain symbolic purchases that belie their socioeconomic standing. Furthermore in reference to material culture such as ceramics, Lewis noted that:

> Inside and outside meanings are created not only by control of assets and means of production, but also by other aspects of culture: political power, social status, gender relations, gender and ethnicity. [Lewis1998:201]

Furthermore, the analysis of ceramics should also take into account that such material culture reflects not only ethnicity but "laborers, men, women, and children" (Artemel et al. 1984). Therefore, the presence of this class of (refined) ceramics in the Bacchus Overing House may represent the purchasing power of this particular African American, property owning family. The ceramic data, while a probable economic indicator, does little to inform about symbolic identity without comparison from other sites and documentary evidence. For example, there is little evidence of ceramic sets at the Bacchus Overing House, however it is clear from Caesar Lyndon's diary and African American probate records that ceramic sets were desirable items for African American consumers.

The faunal assemblage contained a large number bivalve, oyster and goat or sheep remains. Bivalves and fish would have been an important part of the diet because of the easy accessibility and availability of these items. The absence of pork is surprising since it is mentioned throughout the Caesar Lyndon diaries. Pork, although generally associated with poverty, may reflect both African American ethnic identity through conscious food choice, but was also an important part of the African American economy. Caesar Lyndon notes throughout his diaries (Rhode Island Historical Society), several occasions when he and other African Americans purchased, lent, or sold pigs (mostly sows) for some type of return (i.e. half price and future litters). Based on the material evidence, it is unlikely that the Overings specifically engaged in these activities.

Although it is possible to draw some inferences about the diet and economy of the household of Bacchus Overing from the material culture at Bacchus Overing House, the lack of comparative data makes these inferences unreliable to address economy, gender roles, and adaptive responses within the African American community. The presence of green-edged and blue-edged pearlware appears in African American probates and would not be uncommon on Euro American sites dating to this period, as they were readily available and inexpensive (Miller 1991: 6). Other items found in the Bacchus Overing assemblage, such as printed and banded wares, were also common during the nineteenth century. In reference to the questions asked of the data and the implications for this dissertation, although the stratigraphy was complex due to multiple urban taphonomic processes, such as demolition, rebuilding and filling, sample testing revealed at least one, possibly three stratigraphic units which date to the occupation of Bacchus Overing. Some hypotheses can be made about material culture and spatial patterning at the site. For example, the use of utilitarian earthenwares and refined ceramics suggests that the household was able to purchase or somehow acquire mass produced items brought in from England. However, without comparative evidence, it is difficult to assess the symbolic meaning of ceramic patterns and types for the household. Additionally, the presence of coal slag and ash pointed to ash dumping activity adjacent to the structure. The presence of significant amounts of domestic goat and sheep remains may point to ethnic foodways, and the maintenance of domesticated animals.

Finally, while the Bacchus Overing House alone cannot accurately represent African American life in the early nineteenth century, comparative archaeological data and a critical reading of primary historic documents would produce a useful interpretation

of African American lifeways in eighteenth and nineteenth century Newport. Due to the lack of comparative archaeological data, this dissertation will also examine primary documents as well as the evolving landscape of Newport during the period of this study to place the material culture from Bacchus Overing house into a theoretical and historical context. The following section will contextualize the archaeological data from Bacchus Overing House with the ethnohistory and cultural landscape of African American Newport.

AFRICAN AMERICAN MATERIAL CULTURE AS SEEN IN WILLS AND PROBATE INVENTORIES

Due to a lack of comparative archaeological assemblages in Newport, I employed probate records as an alternative method of material culture analysis. Since this material culture study focuses on documented African American real estate owners, probate records were useful for procuring material evidence in lieu of archaeological analysis and tax documentation. However, these documents are not without their own biases. Probates must be used critically as individuals without real estate or wills would not be included in probate inventories, not everyone complied with laws regarding the probate process (i.e. would hide property), and the omission of certain classes of property by appraisers such as clothing, playthings, and portraits is likely (Brown III 1988: 80; Izard 1997: 154); however these problems are akin to "differential preservation" in the archaeological record and therefore, the information within probates should not be overlooked because of the above inherent biases. Furthermore, probate inventories document materials which would not likely survive in the archaeological record, such as pewter, wooden furniture, clothing and paper. For example, the presence of pewter on several of the African

American inventories suggests that African Americans continued to utilize if not purchase pewter items (which were locally made) long after imported earthenwares were widely available. These may appear through curation and have social significance of which we are currently unaware.

For the period 1774-1826, fourteen individual probate inventories and four individual wills (without probates) were located for African Americans in Newport. Inventories were generally conducted room-by-room and accounted for clothing, furniture, tools, kitchenware, and other classes of household items. Estate values ranged from £3 ($6) to $622. One of the earliest records for an African American is that of Juby Greenhill (NP 1:219), a free woman whose son "left money for [her] maintenance." Most of what Juby distributed in her 1784 will is jewelry, including gold rings, earrings and jewels and these are given to a number of individuals, including Tony Taylor, Peggy Thurston, Nanny Coggeshall, Thomas Freebody, and Cupid Brown (listed in appendix). Only one individual, Abigail Orquar, is named as a relative (granddaughter) and a substantial amount of furniture, china, jewelry and clothing is given to a Cupid Brown. Anthony Taylor later became the President of the Free African Union Society (see Chapter Four), Freebody and Brown also became members.

As other probates demonstrate, most of the available probate inventories are those of Free African Union Society (FAUS) members. As discussed in Chapter Four, these individuals were generally property-owing, "middle class" African Americans. Therefore, those who had enough of an estate to be included in the probate process were actively creating a "class" within their racial group. These individuals name other FAUS members as executors and administrators. For example, in his 1803 probate, Scipio

Tanner (also mentioned in the Caesar Lyndon diaries), appointed his wife and three other FAUS members as his executors (Arthur Flagg, Primus Thurston and Cato Barker) and Zingo Stevens appoints Newport Gardner and Cuff Rodman as executors. More specifically, it appears that those members who occupied "The Point" enclave and "New Town" named other Point and New Town residents as administrators and executors. Curiously, Arthur Flagg named John Stevens, his "neighbor and friend," as the executor. John Stevens was a stonecutter who had enslaved Arthur's friend and fellow FAUS member Zingo Stevens. This is not uncommon in African American probates and highlights "the complexities of negotiating the color line in early nineteenth century Newport" (Garman 2002: 1)

In general, these probates and wills reflect the distribution of property to children and widows; however some contain details about the configuration of houses (or at least what rooms were in the house); and those with inventories describe material culture which would be unavailable in the archaeological record. Inventories suggest that this group of African Americans engaged in entertaining as most contained ceramic sets (green-edged plates) as well as sets of cups and saucers which were also noted in Caesar Lyndon's diary. Some reflect industry such as gardening equipment and sheep shears. The inventory of Backus Coggeshall noted that he held the mortgage on another African American's estate (Caesar Potter). Some also contained substantial amounts of cash—Cuff Rodman had $300 cash inventoried and Cato Easton held a note from John Easton for principal and interest of $390.76.

A comparison to Euro American probates within the same financial range suggests that there was no appreciable difference in the material culture of African

Americans and Euro Americans based on race. However, African American mariners tended to have probates of higher value than Euro American mariners. This pattern is likely due to the fact that African American mariners were more likely to be married, had wives who contributed to household income, and had stable residences. The single status of most Euro American mariners may also account for a lack of ceramic sets in the probate inventories of Euro American mariners, such as William James Mowatt and Elisha Rodman (Newport Probate 3:1, 4:435) The highest valued African American estate belonged to mariner George Johnson, who held approximately $400 in notes at the time of his death. Otherwise, patterning in material culture seemed to follow economics rather than ethnicity (see Cusick 1995a and 1995b). Generally, probate inventories under $30 contained mostly clothing, and other personal items. All probate inventories which were over $100 contained cash, notes, or pieces of silver tended to have matching ceramic sets, mahogany, pine, or cherry furniture, extensive kitchenware and crockery and tools. Even when Euro American mariners, such as Elisha Rodman (unmarried) had estates valued above $100, there were generally no ceramic sets, suggesting these were likely to be chosen or purchased by women. All probates inventories valued at $100 or more also belonged to owners of real estate. Higher valued estates contained ceramic sets, valuable wearing apparel, and items of personal adornment, such as watches.

The probate records suggest that women contributed economically to the household. The probates of mariners and laborers contained large cedar washing tubs (for laundry) and spinning wheels, which were common employment options for African American women. This was particularly important for the families of mariners, who were often absent for several months in a year.

Name	date	T/I	Value	Real estate Y/N	Occupation	Furniture	Misc. House Items	Utilitarian	clothing	Personal adornment	Cash/notes	Leisure	Ceramic	Glass-ware	Pewter	Other kitchen	bric-a-brac
Robert Keith (M)	1800	I	$37.75	Y	mariner	$12.67	$1.25	$3.16	$7.95			$2.00	$2.35	$0.66		$4.08	$0.33
Pero Nichols (M)	1800	I	$74.82	N	mariner	$24.75	$7.50	$3.25	$31.25				$5.45	$1.62		$1.00	
Prince Champlin (M)	1803	T	$90.07	N	mariner	$28.05		$5.15	$37.75				$6.75	$1.90		$3.22	$0.50
Kibeah Rodman	1807	I	$59.15	N	labourer	$11.25	$20.00	$12.75	$10.00				$0.20	$3.94	$2.25	$11.90	$0.25
Backus Coggeshall (M)	1808	T	$138.00	Y	yeoman, sailmaker	$43.00	$4.00	$7.00	$7.00		$60.00		$2.50			$6.80	$1.50
George Hampshear (M)	1809	T	$26.00	Y	labourer	$15.00		$3.00	$5.00				$1.25		$0.75	$1.00	
Thomas Weeden (M)	1809	I	$55.63	N	N/A	$38.75	$1.75	$8.25					$0.20		$1.00	$5.50	$0.10
Cuff Rodman (M)	1809	I	$430.58	Y	labourer	$43.00	$7.00	$2.75	$7.00		$352.58		$6.00	$2.00		$3.25	
Jenny Hampshire (F)	1811	I	$47.61	N	N/A	$20.58	$4.00	$3.00	$2.75	$1.50			$0.50	$0.25	$0.66	$5.75	$2.00
Cato Easton (M)	1812	T	$456.18	Y	labourer	$29.50	$39.50	$14.00	$18.40		$396.27		$10.50	$4.60		$8.25	$1.00
Zingo Stevens (M)	1817	T	$34.59	Y	Bricklayer, stonecutter	$11.25	$2.00	$1.67	$3.50	$2.00			$0.67	$0.50		$6.25	$0.75
Scipio Tanner (M)	1819	T	$59.15	N	N/A	$35.00	$7.00	$1.58	$8.50			$0.33	$2.58		$0.49	$2.82	$1.33
George Johnson (M)	1820	I	$520.52	Y	mariner	$53.17	$19.80	$36.80	$37.03	$16.50	$349.83	$1.00	$2.05	$3.20		$7.00	$2.70
Rachel Rodman (F)	1825	I	$37.95	N	N/A	$14.25	$6.00	$4.50	$5.00				$1.63	$0.60	$0.47	$4.75	

Figure 3. Estate values based on probate inventories; T=testate, I=Intestate; note some estate values are greater than the sum of the categories. Certain items which were illegible or items from varying categories which were "lumped" into one price unit were omitted.

Finally, some of the probate records indicate family conflicts or loss of property or money after wills were written which and highlight that although these individuals were property owners, they were not immune to economic marginalization or other circumstances based on race (Greene 1952: 298; Pope Melish 1998: 109, 185-9). Caesar Lyndon died destitute even though he had lived a life of material comfort (as seen in his diaries) while enslaved by Governor Josiah Lyndon. And it was perhaps ironically, the transition to "freedom" which left him impoverished. Others suffered similar economic decline. Sarah Rodman, the daughter of Zingo Stevens and widow of Cuff Rodman, was left her father's "mansion house" and furnishings upon his death as well as the estate of her late husband. Cuff died in 1809, leaving Sarah with real estate and personal items

worth a total of $465.17. Her father died in 1817 and left her a lot which adjoined the property she owned upon the death of her husband. It is unclear exactly what occurred between 1809 and 1865 when Sarah died, but by the time of her death, she presumably sold or lost her late husband's property and sold about two-thirds of the property her father bequeathed. She continued to live on a third of the original lot given to her by her father. At the time of her death, no living relatives applied for administration, and Sarah's estate was not enough to cover her funeral expenses or her debts to creditors. She died insolvent, with a balance of $123.96 against her estate (Newport Probate 2: 41, 63, 324, 338, 387, 427, 440, 469, 489, 511, 519).

Bess Brown gave her dwelling house to her daughter Phillis Browning (a widow) with a provision that her other daughter Hannah Johnson, who was separated from her husband Toney, and Hannah's son George Johnson and Bess' granddaughter Sally Farber would have use of the house. The will specifies that Hannah is not to let out the room she was allowed to occupy. A 1783 Town Council meeting record indicates there was an order that "Toney Johnson, wife and daughter be returned to New York by the person who brought him" (NP 1:145). "Warning out" (or "warning") was a common mechanism used by Rhode Island towns to curb an increasing free African American population, which was perceived as a drain on public resources (Wallis Herndon 2002). It is possible that Hannah and her children were allowed to remain or return and that at the time of Bess Brown's will, Toney was still in New York.

Arthur Flagg, divided one of his homes and furnishings among his two sons and one of his daughters, giving each a fraction of the lot and home and specifying that each had rights to the garret, yard and well. He also specified that each had the right to pass

and repass to get to their allotted rooms. He gave two other married daughters the rights to a different property, also on The Point. He concluded his will by stating, "I earnestly and seriously recommend and advise you my dear children to live in peace with each other" (Newport Probate 4:685)

George Johnson, who was mentioned in the probate inventory of Bess Brown (above), had an extensive probate inventory with at least two properties which he distributed among his children (Newport Probate 6:86). His will provides for his son, sister and niece and is signed by Arthur Flagg. Some of the items in his inventory—maps, canvas, a boat, oars, a compass, a conk shell—reflect his occupation, while other items, such a fiddle, reflect leisure activity.

Wills, probate inventories, archaeological assemblages and the Caesar Lyndon diaries were valuable in assessing African American material culture. While the African American material record for Newport is not extensive at this time, I have used multiple lines of evidence (Caesar Lyndon accounts and diaries, the material data from Bacchus Overing House, and wills and probate inventories) to get a sense of transmission of property, foodways, consumer choices and the African American economy. It appears that Caesar Lyndon—with his silver buckles, ceramic sets, currant wine, and ivory knife handles, although enslaved, had more material wealth than property owning African Americans. This apparently only lasted through his enslavement.

In the next chapter, this data will be integrated with other documentary sources to analyze "community," neighborhood affiliations, kinship networks, and other social relationships in the free African American community between 1774 and 1826.

CHAPTER FOUR: ETHNOHISTORIC INTERPRETATION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN LIFE IN NEWPORT, RI 1774-1826

This chapter represents an ethnohistorical study of the development of the African American community in Newport, Rhode Island between approximately 1774 (the first year in which free African Americans were accounted for in a census in Newport) and 1826, when 2 dozen[14] like-minded community members "repatriated" to Liberia. The chapter will focus primarily upon the "free" African American community, and even more narrowly on property owning African Americans during the period whose words and beliefs are documented and whose economic status can be traced through property transactions (see appendix ii for list of known property owners) and probate. The theoretical implications of this focus will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, primarily how emphasis on the propertied class of African Americans excludes the majority of African Americans in Newport during the period of this study, and may in fact, reproduce inequalities within the current African American community by focusing on those "of note."

This chapter contains analyses of several aspects of African American life in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as they relate to the emergence of a distinct African American community and identity in Newport, including: a general overview of African American life in the northeastern United States, demographic patterns of Newport African Americans, institution building, the physical and cultural landscape

[14] The individuals were likely from a few families. The names include: Newport Gardner and son Ahema, Salmar Nubia, John, John, Jr., Sarah, Sarah, Samuel, James, and Aaron Chavers; Henry, Charlotte Clark, Francis, Thomas and Elizabeth Clark, Rosanna Fitch, Andrew and Dianna Harris, Harriet Mowatt (widow of Quash Mowatt—see appendix), George Johnson, Sarah and Susan Moore, and Johan and Mary Wainwood (Battle: 1932). It is unclear why some of these individuals decided to leave Newport and emigrate to Liberia, there are likely complex individual and community circumstances that led to the decision.

(including legal issues, slavery, labor, and social interaction), critical events (such as Gradual Emancipation and the Revolutionary War), and finally, charismatic individuals who became community "leaders." Newport is an appropriate candidate for such a study for several reasons:

1) This study offers insight into the mechanisms of domination and resistance which affected free African Americans in Newport and presumably elsewhere. Domination and resistance, surveillance mechanisms, and points of contact between people of color can be difficult to establish in the context of "household" slavery where there are not necessarily clearly (racially) defined household spaces. However, while Newport slaves did not work on plantations per se, urban clustering, the nature of Newport slavery itself, and a shared experience of household slavery fostered early community development (Piersen 1988, Youngken 1998). For example, most Newport slave owners were engaged in the slave trade, shipping, distilling, masonry, and construction (Youngken 1998), professions which became instrumental for African American males to accumulate material wealth and property. These industries, located among the crowded wharves of Newport harbor, required a large labor force that would have allowed "points of contact" (Mintz and Price 1992) between male slaves. Additionally, there was a sizeable African American community in Newport from the early eighteenth century onward, sometimes representing almost as much as 30% of Newport's total population (Piersen 1988, Youngken 1998). By 1755, twenty-five percent of all African Americans in Rhode Island lived in Newport, where they represented 20% of the population (Piersen 1988).

2) This study provides an opportunity to explore the internal development of African American communities in an urban center in the context of labor, consumerism,

households, use of landscape, and urban clustering. Examples include: Mullins' study of African Americans in Annapolis (1999), Bridges and Salwen's analysis of Weeksville (1980), Geismar's archaeological and documentary study of Skunk Hollow (1982), Bower's work on African Americans in colonial and historic Boston (1991) and Deagan and Landers' Fort Mosé study (1999). These studies are promising as the internal structure of the African American community has long been overlooked in favor of studies addressing the relationship between the African American and Euro American community. By focusing on "Black/White" relationships and issues of domination and resistance, historians and anthropologists have largely ignored internal organization and stratification – primary indicators of an independent and functional *community*. Furthermore, neo-Marxist studies which attempt to highlight the reproduction of inequalities through the production of knowledge should use this opportunity for the purpose of theory-building and to explore stratification and inequalities within the African American community, past and present. This chapter and Chapter Five will explore these internal inequalities.

3) From the mid-eighteenth century onward there were civic and religious organizations established by and for the African American community. The documentary evidence from these organizations provides further evidence of internal structure and responses to slavery, oppression, and Christianity.

DEFINING "COMMUNITY"

There are varying definitions for "community," including those which question whether a "community" is a *thing* at all, or simply a construct. Archaeologists have tended to agree that the definition of community will vary across time and space (see Cusick 1995a,

Hegmon 2002), therefore I will select a few key elements to define community for the purposes of this study. According to Varien (1999:4) communities must have individuals that live in close enough proximity to one another to have regular interaction and to share access to certain resources. Initially, I will use this definition with the caveat that until further research is done, we cannot know the extent of African American community networks across New England (based on labor, kinship, or other criteria). For example, runaway advertisements posted in the Newport Mercury sometimes mention that a person is believed to be among African Americans in Boston, Fall River, or other northeastern cities. Our notions of geographic limitations on communities might not be appropriate in industrial societies in which interaction is complicated by modern transportation and capitalist modes of exchange and may be further complicated by the fact that African Americans may have consciously hidden such networks from Euro Americans. In addition, although this dissertation is based upon "the" African American community, there is evidence that suggests more regular interaction between neighbors in separate enclaves may have contributed to community conflicts and divisions that followed neighborhood lines.

Aside from the considerations above (geographic and social), another social aspect of communities should be highlighted here – members of a community must have something in common (Hegmon 2002: 277). For the purposes of this discussion, that *something in common* is a perceived race based on skin color and a similar social experience. Although it is a widely shared idea amongst anthropologists that race is a social construct, race and racism shaped much of American history and should therefore be discussed in the context of the development African American communities. To

ignore such a discussion of the consequences of forced migration, slavery, and discrimination based on race would also ignore the responses of African Americans to such phenomena, and the creation of African American culture (Singleton 1999: 17). It is also clear that African Americans in Newport felt a bond with one another through their common experience of slavery and oppression.

Race and racism affect the very nature of projects such as these (Deagan and Landers 1999). Members of the present community may not want to associate their town histories and individual households with the institution of slavery, the presence of African American individuals or an acting African American community, as has been demonstrated in the study at Fort Mosé, St. Augustine. However, it should be noted that African American descendant communities, particularly those in the "Black Middle Class" have worked to memorialize and replace African Americans onto the landscape (see Chapter Five); however, they primarily seek to memorialize "notable" African Americans, such as Newport Gardner, Zingo Stevens, Abraham Casey and other community leaders. In the context of urban archaeology in Newport, the overall neglect of the African American past has proven to be very problematic.

METHODS: DOCUMENTS AS ARTIFACT—PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

While recognizing the importance of having access to household assemblages allows a full discussion of identity, economy, and use of space, due to my inability to conduct extensive urban archaeology, this dissertation primarily engages in the use of primary documents and the evolution of the Newport landscape to assess late eighteenth and early nineteenth century African American life. However, such an approach must limit the

questions asked of the data because of the limitations of our ability to extract complete information from documentary and landscape evidence.

Census documents provided a wealth of information about urban clustering and the occupation periods on individual lots. However, census records may be inconsistent based on transience, different census takers' phonetics, individuals or heads of household being absent because of work at sea, and the inconsistency in names of African Americans because they either anglicized *or* Africanized their names (or shifted names, possibly for different "audiences"). For example, several African Americans also utilized their African names or chose African names later in life Jack Mason, a resident of Negro Lane was also known as Solomon Nubia, Salmar Nubie, and John Nube/Newbe; Newport Gardner, another Negro Lane resident was also known as Occramer Marycoo; Arthur Flagg who utilized the surname "Tikey" on occasion; and Pompey Stevens who chose to revert to his African name, "Zingo[15]." Some names were changed upon emancipation, others were changed to assert an African identity, and still others may have changed their names depending upon whether they were in African American or Euro American presence. It is difficult enough to verify the identity of the above individuals, all of whom were notable community members and for whom there is documentary evidence. It is much more difficult to trace this phenomenon in day-laborers and community members who did not leave behind their own documents.

Property owners were located from deed research. Names were initially taken from census documents and FAUS (Free African Union Society) rosters to locate African American property owners during the period of study (FAUS representatives were

[15] It is worth noting that all of the above individuals who chose to self-identify through their African names were members of the Free African Union Society.

freeholders). If names were located in the property records of Newport, chain of title was traced until it could be located on a tax assessor's plot map (1883), which would reveal the current corresponding address. This became complicated when I discovered that sometime in the nineteenth century, the plot numbers changed to account for the continuous subdivision of properties. However, by comparing the two plot maps, it was possible to account for the discrepancy in plot numbers.

Other useful documents were the *Newport Mercury* and *Rhode Island Republican* (newspapers), which recorded information on deaths, court proceedings, ceramic importation, slave trading activities, and town historical events. FAUS meeting minutes (Robinson 1976) were invaluable. In addition to the diaries of Caesar Lyndon they are a rare glimpse representation of African American concerns and goals written by African Americans. FAUS correspondences also point to stratification and conflict within the community, internal ideology about African American gentility, and a certain degree of community disintegration.

Historic maps are available for Newport at least as early as 1777 and were useful in determining the locations of specific sites (particularly when the location could be verified through census and deed analysis) and also informed of the active manipulation of the landscape through time—to accommodate maritime trade, to reinforce social convention, to accommodate a growing population, to push free African Americans "out of sight," and later to support the burgeoning tourist industry. However, it has been noted that historic maps are often inaccurate and biased according to the cartographer or the purpose for which the map was made. Despite these drawbacks, historic maps,

particularly of urban areas during developmental periods are useful in pointing out potential archaeological sites (Seasholes 1988: 93).

AN AFRICAN AMERICAN PRESENCE IN NEWPORT

African Americans arrived in Newport in the seventeenth century as a result of the slave trade, which Newport came to dominate shortly after. Although slave shipping dates in Newport range from 1649 to 1807, the first recorded slave sales in Newport date to 1696, when the Boston *Seaflower* arrived in Newport to sell 14 slaves (Robinson 1988: 8). Governor Cranston, in a letter to the English government dated 1708 states:

> From 24 June to 1698 to 25 December 1707, we have not had any negroes [sic] imported into this colony from the coast of Africa…on May 30 1696 Thomas Windsor brought in 47 negroes from the coast—14 stayed in the colony and the rest went to Boston. The whole and only supply of negroes in this colony is from Barbados between 20 and 30…we find small encouragement for that trade in this colony. [Arnold 1860, Vol. II: 54]

Regardless of Cranston's claims, it is apparent that by at least 1704 there was some Euro American anxiety about the growing African American population in Newport. In that year, the colony passed legislation forbidding Native Americans and African Americans to walk the streets after 9:00 p.m. without a pass, otherwise, they risked being whipped or turned over to the Constable (Arnold 1860, Vol. II: 15; Bartlett Vol. III: 492, Vol. IV 1857: 50). In fact, by 1708 (the time of the governor's letter) the African American population represented ten percent of Rhode Island's total population—much higher than that of other New England States (Withey 1984: 71; Piersen 1988). In addition by 1708, Newport contained one-third of Rhode Island's total

population. It had also begun to experience the urban plights of racial tension, poverty, crowding and vast inequalities in wealth.

Increasingly after 1711, legislation was enacted regarding Africans, slaves and free African Americans, suggesting an increase in those segments of the population. In that year it was mandated that all African Americans brought into and out of Newport had to be accounted for by the Treasurer (Bartlett Vol. IV 1857: 34). In 1729, ship captains and others those bringing African Americans into Newport were subject to a £3 fine, which was returned "upon exporting such negro in time limited in said act" (Bartlett, Vol. IV 1857: 34). This reflects the desire to limit or rid the town of a growing African American population. Despite the penalties for bringing African Americans into Newport, by 1729 enough monies had been paid for this activity that it was put toward, "paving and amending the streets…and toward the support, repairing and mending the great bridges on the main, in the country roads" (Bartlett, Vol. IV 1857: 423). That same year a £100 fine was imposed on anyone in the colony who manumitted a slave[16], to offset the "great charge, trouble and inconveniences" free African Americans were believed to impose on the population (Bartlett Vol. IV 1857: 415; Withey 1984: 72). The free African American population was blamed for everything from overcrowding to Euro American poverty, again, reflecting the overall anxiety over the growth of the African American population (especially those who were not enslaved) (Pope Melish 1998: 125-9).

Under conditions of slavery and severe legal discrimination, the creation of a family unit and the maintenance of kinship structure and family ties would have been

[16] This was common throughout the northern states to prevent emancipated slaves from becoming a "burden" on their towns of residence (Greene 1952: 139; Pope Melish 1998:98)

extremely difficult for African Americans in the eighteenth century. It was no longer possible to maintain the traditional unilineal (matrilineal or patrilineal) networks that characterized Western Africa. The absence of real kinsmen would have required the creation of new social ties modeled on familiar concepts and would also lead to the borrowing of kinship terminology from Euro Americans to label relationships (Mintz and Price 1992). Future research may demonstrate that in Newport specifically, family associations were based primarily upon relationships between slaves within the same household as these were likely some of the strongest, most intimate bonds African Americans were able to create. Euro American Newport families, unlike those throughout the rest of New England, often had more than one slave per household. Just prior to the Revolution, 150 families in Newport owned three or more slaves, some owned upwards of 20 (Youngken 1998:11; 1774 RI Census). Slaves commonly resided within the master's own household and would commonly take their master's surname. These co-resident slaves may have formed familial (brother-sister) relationships with each other to replace consanguineal relatives. In fact, based on available marriage records (Arnold 1896), it appears that very few slaves within households became married even once they were free, further suggesting that there was some type of familial association between slaves within the same household. The shared burials of slaves from the same household may have reinforced this concept as the practice was also carried out when siblings died in Euro American and free African American families.

Gender roles also would have undergone many changes in the New World African American population. Traditional decision-making roles (regarding economic exchange and social relationships such as marriage) were taken away from adult males

who were now treated as chattel property. Subsequently, African American men may have gradually come to accept female autonomy, thus disassociating female dependence and masculinity in African American society (Mintz and Price 1992: 79). While the biblical model of the patriarchal family was encouraged among slaves (Piersen 1988) it was a useless concept until African Americans regained their freedom and males could become the heads of their own economically independent households. This was even more problematic as many free African American males were transient or worked at sea for several months at a time and left householding to women. This manifested itself in a relatively high proportion of female-headed households in early African American Newport. By 1774, 16 of the 47 listed free black households had women listed as head of household (1774 RI Census). While the marriages of free persons appear to correspond with the marriage system of Euro Americans (Christian, patriarchal, etc), the institution of slavery, availability of labor, and subsequent gender role changes undoubtedly affected relationships between African American men and women.

The institution of slavery affected the African American family in other ways. It appears that in some cases, slave owners permitted their slaves to marry free persons, such as in the cases of Caesar Lyndon and Sarah Searing and that of Duchess Channing and John Quamino. Even after being legally married Caesar refers to his wife as Sarah "Searing" and not by his own surname (that of his master), "Lyndon. Zingo Stevens alias Pompey Stevens carved a grave marker for "Pompey Lyndon," who was likely his own son, but did not have his surname because the child's mother, Phylis, was still enslaved by Governor Josias Lyndon. Duchess, while still enslaved by William Channing, married and had several children with John Quamino (the first African American to graduate from

Yale University) (Arnold 1896). Although eventually gaining her freedom, it appears (based on Church admission records in which the children are admitted as members of the *Channing* household) that prior to Duchess' emancipation, the children resided with Duchess and the Channing family in Newport and therefore would have been the economic dependents of the Channings and not their biological father. This may have been common as in most cases the children of female slaves were the charges and property of the *master* (Greene 1942: 126) (and therefore, there was the constant threat of mothers, fathers, and children being separated).

This "familial" relationship has several implications. First, it undoubtedly stripped African American men of their "masculinity" as dictated by African and Euro American gender ideologies because they could not be the heads of the idealized patriarchal family if they chose to marry enslaved women or were themselves enslaved. Universally, marriage implies economic and sexual rights and obligations and it outlines the responsibility of parents and lineages over children. Under systems of enslavement, African Americans could not wholly fulfill gender and parental roles under African *or* American marriage systems as they and their children legally belonged to others. Therefore, the marriage of Cato Cranston—enslaved by Thomas Cranston and Phylis Rivera—enslaved by Jacob Rodriguez Rivera were fundamentally different than marriages of free persons. "Slave Marriages" required mechanisms and ideologies which could address issues of sexual exploitation, parenting, and economics. Only enslaved individuals with the ability to engage in economic pursuits and even own property, such as Caesar Lyndon and Newport Gardner, would have been able to somewhat live up to the model of the patriarchal provider. However, even these men had to recognize that

their wives and sometimes children legally belonged to other men and women and could be sold, sent away, or sexually exploited. The responsibility of slave owner for the female slaves' children also accounts for the high incidence of female slaves being sold "for no fault other than being a notable breeder" (*Newport Mercury*). Children of females slaves were perceived as more of a "burden" than "asset" after the implementation of Gradual Emancipation in 1784. Marital relationships under these conditions also meant that even social interaction between husbands and wives was legally controlled by slave owners. The marriage vows of slaves reflect this power relationship. "Form of a Negro Marriage," which was used by Rev. Samuel Phillips of Andover, MA through the 1760s states:

> You, ___ do now in the Presence of God, and these Witnesses, Take ___ to be your Wife; Promising that so far as shall be consistent with ye Releations which you now sustain, as a Servant, you will Perform ye Part of an Husband towards her…so long as God, in his Providence, shall continue your and her abode in Such Place (or Places) as that you can conveniently come together…with ye Consent of your Masters & Mistresses, do Declare that you have licence given to you to be conversant and familiar together…both of you, bear in mind, that you Remain Still as really and truly as ever, you Master's Property, and therefore, it will be justly expected, both by God and Man, that you behave and conduct your-selves, as Obedient and faithful Servants towards your respective Masters & Mistresess…[Howard 1904: 225-26]

Although the extent of marital relationships between slaves and free individuals is not entirely clear at present such relationships were likely very complex, as they

essentially negated the association of male prestige with economic support of wives and children. Slave marriages to free persons implied differences in power between the two married individuals. Free women often married enslaved men and the children resulting from such marriages were free (Greene 1942: 197). Although the eventual purchase of spouses and children by free persons may initially seem altruistic, it also legally empowered the "owner" in the relationship over the "purchased" individual[17]. For example, the wording in Newport manumission documents usually explicitly states whether an individual is being "set free" or simply purchased. In 1803, Cato Rivera purchased Philis from Hannah Rodriguez for $100, but there is nothing that indicates Philis was set free (Quaker Manumission Records, Newport Historical Society). The extremely scant recording of African American marriages in church records during slavery (five) although undoubtedly underrepresentative of the actual number of marriages, suggests that it was difficult for free and enslaved African Americans to become legally married because their primary legal responsibility was to their owner, not their spouses or children.

Married slaves rarely resided in the same household (Piersen 1988) and marriages had to be approved by both masters involved (Greene 1942: 194). Although discouraged from participating in "negro marriages" which were not recognized by the church, African Americans who married according to Euro American standards were often not able to realize the basic premise of co-residence; however they were still expected to uphold the sanctity of a Christian marriage (Greene 1942: 193).

[17] Piersen tells the story of Boston Carpenter, of Warwick, RI, who purchased a wife. "He used to say to her that if she did not behave well, he would put her in his pocket (or, in other words, he would sell her)" (Piersen 1988)

Under the above circumstances, (at least initially) children could no longer be considered personal wealth, insurance of an enduring lineage, or insurance of being cared for in old age—as they would have been viewed in most West African societies. Children could be sold to far away owners at the discretion of slave masters. The "binding out" of children, both white and black, was common in colonial society and posed another threat to the mother-child bond. This however, did not sever the bonds of affection African American parents had for their children during this period. Many of the elaborately engraved headstones of African American children in the common cemetery express the strong bonds between parents and their children.

Gravestones of Pompey Lyndon (left) and Silva Gardner (right). Photo courtesy of Stokes family at *colonialcemetery.com*

Since "family slavery" was characteristic of slavery in New England, it is also very likely that early African Americans had similar experiences of enculturation and assimilation within Euro American households, including learning accepted standards of behavior and the adoption of Christianity (Piersen 1988). It was not uncommon for Newport slave-owners to acquire, baptize, and educate African and African American

children (and adults, for that matter). Therefore, even though the earliest Africans may have been separated from each other residentially, they would have shared a similar experience of enslavement, oppression, and (partial)[18] enculturation into Euro American culture.

As a marginalized group of people sharing common restrictions and experiences, it was necessary for eighteenth-century African Americans to develop internal adaptive community responses to the limitations of their social and economic position. Furthermore, the loss of traditional familial and social institutions dictated that African Americans replace African institutions of family and social stratification with uniquely African American concepts within the confines of theses limitations resulting from slavery and legal discrimination (Mintz and Price 1992).

The eighteenth century was an ambiguous time for African Americans. In most urban centers, there were large enough numbers of free persons of color to establish communities. However, these individuals often came from different ethnic groups in Africa and some had spent considerable time in the Caribbean. In establishing a community, however, it became necessary that they self-identified as one ethnic group. Although they were outwardly all labeled as "Black" or "African" without reference to specific ethnicities prior to enslavement, they also maintained a common identification based on political and economic status. Early African Americans recognized commonality through their common plight and history and they needed a community in order to belong *somewhere*, to create and sustain kinship networks, to fight for freedom,

[18] The level of assimilation or enculturation in early African/slave populations is difficult to assess. Although family slavery was characteristic of New England, there were fundamental contradictions in the application of chattel slavery (ideal social separation and the ignorance of the humanity of slaves) and the inclusion of slaves in Euro American households (proximity, inclusion in the Christian covenant, and the education of slaves).

to establish their own boundaries between themselves and the Euro American community, socialize their children, and control members. In larger cities and seaport towns, communication and networking was possible for the community-at-large because of urban clustering and the nature of urban slavery in which there was more freedom of movement and interaction than on plantations.

AFRICAN AMERICAN DEMOGRAPHICS

It is impossible to gather accurate early counts of free African Americans or slaves in Newport. The free community was not deemed important enough to count (until it grew large enough to be viewed as troublesome) and masters may have omitted listing each slave in order to avoid paying taxes on them (Robinson 1988:9). The transient nature of the free African American community due to labor restrictions is also a factor. Therefore, it is assumed that many of the calculations of free and enslaved African Americans prior to the nineteenth century are in fact well below the actual number of individuals present in Newport and other New England towns. Historical race-specific demographic data is often inaccurate, inadequate and underreported due to both the frequent movement of African Americans and systematic neglect and underreporting of births, deaths, and marriages (Warren 1997: 25).

Birth rates for African Americans in Newport between 1774 and 1826 are difficult to assess as well. The most comprehensive listing of births and marriages in Rhode Island from 1630-1850 (Arnold 1893), is believed to record only about one birth in thirty (Beaman 1986). Furthermore, all Newport vital records were destroyed in 1779, during the Revolutionary war when the British sank the ship upon which Newport records were stored (Beaman 1986: preface). Therefore, accounting for African Americans in

Newport, who were even less likely to be documented is problematic. However, a compilation of known births, deaths, and marriages from a variety of sources is listed in the appendix of this dissertation.

Piersen notes that unlike other northern cities, the burial rates of Newport African Americans were not significantly higher than the Euro American population nor were the percentage of African American burials (of all burials) much higher than the percentage of the African American population in Newport (Piersen 1988: 21). However, the differences were in fact *marked*, particularly in the winter months. For example, in the deaths recorded for the Congregationalist Church by Rev. Ezra Stiles between 1760 and 1764, African American deaths were 90% higher than those of Euro Americans between December and February—these months also accounted for one third of all annual African American deaths (Warren 1997: 32). Contrary to Piersen's findings, the differences in Euro American and African American burial rates points to the lower standard of living for African Americans in early Newport. Furthermore, the number of African American children, adolescents, and young adults buried in the common cemetery and noted in Arnold's vital records (for 1636-1850) demonstrates the lower standard of living for African Americans in Newport (Garman 1992; Foreman Crane 1984: 80). In some years, there were stark differences in African American and Euro American burial rates. Piersen notes that in available burial data for 1763, 22 African Americans accounted for over one-half of that year's 43 burials, even though African Americans were only about 20% of the population (Piersen1988: 21). These statistics do not distinguish between enslaved and free African Americans and do not allow us to attribute death rates to "seasoning" or the treatment of enslaved individuals, or the poverty of African

Americans once "free" (See Greene 1952: 298; Pope Melish 1998: 185-9); however, scholars such as Greene (1952), Pope Melish (1998), and Smith (1990: 19) have pointed out that often the diets, housing and health of free African Americans was inferior to that of enslaved individuals. Piersen states that emancipation:

> …brought a cruel reversal of the American dream. Unlike other immigrant groups, who were remunerated economically and socially for their initiative and perseverance in assimilation, blacks were, more often than not, punished for such behavior by a white community that feared black advancement might threaten the stability of caste relationships. [Piersen 1988: 47]

In at least some years in the later eighteenth century, a higher percentage of African Americans relative to whites died. For example, the statistics for 1774 indicate that 3.7% of the African American population died that year compared to 2.3% of the Euro American population (Forman Crane 1984: 80).

Population figures are available beginning in 1730, when the African American population represented 14% of the population (1649 individuals) and in 1748, when African Americans represented 17% of the population (1105 individuals) (Piersen 1998: 15; Foreman Crane 1985: 76). The African American population peaked in 1755, representing 18% of Newport's population (or 1,234 individuals) (Piersen 1988; Stiles; Withey 1984: 71). The population dropped to 14% of the population (1,246 individuals) by the time of the first census (1774) that gave figures for both enslaved and free African Americans (1774 RI Census, Foreman Crane 1985: 76). Of the 1,246 African Americans in the census that year, 145 individuals, or approximately nine percent were listed as "Free" (RI Census). That year, 47 free households were listed and average household

occupancy for free households was 3.1 individuals. It is also notable that 34% of these households were female-headed. This proportion is slightly higher than in the Euro American community of Newport, where female-headed households were 20% of the total (Foreman Crane 1998: 16) and was not uncommon for seaport communities, where economic development necessitated a large number of males being absent (at sea) for a greater part of the year, and where at least 10% would die while at sea (Foreman Crane 1998: 11). Foreman Crane documents the notable clustering of female heads of household on the 1774 census in Newport[19], particularly among African Americans and the poor. These women may have clustered on streets or in neighborhoods to pool limited resources, share childcare responsibilities, and for emotional support.

It is reasonable to assume that households listed on the 1774 census remained small to maintain mobility, as African American individuals and households during this period were often transient out of necessity (see Herndon 2002). According to Wilk and Rathje, the size of a household unit can reflect a range of economic circumstances for which different size groups are the most effective survival vehicles—larger households have greater flexibility in dealing with diverse economic opportunities and smaller households have the advantage of mobility, and can make intensive use of limited resources (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 624). Changes in household size and composition therefore, follow changes in external economic conditions. The presence of increasingly larger households through 1820 (see Figure 4) indicates the use of diversification of labor as an adaptive strategy.

[19] Clustering is usually evident by groupings of names on the census.

The next Rhode Island census was taken in 1782[20]. The free population remained the same (143 individuals) while the number of households decreased. The number of free African American households dropped to 34, and the average number of people per household jumped to 4.2. Only about 15% of the heads of household persisted from the 1774 census, reflecting the high degree of transience of African Americans between 1774 and 1782, particularly during the Revolution. The occupation of Newport by the British severely crippled Newport's economy and reduced the overall population. Many African Americans left the city on their own or with loyalist masters, enlisted in the army under the false promise of securing their freedom (Robinson 1976), or were "carried away" by the British (Rhode Island Historical Society 1779). During this time, African Americans who remained in Newport may have been clustered into fewer households to pooling labor and production because there were fewer opportunities to work at sea.

The Revolutionary War forever reduced the African American population in Newport. African Americans fled the city with loyalist masters, were taken by the British, or enlisted based on a 1778 promise of "all bounties, wages and encouragements of other troops" and absolute freedom. While there are records of a few African Americans who enlisted in Newport receiving their pension (Bartlett 1857), many more were disappointed to find they had been cheated—they were said to be given their "liberty in lieu of bounty" and were further denied the opportunity to enlist in any other Rhode Island militia after 1792 (Robinson 1988). These Newporters had no bounty with

[20] The population information for each census year varied. For example, the 1774 census listed heads of household, slaves, and whether the head of household was "negro," "other/not taxed (Native American)," or "white," and the number of individuals in the household. The 1782 census listed heads of household lists the same information, but also includes racial taxonomy for other household members. The 1790, 1800, and 1810 census lists the same information as the 1774 census. The 1820 census lists the name and racial category of the head of household, the number of household members and their ages, foreigners, and occupation of heads of household.

which to purchase property or secure a base in Newport, nor were there jobs in Newport which would employ them.

While the population slowly grew, it never returned to pre-war numbers. However, the growing population grouped into fewer households, which clustered into discrete enclaves, likely pooling resources and income from diverse employment niches (which were race, gender, and age specific) in an attempt to be a less transient population. In many respects, clustering of African Americans in Newport (RI census) may represent limitations placed on African American residential mobility during the time period in question. Euro Americans attempted to push free African Americans "out of sight," particularly property owners who challenged the color line (Lewis 1998: 209). The ethnic naming of streets (i.e. Negro Lane, Jew Street) worked to designate social space in Newport. However, the appearance of at least three early enclaves on the landscape is suggestive that choice at least partially dictated where African Americans resided in Newport. Young Armstead notes:

> [T]he restrictive options uniquely imposed on African Americans of the period forced a commonality on them. Thus, blacks finding themselves sharing the same migration imperatives, jobs, houses, streets, and neighborhoods constituted a community by default. However, a secondary cohesive dynamic was in operation when African Americans transformed this circumscribed space into an autonomous world. [Young Armstead 1999: 2]

The first Federal Census of 1790 counted 640 African American individuals residing in Newport, representing 10% of the total population of Newport. This was a drop from 14% to 20% of the population in previous decades (1790 RI Census). The

ratio of enslaved individuals to free individuals shifted dramatically from 10% of the African American population being listed as free in 1774 to 43% of African Americans in Newport enumerated as "All other free"—a total of 276 individuals (1790 RI Census).

The Newport economy never recovered from the Revolution and was further damaged in the second decade of the nineteenth century, beginning with the War of 1812. Without a booming seaward economy, migration to industrial cities after the Revolution reduced the overall population of Newport and significantly reduced the African American population in Newport to about nine percent of the total (630 persons) in 1810. Two-hundred sixty four of the above 630 persons were living in 89 households headed by free African Americans (about 42% of African Americans in the city). Although Gradual Emancipation was implemented in Rhode Island in 1784, many former slaves resided with masters because, for them "freedom" meant abject poverty (see Piersen 1988: 47; pg. 123 of this chapter).

By 1820, African Americans represent only six percent of Newport's population, with 371 free individuals of color residing in households headed by African Americans in the city. Between 1800 and 1820 the number of African Americans in free households steadily increased while the number of households remained roughly the same (see fig. below). Although the population had dramatically decreased after 1790, it was in some respects a much more stable population, with a higher number of heads of household returning from the previous census after the 1800 census (see Figure 4).

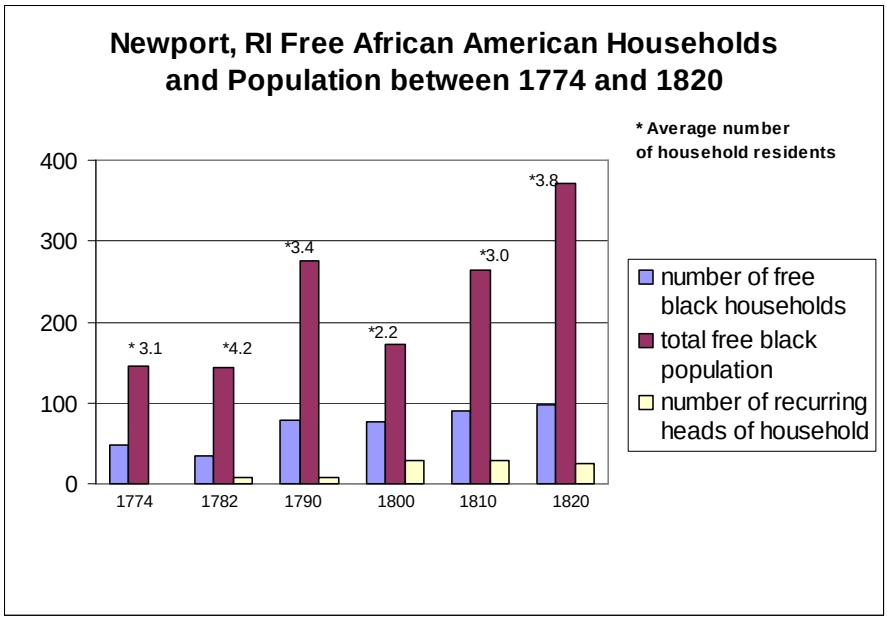


Figure 4. Chart demonstrating the growth of the African American population in Newport relative to the number of free African American households

This dynamic and the composition of free African American households, which often included several adults over 24, further suggests the expansion of households to include extended family and boarders to pool income from diverse resources rather than establishing nuclear-family households. Additionally, probate records also indicate that property owners had adult children or other adults residing within their households.

Pulled (and pushed) into a few distinct neighborhoods, Newport Americans strategically utilized larger households to diversify income and maintain property ownership and material wealth. While the idea of gathering extended families and boards under one roof went against middle-class white culture, it appears that among African Americans who owned real estate, larger households may have been preferred.

Evidence from Newport and other class/racially divided cities also provides evidence for the adaptive use of several adults in a household. These households and

neighborhoods were deemed "unsightly" with "very few respectable dwellings" by members of the upper and middle classes (Blackmar 1988; Channing[21] 1868: 257-8); however in Newport, as in New York where during the latter part of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century "those in control of the land system…distanced themselves socially," and class neighborhoods emerged with middle class citizens moving into blocks of single family homes, laboring people "developed strategies of overcrowding and transience" (Blackmar 1988: 371). Blackmar found that in New York, working class individuals could not afford to purchase property in middle-class neighborhoods nor afford rents in single-family dwellings and therefore the working class developed strategies of rent sharing, more intensive occupation of houses, and mobility (Blackmar 1988: 378).

EARLY COMMUNITY BUILDING

In the mid-eighteenth century across New England African Americans engaged in ceremonies that were a combination of West African and Euro American ceremony—'Lection Days for "Negro Governors" and "Kings" for which African Americans would gather (unsupervised) to elect a leader for their community, in Newport using a formal ballot system (Foreman Crane 1985, Greene 1942, Piersen 1988 and 1993). Elections took place at the head of Thames St. in Newport by 1756 (Piersen 1988). Slave owners are said to have vied to have the best dressed slaves (Greene 1942: 250), providing clothing, jewelry, wigs, horses, and carriages because having a "governor" or "king" for a slave may have afforded the slave owner a certain amount of prestige among slave-owners. This may point to the early association between the status of the slave (or newly

[21] George Channing's *Early Recollections of Newport Rhode Island; from the year 1793-1811* represents the class of writing considered to be "nostalgic" regarding slavery (see Fitts 1998; Pope Melish 1998). Channing fondly remembers his childhood and his "coloured man, Fortune" (1868: 18)

freed) and that of their master. However, it is as likely that retention of an African language, descending from African royalty and other African-centered criteria accounted for status in such ceremonies.

These early ceremonies and institutions though largely overlooked by the master class, served to create a foundation for African American civil institutions (discussed later) and created an early "elite" group of individuals within the community who were esteemed long after the disappearance of 'Lection Day. 'Lection Day festivities also point to another avenue of prestige—it appears that individuals with a close association with Africa or an established royal African lineage had higher prestige than other individuals and were often elected as governors and kings. In some communities, this may have carried over after the end of coronation festivals. For example, two of Newport's most prestigious early African Americans, Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia, were well-respected for having retained their native African tongue (as well as learning English and French) (Piersen 1988: 42, 42).

In his analysis of Black Coronation Festivals, Melvin Wade asserts that by the year 1755, "Negro Elections" became a model of the black community which reinforced and upheld a uniquely African American value system (Wade 1988: 180). It is also useful to employ the concept of hermeneutics (see Garman 1992), as African Americans and Euro Americans would have "read" these celebrations differently. In the mid-eighteenth century, this early institution was regarded by Euro Americans as humorous, highly imitative, and unthreatening to Euro American rule. It is interesting that the institution ended with the in the last decade of the eighteenth century—after the

implementation of Gradual Emancipation[22] (1784) and as the free African American population increased. This suggests that while Euro Americans considered the gathering of enslaved people for "political" and social activities was non-threatening, but this activity was not acceptable among free African Americans (Piersen 1988: 135) although the reason for the end of the celebrations seems to have been attributed to "rowdiness" (Robinson 1976). For African Americans, the elections likely represented continuity, resistance, and accommodation. Rather than imitation, it is possible that African Americans, by over-exaggerating Euro American customs, were in fact mocking them as a mechanism of resistance (Burton 2000: 54-65; Scott 1985).

Wade attributes the emergence of new African American social systems to five processes inherent in the Black Coronation festivals. First, communication networks were facilitated by the elections and encouraged the spread of news and information by word of mouth. The election activities and coronation festivals reinforced the presence of a statewide and international African community and would have been a time for individuals to exchange news, make acquaintances and celebrate without supervision. Second, Negro elections led to the emergence of African American *communitas* (Turner 1969) and the development of a revised model of social stratification based on "performance skills in music, dance, and speaking—as well as observance of traditional African rules of demeanor and decorum" (Wade 1988: 174). These social standards were likely reinvented and pieced together from myriad African traditions as well as the new standards set by Euro American society. They also included emerging class

[22] The 1784 Gradual Abolition Act of RI stated "negroes, mulattos, and others" born within Rhode Island on or after March 1st, 1784 will be free." Their children were to be educated and the legislature repealed a law admitting slaves from the West Indies into the Colony (Bartlett 1857 Vol. X: 7)

consciousness and property ownership. In Newport, one had to own a pig and sty to vote (Piersen 1988: 119). The accounts of Caesar Lyndon indicate that breeding may have been an important economic activity among African Americans in addition to the role of pork in the diet. Therefore, the requirement of a pig and sty also likely reflected the role of African American entrepreneurship. While these reflect eighteenth century Euro American practices, they were likely also a way for African Americans to maintain organization and hierarchy within the African American community. Third, the festivals reinforced a systemic linkage between African Americans and Africa and emphasized knowledge of an African past. Fourth, the festivals were a method of socialization of children and adults by reinforcing proper speech, decorum and demeanor, reinforcing the importance of ritual patriarchy, and the preservation of African speech, song, and symbology. Fifth, patriarchal governors enabled social control of African Americans. Euro Americans likely saw this as an extension of their own hegemony, as local courts would use black governors to handle petty grievances against African Americans. While the institution of black government was not "formally" recognized as a political institution in the same way as the Euro American system, it did contain "judges," "magistrates" and "courts," presided over small cases between African Americans as well as petty cases brought by *masters* against their own slaves (Greene 1942: 254, Piersen 1988: 134). However, African Americans would have seen black governors as an extension of their own social control and ideologies. Finally, Negro elections were an important mechanism of institutionalization. While Euro Americans may have competed with one another in providing horses and garments for their slaves to become governors,

the elective process, recognition of commonality of African Americans, and respect of patriarchal elders, laid the foundation for all subsequent African American institutions.

Initially women had a central role in the elections, which focused on dance and regalia and were more "African" than African American. White believes restrictions on nineteenth century women diminished the public role of African American women in the festivals (White 1994), however, it is unclear whether restrictions would have been the same for African American women and there may have been some other reason women became less central in the elections. Not too long after the implementation of Gradual Emancipation in 1784, the festivals were ended altogether. It is likely that with the growth of a free African American population, (which was viewed as troublesome) the outward presentation of African American power and pride was no longer acceptable (as it could no longer be mocked as the ridiculous imitation of white politics). The increasing criticism of the coronations by Euro Americans and the increasing racial and class-based belligerency brought about a gradual decline in the festivals in the 1790s (Wade 1988: 178).

Common experience prior to "migration" to the New World and a subsequent common experience also contributed to the formation of a separate, enduring African American community. It is likely that the very beginnings of African American culture began to develop during the horrific Middle Passage (Mintz and Price 1992). Although earlier assertions of direct transmission of culture from Africa have been largely abandoned as such models assumed a static, shared culture across West Africa, it is likely that West African culture was highly syncretic, sharing basic *grammatical* principles (Mintz and Price 1992) and therefore most slaves and freemen who were new migrants or

only one generation removed from Africa would have shared at least underlying notions of lineage and religion and would have been able to easily incorporate newly arrived slaves and Africans into the community.

Although political and socioeconomic marginalization forced African Americans of different ethnic origins to self-identify and build communities, inequality and racism alone do not characterize African American communities. Communities in Northeastern cities were very similar prior to the Revolutionary War, characterized by African Americans moving out of slavery and into neighborhoods. In cities, African American communities were subject to the problems that accompany urban growth; however, by the time the war had ended, the economies of Newport and Portsmouth—which had always been dependent upon marine commerce—were not able to recover and make the shift to industrialism as were New York, Providence, Philadelphia, and Boston. These economic changes inadvertently affected the residential patterns, labor opportunities, house-holding, and white perceptions of infant African American communities. Prior to industrialism and population booms of the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, Africans and African Americans had been an accepted part of city life in all northern cities. Many were slaves, and the number of free blacks did not present much competition with whites for labor. After industrialism, the populations of industrial cities skyrocketed, attracting Euro Americans from rural areas, newly emancipated African Americans, runaway slaves (from the north and south), migrants from the South, and European immigrants. The coincidence of industrialism, urban crowding, and emancipation legislation in New York, Philadelphia, Providence, and Boston were detrimental to early free black communities as these phenomena (in conjunction) created

urban ghettos, competition for unskilled labor among the lower classes (both black unskilled laborers and newly arrived Irish and German immigrants), and ignited racial violence. In these cities, which were in the post-Revolutionary process of differentiating North from South based on slavery (Clark 2006 personal communication), black poverty was a harsh reminder of northern slavery and the treatment of peoples of African descent in the north. Ironically, African American communities in these four cities persevered through the creation of separate institutions and maintenance of African American identity, while until very recently, the historic African American populations of Newport, RI and Portsmouth, NH had been all but forgotten by most. Newport and Portsmouth, which had rapidly expanding mercantile economies prior to the Revolutionary War, were not able to industrialize, nor did they experience the same population explosions as northeastern industrial cities. Most African Americans left Newport and Portsmouth for work opportunities, however many also remained to work in the dwindling maritime trades, in service positions, and a few, such as Newport Gardner and John Mowatt, successfully operated their own businesses.

INSTITUTION BUILDING AND EARLY SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

From the late eighteenth century onward, many aspects of Newport slavery actually *fostered* social distinctions between African Americans. Since many Newport slave owners trained their slaves in lucrative trades, some were in a better position to access gainful employment in Newport after slavery (rather than having to day-labor or travel to industrial cities). In addition, some slaves, such as Caesar Lyndon and Newport Gardner had lucrative side-business while enslaved (Rhode Island Historical Society). These

social distinctions were also recognized outside of the community among the Euro American population.

Despite the presence of a few economically advantaged individuals, since there were very few initial differences in wealth among slaves or free African Americans, status in the community initially would have been based on markers of prestige. Those who retained their African tongue, and who were noted musicians, cooks, and dancers were likely individuals who had a great deal of esteem within the community, particularly in the context of 'Lection Day. It appears that on some level, the status of slaves may also have been associated with their "family" of ownership[23]. As discussed above, slave owners would often compete with one another on 'Lection Day so their slave would be elected "Governor." So, although interpreted differently by African and Euro Americans, Negro Governors were likely high status individuals during slavery.

Traditional African avenues of prestige based on family could not be transferred to the New World. Therefore, in the creation of community, African Americans had to establish patterns of behavior based on everyday social interaction (Mintz and Price 1992). This necessitated institution building within the community. By the 1770s African Americans were admitted (sometimes being baptized) to Newport Congregational Churches, usually those of their masters (Arnold 1896). This may have served as an initial mechanism for social interaction. Chloe Spear of Boston noted that because of the segregation of African Americans into "negro pews" in the balconies of churches and the fact that most did not understand the preaching, young African

[23] Though in general it appears that early African American community leaders were associated with wealthy merchants, slaves belonging to the city's two wealthiest merchants (Abraham Redwood and Aaron Lopez) who owned the largest number of slaves appear to be excluded from the upper tier of the community. It is more likely that those who gave slaves leisure time and allowed them to engage in personal pursuits contributed more to status than those who were simply wealthy.

American women "spent their time playing, eating nuts, and enjoying other diversions" (Piersen 1988). Other areas of (sometimes unsupervised) interaction included Sunday markets where African Americans sold baked items and produce, in warehouses, crafts shops, and distilleries where slaves labored, in the aforementioned Negro Elections, and even in pens where slaves were held for auction (Youngken 1998). Seafaring, which was instrumental in providing employment for African American men into the early nineteenth century, provided not only social interaction among African Americans (who could be upward of 60% of the crew), but also a space of integration, some degree of "equality" and allowed African American Newporters to see African Americans throughout the Atlantic (Putney 1987: 17, 91; Bolster 1997: 3, 36, 159).

It is clear that during the Revolutionary Era and afterwards African Americans utilized various methods of resistance and various mechanisms to negotiate their power. There were frequent advertisements for runaways placed in *The Newport Mercury*, as well as reports of theft (of a master's belongings) by slaves, murder, injury to animals and property, and presentation of false paperwork to travel and/or runaway (Fiske; 7/10/1769; 4/28/1781; 5/14/1792; 1/12/1796 *Newport Mercury*). Additionally, African Americans began to utilize the court system for grievances against Euro Americans. Court documents state that in 1781:

> Quaco, a negro man, formerly a slave belonging to James Honyman, Esq. of Newport…during the time Newport was a British Garrison, Honyman agreed to dispose of him to Col. Campbell, a British Officer. Quaco fled and placed himself under the authority of the state, and was given liberty for providing information. He is disagreeably alarmed with a claim upon him as a slave by Mr.

William Tweedy, administrator to the estate of James Honyman. [Bartlett Vol. IX 1857: 493]

The Rhode Island General Assembly voted that Quaco was to remain free in 1782 (Bartlett Vol. IX 1857: 493). Three years later, Jane Coggeshall was brought to court when the heirs of her former owner Daniel Coggeshall claimed her as a slave. Similarly, Jane fled from the British in 1777, was brought to the General Assembly and was given her freedom. Jane specifically referenced the Quaco Honeyman case during her own proceedings (Barrett Vol. X 1857: 143). While they realized a lack of equality in the justice system, African Americans actively used the courts to their advantage where possible.

During slavery, the coronation festivals may have been an acceptable political outlet for African and Euro American alike. However, a growing "free" population in the last decades of the eighteenth century came to realize that members of Euro American society were not going to loan them money, educate their children, or provide social and spiritual support. If African Americans in Newport had ever believed emancipation or abolition would secure their equality, they were mistaken. They were "free" but felt despised and powerless and were "undergoing the daily trauma of being ignored by the mainstream as much as possible, suspecting that they were God-ordained to live out lives of wretched meniality" (Robinson 1976: viii). They had to face enslaved brethren on a daily basis and were living in a city that was heavily engaged in the slave trade. African Americans in Newport recognized the need to establish their own institutions, such as the Free African Union Society, established in 1780, to improve their own community as best

they could (Robinson 1976: viii). The FAUS was a mutual aid organization and also offered apprenticeship for young males (Battle 1932:17).

Although African Americans were admitted to Newport Congregational Churches, usually those of their masters, where they were segregated into "Negro Pews," (Arnold 1896), they would meet after worship for separate services known as the "invisible church" (Stewart 1975: 20). By 1824, they had purchased property to establish the Colored Union Church, which reflected the various religious denominations of African Americans and was therefore as much a community gathering space as a religious place (Franklin nd: 7).

A school for African American children had been established as early as 1789. Prior to that, Marmaduke Brown opened a school for colored children, under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Britain on the southwest corner of Division and Mary Streets in Newport and Sarah Osborne had run a mixed school in her home as early as the 1770s (Battle 1932: 15). The townspeople of Newport supported the education of blacks, primarily because Brown and Osborne preached submissiveness. Other attempts to charter free schools for African American children by whites prior to 1789 were unsuccessful (for lack of black and white support) (Foreman Crane 1985: 79, 1998: 54), such as the school run by Mary Brett. By 1808, the members of the FAUS, now under the name "African Benevolent Society" (ABS), reopened the school once led by Mary Brett on School Street. The Newport Mercury ad stated, "it is hoped the white people as well as coloured [sic] will encourage the attendance of Africans under their care, who need instruction" (Newport Mercury, 5/25/1808).

With the development of a free community of African Americans, it appears that social stratification became based on personal wealth and property ownership. For the African American community of Skunk Hollow, New Jersey (ca. 1806-1905), Geismar similarly notes that internal ranking and hierarchy was directly related to landholdings (Geismar 1982: 41). Additionally, the structure of early African American civic organizations, such as the Free African Union Society (later the African Benevolent Society) reinforced such distinctions. Although social mobility and acquisition of wealth would have been very difficult for African Americans, highly skilled, educated individuals who already had prestige in the community prior to emancipation had a better chance of acquiring wealth after emancipation. It is therefore not surprising that individuals such as Newport Gardner (former slave of wealthy merchant Caleb Gardner), Zingo Stevens (stonemason for John Stevens shop on Thames St.), Caesar Lyndon (purchasing agent and former slave of Governor Josiah Lyndon), Abraham Casey (carpenter), and Arthur Tikey Flagg (ropemaker)—all of the "propertied class" were among the first elected officers and representatives of the African American community through the Free African Union Society (FAUS). These individuals had personal wealth and were all landowners (Newport land records). Many of these individuals may not have only been successful due to their trades—but also had pure luck. In 1791, Newport Garner and four other slaves bought a lottery ticket and drew $2000 (Mason 1884:157). The announcement appeared in the *Newport Mercury*:

> No. 17,227 which drew 2,000 dollars in the last Massachusetts semi-annual lottery, was yesterday paid by Messrs. Leach and Fosdick—the proprietors were four Africans belonging to Newport—Fortune wisely takes no distinctions

between her black or white votaries—When will the *Lords of Creation* act with equal justice and benignity? [Newport Mercury, May 12th, 1791]

It is known that Gardner used the money to secure his freedom and that of most of his family; however, the identities of the other three winners are unknown.

The FAUS was a civic (and Christian) organization, established November 10th, 1780 at the home of Abraham Casey, on Levin Street, to promote "the moral and material welfare of coloured people of Newport" (Franklin nd: 9), and was an attempt to take control of the welfare African American community out of the hands of Euro Americans and independently improve the situation of Newport's African Americans. It was formally organized with elected representatives for specific districts of Newport, and a President, Secretary, and Treasurer. The documentation of the organization, published by William Robinson (1976) highlights several important themes in the African American community in the late eighteenth century including: interaction with similar organizations in Providence, Philadelphia and Boston, the promotion of Christian ideals within the African American community, supporting the return of Christian missionaries to Africa, the promotion of black-directed, black-supported education, loaning money to members, and the promotion of African American land ownership as a mechanism of economic security (Robinson 1976). Although the FAUS was later troubled by infrequent attendance, non-payment of dues, and personal conflicts, it represents one of the earliest attempts of African American individuals to establish (politically and economically) an independent community with formal mechanisms of social control. It served as the model for other northern free African societies in Boston, Philadelphia, and Providence.

The documents of the FAUS highlight those issues which were deemed most important in the African American community (at least among FAUS voters and members—which were all male), most notable are emigration to Africa, an African American system of banking which would foster money-lending for FAUS members and support property ownership, African American controlled and financed education for children, care and support of widows and aged members, and securing proper burial for members. By 1789, the group had secured and repaired a small house to instruct children. The society had its female counterpart in the African Female Benevolent Society[24], established in 1805 which taught and partially clothed 25 to 30 children (Robinson 1976: 163). In 1807, the name of the organization changed to the African Benevolent Society (ABS)[25] (1807-1824), but it maintained much of the same leadership personnel. As stated, they created a school (that grew out of a school taught in the same location by Mary Brett until 1799) which was financed and administered primarily by African Americans in 1808—the first school of its kind in the United States.

Prior to 1824, religious-minded African Americans assembled in the homes of community members such as Newport Gardner for religious services, sometimes after services in Euro American churches. At an 1823 meeting in the Pope St. home of Newport Gardner, ABS members and others met to "agree on some plan in which [to] form a Christian Church and society and hold communion together" (Robinson 1988: 46). They drew up a constitution to take to their respective churches to receive input (and

[24] Prior to the establishment of the Female Benevolent Society, women's signatures appear on some FAUS correspondences (Robinson 1976: 24)

[25] The FAUS dismantled in 1805. Apparently, Dinah, the widow Neptune Sisson (a founding member) Dinah quarreled with the FAUS' "reckoning of her late husband's financial history in the society" and harassed the members so much that they broke up the organization because "members were getting a bad name from the widow" (Robinson 1988).

possibly blessing) from their ministers (Robinson 1988: 46). In 1824, the ABS (Newport Gardner, Shadrack Hawkins, Ahema Gardner, Isaac Rice and others) used collected funds to establish the Colored Union Church on a 100' by 60' lot on the southwest corner of Division and Church Streets in Newport (Franklin nd: 22). The church reflected every religious persuasion that had been introduced to the African American community and the various churches they had previously attended (Franklin nd: 22).

The FAUS promoted Christianity but also dealt with more secular concerns, such as abolition, economic security through land ownership, establishing and maintaining community structure, and organizing for a return to Africa. Although esteemed by Euro Americans for his deep devotion to Christianity, Newport Gardner may well have utilized his Christian faith and association with religious leaders to be able to gather with other African Americans without surveillance in order to deal with more secular, immediate community concerns. As subordinates, Newport Gardner and other African Americans may have been compliant when in plain view, but were probably more defiant and critical of white privilege and racism in their own social spaces (Paynter and McGuire 1991: 11). Members of the African American community were all too aware that they were politically and economically oppressed and the FAUS meetings served to overcome that oppression. An early quote reflects that at least some African Americans believed they would be held in higher esteem if they adhered to Euro American middle class notions of proper conduct and this became an important aspect of black respectability as well:

> We the members of this society agree to void frolicking and amusement that lead to expense and idleness; they beget the habits of dissipation and vice and these

expose you to deserved reproach amongst our white neighbours…[Franklin nd: 10]

Property ownership was reinforced as a means of investment, securing a future for one's children, rootedness, and maintenance of the family. FAUS members were assured that their "money will be safest and most beneficial when laid out in lots, houses and small farms" (Franklin nd: 10). It is evident in probate inventories that property was in fact transferred to sons and daughters. FAUS documents and probate records demonstrate that at least some community members actively engaged in mortgaging and/or lending money and leasing property to other African Americans in the interest of property ownership and self maintenance. For example, John Robinson was given a loan of $90 against his property on The Point in 1793 by the FAUS (Robinson 1976: 84). Caesar Lyndon documents providing several loans to other African Americans (see Chapter 3)

The documentation of the FAUS and ABS also reflects the fact that although these African Americans had established their own community in Newport, they still felt as if they were outsiders. Separate institutions were necessary for new African American communities that were socially and often physically and residentially segregated. An early correspondences from the Newport Free African Union Society reflects that even those African Americans who had gained a certain amount of respect in the white community, were prominent members of the African American community, and had amassed property and wealth were subject to hurtful racism:

> We…being strangers & outcasts in a strange land, attended with many disadvantages and evils, with respect to living, which are like to continue on us and on our children, while we and they live in this country… [Robinson 1976: 25]

As demonstrated here, some members of the Newport Free African Union Society may have indeed seen themselves as *African*, not *American*, particularly due to the influence of Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia, who were born in African and remained their until their mid-teens. As early as the 1770s, some members of the African American community in Newport sought to return to Africa.

Throughout northeastern cities, such as Boston, Providence, Philadelphia, and New York, members of the early nineteenth-century black community were well aware of their common bond and plight and called themselves "Africans" or "people of African descent" (Bower 1984: 76). Yet few in other cities were interested in returning to Africa to live; rather, "they set up their own society, not within, but apart from the larger white society, with their own Afro-American institutions, hierarchies, and expertise" (Bower 1984: 76). Most in these cities denounced colonization schemes that would have them return to Africa and colonize and viewed African Americans who supported colonization as "traitors to their race" (Foster 1953; Mehlinger 1916). For example, the Newport FAUS invited Philadelphia Black Union Society members to join them in emigration, an invitation which was summarily rejected. Nonetheless, a particular group of Newporters, under the leadership of Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia—aged ex-slaves who had come to America as teens, with memories of Africa and a retention of their native homelands and languages—decided that Africa was their homeland and returned in 1826. The reasons this group decided to emigrate were likely complex. Rhode Island took

away the voting rights of African Americans in 1822[26]. Free African Americans had to confront seeing many of their brethren still enslaved and in degraded condition; there was mounting racial violence in Providence and Boston; and African Americans came to recognize that compliance to Euro American notions of morality did not secure equality. Review of obituaries in the *Newport Mercury* is also enlightening. Obituaries highlight Euro American attitudes about "appropriate" African American characteristics. The 1807 obituary of Cato Stevens reads:

...a faithful servant and honest man;–though black in colour, his actions were truly white;–having lived nearly fourteen years in the service where he died, with honour to himself, and satisfaction to his employer. [12/5/1807 *Newport Mercury*]

Similarly, the obituary of Sarah Searing reads:

> In her long and respectable life, she uniformly supported the best character for probity, fidelity, and attention to her duties, and was one of the few survivors of that old race of domestic servants which was educated in the excellent school of our fathers, and who were the best models in this or any country of the estimable qualities we seek, in that class of the community. [2/9/1826 *Newport Mercury*]

A number of other obituaries praise African Americans who outwardly maintained a servile demeanor once free. African Americans must have read this with bitterness and the realization that although free, Euro Americans did not want them to be politically, economically, or socially active.

[26] The January 19th, 1822 *Newport Mercury* posted the "Amended Election Law" which read: "no one who is not possessed in his right of real estate of value of 134 dollars, free of encumbrance, shall be entitled to the privilege of a free man…" the new law further, "den[ied] the privilege of voting except free white members." Although this may have been a consideration in the decision for some to emigrate to Africa, Robinson notes that African American property owners in Newport and Providence said nothing (publicly) about the loss of voting rights until 1829.

Finally, tensions within probably contributed to the decision to emigrate as much as the influence of Gardner and Nubia. Upon leaving Gardner is quoted as saying:

> I go! to set an example to the youth of my race; I go to encourage the young. They can never be elevated here, I have tried it for sixty years—in vain. [Mason 1884: 159]

Bolster states, **"…**there is a tendency in much African American social history to narrow the range of possibilities open to black people throughout history. Insufficient attention is generally paid to the tensions and contradictions among blacks" (Bolster 1997: 35). It is evident, however in FAUS meeting minutes and rolls that this organization also served to uphold the emerging social stratification within the African American community. At its height, the society boasted 70 members (Robinson 1976), which was only a fraction of the African American community. While documentation from the Free African Union Society points to the desire African Americans had to develop a distinct community, a close reading of the records also points to a degree of fragmentation within the community, animosity between individuals, and hostility directed toward the FAUS by some African Americans. It is important that the use of the term "community" is often misleading. While the use of Critical Race Theory (CRT) has recently been advocated for projects such as these (Little & Shackel 2007)—to involve current descendant communities and create a multivocal past—it has several shortcomings. CRT focuses on "white privilege" and the past and present consequences of the "color line" to understand racism and handle "hurtful histories." Such projects recognize the power inequalities between scholars and the public, black and white and caution us to be aware of white privilege, lest we repeat it. However, while CRT

motivates us to be cautious of the legacy of white privilege, it tends to monolithically view African Americans as a "community"—a word which Mullins cautions is "often defined in a rather mechanical form that has served [white] state interests," but we too, should be wary of using it for the purposes of civic engagement. CRT does very little to address internal community dynamics and social stratification among African Americans that may operate outside of our conception of the "color line." Furthermore, CRT is often utilized in a way which masks gender, status and class differences within the African American community, past *and* present.

Following Geismar (1982) and Homans (1950) this dissertation seeks to enrich how we read the African American "community" by using a framework which can describe group organization and function that takes into account issues of race, economy and internal conflict. Models of social disintegration can help us both to avoid the pitfall of monolithically viewing the African American community and analyze how African Americans functioned as a social category. Although this dissertation examines a single socioeconomic class (free African Americans), it also recognizes that there was social stratification within the African American community. Geismar (1982) notes three independent dynamics that operated in nineteenth-century Skunk Hollow, NJ and are applicable to the African American community at Newport: the physical and technical environment; the 'external system'–ideas that initially bring a group together (when this system declines the group disintegrates); and the 'internal system,' or frequency of community interaction. Homans states that when "frequency interaction between group members decreases in the external system, it also decreases in the internal system causing emotional indifference and subsequent disintegration of social organization (Geismar

1982: 5). The external system which lumped African Americans into a community based on race was challenged once a system of social stratification emerged within the community. According to this model and as highlighted by the documentary evidence of the FAUS, differences in opinion over significant social issues, decreased interaction between African American property owners and laborers (once the FAUS created its own ideological and social niche), and financial problems which plagued both the FAUS and other community efforts, fragmented the African American community in Newport to the point that 26 individuals left Newport to colonize Liberia.

As much as the FAUS and ABS fostered "community," it created internal conflicts and stratification. The fact that it was a dues-paying society excluded those who could not afford the 50¢ yearly fee or find the time to attend, it also formally excluded women. These African Americans were (formally, if not in reality) excluded from the sick benefits, elder care, and voting rights within the society. Wills and probates as well as FAUS/ABS documents point to a fixed sphere of leadership and social interaction among propertied African Americans who were FAUS members. The records of the FAUS also points to various conflicts among society members. The antagonism over whether to be African or American, economic distinctions between individuals and families, and other issues likely disrupted the internal and external systems which initially held the African American community together. By the 1820s, Newport Gardner lamented that "no more of the coloured [sic] people in town have become subscribers to the society and that so many of them who have subscribed have failed of paying subscription" (Robinson 1976: 188).

The distribution of money and property within the FAUS and ABS also increased community conflict. There are several entries which indicate there were controversies over the purchasing or leasing of property (Robinson 1976: 39,84). In 1793, Caesar Lyndon, one of the original founders of the FAUS and once a financially well-off individual, resigned when he received only ¼ of his salary for acting as the organization's secretary. He subsequently received a scathing reply from other members such as Prince Amy (Chair), Charles Challoner and Newport Gardner stating that Lyndon was more concerned about money than the goals of the society. They added insult to injury by stating "we do not contest his resignation, but wish for no more such members" (Robinson 1976: 40). Although one of the goals of the society was to provide support to widows of deceased members (unless they remarried nonmembers), there was a great deal of controversy over the support of the widow of Neptune Sisson (who was also a friend of Caesar Lyndon), so much so that the organization dismantled for two years. Although there is not sufficient evidence to say for certain, these controversies may point to specific divisions (over philosophy, economy or possibly even based on residence/neighborhoods) within the FAUS. These documents do not even address the issues which may have existed between members and non-members, but highlights that we should not view African American communities as monolithic, but rather, much like other communities which self-identify on the basis of some characteristic (in this case, race) are also fraught with contradictions and conflicts of race, gender, and class. In discussing historical (and present) communities, we must shed our "romantic" assumption that communities are "systems of cooperating individuals or groups" and recognize that communities are in fact systems of:

> …competing and conflicting behavior where mutual interests are frequently outweighed by private interests, where common goals are overshadowed by individual private ends, and need stemming from interdependence often engenders exploitation and hostility rather than cooperation and mutual aid. [Bates & Bacon 1972: 372, 373]

Residence patterning and increased interaction over time within the neighborhoods of The Point/Lower Thames/New Town and Negro Lane/Levin Street may have contributed to overall community disintegration. Probate inventories and FAUS documents suggest there may have been a social division between Point and Negro Lane (Pope St.) residents. Most notably, Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia (Africans) lived on Negro Lane and were proponents of emigration to Africa. This may have also contributed to community fracturing along ideological lines.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL LANDSCAPE, PAST AND PRESENT

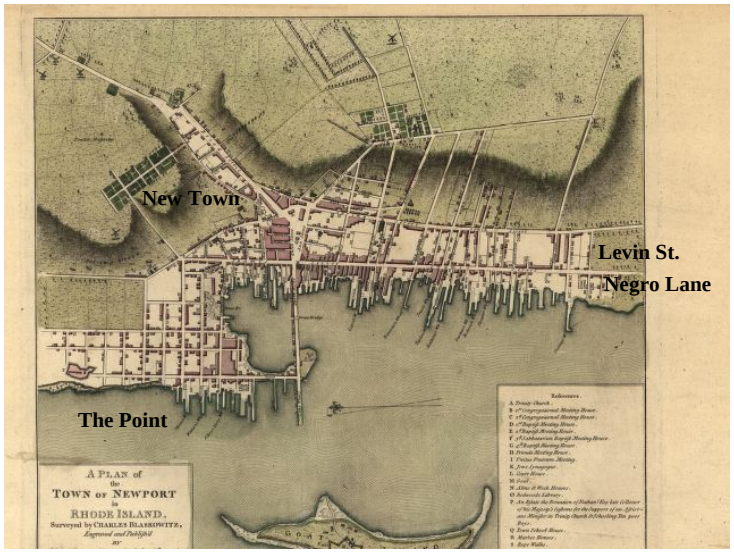
This chapter focuses on the development of the cultural landscape of Newport. Cultural landscapes include all aspects of culturally defined space (including historically derived meanings specific places of interaction) and are an important aspect of social relations which embody the history, structure, and contexts of human behavior (Hood 1996). Questions include: How was the landscape utilized by both African Americans and Euro Americans to create and reinforce social structure? What are the differences in use of space between middle class and laboring African Americans? What was the nature of social interaction between middle class and laboring African Americans? Finally, what were the various mechanisms employed by African Americans to create and maintain an enduring community when faced with the social and economic limitations of racism?

Newport is a promising area to engage in such research. Rather than taking the traditional status perspective of racial differences (Geismar 1982, Paynter 1990: 54) which analyzes the differences in material culture between Euro Americans and African Americans, this dissertation has also considered land use and material culture as mechanisms of differentiation *within* the African American community. As historical archaeology has enabled history to expand from discussions involving people of note to the study of people coping under various circumstances, it is possible to initiate discussion not only of the emerging African American upper tier in Newport, but those who were excluded from the aspirations of this segment of their own racial/social group based on a developing internal social hierarchy.

While eighteenth century residential patterning was mixed—with African Americans, artisans, and laborers occupying neighborhoods closer to wharf areas—it is

clear that race in part dictated the development of the Newport landscape. The two heaviest concentrations of African American residence were at the northern and southern margins of town, suggesting some degree of choice; these were mixed residential areas as Franklin notes:

> [Black-owned homes and property] were directly opposite the homes now cherished as belonging to the aristocracy of that day and evidently were not considered a social barrier because they were owned by negroes, slaves or former slaves. [nd: 10]



Map 3. Blaskowitz 1777 Map of Newport (courtesy of the Library of Congress) detailing African American enclaves on the northern and southern margins of town.

Property records suggest the northern and southern margins of town were settled by free Africans and African Americans as early as 1780 (see appendix ii). The majority of households in these areas were those of property owners, while much of the rest of the African American (tenant) population was intermingled with the Euro American

population in the center of town. Therefore, while middle class African Americans were spatially marginalized from the town center (though, they may have preferred this patterning), it appears that lower status (non-property-owning) African Americans were marginalized from middle class African American neighborhoods. Furthermore, by being centrally located as well as dispersed from each other, these lower status African Americans, most of whom did not own land, were subject to a higher degree of surveillance by the Euro American community. So, although more centrally located, these individuals may have in fact been less free. The fact that African Americans who could afford to buy land may have been limited to the edges of town may have inadvertently contributed to the strength of the African American community by creating "enclaves" of land owners, into The Point, and the Negro Lane areas. However, as stated in Chapter Four, these neighborhood divisions may have also contributed to a degree of fragmentation. The historical African American presence in these areas has been erased from the landscape and public memory. The telling of history and manipulation of the landscape have both contributed to the erasure of African Americans from the Newport landscape.

HISTORY AS IDEOLOGY

"History is often seen as the passive reconstruction of past events" when it is in fact an active process which projects present ideologies and beliefs on to past events, individuals and groups (Fitts 1998: 217). History is created by specific people under specific sociopolitical environments and is therefore subject to manipulation, particularly by those in power and often for specific reasons, such as nationalism, legitimation and exclusion (Fitts 1998: 217; Shackel 2003). It is not written for those passed, but is reshaped for the

living, to reflect the concerns of the era in which it is written (Seibert 2001). If we view "history" or public memory as a type of knowledge, we can theoretically contextualize the production of history much in the way Foucault contextualized the production of knowledge. Foucault studied the ways in which production of knowledge is subject to power relations in a given society. Rather than being absolute truth, history as a "theorem claiming to confer legitimacy on power or government" or nationhood or white supremacy is "fiction" (Foucault 2000: xxxi). As historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists it is our duty to reveal the structures of power which created history and at the same time tell a history which sheds itself of past biases.

Most believe history to be "truth" because we are socialized to believe it is unbiased fact. However, Foucault also notes that:

> Truth isn't outside power or lacking in power, truth is a thing of this world produced by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. It induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth—the types of discourse it accepts and makes function as true, the mechanisms and instances that enable one to distinguish true and false statements; the means by which each is sanctions, techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are accorded value in the acquisition of truth, and the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. [Foucault 2000: 131]

The control of history and group memory is a reflection of present political and social power relations. Public memory does not rely only upon professional scholarship, but "the various individuals and institutions that affect and influence the versions of histories that have become part of the collective memory (Shackel 2003: 12). History,

historical dialogue and historical research are always conducted according to particular standards and within systems of academia and political power and are therefore subject to constraints within our "regime(s) of truth." These systems and practices serve to uphold systems of power (such as academia) and give those with access to documents and archaeological sites privileged knowledge. The ultimate cost of valuing one history over another is the loss of diversity in history (Seibert 2001: 71). At present, the best we can do is incorporate ethnohistorical methods to reveal how history has been created and how our past has created and legitimated our particular present. We can use a critical study of history to highlight the development of racism and other inequalities and to uncover the processes which erased or diminished particular histories. We can also serve marginalized communities by incorporating multivocal perspectives in social-historical interpretations and uncovering the ways in which different groups of people remember and recite the past (Rose 1998). The ways in which we remember and reinterpret the past not only serve to uphold the power structure; at the same time, history serves to create ethnic identity and pride for subordinate groups (Shackel 2003:12). In this way, the active construction of African American histories by African Americans reasserts the power of African Americans to define their present. Bourdieu's notion of habitus is essential here as it highlights the importance of practice and how everyday mundane acts of production at work and consumption become codified social categories upon which expressions of people's self interest can be found (Shackel 2000: 233). Contemporary practice theory holds that we produce "culture histories through praxis which highlights the processual nature of social reproduction" (Dobres & Robb 2000: 5). This "duality of structure" means that at once we at once manipulate/create history and are subject to it.

While history is subject to manipulation, "men do not make [history] just as they please, they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past" (Marx 1935: 5). Therefore, even when we account for agency in history, world events, local politics and material realities sustain and affect discussions of the past (Leone 1995: 251; Nassaney 1989; Paynter 1990). History serves those in power as it is created to make the current social order (i.e. racial divisions, social inequalities) appear natural (Franklin 2005: 191). The Civil Rights movement had a profound impact on the study of African American history and anthropology as African American agency was taken into account in historical studies and scholars began to analyze the economic and social importance of slavery in the North (Fitts 1998; Shackel 2001: 154). Prior to the Civil Rights movement, scholars, such as Lorenzo Greene wrote about African American life in New England and countered the ideology of benevolent northern slavery, however his work did little to "dispel the myth of Narragansett master/slave relations [because] it was ignored…" (Fitts 1998: 56). Greene's work was largely ignored until the decades of Civil Rights when, "white scholars began to adopt a similar approach and examine African American history and race relation from the blacks' point of view" (Fitts 1998: 57).

Marxist theories in anthropology and history during the 1960s and 1970s further allowed for academic discussion of elite manipulation of politics and economies, demonstrating that historical circumstances were neither natural nor inevitable. Fitts, for example, demonstrates that interpretations of slavery in Narragansett, RI—portraying the system alternatively as mild, paternalistic, and brutal, or economically important to northern wealth—reflect broad trends in American history (Fitts 1998; Pope Melish

1998). The telling of these histories too, has an agenda—to provide agency to historical African Americans. Historical studies of slavery began to focus on resistance during this period (Fitts 1998: 77). As discussed in the introduction of this dissertation, ethnohistorical method which incorporates critical theory, including critical analysis of documents and material culture studies is one method of overcoming the biases of written history. This type of ethnohistory allows us to have "imaginative double-vision," or something similar to W.E.B. Du Bois' "double consciousness." Du Bois, in *The Souls of Black Folk* stated that

> It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,--an American, a Negro; two warring souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. [Du Bois 1938]

Under this framework, not only can we can study African American history, material culture, and ideology as ever-conflicting and dual in nature (Shackel 2000: 234), additionally scholars of historical anthropology are subject to this double-consciousness. As researchers, it is our duty to see individuals etically and comparatively as subjects and (as much as possible) ultimately to see people emically—how they saw themselves. Through critical research, we can see the people we study as emically as possible; however, the luxury of hindsight allows us to see peoples as objectively as possible in ways that they could not see themselves (Axtell 1997). We must also recognize that there is no single "African American" experience. Part of our job is to uncover the vast

diversity in historical African American life. This dissertation has focused on African American life beginning approximately one century after African Americans were making lives in Newport. Racial and ethnic groups are often represented as homogenous based on our present ideologies and racial stereotypes. This study and other studies of material life should highlight that African American life was not circumscribed by bondage and that differences of class, gender, age, and religion "variously shape individual experiences among people who share the same ethnic or racial identity" (Franklin 2005: 192). We should also be cognizant of the fact that a neglect of class, gender and religious inequalities within African American communities reproduces those inequalities in the present.

THE MARGINALIZATION OF BLACK HISTORY

Until the 1970s, the marginalization of African American history is part of an overall trend in historical studies to focus on the lifeways of the elite and discount racial, ethnic and lower-class discontent. Because the "model for ultimate glory is in the past," history has traditionally sanitized, omitted and idealized non-elite struggles. In the northeast, both Native Americans and African Americans were legally and socially "pushed out" and subject to myths about their disappearance or lack of presence in the region. The sanitizing or glossing over of their histories until recently led historians to accept uncritically stereotypes of Native Americans and African Americans. Fitts discusses how social convention disallowed conversation on the subject of race—but that this ignorance of African American life perpetuated stereotypes and ignored the black perspective (Fitts 1998: 49). This has been increasingly addressed since the 1990s, with a particular interest in recovering African Americans on the New England landscape (Brown and

Rose 2001; Deetz 1977; Lee 2005; Piersen 1988; Sammons 2004; Stewart 1975; Young Armstead 1999).

From a practical perspective, undertaking the histories of marginalized groups, such as African Americans is complicated by a lack of documentation. This may reflect the general disinterest in or ignorance of African American life, but may also reflect a systematic "opting out" of white society by marginalized groups to avoid violence and social stigmatism (Feder 1996; Rose 1998: 360). When documentation for marginalized groups exists it is often generalized and written from a perspective other than their own (Baker 1978; Feder 1996). Therefore, ethnohistorians rely upon oral history and alternative sources more so than historians and oral traditions and myths have become an important aspect of African American ethnohistory (as well as Native American histories and historical studies of other marginalized ethnic groups) (Fagan 2005; Simmons 1986; Stoffle and Shimkin 1980; Trigger 1982). Oral history too, must be used critically as it lacks precise dates and may change with generations (Axtell 1997). This dissertation also made use of historical maps and documents such as court documents, deeds, wills, tax documents, to provide information on social organization, economies and the ways in which African Americans negotiated their daily lives (Feder 1994; Greene 1942; Herndon 2001; Herndon and Sekatau 1997; McBride 1993; Piersen 1988; Salisbury 1982).

Ortner (1990) found that cultural schemas, such as history, are grounded in people's everyday experiences and the ways in which they order and experience their worlds. In New England, the neglect of African American history is particularly true in this context. A lack of documentary evidence, a lack of an African American signature

on the landscape, and the perpetuation of particular histories facilitate the continued neglect of African American history in the northeast (particularly in non-urban locations). Furthermore, writing African Americans out of American history serves to minimize the economic, social, and historical importance of that segment of the population and also allows us to ignore the development and presence of racism in the contemporary North (Fitts 1998: 217; Pope Melish 1998). In Newport as in other areas of New England, these issues are compounded by the fact that Newport history is also produced for the lucrative tourism marketplace. The process of promoting the New England "historic" depended upon:

> the popular imagination and the strategies of admen and commercial developers through the endless repetition of a stock historicizing vocabulary, for example, the insertion, restoration, or retention of such traditionally 'historic' features as cobblestones, brickwork paving, and gaslamps. [Hamer 1998: 85]

In this popular imagination and the tourist market, there has traditionally been little effort to incorporate the African American experience into history. Recently however, the Newport Historical Society and Newport Restoration Foundation have attempted to integrate African American history into tourism. Two tours in particular, "Newport's Buried History" and "Tastes of the Working Waterfront" discuss the role of free and enslaved African Americans in the Newport economy and Euro American households (2008). There is less discussion, however, of early African American households.

Shackel (2003) discusses the exclusion of African Americans from national consciousness through written symbols, materials symbols, and commemoration. He provides the example of textbooks, which until the 1990s rarely mentioned African

Americans and only did so by incorporating racist overtones (Shackel 2003: 14). Pope Melish (1998) addressed the purposeful omission of African Americans from New England history. While we now recognize that history is far too often represented through the eyes of the dominant elite, far too often represented as unrelated to the present (Franklin 2005: 191), this recognition and the questions that followed are recent developments.

Pope Melish attributes the omission of African American history to "…a level of visceral discomfort on the part of northern whites with the actual, physical presence of individual persons of color in the landscape" (1998: xiii). The narrative, particularly after the Civil War, became one of a "historically free, white New England" which had no place for slavery or the presence of African Americans (Pope Melish 1998: 3]. Black presence in New England was attributed to the Great Migration after the Civil War. Both Fitts and Pope Melish address the historical development of the narrative of slavery—one of familial, benevolent servitude—which served to promote the New England Colonial revival, understate the economic importance of slavery, and cleanse the past and present of racial inequality and exploitation. This erasure was not only acted out in the writing of history, but in the symbolic removal of African Americans after emancipation. Broadside literature, racist imagery, the exclusion of African Americans from white burial yards (while, during slavery, enslaved people were buried with slave owners), high incidences of grave robberies of African American graves, withdrawal of African American voting rights (in 1822 in Rhode Island), and the Colonization Movement all contributed to the "collective amnesia" about Northern slavery and the "Africanization of the South" (Fitts Pope Melish 1998: 174, 194-6).

The modern landscape of Newport does little to integrate the story of the historic African American, and as such, popular memory is that African Americans arrived during the Great Migration. The colonial buildings they constructed, the distilleries they worked in, their residential properties, and the houses of the enslaved are not recognized as African American sites.

THE MODERN LANDSCAPE, HISTORY AND IDEOLOGY

Similar to written history, the modern landscape also is constructed and interpreted to legitimate the current social order and perpetuate current ideology. Elite groups which can secure the labor and capital to engage in earth-moving projects have had the power to influence the interpretation history and the perpetuation of ideology through the landscape (Seibert 2001: 77). While space is usually defined as a natural category, the social landscape is an "ideological concept that represents how specific classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature" (Pruecel & Meskell 2004: 219).

"Black people live in *Newport*?" is a question commonly asked by those to whom I've explained my dissertation topic. This is not surprising, as the heritage tourism industry has traditionally sought to promote the "Gilded Age" of Newport and erase its racialized history. To tourists and Euro American residents alike, African Americans are seen as a recent addition to the Newport landscape—arriving during the Great Migration of the late nineteenth century. However, for many African Americans—particularly older ones—the cultural landscape of Newport is rich with significant African American places. Dolores Hayden has studied the different "mental maps" ethnic groups have of their landscapes, which differ based on the racialized division of space (Hayden 1997).

Some African Americans recall family histories on particular streets, the locations of old churches, parents or grandparents working on steamships or in the livery business, ancestors who were community leaders even relatives who were soldiers in the Revolutionary War (Pauline Moye, personal communication; Eleanor Keyes, personal communication; Teresa Guzmán Stokes, personal communication). The significance of landscapes as social "space" and the different memories, memorializations, and reconstructions of landscapes reflect social power relationships in the past and present.

LANDSCAPE THEORY

Nassaney et al. (2001) define the primary techniques necessary to reconstruct and analyze past and present landscapes as archaeological analysis, oral interviews, and documentary research. Naturally, each technique has its shortcomings (i.e. is a limited resource, lacks precise dates, is subject to interpretations, etc.); however multidisciplinary, multivocal approaches can be useful in reconstructing landscapes. Archaeology involves environmental, biological, and social reconstruction as well as architectural history. More specific methods include geophysical surveys, observation of vegetation, remnant foundations, and household level investigation to inform contextual patterning between artifacts, features, and spatial patterning). Critical histories and the study of documents such as early maps, pamphlets which encouraged colonization, tax maps, town maps, surveys and memory maps (Benes 1981), plantation manuals, probates, vital records, journals, titles, etc. are necessary for such work (Beaudry 1986; Rubertone 1989). Utilizing the above we can construct landscapes of the past and present which were meant to be seen by others from a particular perspective and discover where people placed themselves (and were placed by others) within cultural landscapes.

Soja's "socio-spatial dialectic" (1980) provides a theoretical starting point for the study of landscapes—particularly urban landscapes. Although Marxist theories long avoided the study of landscapes (for fear that "spatial fetishism" would divert attention from class analysis), the organization, use and meaning of space is a product of social translation, transformation and experience (Soja 1980: 210). Paying particular attention to the processes of industrialization and urbanization, Soja asserts that the distributional pattern of the built environment, the location of centers of production and consumption, the political organization of space into jurisdiction, the uneven geographical distribution of income and employment, and the ideological attachment to locational symbols and spatial images underscore that space is an important component of the organization of modes of production and is not a separate, peripheral, or incidental structure. Urban centers in particular become centers of production and accumulation and reflect the broader inequities of monopoly capitalism—labor power, exchange and production reproduce capitalism on the landscape (Soja 1980: 218). The occupation and production of social space in capitalism has been historically and presently achieved (in urban centers, particularly) through bureaucratically controlled consumption, differentiation of cores and peripheries, the penetration of the state into everyday life, manipulation of the built environment, the extraction of urban rent, and the organization of urban space by the state and elites (Blackmar 1988; Low 1996; Mrozowski 1991, 2006; Sandwiess 1996; Soja 1980; Zierden 1996). For example, in her ethnographic study of contemporary urban Costa Rica, Setha Low (1996) studies urban plazas and how they are spatialized (a term she defines as the physical and conceptual location of social relations and social practice in social space). She looks at the spatialization of class-based conflicts in the

planning, design, and maintenance of two plazas which were built in different social and historical contexts—and both which are subject to the forces of global capitalism. However each plaza is an example of class-based social construction of the appropriate use of urban space. To elites, such spaces represent an idealized past and "culture" to the poor and working classes plazas as landscapes represent resistance to the hegemony of the state and capitalism (through the sale of sex, drugs, and other informal economic activity) as well as resistance to the hegemony of the Catholic church which looms over one of the plazas (through evangelical preachers). Low found that in the case of urban Costa Rica, when class controversy over public space arises, the state intervenes with increased social controls and if that does not work, they abandon the space and build a new one, where "culture" can be presented in a pristine form. For example, Washington Square—once the common gathering space for many Newport activities (African American and Euro American) is now a "loitering" space in front of the courthouse, a place where the unemployed and homeless congregate, and where others simply pass through. Event gathering spaces are now located on the wharves and at Fort Adams State Park.

Using largely dialectical historical-archaeological methodologies Beaudry (1986); Blackmar (1988); Mrozowski (1991, 2006); Rubertone (1986); Sandweiss (1996), and Zierden (1996) study the evolution of the urban landscape and point to the use of landscape to legitimate capitalist power structure. Beaudry calls for a diachronic methodology which incorporates analytical tools which provide fine-grained information on earth-moving activities as well as environmental changes and comparative data (via excavation) (1996). Landscape archaeology must be accompanied by documentary

research and architectural history to place individuals and groups into their historical and social arenas (Beaudry 1996). Mrozowski (1991, 2006) used this methodology to explore two different systems of urbanization (both which took place within the context of expanding capitalist modes of production) —the "organic" development of Newport from mercantile capitalism and the carefully planned industrial landscape of industrial Lowell, focusing on the Boott Mill Complex. Such reconstruction of past surfaces can reveal past landscapes and alterations which point to the inequalities of capitalism or the legitmation of the power structure (Rubertone 1989: 50). In this context, "problems" such as urban fill become culturally meaningful artifacts for understanding previous landscapes (Rubertone 1989). Through the study of documents and the archaeological reconstruction of past landscapes by combining environmental analysis with architectural history and primary documents of Newport, Mrozowski (2006) was able to place wealth concentration and emerging class distinctions onto the landscape in several ways. He studied the conflict and division of town and country in the development of the landscape of Newport, the increasing ability for mercantile classes to separate industrial and domestic spaces, the inability for artisans to do the same, which resulted in diseased, cluttered environments, and the emerging urban ideology (nineteenth century) which saw land and resources solely as exploitable commodities. Mrozowski (1991: 80) sees these "landscapes of inequality" as being generated by a mercantile capitalist, profit-minded economy under which class distinctions became rigidly defined and were thus reflected in the landscape.

Dialectical studies will necessary uncover inherent contradictions in capitalist societies—these contradictions were present in Newport's, Boston's and Lowell's

landscapes. While landscapes reveal the inherent inequalities of capitalism (or slavery-based or gendered systems), so too do they reveal "seeds of resistance" (Rubertone 1986). As Newport was "developing" in the early eighteenth century, rural farmers flooded the city, creating overcrowding (as the city did not grow spatially), makeshift dwelling and food shortages—the latter can be detected archaeologically on sites which reflect the intensive exploitation of wild plants and animals in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Newport (Mrozowski 1991). A review of census documents reveals that African Americans also utilized "enclaving" and larger households as a method of adaptation.

Historical archaeological studies of urban centers demonstrates how the separation of work and home shifted and lowered the role of middle class women as they lost their productive value. Much like expanding household composition, the dual use of home as "industrial" space was increasingly looked down on in the eighteenth century. While some African Americans, such as Newport Gardner, were able to separate work (shop) space from domestic space, many other African Americans utilized their properties to earn income through raising pigs, boardering, or other projects and businesses. These contradictions in the ideal vs. real landscape are resisted through the use of counter-spaces (Hayden 1997). While elites control space and simultaneously constrain social reproduction of other groups through limiting access to space (especially through the construction of ghettos, barrios, internment camp, reservations, migrant camps, and plantations). This is clearly a process which has affected Newport African Americans throughout history (see map on p. 170). Hayden (1997) studied how urban peoples have historically negated these processes through building up their own world of

shared meanings. The use "counter spaces" offers an alternative kind of identity through social reproduction within space and critiques the production of space, past and present, through media such as ethnic vernacular art traditions—graffiti, murals, Japanese gardens, "bathtub Jesuses" etc.) (Hayden 1997).

Rowntree and Conkey (1980) use sociobiological and anthropological theory to demonstrate how stresses (such as inequality and/or poverty) and value systems contribute to the symbolic creation of the landscape through, for example, historic preservation. Historic preservation is a process whereby *certain* attributes of past landscapes are selected for preservation and are imbued with symbolic significance for the present landscape and its participants. This definition explains the historical ignorance of vernacular landscapes (Carson et al. 1981) or the discomfort and ambivalence over the representation of landscapes of inequality as they highlight the inequalities of the capitalist system (such as the sanitation of history at Colonial Williamsburg and Monticello). The Newport NAACP attempted to erect a memorial to the 1st Black Regiment which enlisted at Newport. Although the money was raised independently, the city would not allow the monument to be placed in Newport. Eventually, the monument was erected in Portsmouth, RI—seven miles away (Fern Lima, personal communication).

Rowntree & Conkey (1980: 67-8)demonstrate that if landscape symbolism becomes pervasive and sanctified, symbolization becomes rigid and is maintained through enforcement of legal political or legal sanctions—such as the National Parks Service recent Historical Preservation efforts geared toward "Africanisms on the landscape." Rather than the loose, largely verbal, symbolic landscapes African

Americans created out of "social stresses," the United States government now defines and protects which African American sites are "historic" based on set criteria. It is noteworthy, in this context, that there exist no national historic African American landmarks in Newport. The Newport Restoration Foundation lists one African American site, Shiloh Church, on their list of historic places.

Landscape studies have been marked by ambiguity, uncertainty, and intellectual reflexivity (Ashmore 2004). In order to effectively study the Newport landscape a few key elements of landscape need to be taken into account:

1) Landscapes are endowed with multiple meanings that change through time and space (Delle 1998). Just prior to and after the Revolution, the Newport landscape was carved out by elites to foster maritime trade. The Euro American cultural landscape likely focused on areas of market, worship and social interaction for Euro Americans. And although "black" and "white" landscapes intersected in complex ways, the African American cultural landscape was different from Euro American landscape and likely focused on fringes of town, which were the enclaves of home-owning African Americans and the sites of FAUS meetings, schools and other places of importance to African Americans. During the Gilded Age and the development of Newport into a resort, the meaning of the landscape again changed, to one of tourism for Euro Americans, for business opportunity (such as catering and livery) and refuge from the south for African American migrants. For both groups, the landscape looked less toward the sea and more toward the hills, where hotels and other tourist diversions were located. Currently, the landscape has myriad meanings based on complex identities cross-cut by race, class and

gender with each group (and subgroup) viewing the landscape and its history in different ways.

2) Landscapes as social spaces define complex sets of relations between people and also between people and material space. Newport space was carved up for industry, wealthy homes, lower-class Euro Americans and African Americans. The fact that free African Americans were placed out of sight is significant and directly relates to the social distance Euro Americans desired to separate them from free African Americans—even though African American laborers and slaves were commonplace among the wharves and throughout town. African Americans and low income personas are still subject to this phenomenon of being pushed "out of sight" (see Map 3, p. 148). Lisa Dady, of the Newport Restoration Foundation, located on Bellevue Avenue in Newport stated, "I have entire days where I don't see a person of color" (personal communication). Also significant in the historical manifestation of social relations are early maps (1777) which reveal the naming of streets (i.e. Jew Street, Negro Lane) as these were ascribed spaces for particular ethnic groups.

4) The landscape is created by a duality of structure—while landscapes are actively created and manipulated by people, so too are people shaped, constrained, and inspired by the landscape (Rubertone 1989). Space is permeated with social relations—it is not only supported by social relations but it is also producing and produced by social relations (Low 1996). In many ways, African Americans interacted within the confines of the space they were "permitted" to inhabit. However, while African Americans were relegated to the margins of town, they also used these spaces to create and nurture their own community.

5) Landscapes are potent symbols (Rowntree and Conkey 1980) which are actively manipulated to justify or resist social structure or reproduce society. Massive landscape projects are controlled by elites who have the power to engage in large-scale, earth moving projects. However, because of the pervasiveness of social power and ideologies, these projects are usually supported (and completed) by those who benefit the least. For example, in the early eighteenth century, leading merchants remodeled the waterfront to "expand commerce…and fulfill their vision of Newport as an urban center" (Withey 1984: 29). However, it was the residents of the town who granted the merchants the waterfront lands in 1739 (Withey 1984: 29).

Manipulation of the landscape can assert ethnic or class identity to confirm or oppose existing relations between groups—such as the naming of "Jew Street" and "Negro Lane" (Hayden 1997; Nassaney et al. 2001). While "Negro Lane" may have been interpreted by the Euro American community as an undesirable place, it may have been a source of pride for African Americans. Such manipulation of the landscape can assert, reinforce, or legitimate social power structure through the use of monuments, "panoptic" constructions on plantations and in cities, or by socializing nature to make inequities appear natural—such as tree-lined upper class streets (Ashmore 2004; Delle 1998; Epperson 2000; Mrozowski 1991, 2006; Orser 1998; Shackel & Larsen 2000; Singleton 2001; Upton 1988; Beaudry 1986; Rubertone 1989; Hayden 1997). The Lopez and Redwood families were able to look down on "their" Newport from high on the hill. The placement of African Americans on the edges of town was a manipulation to remove free African Americans from sight—a manipulation common on plantation landscapes (Upton 1998). The current Newport landscape is also used to reflect a history of wealth

and upper class mercantilism. This landscape at once masks social inequalities by neglecting them and legitimates them by removing the lower class from sight.

Map 4. The modern Newport landscape outlining tourist routes and neighborhoods which are low on the socioeconomic scale

6) Because of its manipulability and symbolic associations, landscape is artifact as well as material culture, containing all the contradictions and ambiguities present in other material culture. As such, dialectical approaches involving archaeology and history which underscore such contradictions and ambiguities are most useful in studying past and present landscapes and are particularly useful in studying past and present urban

environments since Marxist theories are particularly concerned with class development and inequalities. Urban landscapes in particular provide a wealth of data involving the development of capitalism and class structure. In this context, it is particularly noteworthy that The Point and West Broadway area (formerly "New Town") are rapidly gentrifying and people of color and low income persons are being pushed out of these areas—which have been mixed residential areas since the eighteenth century. Since landscapes contain multiple meanings for multiple individuals and groups, the use of multivocality and alternative voices is also a useful approach in studying landscapes and can be utilized in the re-creation of public memory on the landscape (Ashmore 2004). As Newport developed into a resort in the second half of the nineteenth century, conspicuous consumption became "memorialized" as did the homes of the super-elite. This effectively erased African American Revolutionary-era and early nineteenth century history from the landscape. African Americans could no longer even find secure employment in the households of the wealthy Euro Americans. By the 1880s:

> …the seaport had redefined itself as the summer vacation mecca of the wealthy. The opening of the Newport Casino in 1880 marked the opening of a decade…By 1885 the new building—which contained club rooms, tennis courts, a restaurant, and a theater for both plays and dances—had become the 'center of Newport life.' One historian argues that more than any other development, the grand balled held at the Newport Casino 'inaugurated the era of conspicuous and often outlandishly lavish spending in Newport' that came to define the town…Blacks were not usually employed as house servants for this new crowd. Instead, African Americans readily found work aboard the steamers that transported the

mushrooming number of visitors to and from Newport. [Young Armstead 1999: 42]

Map 5. Newport 1878 (courtesy of the Library of Congress)

African American residential patterning shifted to the West Broadway area (formerly "New Town") in close proximity to steamship docks, and to the east side of Bellevue Avenue, near the locus of hotels where they were employed (Young Armstead 1999). The influx of multiple ethnic groups from Europe and African Americans from the South and New York in the late nineteenth century overshadowed the previous African American population, and contributed to the ideology that African Americans were a recent addition to the Newport landscape.

Collaborative work between the African American community, the Newport Historical Society and the Newport Restoration Foundation would do a great deal in fostering a multivocal landscape of tourism which includes African American history. This could begin a dialogue on how the image of Newport contradicts the experience of the majority of its residents. In this context, hermeneutics is useful because there is no one "meaning" of the landscape; rather our interest should be in how it was and is read by various groups of people. Looking at the landscape over time is a powerful way to discover the manipulation of space and how it relates to past ideologies and our current political, economic and racial ethos.

CONCLUSION

If the past is used to escape the present, the past will escape you – Henry Glassie

The study of family, internal structure and landscape within the late eighteenth-century African American community allows for some speculation and poses some well-defined questions for future research. First, it appears that Newport's unique situation of being heavily involved in the slave trade, sustaining urban growth up to the Revolution, being generally supportive of abolition by the middle of the eighteenth century, and having a large, clustered African American population helped create and sustain an enduring African American community. While older community leaders (Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia) and two dozen others emigrated to Africa, the community in Newport persevered under different leadership, continued to buy property, and occupy African American enclaves (see Youngken 1998). The "core" community did not change completely until the end of the nineteenth century, when the previous African American population was outnumbered by European immigrants and African Americans from southern states. Second, there appear to have been social distinctions within the African American community with clearly defined community leaders present by the late eighteenth century. These distinctions were partially based on the status of the slave-owner, the skills and education of the individual and personal wealth. It may also be the case that the African Americans that were members of the emerging middle-class may have practiced some type of stratum endogamy. Although marriage records are not abundant for this time period, it is interesting that among these individuals, at least some marriages seem to have taken place not only within the same social tier, such as the marriage of Zingo Stevens to Phyllis Lyndon (former slave of Governor Josiah Lyndon

and "co-resident" of Zingo's friend and FAUS co-founder Caesar Lyndon), but within the same enclave or neighborhood. Two of these include the marriage between Zingo Stevens' daughter and Cuff Rodman (Probate of Cuff Rodman) (also a member of the FAUS) and the marriage of Isaac Rice to the daughter of neighbor Abraham Casey (Young Armstead 1999: 29). Future research may support this hypothesis of a preference for stratum and neighborhood endogamy.

This dissertation project began as an attempt to archaeologically analyze an era of African American history. What it became is a study of how that history has *not* been told. Newport's vulgar history has been one of prosperity and a "Gilded Age" and the landscape does little to refute this public memory. As anthropologists, we have a privileged perspective with which to study the process of popular history making and the significance which lies in things forgotten (or *erased*) (Pope Melish 1998; Rose 1998: 546). However, we should not mistake our privileged perspective with a privileged voice. Research on subaltern communities may not successfully prevent the reproduction of inequalities—particularly *within* the African American community. When anthropologists and historians lump subaltern groups such as African Americans into singular units of study, we may overlook the mechanisms and ideologies of stratification within these already marginalized communities and inadvertently reproduce them in the present. For example, the African American contributors to this dissertation have generally been middle to upper-middle class African American homeowners who already engage in the study of African American history.

Newport's African American history has been largely neglected in favor of the promotion of Newport's Gilded Age for tourists and the community. Exploration of

Newport's African American history requires input from many segments of the community with varying levels of interest and knowledge. Recent attempts to include African American history in Newport have included collaborative work between the Newport Historical Society and the Newport Preservation Commission to include historic African American sites on walking tours and fellowships which encourage research on African American history. The Newport chapter of the NAACP and other African American community members hold events, post websites, and encourage school age children to explore African American history. These groups have different agendas in studying history. For example, the president of the Newport Historical Society states that "working class tourists want to see working class histories. We do mansion tours and people are more interested in the servants' quarters than the master bedroom" (Taylor 2007, personal communication). The economic power of working class and African American tourist has no doubt contributed to recent efforts to incorporate African American history into Newport's walking tours. Although there is little collaboration between the Historical Society and the contemporary African American community, both groups commonly focus on successful African Americans who were notable for their entrepreneurship, political leadership, or personal wealth.

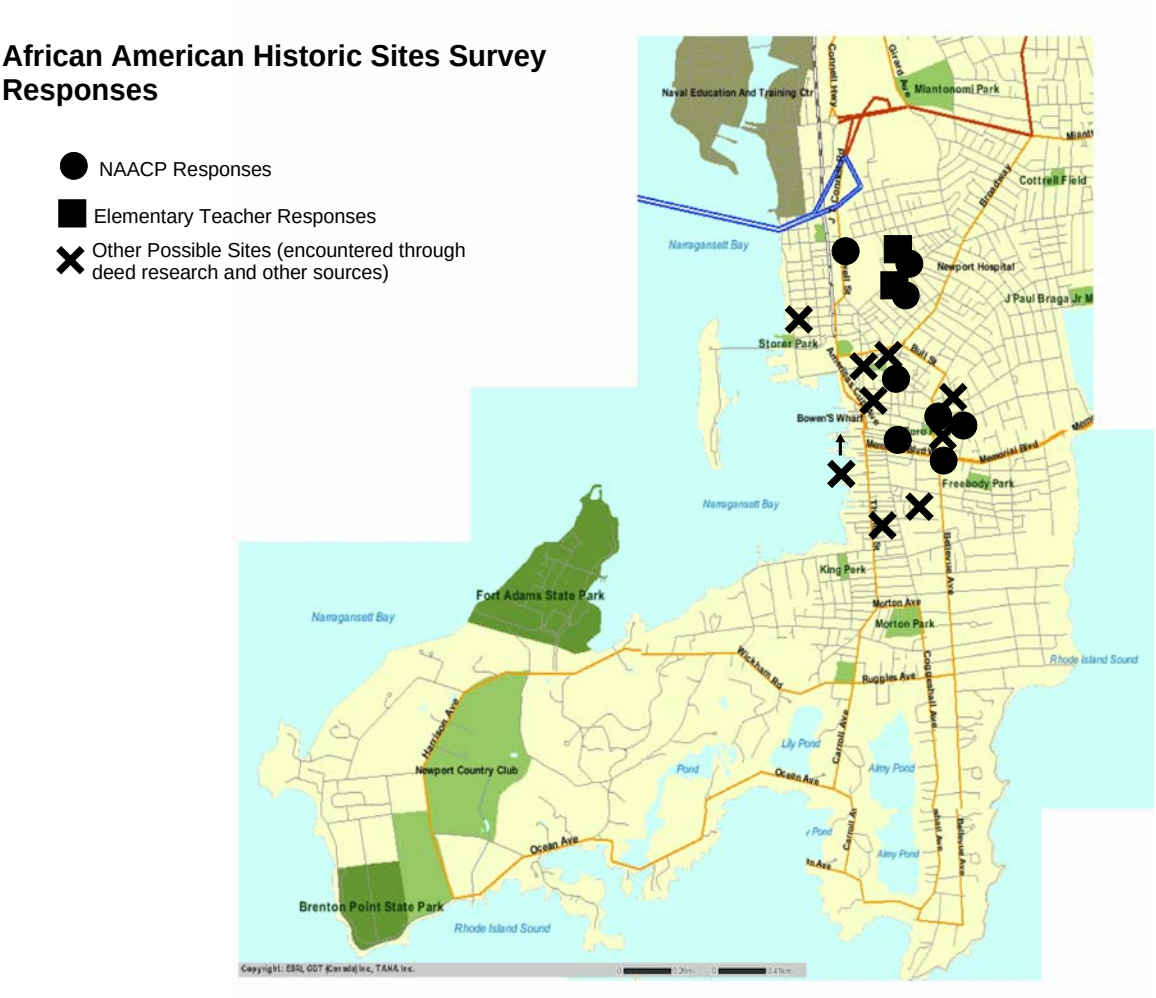
From my own experience on a walking tour of Newport, it is unlikely that tourists or residents are willing to fully engage in the more painful aspects of African American history in Newport. At Colonial Williamsburg, Camden Yards in Baltimore, and other historic sites which deal with inequality and oppression, tourists often seek a somewhat sanitized version of historical events. While African American residents in Newport and factory workers in cities may want to confront these realities and are in a unique position

possibly to better understand the historical relationship between injustices in the past and present, in general people do not necessarily want to confront the ideological significance of oppression as reflected on the historical landscape or the connections between past and present inequalities.

Unfortunately, walking tours and historic preservation efforts do little to engage most Newport *residents* in Newport History. For example, I conducted a survey of Newport public school elementary teachers to assess their knowledge of African American history in Newport. Most of the teachers are residents of Newport, and all except one is Euro American. The teachers were asked to locate and describe any historic African American site on the Newport landscape. Only one teacher in fifteen could correctly name any specific site (and it is probably this individual was African American). Results were a bit different among surveyed African Americans. Although none of the ten middle and high school children surveyed could name specific African American sites, older African American adults often named between eight and ten specific sites and could accurately describe the historical significance of sites.

Surveys were conducted among African Americans at a Newport NAACP event, and individuals who filled out surveys also expressed (to me, personally) the need for increased African American history in schooling, on the landscape, and in the public memory. This data perhaps confirms Leone's assertion that, "black people are interested in knowing how they got here, white people do not want to have that knowledge" (Leone 1995). Since there are no state or local history standards in the Rhode Island educational curriculum, collaboration between schools, residents, and historians may open up a

dialogue about specific sites on the landscape, slavery in Newport, and would serve to desegregate African American history from Newport's historical narrative.



Map 6. Difference in responses among elementary school teachers and NAACP members

Since the 1990s, several papers have been written regarding the public benefits of archaeology and community-oriented anthropology and history, particularly those which engage descendant communities (McDavid 2002; Mullins 2007; Rothschild & DiZerega Wall 2004; Shackel 2007). Each of these projects has included descendant communities as well as scholars in the research, archaeology and presentation of history.

Anthropological projects which focus on marginalized histories should test and contribute to anthropological theory, but non-anthropologists do not necessarily care whether their histories are engaged through neo-Marxism, structuralism, or hermeneutics. Therefore, as I apply particular anthropological perspectives to the development of African American community in Newport, I must also make it useful, interesting, and relatable to those who are not necessarily interested in neo-Marxism and its principles, but how these histories and events translate into their everyday, lived experience and those of their ancestors. Additionally, a dialogue must be conducted in a way in which my perspective theoretically contributes to this history, but is not the dominant, authoritative voice. I have approached African American history in a critical manner—focusing on how the past is interpreted via present ideologies and how these pasts are used to legitimize the present community structure. According to this theoretical approach, ideology does not exist just in people's heads, but has observable material and behavioral manifestations, such as landscapes, social interaction and the production of histories. The appearances created by these things fulfill the expectation of the ideology and through this affirmation, recreate and legitimate the ideology (McGuire 1995: 142). However, the current community is less interested in discussions about dialectical explorations of social contradictions, and is more interested in exploring *diasporic* connections between Newport and Africa and knowing about particular successful African American individuals. Balancing academic work with community work requires a broad knowledge of theory and the willingness to sometimes mute my own perspective in favor of collaboration.

It will likely be several years before I can fully assess which aspects of

collaborative work will be successful. McDavid and others have found that websites are successful in engaging visitors because interactive websites are open to the degree people wish to participate. However, creating democratic communication space is largely unsuccessful because those who are not necessarily interested in archaeology or history are not willing to engage in a meaningful, prolonged conversation. While educators find websites useful and relevant, McDavid's website did not encourage those not involved in history and archaeology. McDavid also found that multivocal communication was very difficult, perhaps because the authority of the sciences is too embedded in the public mind for visitors to contest the findings of history and archaeology (McDavid 2002: 311).

It remains to be seen whether this project on Newport history and others will truly engage or change history and public memory in Newport when its vulgar history is so engrained in the memories of tourists and residents. For example, the Stokes family, with the help of various scholars and community members, has created a website which explores African American history in Newport. Questions for their project may include; Who has knowledge of and views the website (teachers, residents, tourists, etc.)? How is the website used (i.e. for school projects, for public outreach, etc.), and how can individuals with family histories or knowledge contribute to the website? How will this project ultimately serve to tell the history of African Americans in Newport to the public?

Additionally, to be truly critical and self-reflexive, I must consider my own motives in reconstructing that history—as a woman, as an African American, as a Newport native, as a member of the middle class, and as an anthropologist. For the first four categories, I am perhaps, most interested in representing that the early African American community was cohesive, organized, motivated, and politically conscious.

However as an anthropologist, I acknowledge that the control of group memory and presentation of history is ultimately a question of power (Shackel 2001: 656). Outside of academia, it is most often the African American middle class which provides the impetus for historical research on African Americans. The late 1990s and early 2000s generated many articles and texts on the African American "elite" and African American consumer culture (Lee 2005; Mullins 1999; Winch). While the public is most interested in African American success stories—which are both less painful histories and conform to our capitalist ideologies regarding personal property and wealth—as anthropologists we should theoretically explore whether the promotion of such histories reproduce inequalities within the African American community and mask the mechanisms of racial, gender, and class inequalities among African Americans.

By studying the homesteads of African American property owners in Revolutionary Era Newport do I continue to reproduce inequalities on the landscape by neglecting the sites of tenement dwellers, those who continued to live in Euro American households, and transient free African Americans who were undoubtedly a larger segment of the African American population? By utilizing the documents of the Free African Union Society to explore community interaction within the African American community, I cannot account for the perspective of women, who were not members (though they had their own auxiliary groups), as well as those who could not afford to pay yearly dues. In exploring this history, and by collaboratively working with those in the African American middle-class and upper middle-class, do I continue to reproduce class inequalities *within* the African American community? For example, one African American Newport resident stated to me, "White people use their history to claim this

country as theirs…as a sense of entitlement. Black people should use history in the same way" (anonymous, personal communication). I question whether this individual feels this way because his ancestors were clearly influential—members of Newport's "Black Elite?" Would this individual feel "empowered" by their history if their ancestors were day-laborers or transients? By privileging the voice of African Americans "of note" in the past and present do I and others contribute to the continued suppression of day-laborers, women, and other voiceless African Americans in history and in the present? The above issues require theoretical exploration and further point to the fact that I do not have a privileged voice in the presentation of the past of this community, but I am rather "one actor in a conversation which allows space for alternative truth claims" (McDavid 2002: 306). At the very least, I have, with others, striven to provide an alternative history, which begins with a class during the era of its creation, one which I hope will "link [a] disenfranchised group(s) and pierce ideology…one which may provoke some viewers into a heightened consciousness of their own positions (Leone 1995: 254).

The data which was analyzed for this dissertation points to the development of a free African American community in Newport during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. During the late eighteenth century, African Americans were purchasing property, acting as producers and consumers, adapting formal mechanisms of social organization, and negotiating their identities as members of an African American "community" which was becoming increasingly socially stratified. As the nineteenth century opened, African Americans in Newport became increasingly politically active through the Free African Union Society, and attempted to independently create community banking, schools and apprenticeships for children, and care for the aged and

infirm. This community was at the same time a group of people working toward common goals and a group of people fragmented by individual agendas. The emigration of 26 individuals to Liberia likely marked the end of a period in which a number of individuals believed themselves to be truly African, and signaled the transition to an era in which African *Americans* struggled to define where they fit into the landscape of Newport, North America, and the world.

Many texts on African Americans in Newport end with the biographies of prominent African Americans from Newport. I will end this dissertation with an appendix of names and families and available information on *all* Newport African Americans I have encountered in my research from the years 1774-1826.

APPENDIX I: DATABASE OF NAMES

All entries, including births, deaths, court records, and marriages are for the town of Newport unless otherwise noted.

All persons in this database were enumerated or noted as "black," "coloured," or "negro" unless otherwise noted. I realize there may have been ideological differences or identity politics involved with the differences in the above terminology, but due to the inconsistency and individual idiosyncrasies in the use of racial terminology, I have opted to omit the above three terms. However, the 1782 census list individuals as Black, Mulatto, and Indian, which will be noted below.

Newport slaves were called "servant" based on the ideology of the patriarchal family as noted in the Bible. I have chosen to use term "servant" to be consistent with primary documents; however, note that these individuals were in fact *enslaved*, legally bound in lifelong servitude unless their master chose to manumit them. Servants will be noted as such, all others are assumed free at time of census or enumeration.

Some slaves were also listed as heads of a household on the census, this is documented below

If no surname is given for a slave, they are listed under the name of the slave owner. Although not always the case, slaves were often given the surname of the master of the house (again, based upon the model of the Biblical patriarchal family).

Some marriage dates are assumed from the birth date of children. This may not always be an accurate way to pinpoint a legal marriage as some likely married after the birth of children or did not marry at all. I chose to use this date however, because the birth of a child at least dates a relationship.

Information from census documents is taken from Newport in census years 1774, 1782, 1790, 1800, 1810, and 1820 only

Abbreviations:

ABS- African Benevolent Society

CD – 1858 Newport City Directory

CL RIHS – Caesar Lyndon Accounts and Diaries (available at the Rhode Island Historical Society)

FAUS – Free African Union Society Proceedings, 1780-1824 (Robinson 1976)

GLA – God's Little Acre, the African American section of the common burial ground in Newport. The information cited as GLA is credited to the photos and listings on colonialcemetery.com, which is maintained by the Stokes family of Newport, RI.

ND – Newport Deeds

NP – Newport Probate Records

RI GA – Documents of the Rhode Island General Assembly

QM – Society of Friends listing of Manumissions from Newport, RI

FINAL NOTE: This listing is by no means "complete" and does not represent extensive genealogical research, but rather is a compilation of names and families I have encountered in the course of my research. I encourage others to utilize and add to this database for public benefit.

ALL

JUDETH, servant of _____, admitted to Second Congregational Church, Newport in 1775 (Arnold 1896)

Children of Judeth All:

i. Flora, admitted to Second Congregational Church 1775
ii. Phyllis, admitted to Second Congregational Church 1775

ALLEN

ABBY, 1820 census lists 3 in household including 1 female 36-55, 1 female 55-100, 1 female 100+

ANN, 1810 census lists 3 in household

ALLMAN

FRANCIS, 1820 census lists 3 in household including 2 males 26-45, 1 female 26-45

ALMY/ALMEY/AMY

ALICE, b. 1781, Portsmouth RI, m. MR. BARKER, d. 1858 (Beaman)

CATHARINE, b. 1708, m. HURRICAN DUNBAR, d. 1743 (GLA)

CATO alias CATO COOK, b. ca. 1720, d. 1763; servant of Job Almy, servant of Silas Cook (cemetery)

JAMES, b. 1740, m. REBECCA FOLGER in 1775 (Arnold 1896); May be the same James Amie carried off by the British in 1779; Listed as a "stout fellow" aged 39 and bound to Port Mattoon (RI GA).

JOB, b. ca. 1733, servant of _____, baptized 1769 (Arnold 1896)

PRINCE, m. BYNAH prior to 1774, 1789 member of FAUS, 4th representative and Justice of the Peace in FAUS. 1790 census lists Prince Almey with 6 in household, 1800 census lists 5 in household

Children of Prince and Bynah:

i. Prince, b. 1774, d. 1778 (GLA)

ROSE, servant of Capt. Benjamin Almy, baptized 1771 (Arnold 1896)

ANDERSON

PAUL, 1790 census lists 3 in household

ANTHONY

ISAAC, in 1732 Isaac was sued by Benjamin Stanton for providing false documents for 2 runaways (Fiske). In the same case, he is noted as a "mulatto" and a free "laborer."

JENNY, 1774 census lists one in household

EDWARD, alias GEORGE, mulatto, soldier, d. intestate 1793, Town Treasurer administrator of estate (NP 2: 294-397)

ARMSTRONG

CAESAR, 1820 census lists 6 in household, including 1male 14-25, 1male 26-45, 3 females under 14, and 1 female 26-45; 2 listed as engaged in agriculture.

PETER, lived on N. Side of Negro Lane (Pope St.) prior to 1853

AUBRY/AUBREY

Pedro, listed as father of THOMAS in cemetery (GLA)

Children of Pedro Aubry

i. Thomas, b. 1770, d. 1773

AYRAULT

BETSEY, 1800 census lists 4 in household

BABCOCK

ISAAC, m. PHEBE before 1838, may be the same Isaac who was member of ABS in 1808 (Battle). Phebe was a charter name for the Colored Union Church, est. 1824 (Battle).

Children of ISAAC and PHEBE
i. MARY ELIZABETH, b. 1838
ii. SARAH JANE, b. 1843

JANE, 1801 census lists 1 in household

JOB, m. EMILY before 1825 (Beaman)

Children of Job and Emily:
i. FRANCIS, b. 1825; m. MR. CHURCH, d. 1858
ii. SARAH, b. 1820, m. MR. MARSH, d. 1863

BACCHUS

Nancy, 1782 census lists 1 in household

BAILEY/BAILY/BAYLE

HAGAR, had child who d. 1753 with JACK CARR (GLA). May be the same Jack Carr a.k.a. Sango Carr who m. Violet before 1774 (RI Census; see listing for Jack Carr below).

PRIMUS, 1810 census lists 5 in household

PRINCE, listed on FAUS rolls (Robinson 1976), 1790 census lists 3 in household, 1800 census lists 4 in household. 1820 census lists 6 in household, including 2 males 14-25, 2 males 26-45, 1 male 45+, 1 female 45+

BANNER

FRANKEY, slave of Edward Banner, buried with JUDEY BANNER, both d. 1732 (GLA)

BANNISTER

CAESAR, 9-10-1764 Newport Mercury runaway ad lists him as "35 years old, a well set fellow stoops forward remarkably when he walks. Speaks good English for one of his colour"

PERO, 1774 census lists 3 in household, 1782 census lists 3 in household, 1790 census lists 7 in household, 1800 census lists 4 in household.

BARBATT

HULDAH, servant of widow (Barbatt?). Admitted to 2nd Congregational Church in 1739 (Arnold 1896)

BARCLAY
NANCY, 1820 census lists 2 in household

BARKER

ALFRED, m. ELIZABETH BARKER (her maiden name was Barker) before 1838

Children of Alfred and Elizabeth Barker:
i. Margie Almy Barker "tan" b. 1838 (Beaman)

CATO, 1800 census lists 1 in household

PETER, m. MOLL BARKER a servant of Robert Barker. Moll d. 1723
URANIA, a.k.a RANEY b. 1753; daughter of JUDAH HAZARD and LAMBO WANTON. Urania was b. in Newport, where mother had kin. Subsequently left and moved back to Newport (Raney's owner, William Barker allowed her to work for a family there). This is also the time Judah is documented as having a relationship with Lambo Wanton. Judah and Lambo fled town during British occupation of 1776. 1780 Judah and Raney became inmates in the Providence workhouse, possibly because Lambo was away at sea. They were warned back to N. Kingstown and W. Greenwich respectively (Herndon).

BARNES

GEORGE, b. 1732, carried off by British in 1779. Listed as a feeble fellow aged 47 bound for Spithead and Germany (RI GA)

BARNETT

ANNA, 1800 census lists 1 in household

BARTHOLOMEW

CAESAR, in 1758, Caleb Gardner of Newport, shopkeeper, vs. Cesar Bartholomew, a Negro man late residing in Newport, mariner, for debt due by book (Fiske)

BEARD

BESS, 1774 census lists 2 in household.

BEEBE

BUSH, 1790 census lists 2 in household

BELAIN

PETER, b. 1777, West Indies. Sailed on ship Eagle out of Newport in 1805 at age 28 (Putney 1987)

BENNET/BENNETT/BENNIT

PETER, 1820 census lists 5 in household, including 2 males under 14, 1 male 26-45, 1female 26-45, 1 female 45+

PHILLIS, 1800 census lists 3 in household

JAMES, 1790 census lists 2 in household

BENSON

CUFFE, m. PHEBE FLAGG before 1801 (GLA, Beaman), joined FAUS in 1797 (Robinson 1976), 1800 census lists 4 in household

Children of Cuffe and Phebe Flagg

i. MARGARET, b. 1801, d. 1802 (GLA)
ii. MARY ANN, d. 1801 (GLA)
iii. MARY JANE, b. 1811, d. 1863 (Beaman)

BOLER

ARTHER, b. ca. 1744, carried off by British in 1779 bound to Port Mattoon. Listed as Stout Fellow aged 35 (RI GA)

PHEBE, b. ca. 1744, carried off by British in 1779 bound to Port Mattoon. Listed as Ordinary Wench aged 35 (RI GA)

BOLES

JOSEPH, 1790 census lists 3 in household

BONNER/BONNAH

CAESAR, a.k.a. Sesar, 1810 census lists 7 in household. 1820 census lists 3 in household, including 1 male 26-45, 1 female 26-45, 1 female 45+, lived in William/Levin St. neighborhood, stepfather of ISAAC RICE

BOURNE

SHARPER, 1790 census lists 4 in household

BOSS/BOURSE/BOURS

ABRAHAM, may be the A.B. buried in the common cemetery, m. SARAH JACOB who d. 1774 (GLA)

BELLA, 1810 census lists 2 in household

CATO, enlisted in 1st RI Regiment at Newport during Revolutionary War (Greene 1952)

CUFFE, b. 1725, d. 1760 (GLA)

WILLIAM, 1790 census lists 6 in household

BOWLER

ADAM, b. 1734, d. 1777 servant of Metcalf Bowler (GLA)

BOWERS

QUAM, 1790 census lists 2 in household, 1800 census lists 2 in household, 1810 census lists 3 in household, appears on 1790 FAUS rolls (Robinson 1976).

BRENTON

AMBOY, had dau. Jenny, b. 1771, d. 1774 (GLA)

LONDON, runaway ad 12-30-1765; he was believed to have been hiding in town (Newport Mercury)

PEG, d. 1760 (GLA)

BRIGGS

ZEBALON, 1820 census lists 5 in household, including 2 males under 14, 1 male 26-45, 1 female under 14, 1 female 26-45

BRIGHTMAN

CATO, m. MARY before 1799

Children of Cato and Mary Brightman:

i. CATO, b. 1803, d. 1858
ii. CLARISSA, b. 1799 (Tiverton), d. 1883 (Providence) (Beaman)

CATO, son of Cato and Mary Brightman, m. Elizabeth (Beaman)

Children of Cato and Elizabeth Brightman:

i. GEORGE WILLIAM
ii. HENRY F

BRINDLEY/BRINLEY

ANN, dau. of Peter and Barry Malbone, b. 1737, d. 1762 (GLA)

CATO, b. 1704, d. 1774, slave of Mr. Brindley, headstone suggests conversion to Christianity (GLA)

POMPEY, b. 1779, m. ESTHER before 1806; d. 1813, 1810 4 in household, lived in Levin St. area (Youngken); Death notice in mercury 2/13/1813 calls Pompey "A Worthy and Respectable Black" (Mercury); Esther on 1820 census as head of household which had 3 females under 14, 2 females 26-45

Children of Pompey and Esther Brindley:

i. ROSANNA, b. 1806, m. ROBERT WATSON (Beaman)

BROWN

BESS, m. _____, 1782 census lists 3 (black) in household.

Children of _____ And Bess:
- i. HANNAH m. TONEY JOHNSON before 1793
- ii. PHILIS m. JEREMIAH BROWNING before 1793 (Beaman)

Bess owned property "New Town" (West Broadway/Marcus Wheatland vicinity) which she gave to daughter Phillis and allowed daughter Hannah Johnson, who separated from husband Toney Johnson to have use of (but not to rent), a part of the house in her 1794 will (NP2:353). Toney, his wife and daughter were warned out to New York in 1783 (NP 1:145). It is possible that Hannah and her daughter returned. Probate also mentions grandson GEORGE JOHNSON and granddaughter SALLY FARBER

CAESAR, charter name for Colored Union Church est. 1824 (Battle)

CUPID, alias Cupit, m. MARGARET ROMES (Beaman); he is mentioned in a series of letters between Caesar Lyndon and Kingston Pease in 1794. Confusion over whether house of Pease was to be rented to Brown upon repair. Admitted to FAUS in 1791 (Robinson 1976)

DAVID, m. SARAH before 1788, 1810 census lists 3 in household of David Brown (see entry below—unclear whether these are the same person)

Children of David and Sarah Brown:
- i. DIANNA, b. 1788, m. Mr. Weeden, widow, d. 1861 (Beaman)

DAVID, m. LUCY COOK in 1808 (Arnold 1896)

HANNAH, dau. of _____ and Bess Brown, m. TONEY JOHNSON before 1793 (NP)

Children of Hannah and Toney Johnson:
- i. George

HERCULES, b. 1732, slave in household of Capt. John Brown, d. 1762 (GLA)

JAMES, m. LOUISA before 1837, 1820 census lists 8 in household, including 3 males under 14, 1 male 26-45, 3 females under 14, 1 female 26-45

Children of James and Louisa Brown:
- i. HENRY, b. 1837

NEWPORT, 1810 census lists 5 in household

QUAMINE, b. 1686, d. 1756 (GLA)

QUASH, in 1746 Mr. Brown was paid 12" for 1 day of Quash's work (Sloop Molly register, RI HS)

ROSE, b. 1739, d. 1752 (GLA)

SAMUEL, 1790 census lists 6 in household

SCIPIO, m. Asher who b. 1687, d. 1744 (GLA)

SHARP, 1790 census lists 2 in household, 1800 census lists 2 in household

VALENTINE, 1774 census lists 6 in household, 1782 census lists 1 (black) in household.

JEREMIAH, m. PHILIS BROWN before 1793 (Beaman)

BROWNELL

SUSANNAH, 1820 census lists 2 in household

BUCKMASTER

WISKEE, WISHE, servant of George Buckmaster admitted to first Congregational Church in 1774 (Arnold 1896). 1800 census lists 1 in household

BULL

CAMBRIDGE, b. 1713, d. 1768 (GLA)

JEMIMA, b. 1753, listed as carried off by British in 1779, listed as a Stout Wench B[lack] aged 26 bound for Port Roseway (RI GA)

Children of Jemima (all carried off by British in 1779):

i. PHILIP, b. 1766, Listed as a Fine Boy B[lack] aged 13 bound for Port Roseway (RI GA)
ii. MILLIA, b. 1773, Listed as a Fine Wench M[ulatto] aged 6 bound for Port Roseway (RI GA)
iii. CAESAR, b. 1778, Listed as aged 1 bound for Port Roseway with Mother Jemima (RI GA)

KATHARINE, b. ca. 1751, servant of Henry Bull, Esq., d. 1766 (GLA)

MILLIE, b. 1749, servant of Henry Bull, Esq., d. 1765 (GLA)

PHILIS, had child with DOMINE DYER (GLA)

BURKE

JOSEPH, 1820 census lists 2 in household, including 1 male 26-45, 1 female 26-45

BURR

JACK mentioned as son of Bacchus Overing in Bacchus Overing probate (**NP**).

BURROUGHS

JOHN, enlisted in 1st RI Regiment at Newport (Greene 1952)

POMPEY, 1790 census lists 2 in household, 1789 FAUS member (Robinson 1976); 1800 census lists 2 in household

BUTCHER

HECTOR, b. 1683 Barbados, slave of Ann Butcher, d. 1720 (GLA)

CADMAN

ROBIN, 1790 census lists 2 in household, 1800 census lists 2 in household

CAHOON/CAHOONE

FISHERMAN, b. 1738, d. 1760 (GLA)

FORTIN, b. 1717, d. 1749 (GLA)

FORTUNE, 1800 census lists 3 in household

FLORA, 1820 census lists 5 in household, including 2 females 2 females under 14, 2 females 14-25, 1 female 45+

THOMAS, 1810 census lists 3 in household

CANTERBERRY

STEPHEN, charter member in the establishment of the Colored Union Church (est. 1824) (Battle)

CARDEN

DIANA, b. ca 1755, carried off by British in 1779, listed as “ordinary wench” age 24, bound for St. Johns (RI GA)

CAREY

AMOS, b. 1734, carried off by British in 1779, listed as "Stout Fellow" age 45 bound for Port Roseway (RI GA)

CARPENTER

CATO, 1790 census lists 2 in household

CARR

BRISTOW, mentioned in 1739 will of Caleb Carr (Fiske)

CLARA, 1800 census lists 7 in household

HANNAH, mentioned in 1693/4 will of Caleb Carr (Fiske)

JENNY, mentioned in 1736 will of Peleg Carr, inventoried at £100

Children of Jenny:

i. CHLOE, mentioned in will of Peleg Carr, inventoried at £50

NEWPORT, 1789 FAUS member (Robinson 1976)

SANGO, alias JACK, m. VIOLET, alias VILUT 1774 census lists 5 in household. May be the same Jack Carr who had a child with HAGER BAILEY, child d. 1753 (GLA)

Children of Sango and Violet:

i. CUFFE, b. 1745, d. 1745 (GLA)
ii. TOM, b. 1746, d. 1747 (GLA)
iii. ELLIK, b. 1749, d. 1750 (GLA)
iv. NANCY, b. 1753, d. 1754 (GLA)

CASEY

ABRAHAM, came to Newport from Narragansett (Franklin), carpenter, founding member of FAUS in 1780 (society was founded in his home), fined that same year by society for infrequent attendance. Home on located Levin St. (Robinson, Youngken). 1774 census lists 9 in household, 1782 census lists 6 in household—5 mulatto and 1 black, 1790 census lists 5 in household, 1800 census lists 5, 1810 census lists 3.
Children of Abraham and _____

i. SARAH, m. ISAAC RICE
ii. MARY, m. _____ CONNOR (Beaman)

JEREMY, 1800 census lists 2 in household.

CESAR, CAESAR

EBENEZER, 1774 census lists 3 in household

CHALLONER/CHALONER

CHARLES, "mulatto," m. HANNAH, Founding member of FAUS, lived in Levin St. area (Youngken) treasurer, President of FAUS in 1797 (Robinson, Franklin); 1790 census lists 6 in household, 1800 census lists 4 in household, 1810 census lists 8 in households, 1820 census lists 8 in household, including 3 males under 14, 2 males 14-25, 1 male 45+, 1 female under 14, 1 female 26-45.

Children of Hannah and Charles Challoner:

i. HANNAH, b. 1773, d. 1855, "mulatto", Charter name in the establishment of the Colored Union Church (est. 1824) (Arnold 1896)
ii. FRANCIS, FRANK, b. 1778, d. 1865

CUDJO/CUDGE, 1774 census lists 8 in household, 1789 FAUS member (Robinson 1976); 1790 census lists 3 in household

FRANCIS/FRANK, b. 1778, m. MARGARET (NP) d. 1865, 1810 census lists 3 in household, 1820 census lists 4 in household, including 2 males under 14, 1 male 26-45, 1 female 26-45; mariner (ND)/Laborer (CD), ca.

1790, purchased property on "the Point" (Second St.) which was foreclosed on in 1823. He later moved to the Levin St. area (Youngken) Will and probate on file, valued at $453.15 (1865 NP).

Children of Francis and Margaret Challoner:
i. SUSAN, m. Manual Fenner (NP)

PHILLIS, m. JOHN WEEDEN before 1809

CHAMPLIN

FREELOVE, charter name in establishment of Colored Union Church, est. 1824 (Battle)

JOHN, son of JOSEPH, m. KATE (Beaman)

Children of John and Kate:
i. THOMAS JOSEPH, b. 1822, d. 1884 (Beaman)

PRINCE, mariner; m. LYDIA; d. 1803 estate inventoried at $90.07 (NP 4:49, 52)

SHARPER, enlisted in 1st RI Regiment at Newport (Greene 1952); listed as a pensioner in 1790, receiving 41'1'5 (NM)

CHANNING

DUCHESS, b. 1739, m. JOHN QUAMINO; renowned pastry chef and servant to William Ellery Channing, manumitted 1780; d. 1804; gravestone reads "A Free Black; of distinguished excellence: Intelligent, Industrious, Affectionate, Honest and of Exemplary Piety (GLA)

BETTEY, see under QUAMINO/QUAMINEE/QUAMINE

CHAVERS, CHAVOUS

AARON, sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826

JAMES, sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826

JOHN, sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826

Children of John and _____:
i. JOHN, JR. sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826

SARAH, sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826

SAMUEL, sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826

CHILD

VENTURE, VENTER, m. SABIN (GLA), 1774 census lists 2 in household

Children of Venture and Sabin:
i. ANN, b. 1748, d. 1750

CHURCH

QUAMANCE, servant of Capt. Benjamin Church, admitted to 1st Congregational Church in 1765 (Arnold 1896). This may be the same person as JOHN QUAMINO, see under QUAMINO/QUAMINEE/QUAMINE

THOMAS, b. 1825 N. Smithfield of AARON & EMELINE KUCKLING (Arnold 1896), m. MARY ROGER SEIXAS (Beaman)

CLARK

CHARLES, 1810 census lists 3 in household, resident of "the Point" (appears next to Quash Mowatt on 1810 census) (ND)

ELIZABETH, sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826

FRANCIS, sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826

HENRY, 1820 census lists 6 in household, including 3 males under 14, 1 male 45+, 1 female under 14, 1 female 45+, mentioned in 1825 deed of Quash Mowatt, grantor corner Second St. and Willow. Henry listed as "Free black man mariner", and Charlotte Clark his wife, and Harriet Mowatt, coloured people of said Newport for $40 granted land to Henry Bliven (ND). Clark may have been in Mowatt's household or vice versa. Appears the land was sold just prior to emigration to Liberia. Clark sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826 (Battle).

JAMES, 1820 census lists 3 in household, including 1 male 26-45, 1 male 45+, and 1 female 45+; lived in the Levin St. area (Youngken)

NERO, m. PHILIS CLARK before 1740

Children of Nero and Philis:

i. SUBINER, b. 1740, d. 1759 (GLA)

THOMAS, sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826 (Battle)

CODDINGTON

JACK, enlisted in 1st RI Regiment at Newport (Greene 1952)

COGGESHALL

BACCHUS, m. ANNE; apparently had some dealings with the FAUS, listed as a "Freeholder and not belonging to the African Union Society," Bacchus signed a letter sent by the society to the Philadelphia Free African Society (Robinson 1976); 1790 census lists 3 in household, 1800 census lists 5 in household; d. 1808 (NP), estate inventoried at $138 (NP). Anne maintains property, listed as head of household on 1810 census and leaves will in which she leaves property to niece HOPE COGGESHALL and Hope's husband CUFF SIMMONS (NP 1818).
1810 Census lists Anne Coggeshall with 3 in household.

BRISTOL, servant of Nathaniel Coggeshall, Jr. admitted to 1st Congregational Church in 1768 (Arnold 1896); m. JENNY prior to 1781; 1782 census lists 6 (black) in household

Children of Jenny and Bristol:

i. PHYLLIS, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1774 (Arnold 1896)
ii. JENNY, b? d. prior to 1781 (Arnold 1896)
iii. JENNY, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1781 (Arnold 1896)

CAESAR, manumitted from James Coggeshall in 1775 was in household with other slaves including MORIAH and HULDAH who were manumitted the same year (QM)

CASH, 1782 census lists 3 (black) in household

CATO, m _____; servant of Deacon Coggeshall; admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1771 (Arnold 1896)

Children of Cato and _____:

i. ABRAHAM, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1771 (Arnold 1896)
ii. CATO, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1771 (Arnold 1896)

iii. ISAAC, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1771 (Arnold 1896)
iv. SARAH, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1771 (Arnold 1896)

DINAH, m. SHARPER ELLERY

HOPE, m. CUFF SIMMONS, niece of Anne & Bacchus Coggeshall

HULDAH, manumitted from James Coggeshall in 1775 was in household with other slaves including CAESAR and MORIAH who were manumitted the same year (QM)

JANE, b. 1736, m. POMPEY TOWNSEND, d. 1760 (GLA)

JANE, RI court records state, Jane, slave of Daniel Coggeshall of Newport, in 1777 fled from British, was brought to General Assembly and given freedom, has lived in Woodstock and Providence and maintained herself "decently." Heirs of Daniel Coggeshall claimed her as a slave and Jane specifically referenced Quaco Honeyman case (Bartlett)

LONDON, 1790 census lists 1 in household; m. JOANNA JACKSON 1792 (Arnold 1896)

MORIAH (alias MARIA), b. 1721; manumitted from James Coggeshall in 1775 was in household with other slaves including CAESAR and HULDAH who were manumitted the same year (QM), 1800 census lists 3 in household, 1810 census lists 3 in household, d. 1821 .

COLE

CAESAR, soldier d. intestate 1793, Town Treasurer named as administrator of estate (NP 2:294-327)

COLLINS

BARREY (aka BURRY, BYER), 1790 census lists 2 in household, 1800 census lists 4 in household, 1810 census lists 2 in household; lived on S. side of Bowery St. (ND 18:356)

EDWARD, d. 1753, servant of Henry Collins (GLA)

HANNIBAL, b. on Governor Collins' farm; Enlisted in Navy during war of 1812, m. MEHITABLE HIX (HITTY); charter name for Colored Union Church est. 1824 (Battle); 1820 census lists 6 in household incl. 3 males under 14, 1 male 26-45, 1 female under 14, 1 female 26-45; lived in Levin St. area (Youngken)

Children of Hannibal and Mehitable:

i. LUCINDA, admitted to 1st Congregational Church in 1820 (Arnold 1896)
ii. HANNIBAL, admitted to 1st Congregational Church in 1820 (Arnold 1896)

JOB, 1810 census lists 7 in household, 1820 census lists 5 in household, including 1male under 14, 1 male 14-25, 1 male 26-45, 1 female under 14, 1 female 26-45

OBOUR, 1820 census lists 1 in household (male 45+)

OLIVE, in 1809, President of Women's Auxiliary African Benevolent Society (Battle)

PEG

Children of Peg and _____:

i. Phillis, b. 1710, d. 1738, servant to Mrs. Ann Sabear (GLA)

PEGG, 1782 census lists 7 in household, including 3 Indian, 4 black

PRIMUS, m. ELIZABETH (GRAY?) before 1801 (Beaman)

Children of Primus and Elizabeth:

i. LUCY, b. 1801, d. 1893 (Beaman)

SAMUEL, m. ELIZABETH HICKS 1819 (Arnold 1896); 1820 census lists 3 in household, including 1 male 14-25, 1 female 14-25, 1 female 26-45

SEBINA, 1810 census lists 7 in household

THOMAS, m. RAHAMA NOYES (a runaway from Stonington, CT) in 1808 (Arnold 1896)

VITEL, 1810 census lists 2 in household

CONNER, CONNOR

MARY, 1820 census lists 4 in household, including 1 female 45+, 2 females 14-25, 1 male 45+; d. 1839 (Beaman)

SARAH ANN, m. ISAAC HILL 1817 (Arnold 1896)

COOK

CATO, see CATO ALMY

LUCY, m. DAVID BROWN 1808 (Arnold 1896)

COTTON

AMOS, 1774 census lists 8 in household

CRANSTON

CATO, m. PHYLIS RIVERA (servant to Jacob Rodriguez Rivera); servant to Thomas Cranston (GLA), d. 1766

CATO, FAUS member (Robinson 1976)

JACK, b. ca. 1728, d. 1772 (GLA)

MARGARET, b. 1697, d. 1779, servant of Gov. Cranston; headstone contains African Proverb, An old woman is always uneasy when dry bones are mentioned in a proverb." (GLA)

PETER, servant to Aaron Lopes; m. PHILLIS RIVERA (servant in Jacob Rodriguez Rivera household) (GLA)

CUMMINGS

PRINCE, 1774 census lists 2 in household

D'LYMA

SARAH, 1809 Secretary of Women's Auxiliary to African Benevolent Society (Battle)

DANZELL

JAMES, 1820 census lists 7 in household, including 2 males under 14, 1 male 26-45, 3 females under 14, 1 female 26-45

DAVIS

JACK, alias JOHN, manumitted from Crary & Sons 1799 (QM); 1810 census lists 2 in household, 1820 census list 2 in household, including 1 male 45+, 1 female 45+

DEAN

MARY, m. JOHN WILLIAMS 1818 (Arnold 1896)

DENJERON

JOSEPH, 1774 census lists 2 in household

DIMDRET

SAMUEL, alias, ISHMAEL, 3/25/1775 Ran away in 1775 "6'3" high, a remarkable good fiddler, has great nostrils and mouth, steps large and Loping (NM)

DOCKRAY

MARGARET, 1790 census lists 3 in household

DREW

CUFFEE, 1789 FAUS member, elected 5th Representative (Robinson 1976); 1790 census lists 2 in household

DUNBAR, DUNBER

HURRICAN, m. CATHARINE ALMY (GLA)

ROBIN, b. ca. 1702, d. 1742 (GLA)

QUASH, b. ca. 1700, d. 1770 (GLA)

DUNCAN

JAMES, 1782 census lists 4 (black) in household

DUPUY

AMY, 1782 census lists 6 (black) in household

DURNIER

MOSES, 3/25/1775 "Ran away…4'7" high, well-set fellow of yellow complexion with a bushy head of hair, somewhat different from a negro, speaks exceedingly good English, had on…a new felt hat and a blue cape, a red duffel great coat and a green ratten jacket (NP)

DYER

BETSEY, 1810 census lists 6 in household; ELIZABETH DYER, alias ELIZABETH WAMSLEY, sued for her freedom 1772 in Stonington, CT (Fiske)

Children of Elizabeth Wamsley:

i. HENRY WAMSLEY (Fiske)

DICK, mentioned in 1716 lawsuit William Dyre vs. Joseph Sawdy for "1 gal rum by Negro Dick" (Fiske)

DOMINE, had child with PHILLIS BULL (GLA)

Children of Domine Dyre and Phillis Bull:

i. DOMINE
ii. JANE, d. 1740 (GLA)

GEORGE, mentioned in 1716 lawsuit William Dyre vs. Joseph Sawdy for "1 gal rum by Negro George" (Fiske)

JAMES, 1774 census lists 10 in household, 1782 census lists 7 (black) in household; apparently had some dealings with the FAUS, listed as a "Freeholder and not belonging to the African Union Society," James signed a letter sent by the society to the Philadelphia Free African Society (Robinson 1976)

JEREMIAH, b. 1759, carried off by British in 1779, listed as Tall and Stout, with 2 children aged 12 and 5, bound for St. John's (RI GA)

KATY, b. 1754, carried off by British in 1779, listed as Stout Mulatto Wench aged 25 bound for St. John's (RI GA)

SARAH, 1810 census lists 2 in household

EASTON

ABRAHAM, 1800 census lists 2 in household, 1810 census lists 1 in household

BRISTOL, had child with SILVA HOLMES

Children of Bristol and Silva:

i. JAMES (GLA)

CATO, m. CYNTHIA before 1801 (Beaman); 1810 census lists 4 in household; probate and inventory on file for Cato in 1812 (NP 5:92-3) valued at $622.62; Nathaniel Sweet (merchant) appointed guardian of Cynthia, Jane and Alexander

Children of Cato and Cynthia:

i. JANE, b. 1801, m. JOHN HOWE before 1836 (Beaman)
ii. ALEXANDER, b. 1806, m. CAROLINE before 1829, d. 1876

ALEXANDER, b, 1806, m. CAROLINE, d. 1876; lived in the Levin St. area (Youngken)

Children of Alexander and Caroline:

i. CYNTHIA, b. 1829, m. Mr. Smith (Beaman)
ii. CHARLES, b. 1839
iii. ALEXANDER, JR. b. 1841
iv. JOSEPH T.C., b. 1847

JOHN, m. JANE before 1836 (Beaman)

Children of John and James:

i. ANNA WILLIAMS, b. 1836, m. JOHN HOWE, d. 1902 (Beaman)

MINGO, 1774 census lists 3 in household

NEWPORT, manumitted from Jonathan Easton 1778 (QM); 1800 census lists 6 in household, 1820 census lists 4 in household including 1 male 45+, 1 female under 14, 1 female 14-25, 1 female 45+

SAMUEL, 1782 census lists 2 (black) in household, 1789 FAUS member (Robinson 1976); 1790 census lists 5 in household

VITTEL, 1810 census lists 1 in household

ELDRIDGE

ICHABOD, m. MARY before 1834 (Beaman)

Children of Ichabod and Mary:

i. EMILY, b. 1834

PEGGY, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1805 (Arnold 1896)

ELLERY

HENRIETTA (RITTER), (Mason)

SHARPER, m. DINAH COGGESHALL; borrowed £20 from CAESAR LYNDON in 1767 (CL RIHS)

Children of Sharper and Dinah (GLA):

i. JUDA, d. at 7 mos.
ii. JUDAH, d. at 15 mos.

ENGS

DINAH, 1810 census lists 3 in household, 1820 census lists 2 in household, including 1 female 14-25, 1 female 26-45

EYRES

DEON, 1774 census lists 2 in household

FAIRMAN

CUFFEE, m. MARY before 1816

Children of Cuffee and Mary:

i. ANNA MARIA, admitted to 2nd Congregational Church 1816 (Arnold 1896)
ii. EDWARD BROWNING, admitted to 2nd Congregational Church 1816 (Arnold 1896); 1800 census list 2 in household of Edward Browning

FAIRWEATHER, FAYERWEATHER

MARY,

Children of Mary and _____

i. EMILY E., b. 1830, d. 1906 (Beaman)

GEORGE, 1800 census lists 2 in household, 1810 census lists 2 in household, 1820 census lists 5 in household including 1 male under 14, 1 male 26-45, 1 male 45+, 1 female 26-45, 1 female 45+

ISHMAEL, charter name for Colored Union Church; helped select lot on corner of Church St. and Division St. (Battle)

FARBER

SALLY, mentioned in will of BESS BROWN as granddaughter (NP)

FAY

WINDSOR, 1810 census lists 5 in household

FERGUSON

PHILLIS, 1800 census lists 3 in household

THOMAS, 1789 FAUS member, listed as “freeholder” on FAUS rolls, (Robinson 1976); 1790 census lists 6 in household

FITCH

ROSEANNA, sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826

FLAGG

ARTHUR TIKEY, Born free in 1739; Ropemaker; FAUS founding member, Judge and Treasurer (Robinson 1976), secretary of ABS; m. FLORA, 1790 census lists 9 in household, 1800 census lists 5 in household, 1810 census lists 10 in household; property was on the corner of 3rd and Poplar (the “Point”) as of 1807; 1810 obituary reads, "On the 16th Arthur Flagg, was called home at the age of 77. He was a worthy member of the Sabattarian Baptist Church, and was faithful to the cause of Christ. He was beloved by all that knew him. He was a kind parent, a faithful friend, but above all was faithful to his God. 'Mark the perfect man,' and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace" (NM 3/24/1810). Has a will on file in which he divides one home between 3 of his children and another home between his 2 married daughters. Ends his will with “I earnestly and seriously recommend and advise you my dear children to live in peace with each other,” and appointed “friend and neighbor” John Stevens and sons as executors (Stevens a renowned bricklayer and stonemason in Newport, but also enslaved Arthur’s friend and neighbor Zingo Stevens!)

Flora, b. 1745; d. 1802; obituary describes Flora as a "consort" of Arthur Flagg (NM)

Children of Arthur and Flora:

i. ARTHUR, JR., 1820 census lists 7 in household, including 1 male 14-25, 1 male 45+, 4 females under 14, 1 female 26-45
ii. ELIZA, b. 1807, washerwoman (CD); d. 1861
iii. NANCY, b. 1784, d. 1801 (GLA)
iv. PHEBE, m. CUFFEE BENSON before 1801
v. ROSEANNA, m. SIMEON TAYLOR before 1804
vi. SOLOMON NUBA, b. 1780, d. 1785, very elaborate grave marker (GLA)

DINAH, charter name for Colored Union Church, est. 1824

FOLGER, FOLDGER, FOLDJER

JENNY, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1771 (Arnold 1896)

JOHN, m. or had child with JANE PEARCE before 1737 (GLA)

Children of John Folger and Jane Pearce:

i. PHILLIS, b. 1737, d. 1758 (GLA)

REBECCA, m. JAMES ALMY 1775 (Arnold 1896); apparently had some dealings with the FAUS, listed as a "Freeholder and not belonging to the African Union Society," Rebecca signed a letter sent by the society to the Philadelphia Free African Society (Robinson 1976)

FORTUNE

JOSEPH, 1790 census lists 6 in household

FRANCIS

FREDERICK, b. 1809 E. Windsor; mariner; sailed on ship Geneva out of Newport in 1834 at age 24; brother of JOHN R. FRANCIS (Putney 1987)

JOHN R., b. 1810 E. Windsor; mariner; sailed on ship Geneva out of Newport in 1834 at age 24; brother of FREDERICK FRANCIS (Putney 1987)

FRASIER

ROBERT, 1820 census lists 4 in household, including 2 males 26-45, 1 male 45+, 1 female 26-45

FREEBODY

BELINDA, b. 1747; m. ADAM MILLER; servant of Samuel Freebody; d. 1807 (GLA)

BENJAMIN, b. ca. 1744; carried off by British in 1779; listed as ordinary fellow bound for Annapolis Royal (RI GA)

POLODOR, alias PALGDAW m. BETSEY before 1812; 1810 census lists 2 in household

Children of Palgdaw and Betsey (Beaman):

i. ELIZA, b. 1812, d. 1884

POMPEY, m. VIOLET TISDALE before 175__; m. LUSE LINSEY before 1756 (GLA)

FREEBORN, FREEBOURNE

GEORGE, 1790 census lists 3 in household

JOHN, m. JANE before 1837

Children of John and Jane:

i. SARAH JANE, b. 1837 (Beaman)

FREEMAN

NEWPORT, alias, NEWPORT STILES, m. VIOLET DEARBORN; servant of Ezra Stiles, also mention of Newport in Portsmouth, NH; admitted to 2nd Congregational Church 1775 (Arnold 1896). Two years after emancipation in 1778, Newport and Violet took their freedom papers and their infant son Jacob to the town clerk and recorded the free status of all three of them. They afterward moved to Newport's earlier place of residence, Providence, RI. Some years later Violet returned to Portsmouth, perhaps widowed and ultimately impoverished. She died at the Portsmouth alms-house in 1818 (Sammons 290-291).

Children of Newport and Violet:

i. JACOB, b. before 1778

FRENCH

AZOR, b. 1781, sold to Robert Rogers in 1796 at age 15 for $50 to be set free in 6 years

FRY, FRYE

ALCE, “Indian,” involved in 1725 indictment of Dick, an Indian slave. "There was Alce Frye and Judey that lives with James Brown, Jr." Alce was a woman at a Christmas party where an assault took place (Fiske)

MARY, m. CUFF LAWTON 1814 (Arnold 1896)

GARDNER, GARDINER

AARON, b. 1805, RI; mariner, sailed on ship Newport out of Newport to New Orleans in 1825 at age 20 (Putney 1987)

AMBOY, b. 1787, RI; mariner, sailed on ship Newport out of Newport to New Orleans in 1825 at age 38 (Putney 1987)

AMEY, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1789 (Arnold 1896)

BENJAMIN, b. RI; mariner, sailed on German Peggy from Newport in 1804 (Putney 1987), 1820 census lists Benjamin as "coloured" and with 2 in household, including 1 male 36-55 and 1 female 36-55
BRISTOL, 1800 census lists 3 in household

CUDGE, 1790 census lists 4 in household

DINAH, b. 1770 (Arnold 1896); 1820 census lists 6 in household, including 4 females under 14, 1 female 26-45, 1 female 45+

ELIZABETH, b. 1783; admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1784 (Arnold 1896)
GEORGE, b. 1779, Newport. Sailed on ship Hope out of Newport in 1804 at age 25 (Putney 1987)

JACOB, b. 1785, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1786 (Arnold 1896), m. RACHEL RODMAN 1806 (Arnold 1896)

LUCY, 1820 census lists 2 in household, including 1 male under 14, 1 female 14-25

MARTHA, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1789 (Arnold 1896)

NEWPORT, alias OCCRAMER MARYCOO, b. 1746 Africa, brought to Newport in 1760 at age 14; Purchased by Caleb Gardner whose wife taught Newport how to read; Taught music by a professor Law and is first published African American musician; m. LIMAS (b. 1761, d. 1821); Opened music school and used proceeds and lottery earnings to buy freedom and freedom of family; Kept knowledge of native language and Retained African name (Occramer Marycoo). FAUS founding member; 1800 census lists 5 in household. Ran ABS School in 1808 located at No. 8

School St. (Newport Mercury 3/25/1808). 1810 census lists 4 in household. 1814 ad in Newport Mercury for Shoe Blacking Business Located at No. 4 Gardner's Wharf (Newport Mercury 10/1/1814). 1820 census lists 4 in household, including 1 male 14-25, 1 male 45+, 1 female 26-45, 1 female 45+; Deacon of Colored Union Church, est. 1824. Left Newport in 1825 for Boston then Africa; sailed with 29 others from Boston in 1826 at age 80, died shortly upon arrival.

Children of Newport and Limas:

i. ABRAHAM, b. 1796, d. 1798, buried with brother CHARLES who d. 1 month earlier
ii. AHEMA, b. 1787, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1787 (Arnold 1896); Clerk of Colored Union Church, est. 1824; sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826
iii. CHARLES, b. 1794, d. 1798
iv. SILVA, b. 1783; admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1783 (Arnold 1896); d. 1784 (GLA)

LUCY, 1820 census lists 2 in household, including 1 male under 14, 1 female 14-25

PATIENCE, m. JACOB SHEPHERD 1807 (Arnold 1896)

POMPEY, m. GENNEY; 1789 FAUS member (Robinson 1976); 1790 census lists 2 in household; d. before 1794; Genney given $1 by FAUS Committee for Relief in 1794 as Pompey's widow (Robinson 1976)

PRINCE, b. 1778 Newport, admitted 1st Congregational Church 1781 (Arnold 1896); sailed on ship Hope out of Newport in 1804 (Putney 1987)

SOLOMON, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1782, "was old" (Arnold 1896)

GAVITT

CUDJO, m. SILVIA, who was admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1807

GIBBS

CUDJO, 1790 census lists 2 in household, 1800 census lists 2 in household

CUFFE, d. 1768, brother of POMPEY STEVENS, alias ZINGO STEVENS; Cuffe's headstone cut and signed by Zingo (GLA)

PRIMUS, b. ca. 1727, d. 1775 (GLA)

GOULD

DANIEL, 1790 census lists 3 in household

SILVIA, m. CUDJO VERNON 1783 (Arnold 1896)

GOZEMAN

ROSE, b. ca. 1755; carried off by British in 1779; listed as Stout Wench aged 24, bound for Port Mattoon (RI GA)

GRAY

FORTUNATUS, m. SARAH

Children of Fortunatus and Sarah:

i. ELIZABETH, b. 1777, m. MR. COLLINS, d. 1857 Little Compton, RI

GREALY

KATE, 05-14-1792 runaway "formerly the property of John Grealy, esq. Aged about 22 years with a young child 3 weeks old, both of the mulatto kind. Said wench I bought on the 13th January at Public sail (sic) of the Sheriff of this county—who was by said Sheriff for theft, for house

breaking and shoplifting and lawfully convicted by a court of Justice in this town and as I have good reason to suppose that TOM ROBINSON, BEN HADDEN, and WILL LANGLEY were and have been her advisers to desert from my service...(NM)

GREEN, GREENE

CATO, m. MAHALA before 1832

Children of Cato and Mahala:

i. MARY A., b. 1832, m. MR. PETERS (Beaman); d. 1862

CELIA, 1820 census lists 2 in household including 1 male 14-25, 1 female 45+

JACK, enlisted in RI Regiment June 1777 (Greene 1952); FAUS member; 1790 pensioner, received 40'8'6'

JOHN (see above listing, may be same individual), 1782 census lists 2 (mulatto) in household; 1789 FAUS member (Robinson 1976); 1790 census lists 5 in household, 1800 census lists 8 in household, 1810 census lists 3 in household

JUBITER, m. PHILLIS before 1752

Children of Jubiter and Phillis:

i. JUBITER, b. 1749, d. 1752

NEWPORT, b. ca. 1730, d. 1775 (GLA)

WILL, 1774 census lists 4 in household

GREENHILL, GRINNELL

HARFORD, 1820 census lists 5 in household, including 1 male 14-25, 1 male 26-45, 1 male 45+, 1 female under 14, 1 female 26-45

JUBY, free, d. 1784, probate on file (1:219) in which she bequeaths personal items such as gold jewelry and furniture to: TONY TAYLOR, PEGGY THURSTON, ABIGAIL ORQUAR (granddaughter), NANNY COGGESHALL, THOMAS FREEBODY, CUPID BROWN

PRIMUS, alias, PRIMUS LEANDREW, m. ELIZABETH, who d. 1760 (GLA); may be the same Primus Grinell who in 1783, Newport Town Council "called on the account of Primus Grinnel, a negro man, who has been sometime deceased, who now lies dead in one of Caleb Earl's houses…" The reading of his will and inventory were postponed until witnesses to the will could be brought into court (NP)

HADDEN

BEN, mentioned in the 1792 runaway ad of KATE GREALY (NM)

HALL

QUARKO, m. JANE JOHNSON

Children of Quarko and Jane:

i. HANNA VENUS, b. 1766, m. MR. GARDNER; d. 1862 (Beaman)

HAMMOND

CUFFY, in 1746 Capt. Hammond was paid 6s for ½ day of work done by Cuffy (RIHS)

JOHN PAYNE, shipmate on Azubah and Ruthy of Newport in 1807 described as having brown complexion (Putney 1987)

PHYLLIS, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1771 (Arnold 1896); servant of Capt. Polypat

TURNBRIDGE, 1820 census lists 4 in household, including 1 male 45+, 1 female under 14, 1 female 14-25, 1 female 45+; helped select lot on corner of Church St. and Division St. for Colored Union Church, est. 1824 (Battle)

VIOLET, b. ca. 1746, wife of "CAPE COAST JAMES", d. 1772 (GLA)

HAMPSHEAR, HAMPSHIRE

GEORGE, m. JENNY; 1789 FAUS member (Robinson 1976); 1790 census lists 3 in household; d. 1805 will and probate inventory on file (NP 4:254 & 4:258) valued at $26; Jenny, d. 1811 (NP 5:26), probate inventory on file, assessed at $46.71

HANDY

QUAM, 1810 census lists 7 in household

HARRIS

ANDREW, sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826 (Battle)

DIANNA, sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826 (Battle)

HARRISON

WILLIAM, 1774 census lists 2 in household

YORK, m. PEG BRENTON (GLA)

HART

MICHAEL, m. JANE before 176_

Children of Michael and Jane:

i. PETER, d. 176_ (GLA)

HAWKINS

SHADRACK, 1820 census lists 3 in household, including 1 male 45+, 2 females 26-45; Deacon of Colored Union Church, est. 1824 (Battle)

HAZARD, HAZZARD

ANA, b. 1743, carried off by British in 1779. Listed as a Likely Wench aged 36 bound for Port Roseway with son? (RI GA):

Children of Ana:

i. Ben, carried off by British in 1779. Listed as a fine boy aged 11 bound for Port Roseway with mother? (RI GA)

BRISTOL, 1790 census lists 6 in household

JOHN, b. 1804, S. Kingstown, mariner, sailed on ship Cerene out of Newport 1832 (Putney 1987)

JUDAH, alias, JUDAH WANTON, b. 1730s N. Kingstown; had daughter Urania (Raney) Barker possibly with Lambo Wanton in Newport (where she presumably had kin). Judah moved to Newport and eventually Raney did too (Raney's owner, William Barker allowed her to work for a family there). This is also the time Judah is documented as having a relationship with Lambo Wanton. Judah and Lambo fled town during British occupation of 1776. 1780 Judah and Raney became inmates in the Providence workhouse, possibly because Lambo was away at sea. They were warned back to N. Kingstown and W. Greenwich respectively (Wallis Herndon)

LUNNAN (?), 1810 census lists 2 in household

SAMUEL, b. 1778 Newport, mariner; sailed on ship John out of Newport in 1804 at age 26 (Putney 1987)

NEWPORT, b. 1782 Jamestown.; mariner; sailed on ship Mary out of Newport in 1804 at age 22 (Putney 1987)

ROBERT, b. 1794 b. Newport; mariner; sailed on ship John out of Newport in 1822 at age 28 (Putney 1987)

ROSANNA, 1820 census lists 2 in household, 1 female under 14, 1 female 14-25

SILVIA, charter name for Colored Union Church, est. 1824 (Battle)

TONY, 01-12-1796; mentioned in the Newport Mercury for getting articles on his master's account fraudulently

HENLY

CHARLES, mulatto man, soldier d. intestate 1793, Town Treasurer named as administrator of estate

HENSON, HINSON

GEORGE, b. 1778 Maryland; mariner; sailed on ship William out of Newport to New Orleans in 1834 at age 56 (Putney 1987)

RICHARD, 1810 census lists 3 in household, 1820 census lists 5 in household including, 1 male under 14, 1 male 45+, 1 female under 14, 1 female 14-25, 1 female 26-45

HICKS, HIX, HIXX

CUDJO, m. FREELOVE, 1789 FAUS member (Robinson 1976); charter name for Colored Union Church, est. 1824 (Battle) 1790 census lists 4 in household, 1800 census lists 8 in household, 1810 census lists 9 in household, 1820 census lists 5 in household, including 1 male under 14, 1 male 45+, 1 female under 14, 1 female 14-25, 1 female 26-45; lived on William St. after 1822 (ND 15: 87)

Children of Cudjo and Freelove:

i. Mary, b. 1798; m. RICHARD OVERING 1820 (Arnold 1896); d. 1870 (Beaman)
ii. MEHITABLE, alias HITTY, b. 1782; admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1806 (Arnold 1896); m. HANNIBAL COLLINS 1807 (Arnold 1896)
iii. ROSANNA, b. 1797, d. 1817
iv. SAMUEL K., b. 1800; m. MARY ANN STODDARD 1818 (Arnold 1896); 1820 census lists 4 in household including 1 male under14, 1 male 26-45, 1 female 14-25, 1 female 26-45; d. 1875
v. SUSAN, b. 1800; m. MR. WILSON; d. 1875 (Beaman)

ELIZABETH, m. SAMUEL COLLINS 1819 (Arnold 1896)

HILL

ISAAC, m. SARAH ANN CONNER 1817 (Arnold 1896)

HOLMES

CUDJO, 1774 census lists 2 in household

CUBIT, Samuel Holmes sued William may in 1714 for 49 days work by "Cubat ingen 3s per day" (Fiske)

SILVA, had child with BRISTOL EASTON (GLA)

HONEMAN, HONEYMAN

CESAR, 1820 census lists 3 in household, including 1 male 45+, 2 females 45+

QUARCO, waiter to Gen. Prescott (Battle); court case involving "Quaco, a negro man, formerly a slave belonging to James Honyman, Esq. of Newport…during the time Newport was a British Garrison, Honyman agreed to dispose of him to Col. Campbell, a British Officer. Quaco fled and placed himself under the authority of the state, and was given liberty for providing information. "He is disagreeably alarmed with a claim upon him as a slave by Mr. William Tweedy, administrator to the estate of James Honyman. Assembly voted that Quaco was to remain free in 1782 (Barrett, Vol. IX)

ROSE, 1774 census lists 1 in household, 1782 census lists 1 (black) in household

HOWARD

PHYLIS, 1800 1 in household

Children of Phylis and _____:

i. JEM, d. 1771 (GLA)
ii. QUAM, buried with Jem (GLA)

HOWE

JOHN, m. JANE EASTON

Children of John and Jane:

i. SUSAN WILSON b. 1855 (Beaman)

HOWLAND

PATIENCE, 1810 census lists 3 in household

HUMPHRIES

GEORGE, 1790 census lists 2 in household

HUNTER

ABRAHAM, b. 1782 Tiverton; mariner; sailed on ship Brutus (with son Abraham) out of Newport in 1818 at age 36 (Putney 1987)

Children of Abraham and _____:

i. ABRAHAM, JR. b. 1800 Tiverton; mariner; sailed on ship Brutus (with father Abraham) out of Newport in 1818 at age 18 (Putney 1987)

CATO, April 17, 1769; Cato is in Newport Mercury for sale by Andrew Hunter and is described as "brought up a barber, and Peroke-Maker, and excels in the art of shaving, dressing gentlemen's and ladies' hair being stout and strong is fit for any labour." (NM)

EBENEZER, b. 1799 Tiverton; mariner; sailed on ship John out of Newport? In 1820 at age 21 (Putney 1987)

MARGARET, 1800 census lists 2 in household

ROBERT, 11-3-1761 Runaway ad mentions Robert as a runaway from Andrew Hunter. 5'9" high, well-made, very square-shouldered, has a mark somewhat resembling a burn mark between his cheek and the corner of his mouth, the middle tooth of the upper row missing. He was born in Jamaica is very artful and insinuating (NM)

INGRAHAM

FRANCIS, manumitted from Sarah Ingraham 1798 (QM); 1820 census lists 2 females 26-45 in household

IRISH

JUBE, 1810 census lists 4 in household

ISAACS

ONE; 1764 ad states, "Thomas Bailey who lives in the house of John Hesserland has the care of a Negro Man named One (belonging to Jacob Isaacs) which negro is well known in the town for his dexterity in chimney sweeping…it is requested that he may not be employed without the knowledge of said Bailey" (NM)

JACK

SARAH, 1774 census lists 5 in household

JACOB

JANE, manumitted from Joseph Jacob 1773 (QM)

SARAH, b. 1690; m./survived ABRAHAM BOSS; d. 1774 (GLA)

JACKSON

FREELOVE, b. 1754; carried off by British in 1779; Listed as a Likely Wench aged 25 bound for Port Roseway with daughter (?) son (?) (RI GA) Children of _____ and Freelove:

i. DINAH, b. 1770, carried off by British in 1779; listed as fine girl bound for Port Roseway (RI GA)
ii. NED, b. 1773, carried off by British in 1779; listed as fine boy bound for Port Roseway

JACOB, 1774 census lists 4 in household

JOANNA, m. LONDON COGGESHALL 1792 (Arnold 1896)

PATIENCE, b. 1756, carried off by British in 1779; listed as Likely Wench aged 23, bound for Port Mattoon (RI GA)

PRINCE, soldier d. intestate 1793, Town Treasurer named as administrator of estate (NP 2:294-327)

JAMES

FLORA, 1790 census lists 5 in household

JENKINS

CONGO; 1789 FAUS member (Robinson 1976); there was a dispute between Congo and ARTHUR TIKEY (FLAGG) over the purchase of land in 1791 (Robinson 1976)

JEWELL

BRISTOL, 1810 census lists 8 in household

CUFFEE, 1790 census lists 10 in household

JOHNSON

BENJAMIN, m. SYLVIA alias ZYLPHIA, alias SYBRIA before 1801 (Beaman)

Children of Benjamin and Sylvia:

i. EMELINE, b. 1801, m. MR. HOLDEN; d. 1861 (Beaman)
ii. GEORGE WASHINGTON, b. 1816; d. 1896
iii. ELIZA, b. 1823, m. MR. CANTERBURY; d. 1875 (Beaman)

FLORA, 1820 census lists 2 in household including 1 male 24-36 and 1 female 55-100

JANE, m. QUARKO HALL (Beaman)

JUBAL, 1820 census lists 4 in household, including 1 male 45+, 1 female 26-45, 2 females 45+

LUCY, b. 1754, carried off by British in 1779; listed as an ordinary Wench aged 25, bound for Port Mattoon (RI GA)

TONEY, m. HANNAH BROWN before 1793, mentioned in will of BESS BROWN; in 1783 the town council ordered “Toney Johnson, wife and daughter to be returned to New York by the person who brought him”. It is possible that Hannah was allowed to remain and Toney was at the time of Bess Brown’s inventory (1793), still in New York.

Children of Toney and Hannah:

i. GEORGE, 1800 census lists 5 in household; may be the same George Johnson who leaves a will in 1820 (NP). Mentions sister Sarah in his will.

JOHNSTON, JONSTON

GEORGE, 1810 census lists 4 in household, sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826 (Battle)

WILL, 05-22-1775 Runaway ad states "a large stout fellow of a yellow complexion, has a remarkable flesh mole upon his left cheek, a large scar on one of his hands between his thumb and forefinger, and a scar of a burn on one thigh & has lately arrived from whaling with Capt. Lemuel Jenkins...said negro professes something of a cooper's trade and can play upon a violin" (NM)

JONES

THOMAS C., 1820 census lists 15 in household, including 2 males under 10, 6 males 10-24, 1 male 24-36, 2 males 36-55, 1 female under 10, 2 females 10-14, 1 female 24-36; lived on Kingston Ave. ca. 1830 (Youngken)

JORDAN

DANIEL, 1774 census lists 2 in household

JURNEY

CAESAR, 1715 lawsuit for money owed to Paul Collins by Joseph Sawdy for "my Neges Caesar Jurney for 15 days work at 3s per day (Fiske)

KANE

JAMES, 1820 census lists 2 in household, including 1 male 45+, 1 female 26-45

KEITH

LYMAS, b. ca. 1731; servant of Capt. James Keith, Newport, freed prior to 1790; 1790 FAUS committee member, 1790 census lists 2 in household; d. 1796, obituary reads, “He sustained the Character of a faithful Servant, a sincere Christian and an honest Man” (NM)

PRESENCE, in 1809 William Langley appointed guardian of Presence because she is a “widow, old and infirm.” (NP 4:682)

ROBERT, 1790 census lists 2 in household; mariner, m. ROSEANNA; d. 1800, property on E. side of Thames St. near the “Point”, purchased in 1795 from Elizabeth Challoner of Nova Scotia; probate inventory on file (NP 3:186); Roseanna sold property in 1803 (ND 8:700), Roseanna listed on 1800 census as head of household 4 in household

KEY

PETER, b. ca. 1680; servant to Mr. Key, d. 1740 (GLA)

KIDD

RICHARD, 1790 census lists 2 in household

KNIGHER

FLORAH, 1820 census lists 1 female 26-45 in household

KNOX

ADAM, 1800 census lists 5 in household

LANGLEY

MARTIN, alias MARTIN WICKHAM died intestate (NP 2:264 1792)

WILL, mentioned in 1792 runaway ad for KATE GREALY, a Will Langley is also named administrator of estate of MARTIN LANGLEY (NP 2:264 1792)

MRS. WIDOW, 1782 census lists 1 (Indian) in household

LARCY

JEREMIAH, 1790 census lists 2 in household; 1800 census lists 2 in household, 1810 census lists 1 in household

LAWS

DENNIS, m. NANCY before 1836 (Beaman)

Children of Dennis and Nancy:

i. ANNE E., b. 1836, m./survived MR. QUEEN, d. 1914

LAWTON

CUFF, m. MARY FRY 1814 (Arnold 1896); 1790 census lists 2 in household; 1820 census lists 5 in household, including 2 males under 14, 1 male 26-45, 1 female under 14, 1 female 14-25

JOHN M., mariner, ship-owner; sailed on ships out of Newport (Putney 1987)

PRINCE, 1782 census lists 2 (black) in household

SAMUEL, manumitted from Robert Lawton 1775 (QM)

WILLIAM W. , 1820 census lists 5 in household, including 2 males under 14, 1 male 26-45, 1 female 26-45, 1 female 45+

LEANDREW

PRIMUS, alias, PRIMUS GRINELL/GREENHILL, m. ELIZABETH. Elizabeth, b. 1734, d. 1760 (GLA)

LEVI

POMPEY, 1789 FAUS member (Robinson 1976); 1790 census lists 6 in household, 1800 census lists 4 in household

LEWIS

BRIDGET, 1810 census lists 8 in household; 1820 census lists 1 female under 14 and 1 female 45+ in household

PETER, 1800 census lists 3 in household

LILLIBRIDGE

PRINCE, 1790 census lists 2 in household

PRIMUS, 1810 census lists 1 in household

LIMA

JOHN, m. PATIENCE before 1786 (Beaman), there is a PATIENCE LINO on the 1800 census with 4 listed in the household; also taught at the school

for colored children from March 1808 through June (Robinson 1976).
Patience Lino m. JAMES LINO
Children of John and Patience:

i. ELIZABETH D., b. 1786, m. /survived MR. HANSEN; d. 1875

LINCOLN

JOHN F., m. ABBY B. before 1827 (Beaman)

Children of John and Abby:

PHEBE ANN, b. 1827; m./survived MR. HOPKINS; d. 1910 (Beaman)

LINDEN

POMPEY, b. ca. 1752; carried off by British in 1779; listed as a stout fellow "with cuts in each cheek" aged 27 bound for St. John's River (RI GA)

LINSEY

LUSE, b. 1736; m. POMPEY FREEBODY (GLA); d. 1756

LITTLEFIELD

HENRY, 1790 census lists 5 in household

LOPEZ

CUDJO, b. 1703; servant to Aaron Lopez; d. 1769

PHYLIS, m. LUKE WICKHAM 1787 (Arnold 1896)

LYNDON

CAESAR, FAUS founding member and secretary (Robinson 1976); Gov. Josiah Lyndon's personal secretary and at same time carried on his business as a wholesale merchant with personal assistants (Gaines and Parkhurst; RIHS); Personal accounts detail he sold and traded to African and Euro Americans. Also highlights his personal wealth through descriptions of his own purchases; m. SARAH SEARING 1767 (CL RIHS); had a conflict with the FAUS over salary (Robinson 1976); died in poverty (CL RIHS)

PHYLIS, b. 1746; m. ZINGO STEVENS 1767 (CL RIHS), alias POMPEY STEVENS, servant to Gov. Josias Lyndon; Zingo and Phylis are mentioned as attending a picnic that several individuals took in Portsmouth (CL RIHS); there is a headstone signed by Zingo, (a stonecutter) prior to 1770 for “Pompey Lyndon”—this child was Zingo's and Phillis’ son, but had the surname of Lyndon. Church records indicate a Pompey "of Zingo" was accepted into church in 1771; therefore appears that there was another son Pompey born circa 1770 (Arnold 1896)

MALBONE

BARRY, m. PETER MALBONE before 1737 (GLA)

CESAR, 1782 census lists 5 (black) in household; 1790 census lists 2 in household

JACK, 1774 census lists 2 in household

MINGO, servant to Godfrey Malbone, d. 1770

PETER, m. BARRY MALBONE; 1774 census lists 2 in household

Children of Peter and Barry:

i. ANN BRINLEY, b. 1737, d. 1762 (GLA)

QUARKO (Mason)

SARAH, m. or had child with PRINCE NEWTON before 1752

SARAH, charter name for Colored Union Church, est. 1824 (Battle)

TONEY, 1790 census lists 3 in household; 1800 census lists 2 in household

MALLET

ABRAHAM, Indian servant to Thomas Mallet ca. 1704 (Fiske)

ANDREW, servant to Thomas Mallet ca. 1704 (Fiske)

MARBLE

WILLIAM, on crew list of ship Brig Rival of Newport bound for Liverpool in 1826 at age 28; birthplace/place of residence Newport; 5' 8" Light complexion, brown hair

MARDENBOROUGH

JACK, manumitted from Christopher Mardenborough in 1799 when Samuel Rodman paid $250 for him “to be set free” (QM)

PEGGY, 1800 census lists 5 in household

MARSH

BRISTOL, b. 1679, m. MEREAR (d. 1753); d. 1761 (GLA)

GOULD, m. SYLVIE before 1797 (Beaman)

Children of Gould and Sylvie:

i. JOSEPH (see below)
ii. SUSAN, b. 1786, d. 1861 (Beaman)

HERCULES, manumitted from Mary Marsh 1775 (QM)

JOSEPH, b. 1797, m. ROSANNA; d. 1882

Children of Joseph and Rosanna:

i. HARRIETTE, b. 1826, m. MR. THOMAS, d. 1903
ii. WILLIAM, b. 1838, d. 1906

WILLIAM, b. 1807; mariner; on crew list of ship Brig Rival of Newport bound for Liverpool in 1826 at age 19; birthplace/place of residence Newport; 5' 6" Black complexion, wooly hair

MARSHALL

PETER, 1820 census lists 1 male 26-45 and 1 female 26-45 in household

MARTIN

ABRAHAM, m. CHANCE before 1801; Abraham d. or left before 1810 when Chance was listed as head of household on census with 6 in household

Children of Abraham and Chance:

i. LUCY, b. 1801; m. GEORGE WATERMAN; d. 1880 (Beaman)

CAESAR, d. 1792; probate inventory on file for £3’17’6 (NP 2:266)

CHARLES, 1800 census lists 4 in household

ROSANNA E., 1820 census lists 1 female under 14, 1 female 14-25, 1 female 26-45

MASON

JACK, alias SOLOMON NUBIA, alias SALMAR NUBIA, etc., see entry for Nubia

LONDON, 1790 census lists 2 in household

MAYRANT

SAMUEL S., 1820 census lists Samuel as a “Manufacturer” with 1 male 26-45 and 1 female 14-25 in household

MILLER

ADAM, b. 1756; mariner; m. BELINDA FREEBODY; d. 1799 at sea (GLA)

MINTURN

JACK, enlisted in RI Regiment at Newport (Greene 1952)

MITCHELL

HENRY, 1820 census lists 1 male 26-45 and 1 female 26-45 in household

MOORE

SARAH, sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826 (Battle)

SUSAN, sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826 (Battle)

MORRIS

GABRIEL, 1820 census lists 4 in household, including 1 male 26-45, 1 female under 14, 1 female 14-25, 1 female 26-45

MORRISON

PHYLLIS, Admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1771 (Arnold 1896)

MOSELY

FANNY, b. 1752; carried off by British in 1779; listed as a "Strong Ugly Wench" aged 27 bound for St. John's River (RI GA)

MOWATT

JOHN, grocer, residence/business on Division St. as early as 1818 (Youngken); ; 1820 census lists 3 in household, including 1 male 26-45, 1 female 14-25, 1 female 26-45; charter name for Colored Union Church, est. 1824 (Battle)

QUASH, 1789 FAUS member (Robinson 1976), purchased property on corner of Willow St. and Second St. (the “Point”); m. HARRIET; for $40 granted land to Henry Bliven with HENRY CLARK and his wife CHARLOTTE CLARK (ND) Clark may have been in Mowatt's household or vice versa; 1790 census lists 5 in household, 1800 census lists 2 in household, 1810 census lists 3 in household; 1820 census lists 1 male 45+; appears Quash, Harriet, Henry and Charlotte sold property in anticipation of emigration to Liberia, however Quash d. before 1825; Harriet sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826 (Battle).

MUMFORD

CUFFE, listed on 1789 FAUS roll as 3rd Representative (Robinson 1976); 1782 census lists 5 (black) in household, 1800 census lists 1 in household, 1810 census lists 1 in household

NANCY, b. 1758; carried off by the British in 1779; listed as Stout Wench aged 21 bound for Port Roseway (RI GA)

NANNY, servant of William Mumford (Arnold 1896)

Children of _____ and Nanny:

i. ISAAC, admitted to 2nd Congregational Church 1759 (Arnold 1896)

ii. HANNAH, admitted to 2nd Congregational Church 1759 (Arnold 1896)

PEG, admitted to 2nd Congregational Church in 1756; servant of Mary Mumford (Arnold 1896)

SANGO, m. _____ who d. 1745 (GLA)

NEBE

ISAC, free Indian laborer, 1720 sued for money owed for food and drink (Fiske)

NEWPORT

CAESAR, b. Newport (Putney 1987)

NEWTON

PRINCE, m. or had child with SARAH MALBONE

Children of Prince and Sarah:

i. _____, d. 1752 (GLA)

NICHOLL

CUDJO, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1749

NICHOLS

FORTIN, d. 1760 (GLA)

JAMES, b. ca. 1783 Jamaica, ran away from Walter Nichols in Newport 1802, described as speaking a Creole dialect, 5'6" tall, stocky, missing one toe, and likely on his way to Providence (NM)

PERO, mariner, m. AFFEBE (NP 3:214;220); d. 1800 (NP 3:214;220)

ROSE, carried off by British in 1779; listed as ordinary wench, aged 36 bound for Spithead with son(?) CESAR NICHOLS, aged 12 (RI GA)

ROSE, 1810 census lists 5 in household

NILES

ABBY, b. 1809, m. MR. COTURAU, d. 1870

NOCAKE

EDWARD, charter name for Colored Union Church, est. 1824 (Battle)

NOKA

HANNAH C., m. ISAAC RICE, JR.

NORTHAM

JOSEPH, m. MARGARET before 1807 (Beaman)

Children of Joseph and Margaret:

i. MARY, b. 1807, m./survived MR. PERSEEIS

NOYES

RAHAMA, runaway from Stonington; m. THOMAS COLLINS 1808 (Arnold 1896)

NUBE, NUBIA, NUBIE, NEWBE

SOL(L)OMON, alias, SALMAR, alias JACK MASON, b. Africa; Formerly a slave in Preston, CT (Robinson 1976); FAUS founding member and elected 1st Representative and Secretary in 1789 (Robinson 1976); 1790 census lists 1 in household; spoke native tongue/dialect entire life; resided on "Negro Lane" (Pope St.), initiated emigration to Liberia with Newport Gardner, sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport in 1826 when he was approximately 70 years old (Battle)

NUMA

JOHN, 1820 census lists 1 male 26-45 in household

ODDANOB

PHILIS, 1810 census lists 2 in household

OLIVER

ANN, b. 1741; dau. of MIMBO; servant to Robert Oliver; d. 1743 (GLA)

OVERING

BACCHUS; proximity to Henry John Overing's distillery and the fact that Bacchus was also a distiller suggests Bacchus may have, at one time been a slave of Henry John Overing. However, Bacchus would have been freed by 1783 as he was not listed in Henry John Overing's probate inventory; apparently had some dealings with the FAUS, listed as a "Freeholder and not belonging to the African Union Society," Bacchus signed a letter sent by the society to the Philadelphia Free African Society (Robinson 1976); 1790 1 in household; 1800 census lists 2 in household; owned a great deal of property on "Negro Lane" (Pope St.) ca. 1790 which he began to subdivide in 1810; will on file in 1799 (NP 5:497); d. after 1810

Children of Bacchus and _____:

i. PAUL, b. 1785; carpenter; Dir. of School for Colored Children's School 1808-1809 (Robinson 1976); 1820 census lists 1 male 14-25 and 1 female 14-25 in household; maintained some property on Pope St, though he continued to subdivide until he d. 1857

ii. JACK BURR, unclear whether this is son-in-law or son, mentioned as "son" in 1799 will, given use of all properties which were bequeathed to Paul

BAXTER, may be BACCHUS (See above), 1810 census lists 3 in household

CATO, b. ca. 1721; mentioned as a slave in Henry John Overing's 1783 probate inventory (Cummings); 1810 census lists 4 in household; d. 10/5/1821; obituary reads "a respectable black, supposed to be upwards of one hundred and ten years of age. He was bro't from African to [Newport] by Capt. Abraham All about 1760, and was then by his own account, upwards of 50 years of age—as he stated, that when he was taken from his home and family by a hostile tribe, he left behind him a wife, two daughters who were married, and several grand-children—that afterwards he served an African prince 7 or 8 years, and was then sold to Capt. All, who sent him to Newport during the old French War" (Providence Patriot October 17th, 1821)

COMFORT, 1820 census lists 4 in household, including 2 females 26-45, 2 females 45+

Children of _____ and Comfort:

i. PHEBE L., b. 1792; m./survived MR. BROWN; d. 1887

ISABEL, 1810 census lists 3 in household

PERO, b. 1749, d. 1771 (GLA)

POMPEY, mentioned as a slave in Henry John Overing's 1783 probate inventory (Cummings); 1800 census lists Pompey as head of household of 1, but still enslaved

RICHARD, m. MARY HICK 1820 (Arnold 1896); 1820 census lists 1 male 14-25, 1 female 14-25, and 1 female 26-45 in household

ROBIN, mentioned as a slave in Henry John Overing's 1783 probate inventory (Cummings); 1800 census lists 3 in household

TOBY, 1790 census lists 2 in household

TONEY, mentioned as a slave in Henry John Overing's 1783 probate inventory (Cummings)

PARKER

PETER, b. ca. 1739 carried off by British in 1779; listed as stout fellow with one arm aged 40 bound for St. John's River (RI GA)

PAUL

SEBINA, 1774 census lists 2 in household

PEABODY

BENJAMIN, 1790 census lists 2 in household

PEARCE

JANE, m. or had child with JOHN FOLDGER before 1737 (GLA)

PEASE

EBIN

Children of Ebin and _____

i. CUDGO, b. 1737, d. 1744 (GLA)

KINGSTON, FAUS Vice President and later President (Robinson 1976); property of Kingston mentioned in a series of letters between himself and CAESAR LYNDON because of confusion over whether Pease's home was to be rented to CUPID BROWN or rented out by the committee (Robinson 1976); property transactions on file with Kingston as grantee in 1783 (ND 3:378) as grantor 1786 (3:379)

PECK

NEWPORT, in 1746 Mr. Peck was paid £1'10 for 2 1/2 days work done by Newport

VIOLET, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1783 (Arnold 1896)

Children of Violet and _____:

i. HANNAH, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1783 (Arnold 1896)
ii. PHYLLIS, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1783 (Arnold 1896)

PECKHAM

ELIZA, m. LANGO TEW, alias LANGWORTHY, LANGTHY 1810 (Arnold 1896)

PEDRO

ENOS, charter name for Colored Union Church, est. 1824 (Battle)

PERKINS

PHEBE, b. 1760 Newport; apprenticed to Abraham Borden of Westerly and another family in Charlestown; After apprenticeship became pregnant and warned back to Newport, which rejected her (Wallis Herndon)

PERRY

ELLEN, charter name for Colored Union Church, est. 1824

HANNAH, 1774 census lists 4 in household

JACOB, 1826 brought to Newport to be Minister for Colored Union Church

PETERS

CODDINGTON, b. 1794 So. Stonington; mariner, sailed on ship Union out of Newport in 1818 (Putney 1987)

JOHN, b. 1794 Springfield; mariner; sailed on ship Union out of Newport in 1818 (Putney 1987)

_____; m. MARY A. GREENE

PETERSON

THOMAS, 1810 census lists 7 in household

PHILLIPS

NEWPORT, m. MARGARET before 1801 (Beaman); 1820 census lists Margaret with 3 in household including 1 female under 14, 1 female 14-25, 1 female 45+

Children of Newport and Margaret:

i. JOHN B., b. 1801; d. 1876

JOHN B., probably m. PATIENCE MOWETT SHERMAN

Children of John B. and Patience:

i. JAMES B., b. 1837; d. 1913 (Beaman)

PIERCE

JOHN, 1820 census lists 4 in household, including 1 male under 14, 1 male 45+, 1 female 26-45, 1 female 45+

THOMAS, 1774 census lists 5 in household

PINA

MARA, 1810 census has 2 in household

PINNAGER

ROBIN, m. PHILLIS _____, (Phillis b. 1709, d. 1753) (GLA)

(possible) Children of ROBIN and PHILLIS:

i. SABRINA, b. 1734, d. 1741

POMPEY

EZEKIEL, b. 1786 Nantucket, mariner; sailed on ship Hudson out of Newport or into Newport in 1805 at age 19 (Putney 1987)

POTTER

ABRAHAM, b. 1773 Newport; mariner; sailed on ship Hope out of Newport in 1805 at age 32 (Putney 1987)

CATHARINE, 1820 census lists 4 in household, including 1 male 45+, 1 female 14-25, 1 female 26-45, 1 female 45+

CESAR, 1810 census lists 3 in household

COLANCO, 1774 census lists 2 in household

CUFF, b. 1726, carried off by British in 1779; listed as ordinary fellow aged 53 bound for St. John's (RI GA)

PELAUS, b. 1783 Newport; mariner, s ailed on ship George and Mary out of Newport in 1806 at age 23 (Putney 1987)

JOHN, b. ca. 1754 carried off by British in 1779; listed as stout fellow aged 25 bound for St. John's River (RI GA)

JOHN, b. 1787 Newport; mariner, s ailed on ship George and Mary out of Newport in 1806 at age 19 (Putney 1987)

SUSANNAH, 1820 census lists 1 female 14-25, 1 female 45+ in household

PRINCE

SARAH, 1800 census lists 3 in household, 1810 census lists 2 in household; 1820 census lists 3 in household including 1 male under 14, 1 female 14-25, 1 female 45+

QUAMINE, QUAMINO, QUANINEE

ABRAHAM, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1798 (Arnold 1896)

ANNE, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1800 (Arnold 1896)

CHARLES, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1732 (Arnold 1896)

JOHN, alias QUAM m. DUCHESS CHANNING; dent to Princeton by Samuel Hopkins to become educated and be a missionary in Africa along with BRISTOL YAMMA; died in Naval battle in 1776 (Franklin); 1782 census lists a “Dutchess” with 4 (black in household

Children of John and Duchess (Arnold 1896):

i. BETTEY (CHANNING), b. 1770; d. 1770
ii. BETTEY, b. 1771
iii. CHARLES, b. 1772
iv. VIOLET, b. 1777, d. 1792

REUBEN, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1798 (Arnold 1896)

REDWOOD

CUFF, 1774 census lists 2 in household

DIANA, b. 1739, servant to Abraham Redwood; d. 1822 (GLA)

NEWPORT, b. 1716, servant to Abraham Redwood, d. 1766

PHILLIES, 1774 census lists 1 household

REEVES

POMP, soldier d. intestate 1793, Town Treasurer named as administrator of estate (NP 2:294-327)

REMMINGTON

AUTHER, 1790 census lists 4 in household

RHODES

NEWPORT, 1774 census lists 1 in household

RICE

ISAAC, 1807 secretary of AUS. m. SARAH CASEY (dau. of Abraham Casey); homestead on corner of William and Levin St.; helped select lot for Colored Union Church on corner of Church and Division Sts.; Planted trees in Touro Park; home is believed to be part of Underground Railroad; knew Frederick Douglas; 1820 census lists 4 in household including 1 male 26-45, 1 female under 14, 1 female 14-25; 1830 census lists 7 in household,

including 1 male under 10, 1 male 55-100, 3 females under 10, 1 female 10-24, 1 female 24-36

Children of Isaac and Sarah (Beaman):

i. ABRAHAM C., b. 1823, m. LUCY; d. 1882
ii. SARAH, b. 1828, m. MR. DICKERSON; d. 1872
iii. GEORGE EDWARD, b. 1841
iv. HANNAH M.C., b. 1833;m./survived MR. PERKINS, d. 1910
v. ISAAC, JR., b. 1830, m. HANNAH NOKA, d. 1902

ABRAHAM, m. LUCY

Children of Abraham and Lucy:

i. HENRY O. REMINGTON, b. 1847, d. 1872
ii. ABRAHAM, JR., b. 1852, d. 1878 (Beaman)
iii. ELIZABETH, b. 1850
iv. CHARLES SUMMER, b. 1855, d. 1911

ISAAC, JR. m. HANNAH NOKA

Children of Isaac, Jr. and Hannah:

i. ISAAC, b. 1853, d. 1911

RICHARDS

PRINCE, 1774 census lists 2 in household; 1770 sold a sow pig to CEASAR LYNDON

RICHARDSON

CAESAR, b. 1728, d. 1756 (GLA)

JENNY, 1774 census lists 3 in household

JOSIAS, 1790 census lists 2 in household, 1800 census lists 1 in household

SILAS, 1810 census lists 1 in household

RICHMOND

JANE, 1774 census lists 3 in household

RIDER/RYDER
NEWPORT, b. ca. 1710; m. FILLIS SANDFORD; d. 1760

RIVERA

CATO, manumitted from Abraham Rivera in 1797 “in consideration of faithful service and with a desire to return him to his natural state of freedom”; Cato purchased PHILIS RODRIGUEZ from Hannah Rodriguez for $100 in 1803, there was no wording in the transaction which suggested Philis was going to be set free (QM)

JUDITH, b. 1747, servant to Jacob Rodriguez Rivera; d. 1773 (GLA)

PHILLIS, servant to Jacob Rodriguez Rivera m. PETER CRANSTON, a servant to Aaron Lopez (GLA)

PHYLIS, servant to Jacob Rodriguez Rivera, m. CATO CRANSTON, a free person (GLA)

QUARKER, servant to Jacob Rodriguez Rivera, m. MARGARET (Margaret b. 1745; d. 1771)

ROBINSON

DIANA, 1820 census lists 1 female 26-45 1 female 45+ in household

HANNAH, 1800 census lists 2 in household

HENRY, m. JANE (Beaman), 1810 census lists 6 in household

Children of Henry and Jane:

i. SUSAN C., b. 1826, d. 1906 (Beaman)

ISAAC, b. 1813; mariner, s ailed on ship Juno out of Providence or Newport in 1832 at age 19 (Putney 1987)

JAMES, b. 1811 So. Kingstown; mariner, sailed on ship Juno out of Providence or Newport in 1832 at age 21 (Putney 1987)

JANE, 1820 census lists 10 in household, including 6 males under 14, 2 females under 14, 1female 14-25, 1 female 45+

JOHN, given a loan by FAUS in 1793 against his property on the Point (Robinson 1976)
OROKO, 1774 census lists 2 in household

SARAH, Mrs. Sarah Robinson an 'Indian Mulatto'
borrowed £1'2 from CAESAR LYNDON 1766

SUSAN, charter name for Colored Union Church, est. 1824 (Battle)

TOM, mentioned in 1792 runaway ad of KATE GREALY as influencing her decision to run away

WILLIAM, mariner, second mate on German Peggy of Newport in 1805 (Putney 1987)

RODMAN

CAESAR, manumitted from Clarke Rodman 1775 (QM)

CUFF, laborer, m. SARAH STEVENS (dau. ZINGO STEVENS), owned property on the Point (purchased 1805, later sold by Sarah); d. 1809; estate inventoried at $430.58 (NP 4:650); Sarah on 1820 census with 1 female 45+ in household

KIRBY, b. 1736; laborer, alias CUBRAY, CUBEER, KIBEAH, 1789 FAUS member (Robinson 1976), owned property on the "Point"; probably related to CUFF RODMAN as Cuff is named administrator of estate along with wife (NP 4:383); m. RACHEL; d. 1806 (that same year, Rachel m. JACOB GARDNER {Arnold 1896}). 1810 census for Rachel with 5 in household; 1820 census for Rachael with 4 in household including 2 females under 14, 1 female 26-45, 1 female 45+; Rachel d. 1825, probate inventories estate at $37.95 (NP 7:114)

Children of Kirby and Rachel:

i. BENJAMIN, b. 1786, mariner; d. at sea in 1806

NATHANIEL, m. ELIZABETH (Beaman); 1820 census lists 9 in household including 1 male under 14, 1 male 14-25, 1 male 45+, 3 females under 14, 2 females 14-25, 1 female 45+

Children of Nathaniel and Elizabeth:

i. CATHERINE R., b. 1812, m./survived MR. WILLIS; d. 1860 (Beaman)

RODRIGUEZ

PHILIS, CATO RIVERA paid $100 to Hannah Rodriguez to buy Philis (not *manumit* her) in 1803

ROGERS

ANNE, 1820 census lists 1 female under 14 and 1 female 26-45 in household

CATO, b. 1735; carried off by British in 1779; listed as Stout Fellow aged 44, bound for Port Mattoon (RI GA)

JACK, b. 1729; carried off by British in 1779; listed as Stout Fellow aged 50 bound for Port Roseway (RI GA)

JAMES, 1820 census lists 1 male 45+, 1 female 26-45 in household

JOHN L., 1820 census lists 1 male 26-45, 1 female under 14, and 1 female 14-25 in household

ROMES

JANE

Children of _____ and Jane:

MARGARET, b. 1801; m./survived CUPID BROWN; d. 1867 Providence (Beaman)

SAMBO

JOSEPH, b. 1797 No. Kingstown; mariner, sailed on ship Russell out of Newport in 1816 at age 19 (Putney 1987)

MARCY, 1782 census lists 2 (black) in household, 1790 census lists 2 in household, 1800 census lists Nanny Sambo with 1 in household, 1810 census lists 3 in household

SAMUEL, b. 1799 Warwick; mariner; sailed on ship Baltic out of Newport in 1824 at age 25 (Putney 1987)

WILLIAM, b. 1799 No. Kingstown; mariner, sailed on ship Franklin out of Newport in 1823 at age 24 (Putney 1987)

SAMPSON

JAMES, m. AMY (Beaman); 1810 census lists 5 in household; 1820 census lists 6 in household including 1 male 14-25, 1 male 26-45, 2 female under 14, 1 female 14-25, 1 female 26-45

Children of James and Amy:

i. GEORGE, b. 1822, d. 1894 (Beaman)

SANDS

SUSAN BAILEY, b. 1819, m. JOSEPH GEARS, d. 1890

SANFORD

FILIS, b. 1716, m. NEWPORT RIDER, d. 1743

PRINCE, 1797 will of Esther Sanford, she leaves "unto my black man Prince fifty dollars" (NP 4: 386); 1800 census lists 2 in household

Children of Prince and _____:

i. POMPEY ROGERS, b. 1772, d. 1773

SAWYER, SAYER

JACK, 1789 FAUS member, elected 6th Representative (Robinson 1976); 1790 census lists 2 in household

PEG, admitted to 2nd Congregational Church 1782; servant to widow of Deacon Sayer (Arnold 1896)

SCIAS

JOHN, b. 1808 So. Kingstown; mariner, sailed on ship Hudson out of Newport to New Orleans in 1830 at age 22 (Putney 1987)

SCOTT

JACK, 1782 census lists 2 (mulatto) in household

POMPEY, m. or had children with VIOLET ROBINSON before 1750 (Garman 1992); 1789 FAUS committee member (Robinson 1976)

Children of Pompey and Violet:

i. HANNAH (Garman 1992)
ii. PHYLIS (Garman 1992)

SEARING

PRIMUS, in 1767, CAESAR LYNDON lent Primus 2 English 6 pences and 3 copper. In 1768, Primus borrowed 1 dollar from Caesar. Caesar Lyndon bought 2 pigs which he gave to Primus to keep for half profit in 1770 (CL RIHS)

SARAH, b. 1732; m. CAESAR LYNDON October 6th, 1767; listed as attending a day trip to Portsmouth with Caesar and others in 1766. Lyndon also mentions a day trip Sarah took with BESS THURSTON to Bristol in 1768; d. 1826 Obituary (Feb. 9, 1826) notes that she was a servant in the house of Rev. James Searing and that she was "one of the few survivors of that old race of domestic servants which was educated in the excellent school of our fathers, and who were the best models in this or any country of the estimable qualities we seek, in that class of the community" (NM)

VIOLET, b. 1689; d. 1757 (GLA)

SECATER

BETTY, 1774 census lists 2 in household

SEIXAS

JAMES, b. 1807 So. Kingstown; brother of PETER SEIXAS and JOHN SEIXAS; mariner; sailed on ship Sampson out of Newport in 1832 at age 25 (Putney 1987)

JOHN, b. 1786 Newport; brother of PETER SEIXAS and JAMES SEIXAS; mariner; sailed on ship Ocean out of Newport in 1811 at age 25 (Putney 1987)

PETER, b. 1789 Newport; 1810 census lists 5 in household; 1820 census lists 8 in household, including 2 male under 14, 1 male 26-45, 3 female under 14, 1 female 26-45, 1 female 45+; mariner; sailed on ship John out of Newport in 1832 at age 43. At age fifty three, he sailed on the Minos in 1833; Seixas had been on the seas at least from 1804, when he signed on the Richmond at Newport as a twenty-five-year-old steward. He frequently sailed four or more times annually (Putney 1987); m. SARAH, father of Ann, Henry, Mary Roger, and Peter, Jr. (Beaman)

Children of Peter and Sarah (Beaman):

i. ANN, b. 1796; d. 1881
ii. MARY ROGER, b. 1814, m./survived THOMAS CHURCH (Arnold 1896); d. 1880
iii. PETER, JR., b. 1815, mariner, sailed on ship John out of Newport (with father) in 1832 at age 17; made his first voyage at age sixteen on the Perseverance to Africa. (Putney 1987)
iv. HENRY, b. 1815; d. 1800

SHEARMAN (see also SHERMAN)

BESS, b. ca. 1724; d. at the Asylum 9/24/1824 (NM)

PHEBE, 1810 census lists 3 in household

POMPEY, 1790 census lists 3 in household

VIOLET, 1810 census lists 6 in household

SHEPHERD

JACOB, m. PATIENCE GARDNER 1807 (Arnold 1896); Patience Shepherds as head of household on 1810 census with 5 in household

SHERMAN

CASH, 1790 census lists 5 in household

CHARLES, m. ELIZABETH (Beaman); 1820 census lists 9 in household, including 5 males under 14, 1 male 26-45, 1 female under 14, 1 female 26-45, and 1 male slave

Children of Charles and Elizabeth (Beaman):

i. RICHARD, b. 1816, d. 1895
ii. PATIENCE MOWETT, b. 1807; m./survived MR. PHILLIPS; d. 1896

JAMES, charter name for Colored Union Church, est. 1824 (Battle)

JANE, 1820 census lists 1 female 26-45, 2 females 45+ in household

JUBITER, 1820 census lists 1 male 45+ engaged in agriculture and 1 female 45+ in household

MINTUS, 1820 census lists 1 male 45+

SIKES

JAMES, 1782 census lists 13 in household (10 mulatto, 3 black)

SIMMONS

CUFF, m. HOPE COGGESHALL, mentioned in the will of ANNE COGGESHALL 1818 (NP 4:526); 1810 census lists 3 in household; 1820 census lists 4 in household including 1 male 45+, 1 female 14-25, 1female 45+, and 1 female *slave*

GIDEON, b. 1811 Charleston; mariner, sailed on ship Constitution out of Newport in 1833 at age 22 (Putney 1987)

JAMES, probably same James Simmons who m. PHEBE ANN TWEEDY, 1810 census lists 5 in household, 1820 census lists 1 male 45+, 1 female 45+, 1830 census lists James with 2 in household, 1 male 55-100, 1 female 36-55

JOSEPH, b. 1813 Charleston; mariner, sailed on ship Constitution out of Newport in 1833 at age 20 (Putney 1987)

SISSON

NEPTUNE, b. 1729, m. DINAH; 1782 census lists 2 (black) in household; took a day trip to Portsmouth with CAESAR LYNDON and others in 1766 (CL RIHS). Neptune also made a number of purchases and engaged in several business transactions with Ceasar Lyndon; Lyndon mentions bringing turnips to the market house to sell for Neptune and buying a pig for Neptune. Founding member of FAUS; d. September 7 1794 (Robinson 1976); Dinah quarreled with the FAUS' "reckoning of her late husband's financial history in the society" and harassed the members so much that they broke up the organization because "members were getting a bad name from the widow" (Robinson 1988); Dinah d. headstone describes "virtuous woman"

SYPHAX, 1800 census lists 2 in household

SLOCUM

AUDRY, Indian servant of Giles Slocum, mentioned in 1713 will with SARAH and two Indian servant boys (Fiske)

BESS, servant to Giles Slocum, mentioned in 1713 will (Fiske)

DINAH, b. ca 1732 former servant of Abraham Redwood, d. 1822 (NM)

FORTUNE, 1735 lawsuit over who owned Fortune (Fiske)

FORTUNE, 1800 census lists 2 in household; 1810 census lists 1 in household

GEORGE, 1790 census lists 6 in household

JACK, b. 1697; d. 1761 (GLA)

SARAH, Indian servant of Giles Slocum, mentioned in 1713 will with AUDRY and two Indian servant boys (Fiske)

SMITH

BOSTON, 1820 census lists 4 in household, including 1 male 26-45, 1 female under 14, 1 female 14-25, 1 female 26-45

BREEMER, 1730 will of Edward Smith (Fiske)

CUDGH, 1730 will of Edward Smith (Fiske)

DICK, "Indian" indicted in 1725 for assault on John Davis in which Davis was cut with a knife in the home of Mary Silverwood on Christmas. According to document, Dick was "quarreling with Tom, a Negro belonging to Major Brown about a squaw and mistook Davis for Tom (Fiske)

DINAH, "Indian", 1730 will of Edward Smith (Fiske)

PROSERPINE, 1774 census lists 1 in household

SPRINGER

BRIDGET, 1774 census lists 1 in household

STANTON

CATO, m. AMY; 1820 census lists 8 in household, including 2 males under 14, 1 male 26-45, 3 females under 14, 1 female 26-45, 1 female 45+

Children of Cato and Amy:

i. ELIZABETH, b. 1798; m. MR. BRIGHTMAN, d. 1861 (Beaman)

STEVENS

CATO, servant to Mr. Elam; d. 1807, obituary reads, "a faithful servant and honest man;--though black in color, his actions were truly white;--having lived nearly fourteen years in the service where he died, with honour to himself, and satisfaction to his employer.

PRINCE, b. 1716; servant to Jonathan Stevens; d. 1748 (GLA)

POMPEY, alias ZINGO, Brother of CUFFE GIBBS (GLA); Stonecutter, made several grave markers in common cemetery, former slave of John Stevens who in 1786 will left Zingo to his wife for seven years and then to be set free; took a day trip to Portsmouth with CAESAR LYNDON and others in 1766 (CL RIHS); married to PHYLIS LYNDON while they were slaves in separate households as Zingo signs headstone of child Pompey Lyndon in 1775; Caesar Lyndon documents marriage of Phylis and Zingo were married July 20th, 1767; m. ELIZABETH (b. 1741) before 1779 (Elizabeth d. 1779); m. Violet before 1803 (Violet b. 1742, d. 1803); Zingo cut all three headstones for wives; 1790 census lists 3 in household; 1800 census lists 3 in household; 1810 census lists 3 in household; founding FAUS member (Robinson 1976); owned a "mansion house" on the corner of Poplar St. and Third St. and a garden lot which he bequeathed to his daughter Sarah in 1809 (NP 5:365-6), nominated NEWPORT GARDNER and CUFF RODMAN (son-in-law) as estate administrators; d. 1817; estate inventoried at $34.59 in 1817.

Children of Zingo and Phylis:

i. SARAH, b. 1769 (CL RIHS), m. CUFF RODMAN, d. 1863 impoverished
ii. POMPEY, admitted to 2nd Congregational Church 1770 (Arnold 1896)

iii. CHARLES, admitted to 2nd Congregational Church 1771 (Arnold 1896)
iv. PRINCE, b. 1773; d. 1773 (Arnold 1896); buried with Phylis who d. 1773, Zingo cut grave marker

Children of Zingo and Elizabeth (GLA):

i. dau. (stillborn), b./d. 1779

Children of Zingo and Violet:

i. SAMUEL, admitted to 2nd Congregational Church in 1786 (Arnold 1896)

STEVENSON

JOHN, 1820 census lists 4 in household including 2 males 14-25, 1 male 26-45, 1 female 26-45

STEWARD

WILLIAM, on FAUS rolls (Robinson 1976)

STILES

NEWPORT, servant to Ezra Stiles, also mention of Newport in Portsmouth NH (Sammons); admitted to 2nd Congregational Church 1775 (Arnold 1896); emancipated 1776, two years after emancipation, Newport and VIOLET DEARBORN took their freedom papers and their infant son Jacob to the town clerk and recorded the free status of all three of them; they afterward moved to Newport's earlier place of residence, Providence, Rhode Island. Some years later Violet returned to Portsmouth, perhaps widowed and ultimately impoverished. She died at the Portsmouth alms-house in 1818 (Sammons 1998 290-291)

SARAH, 1820 census lists 5 in household including 2 males under 14, 1 female under 14, 1 female 26-45, 1female 45+

STODDARD

FORTUNE, 1790 census lists 4 in household, 1800 census lists 6 in household

JACK, 1790 census lists 6 in household
MARY ANN, m. SAMUEL HICKS 1818 (Arnold 1896)

SUTTON

MARY, 1774 census lists 3 in household

TANNER

HAMMOND, m. DINAH TWEEDY (servant of John Tweedy; Hammond was servant of James Tanner. (GLA, Garman 1992: 111); often mentioned in the accounts of CAESAR LYNDON as “friend” and "neighbor." 1766 Lyndon lent money to Tanner on 2 occasions; Caesar and Hammond hired out Christopher Ellery's garden to plant beets for 1/2 produce and paid $4 per year in 1769 (CL RIHS); 1800 census lists 2 in household

OBOUR, servant of James Tanner, admitted to 1st Congregational Church 1768 (Arnold 1896); d. 1835

SCIPIO, m. PEGGY; 1782 census lists 2 (black) in household, 1790 census lists 2 in household, 1800 census lists 3 in household, 1810 census lists 2 in household; 1789 FAUS member (Robinson 1976); d. 1819; probate and inventory on file (NP 5:511-12, 531; 6: 216), names ARTHUR FLAGG, PRIMUS THURSTON AND CATO BARKER as executors of estate. Estate inventory valued at $59.15

TARE

ROSANNA, b. 1800; m. JAMES FLINT; d. 1883 Providence

TAYLOR

ANTHONY, 1790 census lists 2 in household, 1790 FAUS president (Robinson 1976)

BINOR, manumitted from Elizabeth Taylor 1775 (QM)

NEWPORT, 1774 census lists 2 in household, 1782 census lists 4 (black) in household; 1790 census list 2 in household; 1800 census lists 3 in household

SIMEON, m. ROSEANNA FLAGG; Rosannah Taylor as head of household on 1820 census with 1 female under 14 and 1 female 45+ in household

Children of Simeon and Roseanna (all three are buried together in the common cemetery):

i. BETSEY, b. 1798, d. 1801 (GLA)
ii. AMBER, b. 1799, d. 1800 (GLA)
iii. PHOEBE, b. 1799, d. 1801

TEW

ABRAHAM, b. 1795 Jamestown; mariner; sailed on ship Mary out of Newport in 1816 at age 21 (Putney 1987)

CUFF, 1783 Jamestown; mariner, sailed on ship Bonetta out of Newport in 1804 at age 21 (Putney 1987)

HENRY, probably a black captain on ship Polly out of Newport in 1815 (Putney 1987)

JACK, b. 1791 Jamestown; mariner, sailed on ship Russell out of Newport in 1810 at age 19 (Putney 1987)

JOHN, b. 1790 So. Kingstown; mariner, sailed on ship Azubah and Ruby out of Newport in 1810 at age 20 (Putney 1987)

Children of John and _____:

i. JAMES, b. 1821, d. 1887

LANGWORTHY, alias LANTHY, LANGO, m. ELIZA PECKHAM 1810 (Arnold 1896) 1820 census lists employment as "agriculture;" list 7 in household, including 1male under 14, 1 male 26-45, 3 females under 14, 1 female 14-25, 1female 26-45

Children of Langworthy and Eliza:

i. MARY ANN, b. 1812, d. 1867 (Beaman)
ii. JAMES A., b. 1816 (Beaman)
iii. ROSANNA, b. 1818, d. 1866 (Beaman)

MARY, 1820 census lists 1 male 14-25 and 1 female 45+ in household

TIKEY

ARTHUR, alias ARTHUR FLAGG (see under Flagg)

SOLOMON NUBA (see under Flagg)

TUELL, TEWELL

BRISTOL, 1800 census lists 2 in household

JUDITH, m. GEORGE THOMAS 1807 (Arnold 1896)

TUEY

JOHN, 1810 census lists 2 in household

THOMAS

GEORGE, m. JUDITY TEWELL 1807 (Arnold 1896)

RICHARD, 1810 census lists 4 in household; 1820 census lists 1 male 45+, 1 female 45+ in household

THOMPSON

GEORGE, m. ESTHER (Beaman)

Children of George and Esther:

i. ROBERT R., b. 1828, d. 1873

THURSTON

ANTHONY, 1810 census lists 7 in household; 1820 census lists 4 in household including 1 male 14-25, 1 male 45+, 1 female under 14, 1 female 45+

BESS, took a day trip to Bristol with SARAH SEARING on July 5th, 1768 (CL RIHS)

CATO, m. VIOLET; 1789 FAUS member (Robinson 1976); 1790 census lists 3 in household; 1810 census lists 6 in household; Violet d. 1781 (GLA)

FLORA, 1800 census lists 4 in household

GIFFE, 1820 census lists 1 female 55-100 in household

MINTUS, the “last colored undertaker” (Mason); d. 1774 (GLA)

PHILIS, manumitted from Sarah Thurston 1775

PRIMUS, 1789 FAUS member (Robinson 1976); 1790 census lists 3 in household; 1800 census lists 2 in household; 1810 census lists 2 in household

PRINCE took a day trip to Portsmouth with CAESAR LYNDON and others in 1768 (CL RIHS)

SONDRY alias SAUNDERS, b. 1706; m. BESS; d. 1756

TIKEY

ARTHUR (see under FLAGG)

SOLOMON NUBA (see under FLAGG)

TILLINGHAST

BESS, 1774 census lists 3 in household

JUBER, b. 1723; servant to Gov. John Tillinghast; d. 1773

ROSANNA, 1820 census lists 1 male 45+ and 1 female 45+ in household

TISDALE

VIOLET, m. POMPE FREEBODY, d. 175_

TONY

JENNY, b. 1727, 1774 census lists 3 in household; Jenny Toney carried off by British in 1779; listed as "Worn Out" aged 52 bound for Port Roseway (RI GA)

TOPHAM

JENNY, m. POMPEY _____, servant to John Topham; admitted to 2nd Congregational Church 1774 (Arnold 1896)

Children of Pompey and Jenny:

i. TORREY, admitted to 2nd Congregational Church 1775 (Arnold 1896)

TOWNSEND

CATO, 1790 census lists 2 in household

FLORA, 1774 census lists 3 in household

POMPEY, m. JANE COGGESHALL before 1760 (GLA); may be the same Pompey Townsend that appears on FAUS rolls (Robinson 1976)

WILLIAM, m. JERUSHA, left four daughters in the care of Providence neighbors (birthplace of children) who eventually turned girls over to Newport overseer for the poor and they were probably sent to home of relatives in Newport; worked as goldsmith in Newport until going to Providence in 1774 (Wallis Herndon)

TREBY

BOSTON, mentioned in 1725 indictment of "INDIAN DICK" as "Boston, an Indian belonging to Mr. Peter Treby" (Fiske)

TUCKER

THOMAS, b. 1739 carried off by British in 1779; listed as a stout fellow blind of an eye aged 40 bound for Annapolis and St. John's (RI GA)

TWEEDY

ABIGAIL, m. _____; 1810 census lists 5 in household

Children of _____ and Abigail:

i. PHEBE ANN, b. 1801, m. JAMES SIMMONS; d. 1880 Providence

DINAH, b. 1739, m. HAMMOND TANNER, d. 1767 (Garman 1992)

UPDIKE

CAESAR, b. 1798 No. Kingstown, mariner, sailed on ship Agenona out of Newport in 1820 at age 22 (Putney 1987), Possibly Cesar Updike who enlisted in RI Regiment May 8, 1777 at N. Kingstown (Greene 1952)

CHRISTOPHER, b. 1799 No. Kingstown, mariner, sailed on ship Atlantic out of Newport in 1824 at age 25 (Putney 1987)

PRINCE, b. 1711, servant to Aaron Lopez; a “Master Chocolate Grinder,” 1781 (GLA)

VARNUM

BARNEY, 1790 census lists 2 in household

VARS

GEORGE, 1774 census lists 2 in household

VAUGHAN

RICHARD, m. AGNES before 1825 (Beaman)

Children of Richard and Agnes:

i. MARTHA P., b. 1825, d. 1867

VERNON

CATO, enlisted in 1st RI Regiment at Newport (Greene 1952); 1790 pensioner, received 20' 3'3

CUDJO, 1782 census lists 3 (black) in household, m. SYLVIA GOULD 1783 (Arnold 1896); may be CUDGE VARNUM, who is on census in 1790 with 3 in household; Cudge Varnum on 1810 census lists 2 in household

RHODE ISLAND, owners of Sloop Molly paid Mr. Vernon for 2 days work by Rhode Island in 1746 (RIHS Sloop Molly); may be same Rhode Island who m. PHILLIS and father of LUCE who d. 1746 (Garman 1992); or may be same Rhode Island who m. Phillis and father of BELL who d. 1780 (GLA)

VICKARY, VICKERY

JANE, 1810 census lists 7 in household

RICHARD, DICK, 1790 FAUS member (Robinson 1976); 1790 census lists 3 in household; 1800 census lists 3 in household

VOSE

BOSTON, mentioned in CAESAR LYNDON account of a day trip to Portsmouth in 1766; also mentioned in an August 1768 Caesar Lyndon entry when he returned from Suriname and brought various items back for Lyndon, including 6 cups and saucers and a mirror; may have been a business venture as Lyndon mentions Boston brought him the net proceeds of a hog (CL RIHS)

WAINWOOD

JOHN, sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826

MARY, sailed to Liberia on Brig Vine with Newport Gardner and Salmar Nubia in 1826

PRINCE, b. 1732; servant to Godfrey Wainwood, d. 1772

WALLY, 1800 census lists 5 in household

WALLETT, WILLETT

CATO, 1800 census lists 2 in household; 1810 census lists 2 in household; 1820 census lists 1 male 45+ engaged in agriculture and 1 female 45+

WAMSLEY, WARMSLEY, WORMSLEY

ELIZABETH, alias ELIZABETH DYER; 1810 census lists 6 in household for BETSEY DYER; ELIZABETH WAMSLEY, sued for her freedom 1772 in Stonington, CT (Fiske)

Children of Elizabeth Wamsley:

i. HENRY WAMSLEY, "Henry Wamsley of Stonington, CT, labourer, by Elizabeth Wamsley otherwise Elizabeth Dyer of Newport, singlewoman, his mother and guardian vs. Samuel Phelps of Harrington Co. Litchfield, CT, yeoman and Jeffrey Watson of South Kingston in action of trespass. On 1 January 1772 they sold him as a slave. Plaintiff produced an indenture dated 28 November 1706 between Thomas Wamsley, molatto of Kingstown, husbandman, and Henry Gardner of Kingstown; Wamsley bound himself apprentice from 1 November for 5 1/2 years and in return, 'master shall set free from bondage his molata woman comonly called Patience and sd Thomas Wamsley at the end of 5 1/2 years...she being his reputed wife, and in case the sd molata woman departed this life before [the time was up] Thomas to be free at her death...master also to pay William Gardner, cordwainer, £5. If Patience had a child during the time, it was to be free with them; their other children were to be free at four and twenty years (Fiske)

WAMWORTH

ROSE, b. 1749; carried off by British in 1779; listed as Stout Wench aged 30 with a 2 year old child, bound for Annapolis Royal (RI GA)

WANTON

ANDREW, b. 1786 Tiverton; mariner, sailed on ship Polly out of Newport in 1806 at age 20 (Putney 1987)

BRIDGET, carried off by British in 1779; listed as stout little wench with a small child 5 years old, aged 22 bound for Abaco (RI GA)

CARDARDO, manumitted from John Wanton 1775 (QM)

CESAR, m. DINAH WIGNERON, 1800 census lists 3 in household; 1820 census lists 1 male 45+ 1 female 45+

CUDJO, mentioned in Caesar Lyndon account books of 1765; Cudjo purchased 1/2 bushel of beets for £2 (CL RIHS)

DOMNIE, 1774 census lists 3 in household

HENRY, b. 1784 Tiverton; son of David and Phebe (Howland or Dimini); mariner; sailed on ship John out of Newport in 1804 at age 20 (Putney 1987), m.
POLLY before 1809

Children of Henry and Polly (Beaman):

i. WILLIAM H. b. 1809 m. ESTHER

JACK, there was a "warning out" examination of Jack Wanton on 17 Dec. 1792: "Jack Wanton, a Negro man…saith that he was an African born; that he came to Newport with Capt. John Goddard, who sold him to John Wanton of said Newport, with whom he lived about 15 years; that about a year since his master game him his freedom; that he has a wife named PHILLIS; Phillis' had a hearing on 3 Oct 1800 in Bristol County, MA Phillis stated she was born in Attelboro…married to a black man by the name of JACK WANTON, who belonged to and is now living in Newport; her husband is at times insane; examined Oct 4 1800: Phillis removed to Newport as it was judged to be her legal settlement but was removed from Newport October 7 1800 (Wallis Herndon); 1800 census lists 3 in household; 1810 census lists 3 in household; 1820 census lists 1 male 45+, 1 female 45+

Children of Jack and Phylis:

i. SQUIRE, b. ca. 1790, in 1800 mother stated he was bound out to Foster, RI (Wallis Herndon)
ii. MARIANNE, b. ca. 1793, in 1800 mother stated he was bound out to Foster, RI (Wallis Herndon)
iii. VINA, B. ca. 1796

JACOB, b. 1744, carried off by British in 1779; listed as Ordinary Man aged 35 bound for Port Roseway (RI GA)

JOHN, b. 1789 Tiverton; mariner, sailed on ship Polly out of Newport in 1806 at age 17 (Putney 1987)

JUDAH HAZARD, b. 1730s N. Kingstown; had daughter Urania (Raney) Barker possibly with Lambo Wanton in Newport where she presumably had kin; moved to Newport and eventually Raney did too (Raney's owner, William Barker allowed her to work for a family there); this is also the time Judah is documented as having a relationship with Lambo Wanton; Judah and Lambo fled town during British occupation of 1776; 1780 Judah and Raney became inmates in the Providence workhouse, possibly because Lambo was away at sea; they were warned back to N. Kingstown and W. Greenwich respectively (Wallis Herndon)

Children of Judah and Lambo:

i. URANIA, alias RANEY

MARGE, 1774 census lists 3 in household

MARK, m. PRUE WANTON 1767 (Arnold 1896)

NEWPORT, 1789 FAUS member (Robinson 1976); 1790 census lists 2 in household

PERRY, b. 1782 Tiverton; mariner; sailed on ship Polly out of Newport in 1806 at age 24 (Putney 1987)

POMPEY, b. ca. 1754 carried off by the British in 1779;listed as stout Fellow aged 25 bound for St. John's River (RI GA)

PRINCE, manumitted from Philip Wanton 1775 (QM); 1789 FAUS member, elected 2nd Representative and Sheriff (Robinson 1976); m. KATHARINE; d. 1793 (NP 2:277)

ROBERT, m. ROSANNA BRINLEY

Children of Robert and Rosanna:

i. MARY E. WATSON b. 1840
ii. ROBERT, b. 1840 (Beaman)

SAMBO, 1774 census lists 2 in household; if Sambo is the same person as LAMBO WANTON the other individual may be JUDAH HAZARD WANTON

STEPHEN, b. 1788 Tiverton; mariner; sailed on ship John out of Newport in 1804 at age 16 (Putney 1987)

WARNER

SAMUEL, b. 1743, carried off by the British in 1779; listed as Ordinary Fellow aged 36 bound for Port Roseway (RI GA)

WATERMAN

GEORGE, m. LUCY MARTIN (Beaman)

WEEDEN

BENJAMIN, b. 1788 Jamestown; mariner; sailed on ship Swift out of Newport in 1807 at age 19 (Putney 1987)

BETSEY, 1810 census lists 10 in household; 1820 census lists ELIZABETH WEEDEN with 1 female 14-25 and 1 female 45+ in household

CHARLES, b. 1782 Jamestown; mariner, sailed on ship Azubah and Ruby out of Newport in 1810 at age 28 (Putney 1987)

CHARLES, b. 1793 Charlestown, mariner; sailed on ship Perseverance out of Newport in 1819 at age 26 (Putney 1987)

DAVID, 1800 census lists 3 in household

HUMPHREY, b. 1770; mariner, sailed on ship Rowena out of Newport in 1803 at age 33 (Putney 1987); 1800 census lists 4 in household; 1810 census lists 9 in household

JAMES, b. 1809 Jamestown; mariner; sailed on ship William out of Newport to New Orleans in 1825 at age 16 (Putney 1987)

JOHN, b. 1792 Charleston; mariner; sailed on ship Ebenezer out of Newport in 1817 at age 25 (Putney 1987)

JOHN, m. PHILLIS CHALLONER before 1809; d. 1859

Children of John and Phillis:

i. ELIZA, b. 1809, m. MR. BRUSH (Beaman)

MINTUS, 1810 census lists 10 in household; 1820 census lists 4 in household including 1 male under 14, 1 male 45+, 1 female under 14, 1 female 45+

PETER, b. 1822; So. Kingstown; mariner, sailed on ship Cardiff out of Newport in 1852 at age 30 (Putney 1987)

PETER, m. LUCY before 1812

Children of Peter and Lucy:

i. HANNAH, b. 1812, m. WILLIAM R. WEEDEN, d. 1897 (Beaman)

ROSANNA, charter name for Colored Union Church, est. 1824

THOMAS, m. RUTH; 1800 census lists 2 in household; D. 1809 (NP 4:581)

WILLIAM, b. 1798 Newport; mariner; sailed on ship Hiram out of Newport in 1819 at age 22 (Putney 1987); probably the same William who m. HANNAH before 1839.

Children of William and Hannah Weeden:

i. CHARLES H.W. b. 1839, d. 1863 North Kingstown (Beaman)

YORK, b. 1795 So. Kingstown; mariner; sailed on ship Industry out of Newport in 1818 at age 23 (Putney 1987)

WESTERFIELD

BETTY, b. 1751 carried off by British in 1779; listed as Stout Wench aged 28 bound for Port Mattoon (RI GA)

WHALEY

JAMES, 1810 census lists 4 in household

WHITFORD

ROSANNA G., 1810 census lists 1 in household

WICKHAM

LUKE, m. PHYLIS LOPEZ 1787 (Arnold 1787)

MARK, 1790 census lists 4 in household; 1800 census lists 3 in household

MARTIN, alias MARTIN LANGLEY died intestate (NP 2:264 1792)

WIGNERON

DINAH, b. 1752, m. CAESAR WANTON, d. 1772 (GLA)

WILCOX

CHARLOTTE, 1820 census lists 2 females under 14, 1 female 26-45 in housheold

WILLETT (see Wallett)

WILLIAMS

CATO, soldier d. intestate 1793, Town Treasurer named as administrator of estate (NP 2:294-327)

JOHN, m. MARY DEAN 1818 (Arnold 1896); 1820 census lists 5 in household, including 1 male 26-45, 3 females under 14, 1 female 14-25

ROSE, b. ca. 1751 carried off by British in 1779; listed as a Stout Wench aged 287 bound for Port Roseway (RI GA)

WILSON

WILLIAM, 1790 census lists 2 in household

WITHERS

PETER, runaway advertisement placed in Providence Gazette for Peter 8/27/1791; he was described as looking, “something like an East Indian, his Hair being very black, and curled short in his Neck” (Taylor 1994)

WYATT, WIATTE, WYATE

FORTUNE, mentioned in 1732 court case as "Mr. Wyate's Negro" (Fiske)

PATIENCE, 1820 census lists 1 female 55-100 in household

YAMMA

BRISTOL, Samuel Hopkins sent Bristol Yamma and JOHN QUAMINE to Princeton (Jersey College) in order to educate them to work in Africa (Franklin; Mason); however Bristol d. 1798

YARD

SHANDY, b. 1776, mariner, sailed on ship Bingham out of Newport in 1812 at age 36 (Putney 1987)

Children of Shandy and _____:

i. SHANDY, b. 1797; mariner, sailed on ship Bingham out of Newport in 1812 at age 15 (Putney 1987)

NO SURNAMES AVAILABLE FOR THE FOLLOWING:

AGANT, b. 1739 baptized at age 25 in 1764 (Arnold 1896)

AMY, b. 1769 buried with CUDJO, who died in 1772 (GLA)

CESAR, 1734 lawsuit in which 8 year old Cesar was sold by Samuel Rogers of Newport but was unfit for work (Fiske)

CURANTEE, 1782 census lists 4 (black) in household

DINAH m. POMPEY
Children of Pompey and Dinah (Arnold 1896)

i. Pompey, admitted to 2nd Congregational Church 1774 (Arnold 1896)
ii. Dinah, admitted to 2nd Congregational Church 1774 (Arnold 1896)
iii. Violet, admitted to 2nd Congregational Church 1774 (Arnold 1896)

GAMBO, sued for trespass in 1763 by Thomas Rogers (Fiske)

JAMES, "Cape Coast James" m. VIOLET HAMMOND (cemetery)

PETER, b. 1772, son of VIOLET (Arnold 1896)

PHYLLIS, b. 1747; baptized at age 25 in 1772 (Arnold 1896)

RHODE ISLAND, m. PHYLIS (Arnold, this may be Rhode Island VERNON)

Children of Rhode Island and Phillis:

i. LUCE, b. 1734, d. 1746
ii. BELLE, b. 1748, d. 1756
iii. BELL, b. 1767, d. 1780

BRISTOL, m. PHYLLIS

Children of Bristol and Phyllis:

i. RUTH, admitted to 2nd Congregational Church 1779 (Arnold 1896)

THOMAS, m. HAN (Arnold 1896)

Children of Thomas and Han:

i. SUSA, b. 1770

Appendix ii: LIST OF KNOWN AFRICAN AMERICAN PROPERTY OWNERS, 1774-1826

Lower Thames Street Area
Arthur Flagg
Robert Keith

New Town
Bess Brown
George Johnson

The Point
Arthur Flagg
Francis Challoner
Charles Challoner
Henry Clark
Quash Mowatt
Kingston Pease
Cuff Rodman
Kirby Rodman
Zingo Stevens
Scipio Tanner

Negro Lane (Pope Street)
Peter Armstrong
Salmar Nubia
Bacchus Overing
Paul Overing
Newport Gardner

Levin Street/William Street area
Caesar Bonner
Abraham Casey

Other Property Owners
Bacchus Coggeshall
Abraham Easton
George Hampshear
Cudgo Hicks
John Mowatt

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