

19TH-CENTURY PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND (CONCLUDED)



"So long as the past and present are outside one another, knowledge of the past is not of much use in the problems of the present. But suppose the past lives on in the present: suppose, though encapsulated in it, and at first sight hidden beneath the present's contradictory and more prominent features, it is still alive and active; then the historian may very well be related to the non-historian as the trained woodsman is to the ignorant traveller."



— R.G. Collingwood, *AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY*
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939, page 100

"I go the way that Providence dictates with all the assurance of a sleepwalker."

—Adolf Hitler, 1936, München





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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1850

From this year into 1856, the Reverend [Frederic Henry Hedge](#) would be the [Unitarian](#) minister in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

[George Thomas Downing](#)'s business in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) expanded to include an establishment on Mathewson Street in [Providence](#). The success of this Providence venture would provide the operating capital for construction of the luxurious Sea Girt House fronting on Bellevue Avenue in Newport. This 5-story building had large stores on its 1st floor and accommodations over them. Amenities included restaurant meals, game suppers in private parlors, and accommodations not only for gentlemen boarders but also for entire families. The complex included the Downing family residence. The family operated a confectionery and catering business, supplying the Newport "cottages" — their services included the providing of music. (Evidently they were too successful, for eventually they would be burned out.)

[John Russell Bartlett](#) returned to [Providence, Rhode Island](#). From this year into 1853 he would serve as a United States Commissioner for the survey of the boundary between the United States and [Mexico](#), although owing to lack of funding this project would never be completed.

THE [RHODE-ISLAND ALMANAC](#) FOR 1850. By Isaac Bickerstaff. [Providence](#): Hugh H. Brown.

THE [PROVIDENCE ALMANAC](#) FOR 1850. By John F. Moore.

[Henry Thoreau](#) had in his personal library the 1846, 1849, 1850, and 1851 issues of AMERICAN [ALMANAC](#) AND REPOSITORY OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE (Boston: Grey & Bowen).

ALMANAC FOR 1846

ALMANAC FOR 1849

ALMANAC FOR 1850

ALMANAC FOR 1851

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The [Providence](#) Reform School for wayward children was organized at the former Tockwotton¹ Hotel of India Point. This facility would become the core of the [Rhode Island](#) reform school for juvenile offenders.²

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT



Largely in response to the presence of large numbers of Roman [Catholics](#) in the state, the tax exemption on property used for religious and educational purposes was at this point further limited, to three acres of land, so far as such land was used exclusively for such purposes. This new stipulation immediately became a political issue and was repealed, with all such land “not leased or rented” being again free from taxation. (In 1852 even this restriction would be removed and all property, whether real or personal, that was used in connection with religion and education, or the income of which was devoted to religion or education, would be made totally exempt from taxation. In 1870 the political winds would again blow in the opposite direction and exemption of the personal property of religious and charitable societies would be again restricted, with any such property having a value greater than \$20,000 became taxable. In 1872 this anti-Catholic prejudice would resurface, and the tax exemption would be restricted again to only “buildings for free public schools or for religious worship” and one acre of the ground upon which they stood, and this only if both the land and the buildings were used for no purpose other than free public schooling plus religious worship. Rented property and invested funds of

1. Tockwotton is a native American name. The area was originally a plateau and bluff or headland 50 feet in height, facing the [Narragansett Bay](#).

2. “STATE REFORM SCHOOL, THE, Tockwotton Street, corner East, as the name implies, is a school of reformation, where minors sentenced by the courts, together with those intrusted to it by parents or guardians, are instructed in virtue and morality, the common branches of learning, and some useful kind of labor. There are two buildings: the main building of brick, painted white, with a fine portico on two sides in the Doric style, and containing the dormitories, chapel, library, dining-room, etc.; and a brick structure in the rear, used as a workshop. The buildings (with the exception of the workshop) were formerly the Tockwotton Hotel. The property was purchased by the city in 1850, and held by it until July 1, 1880, when it was transferred to the State. The inmates average 190 (170 boys and 20 girls), and the system of management is known as the “congregate.” Visitors admitted from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. Governor-st. H. C. In the winter of 1882, the Reform School will be removed to a site near the other State institutions in [Cranston](#), where two cottages for the boys, one for the girls, a workshop, and a superintendent’s house, all of stone have been erected at an expense of about \$110,000. Here the “open” or family system will probably be adopted.”



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such institutions, and the school property of the Catholic church and other semi-private education institutions, became taxable. In 1894 the schools of the Catholic church became again free from taxation, and added to that were the buildings of charitable institutions and one acre of the ground on which they stood.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

The USA was designated as an independent province of the Redemptorists. That Catholic order's first US provincial would be a well-known Dutch preacher, Father Bernard Hafkenscheid. The first labor of this group would be that of staffing parishes and giving missions for immigrants speaking the German language, but the provincial soon ordered that the order reach out also to American [Catholics](#) who spoke English. Among the first individuals to be implementing this plan would be Father [Isaac Hecker](#), Father Clarence Walworth (who had accompanied Hecker into the Redemptorists), and another priest who had been born in America, Augustine F. Hewit.³

3.Hewit, the son of a Congregationalist minister, had been an Episcopalian deacon and had journeyed to Catholicism in 1846.

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The Board of Aldermen of Providence, Rhode Island voted to limit Dexter Asylum inmates to 180.



Perry Davis's son Edmund Davis joined him in the patent medicine business located at 43 Pond Street.

ETHANOL
OPIATES





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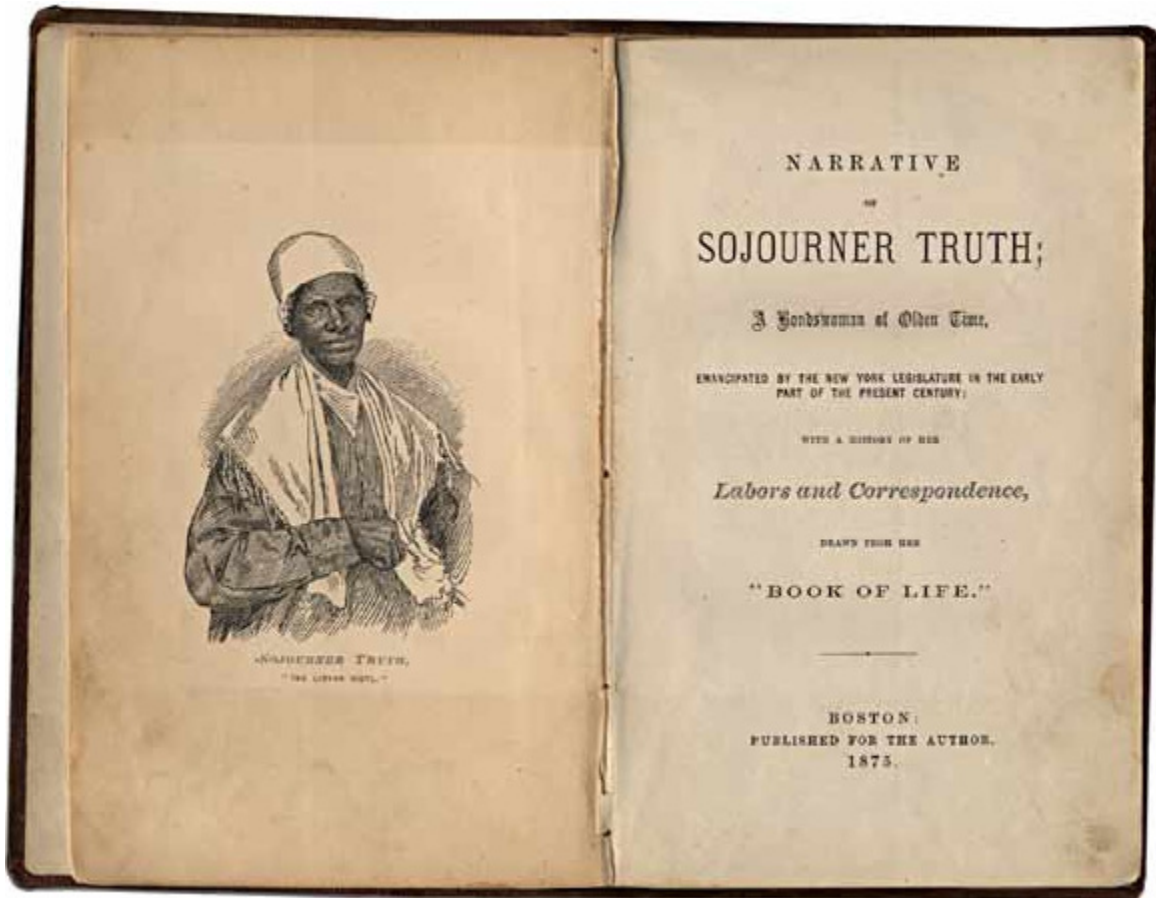
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April: The 128 pages of the 1st edition of NARRATIVE OF Sojourner Truth, A NORTHERN SLAVE, EMANCIPATED FROM BODILY SERVITUDE BY THE STATE OF NEW YORK, IN 1828. WITH A PORTRAIT were printed, on credit terms in Boston by the free-thinking printer from [Providence, Rhode Island](#), George Brown Yerrinton who usually printed up the pamphlets of William Lloyd Garrison. Truth would be able to make a profit by offering it for 25 cents. The illustration is not of this original edition bound in soft covers only:⁴

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

4. THE NARRATIVE OF SOJOURNER TRUTH (1850) dictated by Sojourner Truth (*circa* 1797-1883); edited by Olive Gilbert. Frances Titus would edit several subsequent editions of this NARRATIVE, in 1875 (shown), in 1878, and finally in 1884 when he would be able to tack on a Memorial Chapter. In addition to adding a "Book of Life" section in which he drew upon Truth's scrapbook for autographs, letters, and articles about her travels and speeches, Titus would each time make significant alterations.



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October 7, Monday: [Jenny Lind](#) sang in Howard's Hall in downtown [Providence, Rhode Island](#). The most expensive of the 2,000 seats went to one William Ross, at a price of \$650. Jenny autographed his ticket stub. There were another hundred people permitted to stand inside the building. The doors of the hall were purposely left open, and seats on nearby window ledges were being hawked at 25 cents each.

The published author [Henry Thoreau](#) was written to by a George Bailey in Portland, who had read [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#) and was wondering about that [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) which had been mentioned in the advertisement at the end.

Portland, Me., Oct. 7th., 1850.

Dear Sir:

A few days since, by a lucky accident I met with a copy of a work of yours – "A week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers." – I read it with much interest, – and if I tell you plainly that I am delighted with the book, it is because I cannot help telling you so; – therefore you should pardon whatever is amiss in the expression. – I should like to ask you many questions touching your allusions to persons; such, for instance, as What were the names of the "aged shepherd" and "youthful pastor", p. 21? – What that of the "Concord poet" quoted on p. 49? – of the Justice of the Peace and Deacon, p. 68? what the name of "one who was born on its head waters," quoted on p. 90? – and many more of a similar nature; but I fear that such an act on the part of a stranger, would be but little short of impertinence, though it might be kindly considered by you; so I must not use that method of making myself "wise above what is written."

Next to confessing to you my admiration of your book, my object in writing you, is to make an enquiry for "Walden; or Life in the Woods," – announced at the close of the "Week", as shortly to be published. I have enquired for it in Boston, but no one can tell me anything about it. Will you please inform me if it has been published, and, if so, where it may be found? –
Truly & Respectfully Yours,

Geo. A. Bailey

H.D. Thoreau, Esq., Concord, Mass.



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Do we know that Thoreau responded to this letter? This confusion over "*Walden; or Life in the Woods*" would have of course been in reference to the incorrect "will soon be published" advertisement the publisher placed at the end of the book. The answers to the other inquiries would have been:

Here then an *aged shepherd* dwelt, The Reverend [Ezra Ripley](#)
Who to his flock his substance dealt,
And ruled them with a vigorous crook,
By precept of the sacred Book;
But he the pierless bridge passed o'er,
And solitary left the shore.
Anon a *youthful pastor* came, [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)
Whose crook was not unknown to fame,
His lambs he viewed with gentle glance,
Spread o'er the country's wide expanse,
And fed with "Mosses from the Manse."
Here was our Hawthorne in the dale,
And here the shepherd told his tale.

* * *
"So fair we seem, so cold we are,
So fast we hasten to decay,
Yet through our night glows many a star,
That still shall claim its sunny day." "The River," "*Concord poet*" [Ellery Channing](#)

* * *
"*Justice of the Peace and Deacon*"

* * *
"*born on its head-waters*" Nathaniel Peabody Rogers
Editor of the Concord NH [Herald of Freedom](#)



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October 23, Wednesday: According to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, speaking retrospectively in 1870, “The movement in England, as in America, may be dated from the first National Convention, held at Worcester, Mass., October, 1850.”



FEMINISM

Although [Angelina Emily Grimké Weld](#) was elected to be a member for this vital convention, it would turn out that she would be unable to attend.

Why was it that Stanton, and also Susan B. Anthony, [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), and other pioneers regarded this 1850 Convention in Worcester as the beginning of the crusade for woman’s equality? Why had it not been the 1848 meeting at Seneca Falls for which Stanton had drafted the celebrated Declaration of Sentiments and in which Mott had played such a leading role?

- The gathering at Seneca Falls had been largely a local affair as would be several others that followed, whereas by way of radical contrast this Worcester convention had attracted delegates from most of the northern states.
- Seneca Falls had sparked discussion but it was not clear in its aftermath that there was a national constituency ready to take up the cause. The attendance in response to this Worcester meeting’s Call of those who wanted to see a woman’s rights movement, and the positive reaction to its published proceedings both here and in Europe, showed that a sufficient number of women, and some men, were indeed ready.
- This 1850 convention eventuated in a set of standing committees which marked the beginnings of organized work for woman’s rights.



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The records of the convention may be studied at:

<http://www.wwhp.org/Resources/WomensRights/proceedings.html>

[Waldo Emerson](#) declined to address this convention, and continued to decline such invitations until the 1855 convention in [Boston](#), saying “I do not think it yet appears that women wish this equal share in public affairs,” meaning of course “I do not think it yet appears that we wish to grant women this equal share in public affairs.”



Were I in a sarcastic mood, I would characterize this attitude by inventing a news clipping something like the following:

His Excellency, Hon. Ralph W. Emerson, Representative of the Human Race, treated with the woman, Mrs. James Mott, for purposes of pacification and common decency.

At the beginning of the meeting a Quaker male, [Friend](#) Joseph C. Hathaway of Farmington, New York, was appointed President *pro tem*. As the meeting was getting itself properly organized, however, [Paulina Wright Davis](#) was selected as President, with [Friend](#) Joseph sitting down instead as Secretary for the meeting. At least three New York Quakers were on the body’s Central Committee — Hathaway, [Friend](#) Pliny Sexton and [Friend](#) Sarah H. Hallock, and we immediately note that although this Central Committee was by and large female, two of the three Quakes in this committee were male.

During the course of this convention [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) had occasion to straighten out Wendell Phillips, and he later commented that “she put, as she well knows how, the silken snapper on her whiplash,” that it had been “beautifully done, so the victim himself could enjoy the artistic perfection of his punishment.”



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Now here is a news clipping from this period, equally legitimately offensive, which I **didn't** make up.⁵



His Excellency, Gov. Ramsey and Hon. Richard W. Thompson, have been appointed Commissioners, to treat with the Sioux for the lands west of the Mississippi.

The list of the “members” of this Convention is of interest in that it includes [Sophia Foord](#) of Dedham MA, [Sojourner Truth](#) of [Northampton](#), [Elizabeth Oakes Smith](#) the lyceum lecturer, etc. The newspaper report described Truth’s appearance as dark and “uncomely.” [Friend Lucretia Mott](#), a leader at the convention, described Truth more charitably as “the poor woman who had grown up under the curse of Slavery.” Those on the list, those who officially registered as “members” of the Convention, some 267 in all, were only a fraction of the thousands who attended one or more of the sessions. As J.G. Forman reported in the New-York [Daily Tribune](#) for October 24, 1850, “it was voted that all present be invited to take part in the discussions of the Convention, but that only those who signed the roll of membership be allowed to vote.” The process of signing probably meant that people who arrived together or sat together would have adjacent numbers in the sequence that appears in the Proceedings. This would explain the clustering of people by region and by family name:

- | | | |
|------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| • 1 | Hannah M. Darlington | Kennett Square, Pennsylvania |
| • 2 | T.B. Elliot | Boston |
| • 3 | Antoinette L. Brown | Henrietta NY |
| • 4 | Sarah Pillsbury | Concord NH |
| • 5 | Eliza J. Kenney | Salem MA |
| • 6 | M.S. Firth | Leicester MA |
| • 7 | Oliver Dennett | Portland ME |
| • 8 | Julia A. McIntyre | Charlton MA |
| • 9 | Emily Sanford | Oxford MA |
| • 10 | H.M. Sanford | Oxford MA |
| • 11 | C.D.M. Lane | Worcester |
| • 12 | Elizabeth Firth | Leicester MA |
| • 13 | S.C. Sargent | Boston |
| • 14 | C.A.K. Ball | Worcester |
| • 15 | M.A. Thompson | Worcester |
| • 16 | Lucinda Safford | Worcester |
| • 17 | S.E. Hall | Worcester |
| • 18 | S.D. Holmes | Kingston MA |
| • 19 | Z.W. Harlow | Plymouth MA |
| • 20 | N.B. Spooner | Plymouth MA |
| • 21 | Ignatius Sargent | Boston |
| • 22 | A.B. Humphrey | Hopedale |
| • 23 | M.R. Hadwen | Worcester |
| • 24 | J.H. Shaw | Nantucket Island |
| • 25 | Diana W. Ballou | Cumberland RI |
| • 26 | Olive Darling | Millville MA |
| • 27 | M.A. Walden | Hopedale |
| • 28 | C.M. Collins | Brooklyn CT |
| • 29 | A.H. Metcalf | Worcester |
| • 30 | P.B. Cogswell | Concord NH |

5. From the [Dakota Tawaxitku Kin](#), or [The Dakota Friend](#), St. Paul, Minnesota, November 1850. This word “Sioux,” incidentally, is a hopelessly offensive and alienating term, for it is short for the Ojibwa term “*nadouessioux*” or “enemy.” A better term would be “Dakota,” which in the Dakota language means “union” or “ally.” It tells you a lot about the patronizing attitude of these missionaries, that they would be willing to use an offputting term like “Sioux” in this newspaper.



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- 31 Sarah Tyndale Philadelphia
- 32 A.P.B. Rawson Worcester
- 33 Nathaniel Barney [Nantucket Island](#)
- 34 Sarah H. Earle Worcester MA
- 35 Parker Pillsbury Concord NH
- 36 Lewis Ford Abington MA
- 37 J.T. Everett Princeton MA
- 38 Loring Moody Harwich MA
- 39 [Sojourner Truth](#) [Northampton](#)
- 40 [Friend](#) Pliny Sexton Palmyra NY
- 41 Rev. J.G. Forman W. Bridgewater MA
- 42 Andrew Stone M.D. Worcester
- 43 Samuel May, Jr. Leicester MA
- 44 Sarah R. May Leicester MA
- 45 Frederick Douglass Rochester NY
- 46 Charles Bigham Feltonville MA
- 47 J.T. Partridge Worcester
- 48 Eliza C. Clapp Leicester MA
- 49 Daniel Steward East Line MA
- 50 E.B. Chase Valley Falls MA
- 51 [Sophia Foord](#) Dedham MA
- 52 E.A. Clark Worcester
- 53 E.H. Taft Dedham MA
- 54 Olive W. Hastings Lancaster, Pennsylvania
- 55 Rebecca Plumly Philadelphia
- 56 S.L. Hastings Lancaster, Pennsylvania
- 57 Sophia Taft
- 58 Anna E. Ruggles Worcester
- 59 Mrs. A.E. Brown Brattleboro VT
- 60 Janette Jackson Philadelphia
- 61 Anna R. Cox Philadelphia
- 62 Cynthia P. Bliss [Pawtucket](#), Rhode Island
- 63 R.M.C. Capron [Providence](#)
- 64 M.H. Mowry [Providence](#)
- 65 Mary Eddy [Providence](#)
- 66 Mary Abbott [Hopedale](#)
- 67 Anna E. Fish [Hopedale](#)
- 68 C.G. Munyan [Hopedale](#)
- 69 Maria L. Southwick Worcester
- 70 Anna Cornell Plainfield CT
- 71 S. Monroe Plainfield CT
- 72 Anna E. Price Plainfield CT
- 73 M.C. Monroe Plainfield CT
- 74 F.C. Johnson Sturbridge MA
- 75 Thomas Hill Webster MA
- 76 Elizabeth Frail Hopkinton MA
- 77 Eli Belknap Hopkinton MA
- 78 M.M. Frail Hopkinton MA
- 79 Valentine Belknap Hopkinton MA
- 80 Phebe Goodwin West Chester, Pennsylvania
- 81 Edgar Hicks Brooklyn NY
- 82 Ira Foster Canterbury NH



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- 83 Effingham L. Capron Worcester
- 84 Frances H. Drake Leominster MA
- 85 Calvin Fairbanks Leominster MA
- 86 E.M. Dodge Worcester
- 87 Eliza Barney [Nantucket Island](#)
- 88 Lydia Barney [Nantucket Island](#)
- 89 Alice Jackson Avondale, Pennsylvania
- 90 G.D. Williams Leicester MA
- 91 Marian Blackwell Cincinnati OH
- 92 Elizabeth Earle Worcester
- 93 [Friend](#) Joseph C. Hathaway Farmington NY
- 94 E. Jane Alden Lowell MA
- 95 Elizabeth Dayton Lowell MA
- 96 Lima H. Ober [Boston](#)
- 97 Mrs. Lucy N. Colman Saratoga Springs NY
- 98 Dorothy Whiting Clintonville MA
- 99 Emily Whiting Clintonville MA
- 100 Abigail Morgan Clinton MA
- 101 Julia Worcester Milton NH
- 102 Mary R. Metcalf Worcester
- 103 R.H. Ober [Boston](#)
- 104 D.A. Mundy [Hopedale](#)
- 105 Dr. S. Rogers Worcester
- 106 Jacob Pierce PA
- 107 Mrs. E.J. Henshaw W. Brookfield MA
- 108 Edward Southwick Worcester
- 109 E.A. Merrick Princeton MA
- 110 Mrs. C. Merrick Princeton MA
- 111 Lewis E. Capen PA
- 112 Joseph Carpenter New-York
- 113 Martha Smith Plainfield CT
- 114 Lucius Holmes Thompson CT
- 115 Benj. Segur Thompson CT
- 116 C.S. Dow Worcester
- 117 S.L. Miller PA
- 118 Isaac L. Miller PA
- 119 Buel Picket Sherman CT
- 120 Josiah Henshaw W. Brookfield MA
- 121 Andrew Wellington Lexington MA
- 122 Louisa Gleason Worcester
- 123 Paulina Gerry Stoneham MA
- 124 [Lucy Stone](#) West Brookfield MA
- 125 Ellen Blackwell Cincinnati OH
- 126 Mrs. Chickery Worcester
- 127 Mrs. F.A. Pierce Worcester
- 128 C.M. Trenor Worcester
- 129 R.C. Capron Worcester
- 130 Wm. Lloyd Garrison [Boston](#)
- 131 Emily Loveland Worcester
- 132 Mrs. S. Worcester Worcester
- 133 Phebe Worcester Worcester
- 134 Adeline Worcester Worcester



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- 135 Joanna R. Ballou MA
- 136 Abby H. Price [Hopedale](#)
- 137 B. Willard MA
- 138 T. Poole Abington MA
- 139 M.B. Kent [Boston](#)
- 140 D.H. Knowlton
- 141 E.H. Knowlton Grafton MA
- 142 G. Valentine MA
- 143 A. Prince Worcester
- 144 Lydia Wilmarth Worcester
- 145 J.G. Warren Worcester
- 146 Mrs. E.A. Stowell Worcester
- 147 Martin Stowell Worcester
- 148 Mrs. E. Stamp Worcester
- 149 C. M. Barbour Worcester
- 150 Daniel Mitchell [Pawtucket](#), Rhode Island
- 151 Alice H. Easton
- 152 Anna Q.T. Parsons [Boston](#)
- 153 C.D. McLane Worcester
- 154 W.H. Channing [Boston](#)
- 155 Wendell Phillips [Boston](#)
- 156 Abby K. Foster Worcester
- 157 S. S. Foster Worcester
- 158 [Paulina Wright Davis](#) [Providence](#)
- 159 Wm. D. Cady Warren MA
- 160 Ernestine L. Rose New-York
- 161 Mrs. J. G. Hodgden Roxbury MA
- 162 C.M. Shaw [Boston](#)
- 163 Ophelia D. Hill Worcester
- 164 Mrs. P. Allen Millbury MA
- 165 Lucy C. Dike Thompson CT
- 166 E. Goddard Worcester
- 167 M.F. Gilbert West Brookfield MA
- 168 G. Davis [Providence](#)
- 169 A.H. Johnson Worcester
- 170 W.H. Harrington Worcester
- 171 E.B. Briggs Worcester
- 172 A.C. Lackey Upton MA
- 173 Ora Ober Worcester
- 174 A. Barnes Princeton RI
- 175 Thomas Provan [Hopedale](#)
- 176 Rebecca Provan [Hopedale](#)
- 177 A.W. Thayer Worcester
- 178 M.M. Munyan Millbury MA
- 179 W.H. Johnson Worcester
- 180 Dr. S. Mowry [Chepachet](#) RI
- 181 George W. Benson [Northampton](#)
- 182 Mrs. C.M. Carter Worcester
- 183 H.S. Brigham Bolton MA
- 184 E.A. Welsh Feltonville MA
- 185 Mrs. J.H. Moore Charlton MA
- 186 Margaret S. Merrit Charlton MA



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- 187 Martha Willard Charlton MA
- 188 A.N. Lamb Charlton MA
- 189 Mrs. Chaplin Worcester
- 190 Caroline Farnum
- 191 N.B. Hill Blackstone MA
- 192 K. Parsons Worcester
- 193 Jillson Worcester
- 194 E.W.K. Thompson
- 195 L. Wait [Boston](#)
- 196 Mrs. Mary G. Wright CA
- 197 F.H. Underwood Webster MA
- 198 Asa Cutler CT
- 199 J.B. Willard Westford MA
- 200 Perry Joslin Worcester
- 201 [Friend](#) Sarah H. Hallock Milton NY
- 202 Elizabeth Johnson Worcester
- 203 Seneth Smith Oxford MA
- 204 Marian Hill Webster MA
- 205 Wm. Coe Worcester
- 206 E.T. Smith Leominster MA
- 207 Mary R. Hubbard
- 208 S. Aldrich Hopkinton MA
- 209 M.A. Maynard Feltonville MA
- 210 S.P.R. Feltonville MA
- 211 Anna R. Blake Monmouth ME
- 212 Ellen M. Prescott Monmouth ME
- 213 J.M. Cummings Worcester
- 214 Nancy Fay Upton MA
- 215 M. Jane Davis Worcester
- 216 D.R. Crandell Worcester
- 217 E.M. Burleigh Oxford MA
- 218 Sarah Chafee Leominster MA
- 219 Adeline Perry Worcester
- 220 Lydia E. Chase Worcester
- 221 J.A. Fuller Worcester
- 222 Sarah Prentice Worcester
- 223 Emily Prentice Worcester
- 224 H.N. Fairbanks Worcester
- 225 Mrs. A. Crowl Worcester
- 226 Dwight Tracy Worcester
- 227 J.S. Perry Worcester
- 228 Isaac Norcross Worcester
- 229 M.A.W. Johnson Salem OH
- 230 Mrs. C.I.H. Nichols Brattleboro VT
- 231 Charles Calistus Burleigh Plainfield CT
- 232 E.A. Parrington Worcester
- 233 Mrs. Parrington Worcester
- 234 Harriet F. Hunt [Boston](#)
- 235 Chas F. Hovey [Boston](#)
- 236 [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) Philadelphia
- 237 Susan Fuller Worcester
- 238 Thomas Earle Worcester



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- 239 Alice Earle Worcester
- 240 Martha B. Earle Worcester
- 241 Anne H. Southwick Worcester
- 242 Joseph A. Howland Worcester
- 243 Adeline H. Howland Worcester
- 244 O.T. Harris Worcester
- 245 Julia T. Harris Worcester
- 246 John M. Spear [Boston](#)
- 247 E.J. Alden
- 248 E.D. Draper [Hopedale](#)
- 249 D.R.P. Hewitt Salem MA
- 250 L.G. Wilkins Salem MA
- 251 J.H. Binney Worcester
- 252 Mary Adams Worcester
- 253 Anna T. Draper
- 254 Josephine Reglar
- 255 Anna Goulding Worcester
- 256 Adeline S. Greene
- 257 Silence Bigelow
- 258 A. Wyman
- 259 L.H. Ober
- 260 Betsey F. Lawton [Chepachet RI](#)
- 261 Emma Parker Philadelphia
- 262 Olive W. Hastings Lancaster MA (error?)
- 263 Silas Smith IO
- 264 Asenath Fuller
- 265 Denney M.F. Walker
- 266 Eunice D.F. Pierce
- 267 Elijah Houghton

November: In [Providence](#), Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, Charles Calistus Burleigh, and Charles Lenox Remond addressed the annual meeting of the [Rhode Island](#) Anti-Slavery Society. This would be the first of Sojourner's antislavery speeches that has been documented.

I think it likely that it would have been at this point that [William J. Brown](#) met Frederick Douglass:



PAGES 93-94: When Frederick Douglass paid us a visit, I met him in company with several brethren, and he was introduced as a Methodist preacher. He said he had heard we were brought up on election day on crackers and cheese. He received his information from an Abolitionist in the Democratic party. It came about in this way: When the colored people were first called upon to vote to see whether the people wanted a constitution or not, the Suffrage party threatened to mob any colored person daring to vote that day. We proposed to meet at the old artillery gun house the day before. We had a meeting that evening and thought it best to get the people together and keep them over night, so they would be ready for the polls in the morning. In order to keep them we must have something to eat, for if the Democrats got hold of them we could not get them to vote, for they would get them filled up with rum so that we could not do a thing with



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them; so in order to secure them we had to hunt them up, bring them to the armory, and keep men there to entertain them. I met with them in the afternoon and found men of all sorts, from all parts of the city, and all associating together. They had coffee, crackers, cheese and shaved beef. During the time a lot of muskets were brought in, and put in a rack. It is said they were brought in to use in case of disturbance, some said good enough, let them come. They scraped the hollow and every place, getting all the men they could find; then coffee, crackers and cheese were plenty, and no one disturbed them. When the polls were opened, those in the first ward went to vote in a body, headed by two powerful men. They voted in the Benefit Street school house; the officers went ahead to open the way. They all voted and then went home, that ended the crackers and cheese. Mr. Bibb tried hard to get the colored voters to vote the Liberty ticket. We made him understand it was not all gold that glitters. He left our quarters and went about his business, and the Law and Order party elected their candidates. I received six dollars for my work. Mr. Bowen employed me after election to go around and see if there were strangers that had been here long enough to vote, and see that their names were registered, and at the next election he would pay me. I collected quite a number who had never taken the trouble to register their names.

1851

The Merino woolens mill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) that had burned in 1841 would be being rebuilt from this year into 1853, by the Franklin Manufacturing Company. Instead of the woolen goods that had been being produced, the new mill would produce cotton goods. (In the 1890s nearly 300 workers in this mill would be making shoelaces and similar items for the greater glory of the Joslin Braiding Company, and then in 1930 the Lincoln Lace and Braid Company would take over the mill buildings, which would at some point be abandoned — and in 1994 would be torched by vandals.)

In [Rhode Island](#), Philip Allen was in charge. The General Assembly offered a blueprint for reform by promulgating a report by Thomas Hazard on the status and treatment of the poor and insane. It became possible to commit patients to the [Butler Hospital](#) for the Insane in [Providence](#) against their will. (It should be born in mind that this hospital was never guilty of the more coercive restraints. It was able to maintain a patient population of 100-150 while using restraints only once — on an inmate who could not be dissuaded from trying to open a self-inflicted wound.)

PSYCHOLOGY



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The Roman [Catholic](#) Sisters of Mercy established St. Aloysius Home in their convent on Claverick Street in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) near the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul. (By 1862 this orphanage –the oldest continuous social welfare agency in the diocese– would be occupying a better building, on Prairie Avenue.)

At the [Yearly Meeting School](#) on top of the hill, a barn had burned down and was replaced with one built of stone. Board and tuition stood at \$72 per year per young scholar, plus a surcharge for the occasional non-[Quaker](#) pupil. The school staff and the scholars began a practice of walking down the hill to the Providence meetinghouse at the corner of North Main Street and Meeting Street, for worship both at a Sunday afternoon worship and at a Midweek worship (presumably, non-Quaker scholars would have been exempted from this).



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1852

[Dr. H.C. Preston](#) became President of the [Rhode Island](#) Homœopathic Society. He became an associate editor and a constant contributor to the [Philadelphia Journal of Homœopathy](#).

All property in [Rhode Island](#), whether real or personal, that was used in connection with religion and education, or the income of which was devoted to religion or education, was in this year freed from taxation. (In 1870 the political winds would blow in the opposite direction and exemption of the personal property of religious and charitable societies would be again restricted, with any such property having a value greater than \$20,000 became taxable. Anti-Catholic prejudice would in 1872 cause the tax exemption to be restricted again to only “buildings for free public schools or for religious worship” and one acre of the ground upon which they stood, and this only if both the land and the buildings were used for no purpose other than free public schooling plus religious worship. Rented property and invested funds of such institutions, and the school property of the Catholic church and other semi-private educations institutions, would become taxable. In 1894 the schools of the Catholic church be again freed from taxation, and added to that would be the buildings of charitable institutions and one acre of the ground on which they stood.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

[Quaker](#) discipline eased up a bit, and the enrollment at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence](#) picked up from its low point of 55 in 1845, and was averaging about 95.

In the future the school would not be utilizing superintendents, but instead would be utilizing principals:

Superintendents.

| | |
|------------|---|
| 1819-1824. | Purinton, Matthew and Betsy. |
| 1824-1835. | Breed, Enoch and Lydia. |
| 1829-1835. | Gould, Stephen and Hannah, Asst. Supts. |
| 1835-1836. | Davis, Seth and Mary. |
| 1837. | Breed, Enoch and Lydia. |
| 1838-1839. | Rathbun, Rowland and Alice. |
| 1840-1844. | Wing, Allen and Olive. |
| 1845-1846. | Thompson, Olney and Lydia. |
| 1847. | Congdon, Jarvia and Lydia. |
| 1847-1852. | Cornell, Silas and Sarah M. |



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The distinction between a superintendent and a principal is not a casual one. It is, rather, that “principal” is a legal term of art, reserved for the sort of situation in which a person has a direct personal financial stake in outcomes. A principal is a principal because he or she received part of the proceeds.

Friend John Kellam has been researching the records that are now stored on the second floor of the Rhode Island Historical Society repository on Hope Avenue in [Providence](#), and has by email provided me with the following synopsis of the situation:

In 1852 the school closed immediately after a fire for repairs and opportune improvements; and reopened for the winter term in early 1853. The printed minutes of the 1852 Yearly Meeting are missing from the bound book. Oak Grove Seminary (a school which was in competition) opened at Vassalboro, Maine in 1854, and would come under the care of the New England Yearly Meeting in 1884. School charges per term in 1850 were \$30 for child members, \$45 for children of members, and \$50 for members of other Yearly Meetings, and would be raised by small increments to 1855 when they were \$40 for members, \$60 for children of members, and \$100 for all others. The \$5 charged for instruction in Ancient Languages or French or Drawing didn't change during those years. But although those charges made annual income from scholars rise from \$6,912 in 1850 to \$12,362, the School (general) Fund indebtedness increased from \$1,956 in 1853 to \$8,277 in 1855 when a special Meeting for Sufferings (precursor to Permanent Board later on) on March 9th, 1855 received notice from the Boarding School Committee that the school was vacated, with Charles and Cynthia Earle appointed as Steward and Matron to reside in the School House and hold the custody of the premises and property. The Boarding School reopened at commencement of the winter term, with teaching provided under contract for \$1,500 (later, \$3,000 per year) by Joseph and Gertrude Cartland as the Principals. In 1856 the School Fund debt reduced from \$8,277 to \$5,922. \$1,233 worth of farm produce was taken by Joseph Cartland to be used within the Institution and accounted for. For several years an excess of income over expenses was applied to reduce the School Fund debt until the School Committee was hopeful that all debt could be soon eliminated. Meanwhile, the \$6,500 proceeds from the 1849 sale of one of the two 10-acre lots (the one north of Olney Street) was placed in the School Fund as a loan from the Farm Fund which for several years received interest of about \$700 per year until repayment was made of the principal.



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1853

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the United States Army Corps of Engineers was surveying the river prior to dredging a channel south of Fox Point to a depth of 10 feet and width of 100 feet.

The Howard Building in downtown [Providence, Rhode Island](#), named for George A. Howard, containing Howard's Hall where large-scale performances and lectures were staged, in this year burned down for the 1st time. (The building would promptly be rebuilt but would burn down again in 1858 and need to be again rebuilt in 1859.)

The [Providence, Rhode Island Baptist](#) church for people of color that was favored by [William J. Brown](#) at this point secured the services of a recent graduate of a theological institution, the Reverend Chauncey Leonard. There was, however, a problem connected with this hire, as the young man had received financial assistance during his education, and part of that deal was that he had agreed to go as a missionary to Liberia. It would turn out that if he was to stay and minister in the USA instead, he would need to repay said student loan — and on the low salary that this church congregation would be able to afford to pay, it would prove to be difficult for him to discharge such a dead horse. The situation they were creating was, therefore, unfortunately preloaded for a future personnel problem, a problem that would surface after but two years of the Reverend Leonard's pastorate in Providence.⁶

6. Note please, that the organization we are speaking of here was a Baptist one, and definitely was not the Methodist or "AME" one which has so frequently been inferred to have been taking part in the Underground Railroad. There is nothing in the late-life reminiscences of Brown to suggest that he or his associates or his denomination ever were involved in any way with escaping slaves.



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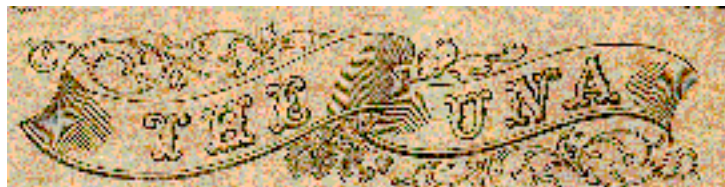
GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

At the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the vacation between semesters was increased from two weeks to one month. Installation of gas lighting brought a great improvement over the whale-oil lamps that had previously been needed for study. Average annual attendance had increased to 144 young scholars, mostly [Quaker](#).

Sarah Harris, who as a 19-year-old in 1832 had generated considerable hostility among white citizens by attempting to attend [Prudence Crandall](#)'s boarding school "for young ladies and little misses" in Canterbury, Connecticut –when in fact she only "looked white" but actually "was black"– had since married with the blacksmith George Fayerweather, and the couple had begun a family, and they had christened their 1st infant with the name Prudence Crandall Fayerweather. In this year this family moved into a cottage in [Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) that had been built by George's father — a structure now in the Historic Register.



February 1, Tuesday: [Paulina Wright Davis](#)'s [The Una](#) began publication out of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) and Washington DC:



The masthead proclaimed it "A Paper Devoted to the Elevation of Women." This was among the 1st such periodicals (Amelia Bloomer had begun her temperance newspaper [The Lily](#) in 1849) and was definitely the



1st to be owned, edited, and published by a woman. The periodical would be printed for a couple of years before collapsing in 1855 due to lack of funds.

FEMINISM



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September: Before the Supreme Court of [Rhode Island](#), the case of [Perry Davis](#) vs. George Kendall (as reported in THE AMERICAN LAW REGISTER for 1852-1891, Volume 2, Number 11 for September 1854, pages 681-685). Evidently a drug dealer named Kendall had been manufacturing and vending a compound similar to the [Providence](#) drug dealer Davis's "Pain-Killer" "Manufactured by Perry Davis" "The original inventor, No. 74 High St." under the name "J.A. Perry's Vegetable Pain-Killer," in bottles of similar size though of somewhat different shape, thus pirating Mr. Davis's trade-mark under which said compound had become extensively and favorably known. The attorney for the defendant drug dealer Kendall pointed out to the court that there was no copy-right on words of the English language such as "Pain-Killer." The Supreme Court held that the whole question in this case was, whether the defendant drug dealer's label was liable to deceive the public, and to lead them to suppose they are purchasing an article manufactured by the plaintiff drug dealer Davis instead of by the defendant drug dealer Kendall. The majority of the court ruled for the plaintiff drug dealer, agreeing that his copy-right had in fact illicitly been infringed and that he would therefore be entitled to legal redress.



ETHANOL
OPIATES

(The past is a foreign country — you will instantly notice that our courts no longer proactively protect the entitlements of drug dealers in any such manner.)



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November 9, Wednesday: Perry Davis of Providence, Rhode Island was ordained to the Baptist ministry.



Since Mr. Davis was a world-class drug dealer specializing in opiates and ethanol, we may be pardoned for turning at this point to an insight about the heartlessness of capitalist society by Karl Marx:



"Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people. The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is required for their real happiness. The demand to give up the illusion about its condition is the demand to give up a condition which needs illusions. The criticism of religion is, therefore, in embryo, the criticism of that vale of tears of which religion is the halo."



- Karl Marx, CRITIQUE OF HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF RIGHT (February 1844)

Excerpt from "Thoreau as Storyteller in the Journal" by Professor Sandra Harbert Petrulionis:

On November 29, 1853, sandwiched in between the Journal's discussion of a rare beetle and a local boy's find of a Native American artifact, Thoreau records a story told to him by local farmer George Minott—a tale of a rabid dog which met its demise in Concord many years before. Francis H. Allen included this tale in his 1936 Men of Concord, a compilation of the Journal's character sketches. As a way of leading in to it, Thoreau relates the fact that recently a boy in nearby Lincoln had been fatally bitten by a rabid dog. Thoreau—who calls what he's about to



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write a "story"—justifies the digression as "worth telling for it shows how much trouble the passage of one mad dog through the town may produce" (Journal V 522).

[5] In classic storytelling fashion, Thoreau begins by establishing the time and setting: "It was when he [Minott] was a boy and lived down below the Old Ben Prescott House—over the Cellar Hole on what is now Hawthorne's Land." The following excerpts summarize Minott's description of the dog's progress through town:

When the dog got to the old Ben Prescott Place... there were a couple of turkies—[it] drove them into a corner—bit off the head of one.... They then raised the cry of mad dog... his [Minott's] mother and Aunt Prescott... coming down the road—and he shouted to them to take care of them selves—for that dog was mad— Minott next saw Harry Hooper—coming down the road after his cows... & he shouted to him to look out for the dog was mad—but Harry... being short the dog leaped right upon his open breast & made a pass at his throat, but missed it. (522-523)

[6] the name of Fay—dressed in small clothes" was waylaid by the dog and bitten twice because he failed to heed Minott's warning that the oncoming dog was mad. Thoreau writes that "Fay... well frightened, kicked the dog, "seized [it]... held him... fast & called lustily for somebody to come & kill him." Unfortunately, when a man named Lewis "rushed out" to help, his axe was somewhat "dull," and after a worthless "blow across the back," the "dog trotted along still toward town" (523-524).

[7] The dog proceeded to bite two cows, both of which later died, to grab "a goose in the wing" and "kept on through the town" (523). Finally, however, it met its demise at the hands of the story's unlikely hero: "The next thing that was heard of him—Black Cato... was waked up about midnight... he took a club & went out to see what was the matter— Looking over into the pen this dog reared up at him & he knocked him back into it & jumping over—mauled him till he thought he was dead & then tossed him out" (524-525). Unfortunately, Cato discovered the next morning that the dog was in fact not dead and had disappeared. Later that day, he encountered the dog again, "but this time having heard the mad dog story he... ran—but still the dog came on & once or twice he knocked him aside with a large stone—till at length... he gave him a blow which killed him— & lest he should run away again he cut off his head & threw both head & body into the river—" (525). Cato succeeds where esteemed white citizens fail; his heroic act rids the town of danger.

[8] From the vantage of our safe hindsight, the story's humor is inseparable from its potential tragedy. Anyone who comes in contact with this dog could, of course, be killed. Nevertheless, Thoreau has a bit of fun at the expense of the townsfolk. Mr. Fay was possibly Grant Fay, a local farmer whose son Addison was



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a contemporary of Thoreau. As "a large and stout old gentleman... dressed in small clothes," twice bitten by the dog largely through his own ineptitude, Fay suffers at Thoreau's hands. Moreover, Thoreau concludes with the information that "Fay went home... drank some spirit... went straight over to Dr. Heywoods... &... was doctored 3 weeks. cried like a baby. The Dr cut out the mangled flesh &... Fay... never experienced any further ill effects from the bite" (525).

November 27, Sunday: On or after this day, when he made his will, [Christopher A. Greene](#), who had had some sort of serious respiratory condition ever since his military service in Florida, died in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) at the age of 37. ([Sarah Chace Greene](#) would for many years be operating a girls' school in Providence.)

1854

The Hartford, [Providence](#), and Fishkill railroad link was completed, connecting [Rhode Island](#) with the Hudson River.

Yet another outbreak of the [cholera](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) prompted Dr. Edwin M. Snow to characterize the condition of the local Moshassuck River as "filthy as any common sewer."





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[Asa Fitch](#) became the first professional [entomologist](#) of the New York State Agricultural Society (commissioned by the State of New York).



This made him the very 1st it's-my-day-job entomologist in the US of A (many of his notebooks are now at the Smithsonian Institution).

[Benedict Jaeger](#), assisted by [H.C. Preston, M.D.](#), produced a “valuable ornament for the parlor table” (that’s how he described it) entitled THE LIFE OF NORTH AMERICAN INSECTS ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS COLORED



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ENGRAVINGS AND NARRATIVES (Published for the Author. [Providence](#): Sayles, Miller and Simons, Printers).



NORTH AMERICAN INSECTS

This was initially issued in parts, six in all, each with a colored plate of insect illustrations prepared by [Dr. Washington Hoppin](#), and prefaced with a thumbnail biography of [Sir Hans Sloane, M.D.](#), who had founded the British Museum:



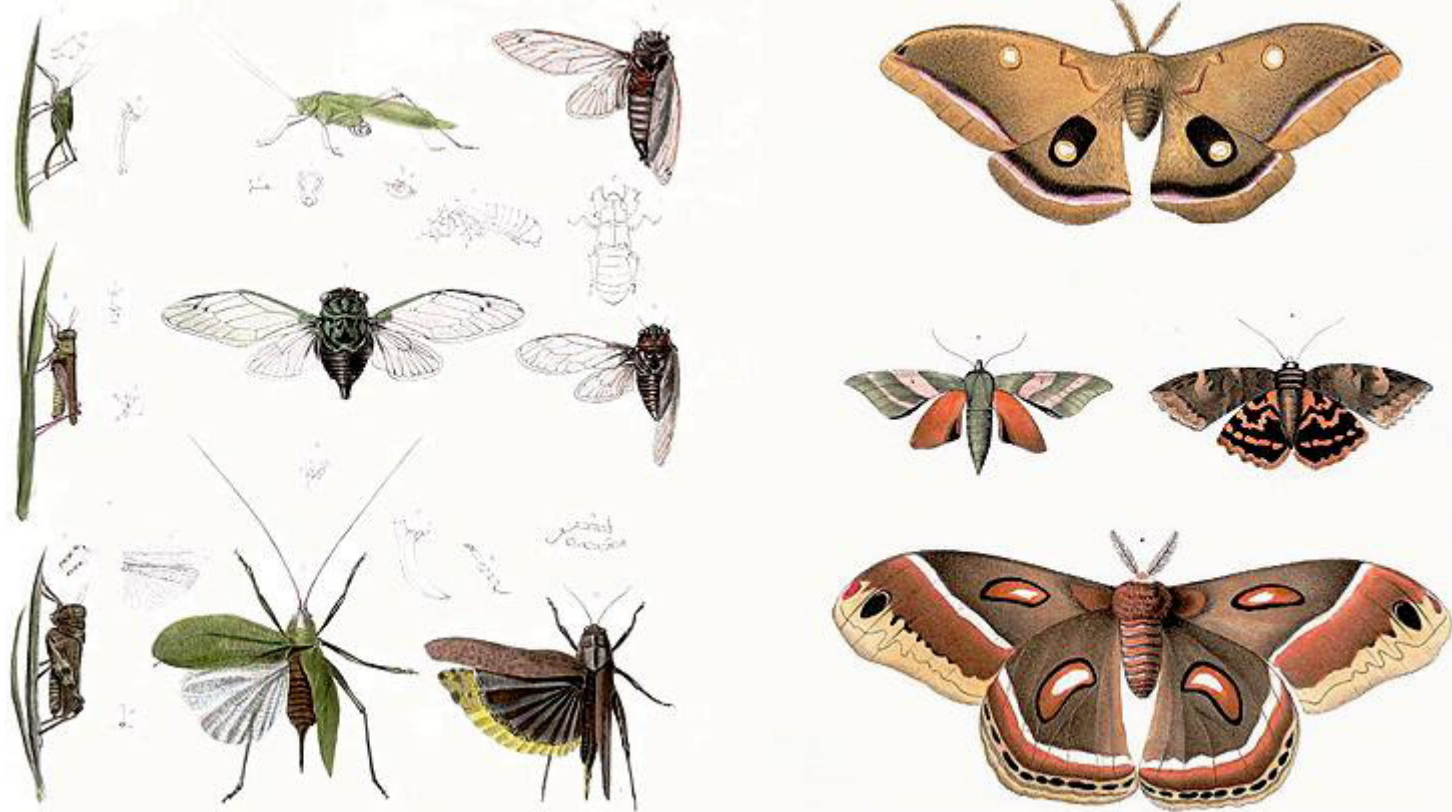
SIR HANS SLOANE, M.D.

Afterward the six parts were offered bound together as a book. What [Henry Thoreau](#) had in his personal library may have been this initial printing in six separate parts (and it would seem, out of good judgment or whatever, that he never made notes from this questionable source, in any of his Commonplace books or Indian notebooks, etc.). John D. Sherman's "Catalog 10 of Books on Insects" has characterized Professor Jaeger's volume as "famous as the most worthless of all American Insect books," presumably due to its lack of organization, lack of detailed information, egregious blunders, and "semi-philosophical meanderings."

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Now it is a fact that during my twenty-two years' residence in this country not a single summer has passed without my seeing some of these red-eyed Cicadas in one or other of the States, and hence I must maintain that the name "Seventeen-years Locust" is neither correct nor proper.

At some point [Thoreau](#) would check out, from the [New Bedford, Massachusetts](#) library, a volume published in this year, [Ebenezer Emmons](#)'s INSECTS OF NEW-YORK.





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At the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the “old” gymnasium was erected — a wooden structure that was for use only by the boy scholars. The charge for board and tuition was increased to \$80 per scholar per year, plus a surcharge of \$120 if the scholar happened not to be from a [Quaker](#) family. There would be an additional surcharge of \$10 for instruction in ancient languages, French, and drawing.

One attitude toward [Quakers](#) in the arts:

Thou shalt rob me no more of sweet silence and rest,
For I’ve proved thee a trap, a seducer at best.
—Friend Amelia Opie’s “Farewell to Music”



(Amelia, who had been a popular fiction writer before giving this up in 1825 in order to become a [Quaker](#), had died in 1853 leaving her book manuscript THE PAINTER AND HIS WIFE unfinished.)

And another, completely different, attitude toward [Quakers](#) in the arts, in the same year: Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)’s LITERARY RECREATIONS AND MISCELLANIES. Among the poems from this period is “Maud Muller,” with its best-known couplet:

Of all sad words of tongue and pen
The saddest are these, “It might have been.”





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George F. Wilson and Professor Eben N. Horsford built a chemical laboratory just to the east of [Providence](#): Geo. F. Wilson & Co. They would name their chemical works, and also the village that grew up around it, in honor of Count von Rumford, because he had funded at Harvard University a professorship, and because this chair had since 1847 been held by Professor Horsford as “Rumford Professor of the Application of Science to the Useful Arts.” The factory would manufacture:

- Horsford’s Cream of Tartar Substitute.
- Horsford’s Bread Preparation.
- Horsford’s Phosphatic Baking Powder (Double-Acting Baking Powder).
- Rumford Yeast Powder.
- Horsford’s Acid Phosphate.
- Horsford’s Anti-Chlorine.
- Horsford’s Sulphite for Preserving Cider.

The previous type of baking powder (now known as single-acting) merely fizzed in the presence of liquid. Housewives had been able to make it themselves by combining baking soda and cream of tartar, but timing was critical as the mixture fizzed out rapidly while being mixed. The new “double-acting” baking powder was a convenience product: it was the old concoction plus a substance that did not begin to fizz until heated — sodium aluminum phosphate. Initially the phosphate would be obtained from ground-up slaughterhouse bones. This mixture had a good shelf life, so all the housewife would need to do would be to spoon it out of the convenient red can. Professor Horsford, who of course resided in Cambridge rather than in [Rhode Island](#), would become quite wealthy.



October 14, Saturday: [Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to H.G.O. Blake.

*Concord Sat. Pm. Oct 14th '54
Blake,
I have just returned
from Plymouth, where I have
been detained surveying much
longer than I expected.
What do you say to visiting
Wachusett next Thursday?
I will start at 7. 1/4 A.m. unless*



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*there is a prospect of a stormy day,
go by cars to Westminster, & thence
on foot 5 or 6 miles to the
Mt top, where I may engage to*

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*meet you at (or before) 12.M.
If the weather is unfavorable,
I will try again—on Friday,—&
again on Monday.
If a storm comes on after starting,
I will seek you at the tavern
in Princeton Center, as soon
as circumstances will permit.
I shall expect an answer [at once]
to clinch the bargain.
Yrs*

Henry D. Thoreau. <not HDT>

Thoreau, who had at this point arrived back in Concord, was being written to by an abolitionist and businessman and abolitionism coordinator, [Asa Fairbanks](#), in [Rhode Island](#), representing the [Providence Lyceum](#):

*Providence Oct 14[.] [1854]
[Mr.] Henry D Thoreau
Dear Sir
Our Course of Independent[,] or
reform Lectures (ten in number) we propose
to commence [N]ext [M]onth. Will you give me
the liberty to put your name in program, and
say when it will suit your [convenience] to come.
every Lecturer will choose his own subject,
but we expect all[,] whether [Anti[S]lavery] or
what else, will be of a reformatory [Character]
who
We have engaged Theodore Parker[,] ^will give
the Introductory Nov. 1st[.] (Garrison, W. Phillips
[Thos] W. Higginson Lucy Stone (Mrs Rose of New York[]
Antoinett L[]Brown and hope to [have] Cassius [M]
Clay, & Henry Ward Beecher, (we had a course
of these lectures last year and the receipts from
[] tickets at a low price paid expenses and [¢]
fifteen to twenty dollars to the Lecturers—we
think we shall do as well this year as last, and*



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*perhaps better[,] the Anthony [Burns] [affair] and the
of [~~S~~]lavery Nebraska bill, and other outrages[,] has done much
to awaken the feeling of a class of [M]inds
heretofore [quiet,] on all questions of reform*

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*In getting up these popular Lectures [we]
not thought [at] first, it would[,] do us well to have [them] [,]too radical, or it
would be best to have a part of
the speakers of the conservative class, but experience
has shown us [~~St~~] in Providence surely, that the
[M]asses who attend such Lectures are better suited
with reform lectures than with the old
school conservatives[.] I will thank you for an
early reply
Yours Respectfully for [true freedom]
A. Fairbanks*

<misc nature notes on remainder of page, reading from opposite direction>

October 18, Wednesday: [Henry Thoreau](#)'s plan for his "Course of Lectures" changed when a letter from [Asa Fairbanks](#) asked him to permit his name to appear in a program of reform lectures scheduled to commence in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) on November 1st. Fairbanks advised Thoreau that:

*every Lecturer will choose his own Subject, but we
expect all ... will be of a reformatory Character.
(CORRESPONDENCE 345)*



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November 6, Monday: [Henry Thoreau](#) completed surveying the farm of the old General James Colburn. This farm of approximately 130 acres was near the Lee or Elwell Farm (Gleason E5) bordering on the Assabet River. Thoreau mentioned that there was a “haunted house” in this area.

View [Henry Thoreau](#)'s personal working drafts of his surveys courtesy of AT&T and the Concord Free Public Library:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/Thoreau_Surveys.htm

(The official copy of this survey of course had become the property of the person or persons who had hired this Concord town surveyor to do their surveying work during the 19th Century. Such materials have yet to be recovered.)

View this particular personal working draft of a survey in fine detail:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/137.htm

[Thoreau](#) was being written to again by this [Asa Fairbanks](#) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) in regard to the proposed lecture of a “reformatory Character”:

Providence Nov. 6. 1854

Mr Henry D Thore[a]u

Dear Sir

I am in receipt of yours of the 4th inst. Your stating explicitly that the 6th December would suit you better than any other time, I altered other arrangements on purpose to accommodate you, and notified you as soon as I was able to accomplish them. had you named the last Wedn[e]sday in Nov. or the second Wednesday in December, I could have replied to you at once—or any time in Janu[a]ry or Feb[ruary] it would have been the same[.] I shall regret the disappointment very Much but must submit to it if you have Made such overtures as you can not avoid— I hope however you will be able to come at the time appointed[.]

Truly

A. Fairbanks

The Reverend Daniel Foster was writing [Thoreau](#) from his farm in East Princeton MA that he and friends had been reading [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) aloud “with pauses for conversation.”

East Princeton Nov. 6. 1854.

Friend Thoreau,

On my return from a lecturing tour in the Mystic Valley Dom informed me of your call with your English [c]ompanion on your way to a meeting on the summit of Mt. Wachusett. I am glad you called but



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sorry that I was not at home. I hope you will come & see us while we are here & get acquainted with our pond "old crow hill," "redemption rock" "Uncle William" now nearly 90 [years] old, bonnie Charlie & other notables of the place justly considered worthy the notice of a philosopher. I shall not tell you that you will be welcome as long as you can stay with us for if you don't know that fact the usual polite phrase of invitation will not assure you. I have read your "Walden" slowly, aloud with constant

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pauses for conversation thereon, & with very much satisfaction & profit. I like to read aloud of evenings a book which like this one provokes discussion in the circle of [hearers] & reader. I was the more interested in your book from the personal & strong interest felt for you & for your own sake in my soul. My intercourse with you when I lived in Concord & since at times when I have been in Concord has been uncommonly useful in aiding & strengthening my own best purpose. Most thoroughly do I respect & reverence a manly self-poised mind. My own great aim in life has ever been to act in accordance with my own convictions. To be destitute of bank stock & rail road shares & the influence which wealth & position bestow through the folly of the unthinking multitude is no evil to that one who seeks truth & immortal living as the greatest & the best inheritance. In the scramble for money in which most men engage



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one may fail but whoever travels the road of patient study & self control reaches the goal & is crowned with the immortal wealth. I would not be understood in this to depreciate the value of wealth. I am working in the hope of being rich in this world's [gear] sometime through the ownership of a piece of land on which shall stand my own illuminated & happy home. But if I do not reach the accomplishment of this hope I will nevertheless bate no jot of my cheerfulness joy & energy till the end. I will deserve success & thus of course I shall succeed in all my hopes some time or other. I have enjoyed the ponds the hills & the woods of this vicinity very greatly this year. We have nothing quite equal to your Walden or Concord, but aside from these our natural attractions exceed yours. I have been farming & preaching this summer, have reared

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to maturity & harvested 90 bushels of corn one bushel beans, 8 bushels potatoes, 20 bushels squashes & 20 bushels of apples. I cannot tell with the same precision how many thoughts I have called into exercise by my moral husbandry tho I hope my labor herein has not been in vain. Dom wishes to be remembered with sisterly greetings to Sophia & yourself & with filial affection to your father & mother. We enjoyed the visit your mother & sister repaid us very much indeed & only regretted that Mr. Thoreau & yourself were not with us at the same time[.]



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*I hope your "Walden" will get a wide circulation, as it deserves, & replenish your bank, as it ought to do. I thank you for the book & will hold myself your debtor till opportunity offers for securing a receipt in full
Yours truly
Daniel Foster*

By way of radical contrast, when [Moncure Daniel Conway](#) read [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#), he didn't think much of the book as a guide to life. On this day he was listing his objections for [Waldo Emerson](#)'s benefit:

1. That it hasn't optimism enough ...
2. That one couldn't pursue **his** Art of Living and get married.
3. That one hasn't time to spend or strength to spare from what is his work to take care of such universal rebellion.

It is clear that Conway had not been reading [WALDEN](#) "with pauses for thought." To this minister, whose ideal of Nature was frankly that it should be like a garden where everything is in its place and under control and serving a purpose, [Thoreau](#) seemed like the kind of guy who couldn't live "unless snakes are coiling around his leg or lizzards perching on his shoulders." (Conway all his life had a morbid fear of and a morbid fascination with snakes: during his childhood he even had a slave walking in front of him to beat the ground with a stick and scare away these snakes. Obviously, if Thoreau wasn't afraid of snakes, there must be a whole lot of other things that were wrong with him as well!)⁷

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

VOLUME II

7. Conway's criticism of Thoreau to Emerson, that Thoreau hadn't optimism enough, sounds very strange if you bear in mind that later on in life Conway would repudiate Emerson on the grounds that Emerson was so optimistic that he was entirely unable to deal with the dark things in life!



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December 1, Friday-6, Wednesday: [Henry Thoreau](#)'s new lecture "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" was advertised in the [Liberator](#) and in all four of [Providence, Rhode Island](#)'s major newspapers—the [Daily Post](#), [Daily Journal](#), [Bulletin](#), and [Daily Tribune](#).⁸

The [Post](#) and the [Tribune](#) also ran brief articles in which Thoreau was described as

a young man of high ability, who built his house in the woods, and there lived five years [*sic*] for about \$30 a year, during which time he stored his mind with a vast amount of useful knowledge—setting an example for poor young men who thirst for learning, showing those who are determined to get a good education how they can have it by pursuing the right course.

[Providence [Daily Post](#), December 6, page 2, column 4. A slightly altered version of this sentence appeared in the Providence [Daily Tribune](#), December


⁸ [Liberator](#), December 1, page 3, column 2; Providence [Daily Post](#), December 5, page 3, column 1; Providence [Bulletin](#), December 5, page 3, column 1; Providence [Daily Journal](#), December 5, page 3, column 1, and December 6, page 3, column 1; Providence [Daily Tribune](#), December 6, page 3, column 5.



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 December 6, Wednesday: All week, [Henry Thoreau](#)'s new lecture "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" had been being advertised in [The Liberator](#) and in all four of [Providence, Rhode Island](#)'s major newspapers — the [Daily Post](#), [Daily Journal](#), [Bulletin](#), and [Daily Tribune](#).⁹

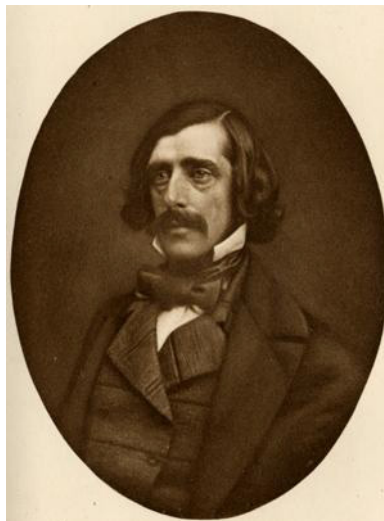


The [Daily Post](#) and the [Daily Tribune](#) had also run brief articles in which the visiting lecturer had been being described as

a young man of high ability, who built his house in the woods, and there lived five years [*sic*] for about \$30 a year, during which time he stored his mind with a vast amount of useful knowledge—setting an example for poor young men who thirst for learning, showing those who are determined to get a good education how they can have it by pursuing the right course.

[Providence [Daily Post](#), December 6, page 2, column 4. A slightly altered version of this sentence appeared in the Providence [Daily Tribune](#), December

On this day the lecturer arrived by train and, accompanied by Charles King Newcomb, visited the Reverend [Roger Williams](#)'s slate rock in the Blackstone estuary, and visited an old hilltop fort in Seekonk on the east side of the bay.



Beginning at 7:30 PM, at Railroad Hall, Thoreau delivered his lecture, or sermon, for the first time. Admission was 25 cents. Thoreau was impressed by the railroad depot in which he was lecturing, "its towers and great
9. [Liberator](#), December 1, page 3, column 2; Providence [Daily Post](#), December 5, page 3, column 1; Providence [Bulletin](#), December 5, page 3, column 1; Providence [Daily Journal](#), December 5, page 3, column 1, and December 6, page 3, column 1; Providence [Daily Tribune](#), December 6, page 3, column 5.



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length of brick.” The only indication of how the audience responded is Thoreau’s journal entry of that evening:

After lecturing twice this winter I feel that I am in danger of cheapening myself by trying to become a successful lecturer, i.e., to interest my audiences. I am disappointed to find that most that I am and value myself for is lost, or worse than lost, on my audience. I fail to get even the attention of the mass. I should suit them better if I suited myself less. I feel that the public demand an average man,—average thoughts and manners,—not originality, nor even absolute excellence. You cannot interest them except as you are like them and sympathize with them. I would rather that my audience come to me than that I should go to them, and so they be sifted; i.e., I would rather write books than lectures. That is fine, this coarse. To read to a promiscuous audience who are at your mercy the fine thoughts you solaced yourself with

THOREAU’S SERMON

[Various versions of “LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE”, variously titled, would be delivered:

- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on December 6, 1854 at Railroad Hall in [Providence RI](#)
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on December 26, 1854 in the [New Bedford MA](#) Lyceum
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on December 28, 1854 at the Athenaeum on [Nantucket Island](#)
- On January 4, 1855 in the [Worcester](#) Lyceum, as “The Connection between Man’s Employment and His Higher Life”
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on February 14, 1855 in the [Concord](#) Lyceum
- “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” on November 16, 1856 for the Eagleswood community
- “Getting a Living” on December 18, 1856 in the vestry of the Congregational Church of Amherst, New Hampshire
- “LIFE MISSPENT” on Sunday morning, October 9, 1859 to the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#)’s 28th Congregational Society in Boston Music Hall
- “LIFE MISSPENT” on Sunday, September 9, 1860 at Welles Hall in Lowell MA.]



December 6: To Providence to lecture I see thick ice and boys skating all the way to Providence, but know not when it froze, I have been so busy writing my lecture.



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“WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT”¹⁰

| DATE | PLACE | TOPIC |
|-------------------------------------|--|------------------------|
| November 21, 1854, Tuesday; 7:30PM | Spring Garden Institute, Philadelphia PA | “The Wild” |
| December 6, 1854, Wednesday; 7:30PM | Providence ; Railroad Hall | “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” |
| December 26, 1854, Tuesday; 7:30PM | New Bedford ; Lyceum | “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” |

10. From Bradley P. Dean and Ronald Wesley Hoag’s “THOREAU’S LECTURES AFTER WALDEN: AN ANNOTATED CALENDAR.”



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NARRATIVE OF EVENT: On or about October 18th, [Henry Thoreau](#) received a letter from [Asa Fairbanks](#) asking if he would allow his name to appear in a program of reform lectures scheduled to commence in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) on November 1st. Fairbanks informed Thoreau that “*every Lecturer will choose his own Subject, but we expect all... will be of a reformatory Character*” (THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 345). After indicating that remuneration to the course lecturers would be an expected “expenses and fifteen to twenty dollars” or “perhaps better,” Fairbanks pressed the issue of reform as a required topic:

The Anthony Burns affair and the Nebraska bill, and other outrages of Slavery has done much to awaken the feeling of a class of Minds heretofore quiet, on all questions of reform[.] In getting up these popular Lectures we thought at first, it would not do as well to have them too radical, or it would be best to have a part of the Speakers of the conservative class, but experience has shown us in Providence surely, that the Masses who attend such Lectures are better suited with reform lectures than with the old school conservatives.
(THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 346)

The independent Thoreau may have bristled at the reform stipulation, as the editors of his correspondence suggest, but he responded within a short time and accepted the offer.

[Asa Fairbanks](#)’s letter of November 6th suggests that letters had passed between him and Thoreau in which efforts to establish a date were being made:

I am in receipt of yours of the 4th inst, You stating explicitly that the 6th December would suit you better than any other time.... Had you named the last Wednesday in Nov. or the second Wedn[e]sday in December, I could have replied to you at once or any time in Janu[a]ry or Feb[ruary] it would have been the same[.] I shall regret the disappointment very much but must submit to it if you have such overtures as you cannot avoid. (THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, pages 348-49)

[Asa Fairbanks](#)’s cryptic reference to “such overtures as you cannot avoid” is no doubt an indication that Thoreau’s schedule for the next four months was so full that he could not be as flexible as Fairbanks wished. He was scheduled to deliver one of his two “WALKING, OR THE WILD” lectures in Philadelphia on 21 November; and he was planning to make a western lecture tour in late December, January, and –if the demand he encountered warranted an extension– February. Very likely, then, December 6th was the only Wednesday between mid-November 1854 and February 1855 that he expected to be available. Interestingly enough, on November 17th Thoreau wrote to a William E. Sheldon announcing that he was “still at liberty” to read “a lecture either on the Wild or on Moosehunting as you may prefer” before an unspecified “Society” on the evening of December 5th, the day before his Providence engagement (THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 351). There is no record of this proposed lecture taking place (see Appendix A below). Moreover, on November 27th, Andrew Whitney wrote from [Nantucket Island](#) in response to a letter Thoreau had sent two days earlier: “We cannot have you between the 4 & 15th of Dec. without bringing two lecturers in one week — which we wish to avoid if possible” (THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 352). This suggests that as late as November 25th Thoreau did not regard the December 6th Providence engagement as firmly established.

On December 6th, [Henry Thoreau](#) took the train to Providence, where, his journal reports, he was “struck with the Providence depot, its towers and great length of brick” (JOURNAL, 7:79). The depot’s hall was also the site

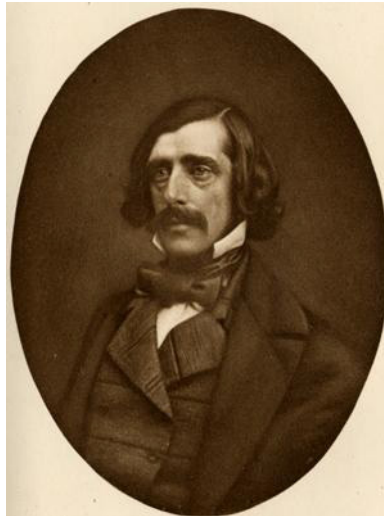


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of his evening talk. A month earlier, on 2 November, the [Providence](#) DAILY JOURNAL had cautioned that the new building's steep entry with no handrail was a peril, especially to ladies during the impending winter. It is not known if the problem had been corrected by the date of the lecture. Advertisements in the LIBERATOR and in all four of Providence's major newspapers indicate that Thoreau's lecture was the fourth of a scheduled ten, commencing with the Reverend Theodore Parker and including talks by the Reverend Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Cassius M. Clay, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and others. Tickets for the entire course cost one dollar, while single-lecture admission cost twenty-five cents. The doors to Railroad Hall opened Wednesday evening at 6:30 for the lecture, which was scheduled to begin an hour later. Thoreau made the most of his two-day Providence visit by inspecting "[Roger Williams's Rock](#)" on the [Blackstone River](#) and an old fort overlooking [Narragansett Bay](#), both in the company of [Waldo Emerson](#)'s friend Charles King Newcomb, and by walking through the countryside west of Providence (JOURNAL, 7:79-80).



The only indications of how the audience responded to the lecture come, rather obliquely, from Thoreau himself. In a journal entry of that evening, he wrote:

After lecturing twice this winter I feel that I am in danger of cheapening myself by trying to become a successful lecturer, *i.e.*, to interest my audiences. I am disappointed to find that most that I am and value myself for is lost, or worse than lost, on my audience. I fail to get even the attention of the mass. I should suit them better if I suited myself less. I feel that the public demand an average man, -average thoughts and manners, -not originality, nor even absolute excellence. You cannot interest them except as you are like them and sympathize with them. I would rather that my audience come to me than that I should go to them, and so they be sifted; *i.e.*, I would rather write books than lectures. That is fine, this coarse. To read to a promiscuous audience who are at your mercy the fine thoughts you solaced yourself with far away is as violent as to fatten geese by cramming, and in this case they do not get fatter. (JOURNAL, 7:79-80)

This appraisal of what his audiences demanded of him and what he was willing to give suggests that "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" may not have been well received in [Providence](#). Moreover, Thoreau was out of sorts from having been forced to abandon his plans for a lecture tour and from having spent most of the preceding four months at his desk writing lectures for "promiscuous" audiences. Indeed, his unusually rigorous schedule had



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prevented him even from seeing the winter come in. “I see thick ice and boys skating all the way to Providence,” he wrote in his journal on December 6th, “but [I] know not when it froze, I have been so busy writing my lecture” (JOURNAL, 7:79). And two days later he complained:

Winter has come unnoticed by me, I have been so busy writing. This is the life most lead in respect to Nature. How different from my habitual one! It is hasty, coarse, and trivial, as if you were a spindle in a factory. The other is leisurely, fine, and glorious, like a flower. In the first case you are merely getting your living; in the second you live as you go along. (JOURNAL, 7:80)

[Thoreau](#)'s reference to writing lectures as “merely getting your living” is a fine touch of self-directed irony, for in almost the entire first half of “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” –the very lecture he had just finished writing and delivering– he argues that “A man had better starve at once than lose his innocence in the process of getting his bread.”¹¹ Subsequently, in a 19 December 1854 letter to H.G.O. Blake, Thoreau punningly testified to his “truly providential meeting with Mr T Brown; providential because it saved me from the suspicion that my words had fallen altogether on stony ground, when it turned out that there was some Worcester soil there” (THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 354). Since Thoreau had yet to give his Worcester lecture, he here clearly refers to Theophilus Brown's fortuitous presence in his [Providence](#) audience.

11. Quoted from the reconstructed text of “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” in Bradley P. Dean, “Reconstructions of Thoreau's Early ‘Life without Principle’ Lectures,” p. 323.



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RAILROAD HALL; PROVIDENCE RI

Courtesy of Bradley P. Dean

ADVERTISEMENTS, REVIEWS, AND RESPONSES: The lecture was advertised in the *LIBERATOR* on 1 December and, the day before and the day of the lecture, in all four of [Providence](#)'s major newspapers — the *DAILY POST*, *DAILY JOURNAL*, *BULLETIN*, and *DAILY TRIBUNE*. The *LIBERATOR* remarked that “The people are anticipating the remaining lectures with a great deal of interest, and the names of the lecturers are a sufficient guarantee that their anticipations will not be disappointed.” On the day [Henry Thoreau](#) lectured the *POST* and the *TRIBUNE* also ran brief articles in which Thoreau was described as “a young man of high ability, who built his house in the woods, and there lived five years for about \$30 a year, during which time he stored his mind with a **vast amount of useful knowledge** — setting an example for poor young men who thirst for learning, showing those who are determined to get a good education how they can have it by pursuing the right course.”

In a diary entry of 11 December 1854, Bronson Alcott wrote, “*Monday 11. I pass the morning and dine with Thoreau, who read me parts of his new Lecture lately read at Philadelphia and Providence[.]*”¹² Alcott was mistaken about Thoreau having read “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” in Philadelphia: Bradley P. Dean’s detailed study of Thoreau’s composition process for the lecture,¹³ and Thoreau’s own journal remark about being extremely busy writing his lecture, indicate that he was just able to finish writing the lecture before delivering it in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). It is also unlikely that Thoreau would have changed the lecture topic that had been advertised in the Philadelphia newspapers (see lecture 45 above).

DESCRIPTION OF TOPIC: Using textual and physical evidence from the extant lecture manuscripts, as well as newspaper summaries of Thoreau’s several deliveries of “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” and its later (1859-60, see lectures 64 and 72 below) manifestation, “LIFE MISSPENT”, Bradley P. Dean was able to trace in remarkable detail Thoreau’s composition process from the time Thoreau first conceived of the lecture to the time he mailed the final draft of “LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE” to James Thomas Fields, editor of *The Atlantic Monthly* magazine. “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” contained precisely one hundred paragraphs, fifty-four of which remained in the text and were eventually published in “Life without Principle.”¹⁴

12. Bronson Alcott, “Diary for 1854,” entry of 11 December, MH (*59M-308).

13. Bradley P. Dean’s study is summarized in his “Reconstructions of Thoreau’s Early ‘Life without Principle’ Lectures,” pp. 286-91; for its more detailed counterpart, see the first volume of his two-volume MA thesis, “The Sound of a Flail: Reconstructions of Thoreau’s Early ‘Life without Principle’ Lectures,” Eastern Washington University, 1984. Copies of Dean’s thesis are available at WaChenE; CtU; the Thoreau Textual Center, CU-SB; and the Thoreau Society Archives, MCo.

14. Seven of these fifty-four lecture paragraphs [Thoreau](#) conflated to three paragraphs in the essay. Dean’s “Reconstructions of Thoreau’s Early ‘Life without Principle’ Lectures,” p. 337, contains a graph showing the structural changes between the lectures and the essay.

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December 27, Wednesday: [Thomas Wilson Dorr](#) died in [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#).



[Henry Thoreau](#) took a steamer out of Hyannis port for [Nantucket Island](#), and there he spent the night at the home of Captain Edward W. Gardiner. The [New Bedford Evening Standard](#) (page 2, column 2) observed that the previous night's lecture, which it had advertised as being on the subject of "Getting a Living,"

displayed much thought, but was in some respects decidedly peculiar.



[Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) would later write to [Thoreau](#) to advise that he had

heard several sensible people speak well of your lecture

but would conclude that the lecture

was not generally understood.



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[Friend Daniel](#)'s attitude was shared by Charles W. Morgan, who had been present for the lecture and who afterward wrote in his journal:



evening to the Lyceum where we had a lecture from the eccentric Henry J. [sic] Thoreau— The Hermit author very caustic against the usual avocations & employments of the world and a definition of what is true labour & true wages— audience very large & quiet—but I think he

1855

The Reverend Samuel Ringgold Ward made an interesting comment about the hypocrisy of racially segregated [Quaker](#) schools such as the “Moses Brown” [Yearly Meeting School](#) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#):

They [white Quakers] will give us good advice. They will aid us in giving us a partial education but never in a Quaker school, beside their own children. Whatever they do for us savors of pity, and is done at arm's length.¹⁵

[Judah Touro](#), youngest son of Rabbi [Isaac Touro](#), had relocated to New Orleans in his early twenties and had accumulated a considerable fortune there in the Deep South as a merchant/trader. At the time of his death his estate totaled nearly \$1,000,000, most of which was designated in his will to charitable organizations, orphanages, religious institutions, and towards good works in various cities including the place of his birth, [Newport, Rhode Island](#). His bequest would provide a public park, and preserve the historic Old Stone Mill.

In [Providence](#), the [Quakers](#) were not doing nearly so well. The [Yearly Meeting School](#) was forced to send its young scholars home and shut its doors due to bills that could not be paid. To correct this situation, steps needed to be taken to reduce the debt from more than \$8,000 to about \$3,000 — steps such as re-engaging the principals Joseph and Gertrude W. Cartland on a contract system. After five months the school was able to reopen its doors. This crisis would lead to some easement of school regulations. In addition, in the future there were to be graduation ceremonies during which the graduating scholars were to be handed diplomas.¹⁶

15. Here's an amusing anecdote about the school. Recently some historical researchers asked the school's official historian in what year it had been that the Quakers had admitted their very 1st student of color. After due research into the records—or pretense of research—or simple stalling, the school administration opted to stonewall, informing the researchers that they had been utterly unable to discover any answer to that intriguing poser.



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The [Providence, Warren, and Bristol](#) railroad link began to provide mass transportation for the East Bay region of [Rhode Island](#). If the locomotive used for this service was a new one, it may have looked like this, for this was “A good Standard Type” built by Danforth Cooke & Company in 1855:

[William J. Brown](#) would report a beginning of a decline, in the [Baptist](#) church for people of color on College Hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), due to their having lost their minister:

PAGES 121-124: Our church had been in a very low state. It commenced to decrease in 1855, directly after our pastor, Rev. Chauncey Leonard, left us. He had been with us some two years, when he united with us. He had come directly from a theological institution. His education was good, and his oratory surpassed any pastor that ever graced our pulpit since the organization of our church. He was receiving from us four hundred dollars a year, which was all we were able to give, and a portion of that came from the Rhode Island State Convention. But our pastor was greatly in debt for his education, and if he did not go as a missionary to Liberia, he must repay them. As soon as they

16. This matter referred to above, the re-engagement of the school’s principals on “a contract system” in 1855, deserves some comment. As a historian, to do a good job, I should be able to establish the crossover point, at which the school transited from being a religious school, a school offering a religious education to young members of a religion — to being the sort of hoighty-toighty Ivy League preparatory academy for all and sundry families of the Providence rising classes which as we are all profoundly aware, it has by now become. For the first five years or so of my investigation of the records of this school, I had been presuming that probably I was going to discover this crossover point at which Quakerism became mere lip service to Quakerism to have been reached just prior to the middle of the 20th Century, as this institution made its transition from being a boarding school attracting Quaker youth from all over New England, into being a day school catering to the middleclass families of Providence’s toney East Side (plus, incidentally, whatever few Quaker youth happened to reside within daily commuting distance who could afford the high fees or could secure a scholarship). When I discovered, in the records of the school, however, these records of incentive compensation for its headmasters, this caused me to recognize that the crossover into disingenuity may have already been well in the past, by that late point at which the boarding-school aspect of the school’s function had disintegrated beyond repair. Incentive compensation is utterly incompatible with charter — one simply cannot allow a person to run an institution and divert half its annual surplus into his own pocket, and anticipate that that person will behave in any manner other than to maximize the income flowing into his own pocket. This is the sort of situation which is described, in economics, and described quite properly, as “moral hazard.” At this point, the school’s charter to provide an environment guarded from the lay world in which a Quaker education might best be conveyed to Quaker youth, was inevitably abandoned — abandoned because the headmaster’s incentive compensation was henceforth to be based not upon fulfilling that charge, but instead upon implementing a contrary agenda of puffing up the school’s enrollment and the school’s charges and the school’s cash flow, while holding down expenditures, in such manner as to maximize a flow into his own pocket. Under such a “contract system” the eventual result, that after a period of evolutionary adjustment and accommodation this Quaker school would be effectively a lay school, and that this Quaker endowment would no longer be being used for Quaker education, should have been anticipatable. For it has always been well understood that:

²⁴ No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

— MATTHEW

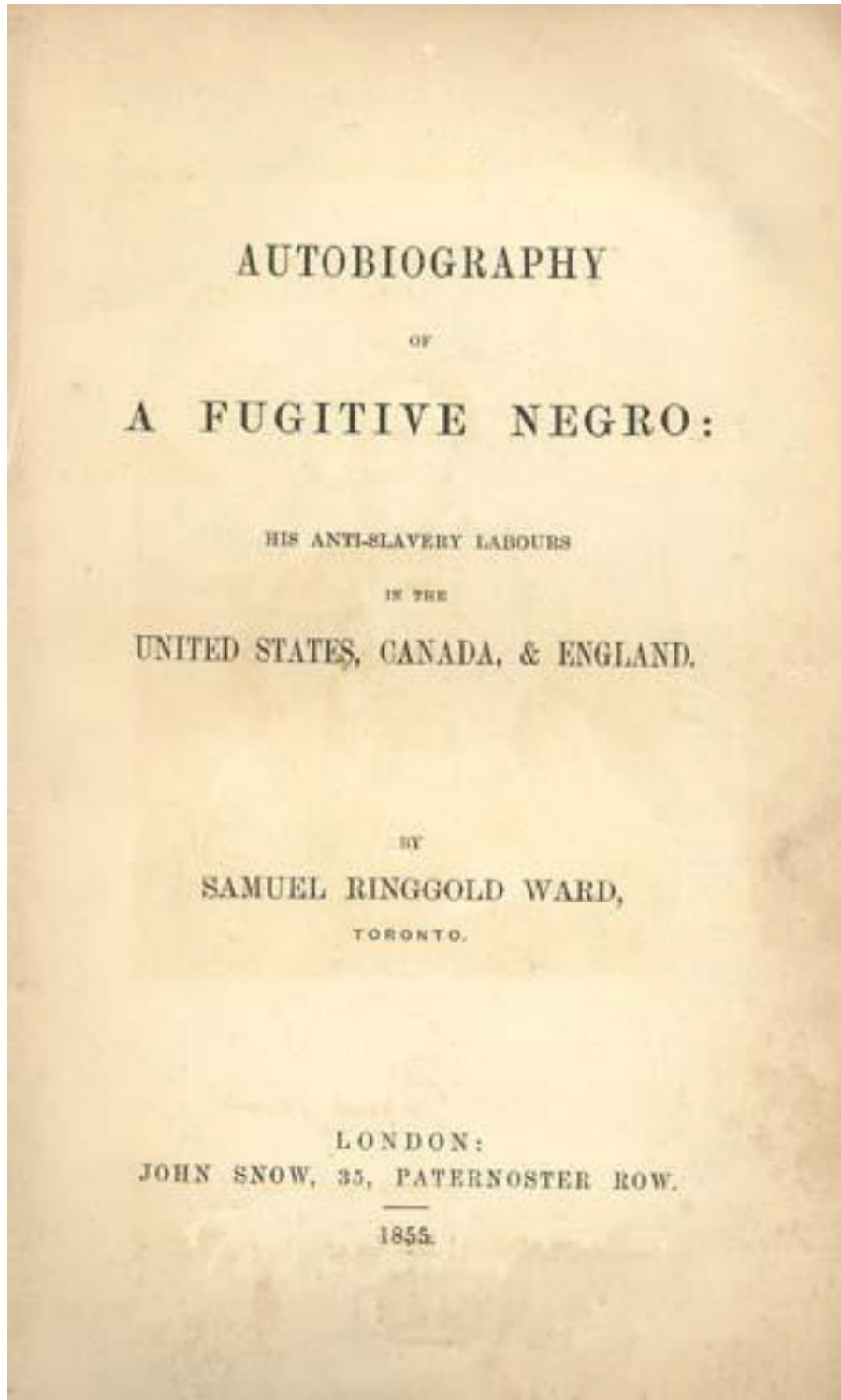
6:24 [MATTHEW 6:24](#)



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learned that he had settled over our church, they demanded their pay, and this brought him into such straitened circumstances that he could not remain here and support his family; and having an offer from the people in Baltimore, Md., to take charge of a select school, and supply a church, with a salary of six hundred dollars, he tendered his resignation to our church and accepted the call to Baltimore. That left us without any pastor, and the church fell into a despondent state.... Brother Waterman remarked that we had better disband, as we were all paupers, our pastor had gone and we could not do anything. But the majority proposed to continue together and trust in the Lord.

(During this period of his church's vulnerability, Brown would be serving proudly as a lay minister or exhorter.)



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March 22, Thursday: Prejudice toward [Irish Catholic](#) immigrants, fanned by the [Providence Journal](#) (nowadays this paper is referred to locally as the “ProJo”), was using as its vehicle the American, or “[Know-Nothing](#)” party, a secret organization that was sweeping town, city, and state elections in the mid-fifties. In this year its candidate, William W. Hoppin, had captured the [Rhode Island](#) governorship. Some of the party’s more zealous adherents even planned a raid on St. Xavier’s Convent, home of the “female Jesuits,” supported by a fake rumor they were circulating to the effect that a Protestant girl, named Rebecca Newell, was being held against her will by the nuns of Sisters of Mercy.



The password of these [Know-Nothing](#) Protestant rioters was “show yourself.” (Is the password of the Ku Klux Klan “expose yourself”?)

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

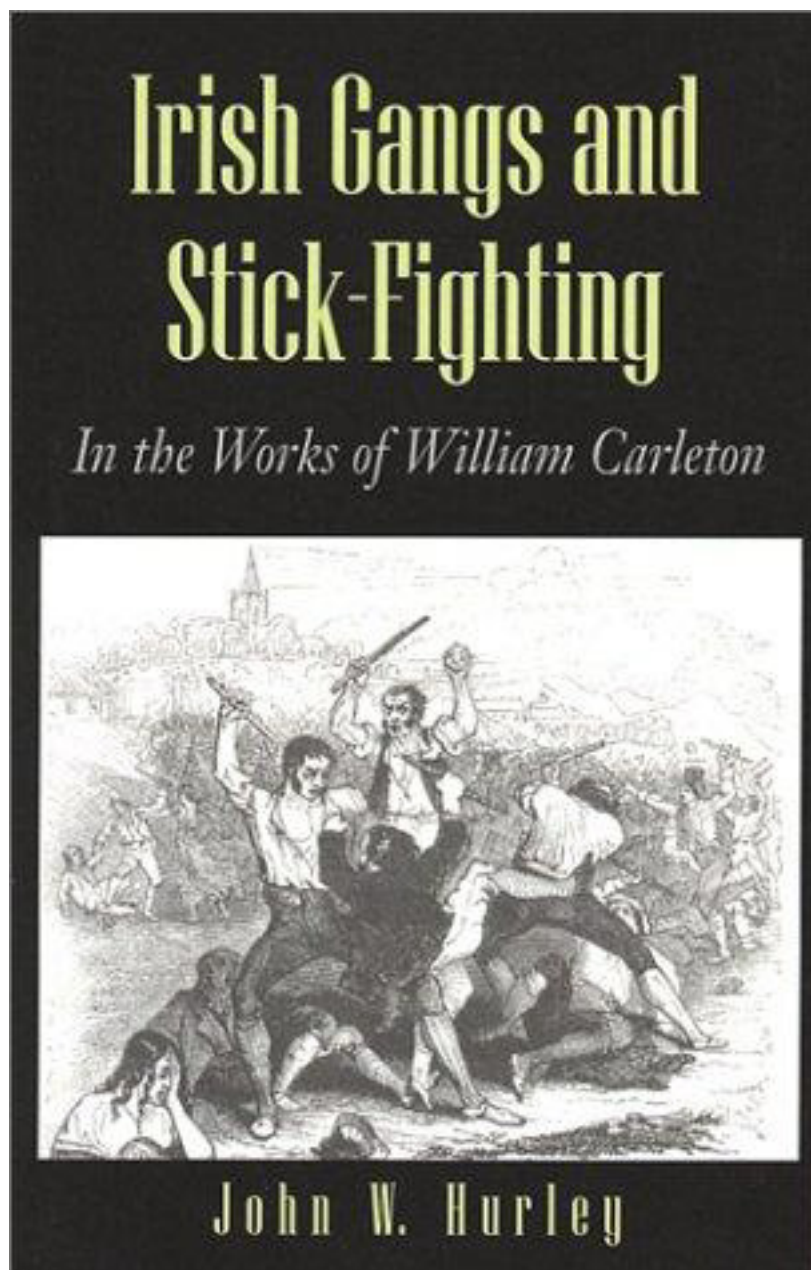
In [Providence, Rhode Island](#) on this day, an angry mob instigated by the ProJo and the [Know-Nothings](#) dispersed when confronted with Bishop Bernard O’Reilly and an equally militant crowd of [Irishmen](#). On this day, God’s providence was definitely on the side of the big shillelaghs!



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1856

The Reverend [Frederic Henry Hedge](#), who had been since 1850 the Unitarian minister in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), at this point was called to minister in Brookline, Massachusetts.



In [Rhode Island](#), William W. Hoppin was in charge. The [Providence](#) Home for Aged Women was organized. (Its present building at Front and East streets, overlooking the harbor, would open in 1864. Elderly men in need would wait ten years longer for a comparable facility — I presume this male facility was on the ground now occupied by the Brown University Fieldhouse and its playing field surrounded by an immense stone wall, across Lloyd from the Moses Brown School.)



READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT



PROVIDENCE

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

March 27, Thursday: Death of Charles Jones Dunbar, Henry Thoreau's favorite uncle, Cynthia Dunbar Thoreau's eccentric brother.

The Reverend Samuel J. May, Jr. wrote from the Anti-Slavery Office to Mrs. Elizabeth Buffum Chase:

As W. Phillips can give no time to the R.I. Convention, until the last week in April, we have, after conferring with Providence friends, fixed upon the 25th, 26th, and 27th of that month as the days.

A. Fairbanks gives me no encouragement about the formation of a State Society. It seems to me to be, like Immediate Emancipation itself, one of the first things to be done. Action, in this country, to be effective, must be organized.

Nor is it a very numerous Society that is wanted. We are not politicians -thank God- I hope we are not "Know nothings" in any sense; we are not striving to form a great Lodge or body, every man of which shall talk, and move, and vote, to order.

I began my note chiefly to say that I propose appointing a meeting for S.S. Foster at Pawtucket on Sunday, April 6th, and I think he will stop and see you on the Saturday evening previous, as you desired. I am not sure who the best person in Pawtucket for me to write to is, since Daniel Mitchell has gone. Will you give me your opinion as to the three best places for S.S.F. to spend the three Sundays in, which are all he can give to R.I.?

ASA FAIRBANKS
RHODE ISLAND



STEPHEN S. FOSTER



March 27. Uncle Charles died this morning, about midnight, aged seventy-six.

The frost is now entirely out in some parts of the New Burying-Ground, the sexton tells me, - half-way up the hill which slopes to the south, unless it is bare of snow, he says. In our garden, where it chanced to be bare, two or more rods from the house, I was able to dig through the slight frost. In another place near by I could not.

The river is now open in reaches of twenty or thirty rods, where the ice has disappeared by melting.

Elijah Wood, Senior, about seventy, tells me he does not remember that the river was ever frozen so long, nor that so much snow lay on the ground so long. People do not remember when there was so much old snow on the ground at this date.



PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

June 10, Tuesday: [Caroline Hazard](#) was born in Peace Dale, [Rhode Island](#), to Rowland and Margaret Rood Hazard. She would be educated by private tutors at Mary A. Shaw's School in [Providence](#).



June 10: In a hollow apple tree, hole eighteen inches deep, young pigeon woodpeckers [[Yellow-shafted Flicker](#), [Colaptes auratus](#)], large and well feathered. They utter their squeaking hiss whenever I cover the hole with my hand, apparently taking it for the approach of the mother. A strong, rank fetid smell issues from the hole.

June 17, Tuesday: The Reverend [Theodore Parker](#) wrote to Dr. Fuster, a Viennese professor, mentioning news of [Professor Pierre Jean Édouard Desor](#).

In Worcester, [Henry Thoreau](#), H.G.O. Blake, and Theophilus Brown needed to use a carriage when they went out to Quinsigamund Pond, because they were being accompanied by [Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau](#).

[Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) abandoned [Newport, Rhode Island](#) to visit [Concord](#) to see Henry, unaware that Henry had gone to Worcester. The father [John Thoreau](#) must have been very short indeed, for a man who himself stood 5'3" to have pronounced him "very short":



Left Newport this morning at five o'clock for Concord, Mass., via Providence and Boston, and arrived at C. about 12 M. The sail up the Providence or Blackstone River was very fine, the morning being clear and the air very refreshing. My object in coming to Concord was to see H.D. Thoreau, but unfortunately I found him on a visit at Worcester, but I was received with great kindness and cordiality by his father and mother, and took tea with them. Mrs. Thoreau, like a true mother, idolizes her son, and gave me a long and interesting account of his character. Mr. Thoreau, a very short old gentleman, is a pleasant person. We took a short walk together after tea, returned to the Middlesex Hotel at ten. Mrs. T. gave me a long and particular account of W.E. Channing, who spent so many years here.

CYNTHIA DUNBAR THOREAU

ELLERY CHANNING

PROVIDENCE

August 31, Sunday: From the [Rhode Island](#) diary of John Hamlin Cady (1838-1914): "Heard [Lucretia Mott](#) the Quakeress at Dr. Hedges' church in the evening."¹⁷

Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth died.



PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

September 4, Thursday: [Henry Thoreau](#) was being written to in Concord by Bronson Alcott presumably from Walpole, New Hampshire.

1856. September 17

Thursday, 4th

M^r. Bradford takes the morning train for Concord, and I send by him a note with my Circular to Thoreau, also a copy of the same to Emerson.

To Thoreau, I say,—

“I am so unfortunate, I find, as to be about leaving home for Vermont on Friday next, the day you [purpose] coming to Walpole. I may return Wednesday the 10—to leave on Saturday following for Fitchburg—thence I go to Worcester, Wolcott, New York City, and much fear I shall miss seeing you here unless you will come up

Page 2

{heading on paper: 818 September. 1856.}

on Thursday instead, and give me Friday the 12.th.

You will find my house and household right glad to receive and entertain their wise guest; our hills too and streams all well pleased to second [their] hospitality.

So come if you can. M^r. Bradford, who slept here last night, will vouch for all, and my tour of talk will borrow riches from the traveller’s contributions.

But whether I see you here, or in Concord, or do not see, there remains a country for me—an America—while my friends survive to think and write of England, old or new.—

Very truly Yours

17. Since in this year the Reverend Frederic Henry Hedge, who had been since 1850 the [Unitarian](#) minister in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), was being called to minister in Brookline MA, we should not take this to mean, necessarily, that the Reverend Hedge was present when [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) spoke.

(One marvels when one learns that when Friend Lucretia came to Providence, she wound up speaking at the Unitarian church, until one becomes aware that as a known [Hicksite](#) Quaker, one in favor of racial integration rather than of racial apartheid, she would have been turned away from the local Quaker meetinghouse at its door.)

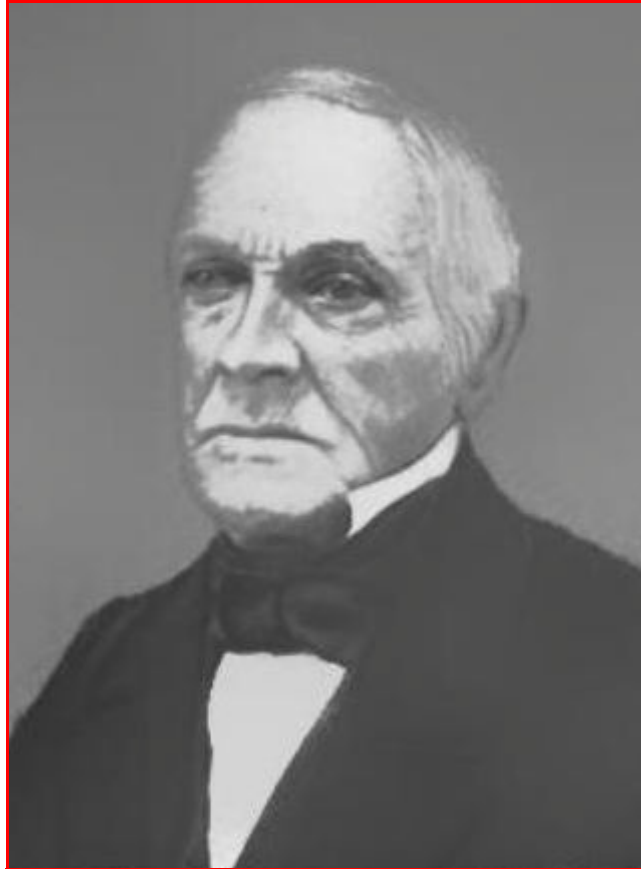


PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

[Thoreau](#) was also being written to in Concord by [Benjamin B. Wiley](#) from [Providence, Rhode Island](#).



Providence R. I. Sep 4. 1856

Henry D. Thoreau[,] Esq[.]

Concord

Dear Sir

*Having read your "week on the Concord" which you sent D W
Vaughan a short time since, I enclose [§]1.²⁷ for which will you please
send me a copy of the same[.]*

*I have your "Walden" which I have read several times. If you can
send me any writings of yours besides the above works I will esteem
it a favor and will immediately remit you the amount due[.]*

*I consider that the moderate price I pay for excellent writings does
not remove my obligation to their author and I most gladly take this
occasion to tender you my warmest thanks for the pleasure and im-
provement you have afforded me[.]*

Yours very truly

B. B. Wiley



PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



Sept. 4. P. M. — To Miles Swamp, Conantum.

What are those small yellow birds —, with two white bars on wings, about the oak at Hubbard's Grove? *Aralia racemosa* berries just ripe, at tall helianthus by bass [?] beyond William Wheeler's; not edible. Indian hemp out of bloom. Butterflies in road a day or two. The crackling flight of grasshoppers. The grass also is all alive with them, and they trouble me by getting into my shoes, which are loose, and obliging me to empty them occasionally. Measured an archangelica stem (now of course dry) in Corner Spring Swamp, eight feet eight inches high, and seven and a quarter inches in circumference at ground. It is a somewhat zigzag stem with few joints and a broad umbelliferous top, so that it makes a great show. One of those plants that have their fall early. There are many splendid scarlet arum berries there now in prime,¹⁸ forming a dense ovate head on a short peduncle; the individual berries of various sizes, between pear and mitre and club form, flattened against each other on a singular (now purple and white) core, which is hollow. What raids and venomous luxuriance in this swamp sprout-land! *Viola pedata* again. I see where squirrels have eaten green sweet viburnum berries on the wall, together with hazelnuts. The former, gathered red, turn dark purple and shrivelled, like raisins, in the house, and are edible, but chiefly seed. The feverbush is conspicuously flower-budded. Even its spicy leaves have been cut by the tailor bee, and circular pieces taken out. He was, perhaps, attracted by its smoothness and soundness. Large puffballs, sometime.

September 22, Saturday: [Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to [Benjamin B. Wiley](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#):

Concord Sep 22^d '56
Dear Sir
I would advi[s]e not
to take a revolver or other weapon
of defen[c]e. It will affect the in-
nocence of your enterprise. If you
chance to meet with a wolf or a
dangerous snake, you will be luckier
than I have been, or expect to be. When
I went to the White Mts I carried
a gun to kill game with, but wisely
left it at ~~the~~ Concord N.H. As
for a knapsack, I should say
wear something water-tight & com-
fortable, with two or three pockets
to keep things separate. Wear
old shoes; carry no thin clothes.
Do not forget needle and thread
and pins, a compass, and the
best pocket map of the [county]
obtainable.
Yrs in haste
Henry D. Thoreau

18. And last ten days more at least.



PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

{written perpendicular to text at bottom of page:

Postmark: *CONCORD*

SEP

22

MASS.

Address: B. B. Wiley Esq

Providence

R.I.}

[Friend Daniel Ricketson](#), who was often afflicted with headaches which seemed to focus upon his left eye, the one that had been injured, to his journal, while staying in [Ellery Channing](#)'s bachelor home in [Concord](#):



Rose with headache, breakfast with Channing who lives alone, having separated from his wife and children for what reason I do not know, but he appears to me to be a kind and quiet man with extreme eccentricity. Thoreau came in, we spent the forenoon in conversation; among other matters Channing suggested the plan of an independent periodical, &c. Left at 1 P.M. and arrived at Tarkiln Hill about 7 P.M. The visit, except excessive fatigue and headache, was very pleasant and will be long remembered by me. My respect for Thoreau was much increased, he is not only a man of great natural powers, but of extreme acquirements and very much of a gentleman.

That late evening, unbeknownst to Friend Daniel, in the home of her father-in-law [Doctor Walter Channing](#) on Bowdoin Street in Boston and under his care, his host's estranged wife [Ellen Fuller Channing](#) was dying of complications from her last pregnancy and childbirth. Dr. Channing and his daughter Barbara Channing ([Ellery](#)'s sister) were at the bedside:

She has seemed more feeble each day, and to-day had two faint turns wh[ich] alarmed me – but after tea revived and spoke quite brightly and said she w[ould] sit up till 10 – Then I helped her to bed, and she sat down on the edge, and began to struggle terribly for breath – I call'd father and we held her and gave her brandy and applied hot water to her chest but soon she sunk and died very gently at the last.

Barbara commented that everyone had “thought she might live till Jany [January] and I hoped still more.”



Sept. 22. A rainy day. Tried some pennyroyal tea, but found it too medicinal for my taste. Yet I collect these herbs, biding the time when their use shall be discovered.



PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

October 31, Friday: [Benjamin B. Wiley](#) wrote from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to [Henry Thoreau](#) in Concord, asking, among other things, about mystical philosophy in general and [Confucius](#) in particular:

Providence Oct 31, 1856

H D Thoreau

Concord

Dear Sir

In Worcester I saw Theo Brown who was very glad to hear from you. In the evening we went together to see Harry Blake. Both these gentlemen were well. Mr Blake is an enthusiast in matters which the world passes by as of little account. Since I returned here I have taken two morning walks with Chas Newcomb. He suggested that he would like to walk to the White Mountains with me some time and it may yet be done. He walks daily some miles and seems to be in pretty good health. He says he would like to visit Concord, but named no time for that purpose.

I am anxious to know a little more of Confucius. Can you briefly, so that it will not take too much of your time, write me his views in regard to Creation, Immortality, man's preexistence if he speaks of it, and generally anything relating to man's Origin, Purpose, & Destiny.

I would also like much to know the names of the leading Hindoo philosophers and their ideas on the preceding topics

Is Swedenborg a valuable man to you, and if so, why?

Do not think me too presuming because I ask you these questions. I am an inquirer (as indeed I always hope to be) and have to avail myself of the wisdom of those who have commenced life before me.

Though I cannot hope that my existence will be of any direct benefit to you, yet I cannot fail to exert influence somewhere, and that it may be of an elevating character, I wish to make my own the experience of collective humanity.

I shall leave here next Thursday Nov 6 for Chicago. My address there will be care of Strong & Wiley. I shall undoubtedly spend the winter there and how much longer I shall stay I cannot tell.

I suggested brevity in your remarks about the views of those philosophers. This was entirely for your convenience. I shall read appreciatively and most attentively whatever you find time to write.

Yours truly

B. B. Wiley

THOREAU AND CHINA



PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

December 12, Friday: [Henry Thoreau](#) responded to an inquiry by [Benjamin B. Wiley](#) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) about [Confucius](#) by explaining what he took to be the core of the teaching and providing Wiley with three of his own translations from *CONFUCIUS ET MENCIVS. LES QUATRE LIVRES DE PHILOSOPHIE MORALE ET POLITIQUE DE LA CHINE, TRADUIT DU CHINOIS PAR M.J. PAUTHIER.*

MENCIVS
CHINA

Concord Dec 12'56

Dear Sir,

I but recently returned from New Jersey after an absence of a little over a month, and found your letter awaiting me. I am glad to hear that you have walked with Newcomb, though I fear that you will not have many more opportunities to do so. I have no doubt that in his company you would ere long find yourself, if not on those White Mountains you speak of, yet on some equally high, though not laid down in the geographies.

It is refreshing to hear of your earnest purposes with respect to your culture, & I can send you no better wish, than that they may not be thwarted by the cares and temptations of life. Depend on it, now is the accepted time, & probably you will never find yourself better disposed or freer to attend to your culture than at this moment. When They who inspire us with the idea are ready, shall not we be ready also?

I do not now remember anything which Confucius has said directly respecting man's "origin, purpose, and destiny". He was more practical than that. He is full of wisdom applied to human relations — to the private Life — the Family — Government &c. It is remarkable that according to his own account the sum & substance of his teaching is, as you know, to Do as you would be done by.

He also said — (I translate from the French) Conduct yourself suitably toward the persons of your family, then you will be able to instruct and to direct a nation of men."

"To nourish ones self with a little rice, to drink water, to have only his bended arm to support his head, is a state which has also its satisfaction. To be rich and honored by iniquitous means, is for me as the floating cloud which passes."

"As soon as a child is born we must respect its faculties; the knowledge which will come to it by & by does not resemble at all its present state. If it arrives at the age of 40 or 50 years, without having learned any thing, it is no more worthy of any respect."

This last, I think, will speak to your condition.

But at this rate I might fill many letters.

Our acquaintance with the ancient Hindoos is not at all personal.



PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

The few names that can be relied on are very shadowy. It is however tangible works that we know. The best I think of are the Bhagvat-Geeta (an episode in an ancient heroic poem called the Mahabara-ta) — the Vedas — The Vishnu Purana — The Institutes of Menu — &c

I cannot say that Swedenborg has been directly & practically valuable to me, for I have not been a reader of him, except to a slight extent: — but I have the highest regard for him and trust that I shall read all his works in some world or other. He had a wonderful knowledge of our interior & spiritual life — though his illuminations are occasionally blurred by trivialities. He comes nearer to answering, or attempting to answer, literally, your questions concerning man's origin purpose & destiny, than any of the worthies I have referred to. But I think that this is not altogether a recommendation; since such an answer to these questions cannot be discovered, any more than perpetual motion, for which no reward is now offered. The noblest man it is, methinks, that knows, & by his life suggests, the most about these things. Crack away at these nuts however as long as you can — the very exercise will ennoble you — & you may get something better than the answer you expect —

Yrs

Henry D. Thoreau

The translations which [Thoreau](#) provided to Wiley from his [M.J. Pauthier](#) translations in his Commonplace Book are:

He also said — (I translate from the French) Conduct yourself suitably toward the persons of your family, then you will be able to instruct and to direct a nation of men.”

[23.6] “Conduct yourself suitably toward the persons of your family, then you will be able to instruct & to direct a nation of men.” Thseng-tseu[^] **in spirit of C.**

“To nourish ones self with a little rice, to drink water, to have only his bended arm to support his head, is a state which has also its satisfaction. To be rich and honored by iniquitous means, is for me as the floating cloud which passes.”

[108.15] The Philosopher[^] **C** said to nourish one's self with a little rice, to drink water, to have only his bended arm to support his head, is a state which has also its satisfaction. To be rich & honored by iniquitous means, is for me as the floating cloud which passes. **C.**



PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

“As soon as a child is born we must respect its faculties; the knowledge which will come to it by & by does not resemble at all its present state. If it arrives at the age of 40 or 50 years, without having learned any thing, it is no more worthy of any respect.”

[121.22] As soon as a child is born (it is necessary to)[^]we should respect its faculties; the knowledge which will come to it (in course)[^]by and by does not resemble at all its present state. If it arrives at the age of forty or fifty years, without having learned anything, it is no more worthy of any respect.

THOREAU AND CHINA



Dec 12th Wonderful — wonderful is our life and that of our companions—! That there should be such a thing as a brute animal — not human—! & that it should attain to a sort of society with our race!! Think of cats, for instance; they are neither Chinese nor Tartars—; they do not go to school nor read the Testament— Yet how near they come to doing so — how much they are like us who do so What sort of philosophers are we who know absolutely nothing of the origin and destiny of cats? At length — without having solved any of these problems, we fatten & kill & eat some of our cousins!!

As soon as the snow came, I naturally began to observe that portion of the plants that was left above the snow, not only the weeds but the withered leaves, which before had been confounded with the russet earth. Yesterday afternoon, after a misty forenoon, it began to rain by degrees, and in the course of the night more than half the snow has disappeared, revealing the ground here and there; and already the brown weeds and leaves attract me less.

This morning it is fair again.

P.M. — To Saw Mill Brook and back by Red Choke-berry Path and Walden.

Large oaks in thick woods have not so many leaves on them as in pastures, methinks (?). At the wall between Saw Mill Brook Falls and Red Choke-berry Path, I see where a great many chestnut burs have been recently chewed up fine by the squirrels, to come at the nuts. The wall for half a dozen rods and the snow are covered with them. You can see where they have dug the burs out of the snow, and then sat on a rock or the wall and gnawed them in pieces. I, too, dig many burs out of the snow with my foot, and though many of *these* nuts are softened and discolored they have a peculiarly sweet and agreeable taste.

Yesterday morning I noticed that several people were having their pigs killed, not foreseeing the thaw. Such warm weather as this the animal heat will hardly get out before night— I saw Peter, the dexterous pig-butcher — busy in 2 or 3 places — & in the Pm I saw him with washed hands & knives in sheath—& his leather overalls drawn off — going to his solitary house on the edge of the Great Fields — carrying in the rain a piece of the pork he had slaughtered with a string put through it. Often he carries home the head, which is less prized taking his pay thus in kind—& these supplies do not come amiss to his outcast family.

I saw Lynch's dog stealthily feeding at a half of his master's pig which lay dressed on a wheelbarrow at the door— A little yellow brown dog — with fore feet braced on the ice — & out-stretched neck — he {swif} eagerly browsed along the edge of the meat half a foot to right & left — with incessant short & rapid snatches which brought it away as readily as if it had been pudding. He evidently knew very well that he was stealing — but made the most of his time. The little brown dog weighed a pound or 2 more afterward than before. Where is the great natural historian—? Is he a butcher or the patron of butchers? As well look for a great anthropologist among cannibals.

CAT

DOG



PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1857

From this year into 1866, [George Thomas Downing](#) would be leading in a campaign that would eventuate in the closure of separate and unequal black public schools in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

In this year the Corporation (governing board) of [Brown University](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) recognized the bad direction in which the school had been heading and, to enthusiastic approval from the student body, abandoned the “New System” by which the degrees being offered had been being cheapened.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), at a cost of about \$225,000, a 3-story granite custom house was erected at the corner of Weybosset and Custom-House Streets. The upper floors of the structure were to house the Internal Revenue Office, the United-States Court Room, and office space for judges and other government officials. The Post-Office Department would use the lower story. (This Post Office would in 1880 rearrange and refurbish its quarters by installing, among other improvements, over 1,500 brass letter-boxes secured by Yale locks.)

Across the street from the State Reform School in [Providence, Rhode Island](#)'s Fox Point neighborhood, a Home for Aged Women¹⁹ was established for “poor, aged, and respectable women of this city, who find themselves homeless and comfortless in the decline of life.” This would, eventually, become the Tockwotton²⁰ Home run by “Mother Cool” (Eliza Helen Coole).

19. “HOME FOR AGED WOMEN, Tockwotton Street, opposite the State Reform School, is in a delightful situation, overlooking the harbor and bay. It was founded in 1856, and received inmates in a building formerly standing upon the site of the present handsome brick edifice, which was completed during November 1864. It is supported mainly by donations, collections, and from the income of an invested fund. Inmates are received upon conditions similar to those imposed by the Home for Aged Men, except that the entrance-fee is \$150, and the minimum age 65. Number of inmates, 42. Visitors admitted daily, except Sunday. Governor-st. H. C.”

20. Tockwotton is a native American name. The area was originally a plateau and bluff or headland 50 feet in height, facing the [Narragansett Bay](#).



PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Martin Johnson Heade relocated from Trenton, New Jersey to [Providence, Rhode Island](#), and made his studio at 34 North Main Street while boarding at 43 College Street. His “Commodore Perry,” “Portrait of Bishop Clark,” and “View in Narragansett Bay” were placed on display in the Boston Athenæum. Would it have been in this timeframe that he also painted this portrait of Friend [Moses Brown](#), deceased for a number of decades, based upon a detailed sketch that had been made during Friend Moses’s old age suffering from vertigo in his mansion Elmgrove near the Friends [Yearly Meeting](#) School he had founded?





PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

(We immediately notice of course that this artist has quite erased Moses's signature cherry-red nose wart.)



One of the changes that had been made as a result of the financial crisis of 1855 was that the students would be given a graduation ceremony, during which they would be handed a diploma. In this year, the first graduate of the [Yearly Meeting School](#) was Mary S. Harris of Leeds, New York.



PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

March: There appeared to have been a quarrel at a Saturday night party at [Brown University](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) between two undergraduates, Clarence Bates of Louisville, Kentucky and Charles P. Williams. In the course of the party Bates was playing the fiddle when Williams made a comment about the young lady who was accompanying Bates. Bates offered Williams a calling card, while stating “I demand of you, sir, the satisfaction of a gentleman and to refer any friend you may find to serve you to my friend Nelson here.” The [duel](#) was planned for Monday at dawn. At 5:30AM the participants set out in two buggies across the Seekonk, into a clearing in the woods near a farmhouse on the Massachusetts side. They fired at the drop of a handkerchief, and Williams’s hat fell off while Bates clutched his arm and cried out. Later, however, when it appeared that they were going to be arrested and imprisoned, Williams began to aver that the hole in his hat had been produced not by a bullet, but by his poking his finger through the material. Bates removed some clothing and demonstrated that in fact there was not so much as a scratch on either arm. They explained that the incident had been a school hoax. President Barnaby Sears expelled the southerner, and suspended Williams and the two students who had acted as seconds.

Fall: [Dr. H.C. Preston](#) departed from [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

1858

[Martin Johnson Heade](#) was still living in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), and his painting “Stolen Fruit is Always the Sweetest” was on display at the Boston Athenæum.

Two young scholars graduated from the [Yearly Meeting School](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

The Howard Building downtown, named for the unforgettable George A. Howard and containing Howard’s Hall where unforgettable performances and lectures were staged, had already burned down in 1853 and had been rebuilt. In this year it burned down for the 2d time. (The building would be rebuilt in 1859 but is no longer in existence.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

In the TRANSACTIONS OF THE RHODE ISLAND SOCIETY FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF DOMESTIC INDUSTRY FOR 1858, a letter was published from a Mrs. Betsy Baker whose maiden name had been [Betsey Metcalf](#). She confessed that it had been her (rather than Miss Hannah Metcalf or Mrs. Naomi Whipple as had been reported a generation earlier, in 1825) who had developed the art of making straw bonnets — that it had been her who had taught neighbors, so that the industry of making these bonnets had begun to spread through neighboring towns. The original of this letter is stored at the Rhode Island Historical Society in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).²¹

STRAW TOWNS

21. Is this story true? We have no reason to doubt it, and also, we have no reason to believe it.



PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND

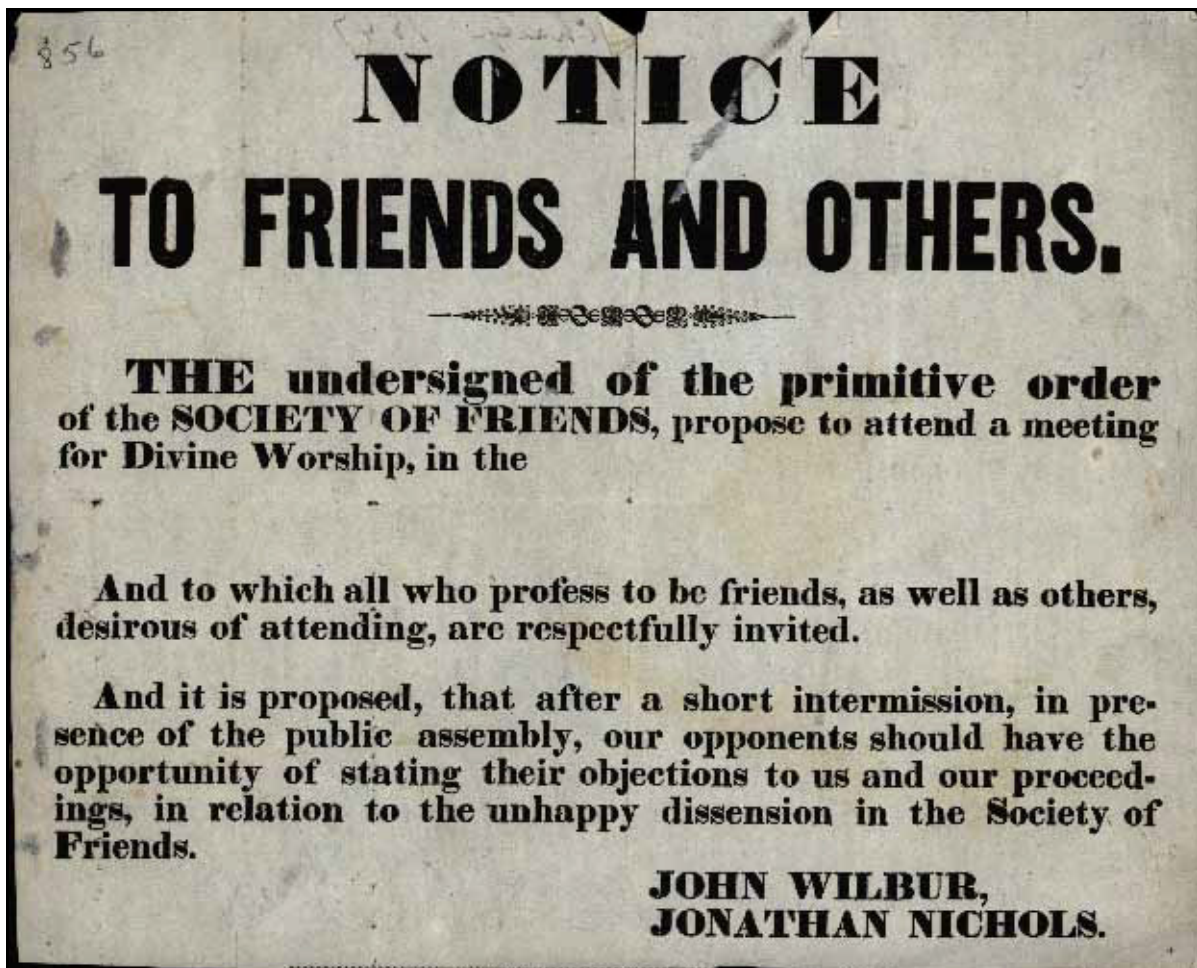
GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1859

In downtown [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the Howard Building was rebuilt for the 2d time after its 2d destruction by fire. (The show must go on!)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

Several of [Friend John Wilbur](#)'s polemical pamphlets had appeared during his lifetime (1774-1856), but at this point this [Quaker](#) preacher's primary work, JOURNAL AND CORRESPONDENCE, became available in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).



READ THE FULL TEXT



PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

February: [Martin Johnson Heade](#) had completed a move from [Providence](#) to 15 10th Street in New-York City, the “Tenth Street Studio Building.” During this year his paintings “[Mount Hope, Rhode Island](#)”²² and “Portrait of W.R. Clapp” were on display at the National Academy of Design in New-York and his “Landscape near Bristol Ferry” and “Landscape” (and then “[Mount Hope, Rhode Island](#)” also) were on display in the Boston Athenæum.

November 25, Friday: Carl Schurz wrote from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to Charles Wesley Slack, providing the topic for his lecture and describing his travel plans.



November 25. P. M.–Paddle to Baker Farm.

The weeds of water-plants have decayed and fallen long since, and left the water along the sides of the river comparatively clear. In this clear, cold water I see no fishes now, and it is as empty as the air. But for some days, at least, or since colder weather, I have noticed the snow-fleas skipping on the surface next the shore. These are rather a cool-weather phenomenon. I see them to-day skipping by thousands in the wet clamshells left by the muskrats. [Probably washed out by rise of river.]

Landing at the ash tree above the railroad, I thought I heard the peculiar note of grackles toward the willow-row across the field, and made a memorandum of it, never doubting; but soon after I saw some farmers at work there, and found that it was the squeaking of the wheel that rolled before their plow. It perfectly resembled the grackle’s note, and I never should have suspected it if I had not seen the plowers. It is fit that the creaking of the farmer’s plow who is working by the riverside should resemble the note of the blackbirds which frequent those fields.

There is a thin ice for half a rod in width along the shore, which shivers and breaks in the undulations of my

22. This was presumably what is now referred to as “[Rhode Island Shore](#),” an oil on canvas of unknown size which is presently unlocated (we do know what it looked like).



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RHODE ISLAND

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boat. Those bayonet rushes still standing are much curved.



See but few ducks, – two of them, – and generally few in the fall compared with the spring.

A large whitish-breasted bird is perched on an oak under Lee's Cliff, for half an hour at least. I think it must be a fish hawk (?).

We hear the clattering sound of two ducks – which rise and fly low at first – before we can see them though quite far off by the side of the pond. Our hands and feet are quite cold, and the water freezes on the paddles, but about sundown it grows sensibly warmer and a little misty. Is not this common at this season?

1860

Senator Stephen A. Douglas spoke from the east porch of the City Hotel in downtown [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Prospect Terrace was built. It would later be enlarged, and the statue of the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) would be added in 1939.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

The census record provides evidence that at this point [Kady Southwell](#) was living with the family of Peleg Rodman in [Rhode Island](#) while working as a weaver at his textile mill. It was being said that the family of Duncan and Alice McKenzie (whoever they may have been) had brought the orphan infant with them from Africa to [Providence](#). There is no record of an adoption and it would seem that the name “McKenzie” was never used, but then there is also no record of any official immigration through a port, or of citizenship. At about this point she had learned to read and write, and was having an affair with Robert S. Brownell, a mechanic six years her senior, with Brownell's wife²³ filing for divorce on grounds of adultery. Kady would use the Brownell name as her own.

23. Robert had gotten married with Agnes Hutchinson, a Scottish immigrant, in 1853, and their union had produced three young children, Eugene Brownell, Josephine Brownell, and Maybel Brownell.



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The 8th national census. The [slave](#) states that would remain within the federal union had come to enslave only 13.5% of their population, while the slave states that would form the new confederacy were at this point enslaving 38.7% of their population. The %age of slaves in the border slave states had been gradually declining, while this had been meanwhile very slowly rising farther south:

% of Americans Enslaved

| | 1790 | 1800 | 1810 | 1820 | 1830 | 1840 | 1850 | 1860 |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Union Slave States | 27.5 | 24.5 | 22.9 | 22.5 | 21.9 | 19.3 | 16.5 | 13.5 |
| States of Confederacy | 35.3 | 35.3 | 37.1 | 37.7 | 38.1 | 38.4 | 38.6 | 38.7 |

Another difference, and one that has been given insufficient attention, is that free blacks were a much more significant percentage of the population in Union slave states in 1860 (4.0%) than in the Confederacy (1.5%). In some states the free black percentages were substantial enough that serious resistance by free blacks could have made a difference. Delaware, for example, in 1860 while it was still a slave state, had 17.7% of its black population as free.²⁴

The US census showed 174, 620 people in [Rhode Island](#). A few years earlier, in 1845, the French Canadian population of the state had been about 400. Between 1860 and 1910 at least 32, 000 French Canadians would enter the state. [Central Falls](#) would boast 18,000 French Canadians in 1895. By 1930, of [Woonsocket](#)'s 50,000 people at least 35,000 would be of French Canadian descent.



24. Cramer, Clayton E. BLACK DEMOGRAPHIC DATA, 1790-1860: A SOURCEBOOK, Greenwood Publishing Group, 1997.



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By 1910 the population of Germans in the state would grow to around 13,000.



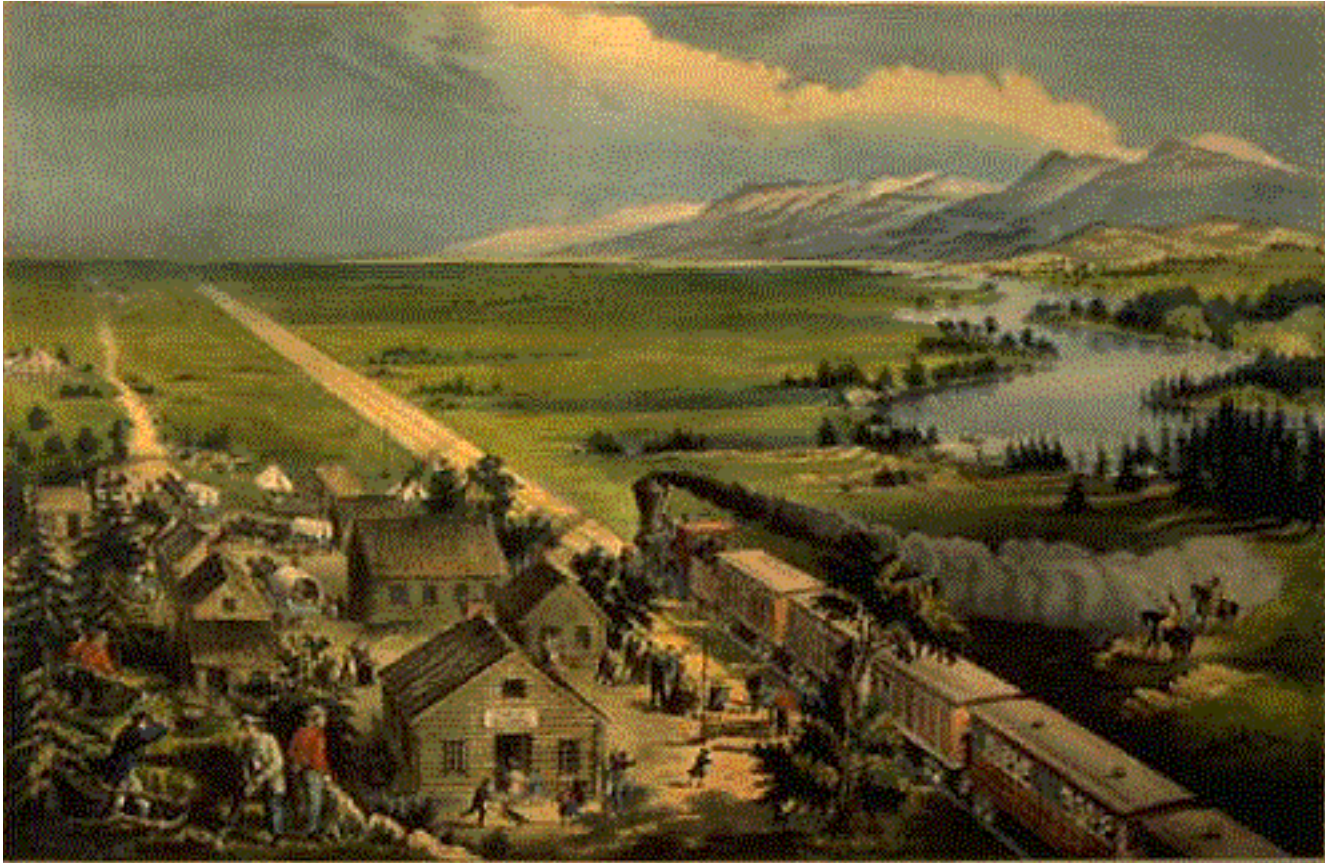
When the Rhode Island Republican Party nominated an abolitionist, Seth Padelford, for governor, the party split. Supporters of other Republican aspirants and Republican moderates of the Lincoln variety joined with soft-on-slavery Democrats to elect a fusion “Conservative” candidate. They chose the heir to a vast cotton textile empire and a colonel in the [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Marine Corps of Artillery, 29-year-old William Sprague of [Cranston](#). When Sprague outpolled Padelford 12,278 to 10,740, the city of Savannah, Georgia fired off a one-hundred-gun salute in celebration of this grand victory for human enslavement.

Young Governor Sprague, when going from his office on Benefit Street to his home on the top of College Hill, rather than dismount at the steps on Meeting Street below Congdon Street, would urge his white horse up these steps full tilt.

As of 1790 the center of the human population of the USA had been a little town just about a day’s travel inland

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from [Baltimore](#). By this period the center of population had relocated.



(Nowadays, of course, we've all been coming from one or another center in Missouri.)





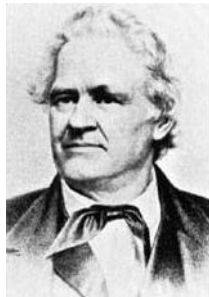
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1861

March 25, Monday: President Lincoln appointed Joshua Reed Giddings as the US consul general to the British North American Provinces (that's what we'd call "Canada").



In [Providence, Rhode Island](#) Agnes Hutchinson Brownell was awarded a divorce from [Robert S. Brownell](#) on grounds of adultery. The document on file alleges that Robert had been accused of "treating with extreme cruelty and [neglecting] to provide necessaries for the support of" Agnes and the three minor children and that the court had determined that he "has been guilty of adultery." We have no record of how, abandoned, the mother was going to support Eugene Brownell, Josephine Brownell, and Maybel Brownell, who presumably at that time would have all been under the age of eight.

[NO ENTRY IN THOREAU'S JOURNAL FOR 25 MARCH]

March 31, Easter Sunday: The only set of chimes in the city of [Providence \(Moshasuck\), Rhode Island](#), the set that pertained to Grace Church, were on this day played for the first time. Each bell of this set of bells, 16 in all, had been inscribed with the names of the various individuals and organizations that had donated it. Two military organizations had been involved, the First Light Infantry and the Marine Corps of Artillery. The Infantry bell had been donated with the condition that the chimes would be rung on each September 10th anniversary of Captain [Oliver Hazard Perry](#)'s victory on Lake Erie.

August: [Dr. Robert Montgomery Smith Jackson](#) was examined by the Pennsylvania Medical Board and granted a new commission as a surgeon with the 11th Pennsylvania Infantry Volunteers.

When its 3-month enlistment expired, the sharpshooter company of [Robert S. Brownell](#) returned to [Providence, Rhode Island](#).



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1862

[Thomas Allen Jenckes](#) was elected as a Lincoln Republican to represent a district in [Rhode Island](#) to the 38th federal Congress, and would be re-elected to succeeding Congresses (March 4, 1863-March 3, 1871, 38th through 41st Congresses). He would serve as Chairman of the Committee on Patents and as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. He would be for many years engaged in litigation of the Sickles and Corliss steam-engine patents, and the Day and Goodyear rubber suits. He would have an office in New-York for many years, as well as in [Providence](#), and would be retained by the United States government in their cases brought against parties to the Crédit Mobilier.



At the [Quaker Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), an astronomical observatory was added. Also, Friend Ebenezer Metcalf donated securities of the value of \$22,500 to enable the children of Friends to attend this Quaker institution.



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May 12, Monday: The following notice of the funeral of [Henry D. Thoreau](#) appeared in the Lowell Daily Citizen & News:

The funeral of Henry D. Thoreau, which took place in Concord on Friday, was attended by a large company of citizens of that and neighboring towns, and services are described as unusually impressive. Selections of Scripture were read, and a brief ode, prepared for the occasion by [W.E. Channing](#), was sung, when [Mr. Emerson](#) read an address, marked, says the Transcript, by all his felicity of conception and diction – an exquisite appreciation of the salient and subtle traits of his friend's genius.

The following notice of that funeral appeared in the Boston Post:

The funeral of Henry D. Thoreau took place in the meeting house in Concord on Friday and [Ralph Waldo Emerson](#) delivered a feeling and characteristic address. Men of note from Boston and elsewhere were present. Mr Thoreau was 44 years old. He is said to have been engaged, at the time of his death, on several literary works, some of which were so nearly finished as to enable survivors to publish them. Mr Emerson will doubtless undertake this friendly work.

[Perry Davis](#) died. His son Edmund Davis would continue dealing drugs at 43 Pond Street, [Providence, Rhode Island](#) in the manner which his father had initiated. During the Civil War this patent compound of [opiates](#) with [ethanol](#) would be marketed as “good for man or beast” — since a horse on painkillers would be able to haul heavy loads until it dropped in its traces and was shot.





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1863

July 13, a hot and muggy Monday morning: William Waterman Chapin (1834-1922) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) was drafted to serve in the Union army. Lucky boy, this was America and he had enough money — he would not be forced to serve so much as a day in uniform.

At 10:30AM, after several dozen names had been pulled in the draft lottery at the provost marshal's office on 3d Avenue between 46th Street and 47th Street in New-York, it became clear to the members of a local volunteer firefighting company that they had not been exempted from the military draft. The firefighting company thereupon stormed the building and set it ablaze. The fire they set would spread, and would consume not only this draft center but also neighboring stores and a tenement.



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July 16, Thursday: William Waterman Chapin (1834-1922) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), who had been drafted to serve in the Union army, "Paid \$300 & bo't my exemption papers."

There was fighting at Grimball's Landing / Secessionville / James Island. To divert Confederate reinforcements from a renewed attack on Fort Wagner, General Gillmore designed two feints. An amphibious force ascended Stone River to threaten the Charleston & Savannah Railroad bridge. A second force, consisting of Terry's division, landed on James Island on July 8. Terry demonstrated against the Confederate defenses. On July 16, the Confederates attacked Terry's camp at Grimball's Landing. Because of incomplete reconnaissance of the difficult, marshy ground, the disorganized Confederate attack was soon aborted. Their mission accomplished, Federal troops withdrew from the island on July 17.





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[Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

Rode this p.m. with [Ellery] Channing in wagon to White Pond. 'Tis perhaps ten years ago since I was there with him before, and in the reflections of the larger grown trees in the lake noticed the same peculiarities. The trees were all done in minute squares, as in the crochet work of girls; the colors of the foliage, russet & ruddy, added to the beauty. Pines on the distant shore, of which we saw only the short stem veiled above by the branches, in the water showed the stem of the tree to the top! We were on the farther side of the pond at the "Cove," & talked with a party, a young man & three young women from Sudbury 3 1/2 miles distant. They left the shore in a boat. C. & I agreed that a picnic is like a "revival," it charges a man in an instant, & he forgets his home & habits, & thinks he will come & live with Nature. But he returns to his village to put up his horse, stops at the Post Office, takes tea with his family, and does not for ten years get a glance at the Paradise again. After a bath in the Pond came home by the beautiful road through Nine-Acre-Corner, where the farms were in richest array. An old hemlock tree in one field should teach every body to plant and guard a hemlock, that it may some day be old.



November 11, Wednesday: The [RHODE ISLAND MARRIAGE INDEX FOR 1853-1869](#) indicates that [Robert Brownell](#) got married with [Kady Southwell](#) in [Providence](#) on this day, while listing the bride's maiden name as McKenzie.²⁵

25. Contradicting this record Robert would insist upon April 14, 1861 as their marriage date, a month after his divorce from Agnes Hutchinson Brownell, saying that he recollected clearly that they had gotten married three days before he was mustered in on April 17. The pension record for Kady's includes a reference in City of Providence Record Book #8 to a wedding ceremony officiated at during March 1861 by a Pastor William McDonald of the Chestnut Street Methodist Episcopal Church. Such a wedding would have been fraudulent, however, if it took place, since in March Robert was officially still married to Agnes Hutchinson Brownell. When the elderly [Robert Brownell](#) and [Kady Southwell Brownell](#) would be admitted to the Women's Relief Corps Veterans' Home in 1914, they would allege that they had been married on April 9, 1861.



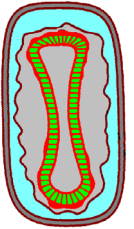
PROVIDENCE

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November 19, Thursday: President Abraham Lincoln took the train down from Washington DC and delivered a brief address at a ceremony dedicating the battlefield at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania as a national cemetery. As he delivered his Gettysburg Address, he was probably in the early stages of [infection](#) by the [small pox](#).

READ THE FULL TEXT



During the early 1860s, in the early throes of our civil war, our [Declaration of Independence](#) had been being very carefully reexamined and reconsidered. In this Gettysburg Address it found itself transformed into “first and foremost a living document for an established society” and this president’s brief words of dedication would become in due course “an American sacred text” (Maier, Pauline. AMERICAN SCRIPTURE: MAKING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997, page 207). As in 1776, the power of the locution would come from the fact that rather than echoing what all Americans presumed, it broadcast what a number of them were preparing to ram down the throats of the others as what all Americans henceforth were to presume.

Lincoln wasn’t the only orator on this occasion. According to the Steubenville [Weekly Herald](#), “President Lincoln was there, too,” We don’t know for certain sure which particular phrases Lincoln used in his brief address. There are a number of drafts of the speech, which differ somewhat from one another, and there is the problem that one reporter who bothered to transcribe the President’s words from the podium, either indulged in free phrase substitution on his reportorial notepad or else faithfully recorded phrases that are somewhat less polished than those we now read in one or another of the manuscript documents. The [Providence, Rhode Island Journal](#) would report not only of the brief address’s power but also of its “charm”:

We know not where to look for a more admirable speech than the brief one which the President made at the close of Mr. Everett’s oration.... Could the most elaborate and splendid oration be more beautiful, more touching, more inspiring than those thrilling words of the President? They have in our humble judgment the charm and power of the very highest eloquence.

The Harrisburg [Patriot and Union](#) would be considerably less tactful than this:

We pass over the silly remarks of the President; for the credit of the Nation we are willing that the veil of oblivion shall be dropped over them and that they shall no more be repeated or thought of.



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[Edward Everett](#) –who had himself addressed the assembly for a solid two hours– would write to the President after hearing his brief address, “I should be glad, if I could flatter myself that I came as near to the central idea of the occasion, in two hours, as you did in two minutes.”

A photograph of a handwritten letter on aged, yellowish paper. The text is written in a cursive script and reads: "The Confederation of the Cemetery. I should be glad, if I could flatter myself that I came as near to the central idea of the occasion, in two hours, as you did in two minutes. My son who parted from me at Baltimore My daughter, comes in this sentiment."



EVERETT’S TWO HOURS



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1864

Those of the Reverend [James Manning](#)'s reports, letters, and addresses that could be retrieved were published by Reuben A. Guild in Boston as "LIFE, TIMES, AND CORRESPONDENCE OF JAMES MANNING AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF BROWN UNIVERSITY." One of the last acts of the Reverend's life had been to draw up a plan for free schools in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), which would form the basis of our present public school system (such as it is, given the fact of white middle-class flight to private schooling).

This is what [Brown University](#) looked like during the US Civil War:



The [Providence](#) Home for Aged Women opened its present building at Front and East streets, overlooking the harbor. (Elderly men would wait ten years longer for a comparable facility.)

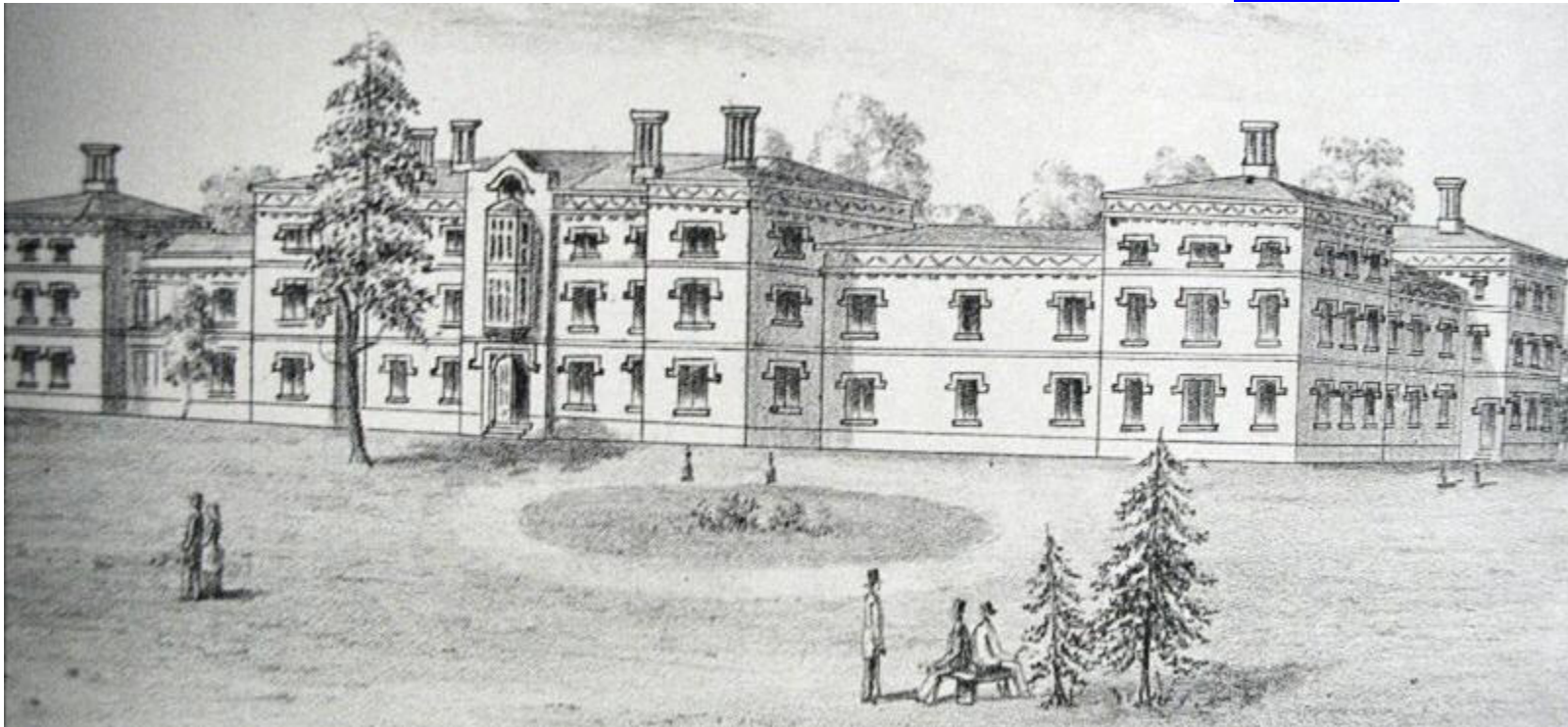
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[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**PROVIDENCE****RHODE ISLAND**[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

There was a [Wilburite](#) worship group in Warwick (until 1881) that affiliated with the Wilburite Providence Monthly Meeting of North [Providence](#)/Pawtucket, [Rhode Island](#).

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)**1865**

At the [Butler Hospital](#) for the Insane in [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#), Ray Hall was completed.

[PSYCHOLOGY](#)



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Thomas Wentworth Higginson issued a translation of the works of the Stoic philosopher Epictetus.

As the chairman of the [Newport](#) School Committee, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in collaboration with [George Thomas Downing](#), a local black hotel owner who was concerned for the proper education of his children, argued successfully to eliminate the system of a separate set of unequal schools there for black Americans.



During this year [George Thomas Downing](#) was one of 26 citizens of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) who made donations for the purchase of the land that would come to be known as Touro Park.

(At that time in [Newport](#), one could still go down to the waterfront and, across from the abandoned distillery with slave quarters in its upper story, you could still see the “Long Wharf” on which slaves from Africa had been offloaded. Over near Fort Adams, one could inspect the rotting hulk of an actual slave ship, the *Jem*. The everyday presence of such a wreck must have made local issues, such as school integration, seem especially urgent and topical!)



Succeeding in this effort at school integration despite the most intense opposition, Chairman Thomas



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Wentworth Higginson would of course not be appointed to serve on that committee in the following term (but when the community began to elect rather than appoint the Committee members, he would win election in 1874-1876).

March 8, Wednesday: [Friend Moses Brown](#)'s residence in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) near what is now the corner of Humboldt Avenue and Wayland Avenue, called "Elmgrove," burned to the ground.



[Gregor Mendel](#) read more from his paper "Experiments in Plant Hybridization" to a meeting of the Natural History Society of Brünn (Brno).

August 18, Friday: Since the synagogue in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) had been restored with ample funding from the [Touro](#) family, and a ministerial fund created, worship in that once-neglected building had been resumed. However, there does seem occasionally to have been something of a problem in collecting together the minimum number of Jews, ten, necessary for a proper public worship. Hence the following notice, of this date:

Should the 10th man ever be wanted please address M. Miranda,
219 North Main Street, [Providence](#), R.I. Happy to come any time.

JUDAISM



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1866

The 1st official meeting of the Universal Peace Union, in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). The founding members included Joshua P. Blanshard, Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), [Henry C. Wright](#), [Friend Alfred Henry Love](#), and [Friend Lucretia Mott](#). The group pledged itself to remove the causes of war, and to discountenance all resorts to deadly force, “never acquiescing in present wrongs.” There was to be no further compromising of the principles of love and nonviolence, but instead immediate disarmament and a general treaty among nations, marked by arbitration and by an unconditional submission to an international tribunal. Imperialism, compulsory military training, memorials and war demonstrations, war taxes, capital punishment, the spread of white imperialism in Africa, the exclusion of Asian immigration, and the continued denial of rights to native Americans were denounced. For many years the annual meetings of this group would take place at Mystic Grove, Connecticut, and attendance would grow over the years toward 10,000.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

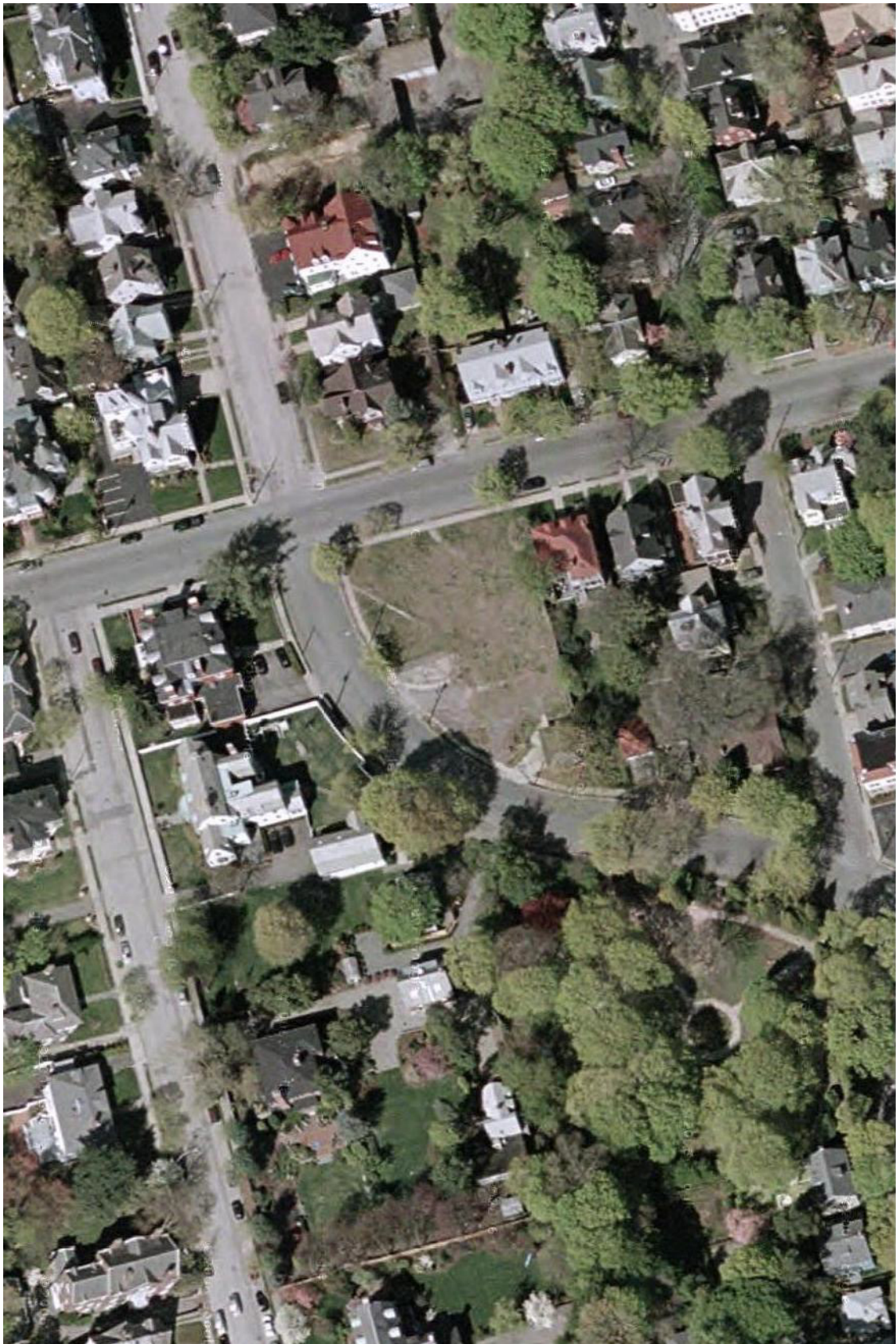
The African Freedmen’s Society of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) had become the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. At first the Bethel group had met in the homes of members and in the Quaker meeting house at the corner of North Main Street and Meeting Street. Such churches were disapproved of by the white community, but as one meeting place had been removed by the authorities, it had been replaced by another, and sometimes two or three. In 1820 the congregation had purchased a lot on top of the hill on Meeting Street, and in this year a building was constructed on this lot. (Note that although before the civil war this group had functioned at least in part as a destination point for those who were escaping from slavery on the Underground Railroad through Philadelphia, New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut, into Rhode Island –a center around which they might re-order their lives–, the church structure on Meeting Street was not a station on the Underground Railroad, in fact was not created until long after the Underground Railroad had become a thing of the past.)

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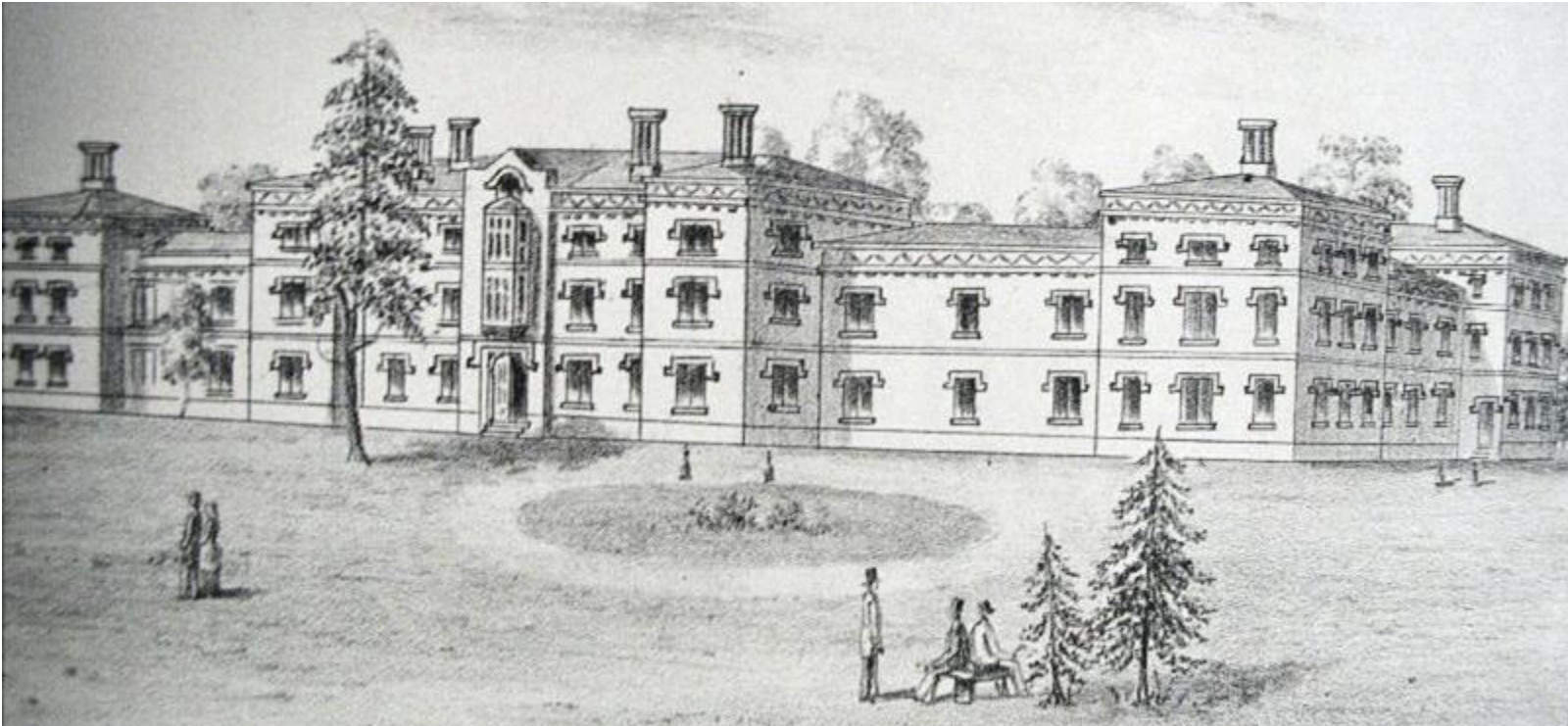
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At the [Butler Hospital](#) for the Insane in [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#), a facility for “excited” male patients, Sawyer Ward, came into operation.

[PSYCHOLOGY](#)

January: The parents of Maritcha Rémond Lyons had attempted to enroll her at the Girls’ Department of the [Providence](#) high school on Benefit Street. She had of course been turned away despite the fact that there was no high school for black children. With the support of George Downing, the family had begun a campaign to racially integrate that one existing high school. Finally the case had wound up before the [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly — and 16-year-old Maritcha was asked to address that body. She did so bravely, and the legislature enacted Chapter 609, An Act in Addition to Title XIII of the Revised Statutes, “Of Public Instruction”:

It is enacted by the General Assembly as follows:

Section 1. In deciding upon applications for admission to any school in this State, maintained wholly or in part at the public expense, no distinction shall be made on account of the race or color of the applicant.

Sec. 2. This act shall take effect on the 15th day of May next.

Sec. 3. All acts or parts of acts inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed.



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At this school, the desks were double, two students sitting at each desk. The classrooms were overflowing, with some students sitting on the window ledges and some sitting on the corners of the teacher's platform. No student, however, was willing to sit at a double desk with Maritcha. When she would graduate in May 1869, shortly before her 21st birthday, she would be the 1st person of color to graduate from [Providence High](#). Her graduation essay would be titled "Which Furnishes the Better Subjects for Art, Mythology or Christianity?" She would become an educator.

1867

The [Great Meetinghouse](#) of the [Friends](#) in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) was again enlarged.

At [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence](#), it was decided that henceforth they would begin the school year in September and end it in June so that the scholars would be able to provide labor at home during the harvest season (this change is for some reason said to have created a large excess of boys over girls at the school). Although the Quaker scholars would continue to walk down the hill to the Friends meetinghouse for Sunday morning worship and for midweek worship, the practice of attending Sunday afternoon meeting was discontinued. Also discontinued was the practice of morning meeting in the school itself.

A new attitude was emerging toward [Quakers](#) in the arts: "Call it by what name you will, mysticism, spiritualism, transcendentalism, it will scarcely be going beyond what history warrants to affirm that every writer or thinker who has taken deep hold of the hearts, not of the intellects, of mankind, has been a teacher of the doctrine of the 'Divine Principle in man,' of the 'enthusiasm (*vergötterung*) of humanity.' An illustration of the same truth will be furnished by every poet who has touched the deepest sympathies of the heart, whether he write in prose or verse.... He that dishonoureth the creature dishonoureth the Creator."²⁶

However, it would be a mistake to presume that the above shift in attitudes regarding the arts meant that Quaker students would be able to learn to play a musical instrument. Not so. Even in 1881, when a grand piano would be offered as a gift to the Moses Brown School, it would be accepted only under a stipulation that "music lessons should be given at the school only to those pupils whose parents specifically requested it."

26. Alfred W. Bennett in the [Friends' Quarterly Examiner](#), 1, no. 1 (1867)



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[Providence, Rhode Island](#) commissioned “alterations and improvements” to the [Dexter Asylum](#) costing \$120,000. Later sketches show that although the main building was enlarged, no new buildings were added.



The retirement of Dr. Isaac Ray, a victim of [tuberculosis](#), as the superintendant of [Butler Hospital](#) for the Insane in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). Dr. Ray would go to Philadelphia.





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Edmund Davis relocated the patent medicine manufacturing conducted under the name “[Perry Davis & Son](#)” in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to 78 High Street.

ETHANOL
OPIATES



April 1, Monday: [Washington Hoppin](#) died. The body would be placed in the Swan Point Cemetery of [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

Great Britain, nationalizing the franchise of the East India Company, made the Straits Settlements into a Crown Colony.

In Paris, the Emperor [Napoléon III](#) opened the *Exposition universelle*.

Using antiseptic methods he had been developing, Dr. Joseph Lister treated the final one of 11 compound fractures (this surgical record would provide the basis for a series of reports in [The Lancet](#), that would change surgery forever).

In Nashville, Tennessee, the good white people hosted the opening ceremonies of the initial national convention of the Ku Klux Klan.

April 23, Tuesday: The zoetrope was patented, the first device to show moving pictures. It was invented by William E. Lincoln of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) who assigned his patent to Milton Bradley & Co. of Springfield, Massachusetts.



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1868

At [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), \$11,000 was provided by the Alumni Association for the construction of Alumni Hall. This would provide an expansion of the living quarters for girl scholars. The total cost of this new construction would be \$43,000.



The main building is of brick, 220 ft. long, and contains a dining-hall, girls' schoolroom, public reception-room, parlors and nurseries, recitation-rooms, and dormitories. An extension of brick, 76 ft. long, contains a boys' schoolroom and dormitories. "Alumni Hall," a three-story brick structure, 126 ft. long, contains on the first floor a grand public hall, besides rooms for the scientific apparatus and cabinets, the library, and reading-room; and on the upper floors dormitories for girls.

June 10, Wednesday: Portions of the town of [Cranston](#) were annexed to the city of [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

October 17, Saturday: Walt Whitman responded from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to Peter Doyle, who had written him on the 14th:

Dear Pete,
According to announcement in my last, I have made a movement & change of base, from tumultuous, close-packed, world-like N. Y., to this half-rural, brisk, handsome, New England, third-class town. I came on here last Thursday. I came as guest of Thomas Davis, formerly M.C. from this city -arrived between 8 and 9 o'clock at night -found his carriage at the depot waiting for me -at the house (a sort of castle built of stone, on fine grounds, a mile & a half from the town) a hearty welcome from his hospitable wife, & a family of young ladies & children -a hot supper, a tip-top room &c. &c. -so you see, Pete, your old man is in clover. I have since been round the city & suburbs considerably. I am going down to Newport before I return. Invitations &c. are numerous. I am, in fact, already dividing myself between two hospitalities, part of the time with Mr. & Mrs. Davis, and part with Dr. & Mrs. Channing, old acquaintances of mine in another part of the city. I stopt last night at the house of the latter. It is on a high & pleasant hill at the side of the city, which it entirely overlooks. From the window of my room, I can look down across the city, the river, and off miles upon miles in the distance. The woods are a real spectacle, colored with all the rich colors of autumn. Yesterday it was beautiful & balmy beyond description, like the finest Indian summer. I wandered around, partly walking, partly in a carriage, a good part of the day. To-day there is an entire change of



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scene— As I sit writing this —what do you think, Pete? —great flakes of snow are falling, quite a thick flurry —sometimes the wind blows gusts —in fact a real snow storm has been going on all the forenoon, though without the look or feeling of actual winter as the grass & foliage are autumnal, & the cold is not severe yet. Still it [is] disagreeable & wet & damp & prevents me from going out. So I will make it up by writing a couple of letters — one to mother, & one to you, telling you about things. Providence is a handsome city of about 70,000 inhabitants —has numerous manufactories in full operation —every thing looks lively. From the house up here, I can hear almost any time, night or day, the sound of factory bells & the steam whistles of locomotives half a mile distant. Then the lights at night seen from here make a curious exhibition. At both places I stop, we have plenty of ripe fresh fruit and lots of flowers. Pete, I could now send you a bouquet every morning, far better than I used to, of much choicer flowers.

And how are you getting along, dearest comrade? I hope you are well, & that every thing is going on right with you. I have not heard from you for a good while, it seems. I suppose you got my last letter, 14th, from N.Y. I expect to return to N.Y. about the 22d. Should you feel to write after receiving this, you might direct to 331 East 55th st. as before. I am well as usual. I am luxuriating on excellent grapes. I wish I could send you a basket. At both places I stop they have vineyards, & the grapes are very good & plenty this year. Last night, when I went up at 11 o'clock to my room, I took up three great bunches, each as big as my fist, & sat down and eat them before I turned in. I like to eat them this way, & it agrees with me. It is quite a change here from my associations & surroundings either in Washington or New York. Evenings & meal times I find myself thrown amidst a mild, pleasant society, really intellectual, composed largely of educated women, some young, some not so young, every thing refined & polite, not disposed to small talk, conversing in earnest on profound subjects, but with a moderate rather slow tone, & in a kind & conciliatory manner — delighting in this sort of conversation, & spending their evenings till late in it. I take a hand in, for a change. I find it entertaining, as I say, for novelty's sake, for a week or two — but I know very well that would be enough for me. It is all first-rate, good & smart, but too constrained & bookish for a free old hawk like me. I send you my love, dear Pete. So long. Will write from N.Y. soon as I return there.

WW

P.S. Just after 12 o'clock —noon— as I am just finishing, the storm lightens up —I am sure I see a bit of blue sky in the clouds —yes, the sun is certainly breaking out.



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October 18, Sunday: In Cuba, rebel forces captured the town of Bayamo.



The Reverend [William Rounseville Alger](#) delivered a discourse on “The abuses and uses of church-going” at the 1st service of the Music-Hall Society in Boston.

Walt Whitman wrote again from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to Peter Doyle, who had written him on the 15th:

Dear boy & comrade,
I sent off a letter to you yesterday noon, but towards evening Mr. Davis brought me up from the p.o. yours of the 15th, which I was so glad to get that you shall have an answer right off. After the flurry of snow I told you of yesterday morning, we had a pleasant clear afternoon. I took a long walk, partly through the woods, and enjoyed it much. The weather was pretty cold & sharp, & remains so yet. As I left my overcoat in Washington, I have been compelled to get something here –so I have bought me a great iron-grey shawl, which I find very acceptable. I always had doubts about a shawl, but have already got used to



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mine, & like it first rate. In the evening, I went by invitation to a party of ladies & gentlemen – mostly ladies. We had a warm, animated talk, among other things about Spiritualism. I talked too, indeed went in like a house afire. It was good exercise – for the fun of the thing. I also made love to the women, & flatter myself that I created at least one impression – wretch & gay deceiver that I am. Then away late –lost my way –wandered over the city, & got home after one o'clock.

The truth is, Peter, that I am here at present times mainly in the midst of female women, some of them young & jolly – & meet them most every evening in company – & the way in which this aged party comes up to the scratch & cuts out the youthful parties & fills their hearts with envy is absolutely a caution. You would be astonished, my son, to see the brass & coolness, & the capacity of flirtation & carrying on with the girls – I would never have believed it of myself. Brought here by destiny, surrounded in this way – & as I in self defence would modestly state – sought for, seized upon & ravingly devoured by these creatures – & so nice & smart some of them are, & handsome too – there is nothing left for me –is there– but to go in. Of course, young man, you understand, it is all on the square. My going in amounts to just talking & joking & having a devil of a jolly time, carrying on – that's all. They are all as good girls as ever lived. I have already had three or four such parties here – which, you will certainly admit, considering my age & heft, to say nothing of my reputation, is doing pretty well.

I go about quite a good deal – this is as handsome a city, as I ever saw. Some of the streets run up steep hills. Except in a few of the business streets, where the buildings are compact – in nine-tenths of the city, every house stands separate, & has a little or quite a deal of ground about it, for flowers, & for shade or fruit trees, or a garden. I never saw such a prosperous looking city – but of course no grand public buildings like Washington.

This forenoon I have been out away down along the banks of the river & cove, & making explorations generally. All is new to me, & I returned quite tired. I have eat a hearty dinner. Then I thought I would come up & sit a while in my room. But as I did not feel like reading, I concluded to write this precious screed. Fortunate young man, to keep getting such instructive letters – aint you? It is now four o'clock & bright & cool, & I have staid in long enough. I will sally forth, on a walk, & drop this in the P.O. before supper. So long, dear Pete – & my love to you as always, always.

W

October 19, Monday: Walt Whitman wrote from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to Ellen M. O'Connor at the Treasury Department in Washington DC:

Dear Nelly,

I will just write you a line or two, anyhow. I am stopping the last three days here with Doctor and Jeannie & having a very



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pleasant time indeed – only Jeannie has had something of a bad spell – but is quite bright & comfortable this morning, & presided at breakfast. William is here – which adds much indeed to the pleasure of my visit – William has not recovered from an annoying cold, yet does pretty well – I have seen Mrs. Whitman, & like her – have seen her & talked &c. three times – have seen Miss Nora Perry – am going this afternoon to Thomas Davis's to stay two or three days, & then return to New York – whence in two or three days more, to Washington.

Mother is quite well for an old woman of 74 – speaks of you – is now in her new quarters – much roomier & pleasanter. Sister Martha & her two little girls have come on from St. Louis, and are now living with mother. George & Eddy are well. Mrs. Price & her girls are well & in good spirits – I am enjoying my vacation agreeably, but moderately – as becomes a gentleman of my size & age.

Give my love to Mr. and Mrs. Ashton –also to Charley –also to dear little Jeannie– It will not be long, Nelly, before I shall be with you all again. Best love to you, dearest friend.

Walt

My last letter to William was also to you – though I suppose you did not see it yet.

October 20, Tuesday: Professor Joseph Norman Lockyer of the Royal College of Science in London, observing the spectra of the luminous gasses surrounding the sun, had inferred the existence of a gas there that is not present in the atmosphere of the planet Earth. On this day he reported his findings to the Royal Society. However, the astronomer Pierre Jules César Janssen of the Astrophysical Observatory at Meudon in France had also arrived at this conclusion, on the basis of his observation of a solar eclipse on August 18th in India, and on this day was writing to inform the French Academy of his discovery (these two scientists would therefore share the honors of primacy in the discovery of the element named “Helium” after the sun, *Helios*).

Walt Whitman wrote from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to Charles W. Eldridge:

Dear Charley,

If the next Sunday Morning Chronicle contains a “personal” about me, would you do me the favor to get half a dozen copies, & keep for me? I shall doubtless return about the 26th – as my leave expires that day. (I wished to stay to vote, but have paired off with a vehement Seymourite, an old friend of mine.) I suppose Nelly received a letter I sent her yesterday, to your care.

I am writing this in my room at Mr. & Mrs. Davis's. I came here yesterday, after three most agreeable days with Dr. Channing & Jeannie. As I write, we are expecting a call from William O'C. as he promised yesterday to come over & see Mrs. D. and myself, & spend an hour or two. This afternoon, after dinner, Mr. Davis whom I like, & get along with first rate, is going to take me out to ride, down to the Point, as I wish to see more of the harbor & bay. I am treated on all sides with the greatest hospitality & courtesy – & yet left just as free as I wish to be. It is beautiful fall weather to-day. I go back to New York & Brooklyn on Thursday next.

I am profoundly impressed with Providence, not only for its



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charming locality & features, but for its proof & expression of fine relations, as a city, to average human comfort, life, & family & individual independence & thrift – After all, New England for ever! – (with perhaps just one or two little reservations)– With love to you, Charley – & repeated again to dear Nelly.

Yours truly

Walt

P.S. – Later -2 o'clock- William & Dr. Channing have been over here – staid to dinner – We had quite a gay time – indeed quite a little dinner party – William & Doctor, Mr & Mrs. Davis, Nora Perry, George Davis, Katy Hinds, & illustrious self – We are just through – Doctor has gone home, not wishing to leave Jeannie too long – William still remaining – I go presently on the drive with Mr. D. – and also to deposit this letter in P.O.

W.

October 21, Wednesday: There was a severe earthquake at 7:53AM in New-York.

Walt Whitman wrote from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to Abby H. Price in New-York:

Dear Abby,

I shall return to New York to-morrow, Thursday – leaving here at ½ past 12, noon, and getting in N.Y. about 8 – & intend to go on to Washington on Monday next, 26th. I have been at the Channings's – Jeannie is quite unwell – but bears it like the heroine she is – William O'Connor is there – I am now at Mr. & Mrs. Davis's – Am treated with the greatest hospitality & courtesy every where. Yesterday Mr. Davis took me out riding – went down to Fields' Point, off the bay – & thence to the domain & factories of the Spragues, & so to Olneysville &c &c – as interesting a ride & exploration as I ever had in my life– I have seen Mrs. Whitman – & like her. We had yesterday here to dinner & spend the evening Nora Perry, Wm O'Connor, Dr. Channing, &c – To-day Mrs. Davis had intended to take me out riding, but it is threatening rain, wind east, & skies dark – So it will have to be given up. I like Mr. Davis much. I am very glad I made this jaunt & visit– Love to you, Helen, Emily, & all.

Walt

October 22, Thursday: In Monroe County, Arkansas, Congressman James Hinds was killed by a Ku Klux Klansman.

Walt Whitman wrote from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to John Burroughs:

Dear friend,

I have been thinking about you this morning, and will write a few lines, though without any thing special to communicate. My vacation is nearly done, & in four or five days more I shall be back in Washington. I have been here in Providence the past week, as guest of Thomas Davis, a manufacturer here, & formerly



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M.C. – have had a good time generally, in a quiet way – am going on to New York this afternoon, & shall be back in Washington on the 27th–

William O'Connor is here in Providence – I have been with him a good deal – he is not very well, but goes around– Will finish my letter in New York, & mail it thence to-morrow.

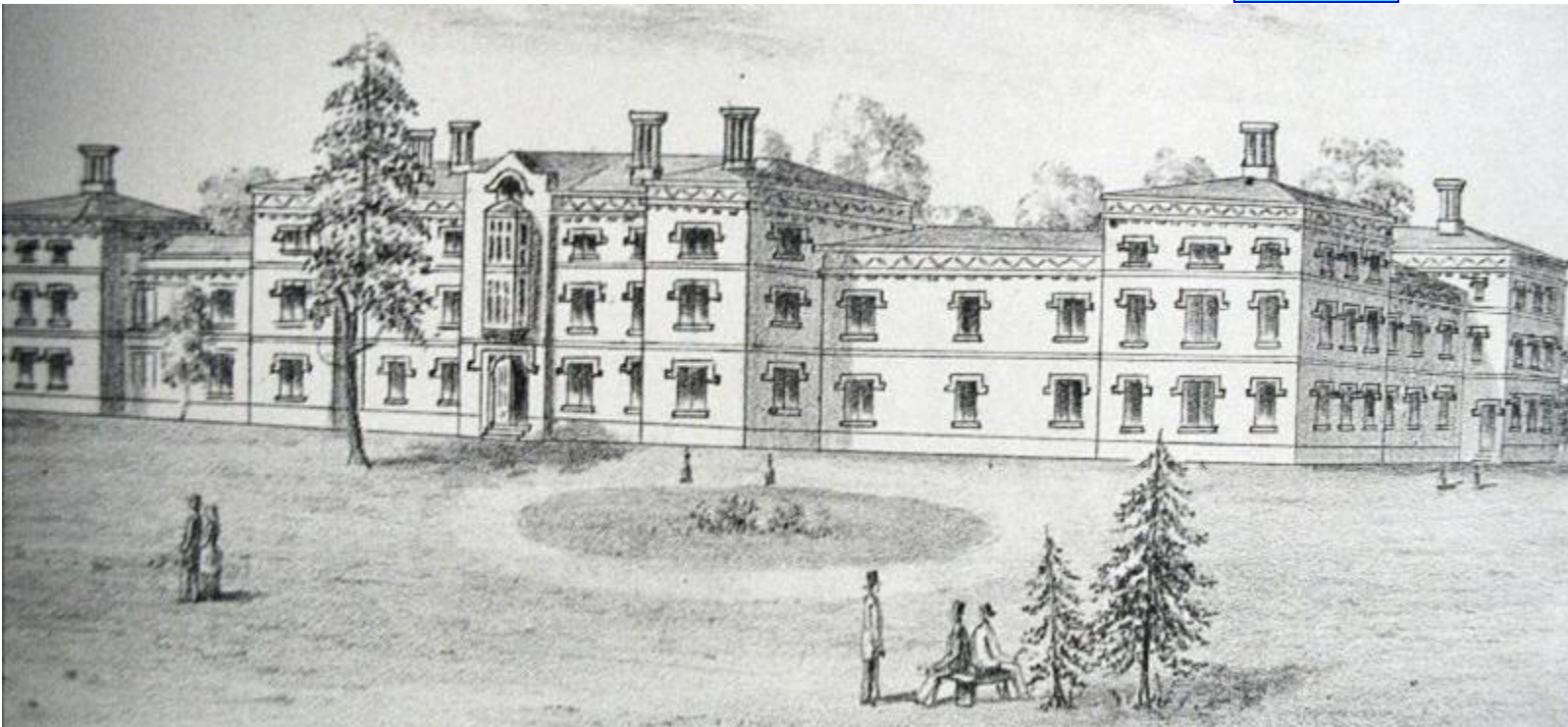
Walt.

November 11, Wednesday: Horace Mann, Jr., who had accompanied [Henry Thoreau](#) to Minnesota before starting his Harvard studies in 1861, and who had gone on in 1864/1865 to catalog plants in Hawaii for his college thesis, died of [tuberculosis](#). The body would be interred in the North Burial Ground of [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**PROVIDENCE****RHODE ISLAND**[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)**1869**

In the town of [Cranston](#), 6 miles from [Providence](#), a plot of 421 acres was purchased for the purpose of erecting bluestone with granite trim structures for a [Rhode Island](#) house of correction, a work-house, an asylum for the incurable insane, and an almshouse. These would be served by the Pawtuxet Valley branch of the New York, Providence, & Boston RR.

The [Butler Hospital](#) for the Insane would no longer need to provide care for patients unable to contribute to their room and board. In the future such indigent patients would be kept at the State Farm, at which care was cheaper.

[PSYCHOLOGY](#)



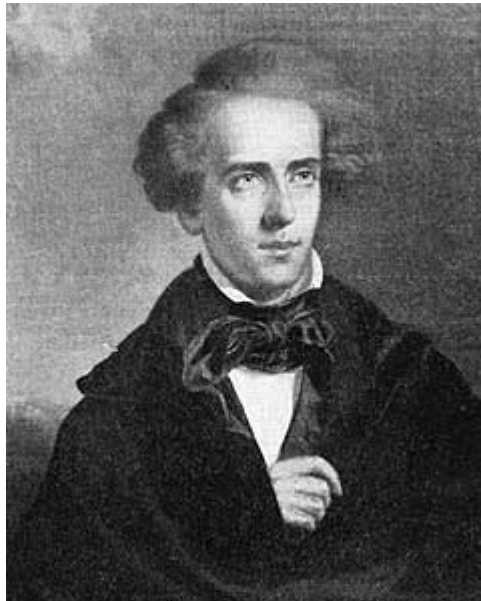
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1870

November 18, Friday: The [Providence Journal](#) reported that during the previous forenoon in his room at the boarding house at 99 High Street in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the poet [William Jewett Pabodie](#), an unmarried attorney,



had taken a dose of prussic acid. He was known to have procured the substance some time before, and to have spoken of suicide. Before collapsing he came out of his room and informed the housekeeper Eunice L. Bliss and her visitor Ann S. Knowles of what he had done, and they immediately summoned nearby physicians A.F. Pollock and A.B. Foster — but to no avail.



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1871

Edmund Davis took in Mrs. Sarah D. Dennis as a partner in the patent medicine business conducted under the name “[Perry Davis](#) & Son.” They would relocate the manufacturing facility to 136 High Street, [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

ETHANOL
OPIATES



Losses in the great [Chicago](#) fire caused the complete liquidation of the assets of the Washington Providence Insurance Company of [Providence](#). The business would need to be revived through the infusion of new capital.

The [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) received \$17,732.75 from the city of [Providence](#) for a plot of land that had been cut off from the school grounds by an extension of Thayer Street. This money would be spent on an addition to Alumni Hall.



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1872

In its beginnings, the Meeting for Sufferings committee of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), which had been so named because it had been commissioned to care for Friends who were suffering persecution during the American revolution, had acquired a dominant position within the society. At this point, in a belated recognition of the fact that Friends were no longer being persecuted for their peace testimony, the name of this committee was updated to “Representative Meeting.” (In 1901 the name would change again, to “Permanent Board.”)

The [Yearly Meeting School](#) received \$17,732 from the City of [Providence](#) for an extension of Thayer Street onto the Moses Brown farm, and used this money to add more accommodations for boy scholars, and a study hall. A new dining hall would provide seating for both boys and girls.

Due to rampant [Anti-Catholicism](#), exemption of the personal property of religious and educational societies in [Rhode Island](#) from taxation was in this year further restricted, with only “buildings for free public schools or for religious worship” and one acre of the ground upon which they stood remaining exempt from taxation, and



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this only if both the land and the buildings were used for no purpose other than free public schooling plus religious worship. Rented property and invested funds of such institutions, and the school property of the Catholic church and other semi-private educations institutions, was made taxable. (In 1894 the schools of the Catholic church be again freed from taxation, and added to that would be the buildings of charitable institutions and one acre of the ground on which they stood.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

During a widening of Hope Street, part of the old rubblestone wall around the [Dexter Asylum](#) was knocked down. Although the city solicitor maintained that there was no legal requirement that they rebuild this wall, finally the city would restore it (but, they would lower it along Hope Street, and add a capping of granite).



It became necessary to obtain the signatures of two physicians, in order to commit a patient to the [Butler Hospital](#) for the Insane.

PSYCHOLOGY



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[Providence, Rhode Island](#) looked pretty damn nice, in an illustration by A.C. Warren:



Another view published in this same year paid somewhat more attention to the industrialization:





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1873

March 28, Friday: Octavius Brooks Frothingham wrote from New-York to Charles Wesley Slack discussing his intention to write a biography of the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#) and asking for any material that would be beneficial in its completion.

Portions of the town of [Cranston](#) were annexed to the city of [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

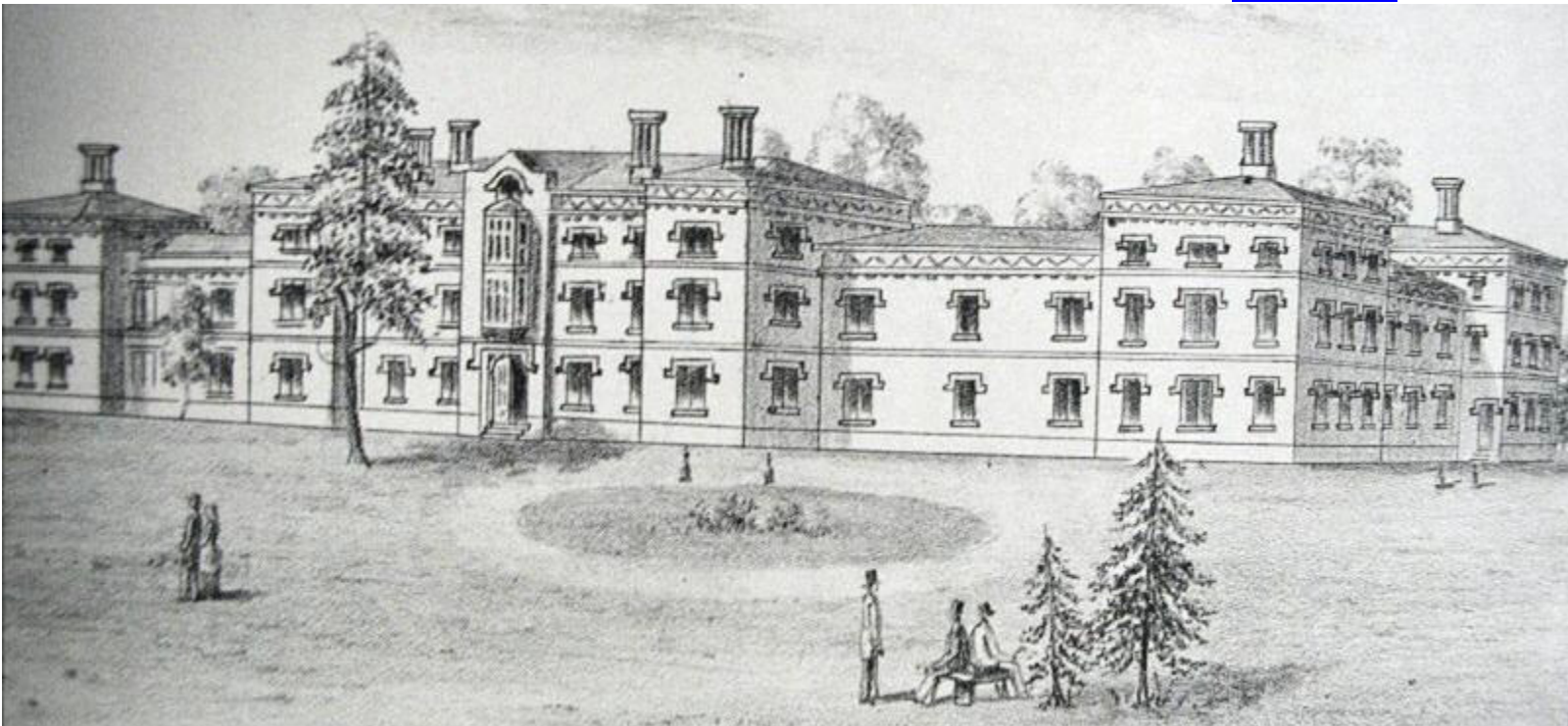
1874

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), [William J. Brown](#) wrote the preface to his autobiography.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**PROVIDENCE****RHODE ISLAND****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

At [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), it was decided that it would no longer be the practice for [Quaker](#) scholars to worship with Friends at the Providence meetinghouse at the corner of Meeting Street and Main Street. Meetings for worship would continue, however, on Sunday and Wednesday mornings in school facilities.

At the [Butler Hospital](#) for the Insane, a facility for “excited” female patients, Duncan Ward, came into operation.

[PSYCHOLOGY](#)

February 11, Wednesday: A letter from [Sarah Helen Power Whitman](#) (1803-1878) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), to Ingram, in regard to [Edgar Allan Poe](#) and Rufus Griswold, is briefly characterized below:

Mrs. Whitman believes that Mrs. Clemm, not Poe, might have borrowed money from “a distinguished lady of South Carolina.” Quotes from Poe’s letter to her of November 24, 1848, explaining his conduct when Sarah Margaret Fuller and Anne C. Lynch (Botta) called on him to retrieve Frances S. Osgood’s letters. Relates a visit she had from Professor Thomas Wyatt and all she knows of *THE CONCHOLOGIST’S FIRST BOOK* and Poe’s part in it. Does not think Poe wrote “To Isadore,” since he did not mark it in the two volumes of the [Broadway Journal](#) which he gave to her. Tells of James W. Davidson’s attempts to clear Poe’s name. George Eveleth is a loyal supporter



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of Poe and thinks Rufus Griswold fabricated the letter in which Poe is quoted as calling Eveleth "a Yankee impertinent," for Poe knew Eveleth was a Marylander and Griswold did not. Will try to recover from William F. Gill the printed account of William Gowans's recollections of Poe. Both John P. Kennedy and J.H. B.Latrobe have assured Eveleth that they and the Committee did not award the Baltimore Saturday Visitor prize to Poe for his tale under "anything like the circumstances" given by Griswold.



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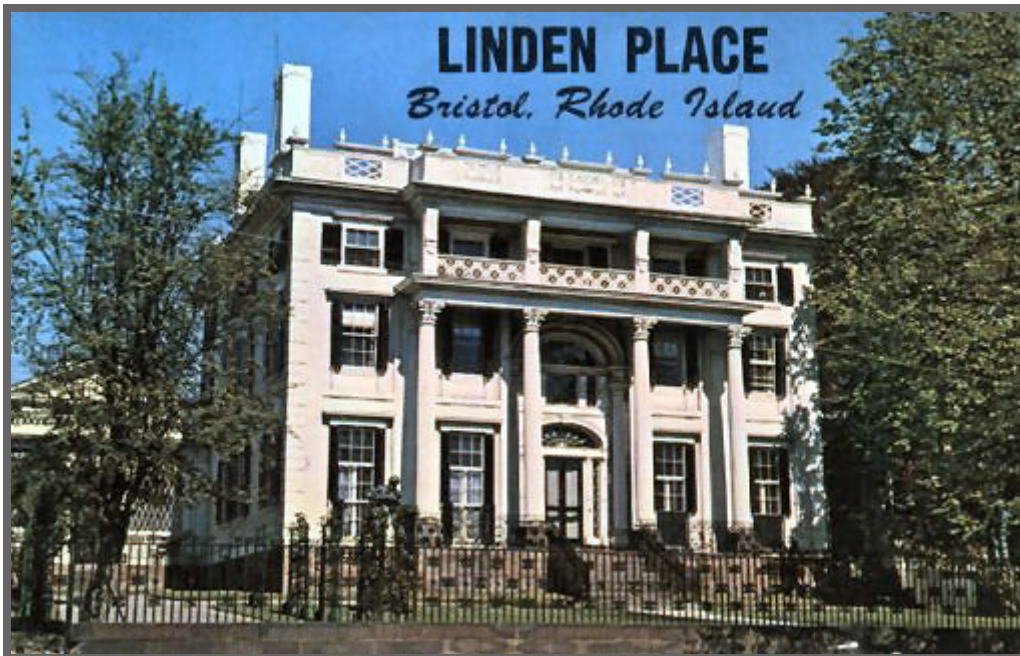
GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1875

In this timeframe about half the students at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) were not from [Quaker](#) families, with about one out of every five of the students who were Quakers coming to the school from outside New England. The board and tuition rate that was being charged of members of the New England Yearly Meeting was \$100 (that's roughly equivalent to \$10,000 in the currency of the 21st Century), while Quakers from outside New England were being charged \$190, scholars only one of whose parents was a Quaker were being charged \$190, and non-Quakers were being charged \$300.

Most of the [Quaker](#) schools in Philadelphia had by this point been consolidated into two, that we now know as the William Penn Charter School and the Friends Select School (they consider their date of origination, on the basis of the foundation date of schools that came together to create these entities, to have been 1689).

President Ulysses S. Grant was entertained at the “Linden Place” DeWolf mansion in downtown [Bristol](#).



November 4, Thursday: [Thomas Allen Jenckes](#) died in Cumberland, [Rhode Island](#). In the New-York [Times](#), his obit would characterize him as having been, as a legislator, more “useful” than “magnetic,” but would go on to deny that as a politician he had been “of the oily variety.” Indeed, he had gained “the implicit confidence of the people.” His body would be interred in Swan Point Cemetery in [Providence](#) (refer to “In memoriam. Thomas Allen Jenckes” — presumably published in Providence in 1876).



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1876

Publication, in [Providence](#), of Thomas B. Stockwell's A HISTORY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN [RHODE ISLAND](#) FROM 1636 TO 1876.

The [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence](#) received a payment of \$28,000 for land taken from the Moses Brown farm by the city in the widening of Hope Street and the creation of Lloyd Avenue between Hope Street and Arlington Avenue. However, at the same time the [Rhode Island](#) legislature voided the tax-exempt status that had always been in effect for the school. Tax bills would quickly be piling up, reaching about \$4,000, and to pay these taxes, the school would begin to sell off outlying plots of the Moses Brown farm. (It is very much an open question, whether such disposal of trust property was in accordance with the original bequest, or was an utterly unlawful raid on the endowment and a violation of their standing as a society incorporated in Rhode Island by legislative charter. At any rate, the tax-exempt standing of the school would be restored by legislative act early in 1893.) By this point about half the students were not from [Quaker](#) families, with about one out of every five of the students who were Quakers coming to the school from outside New England. The board and tuition rate that was being charged of members of the New England Yearly Meeting was \$100, while Quakers from outside New England were being charged \$190, scholars only one of whose parents was a Quaker were being charged \$190, and non-Quakers were being charged \$300.

In this year of our nation's Reconstruction effort, [Elizabeth Buffum Chase](#) resigned from the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) Woman's Club — over its refusal to admit a black schoolteacher.²⁷



27. For those of you who haven't checked a map recently: Rhode Island is not part of the Deep South, but a northern state, indeed if you look at your atlas with a magnifying glass, you will find it is part of New England. Rhode Island had already gotten rid of its slaves, some time before the Civil War. —But, some things don't change much, do they? In her "My Anti-Slavery Reminiscences," [Elizabeth Buffum Chase](#) had recorded an event from before the Civil War, in the town in which she lived, Valley Falls, [Rhode Island](#), in which some "very respectable young colored women" had caused a ruckus by attending a meeting of the abolitionists. Get this, not a meeting of the Women's Club, but a meeting of the abolitionists! The prospect that these women of color might attempt to join the local abolitionist society "raised such a storm among some of its leading members, that for a time, it threatened the dissolution of the Society." These black abolitionists had eventually been admitted as members, Chase recollected, but had never in her opinion been accepted as equals by some of the other, white abolitionists. (From incidents such as this, you can get my drift, when I make one of my more indecent accusations, that as a first-order approximation — what the white American abolitionists had been seeking to abolish in the antebellum years had been, not slavery, but black Americans.)



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Elizabeth B. Chace.

August 24, Thursday: [Paulina Wright Davis](#) died in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

1877

By this point about half the students at [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) were not from [Quaker](#) families, with about one out of every five of the students who were Quakers coming to the school from outside New England. The board and tuition rate that was being charged of members of the New England Yearly Meeting was \$100, while Quakers from outside New England were being charged \$190, scholars only one of whose parents was a Quaker were being charged \$190, and non-Quakers were being charged \$300.

The School Committee having received \$28,000.50 for land sold to the city of [Providence](#) for widening Hope Street and opening Lloyd Avenue from Hope Street to Arlington Avenue, and having sold other plots of land as well either to the city or to private parties, in this year a consent decree was sought, validating these transactions. The [Rhode Island](#) Supreme Court of course kindly obliged (such a consent decree did not, of



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course, free the school to do whatever it wanted with the moneys it had received).

This is what [Providence](#) looked like in this year:



READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

Providence Gas installed gas pipes into the buildings of the [Butler Hospital](#) for the Insane. After 29 consecutive years of financial deficits the hospital was able to post its first “surplus,” amounting to \$742.

During the late 1870s, the inmate population at the [Dexter Asylum](#) across the street from the Moses Brown School had stabilized at around 100, where it would remain until the asylum’s closing. Living conditions, as depicted in early lists of rules and punishments, work records, and daily menus, were hardly desirable by present standards. Visitors were permitted only once every three weeks, male and female inmates were kept carefully segregated, the evening meal consisted merely of white bread and tea, and those found guilty of drinking, “immoral conduct,” “loud talking or disrespectful behavior,” or malingering to avoid work were subject to “confinement in bridewell [a jail cell] for a time not exceeding three days, and of being kept on short allowance of food.”



The grassy enclosure of about 9 1/12 acres located west of Dexter Street near High Street, which had been for



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years in service as a militia training field, was by this point no longer being required for such purposes.

Eli Whitney Blake, Hazard Professor of Physics at [Brown University](#), had been fascinated by the development of this new instrument of communication, the telephone, although he was not of the sort who would pursue financial benefit, and had been conveying this enthusiasm to his students, many of whom had constructed their own receiver devices. [Dr. William Francis Channing](#) had also been attracted into this project. Although Alexander Graham Bell had on February 14, 1876 submitted a crude working model to the US Patent Office and had secured a patent, his receiver device, which had been on exhibit at the Centennial Exhibition that summer, had turned out to unwieldy due to its weighing ten pounds. In late winter, or in the early spring of this year, at Professor Blake's lodgings in the house of Rowland Hazard, 45 Williams Street in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), there was a demonstration of the telephone:

The wire was strung between the reception room, just within the front door, and the study at the other end of the long hall, with a telephone at either end. Ely happened to be listening at the receiver in the study, where Prof. Blake was completing his preparation, when he heard a familiar voice at the other end of the wire and said "My father has just come in, I hear his voice; were you expecting him?" Prof. Blake was dumbfounded and elated, for not even in their wildest flights of fancy had the scientists dreamed of the possibility of recognizing individual voices.

Professor Blake and his students reduced the problem of the unwieldiness of the device by replacing the horseshoe magnet with a bar magnet, and found that in so doing they not only rendered the device more handy, but also improved the clarity of the communication. Their redesign was termed a "butterstamp" because it resembled a kitchen tool that embosses a design into a block of butter. You held the butterstamp-shaped receiver against your ear while pointing the butterstamp-shaped transmitter directly at your mouth.



May: One morning the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) newspaper was noticed to feature a description of the telephone transmitter/receiver apparatus used by Alexander Graham Bell, with an illustration — and this produced great agitation in a science classroom at [Brown University](#):



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Prof. Blake came into the lecture-room in a state of great excitement, a copy of the paper in his hand and addressed the class substantially as follows: "Gentlemen, you have seen the announcement of Professor Bell's telephone in this morning's paper. You are all familiar with the instrument; some of you have yourselves made them. I want to tell you that some time ago Prof. Bell came down from Boston to compare notes with Prof. Peirce, [Dr. Channing](#) and myself. He told us that he had mastered the principle of the telephone but had been unable to devise a receiver which was not too cumbrous for use. We showed him our receiver with which you are all familiar. I ask you to compare that with Prof. Bell's as pictured in the paper today."

1878

By this point about half the students at [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) were not from [Quaker](#) families, with about one out of every five of the students who were Quakers coming to the school from outside New England. The board and tuition rate that was being charged of members of the New England Yearly Meeting was \$100, while Quakers from outside New England were being charged \$190, scholars only one of whose parents was a Quaker were being charged \$190, and non-Quakers were being charged \$300.

As the Reverend Thomas Wentworth Higginson would point out in one of his magazine articles, there were some utterly strange things going on in this postbellum America: "The republican legislature of [Rhode Island](#) has just refused once more to repeal the bill prohibiting intermarriage, while the legislature of South Carolina has refused to pass such a bill." (Go figure, the Rev. suggests.)

June 27, Thursday: [Sarah Helen Power Whitman](#) died, leaving sums to the [Providence](#) Association for the Benefit of Colored Children and to the [Rhode Island](#) Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July: George Michael Cohan, who would become the “Yankee Doodle Dandy” of Broadway, was born on our nation’s birthday at 536 Wickenden Street in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).



CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



1879

The Smiley administration ended and the Augustine Jones administration began at the [Quaker Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). Here is how this new administration would be described in Friend Eric Kristensen’s “An Outline of Moses Brown School’s History,” prepared for the Ad Hoc Subcommittee of the Permanent Board on Financing Moses Brown School Renovations:



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1879-1904: Music and art invade the school in great profusion. Student life flourishes with clubs, athletic associations and teams, and various society forms. Girls and boys mix in classes and in many extracurricular events. Elizabeth Fry fund established by Ella J. Wheeler with a gift of \$30,000 for scholarships; Stephen T. Olney bequeaths \$43,000 for the permanent fund of the school; other gifts and bequests by Sarah Slade, Timothy Earle, Philip Tripp, Eleanor Cattell and others bring the gift total to more than \$90,000 most of which was added to the permanent endowment. (page 7)

Here is how Friend Eric Kristensen had described the previous “Smiley Administration” which was ending:

1860-1879: Smiley administration. Albert K. (from Oak Grove in Vassalboro) was principal, his twin brother Alfred H. was Associate Principal for much of this time. A sister, Rebecca H. was head of the girls’ department from 1863-1879. The strict regulations of the early days were further relaxed; attendance increased, the debt decreased, and a number of new buildings were built. After the Civil War, attendance often reached 200; in 1875 a record 222 students enrolled. The averages for the period were 103 boys and 69 girls for a total of 172. The contract system remained from the Cartland days, whereby the Principal received a salary; after his and all other salaries and operating expenses were paid he received one half of the annual profit. This allowed the Principal to realize a considerable amount in some years, and the School Committee was assured of sound business practices which eliminated accumulated debt, reduced the deficit and provided a balance for improving the school plant. The School was commonly called the “Quaker Jail” by students of this period. After Moses Brown, the brothers opened the famous Mohonk Mountain House outside of New Palz NY. (page 6)

Is it not curious, to see a religious institution that has been exempted from taxation being run for profit, with half the profit disappearing annually into the Headmaster’s own pocket? –This sort of situation shines an interesting light on the category “nonprofit,” for in fact even today a tax-exempt foundation is allowed to offer “incentive compensation” to its CEO and other key executives without its “nonprofit” standing being considered in any way to be compromised.²⁸



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At one of the State of [Rhode Island](#)'s "detrribalization" hearings, members of the [Narragansett](#) tribe expressed their reasons for continuing tribal relations on the reservation. In their statements a number indicated a preference to live as a protected community on their ancestral property, alleged that they resented being considered as drunks, liars, paupers, and thieves, and protested that "detrribalization" was merely the final phase of an agenda of dispossession by white colonists. The speakers referred to themselves, and were referred to, alternately as "Indians" and "colored," and foresaw no advantage to being considered citizens or to being considered colored. That the racial mixing which had been going on for generations had rendered them less of a Native American tribal community was denied by Daniel Sekater, a council member:

We have now here a little mite of property that belongs to the Narragansett Indians, conveyed to them by their foreparents, and it belongs to them; and it does seem to me that they ought to have the handling of it as they see fit.... Some argue that they ought to come out as citizens because they are mixed up with others. There are [Negroes], it is true -- perhaps more [Negro] than anything else. But other classes are mixed up with other nations just as well There is hardly one that can say, "I am a clear-blooded Yankee."

The council did however agree to quitclaim to the State all common, tribal, and vacant lands, except the site of the church, with its graveyard and August Meeting ground.

28. This matter referred to above, the re-engagement of the school's principals on "a contract system" in 1855, deserves some comment. As a historian, to do a good job, I should be able to establish the crossover point, at which the school transited from being a religious school, a school offering a religious education to young members of a religion — to being the sort of hoighty-toighty Ivy League preparatory academy for all and sundry families of the Providence rising classes which as we are all profoundly aware, it has by now become. For the first five years or so of my investigation of the records of this school, I had been presuming that probably I was going to discover this crossover point at which Quakerism became mere lip service to Quakerism to have been reached just prior to the middle of the 20th Century, as this institution made its transition from being a boarding school attracting Quaker youth from all over New England, into being a day school catering to the middleclass families of Providence's toney East Side (plus, incidentally, whatever few Quaker youth happened to reside within daily commuting distance who could afford the high fees or could secure a scholarship). When I discovered, in the records of the school, however, these records of incentive compensation for its headmasters, this caused me to recognize that the crossover into disingenuity may have already been well in the past, by that late point at which the boarding-school aspect of the school's function had disintegrated beyond repair. Incentive compensation is utterly incompatible with charter — one simply cannot allow a person to run an institution and divert half its annual surplus into his own pocket, and anticipate that that person will behave in any manner other than to maximize the income flowing into his own pocket. This is the sort of situation which is described, in economics, and described quite properly, as "moral hazard." At this point, the school's charter to provide an environment guarded from the lay world in which a Quaker education might best be conveyed to Quaker youth, was inevitably abandoned — abandoned because the headmaster's incentive compensation was henceforth to be based not upon fulfilling that charge, but instead upon implementing a contrary agenda of puffing up the school's enrollment and the school's charges and the school's cash flow, while holding down expenditures, in such manner as to maximize a flow into his own pocket. Under such a "contract system" the eventual result, that after a period of evolutionary adjustment and accommodation this Quaker school would be effectively a lay school, and that this Quaker endowment would no longer be being used for Quaker education, should have been anticipatable. For it has always been well understood that:

²⁴ No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

— MATTHEW 6:24

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1880

When Edmund Davis died at the age of 57, his son Edmund W. Davis took over the family's patent medicine business conducted under the name "[Perry Davis & Son](#)" at 136 High Street, [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

ETHANOL
OPIATES





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1881

In [Rhode Island](#), the [Smithfield](#) meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) burned, and would be replaced by the present structure:



When Clark Shove of Fall River offered to donate a grand piano to the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the School Committee of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) took his proposal as an opportunity for the Society to reappraise its attitude toward the arts. After serious consideration, the elders decided that this gift would be accepted, it being understood that “music lessons should be given at the school only to those pupils whose parents specifically requested it.”

During this year Friend Rufus Matthew Jones was completing his studies at the school.

Isaac Ray died of [tuberculosis](#) in Philadelphia. In his will he had provided for a bequest of \$77,000 to the [Butler Hospital](#) for the Insane in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).



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Mrs. Sarah D. Dennis died and Edmund W. Davis took in a new partner in the family's patent medicine business, Horace S. Bloodgood. The company, still called "[Perry Davis & Son](#)," relocated to 594 Westminster Street in downtown [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

ETHANOL
OPIATES



[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**PROVIDENCE****RHODE ISLAND****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

The enlargement, and a complete reversal of the interior arrangement of, the music hall at 276 Westminster Street in downtown [Providence, Rhode Island](#). This structure was 105 feet long and 85 feet wide, with a shopping arcade running along three sides, and an upper gallery in the rear. It featured a Hook & Hastings concert organ and its stage would accommodate an orchestra of 60, with 300 singers. The hall would now seat 2,200.





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February 22, Tuesday: A section of the national Socialist Labor Party was organized in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) by Philip J. Murphy, with Frank Fowler as secretary. This association had, for its objects, universal voting suffrage and “that the sources of life –viz., land, the means of production, public transportation and exchange– become the property of the whole people.” About 60 citizens of Providence would join.

FEMINISM

Spring: At this point, foreign-born adult male citizens were still required under the constitution of [Rhode Island](#) to be the registered owners of real estate taxed for at least \$134 [*sic*, presumably that was a misprint for “\$1.34”], in order to cast a ballot. Native-born adult male citizens who were not being taxed for \$1.34, of either real or personal property, could not vote in any Rhode Island town or city, on any question involving the expenditure of the money or the imposition of a tax, nor could they vote in the state capital for members of the city council. Such native-born adult male citizens, if they desired to exercise the voting franchise, were required to register their names with the city or town clerk on or before the last day of December, in the year next preceding the time of voting, and to pay \$1 as a registry-tax. During this season an Equal Rights Association was formed in Providence, having for its objects the repeal of such property qualifications for voting, and the procuring of equal political standing for all adult male citizens. “The main organization is in [Providence](#), and there are branches in [Pawtucket](#), [Newport](#), and several of the towns. The membership is not large, and the movement appears to meet with but little favor.”

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**PROVIDENCE****RHODE ISLAND****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM****1882**

An illustration purporting to be from a balloon's point of view, a panoramic view of [Narragansett Bay](#), was published by J.G. Thompson of [Providence, Rhode Island](#):



In [Providence](#), a Woman's Suffrage Association of [Rhode Island](#) ([Elizabeth Buffum Chase](#), president, Mrs. M.J. Channing, corresponding secretary) was holding regular monthly meetings at its offices in the Hoppin Homestead Building at 283 Westminster Street. At these meetings papers were being read and discussed, after which usually there would be an informal tea.

FEMINISM

This is what a [Providence, Rhode Island](#) guidebook had to say about [Brown University](#):

BROWN UNIVERSITY was at first called Rhode Island College. Its name was later (in 1804) changed to Brown University, in honor



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of Nicholas Brown, who had been its most munificent benefactor. The University property lies at the head of College St. (east side), occupying extensive grounds commanding fine views. It is a liberally managed [Baptist](#) institution, was founded at Warren in 1674, and removed to Providence in 1770. Officers 22, students 275. Ezek G. Robinson, D.D., L.L.D., Prest.; F. W. Douglas, A.M., Registrar.

The college buildings stand upon the crest of Prospect Hill in the midst of some 15 acres of grounds, which are well laid out, grass-planted, and adorned with magnificent elms. Hope College, Manning, University, Slater and Rhode Island halls, form a continuous straight line bet. Waterman and George Sts., and face Prospect St. The enclosure in front of these buildings is known as the "front campus," and in the rear as the "middle campus." Beyond this, and in the rear of Sayles Memorial Hall and the Laboratory, is a narrower strip of land, sloping toward the ball-grounds, designated as the "back campus."

Below are enumerated the buildings, laboratories, libraries, etc.

Base-Ball Grounds are on Thayer St., bet. Waterman and George Sts. The "nines" of various colleges play on these grounds frequently during the summer term.

Gymnasium: The university greatly needs a gymnasium of its own. At present the students have access to a gymnasium hall at reduced rates.

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Laboratory, The Chemical, on the "middle campus" of the University grounds is a brick structure, containing rooms for chemical experiments, and recitation rooms.

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President's House, College, cor. Prospect St., is a plain wooden edifice, with an Ionic portion. Built in 1840.

Rhode-Island Hall, erected in 1840 by subscription, stands at the S. end of the "front campus" close to George, and facing Prospect St. It is of stone, covered with cement, and divided into two lofty stories. On the lower floor are lecture-rooms, and in the upper story is a natural-history museum, containing about 30,000 specimens in zoology, 10,000 in mineralogy, 5,000 in geology and palaeontology, together with a collection of coins and medals, and a number of Indian and other barbaric implements and curiosities. Recently an ell was added to the building, the lower floor of which is used for a physical laboratory, and the upper story for a portrait-gallery. The basement is used for a zoological laboratory.

Sayles Memorial Hall, on the "middle campus," facing University Hall, is, with the exception of the Library, perhaps, the most elegant of the college buildings. It is the generous gift of the Hon. William F. Sayles of [Pawtucket](#), in memory of his son William F. Sayles who died in 1876, while a member of the sophomore class. The building, Romanesque in style, is of red-faced [Westerly](#) granite, trimmed with brown Londmeadow sandstone. It contains a hall and recitation-rooms. The hall is 107 ft. long and 55 wide, and seats 1,100 persons, or, at alumni dinners, about 550 persons. It is wainscoted in ash, and a trussed roof of the same material rises to a height of 65 ft. The gallery is capable of seating 100 persons. The entire front of the edifice is devoted to eight recitation-rooms. On the band of stone-work between the second and third stories of the tower (94 ft. in height) is this inscription: "Filio Pater Posuit MDCCCLXXX." A. C. Morse, Architect.

Slater Hall, on the "front campus," between University and Rhode-Island halls, is an ornamental four-story brick dormitory building, with terra-cotta trimmings, and a tiled roof; and was erected in 1879, through the liberality of the Hon. Horatio N. Slater of Webster, Mass.

University Hall is the central building of those which line the "front campus." It is of brick, cement covered, 150 ft. long, and is crowned by a small belfry. The corner-stone was laid in May, 1770, and the building constructed in imitation of the Nassau Hall, at Princeton, N. J. From Dec. 7, 1776, until May 27, 1782, it was occupied for barracks and a hospital by the American and French troops. It is now used for dormitories, offices, and recitation-rooms. It shows the footsteps of time, especially before the doors and on the stairways. The president's and the registrar's offices are on the ground floor of this building; and a room at one end is occupied by a students' reading room association.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT



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This is what a [Providence, Rhode Island](#) guidebook had to say about New England [Yearly Meeting](#)'s boarding school for [Quaker](#) youth, now the [Moses Brown School](#):

FRIENDS' BOARDING-SCHOOL is one of the noblest and most richly endowed educational institutions in New England. Its 225 pupils come from twenty states, to prepare in a literary and scientific or classical course (or a combination of the two) for mercantile life or for universities and professional schools. Its founder, Moses Brown, was also a founder of Brown University. He gave, besides his personal care, nearly \$20,000, and about 50 acres of land which are now worth perhaps \$50,000. His son, Obadiah Brown, gave \$100,000, and since then benefactors in large and small sums have been numerous in all parts of the country; among them Wm. Almy, Ebenezer Metcalf, \$30,000, and a Boston lady who in 1882 gave \$30,000. The school has been able by its ample endowment to do noble work. Its foundation might be dated 1780, when Moses Brown headed a subscription by means of which the Society of Friends in 1784 began a school at [Portsmouth](#), R.I.; but it dates merely from 1819, since which time the school has been almost uninterruptedly conducted at Providence. The grounds, buildings, and equipment should be seen by every visitor to the city. The property is cor. Hope and Lloyd Sts., about a mile from the City Hall. The 50 acres are upon an eminence 182 ft. above tide-water, and overlook the city, the rivers, and Narragansett Bay. Nearly all the towns in Rhode Island can be seen from the cupola on the main building. The main building is of brick, 220 ft. long, and contains a dining-hall, girls' schoolroom, public reception-room, parlors and nurseries, recitation-rooms, and dormitories. An extension of brick, 76 ft. long, contains a boys' schoolroom and dormitories. "Alumni Hall," a three-story brick structure, 126 ft. long, contains on the first floor a grand public hall, besides rooms for the scientific apparatus and cabinets, the library, and reading-room; and on the upper floors dormitories for girls. There are also two gymnasiums, -one for each sex,- an enclosed place for roller-[skating](#), ponds for bathing and [skating](#), and academic groves of venerable trees for recreation and retreat. The equipment comprises an abundance of approved astronomical and other scientific-apparatus, laboratories, art-models, a library of 6,000 volumes, six pianos, and other musical instruments, etc. Ventilation, drainage, and other sanitary precautions, are perceptible everywhere. The school takes only boarding pupils, and thus becomes the home of about 225 boys and girls; and here may well be studied the co-education system. The institution is owned by the New-England Yearly Meeting of Friends, who choose the "school committee" of 33 men and women. The faculty consists of 18 male and female instructors, librarians, etc., eight of whom are college graduates, and all of whom are chosen by reason of superior qualifications. The principal is Augustine Jones, A.M., who in 1851 graduated from this school, and later from Bowdoin College, and afterwards from



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the Harvard Law School, and who was the partner and educator of Gov. John A. Andrew, the Massachusetts "War Governor." He practised law in Massachusetts for 12 years, and served in the general court for one year, and in 1879 relinquished his practice to accept his present responsible position, and has brought to the institution its greater prosperity. It is not possible in this limited space to give the details of the workings, terms, etc., of the school, but a descriptive pamphlet can be had free by any applicant. It must be stated, however, that 25 worthy pupils receive (in scholarships) their entire board, rooms, tuition, washing, etc., free of charge; a fact which in itself indicates the character of the institution. Although managed by Friends, the school is wholly unsectarian, and one-half the pupils are of other denominations.

Since the [Wilburites](#) who had split off as the Providence Monthly Meeting of North Providence/Pawtucket had lain down this meeting in the previous year, the [Religious Society of Friends](#) had at this point two places of worship in the city of [Providence, Rhode Island](#). One was at the corner of North Main and Meeting Streets, and the other at the Friends' Boarding-School on the ridge of College Hill. A town guidebook offers: "The first-named, a plain and unpretentious wooden structure, has been a place of worship of the Society since about 1727. An addition was made to the building in 1784-1785. The town was accustomed, for a long time, to hold their meetings in this house, and a school was for many years kept in the upper part of it. A small Friends' meeting-house was built as early as 1704."

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Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: In Buffalo, New York, the cornerstone for a soldiers' monument was set in place.

A procession of military units, militia, bands, and invited guests, marched through the streets of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to its North Burial-Ground, where a monument was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies in the presence of the assembled multitude. The monument marks the graves of French soldiers who had died during the American Revolution. It consists of an 8-foot by 4-foot basestone and a 6-foot-two-inch by 2-foot ledgerstone, of [Westerly](#) granite. The latter bears on its upper surface a French shield. On the east panel are cut the words "Our French Allies in the Revolution," on the west panel are cut the words "La Gratitude de Rhode Island," and on the north panel are cut the words "Tribute to the People, Decorated by the French Delegation, Nov. 1, 1881." The south panel bears a relief carving of a Revolutionary cartridge box with the date 1782. After the Reverend Frederic Denison, the Honorable T.A. Doyle, Mayor Hayward, and French Consul-General M. Le Faivre had spoken, Professor J.E. Guilbert recited a poem in the French language.

In Princeton Junction, New Jersey the chapel of Dutch Neck Church was dedicated.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





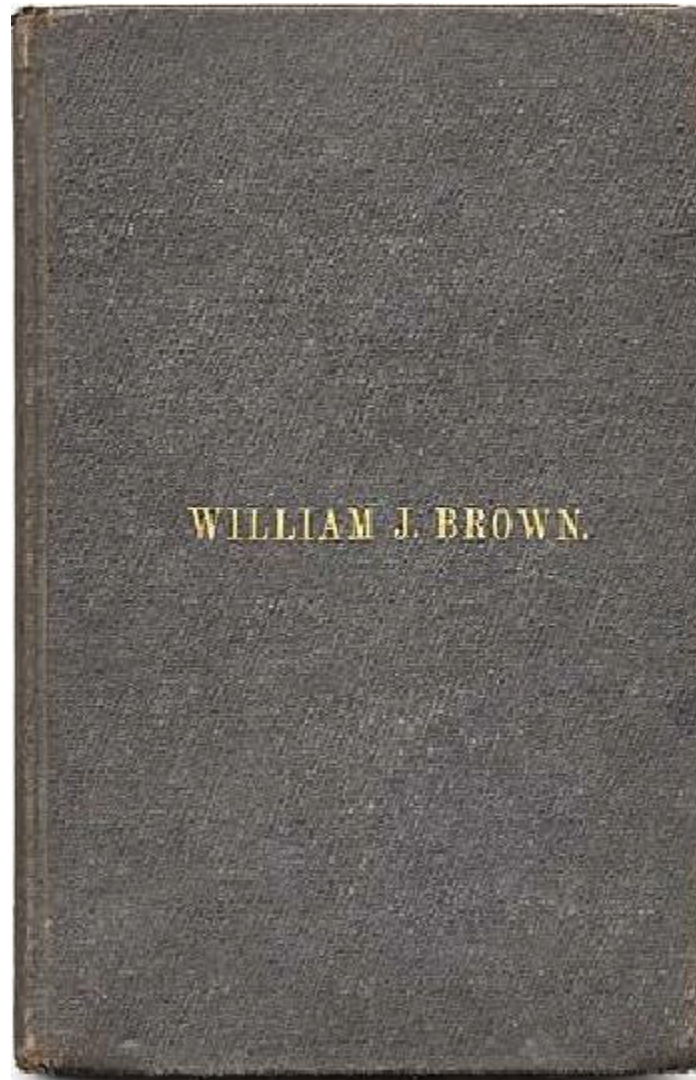
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1883

Publication of the 1st edition of [William J. Brown](#)'s THE LIFE OF WILLIAM J. BROWN, OF PROVIDENCE, R.I.; WITH PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF INCIDENTS IN RHODE ISLAND, in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) by the firm of Angel & Co., Printers.²⁹This 1st edition in its original cloth gilt binding as illustrated is now worth \$2,000 on the rare book market, despite "corners a little bumped and worn and a few modest stains to the rear board." (Fortunately, the autobiography has been reprinted twice, in 1971 and in 2006.)



29. We have in Providence two life-story books which were published in order to create an income for a needy elderly man of color. One is an 1829 publication done for the benefit of [Robert Voorhis](#), and the other is this 1883 publication by and for [William J. Brown](#). Did that one at least in part inspire this one?



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Professor Joanne Pope Melish would comment, about this autobiography, that:



In depicting his own struggles and those of his ancestors and his community, Brown offers a vivid picture of a New England white society reluctantly disentangling itself from slavery, clinging to habits of mind formed in its context, and refashioning its basic arguments into a new form of bondage – the virulent racism that is slavery’s evil twin.... Brown’s memoir is important because it represents a determined effort by a nineteenth-century man of color to undermine the willful historical amnesia that fed, and feeds, New England racism.

(The above corresponds closely with my own personal take on the situation, since I have come to regard the antebellum Providence “quietist” [Quaker](#) context of this black American’s life as having been in effect the testing-ground for what would, subsequent to our Civil War, emerge as the disgrace of our nation’s “Jim Crow” period of racial separatism.)



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Spring: This is what [Brown University](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) looked like, that summer, before the installation of the current gate and before the creation of the carillon tower:





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This was [Brown University](#)'s library:



September 21, Friday: There had been a proposal to establish a memorial to the [Narragansett](#) headman [Canonicus](#) who had been such a good friend to the Reverend [Roger Williams](#). One proposal had been to carve a “head of an Indian” into a boulder atop Neutakonut Hill, but then during road work on South Main in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) (the street that used to be “Town Road” when it had been just about the only road in the town), an oblong boulder was dug up which someone fancied to have once lain at the shoreline. This had been erected in the North Burial Ground, in a place now referred to as “Sachem’s Glenn.” The boulder is now inscribed “Canonicus” over what is supposed to be the sachem’s mark, but the carving does not greatly resemble the mark he placed on the original papers — whoever carved this stone did not grasp that an arrow strung to the bow would indicate an intent to cause harm: Canonicus’s arrow had rested beside the bow, indicating his intent of peaceful racial coexistence and mutual benefit.

DEDICATION CEREMONY

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1364

There are no authentic depictions of any of these persons (including Rev. Williams)



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December 1, Saturday: William Eaton Foster's [STEPHEN HOPKINS A RHODE ISLAND STATESMAN](#). A STUDY IN THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY was printed in two volumes in [Providence](#) by S.S. Rider (dated 1884).

[STUDY THE 1ST VOLUME](#)

[STUDY THE 2D VOLUME](#)

1884

Having already sold off some of its endowment land to meet current expenses in 1876 and apparently gotten away with this, it is not surprising that the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) atop the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) would find an opportunity to do so again. In this year, to raise funds, not only were day students admitted to the school thus beginning the end of its status as a boarding school, but also, more of its endowment was sold off to meet current expenses on the excuse that this was “vacant land” anyway. (It is very much an open question, whether such disposal of trust property was in accordance with the original bequest, or was an utterly unlawful raid on the endowment and a violation of their standing as a society incorporated in Rhode Island by legislative charter. It would be lawful, if the money was placed in a trust fund only the income of which would be used for school expenses; however, it would be entirely unlawful, if the money was simply being misappropriated to be used for current school expenses.)

The Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women at 10 Garden Street in Cambridge was accepted by the Massachusetts legislature as [Radcliffe College](#), sister to [Harvard University](#).

10th Month, 24th: A portrait of [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) was installed at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). Despite the fact that this was an art object it seemed safe enough and unlikely to excite anyone's propensity to sin. Friend John sent his regrets at being unable to be present for this installation.



[READ ABOUT THIS DAY](#)

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**PROVIDENCE****RHODE ISLAND****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM****1885**

Ninth Month, 29th: A [Quaker](#) women's college was established in Pennsylvania. It would be known as "Bryn Mawr."



At the [Friends Boarding School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), a bust of Friend [Elizabeth Fry](#) was accepted — despite the fact that this was an art object and therefore frivolous, it seemed rather unlikely to excite anyone's propensity to sin.



February 19, Thursday: [William J. Brown](#), who had been blind for some time, died of apoplexy in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). His funeral would be held at the Baptist Church on Congdon Street, after which his body would be buried in the North Burial Ground.



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1886

May 28, Friday: [John Russell Bartlett](#) died in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

1887

[Thomas Davis](#) became a member of the [Rhode Island](#) House of Representatives. He would also serve as a member of the [Providence](#) school committee.



 Our national birthday, Monday the 4th of July: Yellowstone National Park hosted its 1st celebration of the 4th.

The New-York [Times](#) called for a new [Declaration of Independence](#), this one to be for commercial freedom in world markets.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), a statue of Union Army General Ambrose Burnside should have been kept under wraps, but was not.

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1890

At this point tiny [Rhode Island](#) somewhat displaced Massachusetts by acquiring the distinction of becoming not merely the smallest but indeed the most densely packed and urbanized of all the states.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

At the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence](#), the cost of board and tuition increased from \$300 to \$350 per pupil per year, for everybody, with “full or partial scholarships” being made available to the children of Friends (this sum would be equivalent today to an annual charge of roughly \$35,000).³⁰ That is to say, a [Quaker](#) student there transited from being a student of normative standing into being merely a student with a special-exception or quota standing, like being a student with insufficient funds or a student with only one leg. At the same time the previous “contract” system was abandoned, so that henceforth the principal would be paid a fixed salary rather than receiving a percentage of the school’s annual profit.

During the 1880s and 1890s some [Chinese](#) families were coming to reside in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), and beginning a “Chinatown” in a rundown district they could afford, on and about Burrell Street, Chapel Street, and Empire Street. (Of course this district would become a prime target for “urban renewal.”)

From the 1890s on, [Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#) would be serving as one of [Brown University](#)’s examiners.

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July: The [Narragansett Historical Register](#), Volume VIII, Number 2. A magazine devoted to the antiquities, genealogy and historical matter illustrating the History of the State of [Rhode Island](#) and [Providence](#) Plantations. James N. Arnold, Ed. Narragansett Historical Publishing Co., Hamilton RI, E.L. Freeman & Co., Printers, Central Falls RI.

THE HISTORY OF SUFFRAGE IN RHODE ISLAND.

By Noah J. Arnold.

pages 305-331: In writing history or on historical events, it is the duty of the author to aim to record facts, independent of his or any ones opinion of the right or wrong of the same. However we may regret or admire the deeds and acts we are writing about, they should not weigh a feather in swerving us from speaking the truth. This is the impulse which has moved me in writing the history of the suffrage question in Rhode Island. I have endeavored not to allow my own private opinions or those

30. Consult <http://www.measuringworth.com/exchange/>



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of others, to sway me at all. I have tried to write the truth of what has taken place, and what will in the future occur, as a historian will write one hundred years hence. The mistakes which a great man may make who is engaged in some great and noble enterprise, will be overlooked and forgotten by posterity.

Although Rhode Island was settled in 1636 by Roger Williams and his followers, yet they obtained no Charter from England for their Government until 1644, when they obtained one of the English Parliament for the Government of the little Colony. This Charter was democratic. It clothed the inhabitants of the Colony with 'full power and authority to govern and rule themselves, and such others as shall hereafter inhabit within any part of the said tract of land, by such form of Civil Government as by voluntary consent of all, or the greatest part of them shall be found most servicable [sic] in their estates and condition.' This was a democratic form of government for the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. It gave the inhabitants the right to establish such form of government as a majority saw fit. Oliver Cromwell when Lord Protector of England or the then British Empire in 1655 confirmed it to the Colony; but in 1660 Charles the 2nd. came upon the throne of Great Britain and a new Charter had to be obtained, which was granted in 1663, and was the only Constitution Rhode Island ever had until 1843 a period of one hundred and eighty years. This Charter for the time it was given was democratic and just, but it was like the laws of the Medes and Persians - it 'changed not.' It granted to Newport, six members of the General Assembly; Providence, four; Warwick, four; Portsmouth, four, and all other towns to have two each. A Governor, Duputy [sic] Governor, and ten Assistants were to be chosen by General Ticket. This, for that time was democratic and just, but there was no provision in it for growth and expansion, nor no provision in it for any alteration or change whatever. Providence in 1840 had 23,172 inhabitants, while Portsmouth had only 1706 and had four representatives, just as many as Providence with its 23,172 inhabitants. The little town of Jamestown with only 365 inhabitants had two representatives, and Smithfield with 9,534 inhabitants had no more. Warwick with its 6,726 inhabitants had four representatives, as many as Providence with its 23,172 inhabitants. Barrington with 540 inhabitants had two, as many as Cumberland with 5,225 inhabitants. These unjust inequalities existed in other towns. Newport with 8,333 inhabitants had six, and Providence 23,172 inhabitants had only four. A man had to own \$134 worth of Real Estate to be a voter. The oldest son of a Free-holder, though a fool, could vote; but his others sons, however talented, could not vote, unless they owned \$134 worth of Real Estate. A man might have any amount of personal property and pay a tax on it, but could not vote. All able bodied men from 18 to 45 years of age had to bear arms, but could not vote. It was a burning shame in a free democratic government, that these things were



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permitted so long. It was high time that the people should rise in their strength and have it otherwise.

We will now give some account of the efforts made at different times to extend suffrage and form a Constitution.

The State had outgrown the Old Charter and its government had neglected when the United Colonies declared their Independence, to form a liberal and just Constitution as the other States had. In 1811, a bill passed the Senate of the State to extend the right of suffrage to those who paid a personal property tax, but it was defeated in the House of Representatives. In 1824, a Convention of the freemen (owners of Real Estate) was called by the General Assembly to form a Constitution. Such an instrument was formed, but was voted down by the land holding freemen by a large majority. In 1829, a renewed interest was awakened among the better and more intelligent class of freemen, and those that were disfranchised, especially in the city of Providence, then a town, the most intelligent and enterprising portion of the State. Frequent meetings were held to forward the object. The most influential newspapers in Providence advocated the extension of suffrage and the formation of a Constitution most eloquently. The Rhode Island American, The Literary Cadet, the Rhode Island Statesman, and the Microcosm, all favored the cause. I believe the Manufacturers and Farmers Journal rather favored the movement. The American and Rhode Island Statesman, were the most influential papers in the State and had the largest circulation. The National Republican Party, that spring nominated no State Ticket to be voted for at the April Election. Thinking it to be of no use to do so, as Governor James Fenner, the candidate of the Jackson Party was sure to be elected. Therefore the newspapers named above, formed a State Ticket in favor of the extension of suffrage and the formation of a Constitution. They placed Asa Messer, a former President of Brown University, at the head of their Ticket for Governor and warmly and eloquently advocated his election. Governor Fenner, the Jackson party candidate received at that Election 2793 votes; Asa Messer the Suffrage candidate, 1455 votes; and there were scattering, 266 votes; A majority for Fenner over all of 1072 votes.

As soon as the returns were all in, the Providence Patriot came out boasting that it was a Jackson or Democratic Victory. Those who voted for Asa Messer it called 'National Republican and old Federals'. The whole vote cast in the State was only 4514. The Legislature was petitioned at its May Session, for a Convention to form a Constitution. This petition was referred to a Committee of the Assembly of which Hon. Benjamin Hazard, of Newport, was Chairman, and this report gave them leave to withdraw. In that famous report occurs this passage. 'The Committee have not thought it necessary to inquire particularly how many of the signers are native citizens of the State, but they are sufficiently informed to be satisfied that a very great proportion of them are not so, and it is ill calculated to produce a favorable opinion of their qualifications, of those



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of them, rather, who know what they are signing (who on such occasions are very few), that persons who have adventured, and are every day adventuring among us from other States, or Countries, to better their condition; who enjoy in common with ourselves, all the protection and benefits of our equal laws, and upon whose departure there is no restraint; should still be restless and dissatisfied unless they can introduce here the political systems of the States they have left; and in recommending those systems, should think themselves at liberty to denounce the whole race of our ancestors, as well as the present freemen of the State, and their government, as enemies to freedom and republicanism; and as having sacrificed justice and principle to self-interest. Without troubling the House with any further mention of these memorials, the committee recommend that the memorialist have leave to withdraw them.'

Mr. Hazard goes on with his report in more than twenty pages in further justification of his abusive and unjustifiable [sic] course. The true meaning of this extract is; 'They came into the State uninvited, and on their departure, there is no restraint.' The late Senator Anthony had quoted this sentence so often, that he almost thought himself its author. The Petitioners considered at the time, that this committee had treated them with scorn and contempt. All the National Republican papers in Providence so viewed it, and used this expression, 'That they had kicked the Petitions under the table.'

Mr. Hazard closes his long and laborious report with the following frightful statement.

'We ought to recollect that all the evils which may result from the extension of suffrage will be evils beyond our reach. We shall entail them upon our latest posterity without remedy. Open this door, and the whole frame and character of our institutions are changed forever. It is not safe for any nation to flatter itself that it will always be wiser and better than all others have been. The Athenian and Roman republics renowned and proud of their liberties as they were, were subverted, one after another, and enslaved by the instrumentality of this same engine of universal suffrage. The moment that is introduced, the brokers of office and sellers of their country publicly spread their tables, upon which they counted out their bribes to voters.'

For the Committee: B. Hazard.

In 1832, another effort was made to form a Constitution which shared the same fate of all the previous efforts.

In 1834, a party was formed for the express purpose of forming a Constitution, and extending the right of suffrage through, and by, the constituted authorities of the State.

During the existence of this party in the winter of 1835 and 1836, a State Central Committee was formed consisting of ten members the same number of the State Senators. This Committee consisted of [Thomas W. Dorr](#); Joseph K. Angell; Metcalf Marsh; Noah J. Arnold; and six others.

Mr. William Learned's Newspaper, the Courier was the organ and



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members of the State Central Committee and other friends of the cause wrote a great many articles which were published in this paper, advocating the formation of a Constitution. This party nominated a full Ticket for State Officers in the spring of 1837. The Whig Party that spring did not nominate a State Ticket, thinking it was no use to try to beat Governor Francis. William Peckham, of South Kingstown, was nominated by the Constitutional or Suffrage Party. Do not remember the names of the rest of the General Officers. Nor who was nominated for the ten Senators. I remember, however, that Charles T. James was one of them. In the April Election they polled 946 votes. These were all freeholders, all owners of Real Estate. John Brown Francis received at this election 2,762 votes and there were 54 scattering, making a majority of 1,762 votes over all. The Providence Patriot (the Van Buran [sic] paper) when the returns were all in, published the returns as a Democratic or Van Buran victory over the Whig Party, styling the Suffrage Party, the Whig Party; but the Constitutional or Suffrage Party ran no more Tickets, the two great parties absorbing it. So, after a resolute struggle of four years the party became extinct. It is my duty to state here, that nearly all of the 946 votes for this constitutional candidate were from the Whig Party. There were 29 votes for this ticket in the town of Coventry and every man was from the Whig Party. The Van Buran or Jackson party all opposed the movement.

But although this movement for the formation of a Constitution was sincere, active, and energetic, yet after four years struggle, the real strength of the party principles in favor of a Constitution did not appear to be advanced. It really looked as though the Old Charter Government never meant that a Constitution should be made for Rhode Island. For the General Assembly called a Convention of the freemen of the State, who met in Providence, in September 1834, to propose some amendments to the existing institutions of the State, or to form a Constitution. A motion was made in the Convention to extend the suffrage qualifications to the citizens of the State who paid a personal property tax, and it was voted down; only seven voting for the motion. The Convention could not maintain a quorum [sic] and adjourned without doing anything. The Great Harrison Presidential Campaign of 1840, completely swallowed up the Suffrage Party, and all others; but the friends of a Constitution and the extension of suffrage learned a lesson during this campaign. They learnt what effect emblems, singing, stumping, speaking, music and processions, would have on the people. As the Jackson, Van Buran, or Democratic Party got badly defeated in this campaign, without hope of recovering power on the old issues, they were the more easily persuaded to join the friends of the extension of suffrage and a Constitution. They united their forces and some thousands of the old Harrison Whigs joined them and in 1841 commenced holding meeting making powerful stump speeches, had processions and music, newspapers all over the State were enlisted and hundreds of the ablest men



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in the State from the Whig and Democratic parties united with the Suffrage or Constitutional party, which made a party strong enough to carry everything before them. They resolved to petition the Legislature no more, but to call a Convention of the People and form a Constitution, and offer it to the people for their adoption or rejection and if a majority of the male citizens of the State, 21 years of age voted for it, to chose officers under it, take possession of the State House and Government Archives, and govern the State under the Constitution. A whole generation had thus passed away in fruitless efforts to obtain the right of suffrage and form a Constitution. They felt justified in taking this revolutionary course. In the late autumn of 1840, Suffrage Associations were formed in various parts of the State.

These Associations were formed with a view to give concentration and energy to the suffrage movement. They were followed by a mass meeting of the friends of suffrage, which was convened in Providence on the 17th. of April 1841, which was numerously attended. This meeting was followed by another mass meeting, which was held at Newport on the 5th. of May 1841. At this meeting resolutions were adopted setting forth the principles of the suffrage movement, advowing [sic] its entire disconnection with the existing political parties of the day and appointing a State Committee of eleven persons to superintend the affairs of the suffrage cause. This last mentioned meeting adjoined to meet in the city of Providence on the 5th of July following, prior to which time, viz: (on the 11th day of June 1841,) the State Suffrage Committee issued an address setting forth the grounds and principles which constituted the basis of the action of the Suffrage Party and recommending the calling of a Convention to frame a Constitution. This address closes with this pointed and emphatic appeal. 'We would earnestly invite you to aide us in tumbling down the present Government in Rhode Island. We would have a peaceable revolution if we can, and if we can get a majority of the people of this State over 21 years of age to vote for our Constitution, and take possession of everything as we intend, and then if there be blood spilt, recollect that the minority will be rebels and not we who lead the great and moving mass.'

About this time the Suffrage Party held a mass meeting and roasted an ox on Smith's Hill, in Providence, which did something to tone up public opinion in their favor. The next event in the history of this movement of the people, with a view to the adoption of a Constitution, was the holding of mass meeting adjourned from Newport to Providence on the 5th. of July, to celebrate the 4th. of July which came on Sunday. This meeting was attended by a large concourse of people from all parts of the State, at which resolutions were passed, and other proceedings had, expressive of the inflexible determination of those present to establish, by a resort to their inherent sovereign power and establish a Republican Constitution and Government. This meeting was attended by several thousands. A



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procession was formed in the centre of the city numbering some three thousand, escorted by the American Band, The Cadets, of Providence, and the Woonsocket Light Infantry, and marched to the Dexter Training Ground, where a large Platform was erected, and General Martin Stoddard was chosen President, with a large number of Vice Presidents.

The Rev. Mr. Balch, Pastor of the First Universalist Church, delivered an eloquent Oration, advocating the formation of a Constitution, and the extension of the right of Suffrage. He was followed by several able speakers on the same side, which were listened to by many thousands of people. Many writers on each side were writing for the Newspapers, using the strongest arguments they possibly could on the both sides; but the Suffrage Party had control of the most Newspapers, and had the better of the argument. The next step taken was the issuing of an address by the State Committee, dated the 24th. of July 1841, calling upon the people to meet in the city of Providence, and the several towns and places of voting, on the 8th. of August ensuing and chose delegates to a Convention to be held on the First Monday in October following, for the purpose of forming a Constitution, to be submitted to the people of the State of Rhode Island, for their adoption or rejection.

In accordance with this call, delegates were duly elected in the several Towns and the City of Providence, a very few Towns were not represented. The Convention assembled on the First Monday in October, and sat through the month and into November, framed a Constitution, and adjourned to the 16th. of November, at which time the Convention re-assembled and finished the Constitution, publishing it on the 18th. and directed it to be submitted to the people for their adoption or rejection on the 27th. of December ensuing, on that and five succeeding days. The Convention then adjourned to meet again on the 12th of January 1842. Every person voting on the question of adoption or rejection of this Constitution, was required to be an American Citizen of the age of twenty one years, and was required to have a permanent residence or home, in the State of Rhode Island. He was required to vote by a written or printed ballot, with his name written upon the face of it, and which was in the following words: 'I am an American Citizen of the age of twenty-one years, and have my permanent residence or home in this State.'

The Constitution also required that meetings of the citizens entitled to vote under it, should be held for the purpose of adoption or rejection, in the several towns of the State, and wards of the city of Providence, at which meetings moderators and clerks were to be chosen, who were to preside over and direct the business of said meetings. It also provided that on the three first days prescribed for receiving the votes of the people, the citizens should deposit their ballots in person and on the last three, in accordance with an ancient law of the Colony, by proxy. The proxy ballot was in the same form as the other ballots. The proposed Constitution also required the moderators and clerks to keep a record of all who voted, and carefully to receive and



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keep the ballots, and to be sealed up and returned to the clerks of the Convention, to be counted in the Convention on the 12th. of January 1842. When the Convention assembled January 12th. the votes were counted and found to be 14,000. Of which 13,944 were for the adoption of the Constitution and 56 against it. Of those who voted for its adoption 4,925 were qualified freemen under the Old Charter Government. This was a large majority of the land holders who usually voted in all State Elections in previous years. The white male citizens in the State at that time 21 years old were 22,674. Of these 9,590 were qualified freemen under the Charter Government, therefore the Constitution of the Suffrage Party received a majority of the Land Holders. The Convention there on the 13th. of January declared the Constitution adopted and was the supreme and paramount law and Constitution of the State of Rhode Island. The Convention ordered an Election of Governor and State Officers, and members of the Legislature on the 18th. of the ensuing April 1842.

In the meantime the Land Holders, or what they called themselves, the 'Law and Order Party', became alarmed at the political State of affairs and the threatenng [sic] progress of the Suffrage Party, in the month of August 1841, their legislature called a Convention to form a Constitution. This Convention met in Providence November 1841. It held four Sessions. The last Session was held Feb. 14th. 1842, when it completed its Constitution. Every native white male citizen 21 years of age, who was a resident of the State, had a right to vote for or against it, the same as the Suffrage or Peoples Constitution. The Suffrage Party warmly opposed this Constitution on the ground that they had already adopted a Constitution of their own, and that there was no necessity for another; that they were not going backward but forward. But some 2,000 of them probably, left the Suffrage Party, and voted with the Land Holders or Law and Order Party, for when it was voted on March 21st. 22nd. and 23d never was an Election more warmly contested in Rhode Island. Each party did its utmost; one to adopt, the other to oppose the adoption of this Constitution. The Constitution was defeated by the following vote.

Against the Constitution, 8689 votes.

For the Constitution, 8013 votes.

Majority against adopting it, 676 votes.

This action in defeating the Land Holders or Law and Order Constitution, was the fatal mistake of the Suffrage or Dorr Party. Had they permitted the Constitution to have been adopted would have given the Suffrage Party full control of the State Government and they would have held it probably, for many years and have done anything they pleased; for undoubtedly they had a very large majority of the while male population of 21 year of age with them, and being the means of extending suffrage and establishing a Constitution gratitude of the people for their obtaining this material right of which they had been heretofore deprived, would have kept them in power. Although they might have been right in principle, in voting for and adopting the



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Suffrage Constitution as they did, yet as the State had been ruled by the Charter Government ever since its settlement, for 200 years as absurd as it was, as the Land Holders had at last yielded and granted what they asked, and what they had been contending for many long years, policy, if not principle, should have induced Gov. Dorr, and the suffrage leaders to accept the boon offered them, though presented at the eleventh hour. Some two or three thousand of those who voted for the suffrage or Peoples Constitution, must have voted for the Land Holder, or Law and Order Constitution; as the vote on the adoption of that instrument plainly showed; for the Suffrage or Peoples Constitution was adopted by 13,944 votes and the same party only polled 8689 votes against the Land Holders or Law and Order Constitution; and 8013 votes were polled for it, making a majority against it of only 676 votes. What had become of the balance of the 13,944 votes which was past on the previous December for the Suffrage or Peoples Constitution amounting to 5255 men? It seems very plain where they went. Some two or three thousand must have voted for the Land Holders or Law and Order Constitution, and the balance did not vote at all; for the very reason that what they had been contending for many long years was at last granted, and they did not wish to fight for a right that offered to them without resorting to that odious alternative.

Among those who voted for the Suffrage or Peoples Constitution and now voted for the Law and Order Constitution, were the Hon. William Sprague and his brother Amasa Sprague and all their powerful influence amounting probably to at least a thousand votes. Hon. Nathan F. Dixon, Senator in Congress, died in January 1842 and Mr. Sprague was chosen by the Charter Government to fill the vacancy. The Suffrage or Dorr Party accused him of being bought to act against them, by the Law and Order Party electing him Senator. Whether this accusation is true or false, it is certain that his influence was afterwards against the Suffrage Party which he had previously strenuously [sic] aided. There is further proof that there was a great falling away of the Suffrage Party. In the State Election under the Peoples Constitution on the 18th. of April 1842, Dorr for Governor and Amasa Eddy for Lieutenant Governor, the whole State Ticket only receiving 7000 votes. This was about 7000 less than the vote on the adoption of the Suffrage or Peoples Constitution.

These facts ought to have been enough to convince Gov. Dorr, and the other leaders of his party that the political tide had turned against them, and that thousands of their friends were leaving them and uniting with the Law and Order Party. He could now have retreated with a good grace, because the object for which he had been contending for many long years had been accomplished. The people of the State would have been so gratified to Governor Dorr as to bestow on him any office in their gift he might want. Besides, it would have restored the kindest feelings among all parties and these bitter animosities would all have been



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avoided, which thousands carried with them to their graves. This bitterness extended into every class and condition of society from the highest to the lowest; into both sexes. The female sex were more bitter than the male. Friendships were broken up families were divided and never visited afterwards. Even Governor Dorr's sisters would not see him. Men and women were prescribed by both parties. Churches were divided, and never united after. Had the Land Holders or Law and Order Constitution been accepted by the Dorr or Suffrage Party, all this would have been avoided.

As the Law and Order Constitution was rejected, the Old Charter Government was continued. Under it the election in April was held, none voting but owners of Real Estate and their oldest sons. Samuel W. King received 4,864 votes; Gen. Thomas F. Carpenter, 2,211 votes. King's majority was 2,653 votes. But the Dorr and Suffrage Party were determined that their Government should supercede [sic] the Old Charter Government. They met in their Legislative capacity in the Eddy street Foundry [sic] Building and chose Welcome B. Sayles, of Woonsocket, for Speaker. The enacted some Laws, and passed some resolutions, but had no power to enforce them. The Law and Order Party still 'held the fort.' They had possession of the State House, the Arsenal, the State Records, and the Great Seal of the State. Rhode Island had ostensibly two Governments, but one acted authoritively [sic]. The other tried to get possession. Gov. Dorr went with an armed company and took possession of two brass cannon belonging to the State. A few days after this event, a body of his men were assembled on Atwell's Avenue near Burrington Anthony's house, with the two brass cannon he had taken, heavily loaded with spikes and pieces of broken cast iron. Several of the Law and Order Companies marched up to take them. One of Dorr's men swung his torch and was about to touch them off, and discharge them directly into the mass of soldiers. When another of his comrades pulled him away and the cannon were not discharged.

Had they been, there must have been great loss of life. Dorr's forces withdrew with the cannon and there was no fighting. Governor Dorr marched one evening in May with two hundred and fifty men to storm the Arsenal, (now called Durfee's Mill). He brought the cannon to bear on the Arsenal and ordered them touched off. The flash was seen, but the guns did not go off. Someone of his own men had secretly spiked them, to avoid the shedding of blood. When Dorr found that his guns were spiked, he withdrew his forces to another place where he had plenty of friends. Soon after this affair Gov. Dorr went to New York and spent a few days. When he returned, he landed at Hill's Wharf, where he was met by a large crowd of some three thousand of his friends, who formed a procession with music, and escorted him riding in a Barouche drawn by four horses to Burrington Anthony's house on Atwell's Avenue where the procession halted. Here Gov. Dorr made them an inflammatory speech, eloquent and exciting; finally drawing the sword that hung by his side



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flourishing it in the air said, 'I will stain this sword in blood to the hilt if necessary to establish the Peoples Constitution.' When he uttered this sentence, many of his suffrage friends left him and followed him no more. His troops were now assembling in Chepachet and entrenched on Acote's Hill an eminence one third of a mile south of the village. But Gov. Dorr's head quarters was at Gen. Jedediah Sprague's Hotel in the village. The suffrage men who still adhered to the cause went there, in scattered numbers, from all parts of the State. Gen. Jedediah Sprague was Dorr's Major General and Commander in Chief of all his forces. A Mr. H. DeWolfe, came to his aide from Massachusetts and Dorr made him a Brigadier General. Dorr's forces remained there about two weeks. Governor Dorr was there about one week before he disbanded them. Stories spread through the country that Dorr had a large force there, amounting to two thousand or more, well armed and equipped and well drilled men. These stories were generally believed. Most every one believed that there would be hard fighting, and that the Law and Order Army would get badly whipped, and then Gov. Dorr would march to Providence, take possession of that city, the State House and fully establish the Government under the Suffrage or people's Constitution. Such was the talk of all the officers who came from Chepachet and all his friends in the neighboring Towns in the adjoining States. One of his officers was seen at a Hotel in Woonsocket, with his sword hanging to his side. A Law and Order citizen asked him how many men they had in Chepachet. The reply was, 'Enough to march the length of the State.' Such was thought to be the fact all over New England and perhaps in parts of New York and New Jersey, and other States. Dorr was to have been aided largely from the slums and lower stratum of the city of New York; but they did not come. The Law and Order Party were not idle. They had ordered out the entire militia force of the State and the uniform Companies that adhered to there [sic] side, and all men, old and young, who were friends of the Law and Order cause, volunteered to join the army, so that they mustered over four thousand men well armed and equipped with thirty pieces of Artillery. A large portion of this force marched towards Chepachet by two or three different roads. The main body marched by the Greenville road. The Law and Order Legislature of the State had proclaimed martial law June 25th. All this news was carried to Governor Dorr in his encampment on Acot's [sic] Hill. He says that on the 27th. of June, the day he disbanded his forces, he had but 225 men under arms, and but six pieces of cannon. Such a force were not able to cope with 4000 men armed to the teeth. So Governor Dorr issued his orders to disband June 27th. 1842. His men fled to Connecticut and Massachusetts for protection leaving their cannon and camp implements of war on the Hill. Not a man was left behind. When the advance guard of the Law and Order Army reached Acots Hill it was thus found. They took some of the most violent suffrage citizens of Chepachet prisoners and marched them bound to Providence in the dust and sunshine of a June and July sun.



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Several of such citizens in various parts of the State were made prisoners, but after being detained a few days, were sent to their respective homes.

I should have said that both parties had appealed to the President of the United States to be recognized as the rightful and legal Constitutional Government of the State. He did not openly seem to take sides with either; but it was evident that he would interfere and send troops when it was clearly evident that the Law and Order Government could not put the rebellion down. He sent the United States Company of Flying Artillery, Major Ringgold, Commanding; to the State, and they took up their position in the Fort at Newport; but they took no sides, neither were Major Ringgold's instructions known, but there was no necessity for the interference of the United States Government, for Rhode Island appeared abundantly able to put down the rebellion itself.

Governor Dorr attributed his defeat to the interference of President Tyler taking sides with the Law and Order or 'Algerine Government'. There is no doubt but this had its influence. This affair shook the United States from Maine to the Mississippi, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the St. Lawrence River. At some celebration on the ensuing 4th. of July, in Massachusetts, this toast was given and drank:

'Rhode Island; the smallest State in the Union; Behold how great a fire a little matter kindleth.'

The Law and Order Party had offered one Constitution to the Suffrage or Dorr Party and they had rejected it, as has been stated, and they were fully aware that Rhode Island must have a Constitution, and that it was no use to offer them the one again, they had just rejected; therefore in the month of June the Charter Legislature voted to hold another Convention to form another Constitution, and called on the freemen of the State to chose delegates on the Third Tuesday in August to meet in Convention at East Greenwich on September 12th. They met and drafted a Constitution and adjourned to November 3d. and completed the instrument; and the time set for its adoption or rejection on the 21st. 22d. and 23d. of November 1842. It was adopted by some over 7000 votes there being no votes in opposition. The Suffrage or Dorr Party refusing to vote for or against it. The word white was not in this Constitution, therefore the colored citizens were admitted as freemen, on the same terms as the other citizens. In this, and in some other respects, this Constitution was better than either of the others. By this Constitution every Town and the City of Providence had a Senator. This provision was very pleasing to the smaller Towns giving them as much power in that body as the large City of Providence. This Constitution has governed the State ever since it went into operation in the spring of 1843. In the first election under it, the Law and Order candidate for Governor, Hon. James Fenner, received 9,107 votes. Gen. Thomas F. Carpenter, 7,392 votes; and there were scattering 21 votes; total 16,520 votes.



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This gave Governor Fenner a majority of 1694 votes over all, and 1719 votes over Gen. Carpenter, the Suffrage candidate.

Governor Dorr left the State when he and his forces left Chepachet, and he did not return until the fall of 1843. As soon as he did return he was arrested; viz: October 29, 1843, and was immediately put in prison and kept there until his trial April 26, 1844. The trial closed May 7th. following, when the jury brought in a verdict of guilty; but he was not sentenced till the following 25th. of June, in consequence of the efforts of his council for a new trial, and other points of the law which his council strongly contended for. His council were: Hon. Samuel Y. Atwell, of Chepachet, and George Turner, Esq., of Newport. The council made an able plea in his defence, a plea, probably, that has never been excelled in the State, but Governor Dorr, when asked by the judge, as he was about to pass sentence, why sentence should not be pronounced upon him? made one of those eloquent speeches that will probably descend to posterity. One is forcibly reminded of the similarity to the immortal speech made by the lamented Robert Emmet, when tried by Great Britain for the same offence, (treason) of which we copy the last clause, to show the resemblance to that of Gov. Dorr:

'I have', says Emmet, 'but one request to ask at my departure from this world, it is the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph, for as no man who knows my motives dare now vindicate them, let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them. Let them and me repose in obscurity and my tomb remain uninscribed until other times and men can do justice to my character. When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written.'

Governor Dorr replied in the following eloquent words.

'Claiming no exemptions from the infirmities which beset us all, and which may attend us in the prosecution of the most important enterprises, and, at the same time, conscious of the rectitude of my intentions, and of having acted from good motives in an attempt to promote the equality and to establish the just freedom and interest of my fellow citizens, I can regard with equanimity this infliction of the Court, nor would I, even at this extremity of the law, in view of the opinions which you entertain, and of the sentiments by which you are animated, exchange the place of a prisoner at the bar for a seat by your side on the bench.'

'The sentence which you will pronounce, to the extent of the power and influence which this Court can exert, is a condemnation of the doctrines of '76, and a reversal of the great principles which sustain and give vitality to our democratic republic, and which are regarded by the great body of our fellow citizens as a portion of the birth-right of their final reward. I have nothing more to say.'

This eloquent and pathetic appeal made no impression on the Court that was bound to convict and sentence him, and Governor Dorr was sentenced to imprisonment for life in the State's



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Prison of hard labor! He had been imprisoned some six months before his trial. He was sentenced June 25, 1844; but was pardoned after being confined there about one year more by the Legislature of the State. A portion of the Law and Order Party, joined the Dorr or Suffrage Party, and, after a very warm and exciting political campaign, elected Hon. Charles Jackson, Governor of the State, with a Legislature that voted to pardon Governor Dorr and let him out of Prison; at the June Session of the Assembly, 1845. Governor Charles Jackson received 8,010 votes; Governor James Fenner received 7,800 votes; There were a scattering [of] 61 votes; Governor Jackson's majority over all was 149 votes. Hon. James F. Simmons, Hon. Samuel Mann, Hon. Willis Cook, Hon. Lyman A. Cook, and others, of the first men in the State aided in this movement, and when the day came for letting Dorr out of Prison, from one thousand to fifteen hundred of his Suffrage friends went to the Prison, received him in triumph, and escorted him to Burrington Anthony's. From there he went to his father's house. It was a great ovation and proved conclusively what respect, love and esteem, he was still held by the Suffrage Party, but his health was so broken down by his imprisonment for seventeen months, that he gradually failed and died.

It is now forty-five years since Governor Dorr's trial, and forty years since his death; and most all parties who were concerned in those exciting transactions on both sides, have paid the debt of nature and gone to that unknown country, where the unnumbered millions who have lived since Adam have gone, and their deeds, good or bad, are buried with them!

There is an occurrence in the life of this remarkable and much abused man, that is worthy of being mentioned here. The Hon. Mr. Burke, Member of Congress from New Hampshire, at that time, asked the Rev. William S. Balch, to see Governor Dorr after he was let out of Prison, and offer him any office in the gift of President Polk, except in the Cabinet or the leading European Foreign Missions. Says Mr. Balch, 'I did so in as cordial manner as I could. He heard me calmly, almost without emotion and then deliberately said, 'I thank you for coming to see me to bring me so liberal an offer from such a source. I know it is well meant, and I am grateful for it. You will please convey my sincere thanks to your friends and the President for so generous an offer.' Then rising in the moral dignity of a true manhood, he continued, 'See here, seventeen months of imprisonment in a low damp cell, for a conscientious discharge of my duty, in an attempt to secure the rights of the people, as enjoyed in every other State in the Union, and guaranteed in the Federal Constitution - paid by an appointment to an office? No! Never will I so demean myself. I never sought an office, and never accepted one but from a sense of duty to my fellow men. Should they again demand my services I would cheerfully give them; but I will not accept a public office as a gratuity or as a compensation or sinecure. I rather stay at home with my mother.' His bosom heaved, his voice trembled, and pearl drops started



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from his eyes. For some time neither spoke. Dorr had a mother. Their love was mutual. Each was worthy of the other. She did not neglect him if others did. The time has begun to dawn when the transactions of those turbulent days, and the motives that governed the transactions of the actors in that great drama of human events, can be judged with an impartial judgment. What were the motives that warmed the heart, and actuated Governor Dorr, and those adhered to him? Was he justified in the course which he and they took to establish his government in Rhode Island? Was he true to the principles which his party enumerated in 1841, and 1842? And in fact which he had advocated so ably for some ten years before? Whatever opinions may be entertained of the right, or wrong of the crime he was charged with, and convicted; there can be but one opinion of the motive that actuated him. That it was pure patriotism as he viewed it, and that he had at heart the welfare of the people of Rhode Island and the human race. He believed that the people of any State or country were sovereign, and the rightful possessors of all power, and therefore, had a right to form and establish such a form of government for themselves as in their judgment they thought best. This was the doctrine that his party proclaimed when they started and he, and a large portion of that party still adhered, and to be consistent, he was obliged to stick to them to the end, and all know that he did. And, if consistency justified one for his conduct, then Thomas W. Dorr, stands justified before the world! These had been his sentiments for several years, and were the declared sentiments of 13,944 of his fellow citizens who voted for the Suffrage or People's Constitution in December 1841. This class of his fellow citizens put him at the head of their party to carry out and enforce these principles, and he never betrayed them!

I suppose he thought it would have been morally criminal for him to neglect to attempt to enforce the Suffrage or People's Constitution. If this be so, how can one justify that half of the Suffrage Party who forsook Dorr, joined the Law and Order Party, and left him to his fate? By the rule of equity, they cannot be justified; but by policy, expediency and humanity they can be. The extension of suffrage and the abolishing the old Charter Government was what the Suffrage Party was formed for, and what they had been contending for, so many years. All this was offered them by the Charter Government under which the State had lived and flourished for nearly two hundred years. To fight for what they could have without resorting to that dreadful alternative, would seem to be folly indeed. Never fight for anything, if you can have it without. This should be an established maxim all over the world. Although the land holders were altogether to blame for not granting this before; yet, as they offered it at the eleventh hour, policy, expediency and humanity, all would say accept it, and thus save the shedding of blood. It was under this head that so many forsook Governor Dorr and left him to his fate. It was a hard and difficult position to place a man; but as difficult as it was, Governor



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Dorr faced it. Many of his warmest friends told him when the land holders offered the people their Constitution, that they could not conscientiously go any further in resisting the Charter Government, as it had yielded all that the Suffrage Party had been contending for, and advised him to accept it; but Dorr could not see it in that light, and he still persisted in keeping up the agitation and excitement. By so doing he thought finally to prevail and establish the Suffrage or People's Constitution and this, and not the Land Holder's should become the fundamental law of Rhode Island; but all in these fond anticipations he was bound to be disappointed, and he occupied a prisoner's cell instead of a Governor's Mansion; and had the mortification to see near half of his party forsake him, and the principle for which they had been contending and had voted for, in adopting the Suffrage or People's Constitution.

It is a fact worthy of note, that every State in the Union up to that time had adopted or officially had made a declaration of the very principles for which Governor Dorr and the Suffrage Party in Rhode Island for years had been contending; and for endeavoring to put them in operation Governor Dorr was imprisoned, and by being confined there one and a half years, got his death wound; and, strange to relate, the Land Holders or Charter Government of the State, had many years before, officially made a declaration of the same sentiments, and what is more wonderful still, Rhode Island has at last legally adopted them; and are, at the present time in operation in the State! This, the world will say, vindicates Dorr. It makes mankind blush to think, that he was vilified and imprisoned for trying to establish in our State the rights of man which we all so freely now enjoy. The day is not distant, when a splendid monument will be erected to his memory rivaling anything in our cemeteries. His name will go down to posterity, hand in hand with Roger Williams: Roger Williams as the great defender of soul liberty and religious freedom; Thomas W. Dorr, as the great defender of political freedom and the rights of man.

1892

At the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), art classes had become so popular that they were described as "a significant source of income." The Studio of the Three Oaks was erected. Clearly, either the Friends had succumbed to the influence of the general culture or there weren't enough of them still around to make any difference.

October 18: In 1882 the following material had appeared in the guidebook of the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#):

The institution is owned by the New-England Yearly Meeting of



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Friends, who choose the "school committee" of 33 men and women. The faculty consists of 18 male and female instructors, librarians, etc., eight of whom are college graduates, and all of whom are chosen by reason of superior qualifications. The principal is Augustine Jones, A.M., who in 1851 graduated from this school, and later from Bowdoin College, and afterwards from the Harvard Law School, and who was the partner and educator of Gov. John A. Andrew, the Massachusetts "War Governor." He practised law in Massachusetts for 12 years, and served in the general court for one year, and in 1879 relinquished his practice to accept his present responsible position, and has brought to the institution its greater prosperity... Although managed by Friends, the school is wholly unsectarian, and one-half the pupils are of other denominations.

Notice that in this 1882 guidebook, the educational institution had under Principal Augustine Jones already been described as "unsectarian." That in itself might not be enough to substantiate an inference that its Principal, himself a non-Quaker graduate of this institution, regarded Quakerism as a sect rather than a religion, and therefore as unworthy of his respect or consideration. However, in Principal Jones's audacious confession to the Rhode Island Historical Society on this day he would explicitly refer to Quakerism as a "sect," and as I understand the matter, this term "sect" is a term which is not used except in denigration. He therefore had meant in 1882 in characterizing the school under his administration as "wholly unsectarian," because he did mean on this day in his address to the RIHS, that, in his mode of thinking, Quakerism failed to qualify for the respect and consideration which ought to be extended to a mainline religious denomination such as Episcopalianism or Baptism or Unitarianism or Methodism. Those are not considered sects but Quakerism is considered by him as a sect — nor is he loathe so to characterize it before his audience of Providence worthies.

Principal Augustine Jones's address would soon be printed up in Providence as [MOSES BROWN, A SKETCH](#).³¹

MOSES BROWN, A SKETCH

We see that he asserted that in his own estimation these sectarians had been people who had been limited in their appreciation of the values that ought to be sponsored by education. The specific words which he used in regard to Friend Moses Brown are as follows: "Its founder had the limitations of his sect." He went on immediately after this to switch over from talking about the founder and his intentions, to the foundation of Harvard College and its foundational mission, and again I quote: "It will be remembered, in this connection, that Harvard College, in its beginning, was for Christ and the Church. Its aim was to prepare ministers of the Gospel, but the age and the demands of the times have called it to a wider service." Clearly he was setting up a parallelism between on the one hand Harvard College having over the years been called to a wider service than what it had been in the beginning (for Christ and the Church), and on the other hand the Quaker Yearly Meeting School having over the years been called to a wider service that what it had been in the beginning (the intentions of benefactors Moses and Obadiah Brown).

Now of course, he was fudging. The case of Harvard College was not similar in that it had not been set up by a large donation from a single founding family in accordance with any specified permanent intention. The Reverend John Harvard, for instance, had provided no more than a small library of books, books for use not constituting any sort of permanent and perpetual endowment only the income of which could be used for

31. Unfortunately, one page is missing from this PDF as it was made available by Google Books.



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school expenses. There had been at Harvard College no foundational acceptance of an obligation to be true to the terms of an endowment. The situation at Harvard had been, therefore, completely different from the situation at this religious educational institution which had been so magnificently endowed by Friends Moses and Obadiah Brown with a large perpetual endowment only the proceeds of which could be used for school expenses. They had donated their family money and lands for a stated purpose and the Quakers who had accepted this bequest had acknowledged that they had accepted an obligation to fulfill said stated purpose, which was to educate Quaker children in a protected manner.

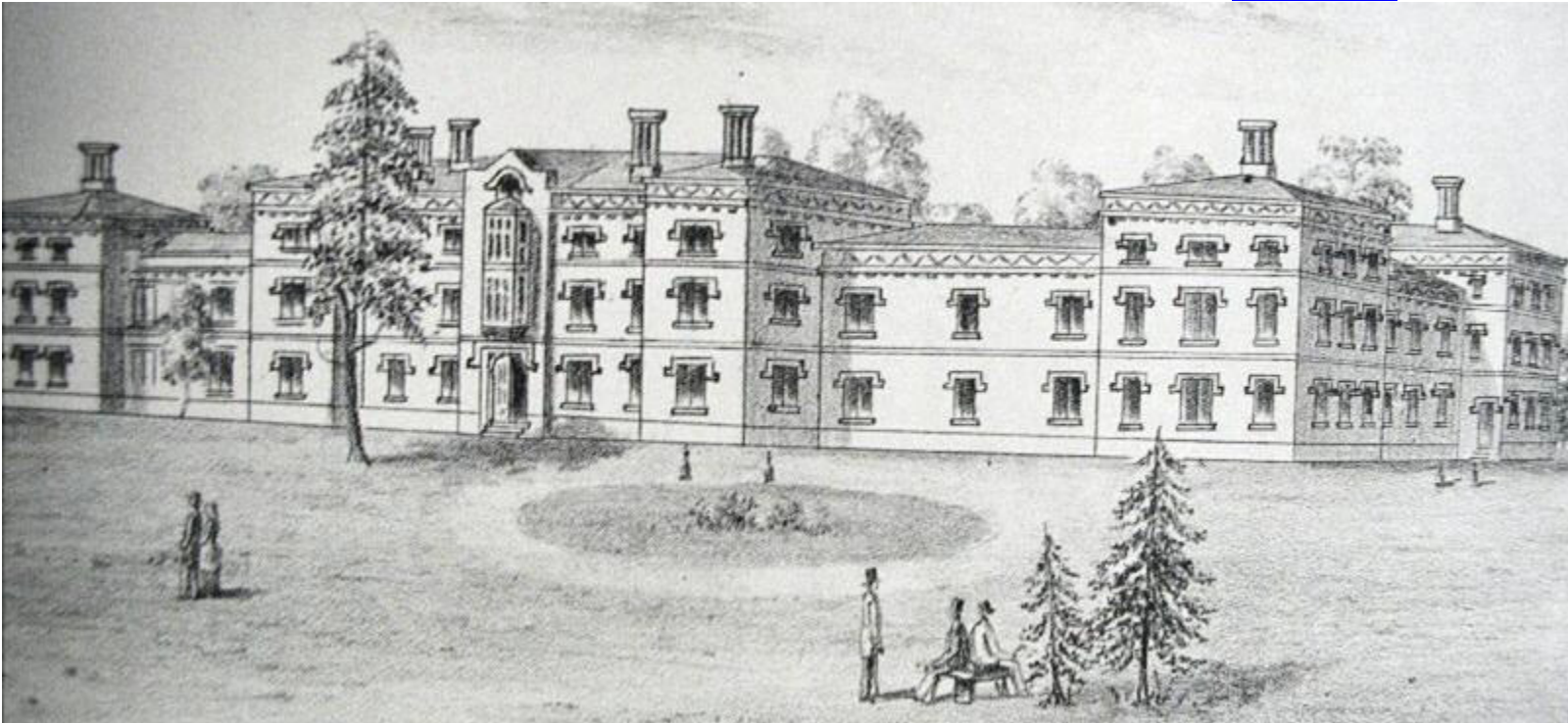
Nevertheless, in bringing in this parallelism between Harvard College and the New England Yearly Meeting School, the clear intent of Principal Jones was to insinuate that since it was all-right for the purpose of Harvard College to have drifted over the years, it was likewise all-right also for the purpose of the New England Yearly Meeting School also to drift over the years. Harvard did not need to be true to the intent of its founders because it really had not had any particular founder and had not received any particular conditional perpetual bequest. The New England Yearly Meeting school, Principal Jones insinuated here –despite the fact that it did originate in such a conditional perpetual bequest only the income from which might be utilized, and only for the accomplishment of the particular stated purpose– likewise had no need to be true to its pledge. Forget that!

We see that Principal Jones frankly acknowledged that the perpetual endowment created by Friend Obadiah Brown had been “by far the largest bequest in one sum, which had been given to any school or college in this country” at the point at which this bequest had been made. Nevertheless their school had been since then “called to a wider service.” This perpetual endowment could be heedlessly used up and disposed of in its entirety and the school then repurposed to some alternative mission, some “wider service,” of Principal Jones’s own choosing. This Principal in his deviation from morality and from honor would only be doing what esteemed others had done before him and gotten away with: even such an illustrious institution as Harvard University had likewise felt free to deviate from the intentions of its originators, and obviously without unseemly consequences.

Am I here “reading between the lines” of this text? I would say that no, I am not reading between the lines — I am merely making plain the meaning of a document that can have no other plain explication. If you suppose that Principal Jones’s words might be provided with some other interpretation, it would then become your obligation to specify what that other interpretation might be. In what other way can sense be made of the words he delivered on this day to this assembly of Providence worthies, than to conclude that he meant to steal the Quaker assets and dispense them as he saw fit?

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)[PROVIDENCE](#)[RHODE ISLAND](#)[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)[1895](#)

Establishment at [Butler Hospital](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) of a School of Nursing.

[PSYCHOLOGY](#)

At the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), at the junction of the Alumni Hall erected in 1868 and the old east wing building, a 3-story addition was constructed. Throughout the school facilities, central heating was installed and gas lighting was replaced with electric.

An attitude toward [Quakers](#) in the arts: “It needs to be recognised that our Society has not escaped the tendency to narrow down spiritual action to certain prescribed ways as a substitute for the reality of the spiritual life. For example, while Friends have been among the pioneers of modern science they have, until recent years, repressed all taste for the Fine Arts. These, at their greatest, always contain some revelation of the Spirit of God, which is in the fullest harmony with our spiritual faith. In the fields of music, art, and literature, as in others, Friends may witness to the glory of God and advance that glory by their service. The “fulness of the whole earth is His glory,” and we mar the beauty of this message by every limitation we set upon it.”

—William Charles Braithwaite³²

32. “Has Quakerism a message to the world today?” In REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE OF MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, held by direction of the Yearly Meeting in Manchester, 1895. (London: Headly Bros., 1896)

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Sigmund Freud developed a new treatment that would be the basis of psychoanalysis. “No neurosis is possible with a normal sex life,” he would opinion, but he would himself give up sex at age 42, and would suffer much of his life from stomach upsets, migraine headaches, and nasal catarrh, for which he prescribe for himself [cocaine](#).



When the patent medicine company [Perry Davis & Son](#) relocated its operation from [Providence](#) to New-York City, Edmund W. Davis stayed behind in [Narragansett, Rhode Island](#).

ETHANOL
OPIATES



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July 26, Friday: [Thomas Davis](#) died in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). His body would be interred in Swan Point Cemetery. His 30-acre estate would remain at the corner of Chalkstone Avenue and Raymond Street until 1947, at which point it would become the grounds of the Veterans Hospital.

December 17, Tuesday: According to a column in the New York [Sun](#) headlined “Woman, Soldier, Veteran,” [Kady Southwell Brownell](#) and [Robert Brownell](#) had been interviewed in their home on St. Nicolas Avenue in New York City, with Robert doing most of the talking: “My wife is a soldier’s daughter. Her father was Colonel Southwell of the British army. He was a Scotchman and her mother was French. They were at a military post in Caffraria, South Africa, when Kady was born, so that soldiers and guns were the first things she ever saw. Her father and mother both died while she was a baby, and when she was three years old she was brought to America by her relatives, who finally settled in [Providence](#).”



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1896

[Mark Twain](#)'s [PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF JOAN OF ARC, BY THE SIEUR LOUIS DE CONDE](#) appeared in book form.

The Rhode Island Historical Society published Horatio Rogers's MARY DYER OF RHODE ISLAND: THE QUAKER MARTYR THAT WAS HANGED ON BOSTON COMMON. The title of this treatise tells us how accurate the treatise is and what sort of publishing house the [Rhode Island](#) Historical Society is, since the sheriff in Boston hanged Friend [Mary Dyer](#) not on Boston Common but at the margin of the town where Boston had its gallows, on the neck connecting it with the mainland.

During the last quarter of the century various comic and advertising [almanacs](#) had been being issued in [Providence](#), Pawtucket, and Westerly, [Rhode Island](#), and a series of French Catholic almanacs had been published in Woonsocket from 1882 to 1893, and an almanac had been printed in Swedish in Providence in 1894. The annual almanacs being put out in Providence had been becoming more and more of the nature of a business directory, until in this year the label "almanac" was dropped.

Lewis George Janes's SAMUEL GORTON: A FORGOTTEN FOUNDER OF OUR LIBERTIES was printed in [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#).

READ THE FULL TEXT

SAMUELL GORTON



PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1897

April 23, Friday-25, Sunday: When Emma Goldman came to [Rhode Island](#) to speak at open-air meetings in [Providence](#) on such topics as “What Is [Anarchism?](#)” and “Is It Possible to Realize Anarchism?,” she found herself being held overnight in jail and then being granted 24 hours to get out of town with the suggestion that should she neglect to do so she would find herself a guest, for three months, in the state prison system.





PROVIDENCE

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In the Reverend [John Checkley](#)'s memoirs, belatedly published in this year (he had died in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) in 1754, just about a century and a half before), it was alleged that the Reverend had spent some time with Captain Benjamin Church. If that did indeed happen, it could only have happened long after [Metacom](#)'s death, possibly a few years after the Reverend had returned to New England in 1710 but before Church died in 1717. It is to be noted, also, that these belated memoirs say nothing whatever about any important historic artifacts of Phillip, either acquired from Alderman or otherwise acquired, and, also, that they describe Church in no such context.

1898

At the [Butler Hospital](#) School of Nursing in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the students took courses in massage and gymnastics.

[PSYCHOLOGY](#)

Publication of [Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#)'s MEMOIRS OF PLINY EARLE, M.D., containing information in regard to the early trajectory of this psychiatrist at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).



[VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES](#)

Erection at this school at the top of the hill of a tall flagpole, the tallest object on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#).



PROVIDENCE

RHODE ISLAND

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1899

Dr. Aldus Blumer became superintendant of the [Butler Hospital](#) for the Insane in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

The cure by work, wisely directed and adapted to the patient's needs is very often a better thing than that by rest, which the patient may think is indicated by the supposed causation of her illness and which in her inertia she may at first prefer. ...The casual visitor to our magnificent estate, seeing the ample and well-kept grounds, the extensive buildings, the rooms attractively and in some cases luxuriously furnished, and on every hand the evidence of money and service generously extended, may very likely imagine that the institution is rich. But in fact not only does the Hospital lack sufficient funds to enable it to undertake many desirable improvements, but its expenses sometimes exceed its income. ...The pitfalls of adolescence are nowadays more readily recognized by the general practitioner, who begins to appreciate the true significance of an early mental breakdown and to realize that such cases, if salvable at all, are more likely to be readjusted in a special hospital than if left to shut themselves in and drift hopelessly at home.

PSYCHOLOGY

PROVIDENCE GOING ON, AND ON ...



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: December 1, 2013



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RHODE ISLAND

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ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, upon someone's request we have pulled it out of the hat of a pirate that has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (depicted above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of data modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture. This is data mining. To respond to such a request for information, we merely push a



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RHODE ISLAND

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

button.

Commonly, the first output of the program has obvious deficiencies and so we need to go back into the data modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and do a recompile of the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process which you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place your requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>.
Arrgh.