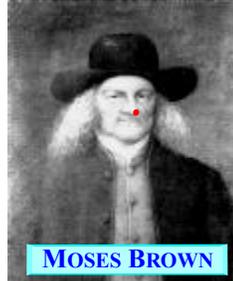


HIJACKING QUAKERISM, TWICE



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

New England Quakerism has now been hijacked twice successively. This chronology will examine the question, in what manner has the hijacking of Quakerism in the 20th Century by the so-called "Moses Brown School" differed from the religious hijacking that this faith suffered during the 19th Century at the hands of the super-rich Providence resident "Friend Moses Brown" – and in what manner have these two successive hijackings resembled each other?

In the 19th Century, Moses Brown, one of the Rhode Island slavemasters who had been unable to make a profit by engaging in the triangular trade, set free a few black slaves and transformed himself into a religious leader. He did not simply become an ordinary Friend, for he then used his financial and social standing to transform himself into a preeminent leader of the Quakers of New England. What influence over the lives of others he had been unable to seize simply by making himself wealthy, he would be able to attain by using his pelf to buy into this existing, established, available faith structure. So now, because in the process of this 19th-Century hijacking he had righteously freed his personal black slaves, we Quakers feel ourselves obligated to worship his memory, avoiding the thought that he made himself one of our national pioneers in racial segregation.

Since then the religious school that Moses Brown founded in Providence as the New England Yearly Meeting School of the Religious Society of Friends has transformed itself into a college preparatory academy for the more privileged non-Quaker youngsters of this city's hoity-toity "East Side," primarily those upwardly mobile youngsters who are primarily interested in attending a "sports school." This entirely secular academy, which brags up its "Quaker heritage," has circled its wagons to prevent its students from learning anything whatever about



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historic Quakerism, and to interfere with scholarly research into its origins by historians.

The Moses Brown endowment and scholarships, said at the time of their bequest to have been the largest endowment to that date to have been granted to any American educational institution, have meanwhile vanished without any accounting.

The school has arranged for the local Quakers to meet next to its Moses-Brown-donated campus, and has then seized control over the Ministry & Council Committee which is at the heart of this meeting – transforming the local meeting into a sham and a pretense. The local meeting for worship has come to function as a mere “Potemkin village,” part of the identity management facade of the school. In conflict with all Quaker governance, this M&C Committee has made itself into a self-perpetuating, controlled group for loyal school employees.

Meanwhile, the school employees have burrowed into the school governance committees of the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, in a process which sociologists describe under the rubric “Regulatory Capture.” The same thing has happened that has happened to the Interstate Commerce Commission when it fell under the sway of the truckers it supposedly was to regulate, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission when it fell under the sway of the nuclear industry it supposedly was to regulate, and the anti-torture committee of the United Nations. The 10-member Committee against Torture’s membership came to include representatives of national governments that perpetrate torture, their sole function being both passively and actively to prevent the UN from developing any real control. On the New England Yearly Meeting’s school-governance committees, these school moles have positioned themselves to both passively and actively prevent any Quaker control over the school’s administration and teaching, and they react to any complaint about their inherent conflict of interest with benign Quakerly condescension.



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Disambiguation: Please bear in mind that none of these Providence, Rhode Island Moses Browns were father and son:

[Moses Brown](#) (September 12, 1738-September 7, 1836)

[Moses Brown](#) (February 4, 1775-February 28, 1791)

[Moses Brown](#) (September 2, 1793-July 17, 1794)

[Moses Brown](#) (1830-August 26, 1889)

[Moses Brown](#) (March 30, 1835-December 28, 1861)

Just as Providence's John Brown (1736-1803) the slave-dealer is not to be confused with Captain John Brown (1800-1859) the abolitionist, so also none of these Providence, Rhode Island Moses Browns are to be confused with Newburyport, Massachusetts's [Moses Brown](#) (1742-1827) who rose from a humble background to affluence as a carriage manufacturer. (That Massachusetts Moses Brown expanded his ventures to include the ownership of several wharves, warehouses, and distilleries and used his moneys in part to support Andover Theological Seminary – as a counterweight against the Unitarian tendencies of Harvard College.)

5 Moses Brown b: September 12, 1738 to James and Hope and d: September 7, 1836 in Providence

....+[5] Anna Brown b: Nov 28, 1744 and d: Feb 05, 1773 in Providence

.....6 [7] Sarah Brown b: Oct 16, 1764 d: Jun 26, 1794

.....+[8] William Almy b: 1761 d: Feb 05, 1836

.....7 [9] Anna Almy b: Sep 01, 1790 d:

.....7 [10] Mary Almy b: Jul 06, 1793 d: Mar 01, 1794

.....6 [11] Infant Daughter Brown b: Feb 25, 1768 d:

.....6 [12] Obadiah Brown b: Jul 15, 1771 to Moses and Anna in North Providence d: Oct 15, 1822 in Providence

.....+[13] Dorcas Hadwen b: Apr 08, 1765 in Providence d: May 16, 1826 in Providence

*2nd Wife of Moses Brown: +Mary Olney b: 1744 in Providence d: December 10, 1798 in Providence

*3rd Wife of Moses Brown: +Phoebe Lockwood b: 1748 d: October 19, 1808¹

**“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY**



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1610

In about this year [Chad Brown](#) was born in England. He is said to have been “one of that little company who fled with Roger Williams from the persecution of the then colony of Massachusetts.” The lot which would be assigned to him in the division of lands which would be made in [Providence](#) (*Moshasuck*), [Rhode Island](#) would include within it what are now the grounds of Brown University. He and four other citizens would draw up the plan of agreement for the peace and government of the colony which, for the initial years, would constitute the only acknowledged government of the town. As first “elder” and then minister of the 1st [Baptist](#) Church in Providence, he would embroil the entire region in a pointless controversy over his church’s “laying on of hands” rite as per HEBREWS 6:1-2, by interpreting such a gesture as a necessary transmission of divine authority.

1. NOTE: All the materials transcluded into the Kouroo project which appear in this file are contained, originally and solely, in a separate C:\transclusions\modules\MosesBrownSchool folder. The original purpose of this filing technique was for ease of maintenance by the Moses Brown School of Providence, Rhode Island, because when I originated these materials I was thinking of myself as providing a unique and important service for that school — you see, at that time I was new in town, and was supposing the school actually to amount to what it bills itself as, a Quaker institution of education! (That was before evidence of financial chicanery began to become evident in the record.) The Moses Brown School has **not**, however, as yet made any organizational commitment to correct and maintain these materials. The intransigence of their hostility has been complete. (In fact, as yet they have not even agreed to so much as look at these materials, or allow Austin Meredith to make a presentation to them.) At present, therefore, this file amounts to **merely** a way to record, and to test the mechanism for, Meredith’s plan to transform the Kouroo Contecture, which at present of necessity consists of mostly his own work product, into a truly distributed database, through persuading various scholars and various organizations to accept responsibility for the accuracy, and the maintenance, of various defined subsets of these transcluded data elements which are the basis for all of its hypercontext switching (hypercontext switching which is intended for the purpose of entirely reconstructing the Internet through replacing most of its hypertext “go-to” buttons with hypercontext “altered viewpoint” buttons).



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1638

July 13, Friday (Old Style): We know at this point, by virtue of the death of a man who had arrived earlier, and the settlement of his estate by depositions of witnesses as to the will, that on some date prior to this date a ship, the *Martin*, had arrived in Boston Harbor. What we have been able to figure out on the basis of this record is that the vessel had brought to [Boston](#):

- SYLVESTER BALDWIN of Aston Clinton, county Bucks
- Mrs. Sarah Baldwin
- Richard Baldwin
- Sarah Baldwin

- JAMES WEEDEN of Chesham, county Bucks [Newport](#)
- Mrs. Phillippa Weeden
- John Weeden
- William Weeden
- Anna Weeden
- Martha Weeden

- [CHAD BROWN](#) [Providence](#)
- Mrs. [Elizabeth Brown](#)
- [John Brown](#)

The Reverend [Chad Brown](#) and Mrs. [Elizabeth Brown](#)'s son [John Brown](#) was at the time about 8 years old. On August 20, 1638 the Reverend would be incorporated into town fellowship with others at Providence (previously known as *Moshasuck*), in the [Rhode Island](#) colony. In 1642, after the brief tenure of the Reverend [Roger Williams](#), he would become the minister of the new [Baptist](#) church there. (After this Reverend would come Elder James Brown (1666-1716?/1732?). After this Elder would come James Brown II (1698-1739), a prosperous merchant and the sire of four important sons.) We do not know for sure that [James Brown](#), Jeremiah Brown, [Judah Brown](#), and [Daniel Brown](#) were born after [John Brown](#):

- Son Reverend [John Brown](#) of [Providence](#) would get married with Mary Holmes (daughter of Obadiah Holmes, who was persecuted by Massachusetts). The couple would have [John Brown](#) (2), born on March 18, 1662; [James Brown](#), born during 1666, who would be Elder of the same 1st [Baptist](#) Church of [Providence](#) in which his grandfather the Reverend [Chad Brown](#) had led; [Obadiah Brown](#), [Martha Brown](#), and [Deborah Brown](#).
- Son [James Brown](#)
- Son [Jeremiah Brown](#)
- Son [Judah Brown](#) alias [Chad Brown](#) (2).
- Son [Daniel Brown](#), who is recorded in [Providence](#) during 1646, would get married on December 25, 1669 with Alice Herenden (probably Benjamin Herenden's daughter). The couple would have [Judah Brown](#) (2); [Sarah Brown](#), born on October 10, 1677; [Jeremiah Brown](#) (2); and perhaps more. [Daniel Brown](#) would die before November 10, 1710.

The following sayings with which we can identify are attributed to the Reverend [Chad Brown](#):

A man's right to defend himself included his right to refuse



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armaments and to try better means according to the dictates of his conscience.

No man should be a slave but that each was entitled to just recompense for labor which he had performed.

August 20, Monday (Old Style): Watertown, in the Massachusetts Bay colony, had been insisting that its grant, since it had been specified as running eight miles toward the west, actually converged to a point north of Walden Pond, and that therefore it was entitled to land that was generally considered to be well within the 6-mile quadrangle assigned to the town of [Concord](#). The General Court therefore on this day issued an order, that these Watertown lines were to be extended only so far “as Concord bounds give leave.”

[Chad Brown](#) had come to Boston Harbor in the *Martin* in July with his wife [Elizabeth Brown](#) and their young son [John Brown](#), and on this day was incorporated into town fellowship with others at [Providence](#) (previously known as *Moshasuck*), [Rhode Island](#). In 1642, after the brief tenure of the Reverend [Roger Williams](#), he would become the leader of the worship group that in a considerably later timeframe, after the emigration of some Particular Baptists, would become the 1st [Baptist](#) church of Providence.²

2. According to an article “Was [Roger Williams](#) Really a [Baptist](#)?” published by the Baptist Publishing House of Texarkana TX, by Professor of Church History Louis F. Asher of the Baptist Missionary Association Theological Seminary, “evidence is lacking to show that the group at Providence constituted a Baptist church before about 1654, at which time a Baptist church was organized by some Particular Baptists who had recently migrated from England.” The historian of the First Baptist Church In America, Professor Stanley Lemons, however, disagrees with this evaluation, and points out that it is one made by “Particular Baptists” and spread around by the “Bible Baptist Association.” According to this Rhode Island viewpoint, the work of Dr. Asher, “a now-deceased professor at a tiny, splinter Baptist seminary in Texas,” is not to be relied upon.

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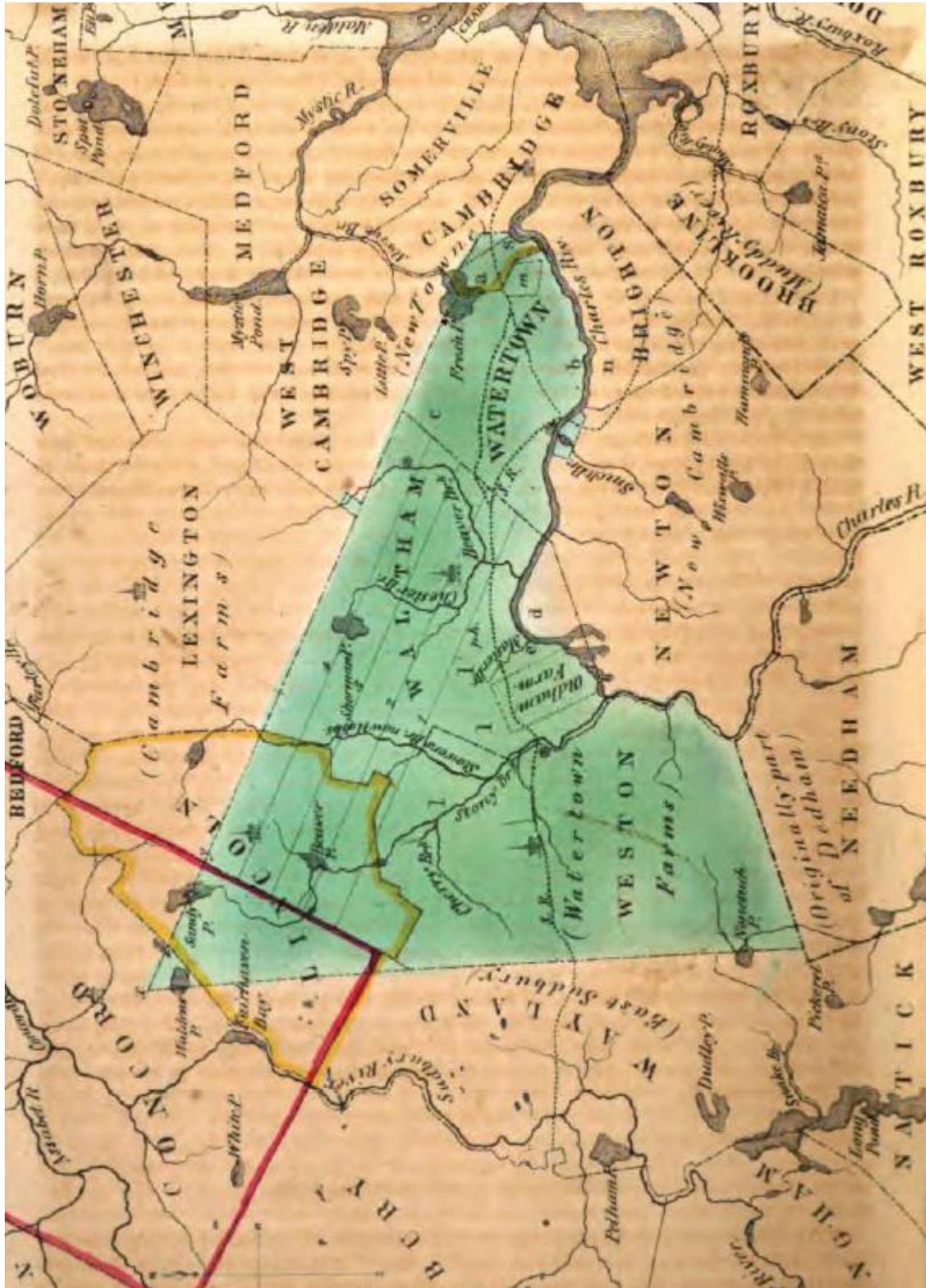
WHAT?

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1640

[Chad Brown](#) was one of the five arbitrators assigned to settle a serious land dispute that was roiling [Rhode Island](#). This committee drew up a new frame of government, referred to as “the Combination,” which would serve for several years.



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1642

Church elder [Chad Brown](#), upon the sudden exit of the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) from the pulpit of the worship group in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) after only a few months of participation, took over as the head of that congregation.³

Mr. Williams held the pastoral office about four years, and then resigned the same. Mr. Holyman was his colleague. His successors were Chad Brown and William Wickenden, the first ordained in 1642 and the other, by Mr. Brown. Gregory Dexter succeeded Mr. Wickenden.— He had been a preacher of the Baptist denomination before he came to New-England. Thomas Olney, who succeeded Mr. Dexter, is said to have been born in Hertford, England, about 1631, and to have arrived in Providence in 1654. He withdrew and formed a separate church, which continued but a short time. The ground of difference was, the necessity of the laying on of hands. His successor, Pardon Tillinghast, came to Providence, in 1645. Ebenezer Jenckes succeeded him. He was born in 1669, was ordained in 1719, and died, pastor, in 1726. James Brown, grandson of Chad Brown, born in 1666, was next ordained, and continued pastor till his death, in 1732. Samuel Windsor succeeded Mr. Brown. He was born in 1677, ordained in 1733, and remained in office till his death, in 1758. Thomas Burlingham was colleague pastor with Mr. Windsor, and was ordained at the same time with him. He left his charge some the before his death, which I was in 1740, to preach to a new church in Cranston. Samuel Windsor, son of the preceding Samuel, was next in office. He was born November 1, 1722, and ordained June 21, 1759. About the year 1770, he made repeated complaints to the church, that his duties were too arduous for him to perform, and requested them to give him an assistant. The church acceded to his request, and John Sutton was invited to preach as his assistant, which he did for six months. After he left, James Manning, President of Rhode-Island College, removed to Providence with that institution. He was requested, soon after his removal, to preach to this society, after which, the pastor invited him to partake of the communion with the church. His acceptance of this invitation gave offence to some of the church members. Several church meetings were subsequently holden, at which President Manning's privilege of communion was repeatedly confirmed, Mr. Windsor then exerting himself against it. The reason assigned for this opposition was, that the president did not hold imposition of hands to be a pre-requisite to communion, although

3. According to an article “Was [Roger Williams](#) Really a [Baptist](#)?” published by the Baptist Publishing House of Texarkana TX, by Professor of Church History Louis F. Asher of the Baptist Missionary Association Theological Seminary, “evidence is lacking to show that the group at Providence constituted a [Baptist](#) church before about 1654, at which time a Baptist church was organized by some Particular Baptists who had recently migrated from England.” The historian of the First Baptist Church In America, Professor Stanley Lemons, however, disagrees with this evaluation, and points out that it is one made by “Particular Baptists” and spread around by the “Bible Baptist Association.” According to this Rhode Island viewpoint, the work of Dr. Asher, “a now-deceased professor at a tiny, splinter Baptist seminary in Texas,” is not to be relied upon.



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he himself had submitted to it, and administered it to such as desired it. Some attributed the change in Elder Windsor's views, to the president's "holding to singing in public worship, which was very disgusting to Mr. Windsor." In April 1771, Mr. Windsor presented to the church a writing, signed by a number of the members, stating that they were in conscience bound to withdraw from such as did not "hold strictly to the six principles of the doctrine of Christ, as laid down in Hebrews vi. 1, 2." In May following, he also withdrew and joined the Separates. After advising with some other Baptist churches, this church, in July 1771, chose President Manning for their pastor. He accepted the office, and held it until near his death, in 1791. The general meeting, or Association of the Baptists, in September 1771, recognized the church under Mr. Manning, as the old church. During the life of President Manning, John Stanford preached some months for this church and society. Jonathan Maxcy succeeded Mr. Manning in the charge of the church, and in the presidency of the college. He was a graduate of Rhode-Island College, and has ever been regarded as one of her most talented sons. After about two years, he resigned both offices, and removed to Schenectady, to take the Presidency of Union College. Subsequently he was President of Columbia College, South Carolina, which office he held till his death. Rev. Stephen Gano had the charge of the church, after President Maxcy, for thirty-six years. He was a native of New-York, born in 1762, and educated a physician. He received ordination at the age of twenty-three, and in 1792, removed to Providence and became pastor of this church. He died in August 1828, universally lamented. No man ever had more friends, or warmer ones, than Dr. Gano. If any of his hearers estimated the pulpit labors of other ministers above those of their pastor, it was not because they were supposed to possess more piety toward God, or more love to man, than he did. After remaining more than a year and a half without a pastor, they united in calling Robert E. Pattison to that office. He accepted their call, and commenced his labors in March 1830. In August 1836, his health having become infirm, he resigned his office, and accepted the Presidency of Waterville College, in Maine. William Hague, pastor of the First Baptist church in Boston, was elected to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Pattison's resignation. He entered on his duties on the 25th day of June, 1837, and remained pastor until August 1840, when he resigned to take charge of the Federal-Street church, Boston. During this period, Mr. Hague was absent eight or nine months, in Europe, for the improvement of his health. The church being again without a pastor, and Mr. Pattison having in the mean while resigned the Presidency of Waterville College, he was a second time called to the pastoral office, and resumed his duties in April 1841. In February 1842, he was appointed one of the Corresponding Secretaries of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, and at the earnest solicitations of several friends of the mission, he accepted the appointment, after having a second time tendered to the church his resignation as their



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pastor, to take effect after the first Sunday in April 1842. The vacancy caused by this resignation had not been permanently filled, in September following.⁴

4. William Read Staples (1798-1868). ANNALS OF THE TOWN OF [PROVIDENCE](#), FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT, TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT, IN JUNE, 1832. Providence, [Rhode Island](#): Printed by Knowles and Vose, 1843.



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1654

In about this timeframe [Thomas Angell](#) acted as constable for the town of [Providence](#) in the precedent-setting case of Richard Chasmore, also known as “Long Dick” (the man’s offense was that he had knowingly harbored [Quakers](#)), in which [Rhode Island](#)’s sovereignty over its citizens versus the authority of the Massachusetts Bay Colony was tested. It wasn’t that they themselves had any love for Quakers, it was merely that they resented the implication that the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) was the only man in Rhode Island with any power, and took exception to the presumption of the Massachusetts Bay Colony authorities that they had authority even while standing on Rhode Island land. By stonewalling during this altercation, Thomas Angell and his four deputies withstood the implied challenges of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Some Particular Baptists who had recently emigrated from England organized the worship group of [Chad Brown](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) as a [Baptist](#) church.⁵

5. According to an article “Was [Roger Williams](#) Really a [Baptist](#)?” published by the Baptist Publishing House of Texarkana TX, by Professor of Church History Louis F. Asher of the Baptist Missionary Association Theological Seminary, “evidence is lacking to show that the group at Providence constituted a [Baptist](#) church before about 1654, at which time a Baptist church was organized by some Particular Baptists who had recently migrated from England.” The historian of the First Baptist Church In America, Professor Stanley Lemons, however, disagrees with this evaluation, and points out that it is one made by “Particular Baptists” and spread around by the “Bible Baptist Association.” According to this Rhode Island viewpoint, the work of Dr. Asher, “a now-deceased professor at a tiny, splinter Baptist seminary in Texas,” is not to be relied upon.

We may note that according to this Particular Baptist claim, this occurrence was fully a dozen years after the Reverend [Roger Williams](#) had disentangled himself from this worship group in 1642. In this dispute, some Baptists assert that it was the Reverend Williams who was the **very first American Baptist** pastor! (Well, whatever the interpretation, it is a fact that he did not minister in the white building that presently proclaims itself to be the first Baptist church in America — which magnificent structure he would never see because it would not be erected on Mr. Angell’s house lot **for more than a century!** The assertion that this is the First Baptist Church In America, the FBCIA, only works if one is willing to parse the term “This Church” as an abbreviation for “The Continuing Congregation Associated Now With This Building.”)



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1655

[Nicholas Brown](#) of [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#) took the oath of a freeman.



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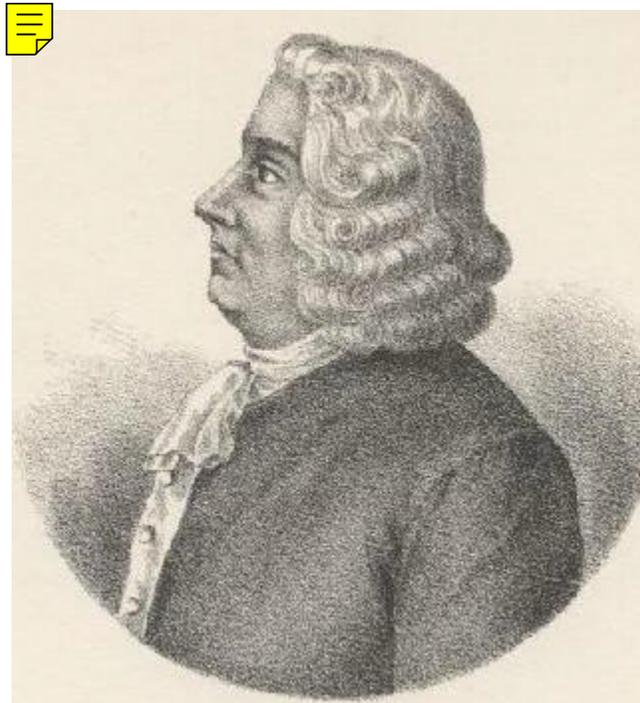
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1682

[Friend William Penn](#)'s "Fundamental Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania" provided for a public universal compulsory school system based upon [Quaker](#) values: "all persons having children shall cause such to be instructed in reading and writing, so that they may be able to read the Scriptures and to write by the time they attain to twelve years of age and that they then be taught some useful trade or skill."

[QUAKER EDUCATION](#)





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1683

Although the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) had been established in 1661, the first remaining account the [Quakers](#) have in their Yearly Meeting Record Book is in the year 1683, which is to say, we have no trace whatever of the first 21 years. The remaining record begins at the year 1683 the 11th of the 4th m^o, in the form of a minute that “the Meeting for Worship of God” would begin the 2nd 6th day (that is, the second Sunday of the month) of the then 4th now 6th M^o in every year (which is to say, June), “till friends see cause in the wisdom & Council of God to Alter it.”

There would be Yearly Meetings for Worship at “Rhode Island, Dux-bury Piscatua, Salem, & Dartmouth,” and then in 1690 a Yearly Meeting would be settled at Warwick, and in 1692 another at Providence, Rhode Island. (This was all prior to the “New England Yearly Meeting” being established as a Quaker organization.)

[RHODE ISLAND RELIGION](#)

[Friend](#) Enoch Flower was appointed by the Quaker-dominated Provincial Council of Pennsylvania to be “school master for the instruction and sober education of youth in the towne of Philadelphia.”

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

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1684

Enoch Flower died.

QUAKER EDUCATION



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1689

Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) founded schools. The Provincial Council of Pennsylvania put Friend [George Keith](#) in charge of them, and so he relocated to Philadelphia. (This date, 1689, is now used as the foundation date of the surviving “[William Penn](#) Charter School” and “Friends Select School” of Philadelphia that have been created by consolidation of various of these Quaker schools.)

[QUAKER EDUCATION](#)

This director of Quaker schooling, Friend [George Keith](#), however, became embroiled, or attempted to become embroiled, in a controversy with the Puritan divines. His response, most fundamentally, to the typical Puritan accusation that the [Quakers](#) were ignorant of the historic Christ, was that these divines were encouraging the worship of an absent Christ. In one Friends meeting in New Jersey: “The above said Monthly Meeting fell from ye year 1689 to ye year 1704 by reason of George Keith’s Separation which was 15 years and Then was appointed to Be Kept att Woodbridge First by a preparative Meeting and abt 2 years after Kept a Monthly Meeting.” The cause of this long interval of 15 years in the history of the Woodbridge Quakers is well known. Friend George Keith, a man eminent among the Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, had begun preaching and writing in favor of plainer garments, “of the abandonment of all forcible measures to uphold secular or worldly government, and the [emancipation](#) of negroes after a reasonable term of service.” Keith had had many followers, causing much bitterness in the hitherto peaceful denomination, but had been unequal to the task of crystallizing the elements he had disturbed. The story is that he had become censorious and overbearing, in consequence of which his influence had declined; and in 1694 the yearly meeting in London would end his career as a Quaker preacher by stripping him of all authority. In 1702, when he would visit Shrewsbury, he would do so as an Episcopalian missionary — and create a profound sensation.

[CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE](#)



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1691

[Friend George Keith](#) decided that the [Quakers](#) had strayed too far from orthodox Christianity and broke with Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, forming a schismatic group he termed the “Christian Quakers” (this American group would be short-lived; however, its existence would have the lasting political result of separating Pennsylvania and Delaware into two provinces). In returning to England Keith turned control of the Philadelphia school system over to his assistant, Friend Thomas Makin.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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1693

In this year [Friend WILLIAM PENN](#) prepared his SOME FRUITS OF SOLITUDE:

318. If we are but sure the End is Right, we are too apt to gallop over all Bounds to compass it; not considering that lawful Ends may be very unlawfully attained.

...

537. A good End cannot sanctifie evil Means; nor must we ever do Evil, that Good may come of it.

538. Some Folks think they may Scold, Rail, Hate, Rob and Kill too; so it be but for God's sake.

539. But nothing in us unlike him, can please him.

540. It is as great Presumption to send our Passions upon God's Errands, as it is to palliate them with God's Name.

541. Zeal dropped in Charity, is good, without it good for nothing: For it devours all it comes near.

542. They must first judge themselves, that presume to censure others: And such will not be apt to overshoot the Mark.

543. We are too ready to retaliate, rather than forgive, or gain by Love and Information.

544. And yet we could hurt no Man that we believe loves us.

545. Let us then try what Love will do: For if Men did once see we Love them, we should soon find they would not harm us.

546. Force may subdue, but Love gains: And he that forgives first, wins the Lawrel.

In SOME FRUITS OF SOLITUDE, [Friend WILLIAM PENN](#) laid out his philosophy in regard to the educational development of the young:

We are in pain to make them scholars but not men; to talk rather than to know, which is true canting. The first thing obvious to children is what is sensible; and that we make no part of their rudiments. We press their memory too soon, and puzzle, strain and load them with words and rules to know grammar and rhetoric; and a strange tongue or two that, it is ten to one, may never be useful to them, leaving their natural knowledge uncultivated and neglected; which would be of exceeding use and pleasure to them through the whole course of their lives. To be sure, languages are not to be despised or neglected, but things are still to be preserved.

Children had rather be making tools and instruments of play; shaping, drawing framing and building than getting some rules of propriety and speech by heart.... It were happy if we studied nature more and in natural things, and acting according to



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nature; whose rules are few, plain and most reasonable.

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1697

The Abington Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in rural Pennsylvania established “a school under the direction of Friends.” (During the following century, other Quaker monthly meetings would establish schools at Buckingham, Frankford, Plymouth Meeting, and Westtown, etc., in rural Pennsylvania, and at Haddonfield, Moorestown, and Westfield in New Jersey, and at Wilmington, in Delaware.)

[QUAKER EDUCATION](#)

Meanwhile, back in England, a disowned former [Quaker](#) schoolmaster of Philadelphia, [George Keith](#), was issuing A REPRIMAND FOR THE AUTHOR OF A LIBEL, ENTITLED; GEORGE KEITH AN APOSTATE, and his A SECOND NARRATIVE OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT TURNERS-HALL, APRIL 29, 1697.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1698

March 22, Wednesday (1697, Old Style): [James Brown II](#) was born in [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#).



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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1699

[George Keith](#) attacked [Friend William Penn](#) and other [Quakers](#) as “Deists” in A PLAIN DISCOVERY OF MANY GROSS CHEATS AND IMPOSTURES CONTAINED IN THREE LATE PAMPHLETS PUBLISHED BY THE QUAKERS, &C. He issued his AN ACCOUNT OF G. KEITH’S TRAVELS TO BRISTOL AND SEVERAL OTHER PLACES OR, A TRUE RELATION OF A CONFERENCE HAD BETWIXT G. KEITH AND T. UPSHER AT COLCHESTER, THE 6TH OF THE 5TH MONTH, 1699, &C.

In his “Advice to His Children,” [Friend William Penn](#) counseled his progeny to “remember, fear and serve God” so that they might “live to glorify Him in [their] generations.” He recommended a liberal education in such knowledge as was “useful,” so long as this was “consistent with truth and godliness.” He included in this category the “useful parts of mathematics, as building houses, measuring, surveying and agriculture.”

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

[QUAKER EDUCATION](#)



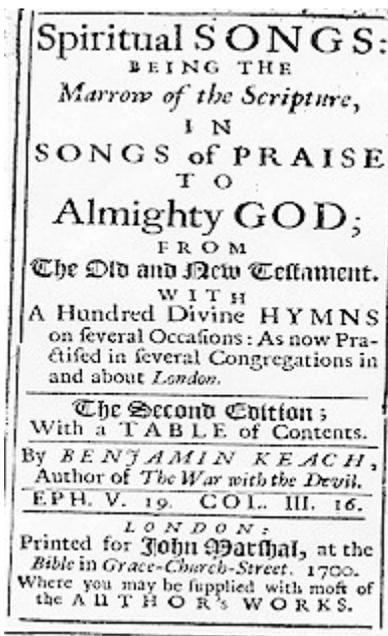
FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1700

The Reverend [Benjamin Keach](#)'s SPIRITUAL SONGS: BEING THE MARROW OF THE SCRIPTURE (London: John Marshal).



Awake, my soul, awake, my tongue,
My glory wake and sing,
And celebrate the holy birth,
The birth of Israel's King!

O happy night that brought forth light,
Which makes the blind to see,
The Dayspring from on high came down
To cheer and visit thee.

The careful shepherds with their flocks
Were watching for the morn,
But better news from Heav'n was brought;
Your Savior now is born!

In Bethlehem the Infant lies,
Within a place obscure,
Your Savior's come, O sing God's praise!
O sing His praise fore'er.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

The [Baptists](#) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) who had been meeting in private homes, began their first meetinghouse.⁶

In a related piece of news, in this year the old [Quaker](#) meetinghouse in [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#) was sold to Joseph Mosey for £11 14s. and a new meetinghouse was in the process of being erected. On a following screen are three postcard views of the new construction, the first dating to about 1905, the second to 1908, and the third to 1955:

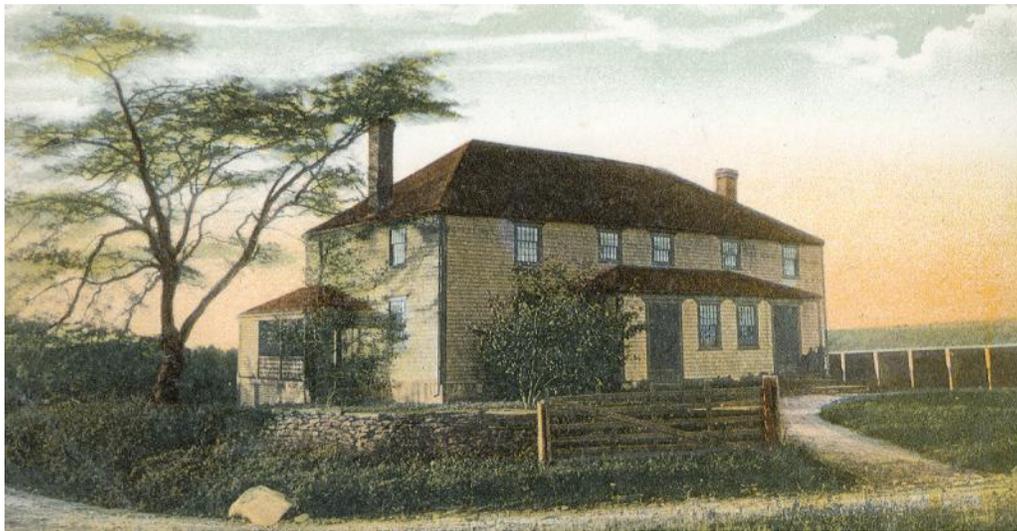
6. A plaque at the picturesque white “First Baptist Meeting House” in beautiful downtown Providence, Rhode Island asserts quite sincerely that “This church was founded by Roger Williams, its first pastor and the first asserter of liberty of conscience. It was the first Church in Rhode Island and the first Baptist Church in America.” That structure, however, was not in existence prior to 1775 — which would be three full generations of human life beyond this point in time. Also, some Baptists do not claim Roger William now as having been a Baptist minister, although he had indeed toyed with a religious group in Providence for some months in the year 1639 before separating himself from them, and that religious group with which he had toyed in 1639 would, fifteen years afterward upon the migration of some Particular Baptists from England, begin to identify itself as Baptist.

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1701

[Friend William Penn](#) granted a charter to the city of Philadelphia, and provided for the incorporation of the schools that had been founded there by the Friends. Penn granted Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) control over the appointment of the overseers of the educational system.

[QUAKER EDUCATION](#)



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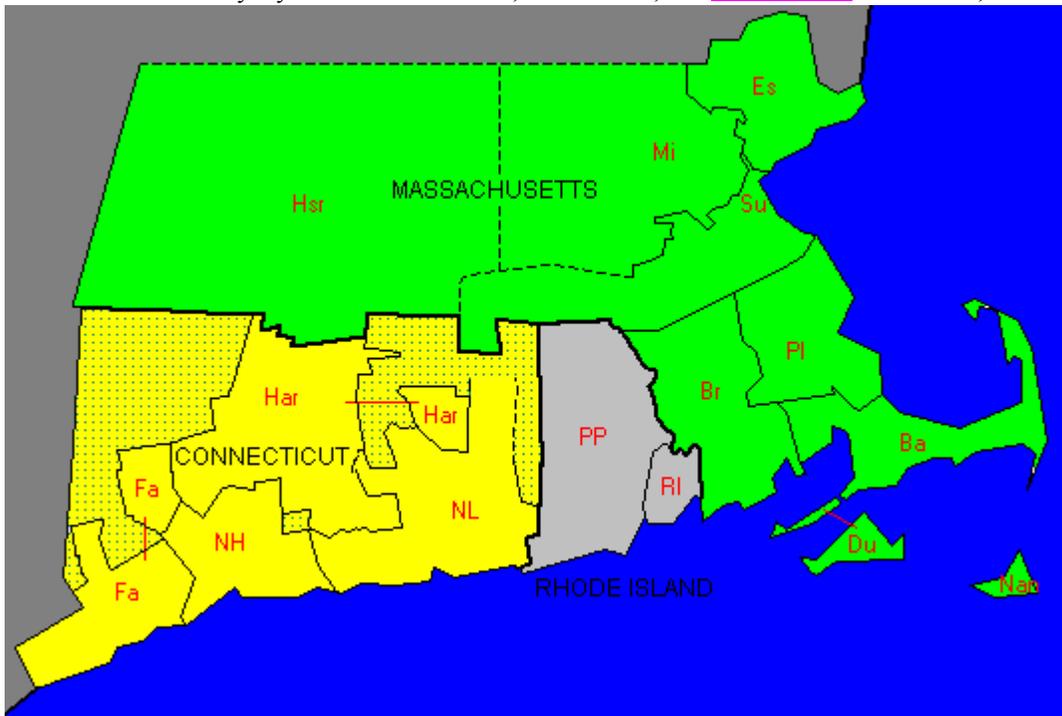
1703

Quakers established the 1st school in Flushing on Paumanok Long Island.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Friend John Warner of North Carolina kept a school in the upper room of the new Portsmouth, Rhode Island meetinghouse.

This is what the county layout of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island looked like, as of this year:



(By the year 1862,  the county map would have resolved itself into our present configuration.)



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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1708

[Friend William Penn](#) granted a new charter to the city of Philadelphia, by which the power of the overseers of the school system was expanded. In the future, the Pennsylvania proprietor would appoint a board of fifteen overseers. They, not the Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), would have the power to appoint their successors. The overseers, however, would need to be [Quakers](#).

QUAKER EDUCATION



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1711

[Friend William Penn](#) revised the 1708 charter to provide that the overseers of the Philadelphia school system need not be exclusively [Quakers](#). (The overseers would include James Logan, a Penn secretary who was acting lieutenant governor of the colony, Edward Shoppen, first mayor of Philadelphia and speaker of the Provincial Assembly, and Samuel Carpenter, the first treasurer of Pennsylvania.)

Meanwhile, in England, the disowned [George Keith](#), former head of the [Quaker](#) schools of Philadelphia, turned Anglican, was issuing his latest polemic, THE MAGICK OF QUAKERISM CONFIRMED. IN ANSWER TO A BOOK OF GEORGE WHITEHEAD FALSLY CALLED *THE POWER OF CHRIST VINDICATED AGAINST THE MAGICK OF APOSTACY*.

QUAKER EDUCATION

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

GEORGE WHITEHEAD



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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1720

[James Brown](#) and [Nicholas Brown](#) (grandfather of the [Nicholas Brown, Jr.](#) who would give the family name to the [College of Rhode Island](#), making it into [Brown University](#)) began to establish, centered in [Rhode Island](#), one of the foremost business families in the colonies. They not only traded, they sponsored local businesses which would provide them with materials for trade. For instance, in order to deal in the [triangular trade](#), needing rum to ship to the coast of Africa, they encouraged local distilleries.⁷

7. The Providence Browns, not counting a fifth brother who had died young: brothers [Nicholas Brown](#) (1729-1791), Joseph (1733-1785), John (1736-1803), and [Moses Brown](#) (1738-1836), uncles Obadiah (1712-1762) and Elisha (1717-1802).



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1722

December 21, Friday (Old Style): Captain [James Brown](#) and Hope Power, the daughter of Nicholas and Mercy Tillinghast Power, were wed in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). The couple would have a number of sons who would become famous wealthy merchants in Providence, and founders and patrons of [Brown University](#):

- On February 12, 1724,  a son named [James Brown](#) who would not marry and who would die at York, Virginia on February 15, 1750
- On July 28, 1729,  a son named [Nicholas Brown](#), who would marry a first wife Rhoda Jenks on May 2, 1762 and then a second wife Avis Binney on September 9, 1785, who would have a son [Nicholas Brown, Jr.](#) who would be a benefactor of [Brown University](#) and a famous wealthy merchant in [Providence](#), and who would die in 1791
- In 1731, a daughter named Mary Brown who would marry a John Vanderlight
- On December 3, 1733,  a son named Joseph Brown who would marry Elizabeth Power on September 30, 1759, who was a patriot in the Revolution and served in both [Providence](#) town and Rhode Island state offices, and would die on December 3, 1785
- On January 27, 1736,  a son named [John Brown](#), who would marry Sarah Smith on November 27, 1760, who would be a famous wealthy merchant and [slavetrader](#) in [Providence](#), and benefactor of [Brown University](#), and would die in 1803
- On September 12, 1738,  a son named [Moses Brown](#) (who would marry a first time on January 1, 1764 to his first cousin Anna Brown and then, after Anna's death in about 1773, a second time on March 4, 1779 to Friend Mary Olney, and then a third time on May 2, 1799 to Phebe Lockwood), who would be a famous wealthy merchant in [Providence](#) and a benefactor of the Rhode Island Friends Quarterly Meeting School (now for some reason known as the [Moses Brown School](#)), and would die in 1836.⁸

Here is what has been said of the influence of this Friend, in Hugh Barbour's and J. William Frost's THE QUAKERS (NY: Greenwood Press, 1988, pages 298-9):

[Moses Brown](#), born into a prominent prosperous [Baptist](#) family, served an apprenticeship with his uncle Obadiah Brown in order to learn mercantile practices. Later he joined with his three elder brothers in Nicholas Brown and Co., a firm engaged in iron manufacture, the West Indies trade, the manufacture and sale of spermacetti candles, and -on one occasion- the slave trade. Moses, who married his first cousin Anna, daughter of Obadiah Brown, became wealthy. In the 1760s he became active in civic improvements, politics, agricultural reform, and education - notably the creation of the College of Rhode Island [[Brown University](#)]. The death of Anna in 1773 caused Moses Brown to reconsider his priorities. He attempted (unsuccessfully) to withdraw from business, traveled with itinerant Quaker ministers in New England, freed his own [slaves](#), and became an ardent abolitionist and defender of free blacks. In 1774 he requested membership in the [Smithfield](#) Monthly Meeting. He soon became a leader of the [Rhode Island Friends](#), serving as elder from 1783 to 1836 and treasurer of the Meeting for Sufferings after 1776.

8. This Moses (1738-1836) is not to be confused with Moses (1793-1879) or Moses (1829-1883), nor for that matter is he to be confused with a non-Quaker Moses Brown who was a merchant in Newburyport, Massachusetts.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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Before the Revolution, Brown attempted to broaden the antislavery campaign beyond Friends. In 1776 he organized a Quaker relief effort to help those New Englanders suffering the effects of the British blockade. He opposed independence and sought for a neutral course during the war. He had misgivings about the official Quaker stance of not using paper money and not paying mixed taxes. Concerned with what he saw as a lack of educational opportunity for Friends, Brown helped organize a [Yearly Meeting](#) school that lasted from 1784 to 1788; twenty years later in [Providence](#) he revived this boarding school, which today is called the [Moses Brown School](#).

Brown's charitable and humanistic activities continued after the peace. He led the effort of Friends and other Rhode Islanders to end the slave trade and abolish slavery. Brown worked with non-Quakers in supporting the College of Rhode Island, the American Bible Society, and the Rhode Island Peace Society. Although his lack of formal education left him reticent about publishing, he read widely and corresponded on medical and scientific subjects.

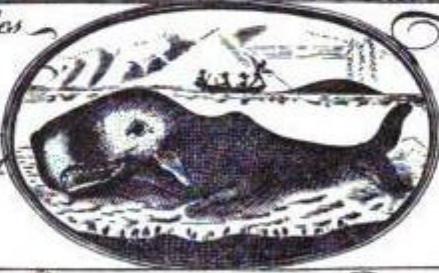
Seeing the distress in [Rhode Island](#) after the Revolution, Brown sought to increase economic opportunity by helping to found and serve as a director of the first bank in Rhode Island. His initial qualms about the United States [Constitution](#) were overcome by the Bill of Rights, and he mobilized Quakers to support Rhode Island's ratification. He became an expert on cloth manufacture and sponsored [Samuel Slater](#)'s activities in developing the American textile industry.

FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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Sperma-ceti Candles Warranted pure, are made by JOSEPH PALMER & Co. at Germantown near BOSTON, & to be Sold at their Store in Boston, New-England.

<i>Round Candles</i>		<i>N^o 353.</i>
<i>5 to the lb</i>		<i>36¹/₄ Gr</i>
<i>Chandelles rondes</i>		<i>8³/₄ Fr</i>
<i>5 au lb.</i>		<i>27¹/₂ N^o</i>

Chandelles de Sperma-ceti garanties d'être sans aucun Melange sont Fabriquées par Joseph Palmer & Co. a Germantown proche de BOSTON, & se vendent à leur Magazin en Boston Nouvelle Angleterre.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1725

Up to this point, the members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) who resided in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) had been traveling for worship to the meetinghouse that had been erected in 1703 (and would be expanded in 1743) in [Saylesville](#). They would dismount, and remount, their horses and their carriages, by use of this stone mounting-block:



In this year the city Friends erected a meetinghouse within the town limits of Providence, probably on Stamper's Hill where the town fort used to exist, across the street north of Captain John Whipple's house (this is at the foot of present-day Olney Avenue). To prevent confusion, we will refer to this as meetinghouse #2.⁹

Later they would erect a newer meetinghouse at the corner of what at the time was known as Town Street but is now known as North Main Street and what had been known initially as Ferry Road (because it led over the hill to a ferry that crossed the estuary at the narrows where the Red Bridge would be erected) and at the time was known as Gaol Street (because a jail had been erected there) and would later be known as Old Gaol Street because a new jail had been erected elsewhere, but is now known as Meeting Street (because the Quaker meetinghouse used to stand there), across from the Salt Cove (presumably this is the same location, differently described). To prevent confusion, we will refer to this as meetinghouse #3. [Quaker](#) meetings for worship would be held at that location for a couple of centuries (removing the building's "Negro Gallery" or "pigeon loft" in 1820 because by that point all their slaves had been [manumitted](#) and had immediately abandoned Quakerism), when the initial building on North Main gave out in 1844 removing it to another location for use as a dwelling (later demolished) and erecting on its site a similar undistinguished building (meetinghouse #4), until the site would be cleared in 1951 for construction of the North Main Street Fire Station. Then they would relocate to the plot of land granted in 1814 by Friend [Moses Brown](#) for use as the [Yearly Meeting](#) Boarding School, where they had erected a nice new brick meetinghouse at 99 Morris Avenue (meetinghouse #5).

9. "CONSTITUTION HILL, a slope of which Stamper's Hill is a continuation, is the part of N. Main St. bet. Mill and Benefit St." The Providence Worship Group of the Religious Society of Friends would, for the initial two decades of its existence, be referred to as the Stamper's Hill Worship Group.



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(One may view a photograph of the #4 meetinghouse, on the wall of the current or #5 meetinghouse.)





FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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1736

Thomas Harding, a blacksmith of [Providence](#), took a contract to forge handcuffs¹⁰ for use aboard the sloop *Mary*, bound for the coast of Guinea.

[RHODE ISLAND](#)



10. “35 pare of hand coofs”. Well, children, have you ever heard of divine Providence? If you provide yourself with a plenty of hand coofs, God will provide you with a plenty of black slaves. It was apparently a rather ordinary practice to use iron handcuffs to subdue an unruly person of color. According to the journal of [Friend Thomas B. Hazard](#) or Hafsard or Hasard of [Kingstown, Rhode Island](#), also known as “Nailer Tom,” at one point he was asked to fashion a pair of handcuffs with which to confine a crazy negress named Patience.

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Here is the coast of Guinea, from a map published in London some six years earlier:¹¹ Captain [James](#) [TRIANGULAR TRADE](#)



the father of the five young Brown brothers plus a daughter, injured himself by attempting too much during a weight-lifting contest at a fair. He supposed he had ruptured his spleen, and gave permission that his body be opened after his death to verify this.

11. For this and other such maps: <http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery/search.html>



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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1738

September 23, Saturday (Old Style): The birth of a son [Moses Brown](#) was duly recorded in his father [James Brown](#)'s "First Ledger": "*Heir folloth the time of the bearth of the children born of the boddey of hope Brown wife of James.... Seventh and Lastly Moses September the 12 AD 1738.*"¹²

Was Hope Power Brown's infant born with the mole already on the end of his nose, that would be described as the size and color of a small cherry, or was this something that would only appear later?

(This birth, and also the eventual death, would be recorded later in Quaker records as "*Moses Brown was born in Providence the 12th day of the Ninth month 1738 old Stile now recond the 23 day of the 9th m^o 1738. Moses Brown died the 6th day of 9th m^o 1836.*")

According to Mack Thompson's *MOSES BROWN, RELUCTANT REFORMER* (Chapel Hill NC: U of North Carolina P, 1962, page 8f):

[Moses Brown] undoubtedly attended the Baptist Church with other members of the family and held the conventional religious beliefs of the time and place. George Taylor, a Church of England man, kept a schoolhouse for a time near the Quaker meetinghouse in the north end of town, and Moses may have received his early education from him.¹³ There is a legend -perhaps true- that Moses attended school until he was thirteen; at any rate, by the time he had reached his teens he could "read, write, and do a sum in the rule of three."

Whatever formal education he received was supplemented by informal schooling at home, in his uncle's countinghouse, and on the Providence wharfs. As a boy he was fascinated by the busy water front and often waited on his uncle's wharf for the sloop *Four Brothers* to tie up after a voyage of several months to the West Indies. As a nephew of the owner, he was undoubtedly allowed to satisfy his curiosity about the ship and cargo and to question the master and crew about their experiences in the Indies, on the Guinea Coast, or at one of the southern ports. He quickly won a reputation as an expert judge of West Indian molasses. The story is frequently told of the importer who was asked by a prospective buyer "What casks are your best?" and the reply, "Ask that little molasses-faced Moses, he will tell you."¹⁴ Moses' education in business really began when he moved from his home on Towne Street to his uncle's house across the lane and started his apprenticeship in the shipping business. Removal to

12. [JAMES BROWN](#): HIS BOOK OF ACCOUNTS BOTH DEBT AND CREDIT, page 1, Rhode Island Historical Society. We can imagine that Moses would have been born in the old Homestead House on Towne Street (now Main Street) near what is now its junction with College Street. Note that the date of September 12th is per the Julian calendar that would be revised into the present Gregorian calendar, in 1752, which is why Moses would eventually begin to celebrate this birthday on the 23rd of the month. The [Providence, Rhode Island](#) Browns, not counting a fifth brother who had died young: brothers [Nicholas](#), (1729-1791), Joseph (1733-1785), [John](#) (1736-1803), and [Moses](#) (1738-1836), uncles Obadiah (1712-1762) and Elisha (1717-1802).

13. Petitions to the Rhode Island General Assembly, 1734-38, III, 20, Rhode Island Archives, State House, Providence

14. Hedges, James B. *THE BROWNS OF PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS* (Cambridge MA, 2 volumes, 1952, 1968, page 14)



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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his uncle's home was dictated by common sense. James, Moses' oldest brother who had probably assumed responsibility for Moses' education, had recently died while on a voyage to Virginia. The other brothers, Nicholas, Joseph, and John, were serving their apprenticeship with uncle Obadiah, and were still not old enough to look after their young brother. Since Moses was expected to follow them into the shipping business, what could be better than close association with a man of Uncle Obadiah's proven business acumen. To a certain extent, his uncle also would fill the vacancy left by the death of his father.

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT





FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1739

A well-known captain, [James Brown](#), had begun a trading business in 1723 and soon married the daughter of an important [Rhode Island](#) merchant, Hope Power. James died prematurely in this year because he had attempted to lift too much at a weight-lifting contest at a local fair (suspecting that what had happened was that he had ruptured his spleen, he left instructions for his body to be opened and examined after death). In the inventory which was made of his estate, we find listed alongside line items for sundry swine and pairs of oxen a line item for “4 Negros” worth collectively £300 — with no indication of their age or gender or origin, or even their names. (We may suppose that these four individuals would, at the age of Moses Brown’s majority, be transferred to be his property, and would then be among the slaves whom Friend Moses would manumit, but we do not have evidence for such an identification.) His brother Obadiah Brown who had captained the negrero sloop *Mary* on its venture in the [international slave trade](#) would bring James’s sons [Nicholas Brown](#), Joseph Brown, and [John Brown](#) into the business at their shop on Towne Street (South Main Street, [Providence](#)). Later a 4th brother, [Moses Brown](#), at this point still an infant (“Nick and Josie, John and Mosie”), would join them. By 1796 they would have taken a partner, Thomas Poynton Ives.

1739. A public ferry was established where Washington bridge now is, at India Point.

**LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?
— NO, THAT’S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN’S STORIES.
LIFE ISN’T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.**



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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1742

By this point the overseers of the Pennsylvania public school system had four different types of school in operation in Philadelphia. All were [Quaker](#)-dominated and all were open to the general public. There were primary schools for teaching the trivium — reading, writing, and arithmetic. There was a secondary school teaching English and math. There was a vocational school offering training for business, for surveying, and for carpentry. There was a “Latin School,” preparing young men for college. They operated under a logo that enjoined “Good Instruction is Better than Riches” and “Love One Another

A Moravian Seminary for Women founded in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

[Friend Anthony Benezet](#), a schoolteacher at Germantown, accepted a position at the Friends’ English School of Philadelphia (this was to become the William Penn Charter School).



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1746

Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) urged the various out-of-town meetings in Bucks, Chester, and Old Philadelphia (now Montgomery) counties to assist each other in establishing schools for their children, employing “such masters and mistresses as are concerned not only to instruct your children in their learning but are likewise to bring them to a knowledge of God and one another.”

QUAKER EDUCATION



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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1754

[Friend Anthony Benezet](#) left the Friends' English School to set up one of his own in Philadelphia, providing girls with an opportunity for an “advanced learning in English” — the first public girls' school in America.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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1755

At some point during his teenage years [Moses Brown](#) became as enthusiastic as many other New Englanders about the prospects for the local production of [silk](#) fabric, through the growing of silkworms fed by local [mulberry](#) bushes (I will insert the record in this year, for convenience). This misplaced enthusiasm would not ever, however, result in significant financial loss in the case of this particular individual.

THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1760

March 15, Saturday: [Moses Brown](#)'s apprenticeship ended and he received his inheritance from his father, [James Brown](#), who had died in 1739 while Moses was still an infant. The inheritance included a farm from his father's estate of 145 acres in Providence Neck on which there had been four slaves, so, possibly, it also included some or all of these slaves. Moses, a [Baptist](#) of [Rhode Island](#), would during this year be accepted as a full partner in Obadiah Brown & Co. He would take charge of the firm's spermaceti works, an 11-acre operation at Tockwotton below [Providence](#) that utilized slave labor.)

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

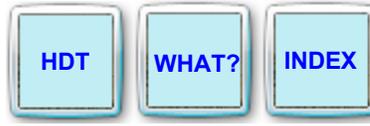
GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1762

June 17, Thursday: Obadiah Brown died. [Moses Brown](#) was made the executor of his estate. The Obadiah Brown & Co. firm of [Rhode Island](#) was divided among the surviving four brothers Moses Brown, Nicholas Brown, [John Brown](#), and Joseph Brown ([James Brown](#), Junior having died early), and renamed as Nicholas Brown & Co.

In roughly this timeframe, [Moses Brown](#) copied the coat of arms of a Brown family of Essex, England (with which the Brown family of [Providence](#) had no apparent tie), to create a design for the wedding silver he was ordering from a Boston silversmith. The design featured a spreadeagle above three lion paws, with a motto “Gaudeo” meaning “I rejoice.” Later, [John Brown](#) would also adopt this as his coat of arms (except that for “Old Thunder,” a more appropriate motto might have been “Audeo,” meaning “I hear my roar”).

**WHAT I'M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF**



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1764

January 1, Sunday: [Moses Brown](#) got married with his 1st cousin Anna Brown (1744-1773), daughter of Obadiah Brown and Mary Harris Brown.

The cantata Singet um einander TWV 1: 1347 by Georg Philipp Telemann was performed for the initial time, in Hamburg.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart performed on the organ before King Louis XV of France in the chapel of the Palace of Versailles. The Mozart family attended a court dinner.

Gli stravaganti, ossia La schiava riconosciuta, an intermezzo by Niccolò Piccinni, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Valle of [Rome](#).

January 7, Saturday: Because the men known as Székely refused to join the Hapsburg armed forces, Austrian soldiers killed 200 of them at Madéfalva, Hungary (Siculeni, Romania). The surviving Székely would flee into Moldova and Bukovina.

Christoph Willibald Gluck's opéra comique La rencontre imprévue to words of Dancourt after Le Sage and d'Orneval was performed for the initial time, in Vienna's Burgtheater.

The [Providence, Rhode Island Gazette and Country Journal](#) itemed coyly that:

LAST Sunday Evening M^r. MOSES BROWN, of this Place, Merchant, was married to Miss NANCY BROWN, (Daughter of the late OBADIAH BROWN, Esq;) an agreeable young Lady, with a handsome Fortune.¹⁵



MOSES BROWN

15. I do not know why Moses Brown's first cousin Anna Brown, daughter of Obadiah Brown, his first of three wives, is described in this journal announcement as "Miss Nancy Brown." –Is "Nancy" sometimes a synonym for "Anna"? This portrayal is copied from a watercolor originally painted by Joseph Partridge of Providence, Rhode Island in the 1820s on the basis of a sketch made during Moses's life — a watercolor which was donated to the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1907 by Obadiah Brown Hadwen and now hangs in the John Brown mansion. It omitted the growth on the end of Friend Moses Brown's nose, which has been described as the size and color of a small cherry, and since the Kouroo contexture uses a "warts and all" approach, that detail has been added back into the portrayal.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1765

August 28, Wednesday: During the [Middle Passage](#) of the [Sally](#) from the Guinea coast of Africa toward the slave plantations of the West Indies, Captain [Esek Hopkins](#) of [Rhode Island](#) had encountered a considerable amount of illness and disability among the white seamen of his crew. Also, three more members of the cargo had succumbed. He had therefore pressed four of the seemingly compliant male blacks of the cargo into service abovedecks, and they had seemed to be making themselves helpful with the sails. In the language of the time “he was obliged to permit some of the slaves to come on deck to assist the people.” However, these four men had been merely biding their time, and on this day attempted to set free the other surviving blacks of the cargo. To reassert control the crew needed to fire upon their assets, killing eight outright and wounding a number of others, two of whom would also eventually die during the remainder of the voyage. In addition, some of the blacks leaped overboard in the midst of the ocean and, their heads bobbing in the swell, could not be retrieved. The venture’s opportunities to offer profit to the [Providence](#) firm of [Nicholas Brown](#) and Company were beginning to seem rather marginal.¹⁶

TRIANGULAR TRADE

During the remainder of the voyage, some additional members of the cargo would perish through refusal to accept nourishment.

DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.

16. At the end of the voyage, only 108 of the original 196 would be deliverable to their new slave lives in America. The slaves had been acquired along the coast of Africa for about £5-£10 each or a total of about £1,500 and the survivors were disposed of for about £20 each or a total of about £2,000, a gross profit of about £500, but from such a gross figure must be subtracted all the considerable expenses of the voyage and of crew salaries and of not being able to use the ship for any other purpose for a year. All told, the Browns of [Providence](#) would lose £9,000-£10,000 during this particular sailing venture. [Moses Brown](#) would later point out that overall, their firm’s slave trade with the [Mary](#), the [Wheel of Fortune](#), and the [Sally](#) had resulted in loss rather than in the adding to of the Brown family assets, despite the fact that of the brothers, [John Brown](#) individually would see fit to continue in this trade.

We need not mention how Disagreeable the Nuse of your Luseing 88 slaves is to us & all your Friends, but your Self Continuing in Helth is so Grate Satisfaction to us that we Remain Cheirful under the Heavy Loss of our Ints.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1767

May: [John Brown](#) and [Moses Brown](#) were engaged in a campaign to bring universal public education to the children of [Providence, Rhode Island](#). At this point Moses called publicly for a property tax that would support this, citing as his justification not the personal needs of the town's poorer children but instead the chronic need that the town's businesses was experiencing, for young workers of an improved educational background and greater employee capabilities.¹⁷

THE BROWN BROTHERS

November 9, Monday: A list of the "rateable estate" of [Moses Brown](#), including his share of the property of Nicholas Brown & Co, included not only land, mortgages, and livestock, but also "4 Negro Men and One Girl." (In the inventory which had been made of his father's estate, we find listed alongside line items for sundry swine and pairs of oxen a line item for "4 Negros" worth collectively £300 — with no indication of their age or gender or origin, or even their names. We may hypothesize that these four individuals had, at the age of Moses Brown's majority, been transferred to him with the farm property, and would then be among the slaves whom Friend Moses eventually would manumit, but we do not have evidence for such an identification.)

SLAVERY

17. It is clear from the architecture proposed, that at this time the brothers were thinking of a co-educational school that would teach girls as well as boys, albeit separately, but were also thinking of a racially exclusive school that would of course be utilized only by the children of the white citizens.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

1768

January 1, Friday: A month earlier, [John Brown](#) had carried along the town meeting of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), and a decision had been made that the town would make education available to all the town children. This had become a source of concern for the proprietors of private schools already in existence, and in addition, to the shock of [Moses Brown](#), had become a source of concern for “the poorer sort of people” — precisely the families whose children would most have benefitted. (Was it because these lower income families simply could not afford to lose the pittance of weekly wages that their small working children could bring home?)

[THE BROWN BROTHERS](#)

This follow-on town meeting attempted to cope with the controversy by voting for the construction of one 2-story brick schoolhouse, with tax monies to be supplemented by private subscription.

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT



February: After the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) town meeting voted the construction of one 2-story brick schoolhouse, with tax monies to be supplemented by private subscription, [John Brown](#) and [Moses Brown](#) had gone to work and arranged that this Town School House replace the ruins of the old town courthouse. The supplemental moneys would come from family members, and from friends of the Brown family.

[THE BROWN BROTHERS](#)

Instruction was to take place on the ground floor, with the upstairs floor would be devoted to private offices. Construction would require two years.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

July 6, Monday: At the Ephrata Community in what is now Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Johann Conrad Beissel died. He had been born in Eberbach in Germany and had come to Pennsylvania in 1720, and in 1732 had established his semi-monastic community at Ephrata, known as “Camp of the Solitary,” a community which by the time of his death had come to include not only a monastery, “Brother House,” but also a convent, “Sister House.”



[COMMUNITARIANISM](#)

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), [Moses Brown](#) wrote to document to his brothers formally, that “my health is so impaired as to be much injured by a close attention to any kind of business, and I have concluded to leave the care and charge of my part of the business of the company this summer and fall, among you.”

[THE BROWN BROTHERS](#)

November 20, Sunday: Cudge Brown, a slave of [Moses Brown](#), got married with Phillis. They would live near what is now the [Moses Brown School](#) and Providence Friends Meetinghouse on [Providence's East Side](#). Their grandson [William J. Brown](#) would make a record of this family history in his autobiography, THE LIFE OF [WILLIAM J. BROWN](#), OF [PROVIDENCE](#), R.I.; WITH PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF INCIDENTS IN [RHODE ISLAND](#), a book that would be published in [Rhode Island](#) in 1883, and then republished in 1971, and then again, this time in paperback, in 2006:

PAGES 32-35: My grandfather was married to Phillis, November 20th, 1768, and they went to keeping house, living in one towards the north end of Olney street, owned by Mr. Brown, where he kept his teams. Newport, his oldest son, was born April 22d, 1769. Rhoda, his oldest daughter, was born September 27th, 1776, and Noah, my father, was born September 20th, 1781. James was born November 17th, 1788....¹⁸

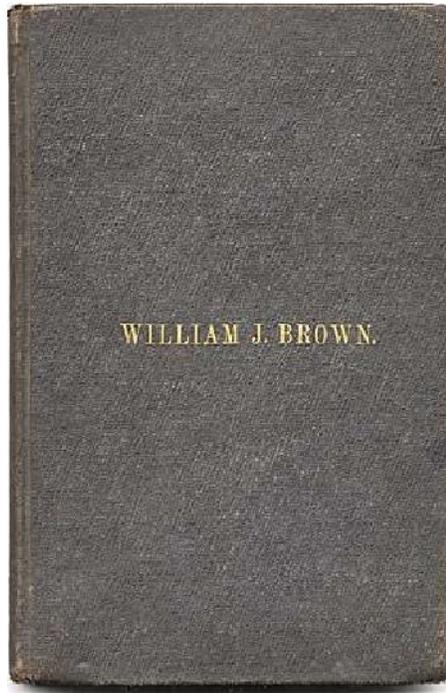
18. The cover of the paperback would refer to this volume as “A DIARY OF A FREE BLACK MAN.” [William J. Brown](#), whose ancestry was not only African (Cudge Brown and Phillis) but also native American (Thomas Prophet), did not consider himself a black man but rather a man of color. It should be pointed out, also, that his thrice-published writing, like the memoir of Benjamin Franklin, was not ever a “DIARY” nor even based upon such a record, but instead qualifies as a late-life “autobiography” or “memoir” created directly for publication.



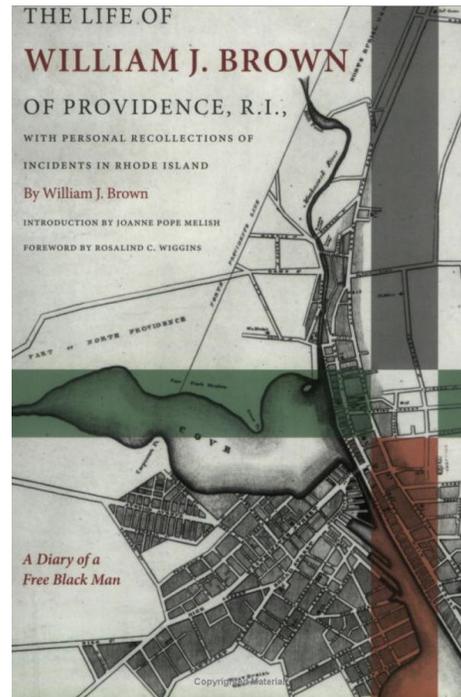
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1ST EDITION



3D EDITION



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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1769

On the site of the old county house that had been destroyed by fire in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), toward the base of Meeting Street, a brick schoolhouse was erected. The lower floor of this structure would be used as a grammar school, while the upper floor would be leased to the [College of Rhode Island](#) pending the availability of its University Hall at the top of the hill.

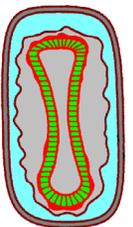
In this year the colony enacted a rather indefinite law granting tax exemption to property devoted to religious, charitable, and educational purposes. (This law would be made more specific in 1829 by limiting the tax exemption for religious and educational property to the buildings devoted to such purposes and the land on which they stood. Then, in 1850, largely in response to the presence of large numbers of Roman Catholics in the state, this tax exemption would be further limited, to three acres of land, so far as such land was used exclusively for religious and educational purposes, but this new stipulation would immediately become a political issue and would be repealed, with all such land “not leased or rented” being again free from taxation, and then 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 blow in the opposite direction and the 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 the anti-Catholic prejudice would again surface, 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 such institutions, and the school property of the Catholic church and other semi-private educational 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 [Providence](#) Town Meeting voted to set aside a place at which inoculations against the [small pox](#) could be carried out. (By some reports, it would be [Moses Brown](#) who would introduce smallpox vaccination to [Rhode Island](#), but as yet I have been unable to substantiate such an assertion — or even to verify whether the reference it makes is to the process of variolation or the process of vaccination.)

It should be mentioned that Moses was no dummy. He understood, for instance, that when stem rust damaged his grain crops, the infection was spreading from nearby [barberry](#) bushes. (The growing of barberry bushes had for this reason been forbidden in Middletown, Rhode Island since 1766, and in 1772 the General Assembly would extend this ban to all of Rhode Island.)

Upon application of any freeholder, the person upon whose grounds they grew was required to cut them up within one month, or, in case of his neglect to do so, they might be destroyed by warrant from a justice, at the expense of the complainant.





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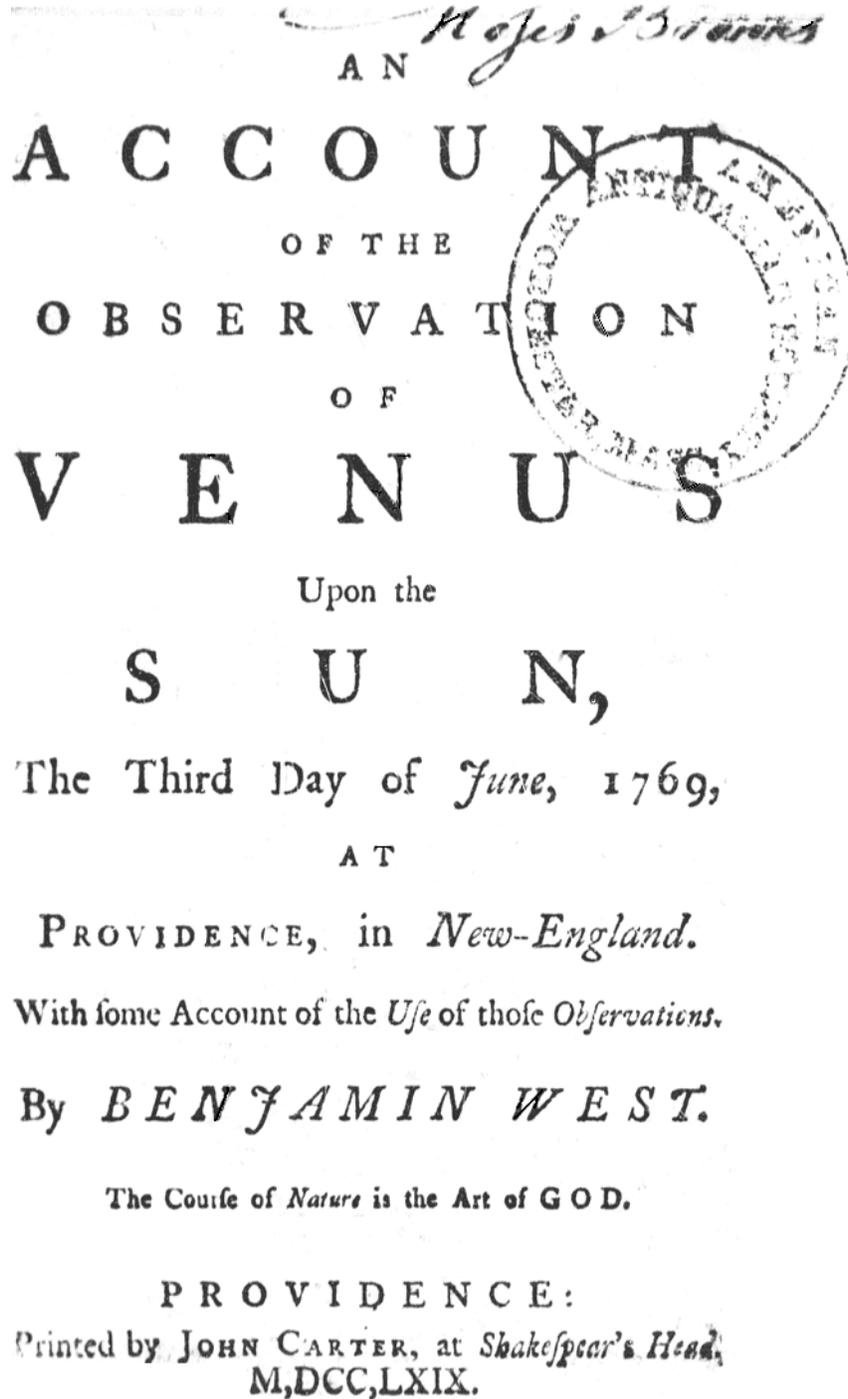


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June 3, Saturday: [Moses Brown](#) would obtain his own copy of the observations made in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) on this day (although I really do not know whether he himself took part in the observations):



ASTRONOMY



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1770

In 1750, [Friend Anthony Benezet](#) had set up in own home an evening class for slave children.



In this year was founded, with the support of the Religious Society of Friends, the Negro School at Philadelphia.

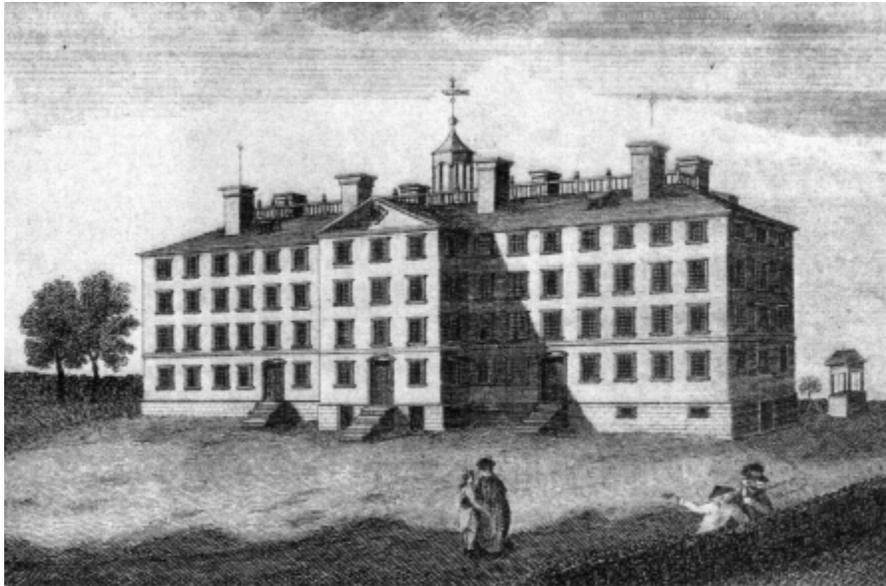


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May: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#) on an 8-acre parcel of land “above the smoke & stir of this dim spot” atop what is now known as College Hill purchased partly from [John Brown](#) and [Moses Brown](#), the cornerstone of the [College of Rhode Island](#)’s permanent home, the College Edifice, was laid. The Brown brothers’ firm Nicholas Brown & Company had charge of the construction. At least two slaves contributed their labor to the effort.



[BROWN UNIVERSITY](#)

This was to be a scale model of Nassau Hall in [Princeton](#), and was to consist of five stories, of brick with a cement covering, sporting a small belfry, in all 150 feet long by 46 feet deep — considerably smaller than the [New Jersey](#) original but by far the largest building in this small colony, its previous largest building having of course been the Quaker [Great Meetinghouse](#) at Newport. Rotund little [John Brown](#) got down into the cellar excavation to help lay the first granite block in the southwest wall.

(Nassau Hall at Princeton University)

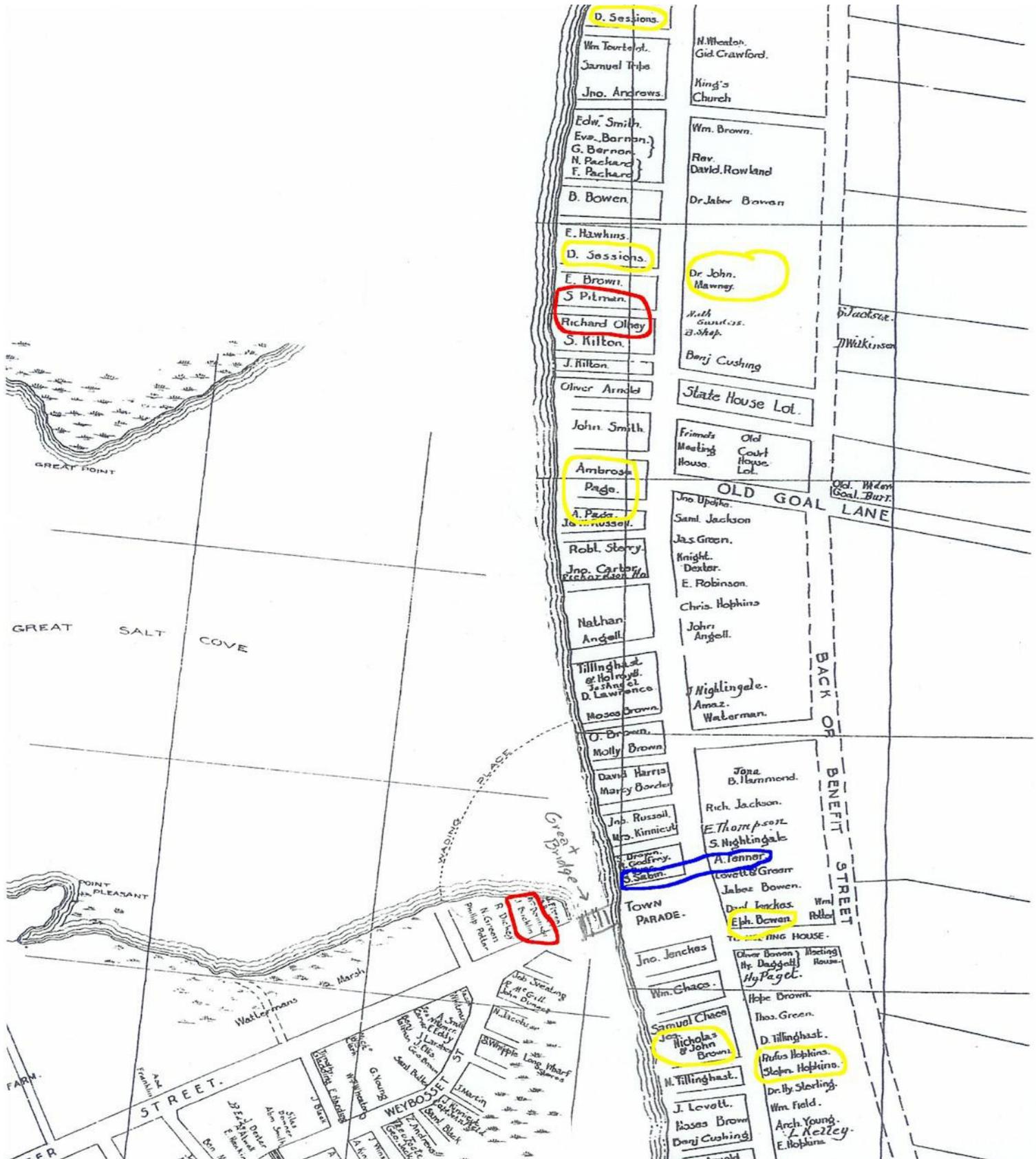


July 3, Tuesday: [Moses Brown](#) alleged, in a report to the British government, that damages reported to the properties of [Newport, Rhode Island](#) Tories during three days of rioting in 1765 over the Stamp Act had been greatly exaggerated. The colony shouldn’t be required, therefore, to pay the reparations that had been demanded:

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Moses was, then and in the years after, a true believer. He always felt compelled to act from a morally righteous position, to the point that he would bend the facts if they didn't agree.



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1771

July 15, Saturday (this is the accurate date): The only son of [Moses Brown](#) and Anna Brown of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Obadiah M. Brown, was born. (It would be in his adulthood that he would add “Moses” as his middle name, and use Obadiah M. Brown as his signature, in order to distinguish himself from his cousin Obadiah Brown the son of Joseph Brown.)



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

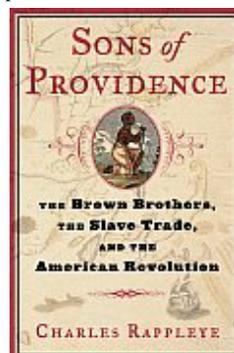
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1772

Spring: John Merritt,¹⁹ an English gentleman of fortune who owned about 213 acres of pastureland on the back side of Prospect Hill above [Providence, Rhode Island](#), looking out to the east over the Seekonk Estuary, an estate known as “Elmgrove” featuring a 3-story Greek-style mansion with a columned porch and several outbuildings, died. [Moses Brown](#), who by this point had put together a collection of parcels amounting to about a hundred acres adjacent to this estate on Providence Neck, purchased everything at auction for £1,250

19. Referred to incorrectly by Charles Rappleye in *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* as “William Merit”: see <http://www.lexisnexis.com/academic/guides/Aaas/ast010A.pdf>.





FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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sterling.



NOTE: The outline of the present Wayland Historical District corresponds roughly with the original extent of the Moses Brown farm, known as Elm Grove (north from East Manning and Pitman streets to the current Laurel Avenue, and east from Arlington Avenue, Lloyd Avenue and Hope Street to the Seekonk River).

The Elmgrove mansion was near the corner of Wayland Avenue and Humboldt Avenue (the street with the S-curve). On a following screen is a satellite image of the district in which this mansion was situated. An 1875 map documents the existence of ten dwellings and five outbuildings within that area, but nowadays there are only three of these residences still in existence: the Sam T. Browne house, the John M. and Lydia Rounds house, and the David W. Hoyt house. (I have not been able to establish the year in which Moses Brown's Elmgrove mansion burned or was razed.)

When the Moses Brown farm was originally platted in about 1850, it was divided into lots averaging 5,000 square feet in area (Orchard Avenue, a unique section, has house lots averaging more than 15,000 square feet). Most of this development was in the south part of the district. The lots did not sell well because there was a legal shadow over the property, Moses Brown having intended that Moses Brown Jenkins inherit the farm when he turned 21 in 1856. Development stalled until an agreement was reached between Moses Brown Jenkins and his sister. Then in 1872, the lots on streets that were drawn in later, mostly in the northern portion of the district, typically averaged, by way of contrast, less than 4,000 square feet.

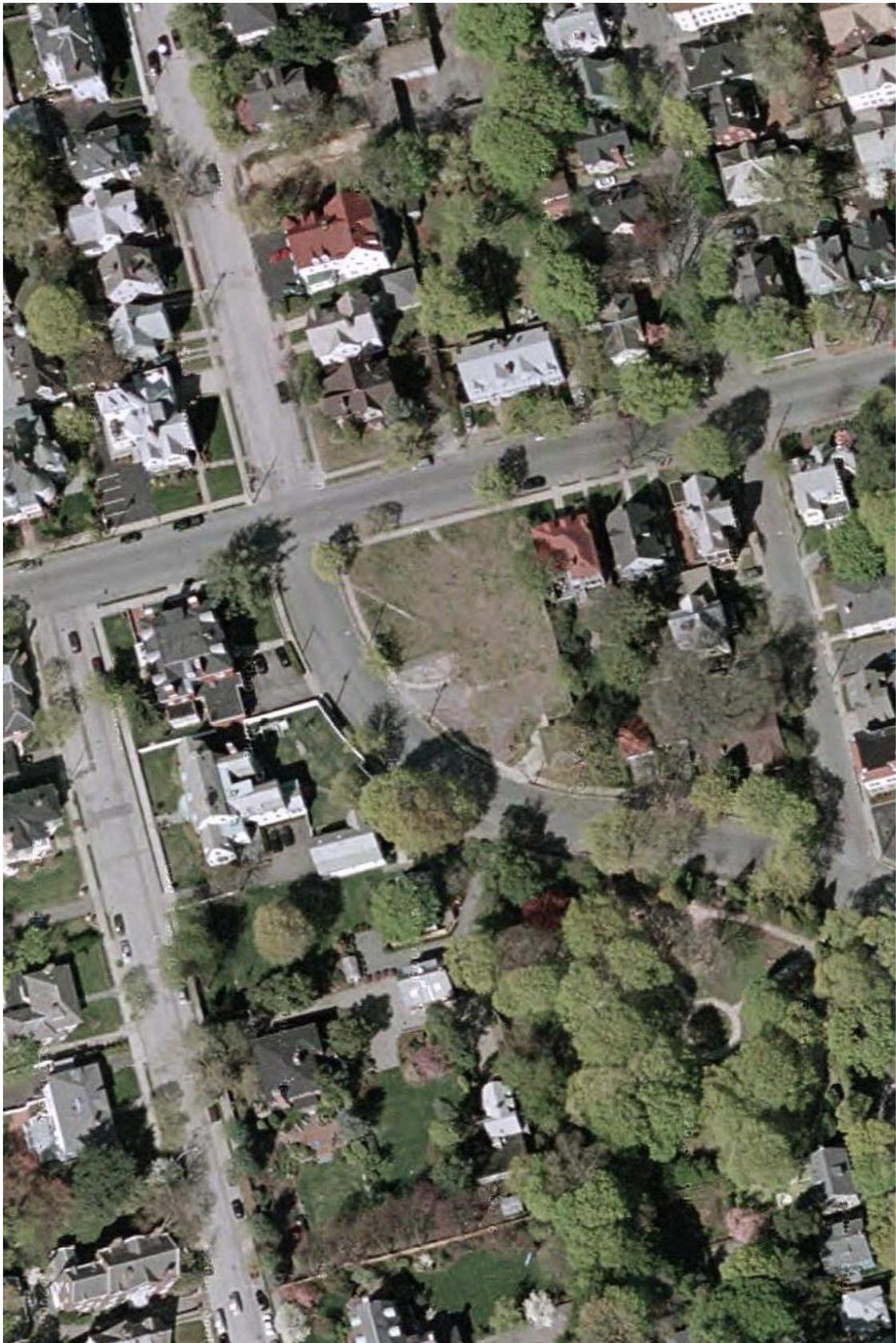
During the days of horse trolleys, the north-south streets such as Hope and Brooke predominated over the east-

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west streets such as Angell and Waterman simply because the draft horses were unable to pull a trolley directly up College Hill (to get to the crest of College Hill, the lines needed to proceed up the ridge, starting at Wickenden Street and aiming north). It was not until the 1860s that Angell and Waterman streets became prominent. In 1891, with cable-car lines being put on Angell and Waterman, the Moses Brown Farm Plat was again replatted, and it was in 1895 that the one block of Miles Avenue was created (Blackstone Boulevard was also created during the 1890s, with in 1904 a trolley line running down its center where now there is a walkway).

The Miles Avenue Garage, occupying both sides of Miles Avenue, first appears in a map dating to 1918. The owner was C.O. Gorman, who also owned apartment buildings directly to the east and south of his auto-repair facility.

June: By this point [Moses Brown](#) and his family had moved into the mansion “Elmgrove” on Providence Neck above [Providence, Rhode Island](#), looking out to the east over the Seekonk Estuary, the estate which he had purchased that spring at auction.



It was the portion of the building to the east that had been constructed by the English gentleman. Once, while a Quaker was being entertained in that portion of the edifice, he would object to the niceness of its Corinthian architecture and the elegance of its fittings. Friend Moses would pull out his clasp knife, open it, and hand it to the man, inviting him to mar “whatever offended his spiritual eye” — ever afterward, he would display this damage to the family’s guests with “pleasant humor.”



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

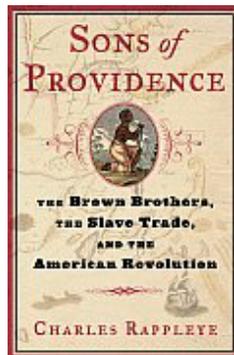
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September: One afternoon, while [Moses Brown](#) and his wife [Anna Brown](#) were visiting friends in [Boston](#), Anna collapsed. The doctors were mystified. The remainder of her short life would be spent in a sickbed.

Charles Rappleye, in *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006, page 129), has recently alleged that the involvement with Quakerism at the 2d Friends meetinghouse inside [Providence, Rhode Island](#) (the structure at North Main Street between South Court Street and Meeting Street, a structure that would be sold and relocated in 1844 and then rebuilt on that site), an involvement with Quakerism that had begun in about this timeframe, was not limited to Moses Brown and Anna Brown, but extended to Anna's sister [Mary Brown](#) and to [John Brown](#)'s wife Sarah Smith Brown:

Late in her life, Anna had begun to attend Quaker services, along with her sister Mary and John Brown's wife, Sarah. The meetinghouse was in Providence, though the services were conducted under the auspices of [Smithfield](#), a small town to the east²⁰ that was home to the Monthly Meeting. With Anna bedridden and declining, Moses began attending there as well.



Adequate sources are not cited, and the only source I have been able to imagine for the above conceptualization of the situation by Rappleye, is that he has perhaps incautiously extrapolated from Mack Thompson's *MOSES BROWN: RELUCTANT REFORMER* (Chapel Hill NC: U of North Carolina P, 1962), adding to Thompson's description his own entirely unfounded presumption that Mrs. John Brown had before her wedding been a Quaker girl — for on page 74 of Thompson we find the following:

After Moses moved her from Boston to Providence, he sat throughout the fall and winter by his wife's bedside and watched her die. Anna knew that she was dying and as her time approached she turned more and more to God for comfort; Moses turned with her. In search for some explanation for his wife's affliction, and no doubt in an attempt to find some comfort for his grief, he began to attend religious services at the Quaker meetinghouse in Providence. Anna could not, of course, accompany him, but he brought Friends to visit her and silent meetings were held by her bedside; together they moved away from the Baptist Church and toward acceptance of Friends' doctrines.

20. Yet another incautious error: the two [Smithfield](#) meetinghouses are to the north and northwest of Providence, definitely not to the east of Providence.



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Thompson added on page 77 that:

Why Moses turned to Quakerism for spiritual comfort rather than to the family church is difficult to determine. Undoubtedly he was influenced by his wife who became a spiritual Quaker before she died, and by her sisters, Mary and Phebe, and John's wife, Sarah, who were attending Friends' meetings as early as the winter of 1773, and perhaps earlier. Even that old rascal Uncle Elisha had "got religion," and was attending Friends' meetings. Perhaps Moses followed their lead.



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1773

February 5: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Anna Brown, wife of [Moses Brown](#), who had collapsed some five months earlier, died.

In [Newport](#), Captain Pollipus Hammond died shortly before midnight. This 72-year-old's eyes were closed by his friend, the Reverend [Ezra Stiles](#). The gravestone of this negro skipper still stands for our edification in the Common Burying Ground:



“Here lieth the body of the ingenious Capt. Pollipus Hammond who died February 5, 1773.
The hoary head is a crown of glory if it be found in the way of righteousness.”

(His friend the Reverend Stiles, pastor of the 2d Congregational Church on Clarke Street in Newport, had invested in a slave trading voyage in 1756 that had returned him a 10-year-old boy. The Reverend would not free his slave until becoming president of Yale College in 1777. Noting that Hammond had disengaged himself from the [international slave trade](#) during his mid-50s, this [slaveholding](#) Reverend reassured himself with the conceit that had his dead friend “his Life to live over again, he would not choose to spend it in buying and selling the human species.”)

THE TRAFFIC IN MAN-BODY



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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November 4, Thursday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), [Friend Mary Brown](#), sister-in-law of prominent businessman [Moses Brown](#) who had also converted from the [Baptist](#) Church, convinced that “the holding of Negros in slavery however kindly used by their masters and mistresses has a tendency to encourage the iniquitous practice of importing them from their native country, and is contrary to that justice, mercy and humanity required of every christian,” made out for her [slave](#) Eve, with Eve’s child also bearing the name Eve, “being all I am possessed off of that Nation and Colour,” a [manumission](#) document:

*Whereas I am sensible the Holding of Negros in Slavery However Kindly
Used by their Masters and Mistresses has a Tendency to Encourage the Iniquitous
Practice of Importing them from their Native Country and Is contrary to that -
Justice Mercy and Humility Required of Every Christian I do by these -
Manumit and Set free from my self my Heirs Eve an Negro Woman -
With her Child Eve being all I am Possesed off of that Nation and Colour and
[“ordain” has been written between the lines, in pencil]
from a Sense of duty for her Long and faithful Service I hereby Oran Direct
and Injoin Upon My Heirs to treat her Kindly and on all Occasions Assist and
Support her with the Needful Comforts of this Life Trusting in her Continued
Endeavours for Her Support in Honnest Labour as far as [“Labour” marked out] age and Circumstan^{ces}
Will admit And in Respect to the young Child born in My family I desire and
Direct she may be bro^t up and Educated Suitably for her future Maintainance
and due Improvement of the dvantage [sic] of a sober and Religious Education In
Witness Whereof Therunto Subscribe my Name and Affix my Seal this -
[“This” marked out] fourth [sic] day of the Eleventh Month AD 1773
In presence of W^m Barker
Moses Brown
Mary Brown [LL]
Recorded Nov^r. 16. 1773 By J. Angell Clerk*

(Refer to Moses Brown Papers, Msc. MSS, B-814, Box 2.)

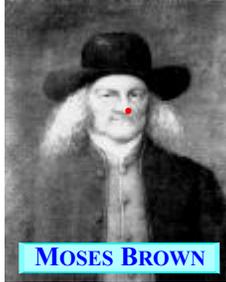


FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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November 10, Wednesday: Prominent businessman [Moses Brown](#), owner or part owner of ten human beings other than himself (Moses Brown Papers, II, 18), stricken with grief at the premature death of his wife (his 1st cousin Anna Brown, daughter of Obadiah Brown, who had died on February 5th), on his way to becoming a [Quaker](#), made out a [manumission](#) document for his [slaves](#) awarding them the use of one acre each of his 200-acre farm



“Elmgrove” on the back side of Prospect Hill for their sustenance (Bonno, about 34 years of age, Ceafer, 32 years of age, Cudge,²¹ 27 years of age and born in [Rhode Island](#), Prime, about 25 years of age, Pegg, 20 years of age and born in [Providence](#), and Pero, about 18 years of age), and also for all slaves in whom he held a part interest (Yarrow, about 40 years of age,²² Tom, about 30 years of age, Newport, about 21 years of age, and Phillis, about 2 years of age, who had been born in his family):

21. A grandson of Cudge, [William J. Brown](#), would describe [Moses Brown](#) as a person who “considered himself a Christian man,” choosing that description over the simpler “Christian man” or the more specific “Quaker.” Why would he write in such manner, in regard to this benevolent rich white man who had freed his grandfather? William would point out that Moses had come to believe that Cudge had paid for himself by his satisfactory labor and that it would therefore be improper to hold him any longer in slavery, despite the fact that Cudge was “his property.” Professor Joanne Pope Melish’s explanation of this would rely upon the concept of compensated emancipation: “Like most antislavery advocates of his time, Moses Brown believed that slavery was sinful but could not conceive of slaves as having rights to freedom that superseded the property rights of their owners. Moses Brown freed his slaves in an act of compensated emancipation — after the labor of his slaves had ‘paid off’ their purchase price.”

22. Yarrow had been owned jointly by the Brown brothers, who worked him at their spermaceti candle works in today’s Fox Point. Moses released his quarter share but [John Brown](#) of course refused to reciprocate. From his deathbed Yarrow would have the last word: “Tell him to come and take his quarter or I shall soon be free.”

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Whereas I am clearly convinced that the Bying and Selling of Men of what Colour Soever as Slaves is Contrary to the Divine Mind manifest in the Conscience of all Men, however some may smother and neglect its Reprovings, and being also made Sensible that the Holding Negroes in Slavery, however Kindly Treated by their Masters has a Great Tendency to Inccourage the Iniquitous Traffick and Practice of Importing them from their Native Country, and is contrary to that Justice, Mercy and Humi=
=lity Injoind as the duty of every Christian. I DO therefore by these presents for my Self my Heirs & Mannumit and set Free the following Negroes being all I am Possesed of or am any ways Interested in Viz. Bonno an African aged about 34: years Ceaser aged 32. years. Cudge aged 27. years Born in this Colony. Prime an african aged about 25. years. Pero an African aged about 18. years. Pegg Born in this Town aged 20: years. And One Quarter being the part I own of the three Following africans viz - Yarrou aged about 40: years. Tom aged about 30: years. and Newport aged about 21: years - And a Child Phillis aged about Two years born in my Family, she having the same Natural Right, I hereby give her the same power as my own Children to Take and Use her Freedom Injoining upon my Heirs a careful watch over her for her Good, and that thay in case I be taken hence, give her Suitable Education, or if she be bound out t[hat] they take care in that and other respects as much as to White Children hereby expressly prohibiting my Self and my Heirs from Assuming any further power over, or property in her - And as all prudent men Lay up in Times of health and Strength so much of their Honnest Earnings as is over and abov[e] their needful expences for Cloathing &c, so it is my direction and advice to you that you deposit in my Hands such a part of your Wages as is not from time to Time Wanted, taking my Receipt therefor, to put to - Interest and to apply it for your Support when through Sicknes or otherwise you may be unable to Support your Selves, or to be applyd to the Use of your Children (if Free) and if not to the purchasing their Freedom and if not wanted for these Useses to be Given in your Wills to such persons or for Such Uses as you may think proper. And for your Incourigement to such Sober Prudence and Industry. I hereby Give to the First Six named (the other three having Good Trades) the use of [one] acre o[f] land as marked off on my Farm as long as you Imp[rove] It To Good purpose. I now no Longer consider you as Slaves nor my Self



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as your Master. but your Friend, and so Long as you behave well may you expect my further Countenance support and Assistance. And as you will consider this as an Instrument of extending your Liberty, so I hope you will always Remember and Practice this my earnest desire and advice that accompnys it, that you use not the Liberty hereby granted you, to Licenciousness, nor take ceation or opportunity thereby to go into or practice the Lusts of the Flesh, the Lusts of the Eye, or pride on any Ceation or Temptation, but be more cautions than heretofore, and with Love serve one anoth, and all Men, not only to please Men, but as Fearing and Reverancing that Holy God who Sees all the Secrit Actions of Men And receive your Liberty with a Humble sence of its being a Favor from the Great King of Heaven and Earth, who through his Light that Shines upon the Consciences of all Men. Black as well as White, and thereby sheweth us what is Good, and that the Lords requireings of each of us to do Justice, to Love Mercy and to Walk Humbly with our God. To the Cause of this my Duty to you, be therefore Watchful and Attentive to that Divine Teaching in your own Minds, that convinces you of Sin, and as you Dutefully Obay its enlightnings and Teachings it will not only cause you to avoid Open Profaneness and Wickedness, as Stealing, Lying, Swaring, Drinking Lusting after Woman, Frelicking and the Like Sinful Courses, but will Teach you and Lead you into all that is Necessary for you to Know, as your Duty to the Great Master of all Men, for he has said respecting Mankind -- Universally, I will put my Law into their Inward parts, and Write it in their Hearts and thay shall all Know me from the Least to the Greatest, & therefore you cant plead Ignorance that you dont know your Duty to the God that made you, because you cant all read his Mind and Will in the Scriptures, which is indeed a great Favor and Blessing to them that can. Understand and Obay: But there is a Boock within you that is not confined to the English or any Language, and as you silently and Reverently wait for, its openings and Instructions it will Teach you and you will be enabled to understand its Language, and as you are carefull to be Obedient thereto and Often Silently read it, you will be able to Speak its Language-- with African as well as English Tongues to your poor Fellow Countrymen To the Glory of him who has Wrought your Deliverance from Slavery To, whose Gracious Care and protection I Commit and Fervently Recommend

Recommend you and bid you Farewell

Signed this 10th of the 11th Month: 1773 *Moses Brown*

in presence of

Mary Brown

}

Recorded Nov. 12th 1773



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November 12, Friday: Prominent businessman [Moses Brown](#), on his way to becoming a [Quaker](#), placed the [manumission](#) deed he had made out on all his [slaves](#), and on all slaves in whom he held a part interest, on file on page 73 in volume 6 of the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) probate records.

November 16, Tuesday: [Mary Brown](#), sister-in-law of prominent businessman [Moses Brown](#), placed the [manumission](#) deed she had made out on her [slaves](#) on file on page 75 of volume 6 of the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) probate records.

According to Mack Thompson's *MOSES BROWN, RELUCTANT REFORMER* (Chapel Hill NC: U of North Carolina P, 1962, pages 107-9):

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION presented members of the Society of Friends with a terrible dilemma: whether to remain faithful to their religious principles as Quakers or to their political principles as Englishmen or Americans. As Quakers they condemned war as morally and spiritually evil; it resulted in hatred and bestiality and could not possible solve anything - good could not come from evil. In Pennsylvania as early as 1756 many Quakers had withdrawn from participation in political affairs because of the government's policy of violence toward the Indians and its involvement in the French and Indian War.²³ Although Quakers had become unpopular because of their pacifism they had not been molested. In Rhode Island they had fared pretty much the same.

The approaching conflict with England, however, placed Quakers throughout American in a much more difficult position. Both royal and revolutionary governments began to question the sincerity of Friends' neutrality, and the Quaker elders and ministers began to enforce more strictly the Society's testimony against war. Unlike Friends in the middle colonies, New England Quakers had no great leaders such as the Pembertons to hold the members steady. When the war broke out in New England, Friends there began to grope for leadership and guidance.

For Moses Brown the decision as to what course to follow was not an easy one. Privately he sympathized with the American cause. This was to be expected. He had been deeply involved in agitation against British policy during the preceding decade, and it would have been odd indeed if he had become a Tory. Had he not become a Quaker, he would probably have joined his brothers in their support of the Revolution. His position was therefore a difficult one, and he stated his views on public events carefully. In a long letter to his good friend James Warren, member of the Massachusetts revolutionary Provincial Congress, he tried to define his position: "My religious principles thou art I presume sensible does not admit of my interfering in war, but my love for my country, and sence of our just rights is not thereby abated, and if my poor abilitys could be

23. Thayer, Theodore. *ISRAEL PEMBERTON: KING OF THE QUAKERS* (Philadelphia PA, 1943, pages 18-96, 113-22)



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any way subservient to a happy change of affairs nothing on my part shall be wanting."²⁴

Publicly, Moses was until early 1776 an advocate of compromise and reconciliation. He sounded more like a British sympathizer than a neutral Quaker. In April 1775 he pleaded for "a restoration of all those benevolent and kind offices that hath for more than a century subsisted between this and our mother country."²⁵ In an appearance before the Providence town meeting he endorsed the sentiments of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Earl of Dartmouth, who urged an "accomodation of the unhappy differences subsisting between the two countries." At the same meeting he persuaded the council to postpone the erection of an artillery battery until the General Assembly could meet to discuss proposals for reconciliation. At one point in his campaign he traveled to Boston to lay before the Massachusetts military governor, General Gage, more than half a dozen letters from men in Providence and Newport urging peaceful reconciliation.

24. May 11, 1775. MOSES BROWN MSS (John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Volume II, page 32)

25. Roelker, William Greene. "The Patrol of Narragansett Bay (1774-76)," *Rhode Island History* 8 (1949): 45-63

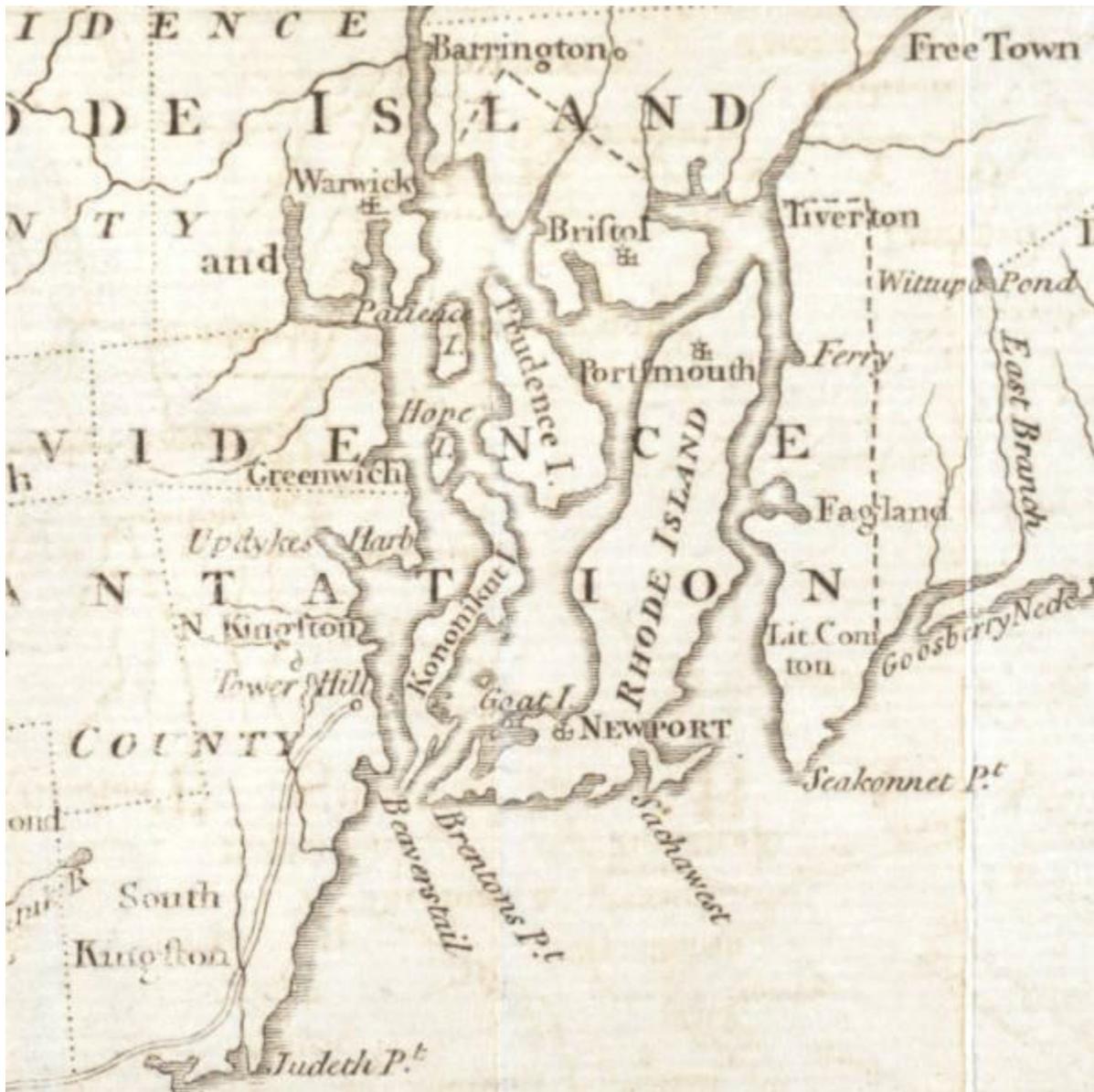
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1774

The colony of [Rhode Island](#) at this point had 59,707 (57,707?) residents residing in 29 incorporated municipalities. Sixteen of the native Americans still alive were in [Bristol](#) (by 1785, this group would have dwindled to two survivors).



The census showed that, in [Providence](#), there were 4,321 persons divided into 655 families living in 421 dwellings.



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Of the Brown brothers, only [Friend Moses Brown](#) had divested himself of his slaves. [John Brown](#) owned two, [Nicholas Brown](#) owned two, and Joseph Brown owned four. In their circle of friends and associates, [Stephen Hopkins](#) owned six (the present Quaker conceit that we had been forced to disown Governor Hopkins for merely refusing to free but one slave, who was perhaps a woman in a special situation, clearly per this census data amounts to no more than that, a present Quaker conceit), [Esek Hopkins](#) owned four, Daniel Jenckes owned four, Jabez Bowen owned one (Prince, who would in 1784 cut a deal for his achieving his freedom as of 1787), and the editor of the Providence [Gazette](#), John Carter, owned one or more.

[THE BROWN BROTHERS](#)

During this year Mrs. Ann Smith Hopkins, the Quaker wife of the [Rhode Island](#) Governor Stephen Hopkins who had in the previous year been disowned by the Religious Society of Friends, herself a “birthright Friend,” applied to her Quaker fellows for a routine letter of introduction to be used during her travels in Pennsylvania—a letter stating her to be in good standing in her home worship group—and the Quaker monthly meeting in [Smithfield](#), after duly considering her request, declined to provide this First Lady of Rhode Island with any such routine endorsement.

March: [Moses Brown](#) had married with his first cousin Anna Brown, daughter of Obadiah Brown, and had assisted in the creation of the [College of Rhode Island](#) in [Rhode Island](#).

[BROWN UNIVERSITY](#)

The death of this first wife in the previous year had caused him to reconsider his priorities, and at this point he requested membership in the [Smithfield](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

There is preserved an interesting receipt from a former slave, Bonno, dating to this month. On one side it bears the inscription:

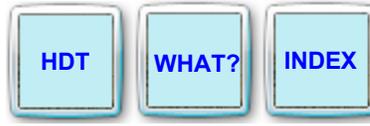
*Rec^d of
Bonno
1774*

On the other side it bears the inscription:

*Providence 21st of 3 Mo 1774
Received of Bonno Forty Dollars Cash, which
I am to put to Interest and Account therefor with
the Principal, Agreeable to My proposal and
Advice at his Freedom. as Witnefs My hand

40 dollars Mofes Brown
gave ?act urth?*

(The reading of this last line is uncertain.)



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April 24, Sunday: The [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) formally accepted [Moses Brown](#) as a convinced [Friend](#).²⁶

April 28, Thursday: [Moses Brown](#) and Joseph Brown rode from [Providence](#) to Roxbury, near [Boston](#). In the following week Joseph would travel from there west to [Concord](#), to bring his brother [John Brown](#)'s situation to the attention of the influential American insurgents who were centering there, while Moses would attempt to persuade the British military officers in the port to release their prize prisoner. Meanwhile, Governor Wanton of [Rhode Island](#) wrote Captain James Wallace, urging John's release. The British captain, however, was recording in his diary that the sloops he had seized in the [Newport](#) harbor were filled with cargo "bound to Providence for the rebel army" — clearly, he intended that not only that contraband but also the vessels themselves were going to be forfeit, and that he was going to treat his captive as in rebellion against the monarch, and that this privateering booty was going to make his personal fortune.

THE BROWN BROTHERS

May 1, Sunday: The [Newport Mercury](#) reported the arrest of [John Brown](#):

Mr. Brown was sent off in one of the Packets, to be carried to Admiral Graves, at Boston, without having a single reason given for his being thus violently seized and carried out of this colony, contrary to all law, equity and justice.

RHODE ISLAND

At [Boston](#), [Moses Brown](#) was attempting to obtain his brother's release:



When Moses attempted to enter Boston on Monday, no arrangements had yet been made for passage into town. But Moses was pragmatic by nature and simply ignored what must have seemed an intractable impasse. He first located the officers in charge of the rebel army, explained his business, and obtained a permit to pass through the lines. At dusk, leading his horse by the reins, Moses ventured into the no-man's-land between the opposing forces on the Neck. Before him stood elaborate earthworks, burnished brass cannon, and scowling, red-coated sentries. Stepping toward the British position, he "sent in some of my letters and got the promise of return from some of the officers," as he recalled the episode in a letter years later. As the minutes passed, darkness fell on the Neck, and Moses realized he could no longer wait for an answer. He saw an officer decked out in gold braid and approached him from behind. It was a rash step, Moses recounted. "When he turned and saw me near he was so angry that he gave me such a blast as I never had or heard before." But Moses answered with an exercise of Quaker principles that seems borrowed from the annals of some Oriental

26. Imagine how good they must have felt about acquiring a new celebrity Friend, a richy-rich one — after having been driven so recently to shun their previous celebrity Friend, the most politically powerful person of the colony!



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martial discipline. "I stood and felt in a humble state of mind and as soon as he had left room for a word I replied to him in such a manner and with information of my message that he came down in mind as low as he was high before and in a very kind and gentle manner offered and did take a message." This was certainly an unusual adaptation of Quaker orthodoxy, but also a deliberate one. As Moses put it to Nicholas a week later, "I have seldom seen a patient, humble mind more needed nor more useful and as in proportion I have found this to be my state way was made for success." Indeed, moments after calming the officer he had startled at the fortified gate, Moses was escorted to a meeting with General Gage, becoming "the first man that entered Boston after the Lexington battle." ... In fact, Gage was being less than candid with Moses. The general had already decided to release John Brown, and wrote that day in a reply to Governor Wanton that "I don't ... see any reason for his detention." But he didn't mention that to Moses just yet, apparently hoping to use John's arrest as leverage to guarantee his cooperation. Instead, Gage scheduled another meeting for the next morning and dispatched a guard as an escort. Moses rode through the iron gates of Province House that night feeling optimistic for his brother's release, and for his peace plan as well.

May 2, Monday: At [Boston](#), [Moses Brown](#) continued to petition General Gage for his brother [John Brown](#)'s release — quite unaware that the British authority had already decided that he would not be held:



Moses returned the next day to find that John's ship had arrived at Boston harbor but that he remained a prisoner. Moses met with Gage, who regaled him with insights into the proceedings of the first Continental Congress, still in session at Philadelphia. Gage was clearly toying with him — possibly to better gauge his political leanings— for he still did not divulge his plans for John, and sent Moses to speak with Adm. Samuel Graves, where he got "a rather cool reception." ... The admiral sent Moses under escort onto a flat skiff that rowed out into the harbor and up to the imposing bulk of Graves's flagship, the new fifty-gun frigate *Preston*. Once aboard, Moses was led between decks, where he found his brother tearful and distraught. John had heard no good news and seen no friendly faces since his arrest six days before. Whatever distance there was between the brothers was erased in that instant. "He was glad to see me as he ever was," Moses wrote later. ... Armed with Oliver's statement [Peter Oliver, chief justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, a Tory], Moses hurried back through the besieged city for a return visit to Graves. "When I went next to the admiral he appeared in quite a different state," Moses recounted, "and very kindly sent an officer with me to his barge to bring my brother on shore." Before John's release, however, there was a final audience with General Gage. There, Gage and Moses executed a scheme the two had apparently devised in the course of their



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meetings: as a condition of John's release, both the Brown brothers were to sign a pledge that they would lobby the General Assembly in Rhode Island to intercede between the patriots in Massachusetts and the British forces in Boston.

This, of course, contradicted John's clear record as rebel activist and his strong inclination to resist the mandates of the crown. But it fit nicely with Moses's effort to derail a revolution that was still gathering steam, and he was glad to enlist Gage in forcing John to speak for moderation. For John, forced to choose between freedom and a trial for treason, this was an easy decision: he signed without protest.

General Gage closed the deal with a flourish. He ordered that John's flour be returned to him along with an award for damages, that the *Abigail* and the *Diana* both be released from navy custody, and that Captain Wallace receive an official reprimand for arresting John Brown. Admiral Graves added a cheerful note, encouraging John to meet with Wallace personally to settle their differences, and the brothers were released that evening.

May 3, Tuesday: The brothers [Moses Brown](#), Joseph Brown, and [John Brown](#) had spent the night together at Roxbury. On this morning they set out for [Providence, Rhode Island](#). Joseph was riding one of the horses while John, he of the ample girth, was seated in the saddle of the other horse. Moses, of slighter build, had to perch astride that horse's buttocks:



John had to be thankful just to be at liberty. His luck had held, his brother had come through for him; he even had the saddle for the journey home. His stretch in custody was a harrowing one, shadowed by the prospect of an English jail or a noose. He'd spent a week at sea in irons, being forced to taste the hell that the new slaves experienced in the holds of his own Africa-trade ships. Now all that was behind him. He was back on his feet, with a full pardon in his pocket.

Moses, too, had reason to rejoice. He'd sprung his brother from dire circumstances, and done so on his own terms. There was no resort to arms, no exchanging prisoners of war. One of the tenets that had drawn Moses to the Quaker faith was its clear conviction that reason and truth would always reveal the proper course of action. Moses felt that America was being "Drove and Hurried with the Spirit of these Unhappy Times" and felt the only safe course was to resort to reasoned dialogue. In freeing John, he'd deployed his convictions like weapons, and slipped through enemy lines like a spirit. More than that, he'd won John's sworn pledge to join him on the side of moderation, and support an intervention that Moses believed could break the impasse at Boston and head off the insurrection. The calamity of war might yet be avoided.

How much they shared, and how much they kept to themselves, the brothers did not record, but their spirits were high when they arrived in the gloomy streets of Providence around eleven o'clock that night. They were greeted by the huzzas of a crowd



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that spilled out into the cool of the evening from the Golden Ball, Sabin's Tavern, and the other haunts along Main Street. As word spread of John's pardon and the reprimand to Wallace - though not of the oath signed by the brothers- they were hailed as patriot heroes.

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May 4, Wednesday: The good news was out, in [Rhode Island](#), that the brothers [Moses Brown](#) and Joseph Brown were back from Massachusetts, and that somehow they had managed to bring the captured leading citizen [John Brown](#) home with them. The Reverend [Ezra Stiles](#) registered the news in his diary as "A humbling stroke for the Tories!"

[THE BROWN BROTHERS](#)

(Subsequent to these events, 16-year-old [Elkanah Watson](#) would become apprenticed to [John Brown](#).)

May 17, Tuesday: Pugachev's forces captured Fort Magnitnaia (Magnitogorsk).

Carrying a much more aggressive colonial policy, General Thomas Gage arrived in [Boston](#) to take up the post of royal governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, replacing [Thomas Hutchinson](#) (this former royal governor would depart for England, where he would act as an adviser to King George III and the British ministry on American affairs, uniformly counselling moderation).

A former resident of the Caribbean island of Antigua named Jacob Schoemaker, a [slaveholder](#) who had for a time been living in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) off the earnings of a black father named Tom whom he had rented out, had died intestate. Tom, therefore, along with his wife and their four young children, had therefore by default become the property of the town. [Moses Brown](#) had therefore petitioned the town meeting, to set free this family of six. On this day an emergency meeting of the citizens was called to consider the new Boston Port Bill, which had closed the harbor of [Boston](#) pending reimbursement to the East India Company for the cargo of tea it had lost in the Boston Tea Party. Moses Brown managed to get the two issues, of freedom for Americans and of freedom for Tom and his family, tied together in the minds of the citizens attending the town meeting, by proclaiming how very "unbecoming" it would be for American freemen to be, simultaneously, American enslavers. The resolution voted therefore contained a clause, "and they do hereby give up all claim of right or property in them." Going even beyond that particular, "Whereas the inhabitants of America are engaged in the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as personal liberty is an essential part of the natural



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rights of mankind, the deputies of the town are directed to use their endeavors to obtain an act of the General Assembly prohibiting the importation of Negro slaves into this colony; and that all Negroes born in the colony, should be free, after obtaining to a certain age.” This was the first such call by any assembly in the American colonies. The new Quaker, [Friend Moses](#), would soon be sitting down with the recently disowned Quaker, [Stephen Hopkins](#), to craft a bill banning the slave trade in Rhode Island, and this is the language which the two of them would come up with: “Whereas the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties ... as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; Therefore, be it enacted ... that for the future, no Negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free.”

[THE TRAFFIC IN MAN-BODY](#)

[FREE PAPERS](#)

June: [Friend Moses Brown](#) and the recently disowned Quaker governor [Stephen Hopkins](#) took the language of their proposed slave-trade bill to the assembly in [Newport, Rhode Island](#): “Whereas the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties ... as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; Therefore, be it enacted ... that for the future, no Negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free.”²⁷

[THE TRAFFIC IN MAN-BODY](#)

[FREE PAPERS](#)

[SLAVERY](#)

“An Act prohibiting the importation of Negroes into this Colony.”

“Whereas, the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which, that of personal freedom must be considered as the greatest; as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; –

“Therefore, be it enacted ... that for the future, no negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free, so far as respects personal freedom, and the enjoyment of private property, in the same manner as the native Indians.”

“Provided that the slaves of settlers and travellers be excepted.

“Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave brought from the coast of Africa, into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this colony, and which negro or mulatto slave could not be disposed of in the West Indies, but shall be brought into this colony.

“Provided, that the owner of such negro or mulatto slave give bond to the general treasurer of the said colony, within ten

27. The bill would, of course, be gutted. Its practical import would be nil.



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days after such arrival in the sum of £100, lawful money, for each and every such negro or mulatto slave so brought in, that such negro or mulatto slave shall be exported out of the colony, within one year from the date of such bond; if such negro or mulatto be alive, and in a condition to be removed."

"Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave that may be on board any vessel belonging to this colony, now at sea, in her present voyage." Heavy penalties are laid for bringing in Negroes in order to free them. COLONIAL RECORDS, VII. 251-3.

[1784, February: "It is voted and resolved, that the whole of the clause contained in an act of this Assembly, passed at June session, A.D. 1774, permitting slaves brought from the coast of Africa into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this (then colony, now) state, and who could not be disposed of in the West Indies, &c., be, and the same is, hereby repealed." COLONIAL RECORDS, X. 8.]

Governor [Stephen Hopkins](#)'s biographer William Eaton Foster would in 1883 totally misconstrue this, perpetrating any number of blunders. In his "Appendix U" to STEPHEN HOPKINS, A RHODE ISLAND STATESMAN, entitled "Stephen Hopkins's Connection with the Society of Friends," on page 247, he would misrepresent Hopkins as the sole author of this legislation, misrepresent the enactment of the legislation as effective when in actuality it changed nothing, misrepresent the Religious Society of Friends as a group that had "membership" when in fact in this century there was never any such a thing as a membership list, misrepresent the Quaker process of disownment as a cancellation of membership (which it most decidedly never was), pretend there to be an equivalence between societal policymaking (freeing other white people's black slaves at these other people's expense) and personal estate planning (freeing one's own black slaves at one's own expense) when in fact there was never any such equivalence, and pretend that simply because the governor continued to call himself a Friend after his disownment, he could not have been struggling to free himself from religious influence in the sphere of political decisionmaking.

Stephen Hopkins was in 1774 the author of the humane act of legislation by which the enslaving of negroes for the future was prohibited in Rhode Island. In 1772, however, a strong pressure had been brought to bear on him to set at liberty one of his own slaves. He did not accede to this demand. Subsequent efforts, continued from month to month, appear to have been equally unavailing. Final action was taken by the Society of Friends, March 25, 1773, when his membership was cancelled. What may have been the ground for Stephen Hopkins's refusal is not easy to determine. It was apparently not a disapproval of emancipation, as is seen by his action elsewhere. Nor can it be set down to a desire to break with the Friends, for he still continued to call himself a Friend.



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This is almost, but not quite, as egregious as a lecture I went to in April 2007 at the Moses Brown School, offered by a Quaker genealogist who suggested that Hopkins's heart had been in the right place because 1.) allegedly at one time in his earlier life he had manumitted one of his slaves (providing no evidence whatever that this assertion was accurate, over and above offering no argument whatever that this actually demonstrated Hopkins's good-guy status), because 2.) allegedly Hopkins was refusing to manumit only one slave, who was a woman named Hannah (according to the census of 1774, he owned six), and refused freedom to her only because this would not have served the needs of her two small children (offering no evidence whatever that the number was singular rather than plural, or that the person was female, or that the name this genealogist assigned was accurate, or that said children actually existed), and because 3.) in Hopkins's will his slaves were to be set free upon his death (offering no evidence whatever that this will mentioning the liberation of an indefinite but plural number of slaves was effectively implemented, when we know very well that in the process known as probate no mere statement of intention could have manumitted a slave unless and until all creditors to the estate had previously been paid off, and paid off in full).

August: [Friend Moses Brown](#) petitioned that the town meeting of [Providence](#) direct the delegates that town would send to the General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#), to support the bill he had authored in suppression of the participation of local citizens in the [international slave trade](#), and local abolition of [slavery](#), and [manumission](#) of existing local slaves. The town meeting rejected his abolitionist petition, instancing that such a proposal contained "matters of great importance" that might well "materially affect the property of individuals" — and that therefore "the freemen of the town" deserved to have more time to organize themselves in opposition to it, and protect their property rights and their American freedoms.

Fall: The enslaved man Tom, along with his wife and their four young children, had been freed in May by order of the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) town meeting after their [slaveholder](#) owner, Jacob Schoemaker, had died there intestate. However, it came to appear that that town action had been premature: creditors from the island of Antigua in the Caribbean claimed this family as part of the Schoemaker estate there. If they had belonged to the estate rather than to the town of Providence, they could not be set free by the town, and still were slaves, and pertained to new white inheritors. The creditors wanted this New England town to return their property. Papers were served upon [John Brown](#) who left it to his brother [Nicholas Brown](#) to handle the matter. Nicholas consulted with brother [Moses Brown](#) and composed a letter of response.

[THE BROWN BROTHERS](#)

What these inheritors in Antigua were told was that "there is no getting possession of them without an expensive suit" which, at least in the case of the four minor children, would be unlikely to succeed before a New England jury. Nicholas intimated that his brother Moses had "told me lately, he would be at the expense of a lawsuit himself before they should be carried away to the West Indies as slaves." He added (how truly or falsely not now known) "Brother John Brown much of the same way of thinking."

[FREE PAPERS](#)



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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September 12, Monday: The town meeting of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) repudiated [Friend Moses Brown](#)'s petition that the town's delegates to the General Assembly be instructed to support the bill he had authored in suppression of the slave trade, and abolition of [slavery](#), and freeing of slaves. The town meeting rejected this by voting "that no instructions be given to the representatives of this town regarding the slave import bill." Of course, no on the [manumission](#) of local slaves. Of course, no on the local abolition of the institution of human enslavement. But also, no on the suppression of local participation in the [international slave trade](#). No, no, and no. There was something very fundamental about the concern that the white citizens of Providence had about liberty, that Moses simply had not grasped. What he had not grasped was that their concern about liberty was entirely a concern about their own liberty, and not at all a concern about somebody else's liberty.

December 15, Thursday: On page 315 of Volume 19 of the property transactions of the city of [Providence](#), Caleb Greene, Merchant of [Rhode Island](#), under a Sense of the Oppression and Injustice of Buying and Selling of Men as [Slaves](#) and a Desire to remove as far as may be the evil Practice hereof by complying with the Manifestations of that divine Light which has shined and is shining in the Minds of Men, to bring them out of Darknefs, and if adheard to, will lead them into all Truth, did in the presence of [Friend Moses Brown](#) and of Friend Job Scott (1751-1793), give up his partial rights in the person of a certain Indian or Mulattoe, Peter, and give up his partial rights in the person of a Negro Man, Venter, thus [manumitting](#) the said Peter and Venter and confirming their Freedom to the fullest (admittedly only partial) extent within the said Caleb Greene's power:

To all People to whom these Presents shall come, Know Ye that I Caleb Greene of Providence in the Colony of Rhode Island, Merchant, under a Sense of the Oppression and Injustice of Buying and Selling of Men as Slaves and a Desire to remove as far as may be the evil Practice hereof by complying with the Manifestations of that divine Light which has shined and is shining in the Minds of Men, to bring them out of Darknefs, and if adheard to, will lead them into all Truth ~ Do hereby absolutely release, manumit and discharge forever One Quarter Part of the Time and Service of a certain Indian or Mulattoe of what Nation he may be called and known by the Name of Peter of whom Robert Livingston and James Lovet claims the other three Quarters ~ And also one half Part of Negro Man named Venter the other Half being claimed by James Lovet, hereby fully confirming to them the said Peter and Venter their Freedom so far as the Parts aforesaid from the Claim and Demand of all Persons by, from or under the; Defining their Health and Prosperity. I the said Caleb Greene have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this fifteenth Day of the twelfth Month 1774.

*Signed Sealed & Delivered
in Presence of
Moses Brown
Job Scott*

Caleb Greene (L.S.)

*The foregoing is a true Copy. Recorded 13th May 1778
Witness Theodore Foster Town Clerk*

(interconnecting script)



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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1775

During the American Revolution there were some Americans who considered it necessary to guard the shoreline of the mainland, and [Nantucket Island](#), against seizure of property by British foraging parties based on [Aquidneck Island](#) in [Narragansett Bay](#). We don't know how effective this fighting was in protecting American property from the British, but Quakers of course refused to contribute to the cost of such protection, and therefore there were 496 cases of seizure of the goods of peace-testimony Quakers in [Rhode Island](#) by local revolutionary authorities. In 1778 the property thus distrained from members of New England [Yearly Meeting](#) by local American authorities amounted to £2,473, while in 1779 the total distraint rose to £3,453. For instance, here are some of the revolutionary seizures made of property of ancestors of [Quaker](#) families of [Providence](#) monthly meeting:

- In 1775, local revolutionary authorities seized a dictionary belonging to Friend Thomas Lapham, Jr. of [Smithfield](#).
- In 1775, local revolutionary authorities seized 5 pairs of women's shoes belonging to Friend Paul Green of [East Greenwich](#).
- In 1776, local revolutionary authorities would seize the fire tongs of Friend Stephen Hoxsie of [South Kingstown](#), as he was the guardian of John Foster but John had not mustered during an alarm.
- Between 1777 and 1782, local revolutionary authorities would seize 7 cows, 5 heifers, and 2 table cloths belonging to Friend Simeon Perry of South Kingstown.
- In 1777, local revolutionary authorities would seize a mare worth £30 belonging to Friend John Foster of South Kingstown.
- In 1777, local revolutionary authorities would seize 3 felt hats belonging to Friend John Carey of [East Greenwich](#).
- In 1780, local revolutionary authorities would seize a silver porringer belonging to Friend Isaac Lawton of [Portsmouth](#).
- Between 1780 and 1782, local revolutionary authorities would seize 29 boxes of spermaceti candles, 20 yards of white linen sheeting, 14 yards of kersey, 16 sides of sole leather, a 3-year-old heifer, and 2 stacks of hay belonging to Friend [Moses Brown](#) of [Providence](#).
- In 1781, local revolutionary authorities would seize 9 sheep and 2 steers belonging to Friend Amos Collins of South Kingstown.
- In 1781, local revolutionary authorities would seize 2 ox chains and an ax belonging to Friend George Kinyan of [Rhode Island](#), because he had not been appearing at militia trainings.



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In addition to property seizures, in three cases a Quaker man who refused to participate in militia activities would be jailed. One of these men was Friend David Anthony of [East Greenwich](#). In each case the Friends would conduct an investigation to determine whether the person had acted in the spirit and manner of Friends, and if he had, would go to the General Assembly at [Providence](#) to petition the “tender consciences” of the lawgivers for his freedom.

Not all [Rhode Island](#) Quakers refused to participate in the civil unrest of the period but those who did participate in any way were always rigorously and promptly [disowned](#). Between 1775 and 1784, the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) would disown a total of 147 Quakers who had become involved in one way or another with the civil disruption. Among those [disowned](#) was, upon his own request, Major General [Nathanael Greene](#). (Less tolerance, in fact, was shown for those who deviated from the Peace Testimony than for those Friends who continued to hold slaves.)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

December 4, Monday: [Friend Moses Brown](#) wrote Governor [Stephen Hopkins](#) of [Rhode Island](#) in an attempt to dissuade him from “present measures,” those of the hostilities against England.

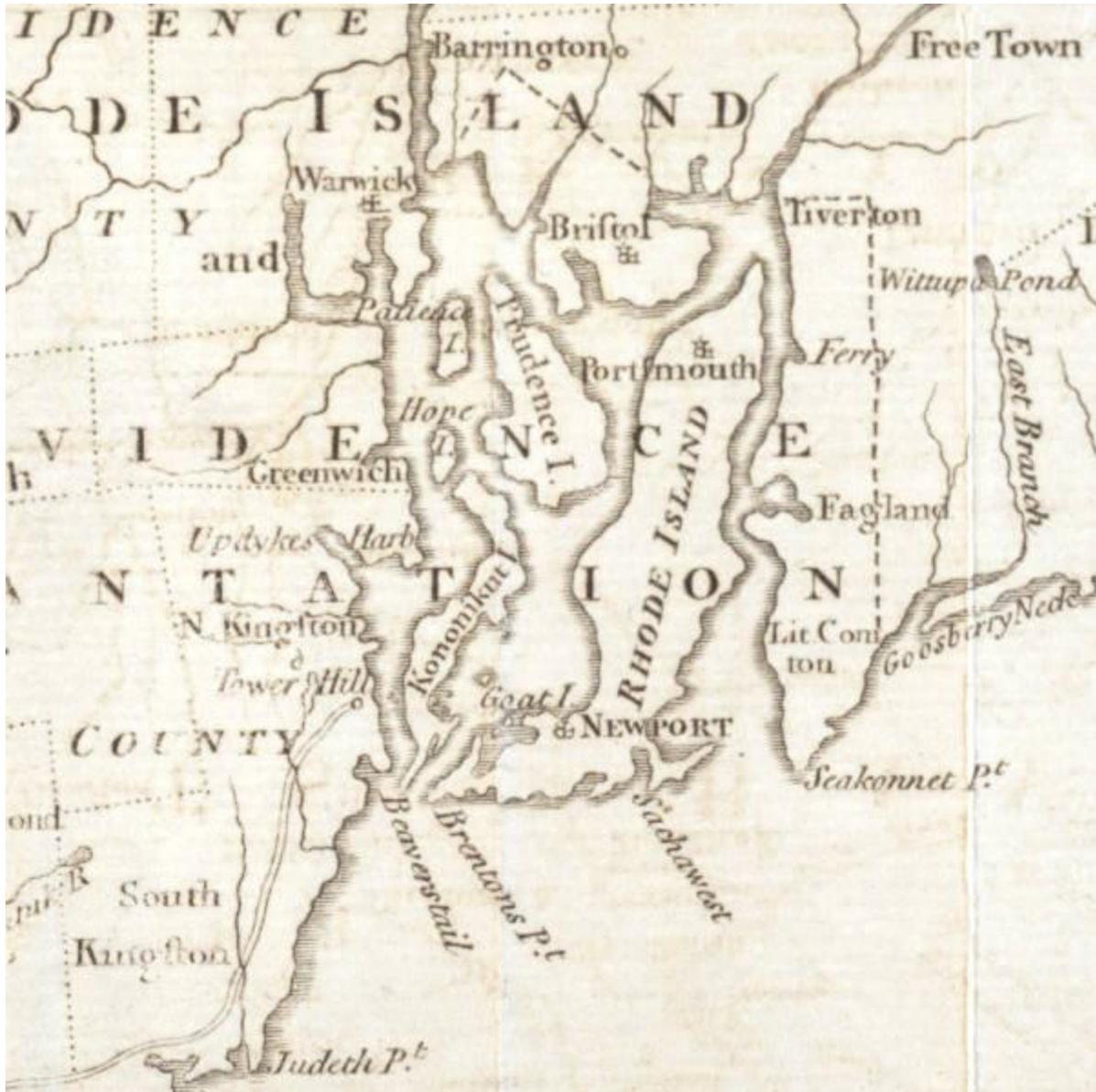
On about this day, [William Bartram](#) arrived on the Tallapoosa River. He would visit Fort Toulouse, Alabama Town, Muklasa, Tuckabatchee, Kolomi, and Atasi.

[BOTANIZING](#)

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December 13, Wednesday: Nathaniel Baker and Elizabeth Taylor of [Concord](#) filed their intention to marry (the ceremony would take place during February 1776).

The portrait painter Ralph Earl and the silversmith Amos Doolittle advertised for sale copies of a series of four engraved prints, in the New Haven newspaper at a price of six shillings the set, uncolored, “or eight shillings colored.” The engravings were of successive stages of the fighting in Lexington and [Concord](#) on April 19th, and were offered as “from original paintings taken on the spot.”



Note that these works of art bore no resemblance to what Brumidi would place on a wall of our nation's capitol,



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

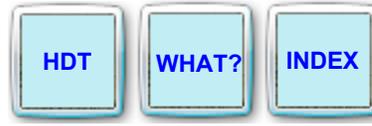
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Washington DC:



[Friends Moses Brown](#) and David Buffum rode from [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) to Roxbury, where they met three other Quakers of their Smithfield monthly meeting and spent the night. Among them they were carrying gold coins and other currencies amounting to what today would be more than \$4,000, money intended for poor relief. The next morning they would ride on into Cambridge to seek the permission of the siege commander, General George Washington, to cross military lines and enter the besieged city of [Boston](#).

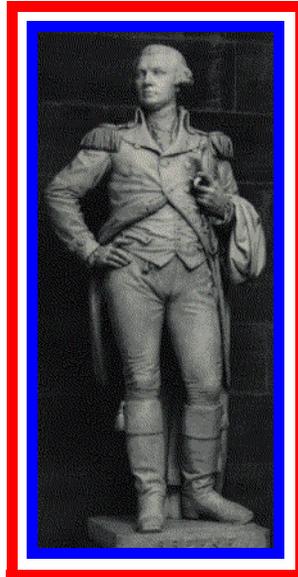


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December 14, Thursday: [Friends Moses Brown](#), David Buffum, and others of the [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends rode from Roxbury to Cambridge, carrying with them poor relief for Quakers inside the besieged city of [Boston](#) in the form of gold coins and other currencies amounting to what today would be more than \$4,000. In Cambridge they sought out the headquarters of the American siege commander, General George Washington, for a pass to cross the military lines and visit British General William Howe. The American commander indicated that first they would need to pitch their scheme to his logistics aide, Brigadier General [Nathanael Greene](#) (a birthright Quaker with a club foot who had renounced the faith and asked to be [disowned](#), having become fascinated by the efficacy and necessity of warfare, who had been directly promoted from private to brigadier general by Washington during the previous June).



Brigadier General Greene invited the Quakers to have supper with him, and listened to their plan. He wound up giving their plan the green light, telling them that so long as they “meddled not in the dispute,” they would be able to expect “protection from both sides.”

December 15, Friday: [Friends Moses Brown](#), David Buffum, and others of the [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends were escorted by the besieging Americans up to the British lines of defense around the city. There, British General William Howe refused to allow them permission to enter. The sheriff of [Boston](#) came to the fortifications to meet with them, and accepted a promissory note in the amount of £100, agreeing to deliver the relief funds to various needy Quakers inside the city.

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1776

October: At the women's meeting for business of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the upper meetinghouse in [Smithfield](#), "*Lydia Wilkinson continued to enform [sic] Patience and [Jemimah Wilkinson](#) of their being disowned from Friends and report to this Meeting.*"

There was, meanwhile, an outbreak of typhus in [Rhode Island](#), that evidently came with the *Columbus*, a ship of war carrying prisoners. As a girl, Friend Jemimah Wilkinson had experienced evangelical sermons by the Reverend George Whitefield and had been inspired by the female leader Ann Lee ("Mother Ann") of the Shakers. At about the age of 18, she had become involved with the New Light [Baptists](#) or "Rogerenes" of Ledyard, Connecticut. At this point, while suffering under the spiritual distress of being [disowned](#) by here monthly meeting of the Society and contemplating the long road of atonement and spiritual rectification that would be necessary before such a disownment could be erased, probably while in Ledyard, as a victim of the typhus epidemic she fell into a prolonged coma — and upon reviving, she would proclaim that her soul had gone to Heaven and had been replaced in her body by "Spirit of Life." God had sent this apparition to inhabit her body in order to warn earthly creatures of His impending wrath. Discontinuing the use of the name "Jemimah Wilkinson" and denominating herself instead "Publik Universal Friend," she would preach, attired in something suggestive of men's rather than of women's clothing, through Connecticut and Rhode Island. The preserved image we have of her portrays her while attired in a rather standard clerical gown and collar over her men's clothing:



For a time her friend [Moses Brown](#) had been taken by her pretensions, but at the point of her disownment, he was able to stand aside. Here is the account of this by the Los Angeles newsman and storyteller Charles Rappleye on page 187 of his recent *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006) — an account in which he has exaggerated some of the details (such as the precise number of hours that she was uncommunicative, and the conceit that she had been "pronounced dead") and gotten other details bass-ackward (for instance suggesting that she had been opposed to war when in fact she and her family were at odds with the Quaker Peace Testimony, sending a number of the Wilkinson sons to Washington's army):

Moses' quest for meaning drew him to another homegrown mystic during the early days of the war, a tall, striking woman named Jemima Wilkinson. As deep and stoic as was Job Scott, Wilkinson



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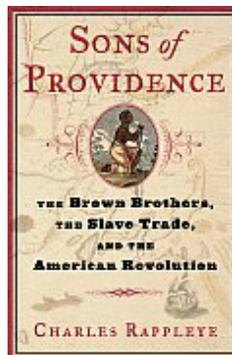
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was extravagant. She called herself "the Public Universal Friend," and mesmerized audiences for hours by proclaiming moral convictions she said were acquired by revelation, or simply by delivering from memory lengthy quotations from the Bible. Some of her contemporaries considered her a charlatan, but she had genuine charisma, and won a following among powerful people in Rhode Island, including several prominent judges.

Moses knew Wilkinson from her youth. Her father, a Quaker farmer, was a cousin to Israel Wilkinson, the ironworker long associated with the Browns, and also to Stephen and Esek Hopkins, connections that ensured her entrée to the elite families of Rhode Island. Jemima was intrigued early on by a variety of religious doctrines, including those of the New Light Baptists and the Quakers, but her transformation took place in 1776, when she contracted a case of typhus. Beset with fever and delirium, she was pronounced dead, but she arose after thirty-six hours, and proclaimed her own resurrection.

In the following months, Jemima Wilkinson renounced her former worldly identity and began holding ad hoc prayer meetings in country glades or borrowed meetinghouses. She preached a sort of radical strain of Quakerism, damning war, slavery, and matrimony in sermons that often ran over two hours. Her traveling services evolved into a sort of religious circus, featuring appearances by devotees who dubbed themselves Prophet Daniel and Prophet Elijah and who mimicked Wilkinson by professing visions and delivering messages from on high.

Moses was intrigued by Wilkinson and attended several of her meetings. He was impressed with her knowledge of the Bible, but more than that, Moses was drawn to her story of divine inspiration. From the time of his own revelation, while walking home from Anna's grave, Moses looked for similar signs of God's active hand. Another adherent was Moses' uncle Elisha Brown, who attended several of her meetings and, convinced "that she was a messenger from God," invited her to his home, where they spent several evenings discussing her message and the controversy she caused among Rhode Island Quakers. Fortunately for Moses, however, he could not accept her as a prophet, and when the New England Meeting formally ostracized Wilkinson and barred attendance at her meetings, Moses was able to watch the proceedings with a sense of bemused detachment.





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Jemimah would establish congregations at New Milford, Connecticut, and at Greenwich, Rhode Island. She did nothing to restrain enthusiastic followers who acclaimed her as the Messiah, and occasionally a stone would be thrown at her.

A memorandum of the introduction of that fatal Fever, called in the year 1776 the Columbus fever, since called the Typhus.... The ship called *Columbus* which sailed out of [Providence](#) in the state of Rhode Island, being a ship of war, on her return brought with her prisoners this awful and alarming disease of which many of the inhabitants in Providence died. On the fourth of the tenth month it reached the house of Jemima Wilkinson, ten miles from Providence.... A certain young woman, known by the name of Jemima Wilkinson, was seized with this mortal disease. And on the 2nd day of her illness was rendered almost incapable of helping herself. And the fever continued to increase until fifth day of the week, about midnight she appeared to meet the shock of Death; which (released) the Soul.

What was it she preached? –Generally, she favored celibacy and plainness of dress, and opposed slavery. As an intellectual record it's not all that impressive. She totally bought into the Puritan vision of the inherent depravity of humankind. Various [Quakers](#), especially those favorable to the American cause in the Revolution, would follow her in approximately a similar manner to the manner in which the Shakers followed Mother Ann Lee. The [Religious Society of Friends](#) would be disowning a number of these Friends as they made themselves guilty by association. Although her brother Stephen Wilkinson and sisters Mercy Wilkinson, Betsey (?) Wilkinson, and Deborah Wilkinson followed Universal Friend in her relocation to upstate New York, her father Jeremiah Wilkinson, who had admittedly at times served as her escort but had never been a convert, and her brother Jeremiah Wilkinson, eventually would resume association with the [Smithfield](#) Friends.



Jemima Wilkinson was born in Cumberland, Nov. 19, 1752, and is, without doubt, the most singular as well as celebrated female character Rhode Island has ever produced. When she was about eighteen years of age, she became very much impressed with matters of a religious nature. A great religious excitement prevailed about this time in the county of Providence, and soon spread itself all over the State, through the efforts and preaching of George Whitefield. Jemima became very much interested and a great change came over her life. From a gay, spirited girl she became a sort of recluse, and spent her time in the study of the scriptures and deep meditation.

In 1775 she was stricken with a severe fever, and during her illness she pretended to have a vision from on high, and received a call, as she was pleased to term it, to go out and preach to the sin-burdened world. She arose suddenly one night, demanded her clothes, and appeared to be in a trance. The next Sabbath she preached her first sermon under the old oak tree we have mentioned in another part of this work. Her words made a decided sensation upon her hearers. She styled herself the "People's Universal Friend," and ever afterward was known by that appellation. She travelled through the country preaching her peculiar doctrine and soon surrounded herself with many devoted followers. For some six years she made her home at Judge Potter's, in [Kingstown](#). The Judge was a wealthy land-holder and became one of her most devoted admirers. When others began to



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desert her and cry her down as an imposter and a selfish, scheming woman, the Judge became all the more infatuated, and no means were spared to sustain her cause and protect her from the calumnies of her enemies. Wherever she went, the Judge was her companion, and when she finally resolved to leave her native State and settle in the wilds of western New York, Mr. Potter was among the most prominent advocates of this movement. He at last became embarrassed financially, and his fine estate was sold, and in his old age he was compelled to live in straitened circumstances, a victim of infatuated devotion to this artful adventuress. She claimed for herself supernatural powers, and great crowds often congregated to witness some of her wonderful performances. She several times attempted to raise the dead, and her failures were attributed to want of faith in those who had assembled to witness the verification of her pretended supernatural powers. She removed with a few followers to Yales County, N. Y., and settled at a place which they called New Jerusalem. Here she spent the remainder of her eventful life, and died July 1, 1819. After her death her followers remained for several years and kept up their peculiar organization.

The history of this woman has been written by several different parties, and the fallacy of her pretended inspiration received the verdict it so justly merited. And yet, that she was a woman possessed of more than ordinary abilities and some admirable traits of character it would be more than folly to deny. She lived in an age when ignorance and superstition in matters of religion were more prevalent than now, and it is not strange that she drew to her faith many good and honest people. Experience teaches that there is no creed without its believers and no delusion without its dupes. The saying that "murder will out" is accepted as truth, and the excitement attending the supposed celestial powers of this artful woman was shrewdly turned to account, and avarice preyed upon credulity. A great revolution is silently making its way through the world by the developing influences of education, the freedom of thought and the press, and will end in promoting the highest interests of the race, and remove forever the last vestige of religious superstition and fanaticism.



The Old Baptist Church at Abbott's was situated on the east side of the Lanesville road, upon the site now [1878] occupied by D.A. Thompson's house. It was built about the year 1700. It was a wooden structure, two stories high, with a large gallery. Its size was 30 x 60 feet, and it was torn down in 1825. Under an oak-tree that stood in front of this church, the celebrated Jemima Wilkinson made her first speech, and was listened to with attention.

The Baptist Catholic Society was chartered January, 1797. It held its meetings during warm weather in the shade of the old oak-tree at Lonsdale. These meetings were discontinued about 1860.



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The old oak-tree in Lonsdale is an historical relic of the past. It is held in great veneration by the citizens of the place, and an iron railing has been placed around it. The tree is supposed to be three hundred years old, but is now [1878] rapidly going to decay. It is said, by good authorities, that these trees are one hundred years maturing, they flourish another hundred, and decay in the third and last hundred years.

([Friend Jemimah Wilkinson](#) was not the only American woman to begin cross-dressing in this year. In Middleborough, Massachusetts, the mind of a 16- year-old indentured servant, Deborah Sampson, was becoming “agitated with the enquiry — why a nation, separated from us by an ocean ... [should] enforce on us plans of subjugation.” Sampson would resolve to make herself into “one of the severest avengers of the wrong” and through flattening her breasts with a bandage would enlist in the Revolutionary army as a common soldier. She was at this point also involved with the New Light [Baptists](#), although she would get in trouble with them and be expelled, and although she would be detected in the army and discharged. She would then transform herself more completely and competently, into the Revolutionary soldier Robert Shurtleff, for 17 months an enlisted man in the 4th Massachusetts Regiment of the Continental Army. She would suffer war wounds in an encounter with a Tory militia while on a scouting expedition in the New York countryside but, at a later point, would fall ill with a fever and be discovered again to be of the female persuasion. With “chastity inviolate” – but of course they checked this out– she would receive a revolutionary veteran’s pension. Her grave in Rockridge Cemetery is marked as that of “a revolutionary soldier.” She married, so after her death her husband received the monetary equivalent of a revolutionary veteran’s widow’s pension.)



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1777

Friend [Moses Brown](#) went into his harvest field and called his laborers together, and offered to pay them extra wages if they would be willing to dispense with the usual allowance of distilled spirits that employers of that period provided to their laborers. At a much later point he would confide to his journal that “I have never Since being now 57 years furnished Any Spirits in Harvest or Hay Time, & I have My business done better and the Laborers come in and go out More Quiet and Satisfactory to them & their Family than they used to do when Spirits were freely Given and Used by them.”

Friend [Moses Brown](#) served on a committee to plan the education of children of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of Friends. It was decided that students who were from outside the Friends community would also be allowed to participate. The [Smithfield](#) Monthly Meeting hired Friend Job Scott to “teach a School at the Lower Meeting House in Smithfield [that would refer to what is now the Saylesville meetinghouse in Lincoln], to be paid 80 hard dollars, or an equivalent in clothing, or Other things, for One Year, to be paid Quarterly, and his board to be found.” This would eventually result in the founding of the school of the New England Yearly Meeting, what is now referred to as Moses Brown School, on land next to what is now referred to as Brown University. (At the moment of this writing, there is no connection whatever between the school and the nearby Providence and [Smithfield](#) Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, any connection between the school and the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends is at the most perfunctory and financial, and the educational curriculum of the school contains no testable Quaker component — while consideration is being given to dissolving even this perfunctory residual linkage with the [Quakers](#), “except in spirit.”) According to Mack Thompson’s *MOSES BROWN, RELUCTANT REFORMER* (Chapel Hill NC: U of North Carolina P, 1962, pages 135-6):

IN THE COURSE of the long years of the Revolution, [Moses Brown](#) emerged as the leading Quaker in New England. The basis of his leadership was an ability to hold the diverse groups within the various meetings together in the face of economic disaster, public ridicule, and divided loyalties. The solidarity of the Society of Friends was threatened not only by external enemies but by internal disputes. The war raised many problems that Friends had never had to deal with before, and the individualistic tendencies of their beliefs encouraged many to challenge the authority of tradition and the collective will of the meetings. To Moses the internal conflicts brought on by the war were as serious as dangers from battle or from governmental authorities, and he made strenuous efforts to minimize their effects.

The most divisive threats to the Society were posed by paper money and taxes. These two issues were intimately connected with the much broader question of acceptance or rejection of the new governments which used the taxes and money to support their civil and military establishments. In the early years of the Revolution, some Friends felt that currency issued by the rebellious governments should not be accepted, and this attitude became the official position of the Society, although it was more strictly adhered to in the middle states than in New England.²⁸ Moses thought that the distinction made by Quakers between specie and paper money was ridiculous; one promoted the war as much as the other. His position was determined



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by sympathy for the American cause and by common sense: it was fortified by his experience when distributing the donations to the poor sufferers around Boston from 1775 to 1777. There he found that while some Friends accepted specie, others refused to take the new paper currency "from a principle of its promoting the war as well as on account of the authority making it."²⁹

28. Pemberton to [Moses Brown](#), August 28, November 9, 1775, MOSES BROWN PAPERS, MISC. MSS (John Carter Brown Library, Providence, B-814, Box 6). The Pembertons' refusal to accept paper money issued by the revolutionary governments may well have been an expression of their pro-British feeling rather than an effort to maintain the Quaker discipline, although admittedly the two motives are hard to differentiate. For an argument that Israel Pemberton "did not defend the acts of the British government," see Thayer, Theodore. ISRAEL PEMBERTON: KING OF THE QUAKERS (Philadelphia PA, 1943, page 207).

29. April 30, 1776, MOSES BROWN PAPERS, MISC. MSS (John Carter Brown Library, Providence, K-AB)

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1778

The Reverend [James Manning](#), [Friend Moses Brown](#), and [disowned](#) Quaker [Stephen Hopkins](#) (who himself owned six slaves, one of whom was his manservant Toney) began the first concerted multi-denominational effort to agitate for the abolition of [slavery](#) in [Rhode Island](#), and participation by its citizens in the [international slave trade](#).



"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



– Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141

January 8, Thursday: Pardon Crandall was born in [Westerly, Rhode Island](#), the son of Christopher Crandall, grandson of James W. Crandall, great-grandson of Joseph Crandall, great-great-grandson of Joseph Crandall, and great-great-great-grandson of John Crandall, and would die on July 20, 1838 in Canterbury, Connecticut. He would get married with Esther Carpenter on December 19, 1799 in Hopkinton, Rhode Island. I have as yet been unable to generate any record of involvement with any [Quakers](#) on the part of this family of origin (the records of the [South Kingstown](#) Monthly Meeting, pre-split, would be the logical place, since that meeting was set off in 1743 and continued to 1842 and was the only record-keeping meeting anywhere near Westerly), although we do know that their daughter [Prudence Crandall](#) would be educated at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) boarding school of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) in [Providence](#).



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June 13, Saturday: General John Sullivan had arrested two brothers of the [Quaker](#) faith for refusing to participate in any manner in military activities, and their case had been brought before the colony of [Rhode Island](#) and Providence Plantations's Council of War. When Quaker elders had appeared before the Council, it had only been to inform the Council that they would cooperate in no manner.

[CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE](#)

They would not, for instance, sign any certificates that this person or that person was a member of the Society and therefore entitled to exemption from military service. Exasperated in the face of such intransigence, Deputy Governor Jabez Bowen, the chairman of the Council of War, wrote to Friend [Moses Brown](#):

I call upon you Moses and the whole Society of Friends ...
to show the shadow of injustice or inequity in the law.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



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1779

The Philadelphia [Yearly Meeting](#) of the Religious Society of Friends warned its members against “seeming” to give approval to war by the witnessing of militia demonstrations and marches. Do not be a spectator at such events, for such spectatorship is a complicit activity!

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

The Pennsylvania assembly also declared that for a [Quaker](#) to accept the Continental paper currency in trade was a dereliction of the Peace Testimony.³⁰ In New England, however, Friend [Moses Brown](#) was taking the attitude that money in itself being morally neutral, a distinction could not be forced between different forms of money — and generally the New England Quakers would be following his leading.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

In England, a boarding school for [Quaker](#) youth was chartered at Ackworth. Would this be taken as an inspiration for chartering a boarding school for Quaker youth in New England as well?

In the previous year, at the annual session, the Quakers of Philadelphia had recorded a report on the educational needs of their children. In this year that report made its way to Friend [Moses Brown](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

[MOSES BROWN SCHOOL](#)

March 4, Thursday: Giacomo Maria Brignole replaced Giuseppe Lomellini as Doge of Genoa.

[Moses Brown](#) wed a 2nd time, at the [Lincoln](#) meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Rhode Island](#), with Friend Mary Olney.



March 25, Thursday: The [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) minuted its concern over the proper education of its young people:

30. Any number of Quakers were attempting to refuse to accept the paper money, on the ground that it had a war taint upon it. The Continental revolutionaries would sometimes confiscate all the property of such a currency abstainer. In the case of Friend John Cowgill, not only were his livestock seized, but his children were kicked out of their school, and he was taken under military escort to Dover, [Maryland](#) — where he was paraded through town in a cart with a placard attached to his back.

HDT

WHAT?

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It having been the concern of this Meeting to Promote the Education of our youth in Schools under the Government of Solid friends and as this necessary care is much relaxed within our Yearly Meeting, from what our Discipline requires, and finding Incouragement, by our own short experience, as well as by the doings of the last yearly meeting held at Philadelphia on this Subject, which have been laid before this meeting we are Induced to recommend to the Solid attention of the Quarterly meeting this important Subject and if it appears to you as it does to us of weight enough to carry forward to the Yearly meeting and the minds of Friends are United in a living concern therein, We think it will be an acceptable step in the Reformation.

MOSES BROWN SCHOOL

In result, the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) would charge a committee to prepare a report on educational needs for presentation during the following yearly meeting.



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1780

The New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) appointed a committee “to Consider of a plan, for the Erection of a School or Schools for the Education of our Children & youth” in [Rhode Island](#), and a subscription fund was created for this purpose with Friend [Moses Brown](#) making the first donation, of \$575.

MOSES BROWN SCHOOL



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1782

Here is an attitude toward [Quakers](#) in the arts, expressed in this year in a [Critical Review](#) notice of John Scott of Amwell's POETICAL WORKS: "These poems are written by a Quaker; a circumstance rather extraordinary in the world of letters, rhyming being a sin which gentlemen of that fraternity are seldom guilty of."

11th of 11th Month: The Clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), Friend [Moses Brown](#) of [Rhode Island](#), agitated for the [Quakers](#) to "promote the institution of a school or schools."

From the Meeting for Sufferings for New-England, to the several Quarterly and Monthly-Meetings belonging to the Yearly-Meeting.

Dear Friends,

Being moved by the Yearly-Meeting, as well as by renewed desires being raised in ourselves, to encourage and promote the institution of a School, or Schools, for the virtuous education of our youth; and as we are apprehensive the design and intention of the Yearly-Meeting has not been dearly understood by many, whereby objections and discouragements with well-minded Friends have arose, tending to shut up the benevolence which otherwise might have been manifest by a more general, free and liberal contribution, to an institution intended for and which promises essential benefits to the poor and others, not only for the present, but for generations to come: We are therefore engaged to lay before you the intentions of Friends in this establishment, and our purpose of executing them, when and as far as we are enabled; and to add such remarks as may remove, as far as may be, such objections as we have heard suggested. There are some, and we hope not a few, yet amongst us, who, as the restraining principle of truth hath been raised into dominion, have been made uneasy in their minds, at their children's going to schools of those not of our society, nor under the government of it; where there is generally a corruption of language and often of manners imbibed, if not taught as parts of their instruction. Those who have a concern for a right education of their rising offspring, that they may be preserved in the simplicity of truth, are desirous to have them brought up and instructed in the way they should go, that when they are old they may not depart from it. From this source arises the present concern of the Yearly-Meeting, correspondent with the concern of our worthy ancients, who we find by the discipline established amongst us as a people, as early as the year 1690, advise Friends every where, "as far as they are able or may be capable, to provide school-masters and mistresses, who are faithful Friends, to teach and instruct their children, and not to send them to such schools where they are taught the



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corrupt ways, manners, fashions, and language of the world, and of the heathen, in their authors and names, of the heathenish gods and goddesses, tending greatly to corrupt and alienate the minds of children into an averseness or opposition against the truth, and against the simplicity of it." The want of attention to which advice has occasioned the well-concerned amongst us for the happiness of the rising generation, and prosperity of truth, to mourn for the hurt thereby sustained in our society. Our principles lead to a separation from the world, its customs, habits, language, and manners; how then can we hope for faithful successors in our *posterity*, or that they will come up in principles and practices agreeable thereto, if we continue so far to neglect the early care of our offspring, as to send them to schools where principles and practices so repugnant are inculcated and taught? It is essential to the continuance of every society, upon the foundation of its rise and establishment, that its first principles be often recurred to. The principle of light and truth, which first separated our ancients from the world, early led George Fox, that ancient worthy follower of our Lord, into a sight of the necessity of a separation from the world, in the education of the succeeding generations, even before the establishment of the discipline which the Lord was then opening in him, and is in the hands of faithful members as a hedge around us as a people. In the year 1667, after being at Hertford at settling the men's Monthly-Meeting, and returning towards London, he advised the setting up a school at Waltham for teaching boys, and also a woman's school to be opened at Shacklewell, for instructing girls and young maidens in "*whatever things were civil and useful in the creation.*" See journal, page 395. And his concern for the prosperity of the schools is manifest by his visiting them in various parts, an example still worthy the attention of the Lord's servants. Some may be ready to say, it is evident that truth requires its professors should be instructed and exemplified by its followers; but, say they, how does this apply to, or make necessary, the Yearly-Meeting school, it being each Monthly-Meeting's concern to attend to this necessary care? True, it is the duty and should be the care of rightly-concerned Friends, in each Monthly-Meeting, to see, as far as may be, that proper schools are kept up for the right education of the children. The question is of importance, and needs to be answered, as it leads to the rise of the proposition for the present institution. At the Yearly-Meeting in 1779 there came up a proposal from Rhode-Island Quarter, and at the same time a recommendation from our brethren of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, by their epistle from the Yearly-Meeting, respecting the education of our youth, in schools under the cart of solid Friends; which took the solid attention of our Yearly-Meeting, and they recommended to each Quarter to appoint a Committee, to "assist the several Monthly-Meetings in the best method of educating children and youth amongst Friends, and to return an account next year, in order to ripen the subject for further advice and assistance in this



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interesting matter." The Quarterly-Meetings, upon inspection by the said Committees, did not find any schools under the immediate care of Monthly-Meetings; nor were there any standing Committees for that purpose, in any Monthly-Meeting, save one; but upon a large and favored conference of the Committee from Rhode-Island Quarterly-meeting, with the Committees of seven Monthly-Meetings, half the number in the Yearly-Meeting assembled upon the occasion, with other solid Friends. "There appeared a disposition in each Monthly-Meeting to reform in our practice, and get as fast as may be into the education of children and youth in schools wholly under the tuition of Friends, and the government of the several Monthly-Meetings, by Committees to be appointed for the purpose." And accordingly the Quarterly-Meeting's Committee gave forth advice, in the 10th month, 1799, "that Friends do not, after their present contracts expire, send their children to schools kept by instructors not of our society, or not under the regulation of Friends, without the advisement of the School-Committee of their respective Monthly-Meetings;" which limitation, though it may to some seem as the effect of modern zeal, is supported by an ancient recommendation of our Yearly-Meeting in 1709, which may not be improper on this occasion to recite, "that Friends do their endeavours to get Friends school-masters or mistresses, and in want of such to have their children taught at home, not send them to such as are not Friends; because of the dangers of being corrupted with the hurtful conversation of the youth, or otherwise."

The said Committee had further to observe, in their report to the Quarterly-Meeting, "that the great difficulty that seemed to attend Friends, at this time, respecting the establishing proper schools in the several Meetings, is the great defect of education in times past, whereby persons suitably qualified for school masters are not easily, if at all, to be had. If therefore the Quarterly-Meetings could promote a school, where boarding scholars might be received and taught, in such a manner as to qualify our youth, of the rising generation, to teach school, we think it would be an acceptable service." Which being accepted, and the substance sent up to the Yearly-Meeting, and being read there, with the accounts from the other Quarters, the subject at large came weightily before the Meeting, and a large Committee was appointed to take the subject into consideration, and report what appeared best to be done *further* in that matter. From all which it appears evident, that the early care of Friends to guard against a declension, which doubtless was foreseen would arise in the society, if a care was not duly attended to in the virtuous education of the rising generation, in our principles and practices, and to guard against the corruptions incident to mixtures with others at large, has not had the desired effect. Several causes for which may be assigned, one of which is the want of proper attention, in too many, to the first principle of light and truth as afore mentioned, which separates from the world, and which would engage all our members



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to comply, as far as circumstances would admit, with the advices of superior Meetings upon this subject, which has been sorrowfully felt by some amongst us, who have to believe that the outgoings of many of our youth have been greatly owing to the want of attention in parents to this great duty of a right education of their offspring. The difficulty of procuring suitable school-masters, and in small Meetings members living too remote from each other to daily go to and return from one school, and the want of ability, in many families, both on account of their education and their streightened circumstances in life, render the proper instruction of their children in their families impracticable. To remedy these difficulties, make education cheap and easy for all in society to come at, in a more guarded, safe and useful manner; and especially that the affecting and reproachful answers to our queries, too often heard, that our poor do not partake of suitable learning to fit them for business, the concern of Friends is extended to

The institution founded by the Yearly-Meeting, in 1780, as follows:

"We the Committee appointed to consider of a plan for the erecting of a school or schools, for the education of our children and youth, in order to qualify not only a sufficient number for instructors and schoolmasters, but that the poor children and others of the society may receive the necessary learning to qualify them for business, having considered with attention, and solidly conferred upon the subject, do propose the recommending down to the several Quarterly and Monthly-Meetings, the promoting free, liberal and voluntary subscriptions, donations, bequests and devises, adequate to the design and importance of the subject, as a fund to remain forever; the interest or income of which to be applied to the support of education: That there be a standing Committee appointed by this Yearly Meeting, to whom, or some of them, deeds and conveyances of real estate may be made, as Trustees for the Yearly-Meeting for New-England; and to be authorised to receive all donations, collections and subscriptions; and to take care of devises, which may be from time to time for the purposes aforesaid, and to appropriate the same, and to be in all cases subject to the direction of the Yearly-Meeting. And that said Committee, as soon as it shall be enabled, open a school, in such place as they may judge most convenient, within the limits of this Yearly-Meeting. And as the fund shall or may be increased, to increase the number of schools, if necessary, in the most convenient places, within the limits aforesaid: And have the right of procuring and approbating all masters and instructors of such schools; and also to establish general rules and orders, both for the observation of the instructors and pupils, directing the books that shall or may be read, and the branches of learning to be inculcated, consistent with truth and the good order of society; and to take the necessary care that they are faithfully attended unto. The said Committee to be subject, from time to time, to the advisement and direction of



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this Meeting; and to be annually re-appointed, if thought best, or removed, as occasion may require: And that the said fund is to be considered as a perpetual estate, limited and confined to the purposes of education irrevocably; but that the direction and application thereof be in the Yearly-Meeting, or their Committee – who are to have liberty to receive into the said school or schools orderly youth, not of our society (they complying with the rules and regulations of the school) whenever the Committee may, after due consideration of all circumstances, think it useful and best. And as it appears a care is reviving in most Monthly-Meetings for the due education of the rising generation, it is the desire of this Committee that such care be continued and increased, and that the example of this Meeting operate as an encouragement to each particular Meeting, to attend to so important and necessary a concern.

“And in order to the speedy establishment of this necessary institution, we recommend a subscription in freedom to be promoted in all the Meetings, to be forthwith applied for the purposes aforesaid; and that it become the care of Friends in future to promote annually subscriptions, to be applied to the use of the school, until the income of the fund shall be sufficient, and so make such annual subscriptions unnecessary.

“Which being several times read, and weightily considered, this Meeting approves of the same, and commits the care and management thereof to the Meeting for Sufferings; any of whom are empowered to receive donations, to be conveyed to the Meeting for their disposal: And that any three or more to be by them named be feoffees in trust for the Yearly-Meeting, to receive deeds and conveyances of any real estate.”

It appears that Friends, not only in the southern governments upon this continent, but in England and Ireland, about the same time, without the notice of each other, have been moved upon to a renewed care of the rising youth in this respect. Our brethren in England have informed us of their approbation and satisfaction to hear of our intention; and that they had established an institution in their Yearly-Meeting of the like kind, which afforded a promising prospect of usefulness: The liberal benevolence of Friends there being such, as to raise the fund already so large, as to purchase an estate, educate, victual and cloath, upwards of 300 boys and girls, at the small expence, to their parents, of 8 guineas a year, or 3s. 3d. sterling per week. It appears to us the revival of engagement amongst Friends, on this subject so generally, ought to be considered by all, who are desirous of promoting the reformation in our society, as a favour; and that encouragement is thereby administered.

To come up to their example in full we do not expect; yet so far as circumstances require, and ability is afforded, we think it worthy our imitation. And as an account of that institution hath been published in a letter, written by our Friend John Fothergill, and laid before us, we think it may be acceptable and useful to recite some parts of it for your encouragement;



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especially those describing the intentions of Friends, being well expressed, and correspondent with our intentions, in putting to practice the plan referred to our execution.

He says, "I need not here recapitulate the abundant care, and the many endeavours that have been used for the education of Friends children. We have many schools for the education of youth amongst us, and very deserving school-masters, in various parts of this nation, where the children of those in affluent circumstances derive a competent share of learning; and that those who are of less ability may partake of the like benefit, is the object of the present institution, and I hope it will be practicable to draw a line between those who are the proper objects of this establishment and such whose circumstances allow them to send their children to the present schools, as will give no just cause of complaint." And after mentioning the generous exertions of many Friends, in liberally subscribing to the institution during the sittings of the Yearly-Meeting, he says, "from this time I confess I have felt very little discouragement, notwithstanding the labour and care that must attend the settling this extensive concern. Is there any thing of great value in this life, that doth not require proportionable care and labour to obtain it? I persuade myself we are making provision not merely for the *subsistence* of great numbers of children of both sexes, in a safe and healthy retreat, but are likewise providing for their *orderly* and *Christian education*. Too few are the parents who can honestly say, "that they train up their children in godly conversation, in plainness of speech, behaviour and apparel, and in frequent reading the holy scriptures." Here we trust due care will be taken, both of their principles and conduct. From what I can learn, it does not seem that much backwardness, in respect to this affair, has appeared in any place. If it has not proceeded every where with equal alacrity, it seems to have been owing more to the want of due information than any other cause. It is agreed, that as the school is intended for the education, maintenance and cloathing of children, whose parents are not in affluence, that they shall be instructed in reading, writing and accounts, as fully as the time allowed them will permit. Some useful employment may be provided for the boys, according as their age, strength, talents or condition, may require. Learning and labour, properly intermixed, greatly assist the ends of both, a sound mind in a healthy body. The girls also will be instructed in knitting, spinning, useful needle-work, and in such domestic occupations as are suitable to their sex and stations. I believe it is the wish of all concerned in this important affair, that by gentleness, kind and affectionate treatment, holding out encouragement and approbation to the deserving, exerting the influence of the fear of shame, and promoting the children to every act of kindness and beneficence one towards another, to bring forward into the society and its service a number of youth, who may have been made acquainted under such tuition, in degree, with the discipline of wisdom. Many children amongst us sustain



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a grievous loss, by not being early and properly made acquainted with the principles we profess. For want of this instruction, they become too easy a prey to the customs of the world; and those habitudes, which would be as a kind of hedge about them, and protect from many temptations, are thrown down, and all the allurements of vice and folly suffered to seduce their affections to their ruin. When they cease to be distinguished from others by their garb and deportment, they too often cease to be distinguished from the world by their morals, and the rectitude of their conduct.

"The history of the rise and progress of Friends, their principles, their sufferings, and the indulgences granted them by the legislature, will probably make a part of this instruction to the children of both sexes, as well as the general doctrines of religion and morality. But above all, it is hoped that every opportunity will be embraced of cherishing, in their tender minds, obedience to that principle of light and truth which is given us to profit withal. And however necessary it is for all to be bred up in the fear of offending this pure inward spirit of truth, which naturally leavens the mind into a teachable, submissive frame; yet to those whose condition in life makes a just subordination a duty, a temper of this kind must be an invaluable blessing. Perhaps there is nothing in the common course of public education in the world, that so unfits men for that humble attention to the divine monitor within, that renders them such perfect strangers to the spirit of Christianity, and all its happy effects, as the cultivation of a bold unfeeling disposition, under a notion of promoting manliness and courage; it too often sets aside that great defence and ornament of youth, a modest ingenuous temper; accustoms them to throw off the restraints of duty and affection, and at length to bid defiance to entreaty, admonition and reproof. In this place it is hoped that endeavours will be used to form in the children a temper widely different, equally remote from a culpable fear and servility, and an audaciousness that knows no respect for order or authority. There is a circumstance in the bringing up of Friends children, which has been and yet is of greater importance to them than perhaps is generally apprehended, and I mention it, as in the proposed institution it will doubtless be particularly regarded. To habituate children, from their early infancy, to silence and attention, is of the greatest advantage to them, not only as a preparative to their advancement in a religious life, but as the ground work of a well-cultivated understanding. We are almost the only professors of Christianity, who acknowledge the use of this absolutely necessary introduction to Christian knowledge and Christian practice. To have the active minds of children early put under a kind of restraint, to be accustomed to turn their attention from external objects, and habituated to a degree of abstracted quiet, is a matter of great consequence and lasting benefit to them. To this they are inured in our assemblies, and to sit in silence with decency and composure.



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Though it cannot be supposed their young and active minds are always engaged as they ought to be, yet to be accustomed thus to quietness, and initiated to curb and restrain the sallies of their youthful dispositions, is no small point gained towards fixing a habit of patience and recollection, and a regard to decorum, which seldom forsakes those who have been properly instructed in this entrance to the school of wisdom, during the residue of their days. Did the subject of this letter admit of it, it would not be difficult to shew, from abundant authority, and reason itself, the vast aid afforded to the improvement of the human mind, by early habits of silent attention. The most ancient schools of philosophy taught and practised it; and the scriptures are so full of precepts on this head, as ought to remove every objection to this necessary duty. As it must happen that, in many places, the children of those who are objects of my present consideration are destitute of such opportunities, by the remoteness of their parents' situation from meetings; it is another call to society to prevent, as much as possible, the loss arising from such circumstances. How many farmers, manufacturers and others, are often under the necessity of sitting down in places at a great distance from a meeting? In which case, if they have numerous families, the most they can do may be to take with them the eldest, when the younger are left at home untutored in this most wholesome discipline, till the practice becomes a burthen to them. To this consideration it will not be improper to add another which is connected with it, and that is the want of opportunities of sending their children to Friends schools. By which means, if they have any learning at all afforded them, it is under the tuition of such as are mostly strangers to our principles, and the practice derived from them, plainness of speech, simplicity of manners, and that beginning of wisdom, which is inspired by the fear of the Lord. On the contrary, they are liable to associate with such children as are unacquainted with all these things; taught to deride those who practise them, and live at large to appetite and custom. And how often does it happen that the children of Friends, in such situations, bred up with unprincipled licentious youths, form connexions with them, to their own great hurt, the distress of their parents, and the loss of many a valuable member to society?"

We may now mention, that the state of society amongst us at present being different from the state of Friends in England, as to there being schools sufficient under the government of Friends, where the children of those who are of ability to pay may be instructed; the children of such therefore, with the poor, must be admitted, under suitable regulations, so as not to preclude the poor, whenever presented; they being the first in view to be instructed. We do not expect it will be best to delay opening the school until there is a sufficiency to board the whole scholars out of the fund; but as soon as one can be opened, to teach and board those who are or may be considered as the poor of the society, it may be best to proceed. The period



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for opening the school must depend upon the liberality of each Monthly-Meeting, and their members, to subscribe for the promotion of so benevolent a purpose. As fast as the fund increases beyond the proportion of scholars, the expence for their instruction will be lessened.

After having thus explained the intention of Friends in this undertaking, which we hope and trust may be of use to future generations, if properly supported, and conducted with that prudence and economy which have hitherto accompanied the management of our affairs, we may add some remarks on such objections to this design, as we recollect to have heard mentioned or suggested. It hath been alledged here, as in the case of the Ackworth-School, that it might be much more advantageous to society, could several similar schools be settled in different parts of the Yearly-Meeting. This, says the letter, "at first may appear a reasonable allegation. It may be thought that small schools are more easily managed than larger, that much would be saved in sending children backward and forward, that many parents would consent to sending their children fifty miles, who would object to three or four times that distance; and, in short, that each school being under the guidance of Friends, in the particular district whose conveniency it is to serve, its management would be inspected with more attention and success, than might be supposed to be the case with such an affair as the present." But let us look at the probability that such schools would be erected: Have we not seen the endeavours of concerned Friends, and the Yearly-Meeting, by their recommendation to each Monthly-Meeting, to promote schools under their own care, without the desired effect? And in England Friends found by experience, that it was possible to draw the attentions of Friends to one considerable object, and interest themselves in its support, whilst lesser ones in a short time disappeared; unless, as our friend John Fothergill observes, we should discover a more lively zeal to promote such undertakings, than some late endeavours made appear. – Nevertheless, if experience should teach us that more schools in different parts will be most useful, whenever the funds are raised sufficient, they may and doubtless will be erected. – But let not this idea divide Friends attention in the beginning, of which there is danger in the present case, if we are not careful to keep out *self*, so that our charity may be of that nature which the Apostle assures us "seeketh not her own." I Cor. xiii 5. Then we shall be able to come up to his further advice, "let no man seek his own, but another's welfare." I Cor. x. 24.

We are satisfied the *expence* on the whole will not, in the method proposed, be equal to the cost of education equally good about home, could the same be had; and to the poor and middling in circumstances the expence will be considerably lessened, as the principal amount of the contribution will doubtless come from those of easier circumstances, and we doubt not many Friends now deceased, could they have foreseen if would gladly



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have promoted so useful an institution in their wills; and as little can we doubt, that others will gladly embrace a like opportunity hereafter. The disadvantage of educating our youth in a place of bad examples, may serve to put us upon a care where we fix the institution, no place being yet fixed upon, that it may be in a neighborhood of solid Friends. He says, "to serve the rising generation, and promote its benefit, the sum of £3000 was generously subscribed by Friends, a house built, and an able, well qualified master was procured. It was intended to be a day-school, but such was the ill effect of the children mixing with others, in going to and from school; so much were they hurt by bad examples, and bad company, that those who had engaged in the generous design, found it necessary to abandon it, merely, as it appeared, from this circumstance. Such is the necessity of preserving youth from the influence of bad example, if we hope to preserve them in innocence and simplicity. The prospect of avoiding both these causes of disappointment, seems only obtainable in such an institution as the present, where, in the first place, every reasonable endeavor will be used, that none make a part of the family, whose conduct is not exemplary; and, in the next, no opportunities will be afforded the children educated there of mixing with others, to their harm." As the like objection has been made on account of the expence of travel from the remote parts of the Yearly-Meeting, as was made to the Ackworth-School, we may give the same answer. "This expence will be greatly reduced, if the children are allowed to remain there such a length of time as may enable them to receive competent instruction: The longer they are permitted to remain, the less burthensome their conveyance." To relieve this expence, we find twopence sterling a mile is allowed, for all distances above 50 miles, to be paid out of the stock; something similar may and doubtless will be allowed, to make this article as easy to all parties as the nature of the case will admit. "It will perhaps be urged, that many Friends may be unwilling to send their children to so distant a part of the nation. It must ever be a difficulty to affectionate parents, to lose sight of their objects of regard and attachment. But is it not daily seen, that parents, in the most affluent circumstances, both amongst us and others, part with their offspring to the greatest distances, when the benefit in prospect for their children claims such a sacrifice? The schools of Friends, in the north and in the west of England, chiefly consist of children from the greatest distances; and they often remain at them, unseen by their parents, a longer time than perhaps may be the case at this school. Besides, have we not seen this objection totally removed by what has happened at Gildersome, a place as remote from London, and the eastern and southern parts of this kingdom, as Ackworth? Besides, the separation of children from their connexions is oftentimes of much consequence to themselves and their families, by preventing improper associations, or dissolving such as have been already formed, greatly to the unhappiness of many an affectionate careful parent. There is one



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objection of much weight, that naturally presents itself to the view of every considerate person, which is the situation of the times. This is most certainly a discouragement to every public undertaking, and to this in particular – but with the difficulties of the times the necessity of such provision keeps equal pace. Many may be obliged to accept of that help which they could once afford to others; and one of the surest means, perhaps, of averting such necessity, will be to consider ourselves as stewards of the blessings we enjoy; and that by communicating to the wants of others, we are laying up provision against want ourselves. Large contributions are not expected where but a little can be spared, and those who are of ability we trust will not withhold their assistance. To descend into all the objections that could be framed would be tedious: I believe we shall all be of opinion, that those who do not choose to part with any thing, however commendable and necessary the occasion, will be found the most fertile in raising objections. – Hitherto there has been no reason to complain. When the matter was opened at the Yearly-Meeting, and properly explained, Friends seemed to vie with one another in their generous efforts. This has likewise been the case, wherever the nature of the affair has been rightly understood." May this also be the case of us in New-England, after the intentions of Friends herein manifested are generally made known. And we may further mention our concern, in the language of a Committee of upwards of sixty Friends, from various quarters of the Yearly-Meeting of London, with divers other Friends from distant parts– "in order that the great end of establishing this school (a pious, guarded, useful education of the children of Friends not in affluence) may be more effectually obtained, it appeared to be the wish of all present that some Friend might be found willing to accept the office of Treasurer, and to reside at the place – one whose age, reputation and experience, as well in a religious progress as in temporal concerns, may qualify him to promote, in every part of the family, the main object of this institution: And it is much to be desired that such an one might engage from principle of duty. Besides reading and writing, and useful accounts, instruction upon other subjects, suitable to their years and situations, is intended to be given them, and these to be intermixed occasionally with some light manual occupations; such as may at once be conducive to their health, lessen the unpleasantness of application, and be in some degree useful to them in future life, be their condition what it may; improving each sex in their respective vocations, as much as may be, keeping always in remembrance, that to make them acquainted with themselves, and stand in awe of him who made them, and not to sin against his holy law in their hearts, will prove, through life, a source of solid comfort." It is not practicable precisely to define the instructions to be given in this institution, but what is mentioned by our worthy ancient, George Fox, when he advised the first schools set up, comprehends the intention of Friends in this respect, and is worthy to be



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repeated: "In whatever things were civil and useful in the creation." There no superfluity is allowed, and we hope we and our successors may have an eye thereto, and not go beyond what truth and Christian discipline enjoin; and as the direction of the school will ever remain in the Yearly-Meeting, it is to be hoped Friends may be easy in their minds aa to any apprehensions on that account. The poor, and those of small circumstances, as mentioned, are the objects principally in view; these, when qualified for school-masters, as well as other business, are more likely to be useful in that laborious but necessary occupation, than those whose parents may be in affluence, being more likely to sit down and gain experience therein, than those who may have more temptations to take their flight into the world. All distinctions, as in the Ackworth-School, are to be avoided as much as possible; the children here, as there, ought to value themselves on no other superiority than behaving themselves better than others, both in respect to learning and conduct. They are all to be considered as children of one family, under the care of that body which interests itself deeply in the welfare of them all. The riches, the poverty, the good or bad conduct of their connexions, must here have no other regard paid them, than such as may proceed from the necessity of guarding against the influence of any of these circumstances, to the children's future disadvantage. - And if the fund of this, as in that institution, comes ever to support an uniformity of dress, we think, as it may tend to prevent undue distinction, it would be well to follow their example therein. "Though the children's improvement in learning, their health, and other suitable accommodations, are matters of great moment in such an institution as this, yet there is one of a superior nature; to promote a tender, teachable disposition, inuring them to bear that yoke in their youth which will moderate their desires, and make way for the softening influence of divine good-will in their hearts, fitting them for the faithful discharge of every duty in life, yielding content in action, moderation in prosperity, becoming at once the safe guard and ornament of every stage in life, from youth to ripe old age. This, I trust, will be the constant, uniform endeavour of those, in an especial manner, who may be engaged in the immediate service of the family, in whatsoever station they may be placed I know this is the fervent desire of many, and trust I may say of all who are engaged in this matter;" to which we may also put our seal.

Having thus given you an account of the sense and intentions of this Meeting, respecting the institution, we may, by direction of the Yearly-Meeting, as well as from a desire of seeing the plan executed for the benefit of the present generation, as well as posterity, recommend to Friends generally, to make subscriptions in freedom and openness of mind, consistent with truth and becoming its followers, united in the same cause of promoting each other in love and good works. And it is the desire of this Meeting, that as soon as Friends are easy to compleat their subscriptions, they will send them



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up, and if any Monthly-Meeting or concerned Friends are desirous of any further information, we will endeavour to give them a satisfactory answer.

*Signed in and by Order of the Meeting for Sufferings,
held at Providence, for New England, the Eleventh
of the Eleventh Month, 1782.*

By MOSES BROWN, Clerk.

P.S. By a printed report of the state of Ackworth-School, in 1780, it appears there had been, from its being opened, in the 9th month, 1778, to the 31st of the 12th month, 1780, 314 children admitted; that from the progress then made in that undertaking, a guarded, religious and useful education, had been procured for many Friends children, then in the house, who could not otherwise have had these essential advantages; that several were then well qualified for servants and apprentices, and that any Monthly-Meeting sending a list of their subscribers, the names would be inserted in the Ackworth books, which Friends are informed will also be the case here.

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1783

The “Meeting for Sufferings” committee of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), with Friend [Moses Brown](#) acting as clerk of that committee, noted that £134 was lying around in their education kitty and decided to bite the bullet and create a Yearly Meeting School. They considered [Providence](#), [Portsmouth](#), and [East Greenwich](#) in [Rhode Island](#), and Lynn in Massachusetts, and settled on Portsmouth because they were offered the use of a room in the local Friends meetinghouse together with the rental income from a number of house lots that Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting owned in [Newport](#). Friend Isaac Lawton there could be the schoolmaster at an annual salary of £75, and local families were volunteering to provide room and board for as many as 30 young scholars.



[John Brown](#) of [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#) provided half the funds for a “compleat Philosophical Apparatus and Library” of science at the [College of Rhode Island](#) — clearly they were able to take a “philosophical” *pecunia-non-olet* attitude, at the time, toward the fact that such moneys arose at least in part from the international vending of human beings, both between Africa and America (the international trade in new



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[slaves](#)) and from region to region along the American coast (local resale of used slaves).



Here is an example of the local resale of used slaves mentioned above (something that we seldom take into consideration when thinking about these issues), a local resale practice that would be allowed to continue unimpeded even after the “[international slave trade](#)” and its dread Middle Passage had been benevolently interdicted. In this year, a white widow of Warren, [Rhode Island](#), Roby Luther Whitting, was having difficulties with her [slave](#) lad Fantee. She had leased her property to Edward Jones of [Providence](#) on May 22, 1782 to be used for a period of one year, but Jones had been dissatisfied with Fantee’s labor and also dissatisfied with Fantee’s general attitude. In a letter to the widow on January 17, 1783 he asked to be paid damages, alleging that the boy had been guilty of “every vice under the sun,” vices unspecified. In this situation, Fantee escaped, was recaptured and imprisoned, and was then returned in disgrace in irons to the widow in [Warren](#). The slavemistress, at her wit’s end, on February 6, 1783 entrusted her black, “about Eighteen or Twenty Years Old a Healthy Active Lad,” to Isaac Gorham of the *Patty* to be sold in the West Indies, to be taught a lesson he wouldn’t forget by being gradually worked to death in the cane fields. (On the voyage thither, Captain Gorham’s sloop would be intercepted by a British warship and lucky Fantee would find himself confiscated as contraband.)



“It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed [slavery](#), is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God.”



– Stanley Cavell, *MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?*
1976, page 141

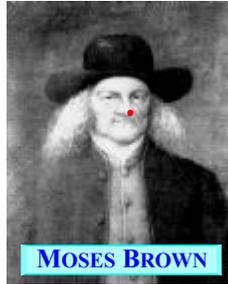


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August 26, Tuesday: America had won its struggle for liberty and it was time to get back to business as usual. In  [Providence, Rhode Island](#), John Innes Clarke and Joseph Nightingale of the firm of Clarke & Nightingale were fitting out yet another [negrero](#), the *Providence*₂,³¹ for a voyage to the coast of Africa. Hearing of this, [Friend Moses Brown](#) visited them and received their reassurances.



MOSES BROWN

Yes, they were indeed fitting out a vessel for a trading voyage to the coast of Africa, but they would be trading their cargo of New England's triple-distilled rum brandy not for [slaves](#) but merely for ivory, for beeswax, and for gold dust. The [international slave trade](#)? –No, Heaven forbid!

Actually it was as obvious as a wart on the tip of your nose the size and color of a small cherry, what was going on here:

 He learned soon after that Clarke had misled him; that the ship fitting for Africa was in fact a slaver. Moses promptly sat down and wrote a lengthy plea to Clarke and Nightengale [*sic*], asking that they "give orders to the captain not to suffer any negroes to be brought on board." Where his other tracts against slavery, addressed to legislators and to the public, stressed the iniquities of the trade and the ordeal of the slaves, in this letter Moses was more personal, asking his merchant friends to consider their own consciences, to save their own souls. Moses said that his own decision, years before, to engage in the trade despite "averse convictions," had led to "the most uneasiness, and has left the greatest impression and stain upon my mind of any if not all my other conduct in life." His remorse was especially acute, Moses wrote, when he paused to think how his conduct might appear in judgment before God. Moses felt moved, then, by "some engagement for your preservation from so great an evil as I have found the trade to be." He implored them to reconsider, "that you may avoid the unhappy reflections which I have had."

If that was not prodding enough, Moses added an audacious dig to jar the merchants' sensibilities close to home. One of their own bondsmen had approached him some time ago, Moses confided, seeking release from "the burden of slavery." Moses said he counseled the slave to be patient, but he asked the merchants to consider, if a slave sought relief from their own kind

31. Note well that this particular vessel named *Providence*, being merely a [negrero](#) like the original [Katy](#), does not fit well into our normative sequence of the Godly warlike national vessels USS *Providence*₁, USS *Providence*₃, USS *Providence*₄, and USS *Providence*₅, which had begun with the previous Rhode Island [negrero Katy](#). (The reasons why it does not fit well is that we like our history to be served to us Whiggish style, with noticeable progress toward perfection between the generations. –We tend not to appreciate the sort of historical tale that is, more realistically merely stupid thing after stupid thing endlessly perpetuated!)



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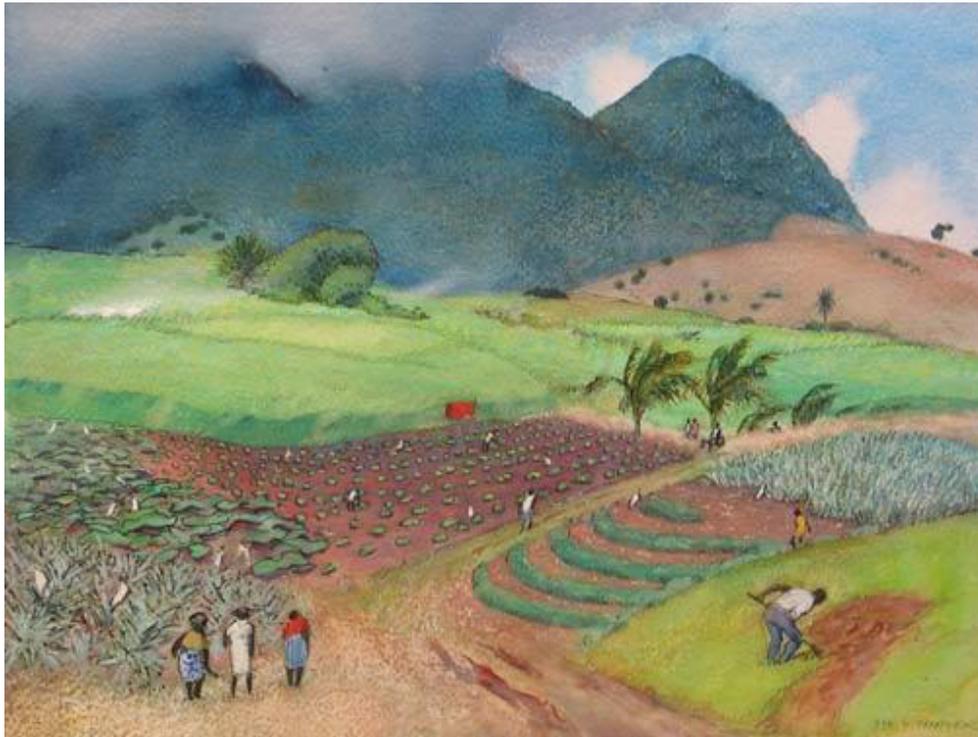
treatment, how much worse must be the anguish of those slaves sold to a life of toil in the tropics.

September 3, Wednesday: Thomas Wagstaff wrote from London to Friend [Moses Brown](#) about the attitude of the Queen of England toward [Quakerism](#). She allegedly had declared: “I love the Quakers. I love to see them, I have read their writings, I am one in judgement with them.”

Great Britain and the new government of its former North American colonies signed a peace treaty in Paris — more or less, for the time being, ending the American Revolution. The new American nation held all land from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi River. England retained Canada, and Spain held Louisiana and East and West Florida. Well, anyway this was a time-out.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

Great Britain signed a peace treaty with France and Spain, at Versailles, ceding Florida to Spain. Spain returned the Bahamas to England. France returned Minorca and Montserrat, in the Leeward Islands, to Great Britain, which also received Saint Kitts-Nevis. The northern boundary of New York State was confirmed as the 45th parallel. Great Lakes boundary lines were set. Great Britain ceded most of the Alabama and Wisconsin areas to the United States. Britain and the US received navigation rights on the Mississippi River.



St. Kitts



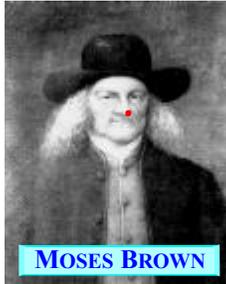
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October: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Moses Brown](#) took on the role of surveyor of streets.

October 1, Wednesday: This being the year in which [Moses Brown](#), a brother to the wealthy [Providence](#) businessmen [Nicholas Brown](#) and [John Brown](#) who engaged in the [international slave trade](#) but a convert to [Quakerism](#), was becoming an elder in his monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) and beginning his campaign to end [Rhode Island](#)'s involvement in human slavery,³² one might be tempted to leap to the presumption that such



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a campaign must obviously have been a righteous Quakerly protest against lay racism, motivated by religious egalitarianism — but before we leap to such a conclusion we must consider something which happened on this particular day of the year: In the case of Abigail Franks, the young woman of mixed race who had applied for membership in the [Religious Society of Friends](#), the [Yearly Meeting](#) decided that:

The request of Chester Quarter last year respecting the application of a woman to Concord Monthly Meeting to be received into membership, and which was referred for further consideration to this or a future meeting being now revived, the subject opening with weight, it is the sense and judgment of the meeting that Concord Monthly Meeting may safely consider the application of the person on the same ground in common with other applications for admission into membership.

Although these minutes testify only to “weighty and edifying deliberations and a spirit of condescension,” “a weighty exercise,” and “diverse just observations,” mentioning no doubt or objection, it is clear that there had been such — because there is on record a personal letter from a friend of the applicant who afterward commented “the mountains of opposition are leveled before her.”³³

No way was this going to be easy! There was still a great spirit of racism to be overcome!

32. There were five slaves in the Brown family mansion on College Hill in [Providence](#), and [Moses Brown](#) helped them work up the courage to steal themselves away.

33. The data elements for this series on the acceptability of persons of mixed race as Quakers are from Henry Cadbury’s “Negro Membership in the Society of Friends” in [The Journal of Negro History](#), Volume 21 (1936), pages 151-213.



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1784

Beginning of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) boarding school at [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#). The committee that ran this school was made up of two members from each monthly meeting. Classes were held in a small upper room at the Portsmouth Meetinghouse and the students boarded among the families of local [Friends](#).³⁴ The master of the school was Isaac Lawton, who had been Clerk of the New England Yearly Meeting. Among the initial crop of 30 students were:

- Obadiah Brown, a son of [Moses Brown](#)
- Jonathan Lapham of [Smithfield](#) Monthly Meeting
- Abraham Borden of [South Kingstown](#) Monthly Meeting³⁵



34. The [Quaker](#) school accepted non-Quaker children, so long as they would continue to abide by the Quaker rules.

35. This effort would endure for four years, until 1788. After a hiatus of two decades, in 1808, Friend [Moses Brown](#) would revive this school board, and after more than another decade of planning, the school would begin anew in 1819, this time atop College Hill in [Providence](#).)



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This school would be discontinued due to cash flow problems after but four years of operation, in 1788, and would for decades exist only as a concept in a storage box. However, this original attempt in 1784 in Portsmouth would enable the present school to utilize the numerals “1784” on its logo, as a sort of slogan (you see, they’re not really saying that their school began in the Year of Our Lord 1784 — they are merely reciting these four digits, in the same way that their present sports audiences recite their sports slogan “Go Quakes!” without actually making any reference to the Religious Society of Friends). You will notice that they are also superimposing these four anonymous digits on a sketch of a building that would be constructed not in 1784 but some 35 years later, in 1819, and not in Portsmouth but in Providence after they had been out of existence for several decades except as a nice concept:



(Of course, it would be arguably more honest for them to be using the numerals “1819” on their logo — but as we all are aware, an excess of honesty is not always a winning policy. Go Quakes!)



January 31, Saturday: At the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) town meeting, the vote was 108 over 58 in favor of [Friend Moses Brown](#)’s bill for the abolition of [slavery](#).

[Bernard Barton](#) was born at Carlisle, England, a “birthright [Friend](#).” After being educated at a [Quaker](#) school in Ipswich he would be apprenticed to a shopkeeper in Suffolk. Then he would work nearly all his life as a clerk in a bank at the coastal town of Woodbridge in Suffolk. In his free time he would create ten volumes of poetry, some of his creations becoming hymns with titles such as:

- “Lamp of our feet, whereby we trace”
- “Walk in the light, so shalt thou know”



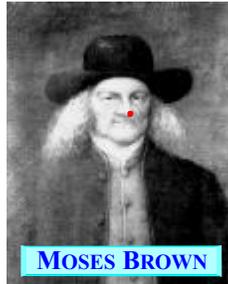
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- “Fear not, Zion’s sons and daughters”
- “Hath the invitation ended?”
- “See we not beyond the portal?”
- “Those who live in love shall know”

February 25, Wednesday: The General Assembly of [Rhode Island](#) took up [Friend Moses Brown](#)’s bill for the abolition of [slavery](#). Not only would Rhode Island’s slaves be gradually [manumitted](#), beginning with all children born



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after the 1st of March, but also, no resident of the state might participate in the [international slave trade](#), and every shipowner fitting out his ship for African ports would be required to post bond that slaves would be no part of his ship’s cargo.

“An Act authorizing the manumission of negroes, mulattoes, and others, and for the gradual abolition of slavery.” Persons born after March, 1784, to be free. Bill framed pursuant to a petition of Quakers. COLONIAL RECORDS, X. 7-8; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 503.

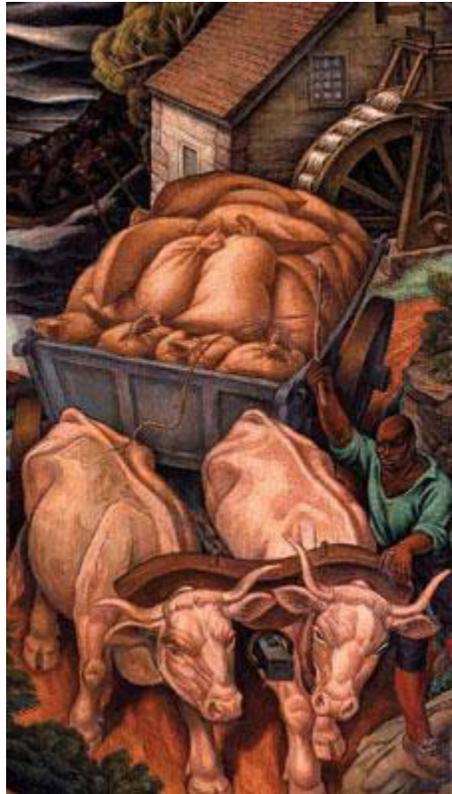


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The statute included a provision releasing slavemasters who manumitted slaves born prior to 1784 between 21 and 30 years of age (for a male) or 18 and 30 (for a female) from further obligation to financially support the freed slaves, but only when their town council was confident that the freed slave was healthy enough not to become dependent on town aid.



His brother [John Brown](#) was opposed, pointing out that if white people were not charitable enough to buy these black victims along the coast of Africa, very often the black victims of African wars would simply be offered. One Benson, a veteran of the trade, supplied the assembly with supporting anecdotes. The Middle Passage was portrayed as a rescue.

[Esek Hopkins](#) pointed out that these [Quakers](#) who opposed [slavery](#) were mere hypocrites, who readily participated in the rum industry, the sugar industry, the indigo industry, and other segments of the economy that relied heavily upon slave labor. These self-righteous posturers were as implicated as anybody else.

A more nuanced understanding of this phenomenon has come to us recently from Professor Joanne Pope Melish:



The support provisions of the 1784 emancipation law allowed slave owners to escape any further financial responsibility for slaves under forty years of age whom they [manumitted](#), which threatened to leave too many "old" slaves in their thirties to the support of the towns. A 1785 revision ["An Act repealing Part of the Act respecting the Manumission of Slaves," RI General Assembly, October 1785], reiterated in 1798 ["An Act relative to Slaves, and to their Manumission and Support: part



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of the revision of the Public Laws of the State of Rhode-island and Providence Plantations," RI General Assembly, January 1798], lowered the age of eligibility for unencumbered emancipation to thirty. Apparently some town councils, faced with rising costs for pauper support, refused to allow slave owners to manumit even eligible slaves, leading to the passage of an 1804 act providing for an appeal procedure by slave owners "aggrieved" by recalcitrant councils ["An Act in Amendment of the Act, entitled, 'An Act relative to Slaves, and their Manumission and Support,'" RI General Assembly, March 1804]. In other words, an aging slave population that would not be replenished either by birth into slavery or by importation, which had been outlawed in Rhode Island in 1774, presented an increasing financial liability, and many slave owners sought to manumit their slaves before they would be obligated to support them in their old age. The large number of manumissions may have led the slaves themselves to interpret these provisions as the "General Emancipation" act that Brown describes. Undoubtedly most slaves saw freedom under any circumstances as good news – though not all did, as Brown wryly observes, noting that a few "declared their masters had been eating their flesh and now they were going to stick to them and suck their bones."

At the first federal census in 1790, there were 427 free people of color and 48 slaves living in the city of Providence, a city of about 6,400. By 1810, four years before William Brown was born, the number of free people of color had risen to 865, just about 8.6 percent of the population of about 10,000, and the number of slaves had fallen to 6. Yet there were still 5 slaves in Rhode Island and 1 in the city of Providence in 1840, according to the Fifth Federal Census, and it was only the new state Constitution of November 1842 that finally abolished slavery entirely in Rhode Island.



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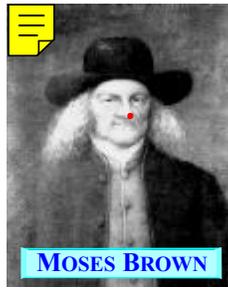
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March 1, Monday: REPORT ON GOVERNMENT FOR WESTERN TERRITORY.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

The Quakers were being largely held in contempt for their opposition to the recent struggle between the American colonials and the mother country. The [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly had voted down Friend [Moses Brown](#)'s bill for the abolition of the [international slave trade](#), by a resounding margin of 2 to 1, and his bill for the abolition of [slavery](#), by instead creating a plan for gradual nominal *post nati* emancipation of Rhode Island's persons of color.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



"Emancipation in the ... Indies...": All the great geniuses of the British senate, Fox, Pitt, Burke, Grenville, Sheridan, Grey, Canning, ranged themselves on its side; the poet Cowper wrote for it: Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, in this country, all recorded their votes.

One nice thing that was accomplished in the General Assembly of Rhode Island was that previously, although technically it had been illicit to bring new slaves from Africa onto Rhode Island soil, the captains of the Rhode Island negreros had been being allowed to keep their cargos of new slaves from Africa on Rhode Island soil for up to one year — so long as they promised that before the end of that year this cargo would be disposed of in the West Indies. This up-to-one-year permission was removed and from this point forward, the Rhode Island negreros would not be allowed to bring any of the new slaves back home with them, even for a short period.

Under Rhode Island's new Negro [Emancipation](#) Act, effective on this day, newborn children of slaves were to be designated as apprentices rather than as slaves, and were to be released from said indentureships when the



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females reached the age of 18 and the males reached the age of 21 (without however ever having had any of the protections awarded to white apprentices, and without their parents ever becoming themselves free). The idea was that by the time these newborns had reached an age to be released from this “apprenticeship,” they would have paid off the debt they obviously owed to the slavemaster who still owned their mother — for the lost labors of their mother while she was paying attention to her own child rather than to the needs of her master or mistress.

INDENTURE



When Rhode Island legislators began the gradual statutory abolition of slavery in their state in 1784, they declared in a preamble that slavery “had gradually obtained by unrestrained custom and the permission of the laws.”

– William W. Wiecek, “The Statutory Law of Slavery and Race in the Thirteen Mainland Colonies of British North America”



Slavery was not established by law in any American colony, but its development by custom was later recognized by legislation.

– William E. Moore, “Slave Law and the Social Structure”

MANUMISSION

(Separately, such a law was becoming effective also in the neighboring state of Connecticut. Rhode Island would, however, later repeal its law as “burthensome” to its white slavemasters — since the plantations of “The State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations” were where more than half of the entire amount of New England’s black slaves were situated.)

“Emancipation in the ... Indies...”: On the other part, appeared the reign of pounds and shillings, and all manner of rage and stupidity; a resistance which drew from Mr. Huddleston in Parliament the observation, “That a curse attended this trade even in the mode of defending it. By a certain fatality, none but the vilest arguments were brought forward, which corrupted the very persons who used them. Every one of these was built on the narrow ground of interest, of pecuniary profit, of sordid gain, in opposition to every motive that had reference to humanity, justice, and religion, or to that great principle which comprehended them all.”

April 29, Thursday: The Reverend [Samuel Hopkins](#) wrote from [Newport, Rhode Island](#) to [Friend Moses Brown](#) in [Providence](#) about the prospects of their abolitionist efforts:

I have dared publicly to declare that this town [Newport] is the most guilty, respecting the trade, of any on the [North American] continent, as it has been, in a great measure, built up by the blood of the poor Africans... This has greatly displeased a number [of the local white people], and I fear the

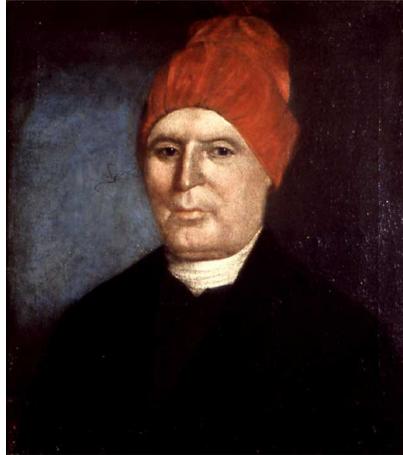


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most are far from a disposition to repent, especially they who have the greatest share of the guilt.... This gives me a gloomy prospect of our future circumstances!

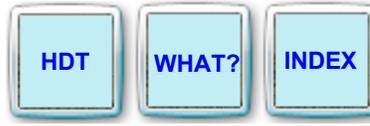


I don't have a date for this, but will insert it arbitrarily at this point. When the Reverend wrote a polemic against the [international slave trade](#), at first the [Newport Herald](#) would agree to print his new tract — but then the editor would change his mind.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The [Declaration of Independence](#) showed a significant drift of public opinion from the firm stand taken in the "Association" resolutions. The clique of political philosophers to which Jefferson belonged never imagined the continued existence of the country with slavery. It is well known that the first draft of the Declaration contained a severe arraignment of Great Britain as the real promoter of slavery and the slave-trade in America. In it the king was charged with waging "cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of *infidel* powers, is the warfare of the *Christian* king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where *men* should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the *liberties* of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the *lives* of another."³⁶

To this radical and not strictly truthful statement, even the large influence of the Virginia leaders could not gain the assent of the delegates in Congress. The afflatus of 1774 was

36. Jefferson, WORKS (Washington, 1853-4), I. 23-4. On the Declaration as an anti-slavery document, cf. Elliot, DEBATES (1861), I. 89.



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rapidly subsiding, and changing economic conditions had already led many to look forward to a day when the slave-trade could successfully be reopened. More important than this, the nation as a whole was even less inclined now than in 1774 to denounce the slave-trade uncompromisingly. Jefferson himself says that this clause "was struck out in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue it. Our northern brethren also, I believe," said he, "felt a little tender under those censures; for though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others."³⁷

As the war slowly dragged itself to a close, it became increasingly evident that a firm moral stand against slavery and the slave-trade was not a probability. The reaction which naturally follows a period of prolonged and exhausting strife for high political principles now set in. The economic forces of the country, which had suffered most, sought to recover and rearrange themselves; and all the selfish motives that impelled a bankrupt nation to seek to gain its daily bread did not long hesitate to demand a reopening of the profitable African slave-trade. This demand was especially urgent from the fact that the slaves, by pillage, flight, and actual fighting, had become so reduced in numbers during the war that an urgent demand for more laborers was felt in the South.

Nevertheless, the revival of the trade was naturally a matter of some difficulty, as the West India circuit had been cut off, leaving no resort except to contraband traffic and the direct African trade. The English slave-trade after the peace "returned to its former state," and was by 1784 sending 20,000 slaves annually to the West Indies.³⁸ Just how large the trade to the continent was at this time there are few means of ascertaining; it is certain that there was a general reopening of the trade in the Carolinas and Georgia, and that the New England traders participated in it. This traffic undoubtedly reached considerable proportions; and through the direct African trade and the illicit West India trade many thousands of Negroes came into the United States during the years 1783-1787.³⁹

Meantime there was slowly arising a significant divergence of opinion on the subject. Probably the whole country still regarded both slavery and the slave-trade as temporary; but the Middle States expected to see the abolition of both within a generation, while the South scarcely thought it probable to prohibit even the slave-trade in that short time. Such a difference might, in all probability, have been satisfactorily adjusted, if both parties had recognized the real gravity of the matter. As it was, both regarded it as a problem of secondary importance, to be solved after many other more pressing ones had

37. Jefferson, WORKS (Washington, 1853-4), I. 19.

38. Clarkson, IMPOLICY OF THE SLAVE-TRADE, pages 25-6; REPORT OF THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL, etc. (London, 1789).

39. Witness the many high duty acts on slaves, and the revenue derived therefrom. Massachusetts had sixty distilleries running in 1783. Cf. Sheffield, OBSERVATIONS ON AMERICAN COMMERCE, page 267.



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been disposed of. The anti-slavery men had seen slavery die in their own communities, and expected it to die the same way in others, with as little active effort on their own part. The Southern planters, born and reared in a slave system, thought that some day the system might change, and possibly disappear; but active effort to this end on their part was ever farthest from their thoughts. Here, then, began that fatal policy toward slavery and the slave-trade that characterized the nation for three-quarters of a century, the policy of *laissez-faire*, *laissez-passer*.

May 3: [Anthony Benezet](#) died. His grave is in the Friends' Burial Ground of Philadelphia.

On this day the abolitionist [Friend Moses Brown](#) demanded an answer to the question, "Has General Washington freed his Negroes or has he not?" (There would be no response.)

The Los Angeles newsman and storyteller who has weighed in on this issue, Charles Rappleye, has responded to this factoid on page 234 of his recent *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006) by offering some factoids of his own. Unfortunately, Rappleye's factoids, although part of the "conventional wisdom" familiar to all American newsmen and storytellers, happens to be demonstrably inaccurate:

Considering the well-known history of Washington's stony silence on the question of [slavery](#), and that he finally manumitted his 123 slaves only upon his decease, Moses' query seems wildly off base.⁴⁰

First, George Washington was the Virginia slavemaster who had selected a healthy male slave and had that man held down, while a healthy tooth was yanked out of his jaw with pliers, in order to have a piece of ivory to fit into a gap in his personal denture. **This is not the act of a man who is maintaining a stony silence on the topic of some people's lives belonging not to themselves but to other more fortunate people.** Second, Washington would [manumitted](#) precisely one slave upon his decease, a mulatto manservant he called "Billy" who referred to himself as "William Lee," who since he had become old and crippled had anyway lost all cash value:

And to my Mulatto man William (calling himself William Lee) I give immediate freedom; or if he should prefer it (on account of the accidents which ha[v]e befallen him, and which have rendered him incapable of walking or of any active employment) to remain in the situation he now is, it shall be optional in him to do so: In either case however, I allow him an annuity of thirty dollars during his natural life, whic[h] shall be independent of the victuals and cloaths he has been accustomed to receive, if he chuses the last alternative; but in full, with his freedom, if he prefers the first; & this I give him as a test[im]ony of my sense of his attachment to me, and for his

40. Presumably the newsman meant to use the idiom "wildly off target," as in "The ball struck the batter on the elbow." A runner who is "off base" can be tagged out, and one can suppose there to be something like "widely off," which is to say, far away from the white base bag that the runner is supposed to be touching with one shoe — but there seems to be no such thing as being "wildly off base."



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faithful services during the Revolutionary War.

Third, this ostensibly precise figure supplied by the newsman, “123 slaves,” is a figure that requires considerable elaboration. There were 317 slaves on the various Mount Vernon farms, 153 of whom as the dower property of his spouse Martha Washington would at her death pertain to the Custis heir-at-law, her grandson George Washington Parke Custis, and 40 of whom were the property of a neighbor, Penelope Manley French. Fourth, in accordance with the standard manner in which estates were then probated and are still now probated, **all debts must always be discharged in full before any of the deceased’s bequests can be honored.** There is no getting away from this. Fifth, in accordance with the manner in which estates were being probated at the turn of the 19th Century in Virginia, **since the black beneficiaries counted as mere property, the entitlements of all white beneficiaries would need to be satisfied in full before any of the indicated manumissions could take place.** At that time in that place, there was no getting away from this. Therefore, for George Washington to have set up an enforceable plan for the manumission of either 123 or 317 persons upon the eventual demise of his spouse Martha Washington, it would have been mandatory for him to have set up an escrow account and to have registered in that inviolate account moneys or properties at least equal in value to the lives of those 123 or 317 human beings. And this he did not even begin to do. Instead Washington expressed what amounted to good intentions in regard to the balance of the slaves over and above his crippled mulatto manservant William Lee. –And although there is ample extrapolative puffery, in fact we have no documentary record that **any one** of these 123 or 317 human beings became free upon the demise of the widowed Martha (the only documentary record we have is that Martha expressed **considerable irritation** upon hearing of the expectation these people had, that as soon as she was dead they would be set free):

[Ite]m[:] Upon the decease [of] my wife, it is my Will & desire th[at] all the Slaves which I hold in [my] own right, shall receive their free[dom]. To emancipate them during [her] life, would, tho’ earnestly wish[ed by] me, be attended with such insu[pera]ble difficulties on account of thei[r interm]ixture by Marriages with the [dow]er Negroes, as to excite the most pa[in]ful sensations, if not disagreeabl[e c]onsequences from the latter, while [both] descriptions are in the occupancy [of] the same Proprietor; it not being [in] my power, under the tenure by which [th]e Dower Negroes are held, to man[umi]t them. And whereas among [thos]e who will recieve freedom ac[cor]ding to this devise, there may b[e so]me, who from old age or bodily infi[rm]ities, and others who on account of [the]ir infancy, that will be unable to [su]pport themselves; it is m[y Will and de]sire that all who [come under the first] & second descrip[tion shall be comfor]tably cloathed & [fed by my heirs while] they live; and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or if living are unable, or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the Court until they shall arrive at the ag[e] of twenty five years; and in cases where no record can be produced, whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the Court, upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and final. The Negros thus bound, are (by their Masters or Mistresses) to be taught to read & write; and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the Laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of Orphan and other poor Children. and I do hereby expressly forbid the Sale, or transportation out of the said Commonwealth, of any Slave I may die possessed of, under any pretence whatsoever. And



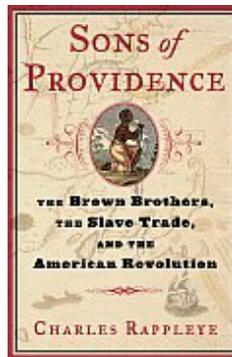
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I do moreover most pointedly, and most solemnly enjoin it upon my Executors hereafter named, or the Survivors of them, to see that th[is cla]use respecting Slaves, and every part thereof be religiously fulfilled at the Epoch at which it is directed to take place; without evasion, neglect or delay, after the Crops which may then be on the ground are harvested, particularly as it respects the aged and infirm; seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support so long as there are subjects requiring it; not trusting to the [u]ncertain provision to be made by individuals.

In consideration of these pieces of information, does Friend Moses's demanding interrogative, "Has General Washington freed his Negroes or has he not?" seem—to anyone other than this Charles Rappleye—to have been "off base" or "off target"? I would think not. It was an exceedingly pertinent issue, one that deserved not silence but the answer it did not ever receive, and even now is not receiving. As Friend Moses commented, if this general were to retain his slaves, such a fact would "indeed be a paradox to posterity."



Should we put up with this sort of trade press book? I suppose we should, if the author is going to come to an important conclusion. But what conclusion does Rappleye draw from all the factoids he summons, true factoids mingled with a few false factoids? – Merely that this struggle between John and Moses, between vicious and greedy enslavers and generous and benign liberators, amounted to nothing but "sibling rivalry on a grand scale" (page 330). All this stuff we moderns think we believe about abolitionism being progressive and enslavement regressive is sheer irrelevance, for these black slaves and their anguish are mere stage props; what we have here is two white brothers "John and Mosie" taking center stage and chewing up the set scenery and relating to each other in the duke-it-out way that brothers relate to each other. "John was never going to cede to Moses the question of what was right and what was wrong." Such an analysis being so simplistic as to be reductionist, the conclusion I would come to is that no, we should not put up with this sort of trade press book.

November 1, Monday: A set of rules and regulations was adopted by the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in the upper room of the meetinghouse in [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#):

The following rules and regulations were agreed on for the Government of the Yearly Meeting's School viz—

First,—That the Scholars carefully observe to be at School at the appointed times—That none presume to absent themselves without leave of the person under whose care they are, and that



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manifested to the Master.-

Second,-That they be always silent at their studies, so that their voices be not heard unless when saying their lessons, or speaking to their Master-

To hold no discourse with their School-fellows during the time of study, unless to ask something relating to their learning, and then in a low voice, and to avoid gazing about, moving from place to place or too frequent going out.-

Third,-That strict obedience be paid the Monitors in discharge of their Office, and that none shall take the liberty to enter into any dispute with them; but those who may after deliberate consideration, think themselves aggrieved, may make their complaint to the Master, and if he does not redress them, or if they have any cause of complaint against the Master, they may lay the same before one or more of the School-Committee, who shall take notice thereof at their next Meeting to reconcile and redress the same.

Fourth,-That in going to and from School every one behave with decency and sobriety, without giving the least cause of offense to any.-

Fifth,-That in all their conversation whether in or out of School they use the plain scripture language of the singular number to one person, and be careful to place the words thou and thee in their proper places, and to call the days of the Week and Months of the Year in their numerical Order, and each other by their proper names according to the practice of the Apostles, avoiding all other names, terms of reproach, and every other rude or uncivil expression.-

Sixth,-That in hours of leisure they observe modesty and Sobriety, using such exercise of body only as may preserve their minds in sweetness to each other, that friendship and harmony may dwell among them, and they thereby learn to prefer and love each other's company in preference to that of any rude wicked children, whom they are strictly enjoined not to associate with.-

Seventh,-Never tell a lie, or use artful evasions, nor wrong any person by word or deed, Swear not at all, nor use the name of God irreverently or in vain, Mock not the aged, the lame, deformed or insane, or any other person; Throw no sticks, stones, dirt, snow-balls or any other thing at any person; nor wantonly or unnecessarily at any creature, revile no person, nor utter any indecent expression; never return any injury or affront, but forgive agreeable to the declaration given us of our Lord. Matthew, Chapt. 6th. verse 14 15, for if ye forgive men their tresspasses, your heavenly father will also forgive you, but if ye forgive not men their Tresspasses neither will your heavenly father forgive your tresspasses, and in all things to the best of their power behave in a modest and civil manner to all.

Eighth,-When meetings are held on any other than first days the Scholars are to go to School prepared to attend them with decency and Sobriety.



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Ninth,-And inasmuch as the best rules avail not unless they are put in practice, frequent enquiry should be made by the Master whether they are punctually observed in his absence, and when any neglect appears, it should not pass without notice and reproof or correction if necessary, and where any complaint or difference arise, the ground and justice of such complaint or difference should be enquired into, when the Master should take the opportunity to recommend and inculcate the great duty of doing to each other what they would have done to than: And when any Scholar makes complaint of a School-mate, neither those complained of nor any other should be permitted to reproach the complainants for their care to preserve good order; but care should be used to check such as take pleasure in tattling and tale-bearing both in and out of School.- The Master is desired to be at the School-house some time before the School hours as often as he conveniently can, that thereby the Scholars may be preserved from irregularity; and good order encouraged that so it may become habitual.

Tenth,-That he strictly enjoin the Scholars to be diligent to their several studies and application to their Books that their proficiency may be to each an Ornament, which alone can be acquired by attention and diligence.

Let the Scholars know they must be careful to attend Meetings, on first days, as well as other Meeting days, unless sickness or unavoidable necessity prevents; and if any fails in this duty, let enquiry be immediately made for the cause, and every necessary method used to detect and discountenance every inclination to screen and hide their misconduct in this way or any other instance by that mean and scandalous practice of equivocating and lying; vices which they should know are detestable in the sight of their almighty creator and of good men and worthy of correction; while candor, openness and integrity are praise worthy and should be encouraged that they may be truly virtuous.

And above all, let frequent opportunity be taken and every occasion employed to inculcate in their minds the necessity and advantage to themselves, both present and future, of strictly observing every moral and Christian duty and let any breach there of be more frequently reproved than any other neglect.- And although the scriptures of truth are the principal Books to be read in the School, being as saith the Apostle, able to make us wise unto salvation through faith in Christ Jesus; and are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect throughly furnished unto all good works 2nd Tim. Chap. 3rd. Ver. 15, 16, 17th.

Nevertheless there are other Books which may be useful and the Master may occasionally direct such parts of William Penn's no Cross no Crown; and reflections and Maxims; Robert Barclay's Apology and Catechism, and Piety promoted with such other Books, Epistles and Letters as the School Committee and he may think best-And as it is necessary that the Master have the government

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of his Scholars, in order to their being well-educated; he is to keep a strict tho' not passionate discipline according to the foregoing Rules, and it is expected all persons who send their Children will be resigned to his government Accordingly.—

Eleventh. The School hours be from the 9th hour to the twelfth, and from half after One to half past four till the first of the fourth Month next the time for the other part of the Year to be hereafter concluded on.—

Twelfth. And that the Master previous to his dismissing the Scholars, direct their Books and studies to be laid aside and their attention to be retired from them, In a pause for inward recollection as well as outward retirement; And then dismiss them not all at once, but gradually and quietly in such divisions as he may think most conducive to the reputation of the School, and advantage of the Scholars.





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1785

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Moses Brown](#) and Jabez Bowen agreed on a new, straighter routing for “Benefit Street” (it had started out as an alley behind the homes, and had evolved through a crooked “Back Street” phase. In addition they laid out the boundaries of a new town cemetery.

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November 27, Wednesday: In the afternoon, in Rhode Island, as [John Brown](#) was sitting down to a meal, Friend [Moses Brown](#)'s son Obadiah showed up with a package in hand. The boy was carrying a written argument opposing this new family involvement, and also a recent pamphlet arguing for the abolition of the [international slave trade](#).

The [Baptist](#) brother would provide the [Quaker](#) brother with a categorical defense of his personal righteousness. This was his story and he was sticking to it:

[T]he slaves are positively better off that is brought from the coast than those that are left behind.

Besides, everyone else was doing it! The morality of his position having thus been demonstrated, John went on to confess that there was, in addition, a practical consideration — it is appropriate for a businessman to pay his debts:

I owe an enormous sum of money in Europe, and am striving in every trade which appears lawful and right to me, to pay as much of that debt as possible.

Meanwhile, in Massachusetts, a party of Shays' Rebellion insurrectionaries led by Oliver Parker arrived in [Concord](#), intending to march on the following day to Cambridge and there prevent a sitting of the Court of Common Pleas. Captain Job Shattuck passed through town in secret. The plan would fall apart, and then the dispersed insurrectionaries would be individually tracked down and taken into custody.



On the 28th of November the Court of Common Pleas was to sit in Cambridge; and though the leading insurgent of the 12th of September had been persuaded not to take any measure in opposition to government, his agreement was overruled in secret council with the leaders in Worcester county. On the 27th a party, headed by Oliver Parker marched to Concord, intending to proceed to Cambridge. Job Shattuck came in a secret manner; and after his arrival, went under cover of night, "to Weston to get intelligence of the Worcester forces; but though they had begun their march, they did not appear; and from want of cooperation the whole plan fell through. The insurgents at Concord, growing disheartened, scattered before any force could reach them." Warrants were issued for apprehending the leading insurgents in Middlesex, and were committed to the sheriff. A military force



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volunteered to assist him, leaving [Boston](#) the 29th of November, and proceeding immediately to Concord. The militia of Concord stood ready to afford any assistance. A party of horse was despatched to secure the subjects of the warrants, and returned at night with Page and Parker prisoners. Not having succeeded in apprehending Shattuck - the principal leader, they proceeded to his house in Groton, and on their arrival found he had taken the alarm and fled to the woods. A search was made and after considerable exertion he was taken about 10 o'clock, a.m., November 30th. He received several wounds from his pursuers during his arrest, some of which were very dangerous, - a treatment which was generally censured. He was taken to Boston the next day and confined to prison where he received medical aid but he never entirely recovered the use of his limbs. In the following May he was tried at Concord, and condemned to be hanged. But the government treated him with leniency, as they did all those who unfortunately acted, as he did from mistaken views, and gave him a full pardon September 20, 1787.⁴¹ Ephraim Wood, Esq. obtained this pardon from the government. After the apprehension of the opposing leaders in Middlesex, the insurrection was confined to other counties. Detachments of soldiers were made in January to suppress it. One from [Concord](#) marched to Worcester, Springfield, Hadley, Amherst, Petersham, back to Amherst, Hadley, [Northampton](#), Westhampton, Pittsfield, Farmington, Loudon, Sandersfield, Southwick, West-Springfield, back to Worcester and home. The officers of this company were Roger Brown, Captain; Amos Barrett, Lieutenant; and Jonas Heald of Acton, Ensign, and were attached to the regiment commanded by Colonel Henry Woods, of Pepperell, and Lieutenant Colonel William Monroe, of Lexington. They left Concord, January 19th, and returned February 26th. On the 27th of January, the town voted "to provide the families of those soldiers that were gone with the necessaries of life, while absent, if asked for." A bounty was paid by subscription. All the militia marched as far as Marlborough; but, before they had been long absent, they were ordered back again. The people of this town took no further part in the insurrection.⁴²

41. Captain Job Shattuck died in Groton, January 13, 1819, aged 84 years. He had been a brave and successful officer in the French and Revolutionary Wars, and often affirmed that he looked on no act of his life with more satisfaction, than that to which I have adverted; though he is said to have felt grateful for the pardon at the time, and remarked, he "would always be a good subject afterward." Whatever the object of those acts might originally have been, the ultimate results were undoubtedly good. The people were thereby taught the necessity of a general union of the states, and of the speedy adoption of the federal constitution. They were induced to take such measures as gave the people confidence in the government and promoted the general posterity.

42. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy, 1835

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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1787

October 6, Saturday: An article by “Crito” in opposition to [slavery](#) appeared in a [Providence, Rhode Island](#) one-page gazette, the [Gazette and Country Journal](#). “Crito” was [Moses Brown](#) and Mary Olney Brown, or perhaps was the Reverend [Samuel Hopkins](#).

ANTISLAVERY

October 31, Wednesday: Friend [Moses Brown](#) and four other [Quakers](#) prevailed at a meeting of the General Assembly in [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#). By a vote of 44 over 4 their long-sought ban on participation in the [international slave trade](#) was enacted. Governor John Collins and his ten assistants quickly signed this into effect.

“An act to prevent the slave trade and to encourage the abolition of [slavery](#).” This act prohibited and censured trade under penalty of £100 for each person and £1,000 for each vessel. Bartlett, INDEX TO THE PRINTED ACTS AND RESOLVES, p. 333; NARRAGANSETT HISTORICAL REGISTER, II. 298-9.

ANTISLAVERY

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In 1652 Rhode Island passed a law designed to prohibit life slavery in the colony. It declared that “Whereas, there is a common course practised amongst English men to buy negers, to that end they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventing of such practices among us, let it be ordered, that no blacke mankind or white being forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assignes longer than ten yeares, or untill they come to bee twentie four yeares of age, if they bee taken in under fourteen, from the time of their cominge within the liberties of this Collonie. And at the end or terme of ten yeares to sett them free, as the manner is with the English servants. And that man that will not let them goe free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to that end that they may bee enslaved to others for a long time, hee or they shall forfeit to the Collonie forty pounds.”⁴³

This law was for a time enforced,⁴⁴ but by the beginning of the eighteenth century it had either been repealed or become a dead letter; for the Act of 1708 recognized perpetual slavery, and laid an impost of £3 on Negroes imported.⁴⁵ This duty was really a tax on the transport trade, and produced a steady income for twenty years.⁴⁶ From the year 1700 on, the citizens of this State engaged more and more in the carrying trade, until Rhode Island became the greatest slave-trader in America. Although she did

43. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, I. 240.

44. Cf. letter written in 1681: NEW ENGLAND REGISTER, XXXI. 75-6. Cf. also Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, I. 240.

45. The text of this act is lost (COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 34; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 31). The Acts of Rhode Island were not well preserved, the first being published in Boston in 1719. Perhaps other whole acts are lost.

46. E.g., it was expended to pave the streets of Newport, to build bridges, etc.: RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 191-3, 225.



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not import many slaves for her own use, she became the clearing-house for the trade of other colonies. Governor Cranston, as early as 1708, reported that between 1698 and 1708 one hundred and three vessels were built in the State, all of which were trading to the West Indies and the Southern colonies.⁴⁷ They took out lumber and brought back molasses, in most cases making a slave voyage in between. From this, the trade grew. Samuel Hopkins, about 1770, was shocked at the state of the trade: more than thirty distilleries were running in the colony, and one hundred and fifty vessels were in the slave-trade.⁴⁸ "Rhode Island," said he, "has been more deeply interested in the slave-trade, and has enslaved more Africans than any other colony in New England." Later, in 1787, he wrote: "The inhabitants of Rhode Island, especially those of Newport, have had by far the greater share in this traffic, of all these United States. This trade in human species has been the first wheel of commerce in Newport, on which every other movement in business has chiefly depended. That town has been built up, and flourished in times past, at the expense of the blood, the liberty, and happiness of the poor Africans; and the inhabitants have lived on this, and by it have gotten most of their wealth and riches."⁴⁹

The Act of 1708 was poorly enforced. The "good intentions" of its framers "were wholly frustrated" by the clandestine "hiding and conveying said negroes out of the town [Newport] into the country, where they lie concealed."⁵⁰ The act was accordingly strengthened by the Acts of 1712 and 1715, and made to apply to importations by land as well as by sea.⁵¹ The Act of 1715, however, favored the trade by admitting African Negroes free of duty. The chaotic state of Rhode Island did not allow England often to review her legislation; but as soon as the Act of 1712 came to notice it was disallowed, and accordingly repealed in 1732.⁵² Whether the Act of 1715 remained, or whether any other duty act was passed, is not clear.

While the foreign trade was flourishing, the influence of the Friends and of other causes eventually led to a movement against slavery as a local institution. Abolition societies multiplied, and in 1770 an abolition bill was ordered by the Assembly, but it was never passed.⁵³ Four years later the city of Providence resolved that "as personal liberty is an essential part of the natural rights of mankind," the importation of slaves and the system of slavery should cease in the colony.⁵⁴ This movement finally resulted, in 1774, in an act "prohibiting the importation of Negroes into this Colony," - a law which curiously illustrated the attitude of Rhode Island toward the

47. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 55-60.

48. Patten, REMINISCENCES OF SAMUEL HOPKINS (1843), page 80.

49. Hopkins, WORKS (1854), II. 615.

50. Preamble of the Act of 1712.

51. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 131-5, 138, 143, 191-3.

52. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 471.

53. Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 304, 321, 337. For a probable copy of the bill, see NARRAGANSETT HISTORICAL REGISTER, II. 299.

54. A man dying intestate left slaves, who became thus the property of the city; they were freed, and the town made the above resolve, May 17, 1774, in town meeting: Staples, ANNALS OF PROVIDENCE (1843), page 236.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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slave-trade. The preamble of the act declared: "Whereas, the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which, that of personal freedom must be considered as the greatest; as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others; – Therefore," etc. The statute then proceeded to enact "that for the future, no negro or mulatto slave shall be brought into this colony; and in case any slave shall hereafter be brought in, he or she shall be, and are hereby, rendered immediately free...." The logical ending of such an act would have been a clause prohibiting the participation of Rhode Island citizens in the slave-trade. Not only was such a clause omitted, but the following was inserted instead: "Provided, also, that nothing in this act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to any negro or mulatto slave brought from the coast of Africa, into the West Indies, on board any vessel belonging to this colony, and which negro or mulatto slave could not be disposed of in the West Indies, but shall be brought into this colony. Provided, that the owner of such negro or mulatto slave give bond ... that such negro or mulatto slave shall be exported out of the colony, within one year from the date of such bond; if such negro or mulatto be alive, and in a condition to be removed."⁵⁵

In 1779 an act to prevent the sale of slaves out of the State was passed,⁵⁶ and in 1784, an act gradually to abolish slavery.⁵⁷ Not until 1787 did an act pass to forbid participation in the slave-trade. This law laid a penalty of £100 for every slave transported and £1000 for every vessel so engaged.⁵⁸

55. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VII. 251-2.

56. BARTLETT'S INDEX, page 329; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 444; RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VIII. 618.

57. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, X. 7-8; Arnold, HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, II. 506.

58. BARTLETT'S INDEX, page 333; NARRAGANSETT HISTORICAL REGISTER, II. 298-9. The number of slaves in Rhode Island has been estimated as follows: –

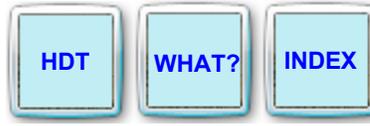
In 1708, 426. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, IV. 59.

In 1730, 1,648. RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS, No. 19, pt. 2, page 99.

In 1749, 3,077. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 281.

In 1756, 4,697. Williams, HISTORY OF THE NEGRO RACE IN AMERICA, I. 281.

In 1774, 3,761. RHODE ISLAND COLONIAL RECORD, VII. 253.



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1788

J.P. Brissot de Warville provided an impression of [Rhode Island](#) as he encountered it.

J.P. BRISSOT DE WARVILLE

In the earliest attempt to manufacture [cotton](#) cloth in [Providence](#), Daniel Anthony, Andrew Dexter, and Lewis Peck constructed a spinning-jenny in a private home on the basis of an English model they found in Beverly, Massachusetts and went into partnership to make “homespun” (this machinery would be moved to the market-house chamber in Providence). They would construct also a carding-machine and a spinning-frame. Joseph Alexander, a native of Scotland, would show them how to set up a loom. They would move the spinning-frame to [Pawtucket](#) so it could operate by water-power, and sell it to [Moses Brown](#) of Providence. None of this machinery worked very well, and William Almy and Smith Brown carried on this business for Moses Brown until it was recognized to be an unprofitable arrangement.⁵⁹

The New England [Yearly Meeting](#) boarding school that Friend [Moses Brown](#) had established in [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#) in 1784 at this point was discontinued due to cash flow problems (although the rents from Point Estates in [Newport](#) had been promised as tuition, due to the general economic distress in New England during this year the renters there had fallen behind in their monthly payments).⁶⁰

MOSES BROWN SCHOOL

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

59. Bear in mind that in early periods the Southern states of the United States of America produced no significant amount of [cotton](#) fiber for export — such production not beginning until 1789. In fact, according to page 92 of Seybert’s STATISTICS, in 1784 a small parcel of cotton that had found its way from the US to Liverpool had been refused admission to England, because it was the customs agent’s opinion that this involved some sort of subterfuge: it could not have originated in the United States.

60. After a hiatus of two decades, in 1808, Friend Moses would revive this school board, and after more than another decade of planning, the school would begin anew in 1819, this time atop College Hill in [Providence](#).



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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March 8, Saturday: [Abraham Redwood](#) died on the island of Aquidneck. His body would be buried in the Coggeshall family plot on Coggeshall Avenue in [Newport, Rhode Island](#), next door to the stables of the Preservation Society. In the latter stages of his life, Friend Abraham had been labored with unsuccessfully by his fellow [Quakers](#), to persuade him to renounce his reliance upon human [slavery](#).⁶¹ The will of this Quaker slavemaster and philanthropist provided £500 to be used toward the establishment of a Friends' School and £500 to be used toward the establishment of a [College of Rhode Island](#), provided that said college would be located in his home town of Newport. Did his money have blood on it? No, the wonderful thing about money (like the wonderful thing about a dirty little boy) is that it's infinitely washable.

[MOSES BROWN SCHOOL](#)
[BROWN UNIVERSITY](#)

Spring: While [Friend Moses Brown](#) was in [Boston](#), agitating for Massachusetts to ban the [international slave trade](#), a free American black was kidnapped to be sold into [slavery](#). There was considerable publicity and public outrage. With the help of the Boston Association of Ministers, the abolitionist bill came before the assembly and was enacted. The Massachusetts fines and penalties for violation of this new law would be, however, considerably lower than the fines and penalties that were prescribed in [Rhode Island](#).

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Of the twenty years from 1787 to 1807 it can only be said that they were, on the whole, a period of disappointment so far as the suppression of the slave-trade was concerned. Fear, interest, and philanthropy united for a time in an effort which bade fair to suppress the trade; then the real weakness of the constitutional compromise appeared, and the interests of the few overcame the fears and the humanity of the many.

Winter: [Friends Moses Brown](#) and Samuel Emlin (a traveling public Friend visiting from Philadelphia) went to the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) home of the premier slavetrader, Cyprian Sterry, were invited to enter, and had there an extended conversation with that businessman. Some 6 negro vessels were leaving the Narragansett Bay during that season bound for the shores of Africa, and in the harbor at [Newport](#), Sterry was in the process of fitting out one of these six. The Quakers warned Sterry that if he violated the new law about the engagement of Rhode Islanders in the [international slave trade](#), they would see to it that he was prosecuted. Sterry took refuge in the standard lie — he was sending, he averred, his ship to Africa after ivory and gold rather than, Heaven forbid, after black [slaves](#).

61. Eventually the [Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) disowned him — but their record, now at the Rhode Island Historical Society, neglects to state the reason why this action was taken.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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1789

February 20, Friday: At the meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the corner of Towne and Meeting Streets in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the Providence Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade came into being and selected its first officers. David Howell (January 1, 1747-July 21, 1824) would be president, Friend [Moses Brown](#) would be treasurer, and Friend Thomas Arnold would be recording secretary. Also involved in the creation of this Society were the Reverend [Samuel Hopkins](#), minister of the 1st Congregational Church at [Newport](#), Friend William Rotch, prominent merchant of New Bedford, etc. The new society would function as a sort of non-official “District Attorney,” or “Special Prosecutor,” dedicated to bringing before the bar of justice any violators of the ban that had been enacted by the General Assembly in 1787 against taking part in the [international slave trade](#).



ANTISLAVERY

MOSES BROWN

According to Mack Thompson’s *MOSES BROWN, RELUCTANT REFORMER* (Chapel Hill NC: U of North Carolina P, 1962, pages 195-6):

He already had a plan, drawn up in 1786, modeled after similar organizations in America and England. There were many people in the state eager to emulate their friends in New-York and Philadelphia. Meetings were held in Providence during January 1789, and on February 20, in the Friends’ meetinghouse, the Providence Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was officially organized with ex-Congressman David Howell as president, Thomas Arnold, merchant and Friend, as secretary, and Moses Brown as treasurer.⁶² Samuel Hopkins sent his congratulations but objected to the title given the society as being “too confined. It should, at least, be extended to the whole state. And I think it ought not to be confined to the Abolition of the Slave Trade. It ought to promote the freedom of those now in slavery, and to assist those who are free, as far as may be, to the enjoyment of the privileges of freemen, and the comforts of life....”⁶³

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Meantime, in spite of the prohibitory State laws, the African slave-trade to the United States continued to flourish. It was notorious that New England traders carried on a large traffic.⁶⁴ Members stated on the floor of the

62. See the announcements in the [United States Chronicle](#), February 5, 12, 19, 26, 1789

63. The Reverend [Samuel Hopkins](#) to Friend [Moses Brown](#), March 7, 1789, *MOSES BROWN PAPERS* (John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Volume VI, page 57)

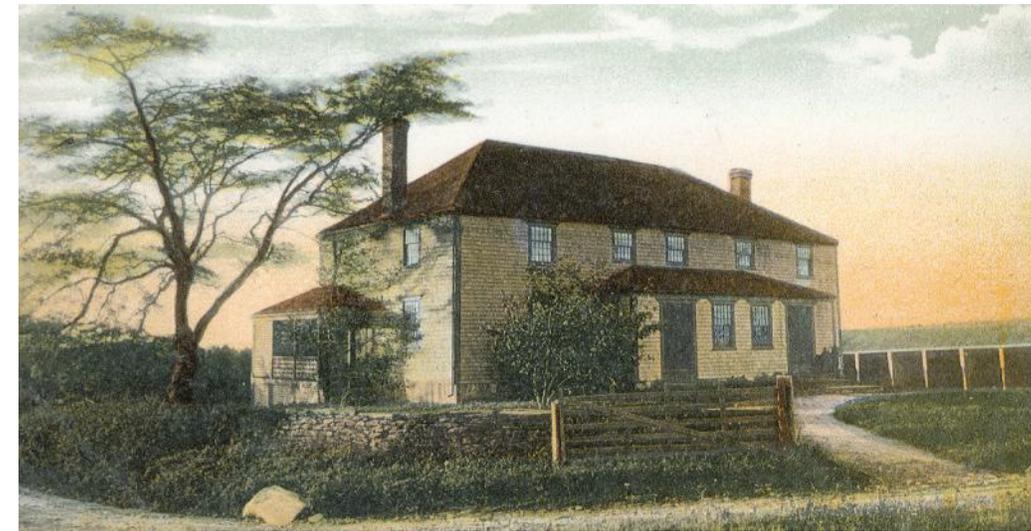
64. Cf. Fowler, *LOCAL LAW IN MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT*, etc., page 126.

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House that "it was much to be regretted that the severe and pointed statute against the slave trade had been so little regarded. In defiance of its forbiddance and its penalties, it was well known that citizens and vessels of the United States were still engaged in that traffic.... In various parts of the nation, outfits were made for slave-voyages, without secrecy, shame, or apprehension.... Countenanced by their fellow-citizens at home, who were as ready to buy as they themselves were to collect and to bring to market, they approached our Southern harbors and inlets, and clandestinely disembarked the sooty offspring of the Eastern, upon the ill fated soil of the Western hemisphere. In this way, it had been computed that, during the last twelve months, twenty thousand enslaved negroes had been transported from Guinea, and, by smuggling, added to the plantation stock of Georgia and South Carolina. So little respect seems to have been paid to the existing prohibitory statute, that it may almost be considered as disregarded by common consent."⁶⁵

These voyages were generally made under the flag of a foreign nation, and often the vessel was sold in a foreign port to escape confiscation. South Carolina's own Congressman confessed that although the State had prohibited the trade since 1788, she "was unable to enforce" her laws. "With navigable rivers running into the heart of it," said he, "it was impossible, with our means, to prevent our Eastern brethren, who, in some parts of the Union, in defiance of the authority of the General Government, have been engaged in this trade, from introducing them into the country. The law was completely evaded, and, for the last year or two [1802-3], Africans were introduced into the country in numbers little short, I believe, of what they would have been had the trade been a legal one."⁶⁶ The same tale undoubtedly might have been told of Georgia.

65. Speech of S.L. Mitchell of New York, Feb. 14, 1804: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 8th Congress, 1st Session, page 1000. Cf. also speech of Bedinger: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, pages 997-8.

66. Speech of Lowndes in the House, Feb. 14, 1804: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 8th Congress,, 1st Session, page 992. Cf. Stanton's speech later: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress, 2d Session, page 240.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

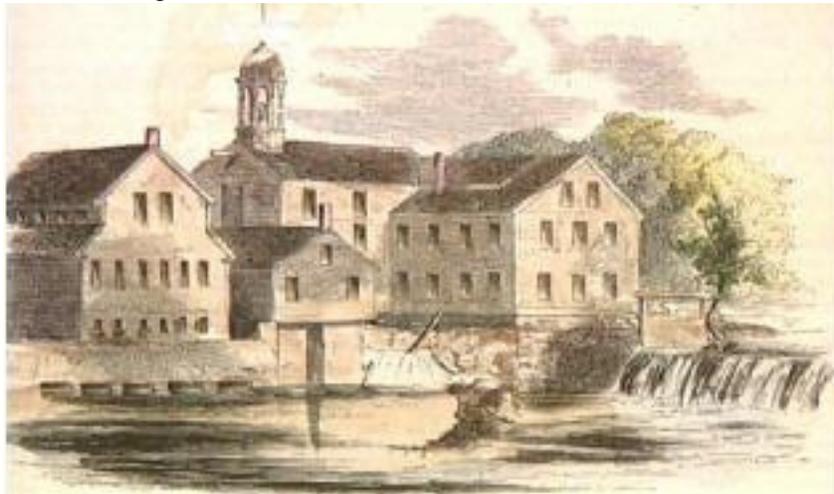
AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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December 2, Wednesday: In [Providence](#) and [Pawtucket, Rhode Island](#), [cotton](#) from the slave plantations of the American South and from the slave plantations of the West Indies was being woven into cloth for resale to its growers. The operation, run by the merchant [Moses Brown](#), was on a small scale. On this date [Samuel Slater](#),



a young man recently arrived from England after working in cotton spinning mills, applied for a job with Brown. Slater alleged an intimate knowledge of the British thread-spinning machinery: "I flatter myself that I can give the greatest satisfaction in making machinery, making as good yarn, either for stocking or twist, as any that is made in England."



Samuel [Slater] was a stalwart, handsome, rosy-cheeked youth of twenty-one when he came to America. Moses Brown sent him to [Oziel Wilkinson](#)'s, in Pawtucket, as a suitable place for him to board. When he entered Wilkinson's house Hannah and another of Oziel's daughters were working in the kitchen. Seeing a stranger, girl-like, they fled to an inner room; but Hannah, with maidenly curiosity, looked through a hole in the door and was favorably impressed with the young Englishman's appearance. Samuel saw the eyes and resolved to win them. The young people were both smitten, but the Wilkinsons were [Friends](#) and did not approve of Hannah's marrying a man of another faith. They proposed to send her away to school, but Samuel declared he would follow the girl to the ends of the earth if need be. The parents wisely concluded to withdraw their opposition and the lovers were allowed to marry. In the words of Slater's biographer, Hannah was a "lodestone" that kept him in Pawtucket. Had it not been for her influence and sympathy, he might have given away to discouragement at the many difficulties he was obliged to encounter in making the new machines and running them



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successfully. In telling the story of Slater we must not forget the woman who assisted him in winning his great success. The machines are supposed to have been started up temporarily in October, 1790, but the first record of their work commences with December 20, 1790.

[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)

[QUAKER DISOWNMENT](#)



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1790

After the Quaker school in the upstairs room of the meetinghouse in [Portsmouth, Rhode Island](#) had been closed for some two years because of the failure of the lot renters in Newport to keep up their rents, the Newport monthly meeting made official inquiry to the Meeting for Sufferings as to whether the school would ever be opened again, and if not, what was going to happen to these rent moneys if they accumulated. They requested “a reconveyance” in which the title to this property would revert to them. This reconveyance was made, and to top up the amount, the Meeting for Sufferings added “a reimbursement for sundry expenses in preparing a part of the Portsmouth meeting-house for the use of the school in 1784.”

The New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) nevertheless minuted that despite the release of the scholars of the [Yearly Meeting School](#) for a vacation of “one year or longer” due to shortage of funds, the school fund “should not be diverted to any other purpose.” Friends who had subscribed to support this fund might therefore continue to do so “in perfect freedom,” aware that their contributions would be diverted to no purpose other than Quaker education. The Meeting for Sufferings was to reopen this school as soon as the general financial situation had sufficiently improved.

February 4, Thursday: Friend [Moses Brown](#) had been going from Quaker meeting to Quaker meeting in [Rhode Island](#), attempting to persuade [Quakers](#) to accept [the US Constitution](#), explaining that “it is now only to be first adopted before we can attempt any amendments” and that “the time is come when our acceptance of the new government will be better for us than to any longer stand out being alone.” Ratification would be in the best interests of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, “this poor, divided, lonely state.” Once a Bill of Rights set of amendments is passed, he pointed out, this new federal government would be “the best and the most peaceably founded, perhaps in all the world.”



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1791

Colonel Timothy Pickering, Canandaigua lawyer Thomas Morris, the Reverend Kirkland, Horatio Jones, and Jasper Parrish negotiated with native headmen Red Jacket, Cornplanter, and Good Peter (the Indian preacher) and local tribes at New Town point (Elmira, New York). Nearly 500 Senecas encamped at Friend's Landing on Seneca Lake. At the request of Good Peter, "Universal Friend" [Jemimah Wilkinson](#) made an appearance. Her topic was "Have We Not All One Father?" Good Peter's sermon following her sermon, "Universal Friend" requested that his words be interpreted. Good Peter declined to provide this interpretation, commenting succinctly "if she is Christ, she knows what I said."

Following this conference, a delegation of Seneca headmen set out to visit President George Washington at the nation's capital, Philadelphia.

Noting "the great advantages which had resulted to Boston from the bank established there," [Moses Brown](#) and [John Brown](#) helped a group of wealthy merchants found, and John served as the chief executive officer, and Moses served as a director of, the first bank in [Rhode Island](#), incorporated in [Providence](#) and named the "Providence." (During June 1865 this institution would be reorganized as a national bank and renamed the "Providence National Bank.")

Four guys – [Samuel Slater](#), and a woodworker, and an elderly black employee of the merchant [Moses Brown](#), and the ironmaster [David Wilkinson](#) of Slater Mill in [Pawtucket](#) (meaning "waterfall") near North Providence, – bankrolled by a 5th guy, said Friend Moses, and using the water power of the [Blackstone River](#), with children working his "spinning jennies" in the production of yarn made of [cotton](#) from slave plantations, were at this point able to begin the farming out the large quantities of manufactured yarn to local women who were to work in their homes for piecework wages, weaving this yarn into cloth on consignment. The English thread-spinning technology had been duplicated entirely from Slater's memory.

This mill would begin to operate satisfactorily as soon as they had made a correction in the slope of the carder teeth he had specified.



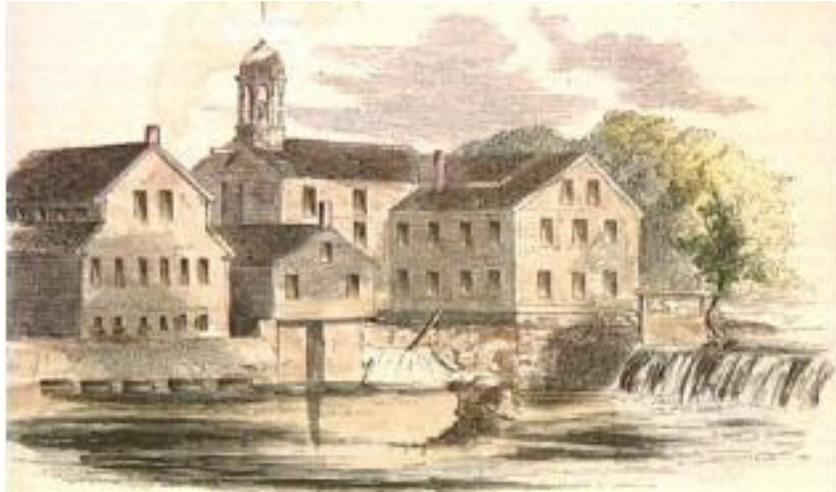


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(Obviously, our Bill of Rights was arriving, in this former colony that had been the very last to ratify the Constitution, not one instant too soon. :-)



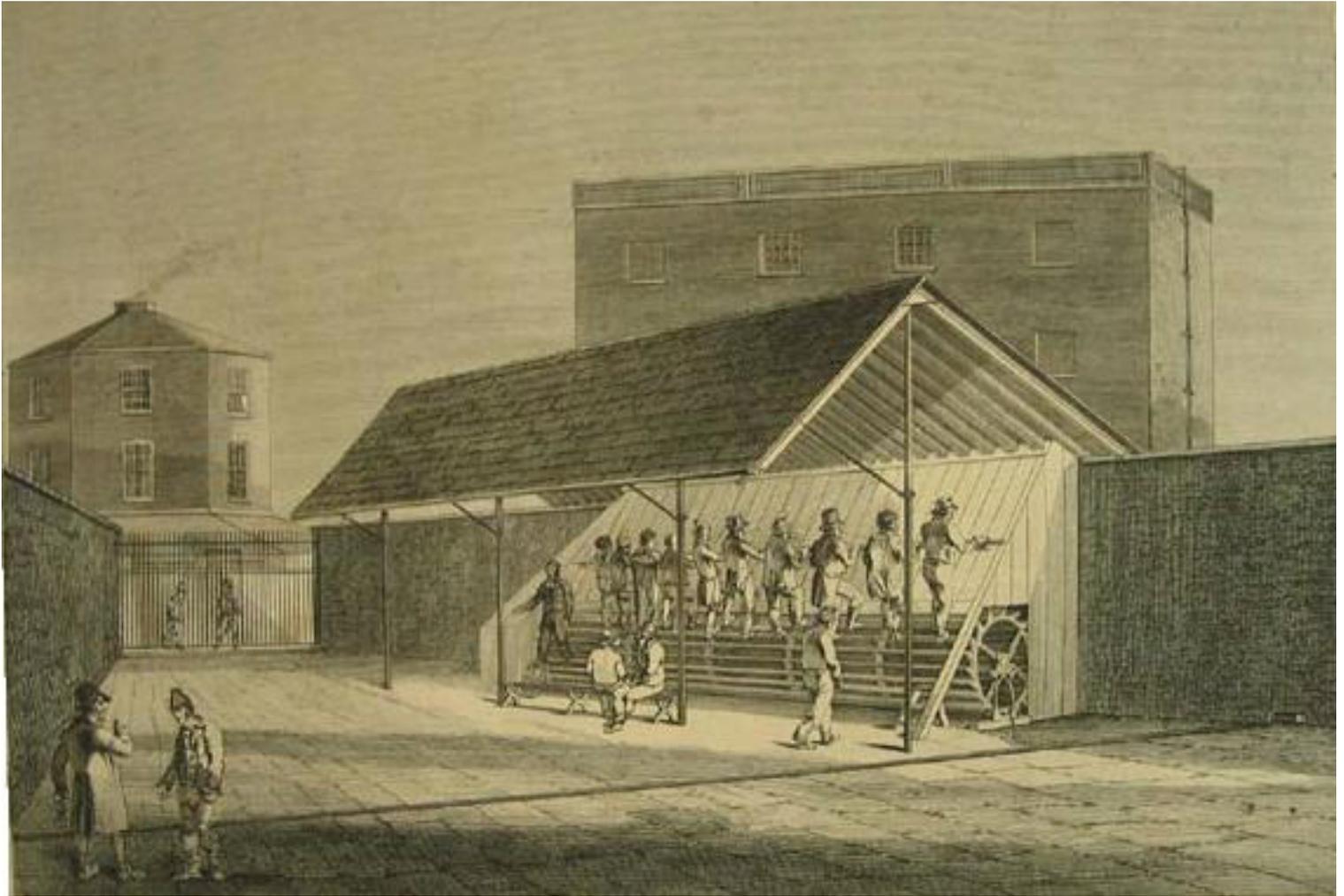


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Water power would replace at least for the most part the brute labor that had been being provided by animal and human treadmills:



(The treadmill illustrated above was one in use for punishment at the Brixton House of Correction in 1821. Prisoners walked the treadmill for ten minutes and then had a five minute breather. Talking was forbidden. Although the treadmill at Coldbath Fields prison drove a flour-mill, in other prisons the power produced was not utilized. Of course, in factories the treadmill was not for punishment and the power was always utilized.)



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Mr. [Samuel Slater](#) was able to get his hands on eight children between the ages of 7 and 12 as his first work crew in his factory at Slater Mills, to tend his water-powered carding and spinning machines — machines which were utterly lacking in any safety guards over their power belts and pulleys. Clearly, the only families which would put their children to this sort of dangerous labor were families which were desperate to get food on their table and shelter over their heads. Get this, such children might otherwise be destitute and victimizable! Slater made no agreements that these children, who should have been in school, would be trained as apprentices in any craft: they were not indentured to learn a lifetime skill, but were to be mere low-wage machine fodder without a future, in his dark Satanic mill. You can visit this mill today. It's right off the freeway but now it is deceptively lovely and lonely and silent there. There is nothing whatever about the place which might cause child abuse to spring to one's mind.

Get ready, here comes the unholy alliance of “the lords of the lash and the lords of the loom”!
By 1810 the United States would boast 87 such cotton mills, able to provide employment for 4,000 workers, some 3,500 of whom would be women and children who might otherwise be destitute and victimizable.⁶⁷

We owe so much to technology and the profit motive! (Don't let Adam Smith's invisible hand slap you in the face. :-)

White imitation slaves are infinitely superior to black real ones, because there's never any agitation to [emancipate](#) the imitation white ones — if they get old or sick or get caught in the machinery and injure themselves, you can just tell them to get lost!

By 1796 there would be three forges, a tanning mill, three snuff mills, an oil mill, a clothiers works, three fulling mills and two nail mills, at this falls on the [Pawtucket](#) River, all being run by water power rather than muscle power. Human workers were being allowed to use their brains rather than their brawn — isn't that superior?

67. As [Friend Moses Brown, Rhode Island](#)'s premiere industrialist, had pointed out,

“As the manufactory of the mill yarn is done by children from 8 to 14 years old it is a near total saving of labor to the country.”



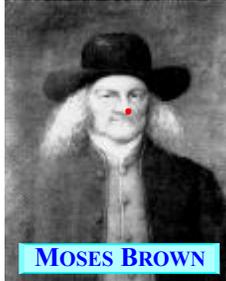
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November 12, Saturday: [Moses Brown](#) and [Oziel Wilkinson](#) registered their deed to an irregular plot of seven acres,



bearing two dwelling houses, a barn, and a corncrib, with water rights (this is the essential phrase: “with water rights”), on the bank of the [Blackstone River](#) next to the steepest waterfall there, where [Samuel Slater](#)’s mill was to be constructed.



Although now this land is part of the town of [Pawtucket](#) (the town’s name meaning “waterfall”), the two capitalists registered their deed as then part of North [Providence](#). The price paid had been “\$350 Spanish mill



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dollars” and Brown owned three shares in the property to Wilkinson’s one share.



RHODE ISLAND





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1794

[Friend Moses Brown](#) and [Friend Samuel Rodman](#) presented to President George Washington and Vice-President John Adams a memorial in opposition to the [international slave trade](#). The federal Congress passed an act prohibiting the trans-Atlantic trade. (When officials of the [Newport](#) customs district would begin to enforce this law in the subsidiary port of [Bristol](#), this would interfere with the nefarious activities of [Rhode Island](#) slavetraders [James DeWolf](#) and Shearjashub Bourne. The [slavetraders](#) would lobby the government for the establishment of Bristol as a separate customs district and no longer subject to these out-of-control officials of the Newport customs district — who were actually daring to enforce this new law.)

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Of the twenty years from 1787 to 1807 it can only be said that they were, on the whole, a period of disappointment so far as the suppression of the slave-trade was concerned. Fear, interest, and philanthropy united for a time in an effort which bade fair to suppress the trade; then the real weakness of the constitutional compromise appeared, and the interests of the few overcame the fears and the humanity of the many.



The DeWolf Crest



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1797

Most of [Paul Cuffe](#)'s life would be spent in [Westport MA](#), a [Quaker](#) enclave in southwestern Massachusetts where in this year he agreed to purchase a farm for \$3,500. He had earned his fortune from whaling and trade in the Americas and Europe. He would own shares, over a period of time, in up to 10 ships, and the financial probity of the Friends and their doctrine would figure in his success as a businessman. They captained some of his ships. Cuffe's faith was a factor in his building of a schoolhouse, on behalf of the "African Benevolent Society," when the community failed to do so — at some point in the late 1790s, deciding that he needed to establish a school for the 15 children of his immediate and extended family, he invited his white neighbors to send their children to this school as well. White people were reluctant to send their children to the so-called "Cuff's School" to mingle with their racial inferiors there on a basis of parity, but in some cases they had no real alternative. The school educated Cuffe's family plus a diverse group of Westport children — de facto making itself one of the first racially integrated schools in the United States of America. The charity school in town included black students but was taught only by white teachers; this Cuff's School included white students but was taught only by black teachers.

QUAKER EDUCATION

August 5, Monday: There was a preliminary appearance in federal court in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) on this day, in preparation for the trial of [John Brown](#) on charge of being engaged in the [international slave trade](#).

Per Jay Coughtry, Associate Professor of History at the University of Nevada in Las Vegas:

On August 5, 1797, [John Brown](#), the premier merchant and first citizen of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), reluctantly entered federal district court in his hometown and became the first American to be tried under the U.S. Slave Trade Act of 1794. After months of out-of-court wrangling with the plaintiffs, officers of a state abolition society, it appeared that Brown would now stand trial for fitting out his ship *Hope* for the African [slave trade](#). The voyage had concluded profitably in Havana, Cuba, with the sale of 229 [slaves](#) a year earlier.⁶⁸

Brown's accusers included his younger brother, [Moses](#), a tireless opponent of both slavery and the slave trade since his conversion, on the eve of the American Revolution, from the family's [Baptist](#) faith to the [Society of Friends](#). A founding member and officer of the Abolition Society, chartered in 1789, [Moses Brown](#) had been fighting Rhode Island slave traders, including brother John, for a decade, since the passage of the largely ineffective state statute of 1787 that prohibited the trade to state residents.⁶⁹

In this instance, the society's traditional tactic — cajoling a pledge from the accused to forswear slaving in the future in

68. Jay Coughtry, THE NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE: RHODE ISLAND AND THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE (Philadelphia, 1981), pages 214-215.

69. NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE, chapter 6. See also Mack Thompson, [MOSES BROWN: RELUCTANT REFORMER](#) (Chapel Hill, 1962), pages 175-190.



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exchange for dropping the suit- had failed. Even so, as Moses had pointedly reminded John before trial, the charges thus far were limited, involving only the comparatively mild first section of the three-year-old federal statute. A conviction would therefore require nothing more than forfeiture of the vessel, an aging one at that. What John should most fear, Moses advised, were "larger prosecutions" should he further provoke the Abolition Society by refusing to settle out of court.⁷⁰

Ultimately, the elder Brown ignored his brother's mediation efforts and offered only an eleventh hour plea for a continuance to haggle over milder pledge terms. Its patience exhausted, the Abolition Society flatly rejected that ploy whereupon the case proceeded swiftly to trial. As predicted, the district court judge had little choice but to assent to the arguments and evidence in the prosecution's narrowly defined case. Consequently, [John Brown](#) lost his vessel at a local auction in late August, thereby closing the forfeiture case. When the Abolition Society again sought Brown's promise to abandon his African commerce, he refused, quickly prompting the "larger prosecutions" Moses had warned him about.⁷¹

Meanwhile, Moses had become suspicious of John's continuing recalcitrance. It seemed premeditated in his younger brother's view, perhaps a deliberate strategy devised by John's "friends at [Newport](#)" (i.e., slave traders) to guarantee further suits over the illegal sale of the slaves. Such litigation, while potentially more costly, would also require a jury trial, and the slave traders assumed that local juries would not convict one of their own. They were right. Within six months [John Brown](#) announced his court victory over the "Wicked and Abominable Combination I mean the Abolition Society."⁷²

This insiders' view of the foregoing case of the ship *Hope* is documented, along with numerous other key prosecutions, in the correspondence of John and especially Moses Brown, now available in this microfilm series, PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE: SELECTIONS FROM THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Moreover, Moses Brown's letters reveal not only the Abolition Society's formal legal stratagems but also its traditional policy of intense but informal negotiating with slave traders who often yielded to the group's demands without a court fight. Cyprian Sterry, for example, the principal slave trader in Providence during the 1790s with fifteen voyages to the African coast in 1794 alone, fully succumbed to the society's persistent pressure. He escaped prosecution (along with his captain, Samuel Packard) for an African voyage involving the ship *Ann* by signing a written pledge to leave the [slave trade](#) forever.⁷³

70. [Moses Brown](#) to [John Brown](#), March 15, 1797, [MOSES BROWN PAPERS](#), vol. 9, no. 29, Rhode Island Historical Society; [Moses Brown](#) to [John Brown](#), *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 32.

71. [John Brown](#) to [Moses Brown](#), July 29, 31, 1797, [MOSES BROWN PAPERS](#), vol. 9, nos. 43 and 44, Rhode Island Historical Society. See also NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE at 215.

72. [John Brown](#) to [Moses Brown](#), July 31, 1797, [MOSES BROWN PAPERS](#), vol. 9, no. 44, Rhode Island Historical Society and Moses Brown to [John Brown](#), November 17, 1797, *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 49; [John Brown](#) to James Brown, June 21, 1798, [John Brown Papers](#), box D, Rhode Island Historical Society

73. [John Brown](#) to [Moses Brown](#), [MOSES BROWN PAPERS](#), vol. 9, no. 43. See also NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE at 213-214.



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Despite occasional successes in and out of court, in general the campaign against the slave traders in the wake of federal prohibition was proceeding haltingly at best. Moses Brown continued to monitor the efforts of customs officials in the Rhode Island district for the Abolition Society, which increasingly relinquished its early prosecutorial role to the U.S. Attorney's office. Congress bolstered the federal district attorney's legal arsenal with amendments to the 1794 statute in 1800 and again in 1803. Meanwhile, an aggressive secretary of the treasury appointed a special prosecutor for the district in 1801. The new laws closed the most obvious loopholes in the original act while the appointment of a resident special prosecutor provided a full-time federal agent who could focus exclusively on the escalating volume of vessels clearing state ports for Africa.⁷⁴

Documentation for these events not only reveals the growing docket of slaver cases but also regularly exposes the personal and political dimensions of enforcement and evasion. By century's end, for example, it had become clear that slavers had rendered nearly null the local auctions designed to separate owners from their slaving vessels. African merchants and their influential supporters simply intimidated all potential bidders and then repurchased their ships for a fraction of their assessed value. To end such bogus sales-at-auction, the government in 1799 sent Samuel Bosworth, surveyor of the port of [Bristol](#), to bid for the D'Wolf family's recently condemned schooner *Lucy*. Twice within twenty-four hours of the scheduled sale, [John Brown](#) and two D'Wolf brothers, the country's largest slave traders, visited Bosworth at home to dissuade him from his duty. Despite a threatened dunking in [Bristol](#) harbor, Bosworth "with considerable fear and trembling" arrived at the wharf on auction morning where he was met by a party of local "Indians" in unconvincing native garb and with faces blackened. No [Bristol](#) version of the patriotic tea party ensued, fortunately. Instead, Bosworth's captors hustled him aboard a waiting sailboat and deposited him two miles down the bay at the foot of Mount Hope. The government never employed that strategy again.⁷⁵

Such an outrage was not the limit of "the trade's supporters" arrogance, however. Soon, Special Prosecutor John Leonard would personally feel the wrath of Rhode Island's African merchants. Even his limited success in libeling several of their vessels under the anemic section one was enough to prompt an attack on his person. They apparently feared that Leonard's February 1801 victory in prosecuting a D'Wolf captain caught redhanded by a U.S. Navy cruiser would set a costly precedent. Consequently, several overzealous supporters of the [slave trade](#) assaulted Leonard on the steps of the federal courthouse in Washington.⁷⁶ Even [John Brown](#) thought this response somewhat extreme,

74. NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE at 216-222.

75. Samuel Bosworth to Oliver Wolcott, August 1799, Shepley Papers, vol. 9, no. 8, Rhode Island Historical Society; Jonathan Russell to Albert Gallatin, March 18, 1804, *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 7. George Howe tells the tale of the *Lucy* in his MOUNT HOPE: A NEW ENGLAND CHRONICLE (New York, 1959), 107-108.

76. [John Brown](#) to Benjamin Bourn, February 1801, Peck MSS, vol. 11, no. 66, Rhode Island Historical Society.



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especially as he was then involved in concocting a federal legislative solution to his slaving constituents' problem. During the hectic months between Thomas Jefferson's election and inauguration as president, Brown successfully spearheaded a move in Congress to create a separate customs district for the port of [Bristol](#). Following passage of the requisite legislation late in February 1801 and the eventual appointment of customs officers amenable to the slave traders' needs, the effort to stop the [slave trade](#) in the courts permanently stalled. The end of Rhode Island participation in illegal African commerce would begin only years later with the implementation of the Anti-Slave Trade Act of 1807 on January 1, 1808. This now constitutional statute outlawed all foreign slave trading by American citizens in any capacity. By the time violations of this new law carried the death penalty in 1819, Rhode Islanders, along with other New Englanders, had found new markets for their commerce and textile factories for their surplus capital. The brief revival of the slave trade in clipper ships of the antebellum era from ports such as Baltimore would proceed without them.⁷⁷

77. [John Brown](#) to James D'Wolf and Shearjashub Bourn (n.d. but 1800), [JOHN BROWN PAPERS](#), Rhode Island Historical Society; [John Brown](#) to Shearjashub Bourn, February 1801, Peck MSS, box 11, no. 66, Rhode Island Historical Society. The full story of the separate district issue and the eventual end of slave trading from [Rhode Island](#) is detailed in NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE at 225-229 and 233-237.



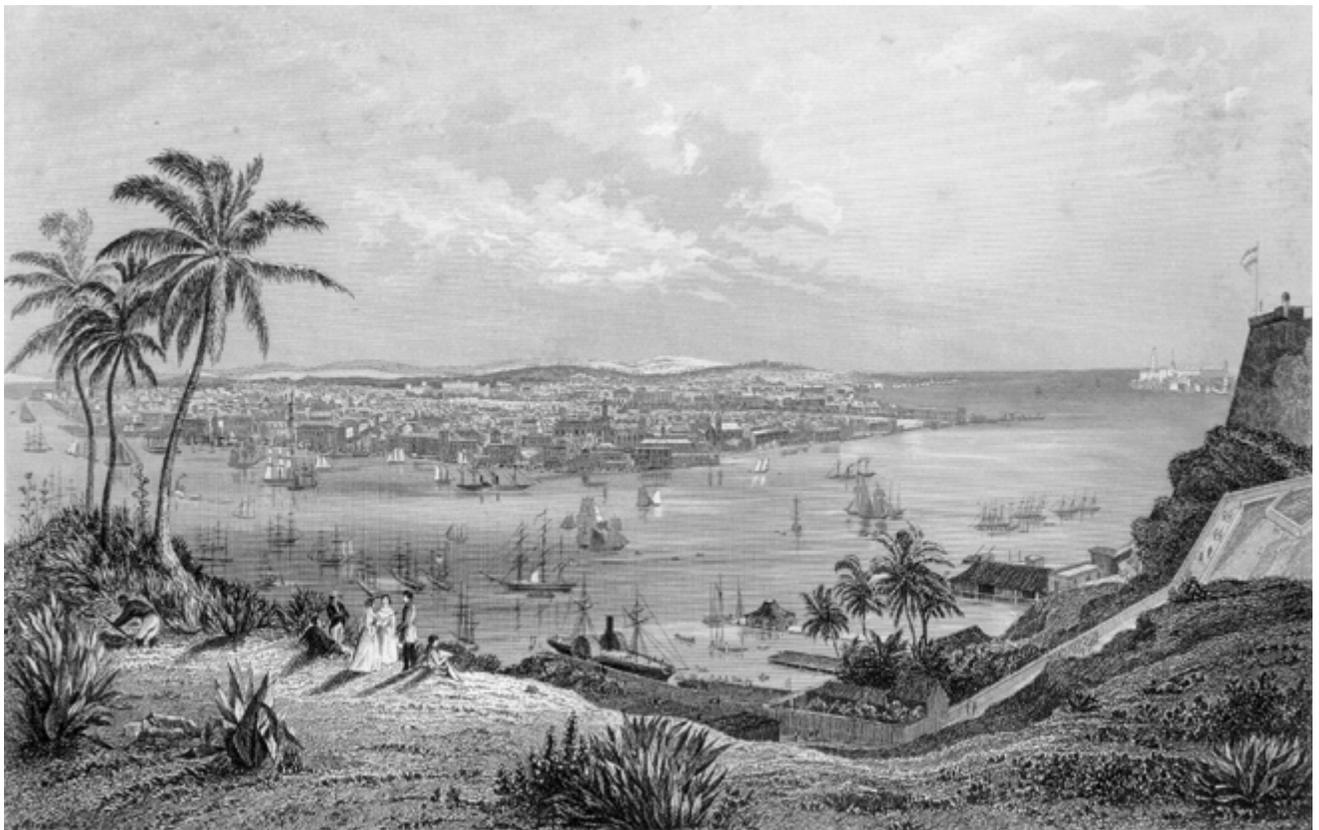
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October 5, Thursday: [John Gardner Wilkinson](#) was born in Little Missenden, Buckinghamshire, a son of a Westmoreland clergyman, the Reverend John Wilkinson, an amateur enthusiast for antiquities. Both parents would soon die, and the child would inherit a modest income.

[Baptist](#) businessman [John Brown](#) of [Providence](#) became on this day the 1st American to go on trial in a federal district court under the first section of the US Slave Trade Act of 1794, for sending out his old ship *Hope* in the [African slave trade](#). Brown had fitted out his ship *Hope* as a negrero, and a year earlier it had brought a cargo of 229 new [slaves](#) to Havana, Cuba.



Accusers included Brown's younger brother [Friend Moses Brown](#), who had become a tireless opponent of both [enslavement](#) and the [international slave trade](#) since his conversion from the family's [Baptist](#) faith to the

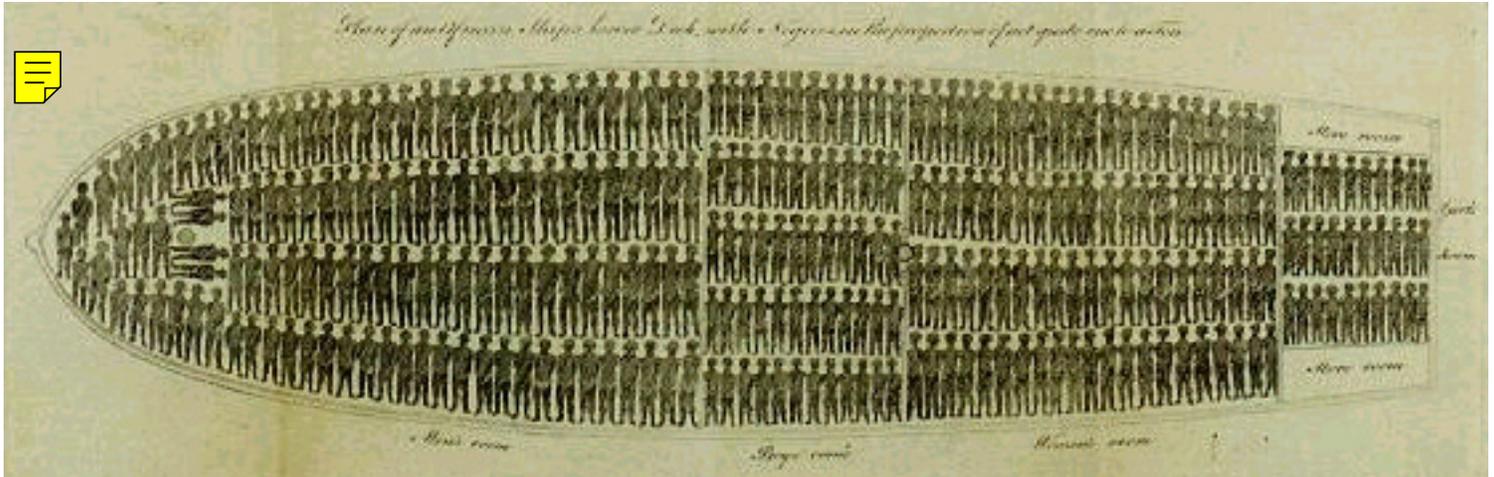


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[Religious Society of Friends](#). A founding member and officer of the Abolition Society chartered in 1789, Friend Moses had been fighting his state's slave traders, including his own brother, during the decade that had elapsed since the passage in 1787 of a largely ineffective state statute that had prohibited the trade to residents of [Rhode Island](#).



The penalty, if the case was lost, would be comparatively mild: no jail time, merely the confiscation of the *Hope*, since any more substantial penalty would necessitate a jury trial and there was no reasonable expectation that a local jury would convict their prominent fellow citizen. (In fact no American slave trader would meet with the death penalty for engaging in the [international slave trade](#) until the initial year of our civil war, and even then, only exactly one-count-'em-one such American slave trader would ever actually be hanged by the neck until dead — isn't history interesting?)

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Of the twenty years from 1787 to 1807 it can only be said that they were, on the whole, a period of disappointment so far as the suppression of the slave-trade was concerned. Fear, interest, and philanthropy united for a time in an effort which bade fair to suppress the trade; then the real weakness of the constitutional compromise appeared, and the interests of the few overcame the fears and the humanity of the many.



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1798

December 10, Monday: Mary Olney Brown died.



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1799

[Friends](#) on [Nantucket Island](#) began sending off their children for a guarded education in their faith, at the Nine Partners boarding school in the Hudson River valley.

QUAKER EDUCATION

His 2d wife Mary Olney Brown having died during the previous year, in this year [Friend Moses Brown](#) remarried with the widow Phebe Waterman Lockwood.

The Westtown School in Chester County was established for secondary education of [Quaker](#) young people of rural Pennsylvania.

QUAKER EDUCATION

Robert Dale Owen married Caroline Dale, David Dale's daughter and, with financial support from several Manchester businessmen, purchased for £60,000 his father-in-law's four textile factories in New Lanark, Scotland. Over 2,000 people already lived in the New Lanark workers' village, but under Owen's control the Chorton Twist brands would expand rapidly. Convinced that one's character was formed by the effects of education and environment and that only corruption would be produced by ignorance and by conditions of duress, he set out to create for his laboring force the sort of background environment that he calculated would produce rationality, eagerness, and enthusiasm, and abolished physical punishment in his factories and in the schools which he had constructed. When he had arrived at New Lanark, he had found children as young as five working 13-hour days in the mills.⁷⁸ He would refuse to employ anyone under ten, sending younger children to a nursery and an infant school he would build, and would reduce child labor to ten hours a day so that they also could attend a secondary school for part of the day. When his partners protested, he borrowed from a local banker, Archibald Campbell, and bought them out.

78. As [Friend Moses Brown, Rhode Island](#)'s premiere industrialist, had pointed out,

“As the manufactory of the mill yarn is done by children from 8 to 14 years old it is a near total saving of labor to the country.”



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1801

 By this point the school fund under the administration of Friend [Moses Brown](#) had grown to \$3,837.40, a decision had been reached that said Fund “should not be diverted into any other channel,” and the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was soliciting the various monthly meetings to establish Quaker schools. Although several of these would indeed be established, “diverse Friends continued to err so grievously as to send their children to public or other improper Schools, whereby their tender minds are in danger of Suffering Loss.” Something further needed to be done, but what?

 9th of the 4th Month: A report was made by [Friend Moses Brown](#) to the Quarterly Meeting of the [Rhode Island Quakers](#) held at [East Greenwich](#), in regard to the various schools already being maintained within this Quarterly Meeting:

REPORT ON SCHOOLS WITHIN RHODE ISLAND QUARTERLY

To the Quarterly Meeting held at East Greenwich the 9th of the 4th Mo. 1801.

The Committee Appointed in the 10th Mo. on the subject of Schools, Report that they have paid some attention to their appointment and It appears Rhode Island Monthly Meeting have had Several Schools kept by Members of our Society, that one of them has been under the care of the Monthly Meeting and they have given their School Committee Liberty to set up three others, 2 of which are expected to be Soon Established.

Greenwich Monthly Meeting have had three Small Schools taught by Friends, but they have none under the government or Superintendence of a School Committee, which we Recommend them to appoint, to take the Necessary care in future. That Meeting is of opinion that they are not at present in Circumstances to Erect a Monthly Meeting’s School nor do they apprehend the Small Number of their Children renders that measure Necessary at present.

Smithfield Monthly Meeting have set up one School under the care of the Monthly Meeting’s Committee and have a prospect of Setting one or two other small Schools soon.

Swanzy Monthly Meeting have had one School kept by a friend, but not under the Superintendence of a School Committee, they have opened a Subscription and got 163 dolars Subscribed for opening one under their own government.

South Kingston Monthly Meeting have had 4 Schools kept by Friends, None of which has been under the Direction of that Meeting and the Way has not Opened for a boarding School.-

Uxbridge Monthly Meeting have had three Schools under their Committee’s Care, notwithstanding some friends have been so inattentive to the Advices of Friends as to send their Children to the Town Schools and yet declined to Withdraw them.-



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Providence Monthly Meeting has had one School kept by a Member of Society and the Monthly Meeting's Committee have been authorised to set up a boarding School, but the want of a suitable Master, with some other Circumstances has hitherto Delayed it.

Richmond Monthly Meeting have set up one School for a few Months under the care of their School Committee and tho this School was more convenient, Some of their Members have sent their Children to the Towns School A Subscription has been opened in this Monthly Meeting for supporting their School. Bolton Monthly Meeting has set up a Monthly Meeting School and their Children are sent to it.-

(Note: Several of the above mentioned Schools are only for a few months.)

In consideration of some of the foregoing Circumstances in two Meetings and to prevent the spreading of so Evil on Example We Recommend to the Quarterly Meeting to give forth their Advices to the following purport.

It is advised that all friends with-draw their Children from the Towns Schools, wherever there are any Schools Set up or kept by Friends in any Monthly Meeting and unite with their Brethren in setting up, and sending their children to Schools under the Superintendance of the Monthly Meetings by their School Committee. And in case any friend shall so disregard the care of Society as to persist in sending their children to such Schools, where the principle and practise of the Teacher and Schollars are contrary to the good order of our Society Such Parents after due admonition and Care to be Dealt with as those who refuse the advise of Friends, and that it be Recommended to Friends of each Monthly Meeting to use such Means by Applycations as they may Judge most propper, to obtain their proportion of School Moneys in the Respective Towns, According to their Assessments and apply the same in Schools under the care of Monthly Meetings to which they Belong.

All Which is Submitted by
Moses Brown in behalf
of the Committee.

MOSES BROWN SCHOOL



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1802



Despite the fact that the [Quakers](#) of New England considered themselves to be “deeply exercised” over their crying need for an educational institution for their children, at this point they had pledged only about half of the \$16,000 that would be needed to found such an institution.

MOSES BROWN SCHOOL



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1803

 [Enoch Pratt](#) graduated from the [College of Rhode Island](#). He would study theology with Dr. Kirkland in Boston.

Friends on [Nantucket Island](#) began sending off their children for a guarded education in their faith, at the [Quaker](#) school of Friend Elisha Thornton in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).—Except for the ten-or-eleven-year-old who would become Friend [Lucretia Mott](#), for her family in the following year would be relocating from [Nantucket Island](#) to Boston:

In 1804 my father's family removed to Boston, and in the public and private schools of that city I mingled with all classes without distinction. My parents were of the Religious Society of Friends, and endeavored to preserve in their children the peculiarities of that sect, as well as to instill its more important principles. My father had a desire to make his daughters useful.

 September 20, Tuesday: In [Dublin](#), Robert Emmett was executed for organizing another Rising.

[John Brown](#) died. Charles Rappleye, in his *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006, page 336), on the one hand suggests—and on the other hand carefully refrains from suggesting—that John's death was the reason that his brother [Friend Moses Brown](#) withdrew in approximately this timeframe from active participation in the abolitionist cause (we may remember that Rappleye's major thesis in this recent trade press book shot through with factual errors is that all the [Rhode Island](#) hoopla had amounted to a mere case of "sibling rivalry"):

It may presume too much to say that John's death spelled the end of Moses Brown's campaign against slavery, but it's hard not to see a connection. Moses remained invested in the cause of Africans in America, and continued his personal engagement in attending to their welfare. But after 1803, he did not author another piece of legislation relating to slavery or the slave trade, nor did he take any steps to orchestrate lobbying efforts by the abolition society.

It may be that Moses was simply exhausted by twenty-five years of politics, advocacy, and agitation. It's possible that, according to some unspoken calculus, Moses decided he had paid off the debt he incurred by his role in the voyage of the *Sally*. And it is true that the abolition movement as a whole lost momentum around the turn of the century, having achieved much of its agenda in the North and seeing little prospect of success in the South. But in Moses' case, it appears there was something else at work. It was not like him to leave off a pursuit he cared about so deeply as slavery simply because the political winds had shifted. And though he was growing old, he remained active

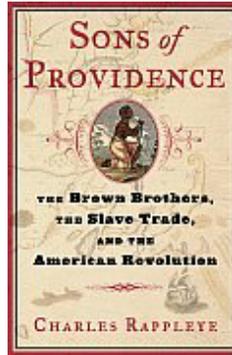


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in several fields, realizing some of his greatest successes late in his long life. His abrupt retreat on the question of slavery suggests that in this most personal and most heartfelt quest, the looming presence of his brother was a more powerful factor than Moses ever acknowledged, even to himself.... With John gone, Moses had lost his personal stake in the contest.⁷⁹



79. Those of you who want to know the real reason why Moses discontinued his abolitionist activities should consult Rosalind Cobb Wiggins's article "Paul and Stephen, Unlikely Friends" in Quaker History, Volume 90 Number 1 (Spring 2001). The real reason will surprise you.



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1804

 August 13, Monday: The state governments of New England were not themselves all that eager to cooperate in the freeing of [slaves](#). For instance, on this day the owner of a [Rhode Island](#) slave named Patience applied to the state court for permission to set her free — and such permission would of course be forthcoming, but not until October 1808.⁸⁰

Captain [Charles DeWolf](#) (3) and his son General [George DeWolf](#) were the principle owners of the full-rigged 250-ton vessel *Juno* that sailed from [Bristol](#) with a crew of 26 to trade along the northwestern coast of the United States. His home on Thames Street at the foot of Constitution Street was one of the most elegant of the period.

80. By this point the brothers [Moses Brown](#), [Nicholas Brown](#), and Joseph Brown had ceased to participate in their family's slave-trading enterprise, but only after a slave mutiny aboard one of their vessels had resulted in more than a hundred deaths. The only brother continuing in this international business had been the more-money-than-sense one, [John Brown](#) ([Brown University](#) is named after [Nicholas Brown, Jr.](#), rather than after either his father Nicholas or his uncle John).



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1805



June 3, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2 day commenced our meeting for buisness, which opened with edifying testimonies by Rowland Greene Richard Jordan & Daniel Howland – the buisness of the day appeared to be well conducted, –Epistles were received from all the Yearly Meetings except Virginia, the contents of which were Salutary & edifying, particularly by the general & private ones from London – In the afternoon we entered on the state of society as represented by the queries which were sorrowful, & occasioned deep travel [travail] & exercise among the burden bearers many deep & feeling remarks were made by Wm Crotch, R Jordan, [Moses Brown](#) & others. The meeting ended with but little further buisness. Rowland Greene & Tho Anthony took tea with me & soon after we drew into silence – a sweet & precious opportunity it was as ever my soul witnessed – a most solemn covering was over us – & all that was alive in me was brought down – was humbled – & laid in the dust. & the Lords glorious power was marvelously witnessed in my mind –after we had remained quiet sometime dear Rowland dropt some salutary counsel & sweet sympathetic expressions, greatly to my comfort & encoragement – we parted in indeared affection one towards another feeling our hearts (I trust) united in that bond of love which knows no bounds, but when felt towards any, even if a Stranger will remove all strangeness of mind & even countenance & make him feel like an old acquaintance – Altho Dear Rowland was almost an entire stranger to me yet he felt like a Brother as he several times expressed I did to him – may we both strive to walk in the path of holiness & virtue as reciprocally to merit each others love & Brotherhood.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1806

 March 31, Monday: A [duel](#) was fought near [Providence](#) at the Cold Spring, just over the Red Bridge across the Seekonk estuary from Massachusetts (where dueling was a criminal offense) into [Rhode Island](#) (a libertarian venue in which dueling had not yet been criminalized) — a piece of property incidentally belonging to Friend [Moses Brown](#). (If you'd like to go for a weird walk on the East Side, said source of drinking water had been between what is now Pitman Street and Waterman Street.)

Said duel was between a couple of [Harvard College](#) men, Mr. James Henderson Elliot of Boston and Mr. William Austin of Charlestown, Massachusetts. One duelist was a Federalist and the other a Democrat, and their confrontation was over a perceived insult to James Henderson Elliot's father, Major General Simon Elliot. The accusation was that after a militia officer, Joseph Loring, had been cleared of all charges against him, Major General Elliot had not immediately released him from custody but had allowed him to languish in confinement for some additional duration of time. Austin's second was Charles Pinckney Sumner and Elliot's was the portrait painter Henry Sargent. In the 3-shot exchange Austin was twice wounded, but not critically.⁸¹

 April 6, Easter Sunday: x

81. Austin, Walter. A FORGOTTEN DUEL FOUGHT IN RHODE ISLAND BETWEEN WILLIAM AUSTIN, OF CHARLESTOWN AND JAMES HENDERSON ELLIOT, OF BOSTON, MARCH 31, 1806 (68 pages, privately printed, 1914)



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1807



May 5, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3 day 5 of 5 M 1807 / This Morning went on board the packet in company with a large & agreeable company of friends bound to [Greenwich](#) to attend our Quarterly Meeting we had a long but on the whole agreeable passage. when we arrived I called with others at J Caseys & took a little refreshment then proceded out to Thos Howlands where JR & I lodged after breakfast the next morning we came to town & visited most of our fellow passengers, my time thro' the day was much taken up in obtaining subscriptions for a friend who has latly had his house consumed by fire & nearly all his furniture & close [clothes] - took tea at J Caseys & in the evening went over to Hopkins Cooks where We fell into Silence & a most reaching season it was to some present. Dear Lydia Weeks spoke powerfully to a State present among the Youth who had Seen the way minutly Pointed out in which they should walk, & encoraged them to comply with the terms, & they would then be made to rejoice in Judah in Jerusalem - then Rowland Green encoraged us to Strive to be willing, Sincerely to say "Thy Kingdom come thy will be done" & said he apprehended however amible the disposition if we followed on to know the Lord we should be led much in the way of the Cross, & Said he had felt much for the Youth Present & concluded with encoragement to press forward & to hold ou our way - pretty soon after the conclusion of the Sitting we retired to bed, but for a Season sleep was gone & my mind was engaged in earnest desires for an increase in the root of life. I know not when I have more forcibly felt desires of this kind - took breakfast at HC & was occupied Most of the time before meeting in obtaining Subscriptions

At Meeting we had a precious current of testimonies in rotation as follows Peter Hoxie Rowland Green D Buffum J Casey. then L Weeks in supplication. Daniel Howland & John Baley. Tho' there were many public appearances Yet they all seemed to be well timed & an uncommon degree of Power attending the whole of them. in the meeting for discipline, many pertinent & feeling remarks were made on the answers to the queries, & other business by [Moses Brown](#), J Casey, Rowland Green, Peter Hoxie, D Buffum & O Williams It is Rarely the case that the life continues so sweetly to run along with the buiness in meeting as at this - at the close of the meeting I stoped to receive Subscriptions for the friend affore mentioned, & was enabled to pay him D112.75c which in the corse of today & yesterday was given me for his releaf - after dining at N Greens, took tea at H Cookes - then called at the Widdow Mumfords where I met a precious company of Young friends, we soon drew into Silence & dear L Weeks was again concerned in a precious testimony which I know reached the hearts of Some present - -then Susanna Barker was concerned to address the



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Widdow in a few encoraging Senteces After which we parted, & I again Lodged at H Cooks, & took breajfast the next morning, then again embarked with our company for home & got here in about two hours & an half

The satisfaction & precious tender feeling which I have enjoyed at this Quarterly Meeting has exceeded any thing that I have ever witnessed before when from home at any Quarterly Meeting, & I desire to be truly thankful for the little spiritual norishment received at this time, & at parting with my friends there this morning, my mind was deeply affected, & I Said in my heart "I love Greenwich, I love many that are there & some that are not joined in membership with myself"

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 14, Monday: A combined force of French, Poles, Saxons, Dutch and Italians attacked the Russian defenders of Friedland (Pravdinsk) southeast of Kaliningrad (Königsberg) with disastrous and costly consequences for the Russians. Total casualties numbered 26,000 to 28,000.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

2 day / Our meeting [Yearly Meeting] this morning opend with but little preaching only a few words by D Buffum & a few by E Thornton, but there appeared as E expressed it "a sweet screane over the gathering" under which we proceeded to buisness & it went on to every appearance pretty well. Our company at dinner was small, & as it happened was well it was so, as the young woman who lives with us is unwell not able to wait on many Our Afternoon meeting was a precious favor'd opportunity. we entered into the State of Society as represented by the Answers to the Queries - which acrt[?] of some painful departures from the law & Precious Testimonys given us as a Society to bear, The appearance of the want of care to bring up our tender offSpring in a guarded manner & the complaint of the too frequent use of Spirituous liquors was mentioned in all the answers, occasioned a deep exercise in the minds of many friends & was very powerfully spoken too by our friends Moses Brown Richard Mott, Matthew Franklin & Thos Rotch. Had a few agreeable friends to take tea among who were Estes Newhall a friend from Lynn that I was never acquainted with before but feels near to my best life I love him much. In the evening walked out & stoped at the door of my friend CR & found them setting in Silence stepped in & was favord with them to feel that the Shepherd of Israel had encompassed them with his Holy crooke. M Collins spoke very sweetly to a tried state present R Green's testimony was also fraught with comfort & consolation. The Setting concluded in an humble petition to the Almighty for help & preservation by Sarah Fish

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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August 27, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5 day 27 of 8 M 1807 / I'm now going to [Portsmouth](#) with E R to attend our Moy [Monthly] Meeting. Oh Saith my soul may I be favor'd with patience, may I be favor'd with Wisdom & Strnegth for if I'm not mistaken there will be occasion for all that are disposed to bear the burden, to recur to the fountain of life & wisdom that they may receive a right qualification to act in matters that may come before us - Oh father be with us, be with me Oh father & preserve from a brittle spirit & favor me oh Lord with thy holy spirit

Our first meeting was a good time to me, my mind was favor'd to get into the quiet, & to keep in it thro' both meetings, Dear Hannah Dennis was concern'd in a short testimony, (the first for several months) it was to my feelings a precious offering seasoned with the best salt - then Mary Morton was concerned in a very acceptable offering, & the meeting concluded in a little more than an hour - The part for discipline was long but the buisness was conducted much better than I expected Our friends [Moses Brown](#), Joseph Collins, Wm Peckham, Sylvester Weeks, Joseph Harris, Thos Arnold & Thos Howland were with us as a committee from the Quarterly Meeting to assist us in a difficult matter before the meeting, which they did much to our satisfaction, & the matter is ended

I dined with P Lawton, & had a precious little opportunity with my endeared H, then rode home & petty [sic] soon went to bed much fatigued from the effect of the long meeting I was at the meeting house from, 9 OClock till 3 OClock in the afternoon - but do not feel the worse for it this mornng

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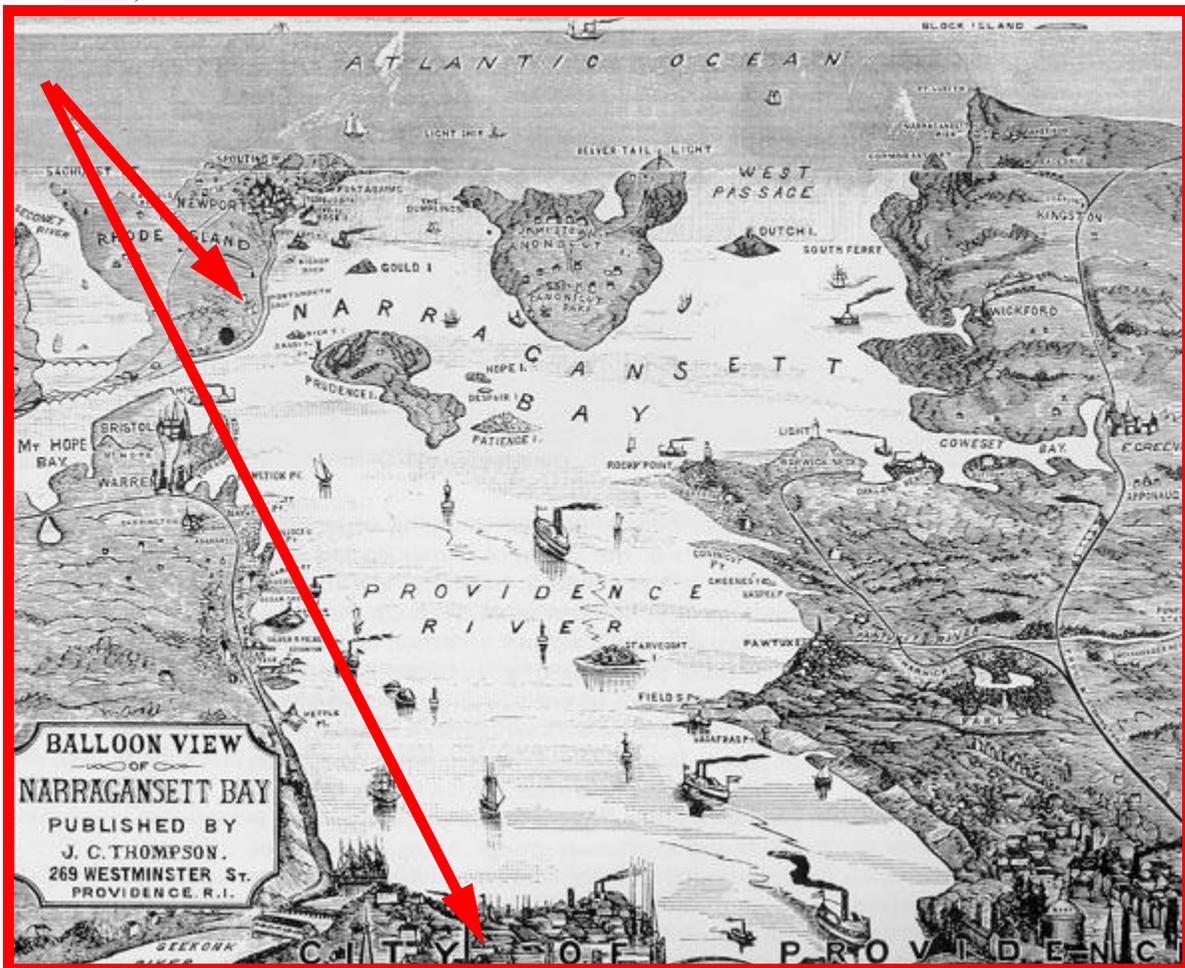
FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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1808

➡ The [Yearly Meeting](#) School that Friend [Moses Brown](#) had established in [Portsmouth](#) in 1784 had closed its doors in 1788. Friend Moses at this point, however, revived this school board, and after more than another decade of planning, the school would begin anew in 1819, this time atop College Hill in [Providence, Rhode Island.](#))



In [Providence](#), the legally incorporated entity “The Charitable [Baptist](#) Society” obtained the authority to levy a tax on church pews for repair of the society’s meetinghouse.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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 February 3, Wednesday: Publication of the Twelve Dances for piano op.27 and the Twelve Dances for piano op.28 by [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) was announced in the *Wiener Zeitung*.

Friend [Moses Brown](#) had his family inoculated with “kine pox.”

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) was agonizing about his upcoming trip to [Providence](#) to attend the [Quaker](#) Quarterly Meeting there — the big city being all of 30 miles distant while he never in his 27 years had been farther from his home than to East [Greenwich](#) and to [Swansea](#), “the distances of which is only computed 25 miles.”

4th day / This morning a little past 10 O'clock went on board the packet in company with J Earle, J Rodman, E Rodman & M Buffum & after a pleasant passage arrived in [Providence](#) about sunset & was very affectionately received by our kind friends O & D[?] Brown. J E, J R & myself lodged there & the young women at Wm Almys. I had the satisfaction of being in company with Richard Jordan, & Rowland Greene, the evening passed pleasantly & instructingly----

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 19, Wednesday: Death of Phoebe Lockwood Brown, born 1748, wife of [Moses Brown](#). Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his diary:

4th day 19 of 10 M / At home in the eveng with my H – Aunt Patty Gould & Aunt Hannah Gould spent the Afternoon with my H -- otherway nothing material, or at least more than common - a dry lifeless mind as to the life of religion —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 20, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 20 of 10 M / At meeting L Dennis offer'd a few words by way of testimony to my mind a roving time tho' I thought a little help was extended. My H Sister R & E spent the Afternoon & evening at Aunt Nancy Carpenters - As I was walking from tea thro' the entry into the shop my mind at looking out & observing that night drew nigh, was struck with these words tho' nothing material seem'd at first to accompany them - "The Shadows of the evening are stretched out" which as I went back into Aunt A's again seemd deeper & deeper impressed & occasioned a deep seriousness to pervade my feelings & I thought occasioned a more favord season than I had expereinced for some times – After I had set there a while returned to the shop & was informed of the Decease of Phebe Brown wife of our friend [Moses Brown](#) of [Providence](#) - she died Yesterday Morning –

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 October 21, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 21 of 10 M 1808 / A day of some feeling. How sweet & precious to feel the arisings of life – Sister R spent the day with us, whose company is very cordial I love her dearly as a Sister

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 October 22, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 22 of 10 M / The day hath passed pretty much as usual It was our intention to have spent the Afternoon & eveng at Rouse Taylors but were prevented by the weather –

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 October 23, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 23 of 10 M / Our Meetings were silent, the mornng was a roving time to me, but in the Afternoon a good favor'd meeting, better than I have had for sometime & thought & found my sense corresponded with some others, that it was generally a time of favor, it seem'd as if there was a solid covering over the whole gathering – Sister E took tea & set the evening with us –

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 October 24, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 24 of 10 M / I have given way to Anger more than was becoming with a black man with whom I had some concerns – I believe there was grounds of provocation but no grounds for me to give way to it in the least – In the eveng at home with my H. I recording & she writing to B Purinton –

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 October 25, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3d day 25th of 10 M / A good deal out of sorts this mornng but hope before the day ends to attain a better state of mind – Mt hopes in the morning were pretty well realized for as usual one extream begits another, so an humbling season ensued – Wait & Margaret Buffum spent the Afternoon & eveng Sister R also joind us in the evening 4th day 26 of 10 M 1808 / What shall I say?



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perhaps that I believe a little of the araisings of life hath been witnessed perticularly after tea at Rouse Taylors where my H, Sister Ruth & Joanna spent the Afternoon & Sister Elizabeth the evening – But Alass Alass my spiritual condition, how weak & low

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October 27, Thursday: On the Koljonvirta River north of Iisalmi, Finland, Russian troops attacked Swedes but were pushed back by a Swedish counterattack.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 27 of 10 M / Mt dear H & Myself are just about setting out to [Portsmouth](#) to attend our Moy [Monthly] Meetg – Is there any prospect that from my present barran situation of mind that I shall be of any help to the Meeting or the Meeting any benefit to me? Sure the prospect is very small –Help o Lord from which thou seest meet from the wine press or threshing floor - & if a continuation of Poverty be in thy wisdom, do thou help me but if the result (which no doubt to me it is) of my unwillingness to be exercised in thy cause & daily forgetfulness of thee I pray that my infirmity may be helped with a little help - By the time we had rode to the head of the Town we discovered the Axle Tree of our Chaise was broken I got out & left my H at D Ws while I procured another. we then safely proceeded on & stoped at our friend H Almys & took a little refreshment - & went up stairs to see poor old Hannah Minturn who is but a breathing corpse & a shocking spectacle to look at - We Also went into the room where our dear friends James & Ruth Bringhurst were, James seems to be about winding up his course & is in a very sweet frame of mind. we found him very feeble with an hard cough & other complaints --At meeting my mind was in a good comfortable frame & enjoyed a good share of life –Towards the close Abigail Sherman lifted the latch with the Scripture "If any man lack wisdom let him ask of God who giveth liberally & upbraideth Not" Our friend friend D Buffum soon followed her with the same passage & improved in a very lively manner, & I thought the Meeting ended well - In the last we had but little business, none from either of the preparative Meetings & no refers consequently nothing much but the answers to the queries &c – After Meeting we stoped at Uncle Peters a few Minutes to see Aunt Wait & her fine Son & then went to Anne Anthony's to Dine & had a pleasant Visit, then rode home - In the eveng & called at father R's a little whhile & spent the remainder at home being much fatigued

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October 28, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



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6th day 28th of 10 M 1808 / I am afraid My ugly temper will prove my ruin yet. Oh! how fretful I was this evening, all about nothing, if there had been any good experienced in the course of the day it was all lost in this disposition, but as usual I have already felt the reproofs of conscience – Sister E spent the day & eveng with my H her company as ever is very pleasant

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 October 29, Saturday: Emperor Napoléon departed from Paris, heading for Spain.

French forces attacked the Spanish at Amorebieta just southeast of Bilbao. This was a French victory but the Spanish did well.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 29 Of 10 M 1808 / My mind this morning living in Cypruss Sister E again spent the day with, having buisness with my H – her company all ways is acceptable

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 October 30, Sunday: In St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Te Deum and Jubilate for chorus and organ by Samuel Wesley was performed for the initial time.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 30th of 10 M ?? In the forenoon we had a silent Meeting & thro' a want of care to dig deep It was but an unsettled time to me.

In the Afternoon O Williams after nearly or quite twelve Months silence, stood up & said "his mind had been deeply impressed with a belief that it was right for him to break the silence in a Call on this wise "Come let us give our Souls unto God" &c with a few other words which seem'd to come from a right place & I thought helped in a little measure to disipate the cloud which hath for a long time hung over our meetings – After Meeting I went to Jonathan Dennises took tea & spent the eveng & I am sure I have not made a visit that hath been so cordial to my feelings in a long time – In my way home called at Father R's for my H (where she took tea) & went home

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 October 31, Monday: When French forces attacked the Spanish at Bilbao near the Bay of Biscay, they pushed them back but achieved no conclusive result.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



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2nd day 31 of 10 M / I am weary of myself, I am weary of my unfaithfulness in every respect - How long shall this be surely untill a greater dedication of heart; & more firm devotion to the precious cause is attained too -- There is nothing (it seems to me at this moment) wherein I am faithful in - - After dinner I heard of the very sudden departure out of Time of William Tew [Few?], a man much used in public buisness as Town Council Man &c - As he was on the wharf about going to [Providence](#) was taken in a fit & died in a few hours the same day he was taken - Thus in another instance we see the uncertainty of time & has reminded me of the public Testimony of our friend D Buffum in our meeting last first day Afternoon when he feelingly told us it had "ran thro' his mind again & again "Boast not thyself of tomorrow for thou knows not what a day may bring forth" &c exhorted us to a right improvement of our time -

My H spent the Afternoon & eveng at O Williams & of course took tea & spent part of the eveng there. J Earl Jun & wife & D & Wait Buffum was also there-

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1809

➡ [Phebe Waterman Lockwood Brown](#) died. ([Moses Brown](#) would remain unmarried for the final 27 years of his life.)

➡ February 25, Saturday: French forces defeated the Spanish northwest of Valls in Catalonia.

The Spanish junta ruled that any money or property taken from the French would belong to those who took them.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*7 day 25 of 2 M / Met with the School committee & afterwards
with the Trustees committee - my H at her fathers*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

QUAKER EDUCATION

➡ August 3, Thursday: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) and Hobhouse sailed on the frigate *Hyperion* bound for Gibraltar.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal describing the role of visiting Friends and their missions of visiting families, as well as of speaking out in Meetings, particularly Quarterly Meetings:

*5th day 3 of 8th Mo// This mornng took chaise & rode to [Portsmouth](#)
to attend our Quarterly meeting. Sister Eliza went with me, my
H being unwilling to leave the little boy - we arrived at R
Shermans alittle [sic] after 9 OClock where I left E & went to
the Meeting house to meet with the representatives, we got thro'
with our buisness in Season to go back & bring E to meeting. In
the first meeting James Green opened the service in which he
pointed out the true way to happines which he said was in a
"clean concience, a life of religion & thousands & tens of
thousands of this world would not purchase it" then after a long
time of waiting, Our friend Easter Griffin rose up with the text
"Awake thou that sleepest that Christ may give the light" & soon
set down appearing to have but little to say - John Casey then
rose up & bore testimony to the universality of divine light &
its all sufficiency thro' life, he said that he felt it in his
early life but then did not distinctly see what it was but since
having been brought more into the knowledge of it, he could bear
testimony now in his Old age when his cheeks were furrow'd with
Age & his head covered with grey hairs, that it is all that is
worth living for, he Sweetly encoraged all to walk & believe in
it & very touchingly addressed the younger part of society - he*



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had not taken his seat but a few minutes before Easter again rose, took up his subject & greatly enlarged to the comfort & consolation of many present, that light had again broke thro' the thick cloud of darkness that has for a long time covered our land. I know that we are apt to think the last best, but I really think I have not heard preaching that appeared to reach the audience like hers in a very long time, such life & power attended it as was cause of admiration in my mind. Soon after she took her seat - Hannah Field kneeld in supplication, Beseeching the Almighty to "gather the people call a solemn assembly assemble the Elders & blow the trumpet in Zion that truth might arise in its ancient splendor &c - In the meeting for buisness before we began to act James Dinson Ladd introduced himself as one traveling for his health, belonging to Wain Oak Monthly & particular Meeting in Virginia, he appeared to be a solid friend & was permitted to set tho' he had no certificate - Soon after the Queries were read & the Answers approved - Our friend David Buffum in a very weighty manner proposed the appointment of a Solid committee to visit the Moy [Monthly] Meetings & labor for the promotion & preservation of Love & Unity, it consisted of the following names John Casey, D Buffum, Sylvester Wickes, [Moses Brown](#), Thos Howland Jona[thon] Dennis & O Williams - it was also united with by the women & one appointed by them to unite with the men - but little further buisness was transacted the most important was that of reading the certificates of our friend E Griffin & H Field, & Gideon Seman who accompanied them - After Meeting Sister E & I went to H Almy's & dined, where I left her to go to [Tiverton](#) to be at meeting with Our abovementioned [sic] friends E G & H F tomorrow - I rode home with Lloyd Green & took James Green up who rode a little ways with us -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



August 31, Thursday: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) and Hobhouse arrived in Malta.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 31 of 8 Mo// I am this morning going to [Portsmouth](#) to attend our monthly Meeting. I hope I shall, yea, very much desire that I may keep my place & be favored with the precious life that crowns our Assemblies - At our first meeting John Casey was large living & powerful in testimony I cannot undertake to commit to writing so as to give an Adequate Idea of his communication, but desirous to keep the heads in remembrance, Will just say "He seemd much exercised for the welfare of the Church & spoke of Lamb the Brides wife, & it was thought made the the most finished alegories that has of late been heard from any friends, he particularly addressed the Youth & those that are coming forward



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in society to transact the affairs thereof, & said the (that) the rebuilding of Zions Walls greatly depended on the faithfulness of these & encouraged all to dedication" - Then Ann Smith appear'd in a solemn manner I trust to edification of many for my own part I thought the feeling part in me was more reached than at the foregoing - In the last meeting buisness went on with a good degree of order & solemnity except in one instance of a Contentious man who took up his Sons cause & spoke very disorderly, his son was complaind of for not paying a just debt, & his fathers initials are D....C....

Anne Greene expressed a prospect she had of visiting the families of Swansey Moy [Monthly] Meeting which was united with & a copy of a minute granted - The Quarterly meetings committee produced their copy from the Quarterly meetings minutes & informed that they were willing to extend labor where it was necessary & where they were likly to do good, they met at the close of the meeting & I expect the Overseers gave them information of such cases as was likly to need their assistance - We rode after meeting to Isaac Mitchells & dined then directly home, & tho' some part of the meeting was trying yet to me it was a good one, & I hope will prove a Useful one - John Casey Moses Brown Sylvester Weeks & Anna Smith were present being part of the Quarterly meetings committee



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1810

 By this point there were over 100 mills along the [Blackstone River](#) outside [Providence](#) similar to the [cotton](#) mill set up in 1791 by [Samuel Slater](#) and Friend [Moses Brown](#).⁸²The amount of money the [Rhode Island](#)



Friends had set aside for [Quaker](#) education had at this point grown to nearly \$8,000.

Henry A. Howland of [Providence](#) was keeping careful track of his life.

HENRY A. HOWLAND

82. That sounds just hunky-dory, but on the downside, these alterations being made in the [Blackstone River](#) were, as one might imagine, destroying its migrating and spawning fish. (“You can never do just one thing.”)



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June 11, Monday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day // Easter breakfasted with us Thos Watson John Fry, Philip Dunham, Jos Scott & Abby Anthony dined with us - Wm Almy, Easter Newhall Edward Cobb John Smith & Betsy Parrish took tea & Easter & Edward Cobb lodged with us
Our Meetings today have been preciously favord with the overshadowing Wing of Divine goodness - And as to my own particular I may humbly & thankfully acknowledge that my stoney heart was removed & an heart of flesh vouchsafed - In the morning Jas Green opened the meeting in a few words which savord well E Thornton follow'd him in a long, excellent lively & well adapted discourse -- In the Afternoon Richard Jordan & Willet Hicks arrived from N York & attended Meeting Richard opened the meeting in a long & powerful testimony & during the course of the setting many excellent pertinent & feeling remarks were made by divers friends Viz Rowland Green, John Shoemaker, Thos Titus, Willet Hicks, [Moses Brown](#), D Buffum, Cyrus Beady, [Paul Cuff](#) & Several others. This is the first time that ever a man of colour delivered his opinion in our Yearly Meeting & I guess in any in the World. Meeting adjourn'd till 4 OClock tomorrow Afternoon*

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1811



June 17, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 17 of 6 Mo// We have had good meetingd today, in the forenoon we had acceptable testimony from Tho Scattergood Benjm White Richd Mott & others. The subject of the the School fund was reported to the committee appointed last year by which it appears that it Amounts to about 8000 Doll! They recommended an enlargement of the sum by subscriptions & a school opened under the care of the Meeting for sufferings – This subject drew very animated remarks from T Scattergood, but nothing was concluded upon & it was referred to a future setting – In the Afternoon the State of Society was enter'd upon much preaching was thereby occasioned. R Mott, Thos Scattergood, Benjm White, Wm Williams, Even Thomas, E. Thornton, D Buffum, all were engaged & Some worthy remarks were made by [Moses Brown](#). The subjects of detraction Love & Unity & Spiritous Liquors, mostly affected the Meeting & I think divine favor was near, & hope the excellent advice & council bestowed may not be lost but remembered & proffited by for a long time to come –

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1812

 June 16, Tuesday: Great Britain agreed to revoke the Orders of Council that had forbidden American trade with European ports.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 16 of 6 Mo// There was no meeting this forenoon – At 4 OC the Meeting met by adjournment. & was occupied in reading the Minutes of the meeting for sufferings &c – Also on the subject of a Yearly Meeting school which was very exercising, a committee was appointed to take the matter into consideration. – Our friend [Moses Brown](#) was absent, he was summoned as a witness at the Circuit Cort now sitting in this town. –

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 June 17, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 17 of 6th M 1812// At 8 o'clock this Mornng I met with the committee (being one of them) who were to consider the School fund.

The Meeting met at 10 Clock - D Sands had much to communicate on the various subjects before us. -

In the Afternoon - Epistles were presented to all the Yearly Meetings & approved, also a communication to the various Quarterly Monthly meetings, containing seasonable council & Advices - After much excellent cautionary & advisory Matter by many friends expecially by D Sands the meeting concluded by a fervant Prayer by him, for every branch of the family.

The various settings of this Yearly Meeting have, according to my sense of things, been uncommonly favor'd, & on my own part I may humbly acknowledge, that I have been quickened in my Spirit & enabled to partake of the good things that our heavenly father has favor'd us with. Many very many lively testimonies were communicated, but are not to expect our best food from them.

They serve for the moment to quicken the feelings, & sometimes as a very useful resort when the mind is gather'd home in stillness, & in stillness it is, the great Minister of the spirit is to be heard, who far exceeds in his affects upon the mind, any of his instruments, yet they are useful in their places & their labors often blessed to the people --

We have had Much company at our house among whom as pretty constant visitors were Edward Cobb & Wife Josiah Keene & Wife Benjamin Persival & Wife, Eastis Newhall & Daniel Johnson Hesiah & Hannah Johnson, whose company was very pleasant - Micajah Collins & wife, Matthew Purinton & wife & many others



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occasionally called to see us, & but a few meals passed but that we had as many as we could comfortably feed. -

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August 6: The allied (Great Britain/Portugal) army began its march from Valladolid to Madrid.

[Ludwig van Beethoven](#) performed a concert, along with Giovanni Battista Polledro, in Karlsbad (Karoly Vary) to benefit the victims of the fire in Baden of July 26th.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 8th M 6th 1812 / My dear H could not leave the little boy to go to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Quarterly Meeting held there this day, so Sister Ruth went with me in A Chaise The first meeting was Solid & but little Preaching soon after it was settled J Greene had a few words to communicate, which I thought sound & not unsavory. Then a long pause of more than an hour ensued, in which I thought our dear friend J Casey might (from the exercise he appeared under) have communicated something that would have benefited the meeting - The next after J Greene was Hannah Dennis, who was very Sweet & savory. The next was A...C... a friend from S Kingston who I believe is generally well approved in his own meeting, but made a most miserable & feeble fight in the Quarterly Meeting but I hope did not much hurt. -the meeting ended -

In the last we had much buisness. The Queries & answers drew forth many pertinent & seasonable remarks especially That concerning our testimony respecting War - Matthew Franklin had much to say & much of it very agreeable to my feelings - [Moses Brown](#) very feelingly made a remark to this effect speaking of the beauty of our principles. he said Methinks the contrast between a similar number of Warriours to the number present would be very Striking, one sitting in solemnity & in peaceable spirit, the other all in jar & confusion, which may be seen in all who are in the spirit of it & traced down the the councils that declare it - I have not done the remark justice, but that is the substance of it. - The certificates of Anne Greene & Hannah Dennis were endorsed & they set at liberty to proceed on their journey

After Meeting we dined at Anna Anthonys & then rode home

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1813

 August 5, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 5 of 8 M / Br David Rodman & I took a carriage & Carried our Wives & Sisters to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Quarterly Meeting we stoped a little while before Meeting at P Lawtons where we had the company for a little while of Our Venerable & very interesting friend [Moses Brown](#) of [Providence](#) his conversation was amusing informing & edifying -- The first that Broke Silence in the Public Meeting was Peter Hoxie, the next James Greene then Mary Morton then C Rodman & then John Casey to whom the weight of service fell, but according to my capacity of Judging all that were concern'd in Public appearance were favor'd & particularly Dear old John Casey - - In the last meeting Our buisness went on pretty well & the London printed Epistle for the present Year was read, & was very excellent. - Our Dear friend J Casey concluded the Meeting in a very solemn & impressive prayer to the Lord for the three classes of Mankind, The Aged, Middleaged & Youth
We Dined at Anna Anthonys & rode home toward night - father Rodman was taken Faint in the Carriage & Obliged to get out for some time & then ride very slowly home. -*

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1814

 February 2, Wednesday: The Spanish cortes passed restrictions on King Fernando VII (should he be released by the French).

Luigi Cherubini was named a lieutenant in the “corps de musique” of the National Guard in Paris.

Visiting [Providence](#) during the cold snap, Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) and his travel party overnigheted at Elmgrove, the home of Friend [Moses Brown](#):

4th day This Mornng tho' the prospect was dubious I went in the mud & slow [snow?] out to J Weavers & rode with him to [Providence](#) - We stoped James Maxwells in [Warren](#) & dined - then went on & reached [Moses Brown](#) before night in evening we crossed Moses Bridge. - We lodged with our fr Moses it is the first time I was ever there & found him the same interesting character at home as abroad. -

The following morning, on their way into [Providence](#), they stopped off to say hello at the home of Moses's son Moses Obadiah Brown.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 3, Thursday: As the Emperor [Napoléon I](#) arrived in Troyes southeast of Paris, the citizens barricaded their houses and were refusing to aid his soldiers. Meanwhile, ministers of the four allies were meeting in Châtillon-sur-Seine.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal about a visit to the home of [Friend Moses Obadiah Brown](#):

5th day Mornng after breakfast we rode to [Providence](#) stoped a few moments at O Browns - then went down town & did a message or two before Meeting. - At Meeting our fr James Greene opened the Service in a sound & I believe seasonable & savory testimony then Hinchman Haines in a living testimony & supplication - In the Meeting for buisness Sarah Greene - daughter of Paul was appointed to the Station of an Elder - I went with Br D Rodman to Henry Russells & dined where I saw Saml Brown & his sister Eliza who inform'd me of the decease of their Mother Lydia Brown on the 26 of 10 M last. - after dinner we gave a call at Josiah Lawtons & took a dish of tea - Spent the remainder of the eveng at Caleb Wheatens & returned to Henry Russells & lodged. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 28, Monday: [Friend](#) Obadiah M. Brown signed his last will and testament.



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Extracts from the will of Obadiah M. Brown dated March 28, 1814, and from the codicil to the said will dated October 14, 1822, relating to the "[Yearly Meeting School](#)" as a legatee, as copied from the official clerk's copy in the municipal records at the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) Town Hall by [Friend](#) John R. Kellam during October 2007:

.... (from the will:)

Item. I give to my honoured Father Moses Brown, as Treasurer of the Yearly Meeting of Friends School Fund or to his Successor that may hereafter be appointed by the Meeting for Sufferings in the Capacity of the said School Committee, an annuity of three thousand Dollars, and hereby authorize and direct my Executors to pay the same in one Year after my Decease to the said Treasurer for the Time being weather [sic] the School be in operation or not. That the Sum be a part of the Fund of said Institution to be applied for the purpose of procuring an Establishment in Land, Buildings and furnishings the necessary accommodations paying the Salaries of Instructors and assistants, and also the Board of the Scholars and Family of the Institution / nearly similar to Friends Boarding Schools of the Yearly Meeting of New York at Nine Partners, or at Weston in Pennsylvania / wherein the Children members of our religious Society of Friends with such others as may be thought best to be admitted / may receive a religious and guarded Education free from the contaminating Influence of the vain fashionable World which leads young minds from the Simplicity of Truth, and that meek and quiet Spirit exhibited by our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ whom we profess to follow.

Item. I also give / after the Decease of my Wife Dorcas Brown / the annuity of Three thousand Dollars more to the aforesaid Institution making up the Sum of Six thousand Dollars to be paid by my Executors in one year after the Decease of my Wife, and annually afterwards to the Treasurer of the said School Fund for the Time being for the purpose of supporting and perpetuating the Institution as aforesaid.

Item. I give all my Books and Maps to the Yearly Meeting School after the Decease of my Wife, or when the School shall be got under Way, providing she is consenting thereto how soon soever the School may be in operation.

.... (from the codicil:)

I hereby confirm the Legacy given in my Will for the use of the Yearly Meetings School, which was not then located, but now under successful operation in the Lot given by my Father for that purpose to the Institution there established to be and remain for the use of said Establishment forever.



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4th (Wednesday) of 5th Mo.: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 4 of 5 M / "In the midst of life we are in Death" - It has been the Day of General Election & as usual much noise & tumult in town - During which my mind has been not a little in the glooms & far from partaking in the coman merriment, so tho I have frequently said to myself (particularly this afternoon) "In the midst of life we are in Death" - Toward night heard of the recent Death of our excellenct friend Thos Scattergood of Philadelphia. -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

The accumulating unused education fund of the [Rhode Island Quakers](#) having risen to about \$9,300, there arose yet another scheme to divert the interest to some other more urgent non-educational purpose, and so Friend [Moses Brown](#) submitted the following letter:

The Meetings for Sufferings,
Dear friends:

As my feeble state of health prevents my attending the Meeting at this time, I thought best to inform you, that in the course of my confinement by bodily indisposition for some time past, the subject of the Yearly Meeting's School has been renewedly brought under my consideration, and believing that a permanent institution for a guarded education of the rising generation will be promotive of their usefulness in society and the honor of Truth. I have for the furtherance of these desirable objects, concluded to give a tract of land on the West part of my homestead farm, containing about Forty-three Acres for the purpose of erecting suitable buildings for the boarding School thereon; Provided the Meeting should consider it an eligible situation, and conclude to carry into effect the establishment of the benevolent institution thereon. If the Meeting should appoint a Committee to view the ground, consider the proposal and report their prospect to the next Meeting for Sufferings, which may be more generally attended, they can then Act upon it, as it shall appear to them best. You will however dispose of the proposal in this or any other way that appears to you best.

As treasurer of the School fund, I may for your information mention that its present amount is about Nine thousand three hundred Dollars. With desires that this important subject may be considered and proceeded in conformably to the mind of truth that we may hope for its blessing.

I conclude your affectionate friend,
Moses Brown



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His offer brought the value of the fund that had been being accumulated for some years, for Quaker education, to a total of \$9,300 (not even close to the estimated \$16,000 that would be needed). The land in question is in the area now referred to as “the East Side,” but at the time was being referred to as “Providence Neck,” and very obviously, it wasn’t worth nearly as much then as it is worth now that it is enveloped in the most toney district of Providence. The property contained some seven acres of usable trees, and quantities of stone that might be used in the construction. At the time such land was considered to be worth about \$200 per acre. The land is along what is now referred to as Olney Avenue, but at the time this road was being referred to as “Neck Road.” (Neck Road ran directly up the hill along what is now Olney Avenue, turned at the top of the hill to follow what is now Morris Avenue, then turned again along what is now Rochambeau and plunged through what is now the entrance to Butler Hospital, to Swan Point and then to the Pawtucket Line. This was the track that one would follow if one wanted for some reason to, say, journey to Boston.) It was noted that the plot was situated at the crest of the hill “about Three fourths of a mile from the compact part of the Town of [Providence](#) and Friends Meeting House there, and about the same distance from the College,” the Rhode Island College that is now known as Brown University. The Meeting for Sufferings adjudged this to be “a pleasant and healthy scite [sic] to erect such a Building upon.”

The initial plan would be to construct two buildings, one for the education of boys and the other for the education of girls, but the expense of this would force a consolidation into one building.

 7th day 11th of 6 M: At the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, as recorded in the diary of Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#), the prospect of a [Yearly Meeting School](#) would be discussed. Friend [Moses Brown](#) was offering a lot of 40 Acres on his farm near [Providence, Rhode Island](#):

7th day 11th of 6 M 1814 / Yearly Meeting has now commenced, Friend have come plentifully into Town - Our family consists of Ezekiel Jones & Wife Isaac Bassett & his Wife - Dan'l Johnson Saml Philbrook. Estes Newhall Ezra Collins & Thos Anthony as lodgers. - My mind & body much engaged, but favord to keep in a good degree of patient quiet. -

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 June 12, Sunday: Emperor Franz I of Austria was proclaimed King of Lombardy, which he of course annexed.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day / The forenoon meeting was large & favord John Moore a Physician of Pensylvania was very large in testimony. he declared the Truth with good natural ability of Mind, & with no common Share of divine Authority - My post was door Keeper which I endeavor to fulfill with all my abilities - I never set down during the whole meeting & being at the door had an opportunity to observe the countenances of those about, anxious to hear - My mind was sensibly affected to see how desirous they were to hear, many of them afraid to go into the house for fear they would have to set still a little while - I did very feelingly deplore the state of poor Mankind many of whom seem desirous of



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no better food than Words - & notwithstanding my fatigue of body my mind, was favord with a good degree of feeling quiet The Afternoon Meeting very large but as still as common & I thought considerably more so than common Doctor John Moore again the only laborer, his preaching both for matter & manner much resembles Rich Motts. I thought him not quite so favor'd as in the Morning. - the people were much pleased with his testimony. - I dont remember of both our first day meetings at the Yearly Meeting time, passing with but two commemorations & both of them from one man - several of our lodgers took tea out, their places were supplyd at table by several from Lynn & Salem friends -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 13, Monday: Angéla ou L'atelier de Jean Cousin, an opéra comique by Adrien Boieldieu to words of Montcloux d'Epinay, was performed for the initial time, at the Théâtre Feydeau, Paris.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day / Our Meeting met at the usual time I thought not under as solemn covering as I had witnessed, but in good measure. - The public service was a short & savory Prayer by Joseph Douglas & a few words from C Rodman discussing forward appearances which I hope will not be taken by the feeble ones as a blow at them - After a space of about half an hour D Buffum proposed our proceeding to buisness. The usual rotine of which was gone through - Epistles from the Yearly Meetings of London, Baltimore, Philadelphia New Garden & New York were read & a corresponding committee appointed. nothing further remarkable at this time -

Afternoon, the meeting met at the 3rd hour, as usual at this sitting we had much preaching. The State of Society was enterd into & a number of deficiencies confessed in the Answers. - Remarks were made by James Hallock Danl Haverland & John Moore from abroad -[Moses Brown](#) Wm Almy C Rodman & Benj Percival of our own members were most conspicuous. The latter appeard in an humble Prayer much to the comfort of some present. - Three of the committee in the case of Folger Popes appeal refer'd from last Year being absent -at his request he was called in & three more added in his presence The Meeting then Adjourned to the 4th houe tomorrow Afternoon

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June 14, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day / The meeting met at the time adjorned, was opened under a solemn covering, a pathetic testimony by D Haveland chiefly in address to the youth, he then asked liberty to set a while in the womens apartment which was given & Our fr [Moses Brown](#)



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*accompanied him. – Committee to report the State of the treasury reported. O Brown for treasurer. that there was 400 Dolls in his hands & 400 Dolls necessary to be raised. - The Committee in the case of Folger Popes appeal then reported. they confirmed the judgement against him, a very solemn covering was witnessed over the Meeting. after Minute was made & the report accepted he was called in, took his seat on the right hand on the front seat of the Old mens quarter, after a solemn pause of about five minutes Saml Rodman the Clerk rose up & read the report & Minute. in a few minutes the Appellant rose & requested liberty to give reasons to the Meeting why the report ought not to be accepted - The Clerk rose & informed him with consistent & in a very dignified manner, that it would be contrary to the usage of the Meeting to admit such remarks when a committee had reported their judgement & in the report asserted that they had given the parties a full hearing - Folger then remarked that he thought it within the limits of discipline to Allow such indulgence & went on a little further & left the Meeting observing he left it for our consideration & passed out of the Meeting. – Solid & solem remarks were made by John Casey & D Buffum. – The Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings were then read by which it appear'd the subject of the Yearly Meeting school had been before them & that our friend [Moses Brown](#) had offered a lot of 40 Acres on his farm near [Providence](#). This subject brought great weight over the Meeting which seemed fully united in the belief that the time had come when it might be Moved forward in with great safety than at any period heretofore. –[a Minute was made on Singly encouraging friends to promote subscriptions throughout the Yearly Meeting & a minute made recommend the care of the buisness of the Meeting for Sufferings. **These lines were crossed out**] The Epistle from Virginia Yearly Meeting was recd & read at this time.*

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June 15, Wednesday: A joint Austrian/Bavarian administration took over in Birkenfeld.

The Netherlands abolished the slave trade.

Ministers meeting in London decided to move the meeting of the Congress of Vienna from July 1st to August 15th.

Johann Nepomuk Hummel's singspiel Die Rückfahrt des Kaisers to words of Veith was performed for the initial time, in the Theater-an-der-Wien, Vienna.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day / Meeting opened with a little excellent preaching by John Moore he principally address to the Youth [one line crossed out] at this [repeat of 2 day] sitting the corresponding



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committee produced essays of Epistles to the yearly Meetings of London New Garden, Baltimore, Virginia Philadelphia & New York also one for the new Yearly Meeting established last Year at Ohio which were agreed to after a little alteration in some of them. – The Subject of the Yearly Meeting School came again before us & it was unanimously agreed & a minute made recommending subscriptions throughout the Yearly Meeting for the Promotion of it The Meeting adjourned to the 4th hour in the Afternoon. –

Afternoon met by adjournment - John Moore again preached excellently & Danl Haveland appeared in a living Powerful & Humble Prayer for all ranks & discriptions in society. – The Meeting was occupied chiefly in finishing unfinished minutes preparing endorsements for friends that were with us from other Yearly Meetings & was concluded by fervant prayer by John Moore

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June 16, Thursday: Emperor Franz I returned to Vienna amidst joyful festivities and a public holiday.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day Our frinds have mostly left us this morning for their own homes which leaves our houses destitute to what they have been for a week past. – The Meeting was large, much favor'd & I believe to the satisfaction of all & the edification & comfort of many present. – James Hallock was first & largely favor'd in testimony, then John Moore, J Hallock rose a Second time & J Moore followed in a fervant Prayer – Hannah Dennis had a few words in conclusion which considering the favor'd state the Meeting was left in, had an unusual good effect – This Afternoon J Moore attended as physician with Several of this Town to extract a Cancer from cousin Elizabth Gould Breast which was very favorably performed. –

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1815

➡ June: Friend [Paul Cuffe](#) became involved in the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). He would be asked to help make decisions regarding the Quaker meetinghouse in Boston. According to the diary kept by Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#), on the second day of the yearly meeting, in the afternoon, this man of color was among the “public laborers,” which is to say, among those who stood and doffed their hats and spoke from the silence of worship. The public laborers whom Friend Stephen heard were:

- Friend Rowland Green
- Friend Elisha Thornton
- Friend [Moses Brown](#)
- Friend [Paul Cuffe](#)

This is the first time that ever a man of colour delivered his opinion in our Yearly Meeting and I guess in any in the World.

➡ June 13, Tuesday: The term “civilized” was in this year coming into currency among us civilized peoples, as an explanation of sorts for our manifest superiority over the remainder of God’s creation. We updated and generalized the invidious distinction between the inexperienced rural hicks or rubes, on the one hand, and the suave urban slickers, on the other—a distinction which had been hanging around in our cultures at least since the days of [Aesop](#)—and made it serve as a distinction between those humans who still live their lives as part of extended tribes, on the one hand, and those humans who, on the other, have lost all traces of their tribal allegiance save an allegiance to a mini-tribe known as “my family.” “Civilized” means that it’s because we live in cities, that we’re ever so much better than you, yeah.⁸³



In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) made a record that now indicates to us that some Quakers must have been having, in their general white racism, difficulty accepting non-whites such as [Friend Paul Cuffe](#) as their social equals, regardless of whatever wealth and accomplishment:

3rd day / At 10 OClock the Meeting met by adjournment The Meeting enterd on the State of society & after the first Queries & answers thereto was heard - we recd a visit from Jemima Shorwell

83. Etymologically, the Indo-European origins of “city” and “cemetery” are very entangled, entangled indeed. Isn’t it interesting that, when we obtained a term to distinguish ourselves in 1815 from all the non-white peoples who needed to die out to make room for us, we chose a positive coinage such as “civilization,” for ourselves, rather than a more accurate negative coinage such as “cemeterization,” for them?



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which was short but very sweet, she addressed the young men very sweetly inviting them to come taste & see how good the Lord is -when she retired we resumed the state of society Many remarks were made by J Murray, R Mott, J Bonsill D Buffum, [Moses Brown](#) Wm Rotch Jr & by a large number of Minor laborers, some to the purpose & some greatly out of joint - with respect to the subject of Love & Unity. The intemperate use of spirituous liquor & our testimony against War a pretty general exercise spread over the meeting for the advancement of our concerns with respect [illegible] & the committee to prepare epistles were directed to prepare an epistle to the Quarterly Meeting expressive of the Meetings exercise & desiring individual labot for the advancement of the exercise? of Truth &c. - to give the committees opportunity to investigate the subjects committed to them - The meeting adjourned till tomorrow morning -We had at Dinner a large company - also at tea & among the rest Brother [Paul Cuffee](#) - it appeared to be a new experience to most of the company to sit down to a table & eat with a man of colour, but however I am glad to insert that none were displeasd & with some it was rather gratifying to have it to say that they had had the opportunity of being with him - After tea our dear old friend John Casey came in & spent a little while in very pleasant & edifying conversation. after he went out our company [illegible] & in a short time we drew into silence & J Heald expressed a few words much in the sweetness & we then retired to rest⁸⁴

We may hope that, digesting this meal, Captain [Cuffe](#) was able to look back and feel rather gratified to say that he had had the opportunity to break bread with this assortment of oh-so-pleasant oh-so-condescending honkies.



June 14, Wednesday: The Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin became a Grand Duchy. Duke Friedrich Franz I took on the title of Grand Duke.

[Napoléon Bonaparte](#) reached the border with the Low Countries at Beaumont.

Per the journal of [Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#), the [Quakers](#) met to consider the Yearly Meeting boarding school being proposed for [Providence, Rhode Island](#):

4th day / The meeting met at 10 OClock The subject of the Yearly meeting school occupied the most of the sitting a large committee was appointed to digest & further investigate the subject & report to the next sitting The committee on the Epistles wer engaged from half past 2 OC till 5 OC when the meeting met & tho' the epistles were not all digested before of

84. Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote this putting upward the bright shiny congratulatory side of this coin (“Look at what great people we are, we are actually able to overcome our disinclinations and actually able to sit down politely and actually consume food at the very same table with a person of another race!! We didn’t even need to throw up afterward!!”) but clearly this bright coin of acceptance and brotherhood had another –more unpleasant –more uncongratulatory side to it.



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the committee & two of them untouched yet they were all read & passed the Meeting – there were but five of us that could attend to them Vizt Thos Howland, Abraham Sherman Jr Jas Scott & myself all new & inexpeierenced except Thos. The others of the committtee attend the School committee which met at the same time which deprived us of many experienced helpers The School committee not having fully gone to the subject, it was refer'd another year & they joined to the Meeting for Sufferings further to digest & proceed as far within the time as they may think advisable, & the meeting came to a conclusion tho' not till it was so dark that the Clerk was scarcely able to read.

[“MOSES BROWN SCHOOL”](#)

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September 23, Saturday: Unable to persuade his king Louis XVIII to appeal to the allies to rescind or modify their ultimatum, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, prince de Bénévent resigned as Prime Minister of France.

During the 18th Century there had been some 15 violent storms sweeping across New England, but none of them approached the fury of the hurricane that hit the southern New England coastline at 9AM on this day, known as the "Great September Gale of 1815." The eye of the hurricane came ashore at Old Lyme in Connecticut and the greatest destruction was done along the path of the storm's "eastern quarter," such as in [Providence](#).



1815. The glad tidings of Peace were announced here February 12, and our streets were thronged with delighted men and women, and resounded with acclamations of joy. The town was brilliantly illuminated in the evening, and although it was intensely cold, the streets were thronged to a late hour by persons of both sexes and of all ages, and the sound of mirth resounded from almost every dwelling. Many, however, who had been carried along by this tide of rejoicing, had cause to mourn when the excitement had subsided, and the "sober second thought" of reflection had returned. They had speculated largely, when prices were high, and vast amounts were invested in merchandise, the value of which, on restoration of peace, "fell, like Lucifer, never to rise again." Many failures were the consequence; but to people



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at large, peace came as a blessing.

This year was signalized by the Great Storm and high tide. The storm commenced Sept. 22, and the wind was violent, and increasing through the night and the succeeding morning, many houses were unroofed, and other blown down. The tide on the 23d, rose to an extraordinary height, the gale from the South-East was of unparalleled severity, both combined, they drove the principal part of the shipping in the harbor from its moorings up the river against Weybosset bridge, which in short time gave way, and the whole was driven up and landed on the northern shore of the cove. A large sloop was left a considerable distance North of Great Point, now the site of the State Prison, and between that point and the upper part of the Canal basin, were upwards of thirty sail, of a burthen from 500 tons downwards. The water entirely filled the lower stories of the buildings in Market-street, west of the bridge, and a portion of the brick wall of the Washington Insurance building, in the third story, was broken in by the bowsprit of the ship Ganges, as she was driven rapidly by in the foaming current. A sloop of some 50 or 60 tons was driven across Weybosset-street, into Pleasant-street, where she grounded. The Baptist meeting-house, built for Rev. Mr. Cornell, near Muddy Dock, now Dorrance-street, was entirely destroyed. Many houses, stores and barns were swept from the wharves in South Water, Weybosset and some other streets, into the cove, where many of them were crushed to pieces. The water at the junction of Westminster and Orange-streets was at least six feet in depth. Two human beings only here lost their lives in this storm, which was matter of great wonder, when so many were perilled. No measures were taken to ascertain the damage done by the storm, but it was estimated at about a million of dollars.



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A large trunk of the public papers of former [Rhode Island](#) governor [Stephen Hopkins](#) were swept out of the house in which they were stored, and lost (Hopkins's house, which now stands adjacent to Benefit Street, at that time stood adjacent to what is now Main Street, within reach of the waters). By noon the storm had passed up into the wildernesses of the north and was breaking up, but the high winds had stalled the ebbing of the high tide, and then over these high waters came rushing the additional waters driven by the storm, pushing up Narragansett Bay and concentrating at the docks of Providence. First there had been the fury of the wind and then came the fury of the water:

Wind:

The vessels there were driven from their moorings in the stream and fastenings at the wharves, with terrible impetuosity, toward the great bridge that connected the two parts of the town. The gigantic structure was swept away without giving a moment's check to the vessel's progress, and they passed to the head of the basin, not halting until they were high up on the bank....

Water:

Stores, dwelling houses, were seen to reel and totter for a few moments, and then plunge into the deluge. A moment later their fragments were blended with the wrecks of vessels, some of which were on their sides, that passed with great rapidity and irresistible impetuosity on the current to the head of the cove, to join the wrecks already on the land.



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Some 500 buildings were destroyed in this city. The Indiaman *Ganges* was forced all the way up Westminster Street to Eddy Street, where its bowsprit pierced the 3rd story of the city's Market House.⁸⁵



In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Moses Brown](#) would be making a detailed tabulation of the various trees that had toppled in his yard. The salt spray was carried from the ocean 40 or 50 miles inland. Apples and other fruit were blown off the trees, the corn was injured, and fences and trees were prostrated. In particular the

85. Some 4-foot-long metal tubes jammed into the marshy soil and sediment layers at Succotash Marsh in East Matunuck, [Rhode Island](#) (at the west side of the ocean entrance of the [Narragansett Bay](#)) by Tom Webb of the Geological Sciences Department of [Brown University](#), have revealed that there has been a series of overwash fans created by storm tidal surges, indicating that seven category-three hurricanes have struck Narragansett lowlands in about the past millennium. The 1st such overwash fan that has been revealed dated to the period 1295-1407CE, the 2nd to the period of roughly the first half of the 15th Century, the 3rd to approximately 1520CE (give or take a few decades), and the 4th to the historic storm of the 14th and 15th of August, 1635. The 5th such overwash fan obviously dates specifically to this historic storm of September 23, 1815.



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original apple tree near Woburn MA of the Loammi Baldwin apple got knocked over:



At the time Captain [Paul Cuffe](#)'s ship was fortunately out of harm's way in New-York and Philadelphia.

In [Newport](#), [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) recorded in his journal that:

7th day 23 of 9 M / This forenoon we had the most severe Gale that Newport ever experienced - it commenced before day break to Rain Thunder & lighten, continued to increase gradually till a little before 9 OC when it suddenly increased & the tide rose with surprising velocity such as was never seen before - The wind & tide making such devastation of Vessels houses Stores & even lives as appalled all Skill to save. The destruction of houses was chiefly on the Long Wharf & on the Point - Andrew Allens wife, three children & a girl that lived with them were all in the house when it went off into the cove & they were all drowned - Over the Beach John Irish in attempting to save his boat was drowned - & two men who lived with Godfrey Hazard in trying to save their Sheep were also drowned. - Shocking was the Scene I have no powers to describe it, tho' at a more lesure



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*Moment I intend to attempt a more full description Our cellar
was full of Water, but we lost nothing of consequence. - We were
humbly thankful it was no worse*



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Many boats were destroyed at [Boston](#) wharves:



I recollect being engaged near my father's saw-mill handling lumber with my brothers [[Adin Ballou](#) was 12 years old ] when the stock of boards around us, piled up to season, began to be caught away by the rising wind and blown about strangely. We endeavored to pick them up and replace them for a while, but found ourselves borne along and almost lifted from the ground in spite of our utmost exertions. We were soon in danger of limb and life from the flying rubbish and lumber, and betook ourselves to a place of safety at the substantial farmhouse, which was built heavily and strong enough to resist the stoutest storm. The wind increasing, buildings began to be unroofed, smaller structures were moved out of place or completely demolished, apple and forest trees were upturned by the roots, and even the stoutest dwellings creaked and trembled before the mighty gusts that seemed to threaten destruction to everything that happened to be in their way.

The tempest, which began about 7 o'clock in the morning, reached its height at noon, when it was little else than a hurricane. Multitudes of people were filled with terror and consternation. I confess that I was, and hastening to my chamber, obtained what relief and composure I could from the unseen world by earnest supplication. I gained something of trust and calmness, but hardly enough to overcome all my fearful apprehensions, for there seemed to be no place of refuge from impending danger and my faith was not of the surest type.

When the storm subsided, the inhabitants of southern New England looked with amazement on the devastations it had caused. Inland the noblest timber lots were covered with prostrate trees and upturned earth, the finest orchards were laid waste, rail-fences, wood, and lumber were scattered far and wide, roads were rendered impassable by accumulated debris, and incalculable damage had been done to buildings on every hand, many of the lighter ones being wholly destroyed. In seaport towns and along the shore, still greater havoc, if possible had been wrought. The ocean rolled in upon the coast its mountainous waves, which, in thickly settled localities, inundated the wharves, streets, and exposed places of business, filled the cellars and lower stories of dwellings and warehouses near the water line, causing the occupants to flee for their lives, and destroying immense amounts of property that chanced to be within reach. The wind drove before it all sorts of sea-craft, even the largest vessels, sinking some, wrecking others, and landing many high on the beach, far away from tide-water. The remains of sloops and schooners, gradually dismantled and abandoned, appeared on the sand banks and along the coast for years, victims of the Storm-King's insatiate power. Such was the "great gale" of 1815, the like whereof has never been seen by New Englanders since the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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Many of the trees on the Boston Common were blown down.

When, in [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#), Henry David Thoreau would argue for the liberty to travel unnecessarily on the Sabbath, he was arguing against one of the pet projects of the very most prominent citizen of his town, Squire Samuel Hoar. For a story had it that when the great hurricane of 1815 had devastated the woodlands around [Concord](#), one old farmer exclaimed:

I wish the wind'd come on Sunday! -Sam Hoar would've stopped it.

[A WEEK](#): History has remembered thee; especially that meek and humble petition of thy old planters, like the wailing of the Lord's own people, "To the gentlemen, the selectmen" of Concord, praying to be erected into a separate parish. We can hardly credit that so plaintive a psalm resounded but little more than a century ago along these Babylonish waters. "In the extreme difficult seasons of heat and cold," said they, "we were ready to say of the Sabbath, Behold what a weariness is it." - "Gentlemen, if our seeking to draw off proceed from any disaffection to our present Reverend Pastor, or the Christian Society with whom we have taken such sweet counsel together, and walked unto the house of God in company, then hear us not this day, but we greatly desire, if God please, to be eased of our burden on the Sabbath, the travel and fatigue thereof, that the word of God may be nigh to us, near to our houses and in our hearts, that we and our little ones may serve the Lord. We hope that God, who stirred up the spirit of Cyrus to set forward temple work, has stirred us up to ask, and will stir you up to grant, the prayer of our petition; so shall your humble petitioners ever pray, as in duty bound -" And so the temple work went forward here to a happy conclusion. Yonder in Carlisle the building of the temple was many wearisome years delayed, not that there was wanting of Shittim wood, or the gold of Ophir, but a site therefor convenient to all the worshippers; whether on "Buttrick's Plain," or rather on "Poplar Hill."



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

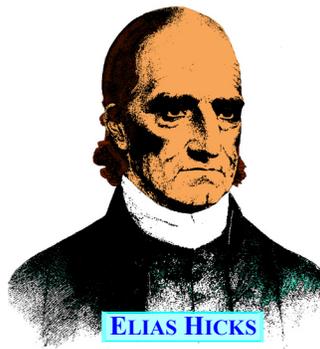
AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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Many of the local historians of [Concord](#), and many Thoreauvian scholars, have made this sort of connection. It is the sort of connection in which they deal, between one prominent citizen of Concord MA with prominent attitudes and another prominent citizen of Concord MA with prominent attitudes. It is, I might say, an easy association. But how many such historians and scholars know that when Thoreau would grow up in Concord in the following generation, and would take such attitudes, he was seconding the attitudes of the great Quaker preacher, [Elias Hicks](#)? For Hicks had pronounced in opposition to the so-called Blue Laws, laws which for instance entitled the Quakers of Philadelphia to stretch chains across the public street during their First Day silent worship in order to prevent the noise of the passage of carriages. For Hicks, First Day was just another day, of no greater or lesser holiness than any other weekday. He would come in from the fields, change his clothing, put on his gloves, and go off to Meeting for Worship on First Day just as he would come in from the fields, change his clothing, put on his gloves, and go off to Meeting for Worship on Fourth Day (Wednesday). But this was not merely a matter of preference for Friend Elias, any more than it was a matter of preference for Squire Hoar: it was a principle. Blue laws were laws, and laws were enacted by governments, and therefore such laws were infringements upon religion, sponsored by the state apparatus which should be allowed have no connection whatever with religion. In this direction lay a great danger, sponsored by the Squires of this world who would like nothing better than to be able to legislate the religious convictions of other people. Thus, when the Governor of New York issued a Thanksgiving Proclamation, Friend Elias was greatly alarmed, that he

*“has
by recommending a religious act
united the civil and ecclesiastical authorities,
and broken the line of partition between them,
so wisely established
by our enlightened Constitution,
which in the most positive terms
forbids
any alliance between church and state,
and is the only barrier
for the support of our liberty and independence.*

*For if that is broken down
all is lost
and we become the vassals of priestcraft,
and designing men,
who are reaching after power
by subtle contrivance
to domineer over the consciences
of their fellow citizens.”*



ELIAS HICKS

The terminology and the cadence was not Thoreauvian, but Thoreau’s attitudes as proclaimed in [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#) would be identical with this.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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Subsequent to this historic gale, and in consequence of it, [John Farrar](#), Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at [Harvard College](#), who had since 1807 been maintaining and analyzing weather records in Cambridge, would be able to elaborate upon the insights of [Benjamin Franklin](#) into the nature of the “nor’easter” weather phenomenon by conceptualizing such hurricanes as “a moving vortex and not the rushing forward of a great body of the atmosphere” (he had noted not only the lagging times of arrival of the winds at Boston versus New-York and the wind’s opposite directionality, as had Franklin, but had also been able to analyze mathematically the veering of the wind as a fluid phenomenon).



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1816

 April: The building that now serves as [Providence](#)'s 1st [Unitarian](#) Church would be erected during the building season, this year.

RHODE ISLAND RELIGION

The Quaker education fund having risen to \$18,000, during this year's construction season a site on the [Moses Brown](#) farm was selected and construction began.

RHODE ISLAND



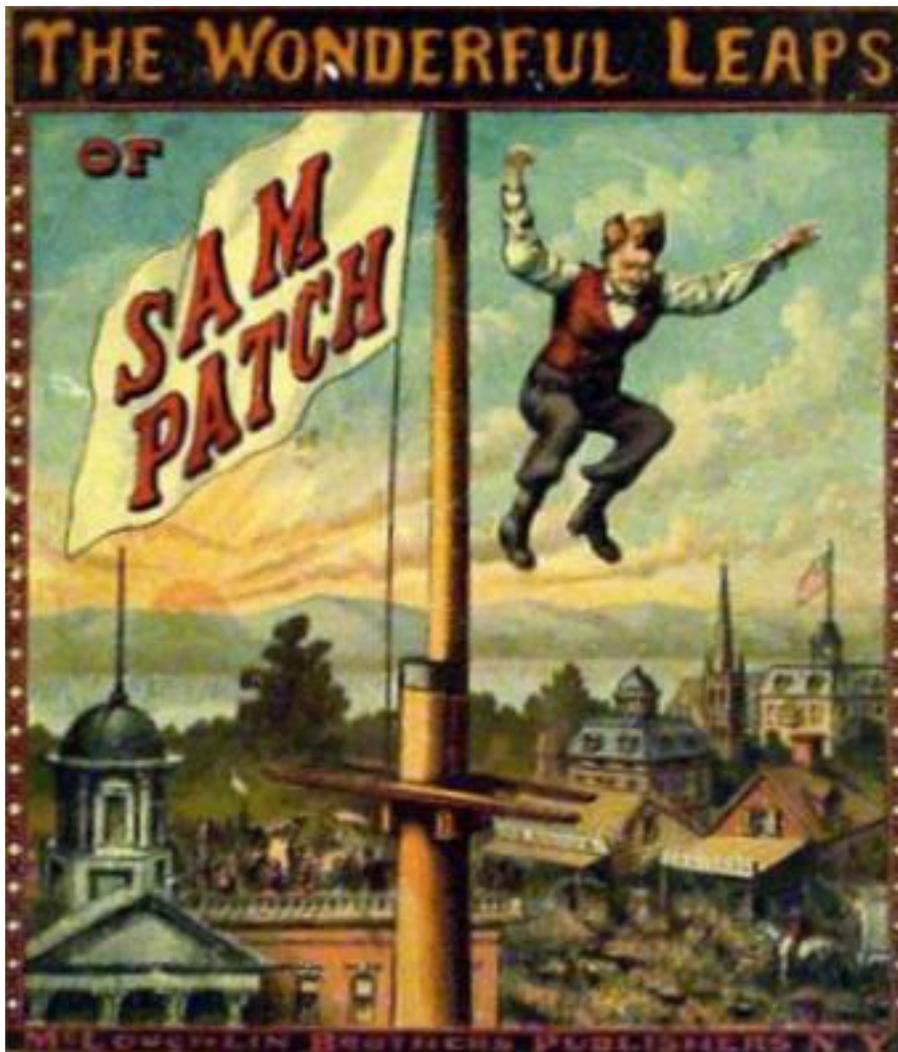
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1817

➡ In [Rhode Island](#), Nehemiah R. Knight was in charge. [Asher Benjamin](#) designed the Rhode Island Union Bank of [Newport](#) (since demolished). The *Firefly*, the 1st steamboat to run a regular commercial service on [Narragansett Bay](#), carried President James Monroe and his party from [Newport](#) to [Providence](#). (In 1825 the *Washington*, a 131-foot steamship, would begin the serious steamship competition on the bay, leading to the development of more and more advanced ships.) At this point the teenager [Sam Patch](#) was making dramatic leaps off the roof of a 4-story building into the aerated churning water below the big falls in beautiful downtown [Pawtucket](#), so it is perfectly possible (if now unknown to us) that the President of the United States was escorted to the site to view the children at labor inside the factories and to witness such a blazing amazing feat of derring-do.



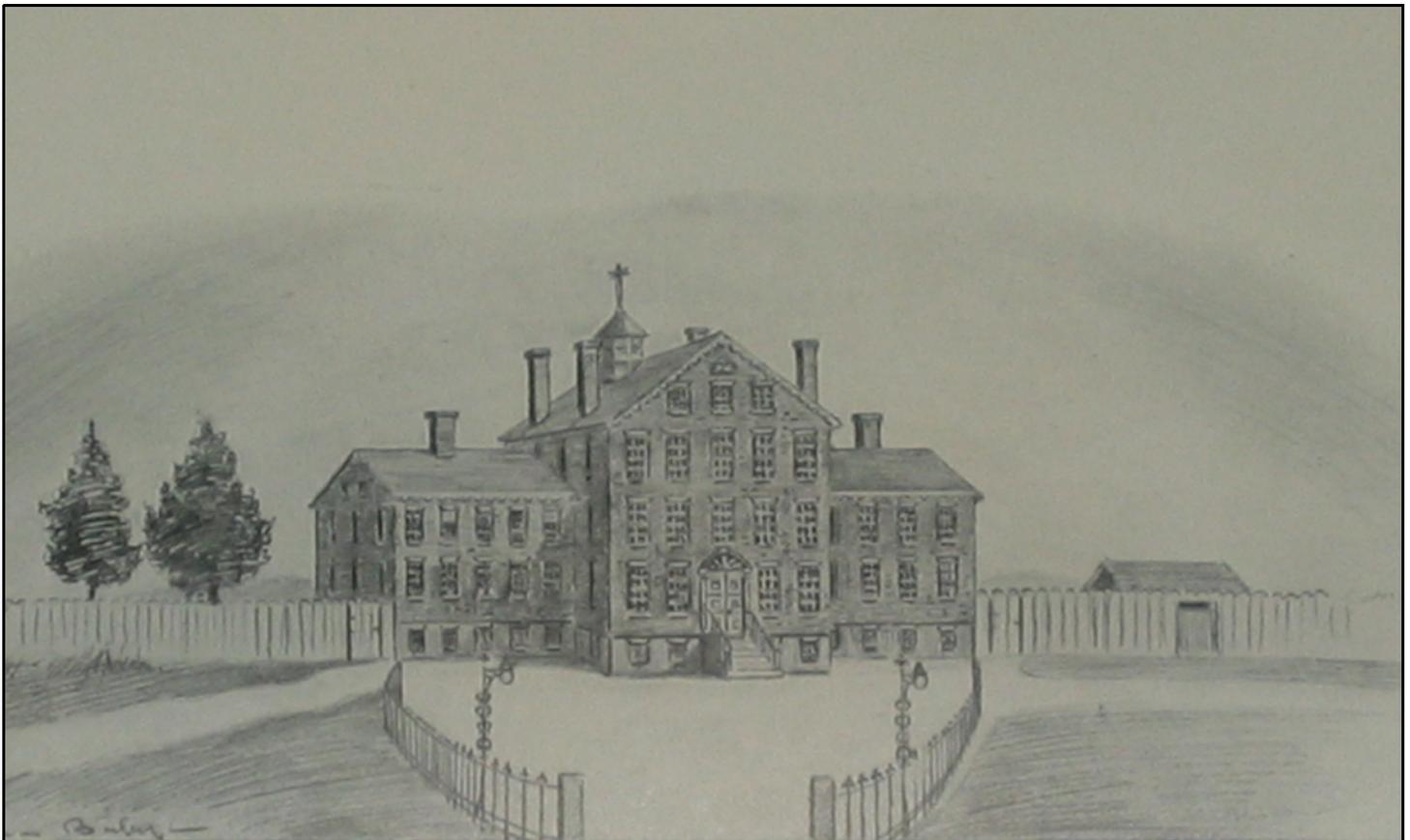


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Things were not so rosy, at the building site on the farm of [Moses Brown](#) where the Quakers were erecting their Yearly Meeting School. The estimate that \$16,000 would be needed for this project had proved to be way low. The exterior of the building was complete, except for glazing, and there had been some interior finishing work done. Early in the year, it became apparent that an additional \$7,000 would be needed to finish the building scheme. [Friends](#) William Almy and Obadiah Brown were able to pledge \$3,500 and by the end of the year the full amount would be obtained, so that construction would be able to resume during the following building season. This sketch would be made during the process of construction:



This sketch was added to the face of a clock made by John Bailey, in the building's sitting-room



June 16, Monday: [Edward Jesse](#) was promoted from 3d-ranking commissioner of hackney coaches at Windsor Palace, to 2d.⁸⁶

MANFRED by [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) was published in London.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

86. This office had been created in 1694 and would be abolished on January 5, 1832.



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2nd day In the forenoon the usual buisness was enterd upon. Epistles from all the Yearly Meetings were rec'd & read & in the Acct from Falmouth Quarter was observed a proposal to remove the Yearly Meeting - & a very good testimony from Westport Moy [Monthly] Meeting was read concerning our aged & truly honorable friend Jeremiah Austin - Many testimonies were delivered by our foreign brethren, particularly S Grellet I Thornm Jr Jesse Kersey &c &c

In the Afternoon The answers to the Queries were attended to, under a solemn covering, which with the other subjects drew many observations from several friends from other Yearly Meetings. - The state of the African race & a right education of children were the principal subjects tho many of minor importance were touched upon & I was gratified to observe the life which rose & shone in our Aged brother [Moses Brown](#) as well Wm Rotch Jr Wm Almy Obadiah Davis & others of this Yearly Meeting. - We have had much company today & have been favor'd to get along with rather more satisfaction at the close of the Day than common. -

Isaac Thorn & Ruben House are our lodgers with several others in addition to last night. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 10, Wednesday: [Paul Cuffe](#)'s brother John Cuffe wrote to his sister Freelove Cuffe in New-York:

Here is some accounts of the dueings of our dear and much beloved brother Captain Paul Cuffe the 27th of the 8th month of 1817. Between the hours of 8 and 9 in the morning then he took a fond leave of his family wife and children grandchildren Brothers and sisters and others, shaking hands with all in fellowship and friendship bid all farewell. It was as broken a time as was not even known amongst us and he seamed to long to go with angels and with the souls of just men and women in the heavens above to receive the reward of the Righteous [A friend came and evidently asked him about Heaven. Paul replied saying] that my works are gone to judgement afore hand that I due know when he said [the friend] not many days hence you shall see the glory of god. 6 oclock in the evening he said feed my lambs. He said much more but being week and spoke so low I could not understand so as to take the tru meaning and he also asked us all not to hang on unto him but to give up and let him go. I [John Cuffe] had layen very close with many prayers to go and his christ that he might be brought to health again [They all pray together with Paul] the will of the lord be done. He still kept failing from day to day some days took no nourishment at al in nor medesian Except cold water until first morning at 2 oclock in the morning the 7 day of this 9th month 1817 then Brother Cuffe departed this life. This is news that will not soon be forgotten with Soarrow not from the teeth outward but from the heart. I may say that I wept much. He died in the 59th year of his age after three



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months of sickness. He bore his illness with patience and through the whole and was awake to the last moments. [...] and as he close drew near and said to the nurse that he was But little more than a dade man Let me go Quietly away ofering his hand to his atendance that would have to tend him. So he fell asleep in death and is gone home to glory. He was a loving husband and a tender father and a cind neighbor and a faithful friend. The time appointed and all met together under a great on the second say of the week the second hour in the afternoon and after waiting in great silence testimonies then being born by friends he was borne to the grave and decently buried. A large crowd of people of all societeyes. I do not remember as I have been before at so large a gathering of people at anny funeral before. He was buried at friends burying ground at the fourth meeting house where we meet together. At his death he was 57 and months and 21 days old.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 10th of 9 M 1817 / Set an hour this evening at Thos Robinsons the old man is feeble & takes but little part in conversation. - the visit however was very interesting being favor'd with precious feelings in conversations with Abigail, & Mary Morton, on various subjects which all of us seemed alive to. I went over to wait on Sister Ruth home, who had set the evening with them. - The little time I passed with them was so pleasant that I regreted that I did not go over early. -

The historian Rosalind Cobb Wiggins struggled with the fact that, once the body of his friend [Paul Cuffe](#) had been interred (near, but not in, the local burial ground for white Quakers), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) seemed to fall away from his previous concern for the welfare of American people of color, and the fact that this personal failure on the part of Friend Stephen has been typical of a falling away by white American [Quakers](#) in general. She asked Quakers now, to act to forever cleanse “this stain of evasion” from their otherwise splendid human rights record:



Following Cuffe's death Stephen seems to only have occasionally spoken out in Meeting about slavery or the slave trade. Only two or three times did he cordially greet black men and women who had known of Paul and his vision. His concerns gradually changed as his responsibilities within his Meeting and the Yearly Meeting expanded.... Ten years before his own death it was suggested that he and Hannah become Assistant Caretakers, or house parents, at the Yearly Meeting Boarding School (now known as [Moses Brown School](#)) in [Providence](#). They accepted and lived in an apartment in the school building for the next six years before returning to Newport to take charge of family property. The years in Providence involved him even more in Yearly Meeting affairs, and of course with the students at the school, which he enjoyed. Yet, it is surprising that his focus uncoupled so abruptly from the plight of men and women such as Paul Cuffe and turned to the spiritual health of the Society of Friends. An excerpt from the 1830s illustrates his growing conservatism:



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"3rd day 8th of 6th M, 1830: Today Stephen Wilson & Hannah his wife from Goose Creek in Virginia called at the Institution [the school] – they are Hixites [[Hicksites](#)] & Hannah as a Preacher has come here to impose [her views] on Friends. She was formerly ... an old acquaintance of ours.... We treated her civilly but cool & felt grieved that one who had once been esteemed & no doubt in good measure religious should be attached to wrong principles." Three months later he wrote: "In the Street [in Providence] I met Wm Rotch & noded to him, & he to me – but he did not look nor feel to me as Wm Rotch once looked & felt – I deplore his departure from Society but nothing can be done – he must remain as he is." William Rotch Jr. had been a faithful Nantucket Quaker and staunch supporter of Paul Cuffe's.... What made him stand back from those very few Friends who were publicly protesting Slavery, such as Elias Hicks and later the Grimké sisters [Friend [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) and [Angelina Emily Grimké](#)]? There were many Quakers like him who were distraught by slavery and its trade yet they weren't heard in the public arena. ...after Cuffe's death Stephen scarcely mentioned slavery or the Trade, although it was covertly growing. He did note that he approved a letter protesting slavery to Congress by the Providence Abolition Society. Yet in 1838 he also approved a motion by the Yearly Meeting barring abolition societys' use of Friends Meeting houses for their gatherings.... Stephen's was a confined life and once Paul's strong, supportive presence was gone there was little to keep the fires of outrage alive. His life was well insulated even from such occurrences as the Snowtown and Hardscrabble race riots in Providence that erupted in 1826 and 1830 not far from the School. In January 1838 he went to Salem for a Quarterly Meeting and noted with dismay the anti-slavery discussions: "Their heated zeal injuring a good and right cause ... reminded me of the Spirit which I saw among the Hixites [followers of Friend Elias Hicks] in New York in 1827." His social and business contacts were confined to the area within "the walls of Zion," the all-white Quaker Close.... To answer the first question: Why didn't the unusual friendship and Paul's project have more lasting effect among Friends? It seems that Cuffe's untimely death cut off Stephen's emotional support and the visible presence that he needed in order to speak out. The ongoing rigid class differentiation that the two had ignored together closed in on Stephen following Paul's death. He became increasingly preoccupied with Quaker affairs. Concerns for African Americans are scarcely mentioned after Cuffe's death. The reason Cuffe's works have been so little known until now, even among Friends, is that his papers were not kept in the New England Yearly Meeting Archives. However, there were a number of biographers who had found them in the archives of the New Bedford Free Public Library and the Dartmouth Whaling Museum Library. The authors were not Quakers. Those books were published beginning in the 1970s but even these were not included in the Library of the New England Yearly Meeting Archives. His papers were not fully transcribed and published



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until 1996; these reveal to Friends who are so familiar with Quaker concepts how Paul led his life in accordance with the precepts of non-violence and seeking "that of God" in all those with whom he came in contact, even in the world of successful merchantmen. Now that the papers are available it is hoped Paul will become known as "a pattern and an example." In this country Friends Meetings remain almost entirely white perhaps because of the lack of historical understanding of the works of such men as Cuffe and because of class divisions that have been bonded to race as though with superglue. Is the only solution in individual self revelation, in individual efforts to reach into all communities, black and white? There is a crying need to remove this stain of evasion from Quakers' splendid human rights record.



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1818

➡ In [Rhode Island](#) during this year, Friend [Moses Brown](#) was instrumental in the formation of a Peace Society.

➡ March: [Friend](#) Roberts Vaux, an overseer of the [Quaker](#) schools, proposed an “Act to provide for the education of children at public expense within the City and County of Philadelphia.” (This would be enacted by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1834.)

QUAKER EDUCATION



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

➡ May 7, Thursday: Jan Antonín (Leopold) Kozeluch died in Vienna at the age of 70.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day this morning after breakfast called at J Caseys & saw several friends – then at the Public House where were Wm Rotch Jr, Saml Rodman, [O Brown](#), Thos Arnold, & [Moses Brown](#). I found myself in a very interesting circle, they were engaged in recounting the exercises they had passed thro’ in supporting the various testimonys of Society, particularly their labors



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together when on a committee from the Y Meeting Some years ago to Congress on behalf of the oppressed Africans – Then called at James Greens & took a dish of tea before meeting – At Meeting Jas Green appeared in lively testimony then Micajah Collins, then Thos Anthony & then Wm Almy – The last meeting was memorable to me, being before it under consideration as an Elder – James Greens remarks on the subject will long be remembered. – After meeting which was a season of favor – Our company got dinner & went on board the Packet & so prosperous was the gale that at we got home before it was quite dark which made me at about 28 hours from home.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June: The New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Portsmouth](#) was informed by its Meeting for Sufferings committee that the construction of [Yearly Meeting School](#) was so far completed that the building in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) might be made use of during the following winter. The hiring of staff was authorized. Friends [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) and Lydia Gould of [Newport](#) would be serving as Assistant Superintendents.

 June 17, Wednesday: Charles François Gounod was born in Paris, 2d and final child born to François-Louis Gounod, official artist to the Duc de Berry and drawing master to the pages of the King's Chamber, with Victoire Lemachois, daughter of a lawyer.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal about the proceedings of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at [Portsmouth](#):

4th day – The Meeting begun at 10 O'clock – Various concerns came before us – that which excited the most interest was a communication brought in by a committee appointed Yesterday, to the different quarterly meetings respecting the applications of several friends in low circumstances to the general government for pensions for their services in the revolutionary War – a general Unity was expressed discouraging all such applications & advising to the contrary, & encouraging all meetings where such applicants may reside to extend to them a liberal hand of help. – Henry Post at the opening of the meeting appeared in fervent supplication. –

The Meeting met this evening at 4 OC – the first business entered on was Jeremiah Austins Appeal which was confirmed – After expressing a few words, – which were reply'd to in a most feeling & pertinent manner by [Moses Brown](#) – he retired from the meeting having the heart felt sorrow of many friends – –Epistles were prepared to the usual meetings with which we correspond & most of them were attended with a good savor of life & also a communication was prepared to the different Monthly & Quarterly Meetings, written with much animation so that some of us said in our hearts "the best wine has come last" – The Meeting concluded under a solemn covering – & I have no doubt many may



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say with emphasis "It is good for me to be here"

 August: [Friend](#) Joseph Lancaster, an Englishman, arrived in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He would be active in [Quaker](#) schooling.

QUAKER EDUCATION

 October 5, Monday: Nancy Hanks Lincoln (Abraham Lincoln's mother) died of a "milk sickness."

[Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 5th of 10 M / This Afternoon about One OClock set out for [Providence](#) to carry sister Ruth to attend the Meeting of the Yearly Meeting school committee, & by riding in the evening a little while we reached [Moses Brown's](#) in time to spend a good peace with him before bed time. -

 October 6, Tuesday: Rufus Wyman, superintendent of the Charlestown branch of Massachusetts General Hospital (later to be renamed as the McLean Asylum for the Insane), admitted as his 1st patient a person who was possessed by a devil — or so this young man's father was alleging. This early facility for people with mental illness would establish one of the 1st American laboratories of experimental [psychology](#) and would support an active research program.⁸⁷

[Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day Morning after breakfast we went into [Providence](#), stoped at [O Browns](#) from whence Ruth went to the meeting House & I took a walk about the town. I dined at [O Browns](#) spent the evening & lodged, in the evening in addition to the very interesting conversation of [Moses](#) I had the gratification of seeing many of his curiosities both Ancient & modern, particularly some old Manuscripts & some old printed books published by friends, some of which I had not seen or heard of. -

 October 7, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day Morning returned to [Providence](#). the committee met at 9 OClock & set till 2 OC PM - during which time I went to Almy & Browns store & wrote a letter to Sarah Aldrich of Mendon - dined at [O Browns](#), after which went with sister Ruth to the School House & went into every part of it & believe it to be a very commodious House, built with great durability & will probably stand good when the present generation shall be no More we

87. Street, W.R. A CHRONOLOGY OF NOTEWORTHY EVENTS IN AMERICAN [PSYCHOLOGY](#). Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 1994



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arrived at [Moses Browns](#) about 5 OC which was too late to think of coming home, so we staid & passed another night under the hospitable roof of this venerable & very interesting old man now turned of 80 Years of age. he still brought forth from his treasury things new & old, & shewed me an original epistle in the hand writing of our Ancient friend George Fox, which I read pretty currently, & from what I had heard of his handwriting was quite surprised to find it so intelligible. -



October 8, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day Morning after taking breakfast at the house of our above mentioned friend, we rode home & the day being pleasant it was a pleasant ride of about 6 hours. - found my H & John well with all our friends - This has been a very pleasant visit & rendered doubly so, from the opportunity I have had of visiting my firend [Moses Brown](#), whose company it is probably I shall see but a few times more for if my life should be prolonged it is likely his will not to much greater length. -

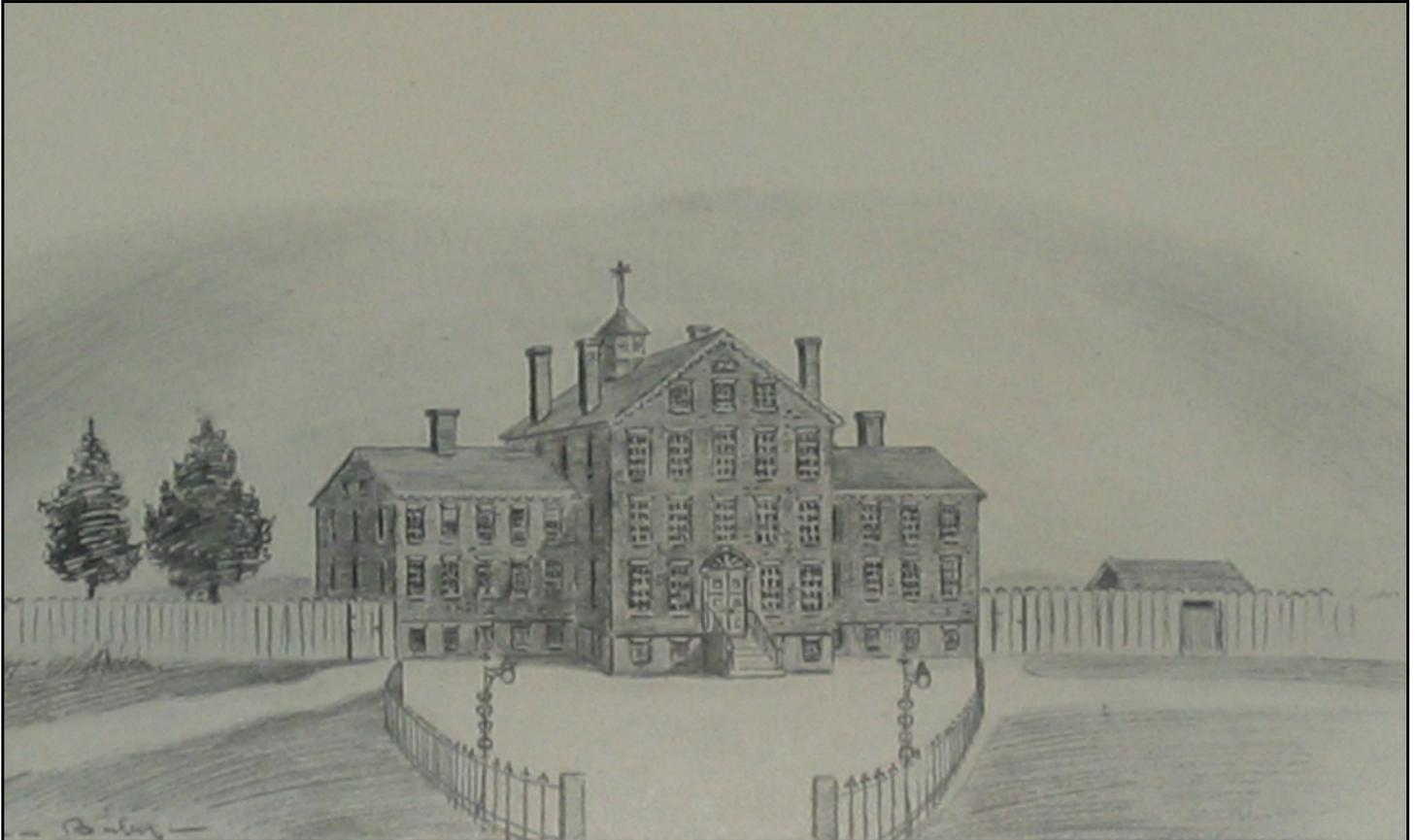


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 November 24, Tuesday: With construction of the [Quaker](#) Yearly Meeting School on his farm nearly complete, Friend [Moses Brown](#) wrote to Sophronia N.J. Forster of Weare, New Hampshire, expressing interest in her coming to teach at his new school in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).



This sketch was added to the face of a clock made by John Bailey, in the building's sitting-room

 December 31, Thursday: On the previous day in Edinburgh, Scotland, executioner John Simpson had sadly botched the job of [hanging](#) robber Robert Johnston for the robbery of a candlemaker. On this day the city magistrates fired both the executioner and the master of works who had been responsible for the structure of the gallows. Although a 50-guinea reward was offered for the identification of the persons who had rescued the robber after he was able to remain standing on the platform when the trap fell, this reward would never be paid.

Arriving at the “Elmwood” mansion of [Friend Moses Brown](#) outside [Providence, Rhode Island](#), after a boat trip and a stage ride, were two assistant teachers for the girls’ department, Friends Mary Mitchell and Dorcas Gardner, a Quaker girl scholar from New Hampshire, and three Quaker girl scholars from Nantucket.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



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*12th M 31st 5 of ye Week 1818 / This Morning took Chaise & with Br D Rodman went to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Moy [Monthly] Meeting – a little this side of Wm Baileys gate the Axle tree of the Chaise broke short off which brought us down & tho' in the fall I lost the reins, the horse stoped & stood perfectly still, which I count a special favor & for which my heart is truly thankful to the Lord, the great ruler of events – we set the Chaise on the side of the road & went to Wm Baileys who very kindly lent us a small Waggon which safely carried us the rest of the way to the Meeting House –The first Meeting was silent, the last was a deeply exercising one. Some cases before us was deeply distressing & afforded ample scope for the exercise of christian patience & prudence. I have thought I had known some hard meetings before, but it seemed as if this was the hardest – I believe that my concern has been a right one for the wellfare of society & Oh saith my soul may I hold on; & may my concern increase, –
We dined at Saml Thurstons - & rode Home.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

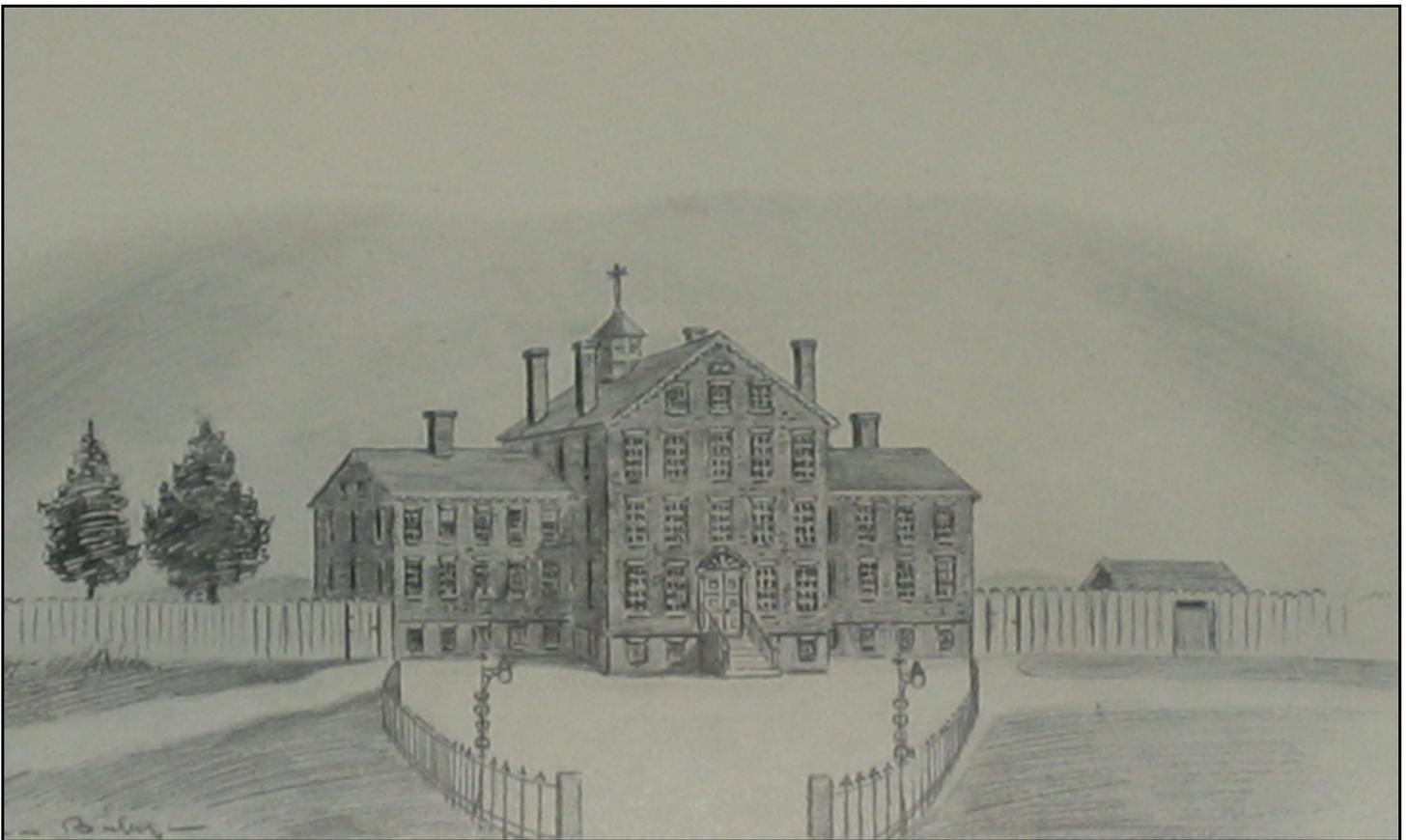
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1819



January 1, Friday: With construction complete on the central part of their building (the part between the wings, now referred to as “Middle House”) New England [Yearly Meeting](#)’s boarding school for [Quaker](#) youth went into operation in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) on the farmland that had been donated in 1814 by [Friend Moses Brown](#). (Of course, there would be a Boys School and a Girls School, held distinct not only in reports and catalogues but also by means of gender segregation of classrooms, and gender segregation of walks, and gender segregation of groves and playgrounds and dining areas.)



This sketch was added to the face of a clock made by John Bailey, in the building’s sitting-room

Present at that point were the [Quaker](#) who had been hired to be a teacher in the boys’ department, Friend Benjamin Rodman, two assistant teachers for the girls’ department, Friends Mary Mitchell and Dorcas Gardner, Friend Maria Augusta Fuller from Lynn, Massachusetts, age 12, Friend Comfort Allen, age 22, a Quaker young woman from Richmond, New Hampshire, and three Quaker girls from Nantucket, Friends Elizabeth Brayton, age 15, Anna Fitch, age 14, and Hepsabeth Mitchell, age 14. (It has been noted, as an attempt at humor, that at this point, with two superintendents, one teacher, two assistant teachers, and five girl scholars on site, the teacher/student ratio had become exactly the ideal ratio of one on one!)



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When the [Hicksite](#)/Orthodox split would occur in the [Religious Society of Friends](#), this school would remain with the Orthodox or Quietist or segregationist branch and would prosper, enrolling on an average a student body of more than 150 white students during the decade of the 1830s.



During this year, also, Friend Moses would fund the purchase of a lot in Providence on which the colored people might erect a meetinghouse and school:



The colored people called a meeting in 1819 to take measures, to build a meetinghouse, with a basement for a school room. After appointing their Committee to carry out their wishes, they sent a special committee to Mr. [Moses Brown](#), to inform him of their intentions and see what he would do toward aiding them, knowing he belonged to the Society of Friends and was a very benevolent man, besides some of the members of the committee had been in his service. Mr. Brown, after hearing their statements, highly commended their movement, and said, "I always had it in my heart to help the colored people, whenever I saw they were ready to receive. Now go and select you out a lot, suitable for your purpose, and I will pay for it."

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) of [Newport](#) wrote in his journal about the opening of this school (at which eventually he would teach):

6th day 1st of 1st M 1819 / My mind under much depression, particularly from yesterdays occurrences at Portsmouth. — It is a comfortable reflection that the Truth remains to be unchangeable & that those who abide in it have nothing to fear. — I have thought much of the Yearly Meeting School which is opened this day at Providence, the day has been very clear & remarkably mild for the season, may it prove an omen of the future usefulness of the institution to coming generations.⁸⁸

88. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1815-1823: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 7 Folder 12 for August 24, 1815-September 25, 1823; also on microfilm, see Series 7



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➡ January 2, Saturday: At the new [Quaker Yearly Meeting School](#) outside [Providence, Rhode Island](#), another girl scholar arrived, Friend Milly Paine, age 15, of Cumberland, and the very first boy scholar, Friend Philip A. Southwick, age 10, of Danvers, Massachusetts.

At some point in early January, the head and torso of the statue known then as “younger Memnon” was installed on its pedestal in the [Egyptian](#) Sculpture Room of the Townley Galleries of the British Museum.

➡ January 3, Sunday: At 10:30AM a meeting for worship was held in one of the four large square rooms on the first floor of the new building of the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). Present, among others, with the young scholars and the school staff, was Friend [Moses Brown](#) and his wife Dorcas Brown, with his son Friend Obadiah M. Brown. The room at the time had been furnished with a large stove and a few chairs. As what was apparently the only vocal ministry, Friend Betsy Purinton “knelt in supplication.”

[Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) of [Newport](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 3rd of 1st M 1819 / In our Morning meeting Anne Dennis appeared in a Short testimony then Hannah Dennis & then Jonathon Dennis. Thus daughter Mother & father in succession had the vocal service of the Day.

In the Afternoon we were Silent & the meeting was largely attended for afternoon & to me it was a good Meeting. –



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January 4, Monday: Martin Van Buren had William Thompson nominated as speaker of the New York Senate.

First day of school. The first boarding student to arrive at the newly constructed [Yearly Meeting School](#), several days before, had been [Friend](#) Maria Augusta Fuller from Lynn, Massachusetts, twelve years of age, who had arrived under the care of Friends Matthew Purinton and Betsy Purinton of Salem, Massachusetts, hired to superintend the business and home-life of the institution, but by this first day of instruction, a total of eleven scholars were present, Friends Daniel Bicknell, age 11, having arrived from North [Providence](#), Dorcas Hadwin, age 11, from [Providence](#), Charles Congdon, age 11, from [Providence](#), and Charles Metcalf, age 15, from Cumberland.

Superintendents.

1819-1824.	Purinton, Matthew and Betsy.
1824-1835.	Breed, Enoch and Lydia.
1829-1835.	Gould, Stephen Wanton and Gould, 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.

[Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 4th of 1st M / My mind often depressed with the state of things in our Society, but notwithstanding all our failings I am comforted in a renewed confirmation that we are yet the first religious society, in that we believe in the Truth as it is in Jesus & that many of our members have attained to a higher state of religious experience than any other - we find most of professing christendom very outward in their views. while they profess a belief in spiritual things, they know but little more of the Spiritual work than if they were strangers to the Scriptures or the name of Christ, for the plain reason, that they overlook, the thing in the first setting out.- having no Idea that, the intimations which they feel early in life, as for instance condemnation for doing wrong, & justification for doing right, is nothing short than the divinity of Christ moving in



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our hearts, could they rightly see this, I believe, there would be less controversy on points of Doctrine - & were but the members of our Society more fully to live up to that which they believe in, - our Zion would Shine as in the days of her Ancient splendor, the Tents of Cushan would not be in affliction, neither would the Curtains of Middian tremble. -

 January 31, Sunday: At the fee level that had been decided, which was \$100 per scholar per school year, registration at the new [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on the [Moses Brown](#) farm in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) stood at 41 [Quaker](#) children. At the beginning of instruction, the study was mostly in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography. There was much memorization and recitation. Some volunteer work was done in botany outside of class hours. There must have been significant distraction, as the carpenters were still hard at work finishing up the interior of the building.

 February 1, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 1st of 2nd M 1819 / A little after 12 OC this day went on board the Packet with my Wife & David Buffum for [Providence](#), it was a very mild pleasant Day & we arrived there about 7 OC in the evening, we went immediately to [Obadiah Browns](#) were[where] we were rec'd in a very Hospitable manner & lodged -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 2, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day. This morning [Obadiah](#) took us in his carriage & we rode out to the Yearly Meeting school which we visited in its various departments - found the children in good order in the School, the Masters & Mistresses apparantly good examples & the other branches all well regulated, affording a comfortable prospect of future usefulness to the rising generation, & society in general - here we were joined by our aged father in Israel, [Moses Brown](#) who tho' having enter'd the 81st Year of his age, is as bright in his faculties (to all appearances) as at any time in his life, with him we went home to dine & under his friendly roof we lodged, after spending the Afternoon & evening in interesting conversation with him & D Buffum. -

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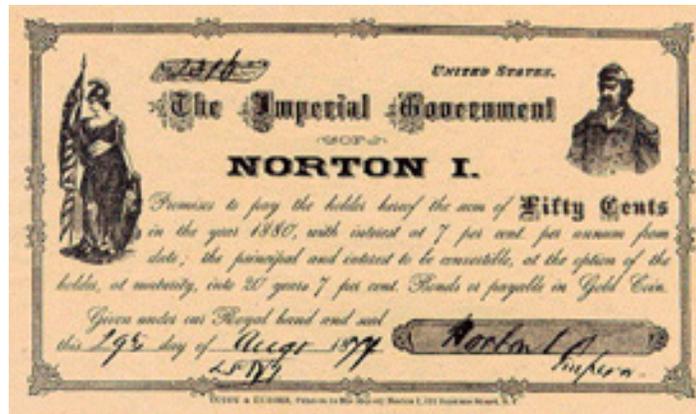
February 3, Wednesday: Semiramide riconosciuta, a dramma per musica by [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) to words of Rossi after Metastasio, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Regio, Turin before the King and Queen of Piedmont.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day – Came to Town an attended our Select Quarterly meeting, in my mind, life was low, but our friend D Buffum was engaged in a lively testimony. in the opening of it & at the close Rowland Greene was also engaged in testimony. – I dined at Wm Almys, made a few calls in town & in the Afternoon joined my H at [M Browns](#), where I d left her in the morning. Set the remainder of the Afternoon there & amused ourselves in looking over his Library. he has at present the greatest collection of Friends books, both Ancient & Modern of any friend in New England. –

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February 4, Thursday: Just outside of [London](#), Joshua Abraham Norton, who would one day proclaim himself the Emperor of the United States, was born.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day – My H had an opportunity to ride to town & I walked in to Meeting, there were public appearances from James Greene, D Howland, Thos Anthony, Susanna Bateman & Betsy Purinton, & Henry Chase in Supplication – The weight of the service fell on Thos Anthony who was much favord to hold up the Standard of Truth in the view of a very large assembly In the last meeting, there was some labor, but we had some pleasant circumstances & tho' the Passover was eaten with bitter herbs, we were favored to make an escape. – Hannah dined at [O Browns](#), but being Detained at the meeting House on a committee after both meetings rise - I went to Joseph Anthonys, where I met my old friend James Greene & was glad to



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see him as well as a number of others who were there - In the evening returned to [O Browns](#) & lodged.

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February 28, Sunday: Former President [Thomas Jefferson](#) presided over the foundation of the University of Virginia at Charlottesville. (He had designed the first buildings of the campus. The first classes would not begin until 1825.)

[Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) and [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#) left [Naples](#).

At Vienna's Redoutensaal, Die Huldigung, a cantata by Johann Baptist Schenk to words of Höltz, was performed for the initial time.

Schäfers Klagelied D.121 to words of [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#), the first of Franz Schubert's lieder to be presented in public, was performed for the initial time, in the Gasthof "zum römischen Kaiser."

A total of 66 students were registered at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 28th of 2nd M 1819 / Our morning Meeting was silent & rather smaller than usual owing to a number of friends & attenders of our meeting having gone to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the funeral of Mary Mott daughter of our late friend Jacob Mott who departed this life the 26th inst at the old Mansion house, her remains were carried to friends Meeting house & after Meeting interd
In the Afternoon father Rodman deliverd a few words very appropriate & to me savory. -*

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March 9, Tuesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the chain of events leading to the establishment of the African Union Meeting and Schoolhouse and eventually to the organization and construction of the Congdon Street Baptist Church began in the vestry of the 1st [Baptist](#) Meeting House with a meeting called at the request of a group of African Americans, for the establishment of a place for people of color to worship God and provide secular education for their children. In addition to persons of color, this planning meeting was attended by influential, sympathetic whites. A 12-person committee would select a lot at the corner of Meeting Street (which then ran all the way up the hill) and Congdon Street, [Friend Moses Brown](#) would purchase it, construction of a schoolhouse would begin, and during June 1820 the structure would open for divine worship. The large room would be fitted with pews, and the building would be completed and dedicated in 1821 (this would come to be referred to as the African Union Meeting House; in a later timeframe, hostile white neighbors would cause the structure to be torn down, and in an even later timeframe, there would be erected the Congdon Street Baptist Church).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 9th of 3rd M / While sitting with my mother this evening she related the following Anecdote, which interested me, much. I thought it very instructing. – She said, when she was a little girl there was one of her young associates was to have a Ball on her birth day evening to which she was invited & set her heart much on going but her father & mother was opposed to it, of which she thought exceedingly hard & could not be reconciled, her father reasoned the case & told her that her grand father & grandmother Clarke would be exceedingly hurt at her going to a Ball & that aside from his own objections that he could not consent to it on their account – well she told her father, she would make a Bargain with him, which was that if he would furnish her with as many bugle Beads & Ribbons as she wanted to wear, that she would give up the Ball. to this he consented with readiness, in a short time gave her the money for the purpose, but she began to reflect on his kindness & that as he had consented against his own judgement, she would not but any ribbons that was very gay, but keep as much in the moderation as the nature of the case would admit. – The Beads & Ribbons were bought & fancifully wrought into various shapes for a head dress &c. & the time soon came when she was to pay a visit to her cousins who were of the Church of England & what were called fashionable folks, here she expected to be greatly respected & caressed for her beautiful & fine appearance, it so happened that there were some others of her acquaintances there of the Brenton family who soon began to look at her, & then at one another, & wink & snear, at this she soon became suspicious that some of her ribbons were our of order. She then began to feel on her head to see if all was right, & up her hand would go to her head to ascertain, at this sight her friends would become more diverted, till at length she was laughed at, which was so great a source of mortification that before night she was ready to put her head any where to get it out of sight, at night when she went home, her head dress was taken off & never resumed. – This story goes to prove a Sentiment in which I have been long confirmed, vizt that a [Quaker](#) has nothing to expect from the esteem of the world by conforming to its fashions maxims & c.



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but on the contrary the finger of scorn is pointed at every departure from "the good order & regulations of our Society. – At another time she says her mother gave her a handsome plain silk handkerchief with which she was dissatisfied & sold it for a green gause one & wore it to meeting - at the dinner table her father asked why there was no meeting at Vinals meeting & she replied to him that there was. his reply was "Why what presbiterian girl was that I saw at meeting with a green gause handkerchief" this also was a source of mortification & pretty much broke up her desire for finery. That a very considerable experience & observation fully confirms me that our young friends never appear to better advantage or are more respected by the world than when they come up nobly in the line of the Predicessors



March 31, Wednesday: At the fee level that had been decided, which was \$100 per scholar per school year, registration at the new [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on the [Moses Brown](#) farm in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) had risen to 81 [Quaker](#) children. These scholars ranged in age from 7 and 8 to 27 and 28.

[Nicolò Paganini](#) gave his 1st concert in Naples, at the Teatro del Fondo.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 31st of 3 M / This Afternoon walked over to the Point & from a degree of curiosity called to see the widow Dolly Thurston a woman about 94 Years of age, found her quite intelligible in conversation, free & pleasant and apparantly possessing a very innocent mind, & I thought evinced more quietness than some who has made a higher profession of religion & perhaps really had more experience after sitting with her for a little time, asking her questions & attending to her replys & remarks - I observed that while sitting by her I had felt a good evidence of the peacefully quiet state of her mind, & that I had no doubt it would continue with her while she staid here & go with her beyond the grave. she said she had seen many changes thro' life, but had much to be thankful for & tho' low in circumstances, was much better than many. – After a few remarks in that way we parted & my mind was favord with a covering which well paid for the visit. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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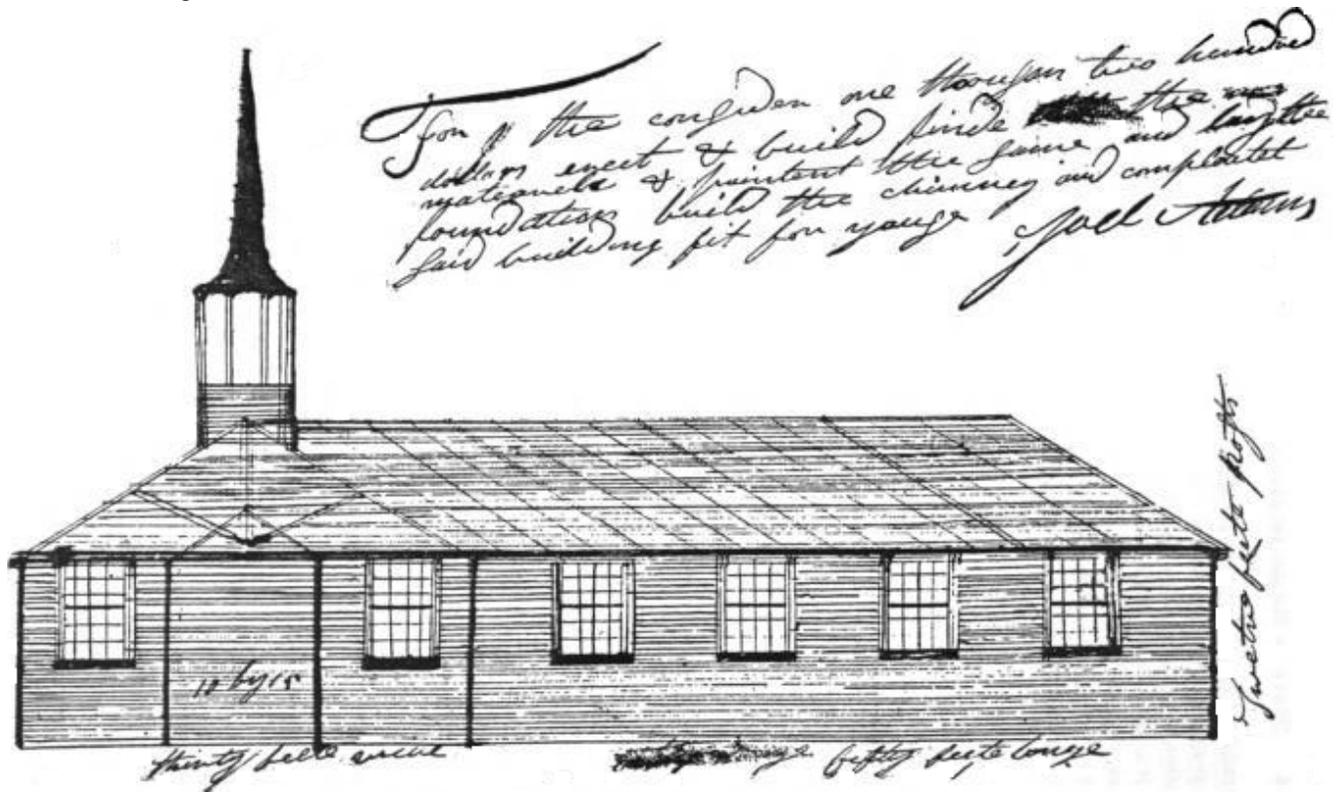
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Spring: Most of the student body at the New England [Yearly Meeting School](#) on the [Moses Brown](#) farm in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) were between the ages of 10 and 15, although there were a few youngsters of 7 or 8 years of age and several scholars in their twenties. At this point the school admitted one-count-'em-one non-[Quaker](#) scholar, Frances A. Bartlett, upon his pledge to abide by the Quaker rules (presumably, his family had pledged to pay double tuition). However, this was a distinct exception, as the daughters of Barnabas Bates were at this time turned away on account of their being non-Quakers. As a point of interest, had young Francis the sole non-Quaker been over the age of 14, he also would not have been admitted.

We can be sure that the school was all white, that for instance this Frances was a white boy, not because the school was overtly racially segregated but because there was no such thing as a black New England family capable of annually coughing up not only the tuition but also the non-Quaker surcharge.

Meanwhile, the city of [Providence](#) was also plotting the construction of a schoolhouse — and you get three guesses as to whether or not this municipal schoolhouse was also to be for the instruction only of white boy and girl scholars:



PLAN OF A PROVIDENCE SCHOOL HOUSE OF 1819.
FROM THE ORIGINAL DESIGN AMONG THE PROVIDENCE TOWN PAPERS NO. 0083801.

April 8, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 8 of 4 M / Our meeting was small but a good degree of



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favor - silent - Sister E Rodman returned from [Providence](#) where She has been for two Months assisting in the [Yearly Meeting School](#)

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 April 24, Saturday: Gioachino Rossini's drama Eduardo e Cristina to words of Schmidt, revised by Bevliacqua-Aldobrandini and Tottola, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro San Benedetto, [Venice](#).

In [Rhode Island](#), [Friend Moses Brown](#) attempted to donate the 43-acre section of his farm on [Providence Neck](#) to the [Quaker](#) for the use of the school that had just been constructed there. A certified clerk's copy is to be inspected in Book [xxx], on pages 400-403, of the bound copies of historical title transactions kept just under the mansard roof of our Providence City Hall. (Providence Neck is now referred to as "the hoighty-toighty East Side.")



 June 14, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day Our Meeting began at the usual hour it was opened by a short but living testimony, from Wm Rickman, Benjamin Mitchell & Prayer by Daniel Quimby - & just before the opening of the meeting a few very pertinent remarks by D Buffum
The Usual buisness of reading the minutes of the last Year & the various Epistles from the different Yearly Meetings & the appointment of committees occupied the time of the Meeting. -
At the 4th hour the meeting again met & the State of Society was entered into - Some of the Answers excited much feeling & many pertinent remarks, but none was more striking to my feelings than those from our Aged brother [Moses Brown](#) on the subject of plainness of Apparal, he observed that plainness of dress had ever been a testimony of Society, which he desired may be kept too, & that friends encourage it in their children for he who had had to suffer much in times past in stripping himself of some things which he deemed Superfluous, could bear testimony that the cross borne in that respect had Yealded peace & being an old man, not expecting to see many of them again, he recommended to society & individuals that care be taken to keep themselves & their children in plainness. This evening we had a*

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at any time hereafter at the request and at the cost and charge of
the said yearly Meeting of Friends or such School Committee as they
may appoint for the governing and management of the said School
in School during the recess of said Meeting make and execute such pro-
ceedings and do as or direct whatsoever for the more effectual suc-
cess and convenience and assignment of the said tract of land with its ap-
purtenances to and for the use and purposes of education as aforesaid
as by the said yearly Meeting or their said Committee may be deemed
advisable and required. And it is further covenanted and agreed
that it is the true intent and meaning of these presents that no
person or persons in Trust nor trustee or trustees of our said
Trust hereafter be declared by the said yearly Meeting to be out of
Fellowship or by any means according to their rules disowned
being Members in Unity, shall hereafter stand seized thereof
be capable of holding or executing this Trust or of holding any
right title or interest whatsoever in the hereby granted Premises
while he or they shall remain out of unity with the said People
but in all cases of disownment and when any of us or the Trust-
ees who may hereafter succeed us in this Trust shall depart this
Life the Trustees or Trustees of us and theirs shall have and hold
the full right of Trustee in Trust and the same hold until the said
yearly Meeting shall appoint others in our or their room and in
case of the death and removal of all of us or theirs at any time
hereafter during the recess of the said yearly Meeting, the Committee
that may be then under appointment to have the care and man-
agement of the said Institution, known by the name of the
yearly Meeting School for the times being shall be deemed to all
intents and purposes this Trust and shall hold and manage
the said Trust until the said Yearly Meeting shall appoint others
to succeed them in the said Trust, and shall be equally bound to
secure the right property and use of the hereby granted Premises to
the said Yearly Meeting and their Successors in the same faith
as the present Holders in Trust are and so on from time to time
successors hereafter to the intent that the said



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whereon a School House is now sitting of Stone, Brick and other Materials for the purpose by the Committee aforesaid may possess hereafter be applied to the use intents and purposes of a free and Religious, Moral and Literary Education of the rising generations of Quakers and such others as they may or shall think best to admit according to the original design aforesaid.

In Witness whereof the said Moses Brown the Donor and Grantor, and the forerunners Trustees in Trust hereunto set our hands and affix our seals. Providence the twenty sixth day of the ninth month in the year of our Lord, Eighteen hundred and sixteen.

<p><u>Sign Sealed & Delivered</u> ---</p> <p>in presence of ---</p> <p>Arnold Congdon ---</p> <p>Samson Army, Witness ---</p> <p>to all the Signatures except ---</p> <p>Wm. Rotch Junr. ---</p> <p>Witnesses to the Signature ---</p> <p>of Wm. Rotch Jr ---</p> <p>Samson Army ---</p> <p>Charles Hadwin ---</p>	<p>Moses Brown ---</p> <p>Obadiah Brown ---</p> <p>William Army ---</p> <p>Thomas Hasland ---</p> <p>William Buffum ---</p> <p>Sylvester Wickes ---</p> <p>Saml. Rodman ---</p> <p>David Buffum ---</p> <p>Micajah Collins ---</p> <p>Wm. Rotch Jr ---</p>
--	--

Providence Jr. In Providence April 24th 1819

Personally appeared Moses Brown and acknowledged the foregoing Instrument to be his free Act and Deed, Hand and Seal

Before me, Nathan W. Jackson, Town Clerk

Recorded April 24th A. 1819

Witness.

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Know all Men by these Presents, that I, Moses Brown of Providence
in the County of Providence and State of Rhode Island and Providence
Plantations, for and in Consideration of my regard and affection for
the principles of truth as recorded in the Holy Scriptures and professed
by the people called Quakers and known among themselves by
the name of Friends, and from a desire that the Children and suc-
cing generations may be educated in a guarded manner both as
to their moral and religious principles, possessed by the said people,
and granted by the faithful among them, Do by these presents give
grant alien convey and confirm unto my son Abraham Brown,
William Buffum of Smithfield, Sylvester Hicks of Cranston and
Thomas Bradford of East Greenwich now the Committee for carrying
into effect the motion of providing for carrying the said or
the hereby granted Purposes, David Buffum of Newport, Samuel
Bradman of New Bedford, William Peck of the same town
and Abigail Collins of Lynn in England in trust and to their suc-
cessors and assigns forever to have and to hold to and for the use and
purpose of the aforesaid people called Friends or Quakers of the
Yearly Meeting for New England to erect suitable buildings thereon
for a School House or Houses for the purpose of instruction and
guarded education of the rising generations in a boarding school
or schools according to the original minute of the intentions of the said
Yearly Meeting and hereafter set forth for the more effectual govern-
ment thereof by the Grantor and Grantors herein expressed. A certain
lot of land being the best part of the farm whereon the gran-
tor now dwells containing by estimation about thirty three acres
be the same more or less and is bounded as follows, ^{beginning} at the South
West corner of the granted Purposes and at the North end ^{corner} of Knight
Dexter's land at the Road formerly called Ferry Lane, thence along
the dividing line as the wall now stands about thirty eight rods to
a tower in the wall thence along the same about thirty one rods
to another tower in the wall; thence about twenty one rods to the
end of the Northeast corner of said Dexter's land and said Providence
Plantations



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Land belonging to the children of Daniel Brown said then turning and
 running Westward by the Stone Wall and the Road twenty eight rods then
 turning another corner of the wall at the junction of another road and
 turning and running South at ¹² about eight ¹⁴ half rods along the
 said road leading from Providence through the Neck to Pawtucket then
 running Westward about thirty seven rods towards said Town till it meets
 Thomas Halsey's wall, then turning and running South about 2. West
 along said Halsey's and the Grants line as the wall stands about forty
 seven rods, then turning West about 17. South about twenty rods along the
 dividing line aforesaid to the first mentioned highway, then at ²⁷ along
 the said highway as the wall stands about thirty four rods to the first men-
 tioned corner

To Have and to Hold the hereby granted Premises unto them
 the said Obadiah Brown, William Abney, William Buffum, Sylvester
 Wickes, Thomas Howland, David Buffum, Samuel Rodman, William
 Robt. Gurr, and Micaiah Colburn as Trustees in Trust for the said Yearly
 Meeting of Friends for New England and the Members thereof embodied
 according to the rules and discipline established among them as a Re-
 ligious Body, their Successors and assigns forever as the said Yearly Meet-
 ing may hereafter direct, it being always heretofore to be understood that
 the whole of the said granted Premises is and are to be at the sole disposal
 of the said Meeting but in such manner that the said interest, property,
 rents, profits, income and use is to be forever hereafter held improved and
 applied by the said Meeting for the purpose of keeping up and main-
 taining a School or Schools for the education of the rising Generation
 aforesaid and is ³ never at any time hereafter to be diverted or ap-
 plied to any other use or purpose whatsoever. And I the said Moses
 Brown for me my heirs executors and administrators do covenant
 and engage the above devised and granted Premises to them the said
 Trustees in trust to and for the use of the said People their Successors and
 assigns forever against the lawful claims and demands of all persons
 whatsoever to covenant secure and defend by their Counselors And I the
 said Trustees in trust before named, do acknowledge the aforesaid
 trust and hereby covenant and declare that we use our best



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pleasant silent opportunity in the family, Ruth Hallack Avis Keene & Thos Jones bore short but pleasant & encouraging testimonies

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 August 14, Saturday: [Erik Acharius](#) died.

Apparently, according to a report which appeared in the American Journal of Science, between 8PM and 9PM on the previous evening two women of Amherst, Massachusetts had observed “a brilliant white light resembling burnished silver” which they supposed to descend slowly from the sky as a ball onto their front yard. At one point this light was bright enough for them to see it reflect upon or cast a shadow against a nearby wall. The next morning, according to a report from a Professor Rufus Graves, the man of the house, an Erastus Dewey, noted that there was in his yard, some 20 feet from the doorstep, a “circular form, resembling a sauce or salad dish bottom upwards, about eight inches in diameter and one in thickness, of a bright buff color, with a fine nap upon it similar to that on milled cloth.... On removing the villous coat, a buff colored pulpy substance of the consistency of good soft soap, of an offensive, suffocating smell appeared; and on a near approach to it, or when immediately over it, the smell became almost insupportable, producing nausea and dizziness. A few minutes exposure to the atmosphere changed the buff into a livid color resembling venous blood. It was observed to attract moisture very rapidly from the air. A half-pint tumbler was nearly half filled with the substance. It soon began to liquefy and form a mucilaginous substance of the consistence, color, and feeling of starch when prepared for domestic use.” Whatever this material was, within two or three days it would evaporate, leaving only some sort of dark-colored residue upon the sides and bottom of that tumbler. It would be noted that when they then rubbed some of this dried residue between their fingers, it became a fine, odorless ash.

[SKY EVENT](#)

Samuel Cabot reported his attention to have suddenly been arrested by an object emerging from the sea about 100 to 150 yards from him, “which gave to my mind at the first glance the idea of a horse’s head.... I perceived at a short distance eight or ten regular bunches or protuberances, and at a short interval three or four more.... The Head ... was serpent shaped it was elevated about two feet from the water ... he could not be less than eighty feet long.”

[SEA SERPENT SIGHTINGS](#)

After some passage of time, Friend [Moses Brown](#) wrote again to Sophronia N.J. Forster of Weare, New Hampshire, expressing continued interest in her teaching at Yearly Meeting School.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) had a conversation with a local [Jew](#) and was reassured about the superiority of [Quakerism](#):

7th day 14th of 8 M / Rec'd two letters from Wm Rickman in N York one of them mentioned that Wm Foster of England had obtained a Certificate from Friends there to pay a religious visit to friends in this Country & expected to embark next spring – This Afternoon my mind was struck in conversation with Moses Lopez a Jew, by a remark of his he was speaking of religion &



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giving some of his views on the subject & observed that was he to change his religion he should turn [Quaker](#) & remarked that there were some of our manners & customs that he approved beyond others & even some of his own – he said he was once in [New Bedford](#) & was invited to dine at the house of Our friend Sam Rodman, who provided a good Salt Fish dinner for him & when they set down to the table he observed a profound silence which seemed very strange to him & was at an entire loss what to think or how to account for it but after a few moments, Socobility was resumed & things went on in their usual order, at tea he remarked the same pause, when, (to use his own expressions) he considered it must be some of our ceremonies, & he could but approve of it, being much more solemn in its effects than a prayer rabbled over with apparant feeling or sensibility, he remarked that it was their practice to say a short prayer after dinner, but he says I like Your mode best being more Solemn. now I have no doubt but this poor son of Israel was Struck with real religious feelings on the occasion, which from the dark state of his mind he would not fully comprehend. – This circumstance may tend to confirm Friends of the necessity of such pratices. – we know not the effects of them, if attended too with reverance they may reach the hearts of some, when we are not aware of it ourselves, & perhaps most effecttively when nothing may be uttered



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Teachers (to 1919).

1819.	Gardner, Doras.
1819.	Hill Deborah.
1819.	Mitchell, Mary.
1819.	Rodman, Benjamin.
1819-1821.	Howland, Thomas.
1820-1821.	Chase, Stephen A.
1820-1829.	Pierce, Abigail.
1822.	Wilbur, Thomas.
1822-1825.	Tobey, Samuel B.
1822-1824.	Lockwood, Sarah.
1822-1829.	Jones, Isaiah.
1825.	Beedee, Mary.
1825-1826.	Earle, Sarah.
1825-1827.	Daniels, David.
1826-1828.	Jones, George.
1826-1829.	Almy, Mary.
1826-1829.	Mitchell, Moses.
1828-1831.	Allen, Lydia B.
1829-1830.	Hoag, Joseph.
1830-1831.	Fry, Sarah.
1830-1831.	Hussey, Benjamin B.
1830-1834.	Ramsdell, Deborah.
1831.	Burgess, Phebe.
1831.	Frg, Dorurs.

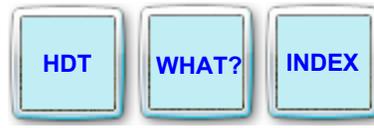


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1831.	Hacker, Jeremiah.
1831-1834.	Cartland, Moses A.
1831-1835.	Earle, Pliny, Jr.
1832.	Horton, Isabela.
1832.	Lockwood, Moses B. (See also list of Principals.)
1832-1834.	Gummere, Samuel J.
1832-1834.	Cartland, Caroline.
1832-1835.	Griscom, John.
1832-1835.	Griscom, Mary H.
1833-1835.	Barker, Martha.
1832-1837.	Slocum, Jonathm L.
1834.	Lockwood, Anna T.
1835.	Gale, Christina.
1835-1836.	Cook, Louis.
1835-1837.	Barker, Mary Ann.
1835-1837.	Hathoway, Isaac.
1835-1843.	Read, George F.
1835-1844.	Aldrich, Emeline.
1836.	Meador, Valentine.
1836-1837.	Taber, Louis.
1836-1841.	Osborne, Elizabeth H.
1837-1844.	Austin, Samuel.
1838.	Chase, James.
1838.	Greene, Freelove.
1839-1840.	Slocum, Jonathan L.



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1840.	Brown, Sarah J.
1840-1842.	Coffin, Charles F., Jr.
1841.	Chase, Pliny E.
1841.	Earle, Lydia.
1841.	Nicholas, Charles H.
1842.	Chipman, Rebecca.
1842.	King, Annabella.
1842-1843.	Aldrich, Joseph W.
1843.	Pope, Elizabeth H.
1843-1844.	Slocum, Jonathan L.
1843-1845.	Aldrich, Elizabeth J.
1844.	Steere, Thomas.
1845.	Nicholson, William.
1845-1846.	Atherton, Mary.
1845-1846.	Atherton, Charles.
1845-1846.	Hoag, Edward G.
1845-1846.	Prossor, Elizabeth.
1846.	Chase, David C.
1846.	Starkey, George R.
1846.	Whittier, Gertrude E.
1847.	Allen, Charles M.
1847.	Collins, Susan M.
1847.	Gough, Mary.
1847.	Taber, Clarkson.
1848.	Brown, Sarah J.
1848.	Dame, Richard.

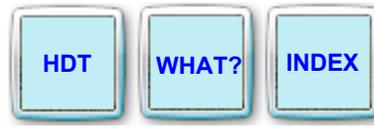


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1848.	Moore, Lindley Murray.
1848.	Whittier, Gertrude E.
1848-1849.	Cornell, Sarah Alice.
1848-1849.	Hoag, Edward G.
1848-1855.	Atherton, Charles. (See also list of Principals.)
1849-1850.	Almy, Lydia Hill.
1849-1850.	Burr, La Fayette.
1849-1850.	Haines, Martha Mifflin.
1849-1850.	Meador, Richard D.
1849-1851.	Paige, Anna B.
1850.	Brown, Welcome Owen.
1850-1852.	Pierce, George A.
1851.	Crosman, John Henry.
1851.	Hawkes, Mary W.
1851.	Inman, Anna.
1851-1852.	Holway, Deborah.
1851-1852.	Parot, Louisa.
1851-1852.	Stevens, Moses C.
1851-1855.	Prossor, Elizabeth.
1852.	Cornell, Sarah Alice.
1852.	Mitchell, William Forster.
1852.	Stanton, Mary Anna.
1853-1854.	Hoag, Edward G.
1853-1854.	Neal, Lydia M.
1853-1854.	Parkhurst, Charles H.



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1853-1854.	Varney, William H.
1853-1854.	Whittier, Gertrude E. (See also list of Principals.)
1853-1857.	Vamey, Pamela C.
1855.	Jones, Augustine.
1855.	Marston, George H.
1855.	Parrot, Adele.
1855-1856.	Hussey, Timothy B.
1855-1857.	Mekeel, Anna M.
1856.	Earle, Charles W.
1856.	Hasse, Catherine E.
1856.	Jones, Elizabeth S.
1856.	Whittier, Sarah E.
1856-1857.	Congdon, Joseph W.
1856-1857.	Stanton, Marianna.
1857.	Macomber, William P.
1857-1858.	Arnold, Elizabeth.
1857-1860.	Paige, Franklin E.
1857-1861.	Renaud, Alphonse.
1857-1867.	Potter, Mary A.
1856-1875.	Rowell, John F.
1858.	Austin, Samuel.
1858.	Palmer, Albert.
1858.	Smiley, Rebecca H.
1858-1859.	Patten, D. Dana.
1858-1859.	Pinkham, Caroline H.



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1858-1859.	Wing, Rebecca D.
1858-1860.	Harris, Mary S.
1859-1860.	Satterthwaite, Samuel T.
1860.	Austin, Samuel.
1860.	Maxfield, Harvey.
1860.	Stanton, Marianna.
1860.	Whittier, Ellen L.
1860-1861.	Dune, Elme M.
1860-1861.	Dunan, Robert Henry.
1860-1861.	Greene, Lois Anna.
1860-1861.	Pinkham, Henry K.
1861.	Congdon, Joseph W.
1861.	Enders, Dr. Lorenz.
1861.	Woodman, Harriet C.
1861-1863.	Nichols, Ruth P.
1861-1863.	Smiley, Rebecca H. (See also list of Principals.)
1861-1864.	Read, Rufus.
1862-1863.	Gaudelet, Alfred.
1862-1863.	Paine, Charles R.
1863.	Wing, Rebecca D.
1863-1866.	Wing, Bessie T.
1864.	Dame, Elma M.



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1864-1866.	Johnson, Amy E. (Also 1879-1880.)
1864-1868.	Cornell Mary A.
1864-1870.	Phillips, William B.
1865-1867.	Cook, Elijah, Jr.
1867-1869.	Coffin, Sarah F.
1867-1869.	Taber, Sarah A.
1867-1869.	Wing, Alice R. (Except one year.)
1868.	Wiggin, George W.
1868-	Bathey, Thomas J.
1868-1879.	Maxfield, Daniel C.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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1820

 In about this year, Friend Mary Mitchell of Nantucket wrote to Friend [Moses Brown](#) about the appointment of Abigail Pierce at the Yearly Meeting school in Nantucket.⁸⁹

To Frances A. Bartlett, a young non-Quaker scholar allowed to attend the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), were added at some point during this year the daughters of Barnabas Bates — who had previously been turned away because they were not Quakers.

 February: At the [Rhode Island](#) general assembly, George Field of Cranston introduced a bill for the establishment of a free school system throughout the state. After a brief discussion, the matter was postponed to a future session so that the assemblymen might sound out their political supporters in regard to such an innovation.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

 February 1, Tuesday: Under a plan of the economist David Ricardo the Bank of England began issuing gold ingots, for use by merchants making foreign payments (this would prove successful).

Adrien Boieldieu was named Professor of Composition at the Paris Conservatory.

Gaspare Spontini took up his position as Generalmusikdirektor in Berlin.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 1st of 2 M 1820 / Tho' it is very cold this morning the thermometer only at six above 0, I set out [from [Newport](#)] in a sleigh with Isaac Mitchell & sister E Rodman for [Providence](#). On our arrival at [Bristol](#) ferry found several friends in waiting but the Wind so very high that there was no prospect of going over, so we set out to go round over the Stone Bridge, & got to Abraham Barkers to dinner, from thence crossed at Slaid's ferry & reached the hospitable Mansion of our venerable friend [Moses Brown](#) about 1/2 after 6 OC in eveng who very kindly received us out of the Wind & cold & administered both to the necessities of ourselves & horse, all much fatigued. — here we lodged & found several friends whose company was very agreeable. — After breakfast the next morning we rode to the Yearly Meeting school House,⁹⁰ spent a little time & from thence to [Providence](#) & attended the Select Meeting which was small in consequence of the travelling - I was the only member present from our Meeting.

89. Caution, this Friend Mary Mitchell of Nantucket was not Friend Maria Mitchell the astronomer, who was but two years of age at the time, nor was it her mother (who wasn't named Mary).

90. This new school was on what was then rural land, Friend Moses Brown's farm on Providence Neck northeast of what was then the city of Providence.



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I dined at Obadiah Browns & spent the Afternoon & evening at Joseph Anthonys where I also lodged - in the evening we were joined by several [Rhode Island](#) friends who crossed at [Bristol](#). -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 February 3, Thursday: [John Keats](#)'s hemorrhaging began. Trained in medicine, he recognized the blood as arterial and understood that this indicated that his disease was terminal.⁹¹

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day attended the Quarterly Meeting at large, in the first meeting we were burdened with several appearances from Micah Ruggles who I desire & pray may experience deeper Wisdom than he has yet known Thos Anthony was engaged in a lively testimony -there were several other appearances of which I can say but little.- -

In the last meeting there was but little buisness & the heft of the first meeting remained I dined at [Moses Browns](#), spent the remainder of the Afternoon & evening, in a very agreeable & edifying conversation with Moses & several friends there -lodged & next morning rode again to [Providence](#) & set out for home over India Bridge - we dined at James Maxwells in [Warren](#) & proceeded to [Bristol](#) Ferry but found Ice obstructed so that it was not prudent to cross & we returned to [Warren](#) & lodged at James Maxwells who very kindly entertained us. - 7th day, This Morning set out from [Warren](#) to Sleids ferry where we crossed in season to get to Abraham Barkers to dinner & got home before night. This little journey tho' attended with considerable bodily & mental suffering I trust has been a proffitable one to me - I

91. He would succumb at the age of 25, four months after his engagement to Fanny Brawne as depicted in the Jane Campion movie "Bright Star" — Fanny's loveletters would be placed in the coffin.



Fanny would not languish forever in grief, but would marry with Louis Lindon, Esq. and bear him three children and lead a long life.



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was impressed with a belief that it was best for me to go being in health & not knowing how soon it may be otherwise with me. – time is both short & Uncertain many of my towns men & women have been removed the last year, some of whom promised a long & useful life. –1st day [Sunday] 6th of 2nd M 1820 / Our Meetings were both silent & to me seasons of labor. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[Elisha Kent Kane](#) was born in Philadelphia.

[Elisha Kent Kane](#) passed a relatively unremarkable childhood. A first-born child, his family moved several times as it grew, within the precincts of Philadelphia, finally moving to an estate named Rensselaer. According to his contemporaneous biographer, William Elder, Kane was an average student, who was accepted at the University of Virginia. In his second year of college he contracted rheumatic fever. This event, more than any other was to configure the rest of his life. The first outcome of his illness was his attraction to the world of medicine. Upon his graduation from the University of Virginia, Kane began the study of medicine in Philadelphia. By twenty-two, he had published a study of early pregnancy detection in the American Journal of Medical Sciences. More profound than this was the effect of the resulting terminal endocarditis on his world view. In the present time, of course, the existence of antibiotics would make short work of a chronic infection of the cardiac lining. In the early 19th century, however, it was a death sentence. Perhaps a couple of years would pass, perhaps a few decades, but the sentence was final. Kane set out with a vengeance to live a life that would be remembered. Joining the US Navy, he set out to discover the world. Finding himself in the South Pacific, he descended into the crater of an active volcano to retrieve water samples, much to the dismay of his companions, who fled the scene in mortal fear. Travelling to China, he practiced medicine on a hospital ship for several months before setting off to the west through India and Egypt, Athens and Paris. Two more tours of stultifying naval duty sent him to the White House to beg for a more exciting tour of duty. President Polk assigned him to an extremely dangerous mission: carry a message to the commander of American forces in Mexico during the Mexican-American War. After saving a Mexican general from being murdered by the mercenaries hired to escort him to Mexico City, Kane emerged as an important figure at the international level. Once again bored by navy duty, he wrote the Secretary of War, proposing a mission to the Arctic to rescue a missing British explorer, Sir John Franklin. Two weeks later began the most incredible chapters in this man's life, as he set off to Baffin Bay, between Canada and Greenland. Three out of the next five years were spent locked in pack ice, under unendurable conditions. After the incredible feat of leading



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eighteen of his twenty men to safety on foot, Kane wrote the largest selling book in American history about his adventures. Although largely forgotten today, Elisha Kent Kane was a hugely popular figure in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It has been said that, if homesteaders heading west across the United States' frontier carried two books, one was certainly by Dr. Kane; the other was probably a Bible. His rescue missions to the Arctic were widely regarded as suicidal. Inasmuch as his missions were validated by the scientific goal of the discovery of the Open Polar Sea (a popular theory among scientists of the era,) his was a scientific as well as a cultural mandate. His published accounts held a nation spellbound. The efforts connected with the writing of the account of his second mission (abetted by the "dragon within" of his chronic endocaditis) eventually killed him. Upon his death in Havana at the age of thirty-seven, the Governor of Cuba personally escorted the cortege as far as New Orleans. From New Orleans to Cincinnati, the banks of Mississippi were lined with mourners, and the train trip from Cincinnati to Philadelphia took nearly four days because of the throngs on the tracks. His funeral was the largest in American history, eclipsed only by Lincoln's a decade later. Culturally, Kane was the embodiment of Patricia Limerick's "sustainable American hero," representing the ascent of American Science and Technology to the stature of the European Renaissance and Enlightenment movements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.



May 2, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 2nd of 5th M 1820 / This morning tho' quite unwell with a cold I went on board the Packet with Friends & took John along with me to [Greenwich](#) we had a pleasant passage up & went to cousin Wanton Caseys & found them at dinner & very glad to see us - After sitting with them awhile left John & Sister Ruth & walked out to David Howlands where [Moses Brown](#) & several other friends came we passed the evening in interesting conversation & lodged - After breakfast the next morning I walked to town & went to the Select Meeting which was a Solid & solemn season not soon to be forgotten. - Dined at John Caseys & here for reasons which I shudder to name, my heart was Awfully appalled & the meal here taken was a repast indeed of bitter herbs. - Lodged at W Caseys. - 5th day went to Meeting - the part of it for worship was a season wherein truth was triumphant a blessed meeting. - a few words were first spoken by a young woman - then Thos Anthony, then Royal Southwick in a most remarkable & long to be remembered testimony Attended with life & power - Then John Bailey in a testimony explanitory of our principles & The Meeting concluded -The buisness was conducted in a weighty manner & two female Elders were appointed
Took tea cousin Abby Greens & lodged at W Caseys - on 6 day*



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[Friday] Morning came home, a passage of 5 hours.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 12, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd The Meeting this morning opened under a solemn covering. Daniel Haviland, Nicholas Brown, & Daniel Haviland in testimony & Nicholas Brown in a most approach to the throne of Grace, [was Nicolas still in the slave trade at this time?] after which the buisness of the meeting progressed for sometime when it was observed that a person was present who was not a member an old applicant (J Austin) [was this the J Austin he had known when he was a young man with whom he had talked at length in his shop, and was deeply distressed about him?] who was invited to retire, but declined & made considerable difficulty, after a while our Aged fr. [Moses Brown](#) went to him with our another Fr & invited him to retire with them which he did, & tho' there was another circumstance or two which caused some pain. yet it was evident the Everlasting Truth did prevail & it is the prayer of my heart that it may prevail & stand over the heads of all gainsayers to the honor of the great CAUSE

In the Afternoon the Meeting opened again under a most solemn covering of life, lively testimony from Charles Osborn & Caleb Macomber, after which the State of Society was entered into as represented by the answers to the Queries Jerusalem was again searched closely in living & powerful testimonys from Caleb Macomber, Charles Osborn, Rowland Greene & several others, which took up so much time that the Meeting adjourned before the Queries were gone thro with – After the Meeting had proceeded in the buisness sometime, the individual who disturbed us in the Morning, again came in which occasions some jostling for a few minutes, but he yealded to the solicitations of Moses Brown & went out.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 4, Friday: At Stirling in [Scotland](#) a judge of the "[Radical War](#)" treason delivered himself of the remark "To you Andrew Hardie and John Baird I can hold out little or no hope of mercy" because "as you were the leaders, I am afraid that example must be given by you."

HANGING

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day proceeded to [Providence](#) & reached the School House about 10 OClock, after landing the Young Women, I rode into town on a little buisness with Natl. Watson of Salem & returned to [Moses](#)



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Browns & dined where I found G Osborn & several other friends whom I loved, their company was very pleasant. – After dinner we went up to the School House & attended to the concerns that came before us in the capacity of School Committee, much weight was manifest among us & right concern for the welfare of the institution. – Ruth & I returned to *Moses Browns* & lodged. –next morning being 7th day we returned to the school House to attend to some unfinished buisness of yesterday, staid to dinner & dined with the Schollars after which we left them & rode home & got to *Newport* before 9 OClock in the evening. –

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October 31, Tuesday: Friend *Stephen Wanton Gould* wrote in his journal:

3rd day 31 of 10th M 1820 / I expect to set out this Afternoon for Somersett with my H & Sister Elizabeth to Attend the Quarterly Meeting which commences there tomorrow. I go under depression, I wish not to dwell on outward circumstances, but leave the past & press forward to do the best I can. The prayer of my spirit is Oh Lord help us. go with them that go; & stay with them that stay. –We lodged at Uncle Peter Lawtons in *Portsmouth* & in the evening was favord with a comfortable degree of resignation & the prospect a head quite Brightened. – rose early on the 4th day morning & set out about day light our horse being rather weak did not reach Somersett till about 10 OClock stoped at Wm Reads & procured quarters for Hannah & Elizabeth & went to the meeting house unharnessed the horse & went into a neighboring house & rested a few minutes, then to meeting which was a favor'd season & very comforting to my drooping mind. it was a time of remarkable solemnity & the love of the brotherhood was very conspicuous --
I returned & dined at Wm Reads who are very kind & hospitable to friends thho' not members, & offeredd to Keep us thro' the Meeting. This was a comfort as were were much of Strangers in Somersett, after dinner walked with L Clarke up to Daniel Braytons where I had a little of the company of *Moses Brown* & several of our dear Brothers & sisters, among whom was Anne Almy & Sarah Greene. – returned to Wm Reads took tea & lodged. –

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1821

➡ Friend [Moses Brown](#) wrote A SHORT HISTORY OF THE AFRICAN UNION MEETING AND SCHOOL-HOUSE ERECTED IN PROVIDENCE... (32 pages, printed by Brown & Danforth in Providence). Although he had donated land atop the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), he had rather that his name have been omitted from this document as published, "as I don't approve of Singing Meetings and some other parts yet if it suit the Coloured people I shall not oppose them."

AME

➡ January 30, Tuesday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 30th of 1st M 1821 / Set out this morning for [Providence](#) to attend our apporaching Quarterly Meeting – We went in a Sleigh over the Stone bridge & Sleids ferry our company Isaac Mitchell, David Rodman, Elizabeth Rodman, Mary Williams & Mary Chase. – we dined at Fairfax alias Scra [? right hand margin obscured] Town & reached [Moses Brown](#)'s by tea time where we were kindly received & lodged. –

At the different Meetings which I attended my mind was favord with a good degree of that life which crow[ns] our assemblys & tho' there was Some little of the "bitter herbs w?] the Passover" yet Truth gained the Victory. – In the Meeting for buisness I was appointed assistent Clerk. Th[is] Seemed to me like a Season Somewhat out of Season, ab[out] fifteen years ago I was solicited to accept the same appointment & at that time could I have given up to I believe I should have been in my place & been serviceable, I record this that whoever may read ma[y?] be willing while young to render Such service as they are thought capable of by their friends in the Season of their usefulness. This I believe is the way to become Shining lights, by thus giving up they will grow in usefulness to their own peace & comfort & the satisfaction of their friends, thereby Subserving the Cause of the great Master. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ February 2, Friday: A Bucktail caucus nominated Martin Van Buren for the federal Senate.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

On Sixth day I went to the [School House](#) & spent two long sittings with the [School committee](#) which proved to me a Season of exercise. but am disposed to think all will work together for



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good & feel encouraged that the institution is in a prosperous State – In the evening returned to Browns & the next morning Our company took the Sleigh & set it on a pair of Coach Wheels kindly lent us by [Moses Brown](#) They reached home at Noon on First day but I returned on 7th day in the Mail Stage. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 12, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 12th of 8 M 1821 / Our meetings were both solid - D Buffum in the forenoon & father Rodman in the Afternoon deliver'd short testimonys –

After meeting in the Afternoon by request of Geo [?] Hazard set out with his son Alfred to go to Plainfield in Connecticut to place him at Rowland Greenes school The first night we lodged at Uncle Stantons. 2nd day [Monday] morning rose early & reached Benj Pearces at the Toll gate in [Portsmouth](#) & took breakfast then crossed [Bristol](#) ferry & rode to [Warren](#) where we fed our horse, then went on to [Providence](#) & reached [Moses Brown's](#) & lodged - 3rd day Morning proceeded on our journey stoped at several places to rest, & reached Sterling to dinner then went on & reached Rowlands House by the middle of the Afternoon – found it a pleasant situation, & the people also very pleasant within doors

Lodged there & on 4th day Morning, left my charge - & proceeded homewards, suffering much with the heat - dined at Fishes tavern in Scituate - then came –[obscured] & got into town in season to take a dish of tea at Obadiah Browns, walked round [Providence](#) to transact a little buisness & then rode out to [Moses Browns](#) & lodged, spending the evening in his very interesting company – 5th day Morning went up to the Yearly Meeting School & spent a little time very satisfactorily with the Superintendent & teachers, then came on to [Warren](#) and Dined & in the Afternoon reached home

This little journey has been in a good degree proffitable to me - my views have been extended, I have seen a greater extent of inland country than I ever did before, - it was the first time, & may be the only time I ever shall be in the State of Connecticut. – The Scenerey of the country has afforded an abundant theme for reflection & much beyond my theme of contemplation. - but according to my measure, I endeavour'd to proffit by it - In & about [Providence](#) I met with some of my friends that I love, & whose company is proffitable, so that altho' there has been no pecuniary benefit, yet is has been no loss. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 29, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

*5th day 29th of 11th M 1821 / Our Monthly Meeting this day held in Town was pretty large. There was a considerable Shew of young friends whose company is always pleasant & I have no doubt adds to the weight of the meeting – In the first, to [two] females young in the ministry offered a few words – In the last we had considerable buisness, which I thought was conducted with good order, & some encouragement, tho' in my own particular in neither Meeting, life rose to that height, that I have sometimes experienced. – B Freeborn Sarah Fowler Anne Anthony Wait Lawton & Adam Anthony Dined with us
After Meeting recd a letter from my Venerable friend [Moses Brown](#)*

–

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1822

➡ Friend [Moses Brown](#) was a founding member of the [Rhode Island](#) Historical Society.

➡ Friend Elizabeth Buffum, daughter of Friends [Arnold Buffum](#) and Rebecca Gould Buffum, is stated in documents as during this year to have been attending the Friends Boarding School on College Hill on the East Side in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). There is, however, an apparent discrepancy on the record, for she was said to be eighteen years of age when she attended the school, and since she was born in 1806, she would not be eighteen until 1824.)

MOSES BROWN

ELIZABETH BUFFUM CHACE

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



Elizabeth B. Chace.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

 February 4, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 4th of 2 m / This morning took passage in the Stage & rode to [Providence](#) - Dined at Hortons tavern in [Bristol](#) & reached [Moses Browns](#) about 4 OC PM, it was a Snow Storm most of the Day Spent the evening with MB in very interesting conversation & lodged there. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 5, Tuesday: The brutal and rebellious Albanian ruler Ali Pasha of Janina (Ioannina, Greece) was murdered by agents of Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II. His head was sent to the Sultan in Constantinople

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day Rode with [Moses Brown](#) to the Yearly Meeting School House & spent the Day there it being the day of the Meeting of the subcommittee - We visited the schools & found the Girls particularly in good order & in a state of improvement. - the boys tho' doing pretty well would admit of improvement. Dined at the Boys table & returned to M Browns to tea & Lodge. - in the evening arrived most of our R Island friends & found a welcome assylum under the roof of our Ancient friend abovementioned. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 6, Wednesday: The seagoing 3-masted [Chinese](#) junk [Tek Sing](#) sank on a reef of the Belvidere Shoals in the South China Sea, in the Gaspar Strait between the islands of Bangka and Belitung, with approximately 1,600 passengers and 200 crewmembers.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day Morning rodeto town with [Moses](#) in the sleigh & attended Select Meeting - We had not long been quietly Seated, before Benj. Shaw a young man of a Ranting spirit came in & took his Seat & tho' previously Kindly & affectionatley invited to retire, but he refused & we were obliged to carry him out by main Strength, letting his limbs hang as nerveless as a dead man, he was placed on the Step of the door, but afterwards he made an attempt to come in, when the doors were fastened -- This circumstance so unsettled my mind that I scarcely had any enjoyment of the Meeting tho' quiet was generally restored & we were favoured to transact the Affairs of our department of the Church, with a good degree of solemnity - the meeting sat longer than usual. - Dined at O Browns - then called on a woman by the name of Anna Power & her Sister Ruth Marsh on buisness for the Marsh family in this town - then went out to [Moses Browns](#) & lodged. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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February 7, Thursday: An English East Indiaman vessel, captain James Pearl, was able to take aboard about 190 of the numerous floaters from the [Tek Sing](#) (another smaller vessel was able to take aboard 18 of the floaters, but the balance of the [Chinese](#) victims would of necessity be left to drown).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day – After Breakfast Walked to Town when I got into the Yard, was informed that Benj Shaw who has been disowned by Lynn Moy [Monthly] Meeting for his disorder, had taken his seat at the head of our Meeting – I went in & found it so, several [-spoke?] to him & invited him to take a low seat & I among the rest - but all to no effect, he obstinately insisted in keeping his seat – most of the friends [-]note were consulted & all agreed that it would have a very pernicious effect to allow him to sit so by encouraging him to disturb his friends - [Obadiah Brown](#) stood up & spoke to that effect, when it was concluded to take him by the Arm & carry down, which it fell to my lot to do, assisted by Adam Comstock, a friend well qualified to manage him – while we were doing this Alanson Potter a friend of his own spirit, said he had no unity with what was doing, but we quietly & as Silently as Possible persisted, after he had, been removed, under pretence of being uncomfortable from the heat of the Stove he wanted to remove his seat & Adam followed him & again took his seat by his side – After the meeting was settled & the people quiet, James S tt stood up & reflected on friends, at having given way to a Spirit of War - & Grasa Haniford a friend also of the Ranting Spirit from Cape Elizabeth in one of the lower Quarterly Meetings, stood up twice & cast reflections on friends — After which, quiet seemed to be restored & Micajah Collins was engaged in a living & powerful testimony which had a great reach on the Audience - Then Obadiah Davis had considerable to say & was measurable favoured, after which - G Haniford said a little in the same temper as at first & B Shaw attempted to rise but was prevented by Adam Comstock - When the Meeting broke - After the shutters⁹² were Let down B Shaw kept his seat, The Meeting was informed that an individual was present who was not a member & he was requested to with draw by a friend appointed to the oversight of Meetings from the Select Meeting, but he kept his seat & after considerable entreaty from several friends it appeared that he was determined not to go out thereupon Adam Comstock & Wm Jenkins took him & carried him gently out & the Meeting proceeded on the buisness with its usual Dignity & firmness. –notwithstanding, several interruptions from G Haniford & J Scott - but the Meeting ended in the Authority, & I believe Truth was exalted. – I dined at [O Browns](#) - spent the forepart of the eveng & took tea at Wm Jenkins - then with [-] Rodman walked out to [Moses Browns](#) & lodged. –

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

92. The moveable barrier in the meetinghouse, to separate it into a men's portion and a women's portion.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

 February 8, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day – Feeling my mind released from attending the [-] School committee, I went into town & took passage in the Carriage with Isaac Mitchell & came home, [-] to find my family & friends Well.

–

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 20, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day / Our Meeting this morning was long & some bitter herbs were eaten, & on the whole I did not think it was crowned with that life which was felt in some of the former sittings. –burdens which some friends thought they had in some measure been relieved from, seemed to return, but I cannot think but Truth gained the victory – Many remarks & criticisms were made on the essays of epistles which I thought were unprofitable. – In the public Meeting we had a very dull time indeed it might be said death reigned the meeting & but little was said –Mary Newhall was present, took the high seat by the side of Elizabeth Rodman & preached - which was an afflicting circumstance after all the trouble friends have had with her in Lynn. – [ranterism (Ed.)]

After dinner all our company left us, our family this year has consisted of Thos Anthony & his daughter Lydia, John Warren & his wife - Sarah & Cathirine Collins - Mirriam Newhall, Martha Cobb – Stephen Oliver, Daniel Howland & Micajah [?] Pratt, who were all acceptable guests. –

I must not omit that we had the company of Our Venerable friend [Moses Brown](#) to dinner –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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August 8, Thursday: In a renovation of the [Quaker](#) meetinghouse in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Moses Brown](#) reported, “what was called the Negros Gallery” had been removed.



The questions of course arises, why specifically was it that this “Negros Gallery” was constructed in the first place — and why lately had it come to be disused, so that it might at this point be demolished?

The answer, I speculate, is going to be (after adequate research has been done — research which has not yet been begun), that the Quakers had had segregated seating in their meetinghouses, with their servants of color seated away from the white people in such a “Negros Gallery,” but that by the turn of the century these slaves had all been granted manumission documents, and were therefore no longer obligated to accompany their Quaker masters and mistresses to worship. When they made use of the meetinghouse, they made use of it in off hours when the white Quakers were not present, and so of course they no longer went up to the dilapidated “pigeon loft” but sat anywhere they pleased. My speculation would be that with freedom had come a decision to affiliate, not with these Quakers who as white racists were never ever going to accept anyone else as a whole and genuine human being (to my knowledge not one single person of color would ever be accepted as a convinced Friend during this period, despite numerous applications for such consideration), instead along color lines with one another in the African Methodist Episcopal denomination that had been set up in 1816.⁹³

[AME](#)

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 8th of 8 M / Our Meeting today was a pretty good one
Two appearances in the Ministry Vizt Father Rodman & Anne*



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Dennis. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 22, Sunday: Portugal's initial Constitution.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 22nd of 9 th M / Our Morning Meeting was a time of remarkable solemnity & favour during the Silent part of it - towards the close our frd D Buffum was engaged in a lively & pwoerful testimony wherein he endeavoured to excite to faithfulness & warn us of the consequence of unfaithfulness to the dictates of pure Wisdom -. In the afternoon Anne Dennis & Father Rodman were concerned in a few words. - Pretty good Meeting -

Set most of the evening at Abigail Robinsons in Company with John & Mary Morton & their Brother Wm Robinson. - When I returned home I found a letter from Thos Thompson with a portrate of Wm Allen of London for me & a large bundle of Books & Pamphlets from him for our Fr [Moses Brown](#), which Thos gave me liberty to open & peruse, which I did & found a very interesting collection, of Ancient things of that Kind. - but considering Moses great Age, I considerd it would be wrong in me to withhold them a moment from him, & accordingly bound them up again to be sent tomorrow Morning in the Packet to [Providence](#). -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 5, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 5th of 10th M 1822 / This Morning went on board the Packet [-] did not arrive in [Providence](#) till near Dark - went immediately to the hospitable Mansion of my much valued friend

93. Subsequent to my writing the above, my suspicions have been confirmed by reading, in the autobiography of [William J. Brown](#), a grandson of one of the men manumitted by Friend [Moses Brown](#), that:

PAGE 25: Some attended the Congregational church, Rev. James Wilson, pastor; some attended the Methodist church; some attended the Episcopal church, Dr. Crocker, pastor; a few attended the Unitarian church, Rev. Mr. Cady, pastor; and a large number attended the First Baptist church, Dr. Gano, pastor. Some were members of each of the above named churches; the largest number, however, were Baptists, and belonged to the First Baptist Church, but many attended no church at all, because they said they were opposed to going to churches and sitting in pigeon holes, as all the churches at that time had some obscure place for the colored people to sit in.



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Moses Brown, who I found well & glad to see me. –

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



October 6, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day Morning attended meeting at the School House. – returned to Moses's to Dinner & took [-] sting again at the School House in the Afternoon & [-] aid to tea with the Schollars - Lodged at [MB](#)

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



October 8, Tuesday: The Galunggung volcano on Java erupted, sending mudflows that destroyed over 100 villages and killed more than 4,000.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day Morning as [-]re was but little prospect of getting home by water took the Stage & came by land. – The object of this visit was to attend the Subcommittee of the Y Meeting School which I missed of as it met last week contrary to my calculations – Also I had in view some other buisness which I accomplished to satisfaction –

[MOSES BROWN SCHOOL](#)

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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 October 15: The first issue of the magazine The Liberal included George Gordon, Lord Byron's "Letters to the Editor of 'My Grandmother's Review'" and "The Vision of Judgement" (the latter of which would result in hostile reviews, and John Hunt's prosecution).

Obadiah Moses Brown, son of [Friend Moses Brown](#), died during his 51st year. He had bequeathed his library and a considerable sum of money to the Quaker Yearly Meeting School in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) on the creation of which he and his father had been for so many years laboring. Extracts from the will of Obadiah M.



[MOSES BROWN SCHOOL](#)

Brown dated March 28, 1814, and from the codicil to the said will dated October 14, 1822, relating to the "[Yearly Meeting School](#)" as a legatee, as copied from the official clerk's copy in the municipal records at the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) Town Hall by [Friend](#) John R. Kellam during October 2007:

.... (from the will:)

Item. I give to my honoured Father Moses Brown, as Treasurer of the Yearly Meeting of Friends School Fund or to his Successor that may hereafter be appointed by the Meeting for Sufferings in the Capacity of the said School Committee, an annuity of three thousand Dollars, and hereby authorize and direct my Executors to pay the same in one Year after my Decease to the said Treasurer for the Time being weather [sic] the School be in operation or not. That the Sum be a part of the Fund of said Institution to be applied for the purpose of procuring an Establishment in Land, Buildings and furnishings the necessary accommodations paying the Salaries of Instructors and assistants, and also the Board of the Scholars and Family of the Institution / nearly similar to Friends Boarding Schools of the Yearly Meeting of New York at Nine Partners, or at Weston in Pennsylvania / wherein the Children members of our religious Society of Friends with such others as may be thought best to be admitted / may receive a religious and guarded Education free from the contaminating Influence of the vain fashionable World which leads young minds from the Simplicity of Truth, and that meek and quiet Spirit exhibited by our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ whom we profess to follow.



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Item. I also give / after the Decease of my Wife Dorcas Brown / the annuity of Three thousand Dollars more to the aforesaid Institution making up the Sum of Six thousand Dollars to be paid by my Executors in one year after the Decease of my Wife, and annually afterwards to the Treasurer of the said School Fund for the Time being for the purpose of supporting and perpetuating the Institution as aforesaid.

Item. I give all my Books and Maps to the Yearly Meeting School after the Decease of my Wife, or when the School shall be got under Way, providing she is consenting thereto how soon soever the School may be in operation.

.... (from the codicil:)

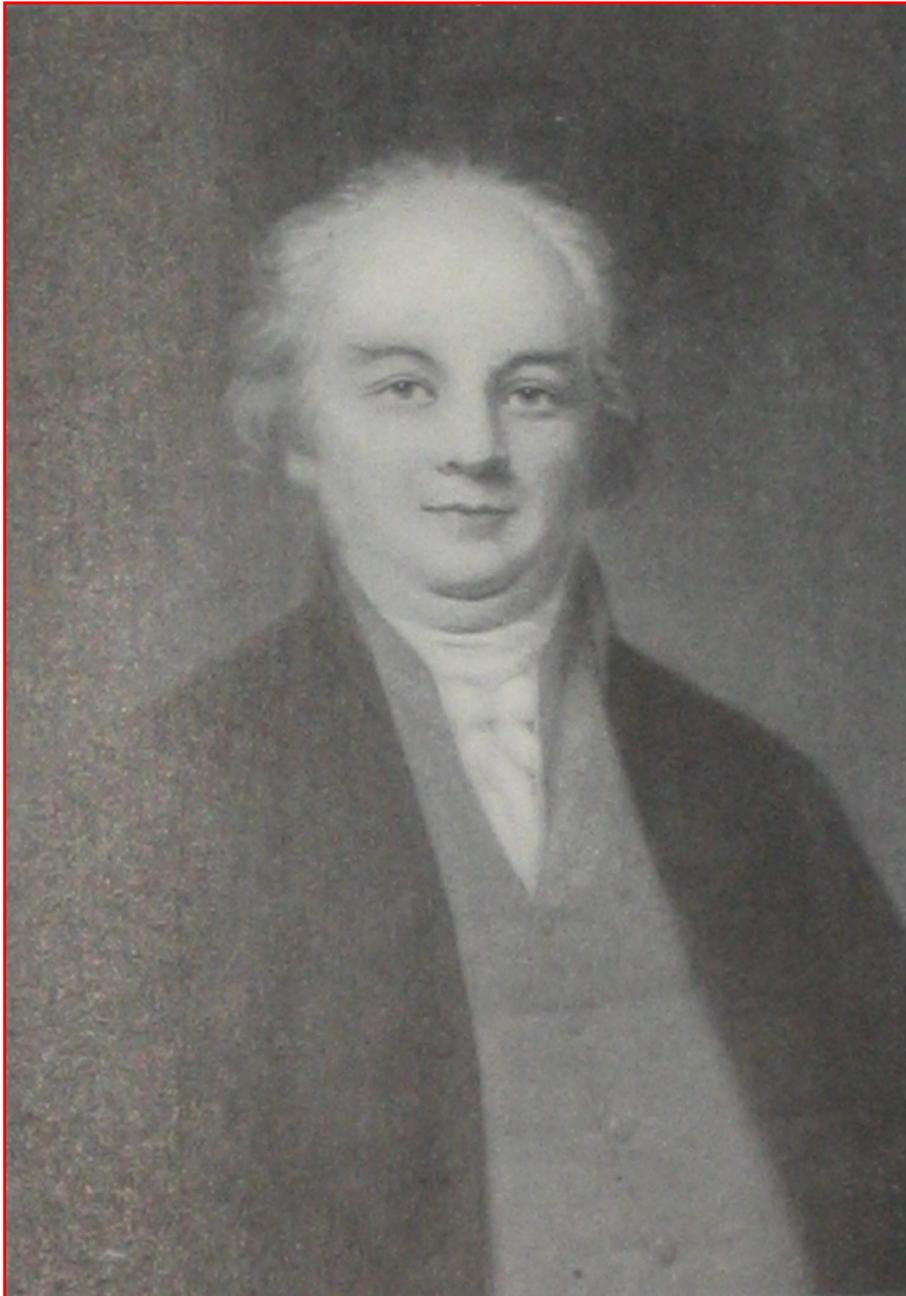
I hereby confirm the Legacy given in my Will for the use of the Yearly Meetings School, which was not then located, but now under successful operation in the Lot given by my Father for that purpose to the Institution there established to be and remain for the use of said Establishment forever.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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Friend Obadiah M. Brown

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) had commented on this in his journal:

*3rd day 15th of 10th M 1822 / Heard this morning of the Decease
of our Valued Friend Sylvester Weeks at his house in Cranston,*



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*he has suffered a very painful illness of some obstruction in the Urine passages. – He was an Elder of Honorable standing in [Greenwich](#) Moy [Monthly] Meeting, & was an active member & particularly useful in the Quarterly & Yearly Meetings. – his loss to the Church will be great indeed. – I have also heard this Morning that our Frd Obadiah Brown of [Providence](#) is very ill & but little prospect of his recovering remains. – It is an Awful time in the Land Sickness in many places prevails & many deaths occur, & a number, where to all human appearance, a longer continuance in life might have been useful. – but The Lords time is the right & best time, & May I & may all cultivate a disposition to Say in sincerity "Thye will be done."
This Afternoon Attended the funeral of Sarah Bowen which went to the Meeting Houses & was a solid favour'd time Testimonys were in course thus Jonathon Dennis, David Buffum Anne Dennis & Hannah Dennis. – David & Hannah were particularly favour'd, & the solemnity of the Meeting was Kept up throughout*

4th day 16th of 19th M / Heard this Afternoon of the decease of Our friend Obadiah Brown of [Providence](#) & that his Mortal remains were inter'd this day at [Providence](#).

"In the Midst of life we are in Death," when I parted with him at his fathers Door a week ago last first day, little did either of us think it was a final separation. – He was a good man his great Wealth so far from puffing him up rather humbled him & his Charities & other usefulness will be a great loss indeed



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November 3, Sunday: [Giacomo Costantino Beltrami](#) sailed from Liverpool for the United States on a vessel that would encounter great difficulties, requiring more than two months for the crossing.



[Ludwig van Beethoven](#)'s Gratulations-Menuet was performed for the initial time, in Vienna for the nameday of Carl Friedrich Hensler, new director of the theater in Josephstadt.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) became one of the overseers of the bequest of Friend [Obadiah M. Brown](#):

1st day 5th [error, 3d] of 11th M 1822 / Meetings nearly Silent & not very lively, tho' I thought the Afternoon was more favoured. –

Rec'd between Meetings a letter from our Ancient frd [Moses Brown](#) inclosing a copy of part of his son Obadiahs Will, by which I was informed that I was appointed a Trustee with twelve others to receive an Annuity of twelve Hundred Dollars to be distributed according to our discretion in Such benevolent purposes as might occur, particularly by recommending the printing of Such religious Books as May tend to the promulgation of our religious principles where they are but little known. – This Trust humbled my mind & desires were raised that we might be favoured to conduct according to the Will of the Donor & Honour of the Great Cause –

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



December 31, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 31st of 12 M / With this day we close this Year, which has been an eventful Year in many respects – I have rec'd many favours from the Divine Hand to be thankful for, & thro' disobedience have much to repent of – My desires have been Strong



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*this evening that my spirit may be quickened & my devotion to
the right cause renew'd - Rec'd this Afternoon an interesting
letter from my frd Moses Brown. -*

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1823

➡ In this year we have a physical description of Friend [Moses Brown](#) of [Rhode Island](#). In his 85th year he was “a venerable old man, rather short and thick, with a cane in his hand, spectacles on, and on the end of his nose a red wart as large as a small sized cherry.” (It is rather likely that he needed the cane to steady himself on account of vertigo.)



MOSES BROWN

In about this year, at the age of 15, [George William Benson](#) persuaded his father George Benson to purchase a farm in Brooklyn, Connecticut, of which he would have the entire management (and subsequently, he would have the management also of the farm of Friend [Moses](#) in [Providence](#), journeying back and forth between these two properties).

➡ January 9, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 9 of 1 M / Father Rodman appear'd twice in testimony to satisfaction [-] a letter from [Moses Brown](#) requesting D Buffum, B Freborn & myself to [-] to [Providence](#) immediately to consult about the affairs of [Obadiahs](#) Will [-] volves me in a exercise - I know not how to go nor how to stay

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ January 12, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 12th of 1st M 1823 / Our Meeting this forenoon was pretty well attended & D Bufum engaged in a lively, pertinent testimony much to the satisfaction & I trust edification of many present In the Afternoon H Dennis & Father Rodman were engaged in short but good testimonies. - This Morning Uncle Stanton sailed for NYork on a visit to his Daughter Niobe who is very Sick & not expected to continue long in this life.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ January 17, Friday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



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6th day 17 of 1 M / Having rec'd several pressing invitations to come to [Providence](#) with David Buffum & Benjamin Freeborn to consult on the important concerns relating to the Last Will & Testament of our friend [Obadiah Brown](#) desc. on considering the subject it appeared right to go. I accordingly set out this morning in the Stage with Dvd Buffum & arrived there in season found [Moses Browns](#) Sleigh in Town ready to carry us to his house. on the Way stoped at the School House. - 7th day rode to Wm Almy & in the Afternoon attended the funeral of Cary Spencers Wife an aged goodly friend -Wm Almy & his daughter Anne preached - after the funeral we all returned to [M Browns](#) & enterd on the Buisness we went on. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 20, Monday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day returned to [M Browns](#) - spent the day together & lodged -3rd day - the Stage left me after attending to a little buisness in [Providence](#) returned to MB & spent the remainder of the day returned to [Providence](#) towards night & lodged at [-] Anthonys -

 April 30, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day morning Walked to Town [[Greenwich](#)] & attended Select Meeting Dined at Abigail Prouds & after tea I met with the Trustees of [Obadiah Browns](#) benevolent fund which was our first Meeting - We lodged at cousin Wanton Caseys -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 1, Thursday: Franz Liszt gave a homecoming concert in Pest after his triumphal trip to Vienna. He wore a national Hungarian costume. It was the 1st of what would be five performances in Pest this month.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 1 of 5 M - The Quarterly Meeting at large was a season of favour, tho' not without some unpleasant occurrences - after dining at cousin W Caseys I rode to [Providence](#) & lodged at [Moses Browns](#) -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 2, Friday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 2nd of 5th M - Spent this day at the Boarding School &



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had two long & laborious sittings of the School Committee returned to [Moses Browns](#) & lodged. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 3, Saturday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day went in to [Providence](#) & after several calls went on board the Packet & came home after a very pleasant passage -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 1, Monday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 1 of 9 m 1823 / This Afternoon with David Buffum took the Steam boat for [Providence](#) in order to attend the meeting of the Sub - School Committee & a Meeting of the Trustees of Browns Benevolent Fund & arrived at Dorcas Browns in time to take a good dish of tea, where we found [Moses Brown](#) who took David in his Chaise & I walked to his house & lodged

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1824

➔ After having attended village schools, [Friend Elizabeth Buffum Chace](#) (then known of course as [Friend Elizabeth Buffum](#)) boarded for one year at the Quakers' [Yearly Meeting](#) Boarding School, the establishment which is now known as the "[Moses Brown](#)" School on College Hill on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#). [Friend Abby Kelley](#) was during the same year attending this Friends School.



(There is, however, an apparent discrepancy on the record. Elizabeth Buffum was stated to be eighteen years of age when she attended the Friends school in Providence, which would put her year of attendance as 1824 since she was born in 1806, and yet other documents put her year of attendance as 1822.)

Note that these two Quaker scholars, being girls, would have been in "Girls School," a facility held distinct not only in reports and catalogues but also by means of gender segregation of classrooms, and gender segregation of walks, and gender segregation of groves and playgrounds and dining areas (over and above rigid racial segregation that was making certain that Rhode Island's black and red populations would remain forever entirely in the dark).

In this year superintendents Friends Matthew Purinton and Betsy Purinton of Salem, Massachusetts departed and were replaced by Friends Enoch Breed and Lydia Breed.

1819-1824.	Purinton, Matthew and Betsy.
1824-1835.	Breed, Enoch and Lydia.
1829-1835.	Gould, Stephen Wanton and Gould, 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.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

 February 3, Tuesday: In Berlin, Carl Friedrich Zelter publicly announced that his student [Felix Mendelssohn](#) had completed his apprenticeship and called him to the world of independent composers (this was Felix's 15th birthday).

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 3 of 2nd M / This Morning got into the Stage with our frd David Buffum & rode to [Providence](#) to attend the Quarterly Meeting, we had a pleasant ride & arrived there in season, he going to lodge at Dorcas Browns & I went out to my old friend [Moses Browns](#) where as usual I was kindly rec'd. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 4, Wednesday: There is now an allegation all over the internet, that on this day Boston inventor "J.W. Goodrich" introduced "rubber galoshes" to the public. I do not have any information that corroborates that this person "J.W. Goodrich" actually existed, and I do not have any information that corroborates that anything interesting happened during this year in regard to rubber galoshes, either in Boston or elsewhere. Galoshes had been in use long prior to this year, made sometimes of rubberized cloth, and I think it was only long afterward that the name came to be spelled "galoshes" rather than "goloshes," as in Hans Christian Anderson's 1838 story "The Goloshes of Fortune." If you desire to believe this internet story, please do come up with some corroborating details — such as what the initials "J.W." were supposed to stand for plus a birth date and a death date for said inventor, or such as an actual period advertisement for said product.

L'ajo nell'imbarazzo, a melodramma giocoso by Gaetano Donizetti to words of Ferretti after Giraud, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Valle, Rome.

There is still in existence at Cornell Library a document bearing this date. It is a "revocation of snuff," made out by Martha Stanton. The document mentioned that she was a daughter of Stephen and Mary Wanton and the wife of John Stanton, and was witnessed by John Stanton Gould.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

Our Select Meeting on 4th day was a Solemn favoured time, in which Micajah Collins & several others bore impressive testimonies & Anne A Jenkins in humble reverend supplication. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 5, Thursday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

The Meeting at large on 5th day was a time of deep suffering on acct of Benj Rodman who occupied nearly the whole time in spurious burdensome communication, at three times standing, & little else was said. - the buisness in the last meeting went



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on pretty well -

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February 6, Friday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

On Sixth day I spent nearly the whole time at the Boarding School with the committee in hard & exercising service, the subject of Superintendents being discussed - - -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March 21, Sunday: In Cairo, [Egypt](#), a fire broke out, perhaps in the palace of Mehemet Ali near the arsenal, and spread. At about sunset a magazine of gunpowder exploded with a shock that was felt throughout the city. Fearing further explosions, a number of notables took shelter at the British consulate of Henry Salt, while other city residents fled to the western Nile and into surrounding gardens.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 21 of 3rd M / Both Meetings silent the Afternoon was a season of some favour, for which I desire to be thankful & bow in humility before Him who dispenceth all good, & that often by giving us a sense of our wants [deficiencies]. - As we came home from Meeting in the Afternoon I rec'd a letter from our frd [Moses Brown](#) dated 18th inst giving an acct of P Hunt & supposing it would be agreeable to David Buffum I immediately sent John out to his house to carry it for his perusal - Sister Ruth took tea with us -after which we all spent the evening at Cousin Henry Goulds.-

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FRIEND MOSES BROWN

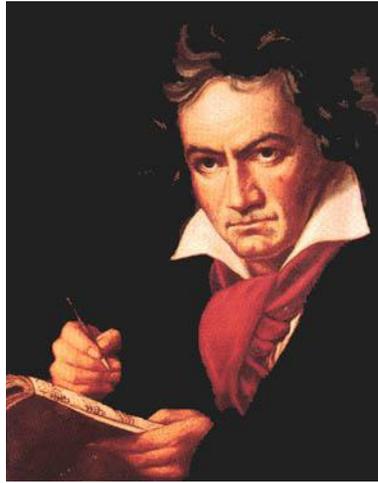
AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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May 7, Friday: Under the new constitution of Mejico, there was a new state to consist of the areas now encompassed by Texas and by Coahuila. There were already a few thousand Gringos in Tejas, mostly squatters but counting also those who had permission to be with the Austin colony in central Tejas. (Mejico would make no attempt to discourage such emigration of persons out of the USA prior to 1830, at which point the number of these troublesome intrusives ostensibly in the process of becoming citizens of Mejico rather than citizens of the USA would exceed 30,000.)

In Vienna's Karntnertortheater, the Symphony No. 9 in D Minor for soloists, chorus, and orchestra by [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) to words of Schiller, the "Choral" Symphony, was performed for the initial time. The musicians had been instructed to ignore the conducting attempted by the deaf composer. Afterward a violinist would report that on the podium he had thrown himself "back and forth like a madman." At the conclusion of the work the crowd bursts into uproarious applause, including stamping of feet and waving, and Caroline Unger, the alto soloist, turned the composer around to view the spectacle because he had been unaware of it.



In the audience was a very interested Franz Schubert.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day Rode this mornng to the Boarding School in [Providence](#) to attend the School committee & spent the day there in the service of society. - at Six o'clock we (J Dennis & I) went on board the Steam Boat & arrived home at 10 o'clock in the evening finding all as well as when I left tho J Hornsby very ill. -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



August 5, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day was our Quarterly Meeting at large, which was attended by many & was a very solid sitting, Mary B Allen was concerned in a Solid testimony & the Meeting closed rather sooner than common but I believe all in right time. - The buisness was well conducted & John R Davis was engaged in a very lively testimony also Obadiah Davis said a little in the life & the Meeting closed early, after which I got into the



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Chaise with William Jenkins & rode to [Warren](#) & Dined at Coles tavern, the rest of the distance to [Providence](#) I rode with Wm Almy & reached [Moses Browns](#) House a little before sunset where I lodged -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 6, Friday: South Americans under [Simón Bolívar](#) defeated the Spanish at Junin, northeast of Lima.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day in the forenoon was engaged with the yearly Meetings committee & in some other services - In the Afternoon at the Boarding School committee & returned to [M Browns](#) to lodge.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 7, Saturday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#) Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day The Trustees of [O Browns](#) Benevolent fund met at Wm Jenkins House at 8 O'clock & were engaged in that service till dinner time, after which I attended to a little buisness about Town & at 4 OC PM took the Steam boat & came Home about 9 OC - I have to acknowledge much favour in this little time of being from Home. The life quickened, & my spirit a little raised, for which I desire to be Humbly thankful & trust I am so. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 30, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day 30th of 8 M / This morning under no small weight of discouragement, I left home in the Packet for [Providence](#) to attend the Meeting of the Sub committee of the YM Schhool & An adjournment of the Meeting for Sufferings, to be held there tomorrow -
We arrived after a tedious passage of eight hours. & I took tea at Jos Anthonys, then went to [Moses Brown](#) to lodge*

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August 31, Tuesday: [Hector Berlioz](#) wrote from Paris, replying to a scornful letter from his father: “I am driven involuntarily towards a magnificent career –no other adjective can be applied to the career of artist– and not towards my doom. For I believe I shall succeed; yes, I believe it ... I wish to make a name for myself, I wish to leave some trace of my existence on this earth; and so strong was the feeling –which was an entirely honorable one– that I would rather be Gluck or Mehul dead than what I am in the flower of my age.”

On the day that [Captain Jones Very](#) and his 11-year-old cabin boy son [Jones Very, Jr.](#) arrived back in Salem from their voyage to New Orleans, France, and Portugal, the *Marquis de Lafayette* was being paraded through the streets of Salem along with his American friend, Fanny Wright. Father and son may well have witnessed this event. In addition, the mother, Lydia Very, may on this day have had an opportunity not only to see but also to speak with Fanny Wright, her personal “idol.”



The French luminary, who had been to Ipswich before, honored the place that evening with a second visit. Unfortunately he and his suite were delayed en route by rain and mud and, after having been expected most of the day, they did not enter the packed meetinghouse until between seven and eight in the evening. He was addressed by Nathaniel Lord, Esq. and made a short reply before being conducted to Nathaniel Treadwell’s inn, where he kibbitzed with some Revolutionary soldiers while obtaining refreshments. The following morning at 10 o’clock he would depart with his suite for Newburyport “amid the benedictions of many hearts.” Unlike the canker-worm, this general would not again return.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day - In the morning attended School Committee & in the Afternoon the Meeting for Sufferings, both which made adjournment till tomorrow - lodged again at [MB](#),

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➡ September 1: General [Lafayette](#) and his suite departed Ipswich at 10AM for Newburyport “amid the benedictions of many hearts.” Unlike the canker-worm, this general would not again return. The weather was so inclement that they would not arrive in Newburyport until too late in the evening for any reception, but the town cannon would be discharged anyway, to alert the residents to his arrival.



In [Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day - in dilligent service under my different appointments in society, from the Y Meeting, with my mind much engaged in the service, no part of which was attended with more solid weight than our visit to the children in the School, in the girls department, our frd [M Brown](#) was concerned to impart weighty council, & was followed by a baptising supplication from Alice Rathbone & testimony from Hannah Dennis - & was a most interesting opportunity - In the boys school much good council was imparted by several of the committee & I hope our labours will not be soon forgotten - After the service of this day was over I went in to [Providence](#), set the evening with Dorcas Brown & lodged at Welcome Congdons. -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

➡ December 22, Wednesday: [Edward Everett](#) orated at Plymouth, Massachusetts. This would be published by Cummings, Hilliard & Company at 134 Washington Street in Boston and we infer that this publication likely is the source for a declamation that 13-year-old [David Henry Thoreau](#) would perform at the [Concord Academy](#) in 1830.

[EVERETT AT PLYMOUTH](#)

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



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*4th day 22 of 12 M / Last evening I recd a long letter from my
Ancient frd Moses Brown & this Afternoon one from my friend
Thomas Thompson of Liverpool. - There seem like a brook by the
way - or refreshment in a dry season. -*

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1825

 February 1, Tuesday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 1st of 2nd M 1825 / This morning walked from Uncle Stantons to [Bristol](#) ferry where I took the Stage & Rode to [Providence](#) - lodged at [Moses Browns](#) who I found well & glad to see me. - 4th day rode with our venerable frd to Select Meeting, after which I dined at Dorcas Browns - In the Afternoon attended the Meeting for Sufferings which set till 9 OC in the evening, then rode with M Brown to his house & lodged -- 5th day Attended the Meeting at large & Dined at Wm Jenkins's, then returned to the Meeting house to Meet with the Trustees of OB Benevolent fund which sat till 8 OC when I returned with Moses to his house & again lodged - 6th day at 10 OC went to the School House & attended school committee which took us all day & late in the eveing when I went into [Providence](#) & lodged at Wm Jenkins's -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 5, Saturday: Hannah Lord Montague of Troy patented the 1st detachable shirt collar.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day took Stage with D Buffum & rode to [Bristol](#) ferry -after we crossed we found his Carriage there in which I rode home.- This Quarterly Meeting has been as season of precious favour to me for which I desire to be very thankful. - The various sittings, both of Meetings & committees were all in harmony & the hearts of many renewedly Knit together - the labours of our two Ancient Standards D Buffum & [Moses Brown](#) was uncommonly interesting - it is no common occurrence to find two so aged men, one in the 87th & the other in his 82 Year, active green & pertinent in their labours. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 14, Tuesday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day My mind low & oppressed with my own infirmitys & in addition to which have heard this Morning that my brother James W Gould has arrived at [Warren](#) & my Brother Isaac has gone in a Chaise to see him - I am going to Select Meeting & hope to feel divine help
Both our Meetings today, Select & that for the body at large, were seasons of favour, order & harmony, in which my mind has been comforted & enlarged - we have had many of our dear Friends*



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at our house & [Moses Brown](#), Abigail Barker, Mary Allenson & some others at tea
Brother James returned home with Br Isaac this afternoon -
The first time we have seen him in about 16 Years

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 28, Sunday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 28th of 8 M / This morning went on board the Steam boat for [Providence](#) for the three fold purpose of visiting our son John at the Yearly Meeting boarding School & to attend a special Meeting of the Meeting for Sufferings & the Sub committee meeting in the course

We got to [Providence](#) in season to dine at Wm Jenkins & attend the Afternoon Meeting where in Wm Almy preached with soundness & life. - After which Wm carried me in his chaise to the School House, where I found John, well & very glad to see me, as I was him - After sitting sometime & taking tea at the School House for the purpose of having his company I took him down to [Moses Browns](#) House where we lodged together -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 30/31, Tuesday/Wednesday: [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) became an honorary member of the Societe Academique des Enfants d'Apollon in Paris.

Back in [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day, after breakfast at Wm Almys - he brought me into [Providence](#) where I spent the Day in attending the Meeting for Sufferings & Sub School committee, at the School House. - it was a pleasant day & I was glad & in measure thankful to be there. - I lodged at [Moses Browns](#) & 4th day Morning rose early & called at the School House on my way to town, & parted with John - After stiring round [Providence](#) to accomplish a little buisness got on board the Packet & arrived in [Newport](#) in the Afternoon

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 2, Wednesday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 2nd of 11th M 1825 / This morning rose early & got into the Stage & set out for Quarterly Meeting at [Swansey](#) soon after we got into the Stage we found we were to ride in company with a Prisoner in Irons from the Jail, who was to be removed to Boston for trial of Theft - this circumstance affected my mind with very serious & depressive sensations as we rode along the



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road - We parted at Troy (Fall River) & I walked the rest of the distance to Slades Ferry & crossed over & went to Nathan Chases, where I found Wm Almy & Thos Howland, & was kindly recd by the family -At our Select Meeting we had a very solid favor'd opportunity, after which I dined at David Braytons, & returned to the Meeting House to a setting of the [Trustees of O Browns Fund](#), & lodged at N Chases

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 3, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day Our Quarterly Meeting was also a Favoured time In the first Meeting was several favoured & solid testimonys among whom were Susan R Smith of Burlington, Sarah Emlen of Pennsylvania, Deborah Otis & Wm Almy after The buisness of the 27 Meeting was transacted in much harmony but the Meeting held late & After Dining at Nathan Chases I set out on foot for [Providence](#) intending to lodge at Ruben Chases, where Wm Almy engaged to send a carriage for me in the Morning expecting to take me up on the Road, but just before I got to R Chases - Nathan Buffington came along within five miles of [Providence](#) to Monro's Tavern in Seconk where I lodged & took breakfast, & was met by Wm Almys Chase & carried to the School House - We had a very favoured School committee much council being imparted to the Youth & different branches of the institution - I lodged at the School for the first time in my life & 7th day Morning I took John & went down to [Moses Browns](#) to breakfast, where I found Sarah Emlen & her companions Esther Levis & Jesse Mavis - & got a little acquaintance with them after breakfast, We all went to the School again, & After sitting in the Boys School With Sarah who did not appear to have any thing to communicate to them - I went to town to get ready to come home in the Steam Boat - which I did & found all Well - - This has been a very interesting visit to me & I desire to be thankful for the favour. -

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December 31, Saturday: [Waldo Emerson](#) closed his girls' school in Chelmsford, Massachusetts.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 31 of 12 M / My mind thro' the day, tho under some Trial, has been favoured with some sweet incomes of life & precious feeling for which I desire to be thankful - I am glad I am thankful at closing the year under a precious sense of feeling. - Recd a very acceptable & pleasant letter towards night from my Aged & beloved friend [Moses Brown](#), which he wrote Yesterday

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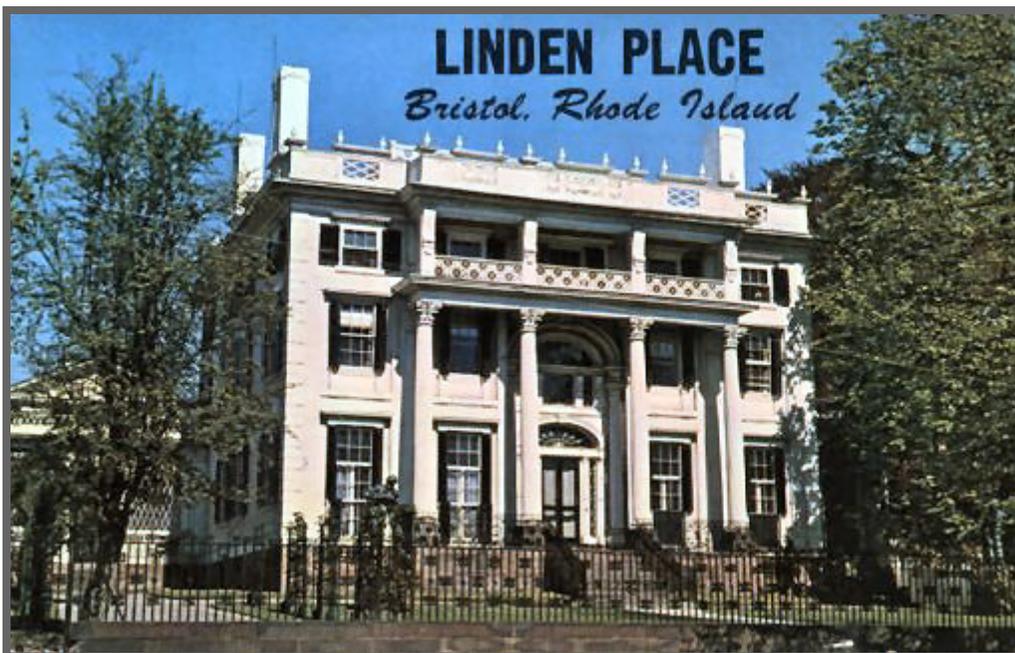
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1826

 Charles DeWolf (4?) purchased the mansion of General [George DeWolf](#) in downtown [Bristol, Rhode Island](#), Linden Place, for a song (to wit, a promissory note in the amount of \$15,000) — and then defaulted on the mortgage.



At this point the original building of the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in

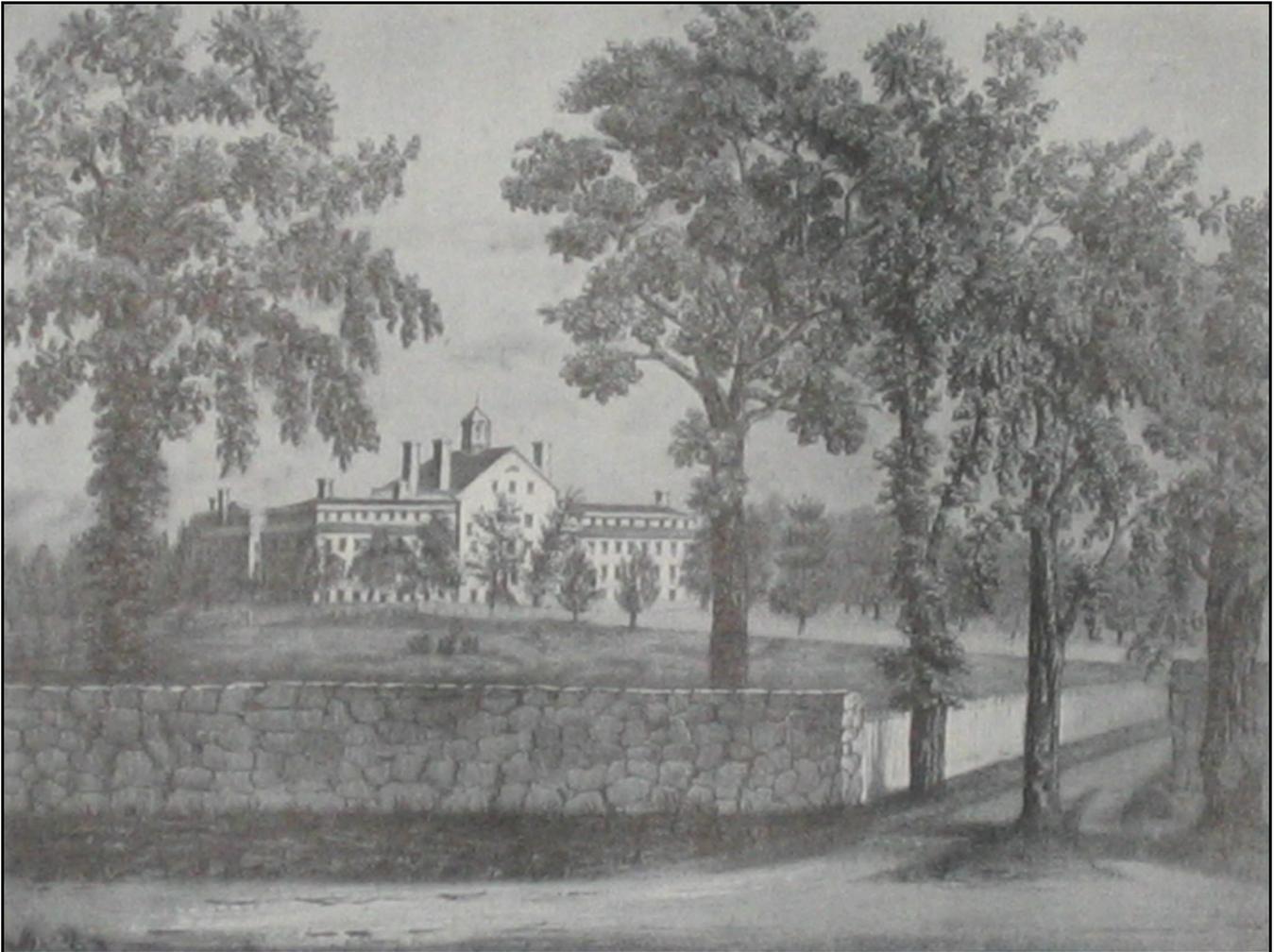


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[Providence](#) was being expanded, by the addition of wings at each end.



[Prudence Crandall](#), from a [Baptist](#) family that has no recorded connection with Quakerism, matriculated at this New England Boarding School of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). Being a girl, she would of course have been in “Girls School,” in no classroom in which there were boys, going for no walks on which she might encounter a boy scholar, and making use of a gender-segregated grove and playground and dining area. There is nothing on record to indicate that she ever had anything to do with [Quakerism](#), or ever once attended a meeting for worship, but it seems plausible that while at this boarding school, probably she knew [Friend Abby Kelley](#).

In this year Friend Pliny Earle of the English Department prepared transcripts of Friend John Gummere’s PLANE TRIGONOMETRY and PROBLEMS IN SURVEYING. (These transcripts have been preserved at the school.)



January 29, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal that he took the packet boat from [Newport, Rhode Island](#) to [Providence](#) in order to attend the Quarterly Meeting of the [Quakers](#):



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1st day 29th of 1 M / Desirous of Attending the Approching Quarterly Meeting at [Providence](#), With Hannah Dennis set out this morning in the Packet & did not arrive there till sunset - took a dish of tea at Welcome Congdons & walked out to the [School House](#) & lodged where I found John well & very glad to see me as I was him

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 30, Monday: The Menai Bridge opened connecting Anglesey with the mainland of Wales (this was the largest suspension bridge to date, with a suspended span of 176 meters and a clearance of 30 meters).

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day Walked into [Providence](#) Town & called on a few friends & returned to the [School House](#) to dinner & spent the Afternoon -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 31, Tuesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day - a violent Storm of Wind, the Snow which fell last night blew tho' the sky was clear & the [illegible] te fell to 8 degrees below Cypher. - It being the Meeting of the Sub-committee a few met, & among them our Aged friend [Moses Brown](#) - we made a report to the General committee & spent the day in visiting the Schools, much to our satisfaction & Comfort, finding things in good order & the children generally well behaved - lodged at the [School House](#). -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 1, Wednesday: String Quartet "Tod und das Madchen" D.810 by Franz Schubert was performed for the initial time, at the home of Josef Barth in Vienna.

The [pirate](#) Charles Colson was [hanged](#) in the jailyard on Leverett Street in [Boston](#) — but his partner in crime Charles Marchant had cheated the hangman by offing himself the day before.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day - Attended Select Meeting, & Meeting for Sufferings, Dined at David Anthonys - took tea & lodged at [Moses Browns](#). -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 2, Thursday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



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5th day our Public Meeting a favord season the chief & most important labourers were Mary Batty & Alice Rathbone of [Smithfield](#) – In the meeting we had an unusual portion of buisness which occasioned [many long smudges for the rest of the entry, but they appear accidental.] us to hold late & put by our Trustees Meeting. – Dined at Wm Jenkins's – took tea at Jons Congdons & returned to the [School House](#) & lodged. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 3, Friday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day Spent this day in various Services whether [School House](#)–

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July 1, Saturday: The [Quakers](#) began taking up the bodies from their burial ground on Congress Street in [Boston](#), and relocating them in the burial ground adjoining the meetinghouse on Silsbee Street in Lynn.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 1st of 7th M 1826 / This Afternoon our dear Son John whom we love very tenderly has again left us for [Providence](#), to be at the [Yearly Meeting School](#), he has been at home just four weeks – & to our comfort & consolation find his being their last Year has been of great service to him. – we pray for his wellfare & are very thankful he cane have the priviledge of being at the School –

We went in the Steam Boat Babcock David Buffum in company, who is going up to attend to the final settlement of the Fund left to the School by [Obadiah Brown](#) & the part of it which now falls due at the decease of his widow [Dorcas Brown](#).

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August 3, Thursday: [Waldo Emerson](#) wrote in his journal about having on the previous day been present at Faneuil Hall to hear [Daniel Webster](#)'s eulogy for the deceased [Thomas Jefferson](#) and John Adams:

Yesterday I attended the funeral solemnities in Faneuil Hall in honor of John Adams & Thomas Jefferson. The Oration of Mr Webster was worthy of his fame & what is much more was worthy of the august occasion.



[Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin](#) traveled to Bad Reinerz in Lower Silesia accompanied by his sisters Emilia and Ludwika and his mother. They were there for treatment, especially for Emilia, who was showing symptoms of [tuberculosis](#) and was probably contagious. Fryderyk, although ill himself, possibly contracted the disease from her. They would remain there for five weeks.

The family of Samuel Ringgold Ward arrived in New-York, and lodged for the first night with their relatives, the parents of the Reverend Henry Highland Garnet:

We lived several years at Waldron's Landing, in the neighbourhood of the Reeves, Woods, Bacons, and Lippineutts, who were among my father's very best friends, and whose children were among my schoolfellows. However, in the spring and summer of 1826, so numerous and alarming were the depredations of kidnapping and slave-catching in the neighbourhood, that my parents, after keeping the house armed night after night, determined to remove to a place of greater distance and greater safety. Being accommodated with horses and a waggon by kind friends, they set out with my brother in their arms for New York City, where they arrived on the 3rd day of August, 1826, and lodged the first night with relations, the parents of the Rev. H.H. Garnett, now of Westmoreland, Jamaica. Here we found some 20,000 coloured people. The State had just emancipated all its slaves - viz., on the fourth day of the preceding month - and



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it was deemed safer to live in such a city than in a more open country place, such as we had just left. Subsequent events, such as the ease with which my two relatives were taken back in 1828 – the truckling of the mercantile and the political classes to the slave system – the large amount of slaveholding property owned by residents of New York – and, worst, basest, most diabolical of all, the cringing, canting, hypocritical friendship and subserviency of the religious classes to slavery – have entirely dissipated that idea.

I look upon Greenwich, New Jersey, the place of my earliest recollections, very much as most persons remember their native place. There I followed my dear father up and down his garden, with fond childish delight; the plants, shrubs, flowers, &c., I looked upon as of his creation. There he first taught me some valuable lessons – the use of the hoe, to spell in three syllables, and to read the first chapter of John's Gospel, and my figures; then, having exhausted his literary stock upon me, he sent me to school. There I first read the BIBLE to my beloved mother, and read in her countenance (what I then could not read in the book) what that BIBLE was to her. Were my native country free, I could part with any possession to become the owner of that, to me, most sacred spot of earth, my father's old garden. Had I clung to the use of the hoe, instead of aspiring to a love of books, I might by this time have been somebody, and the reader of this volume would not have been solicited by this means to consider the lot of the oppressed American Negro.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day – Our public Meeting was large & favoured Our frd Wm Almy was alone in service & was large acceptable & edifying - in the last the appointment of Hannah Almy from our Moy [Monthly] Meeting & Jos Metcalf & Lydia Smith from [Providence](#) Moy [Monthly] Meeting to the Station of Elders was confirmed. – After Meeting & dined at B Freeborns, & went on to [Providence](#) in the Waggon with Nicholas Congdon to attend the [School Committee](#), & arrived at the School House about dark - found John well & spent the evening pleasantly with him & friends there & there lodged –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 4, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day Attended the School committee, some labour & exercise attended the setting for buisness, but we found much encouragement to think well of the Institution, & our visits to the School were attended with that precious sense of love & precious spirit which indeed constrained the acknowledgement that it was good for us to be there, - that it was good for our society that the School existed & furnished a strengthened hope



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that a Succession of standard bearers would be raised up to fill the places of us who were then Acting as caretakers of those before us in the School -- I lodged at my dear aged friend [Moses Browns](#) & on 7th day Morning returned to the School & spent the fournoon & dined - then went to Town & at 3 O'clock came home in the Steam Boat.-

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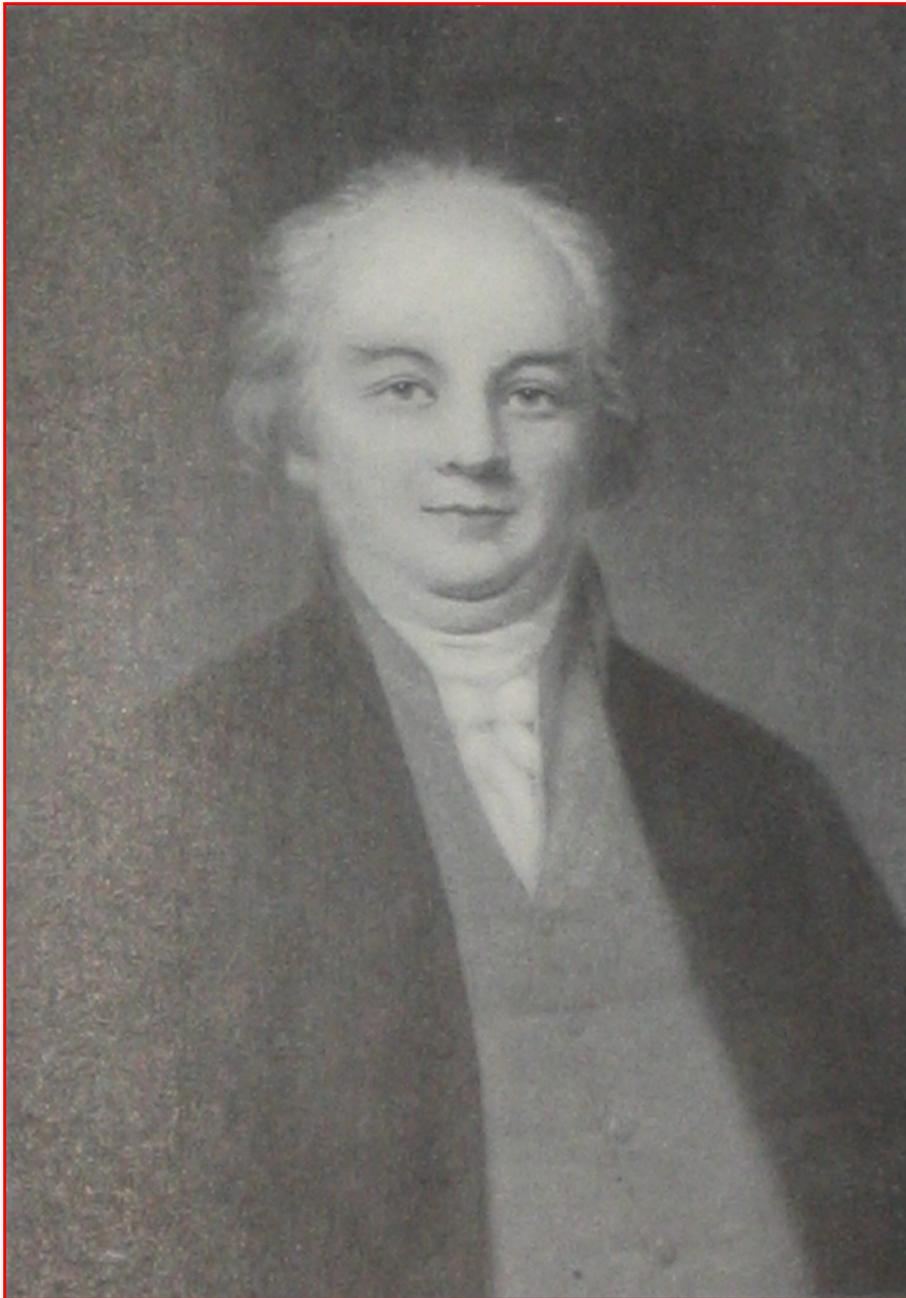


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 September 17: [Friend Moses Brown](#) wrote to Josiah Forster, describing the Friends School in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) and the Obadiah Brown Fund.



Friend Obadiah M. Brown



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September 26, Tuesday: [Friend](#) Israel Morris proposed to [Friend Sarah Moore Grimké](#) — who, although she was in love with him, would not accept the married condition.

Back in 1814 and 1819, [Friend Moses Brown](#) had committed himself to donating 43 acres of his farm on [Providence](#) Neck in [Rhode Island](#) for use as a [Quaker](#) school. In 1819 the school had begun operation. On this date the details of the transaction were completed. A certified clerk's copy is to be inspected in Book 54, on pages 455-456, of the bound copies of historical title transactions kept just under the mansard roof of our Providence City Hall. (Providence Neck is now referred to as "the hoighty-toighty East Side.") The land deeded as of this date was along what is now referred to as Olney Street, but at the time this road was being referred to as "Neck Road." (Neck Road ran directly up the hill along what is now Olney Street, turned at the top of the hill to follow what is now Morris Avenue, then turned again along what is now Sessions Street and Cole Street and Rochambeau Avenue, and plunged through what is now the entrance to Butler Hospital, to Swan Point and then to the Pawtucket Line. This was the track that one would follow if one wanted to, say, for some reason, journey to Boston.) The land deeded as of this date was also along what was then being referred to as "Ferry lane," which roughly approximated what is now Hope Street except that it came to an end into Olney at a point somewhat to the west of the present Hope/Olney intersection. Neither the leaky city water reservoir nor the Hope High School on the west side of the street had as yet been constructed (nor even the High School building which had preceded this current High School building, on the east side of the street where there are now doctors' offices). The 43 acres of the Moses Brown farm being granted in this deed of gift actually extended a number of feet to the west of what is now the intersection of Hope Street and Olney Street, passing underneath where the current Hope High School building now stands. Also, a portion of this Moses Brown farm being so granted and deeded was actually north of the present course of Olney Street. Also, to the east, the Moses Brown farm being so granted and deeded then extended all the way down the hill to what is now the midline of Arlington Avenue. What you see now as the Moses Brown property, therefore, is truncated, for it had in the beginning extended to include the land of the row of house lots now along the west side of the campus, the land under the two rows of house lots now along the north side of the campus, and the land under the two rows of house lots now along the east side of the campus.

The salient portions of this deed of gift of 1826 are to be found in the following phrases:

"for and in consideration of his regard and affection for the principals of truth, as recorded in the Holy Scriptures, and professed by the People called Quakers and Known among themselves by the name of Friends, and from a desire that the children and rising generations may be educated in a guarded manner, both as to their moral and religious principals, as professed by the said People and practiced by the faithful among them," and "their successors and assigns forever in Trust, for the use intent and purpose for the aforesaid People called Friends or Quakers, of the yearly meeting for New-England to erect suitable buildings thereon for a School House or Houses for the use, intent and purpose of instruction and of a guarded, religious, moral and literary education, of the rising generation of Friends, and such others as they may think best to admit in a Boarding Schoole or Schools, according to the original minutes of the intentions of Said Yearly Meeting, which said Tract of Land so conveyed to us as aforesaid was by the provisions of said Deed, to be at the sole disposal and under the direction of the said Yearly Meeting of Friends, but always in such a manner, as, that the sole interest property, rents, profits, income, and use of the same should be applied at all times forever to and for the sole use and purpose of keeping up and maintaining thereon a Boarding School or Schools for the education of the rising generation as aforesaid, and to and for no other use or purpose whatever," and "To have and to hold, the said granted premissis with all the privileges and appurtenances thereof to the said Incorporated Society of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New-England, and their successors forever, in Trust for the sole uses, intents and purposes, of erecting suitable Buildings for a School House or Houses for a Boarding School or Schools, and of keeping



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up and maintaining a Boarding School or Schools thereof for the Religious, Moral, and Literary Education of the rising generation of Friends and such others as the present Grantees may think best, from time to time to admit into the said School or Schools. And the said granted premisses and the property, rents, income and profits thereof, are at all times hereafter, to be at the disposal and under the direction and management of the said Incorporated Society of the Yearly Meeting of Friends as for New England and their successors forever, to be applied by them for the sole use and purpose of educating the rising generation in manner as aforesaid, and for no other use or purpose whatever. And the said Incorporated Society, and their successors forever as aforesaid, are hereby authorized and empowered, directed and required, at all times forever hereafter, fully effectually and faithfully to fulfil, perform, and execute all and singular the uses, trusts and purposes, as set forth, expressed and declared, in the Deed aforesaid of the said Moses Brown, reference thereto being had as aforesaid, and also, as the same are in this present Deed set forth, expressed and declared according to the true interest and a meaning thereof.” These are the words, manifestly, of a group of people, including Friend Moses Brown, who had close familiarity with the ways of the world, “the way the world works,” and in particular had a close familiarity with the ways in which decent intentions may be subvertible over the course of time in the pursuit of expediency.⁹⁴ These are the words, manifestly, of a group of people who were intent upon preventing, if at all possible, their decent intentions from being, in the distant future, subverted. Their voices cry out to us now:

*To all People to whom these Presents shall come. /
Know ye, Whereas Moses
Brown of Providence by his deed bearing date /
on the twenty sixth day
of the ninth month AD 1826, and recorded in the /
Town Clerks office in
said Town in book N^o 42 pages 400, 401, /
and 402, for and in consid-
eration of his regard and affection for the /
principals [sic] of truth, as recorded
in the Holy Scriptures, and professed by the People /
called Quakers and
Known among themselves by the name of Friends, /
and from a desire
that the children and rising generations may be /
educated in a
guarded manner, both as to their moral and /
religious principals [sic], as
professed by the said People and practiced by the /
faithful among
them, gave, granted, conveyed and confirmed, a certain /
lot of land
being the north west part of the farm, whereupon the /
said Moses dwells
containing by estimation about forty three acres, /*

94. As an instance of this type of subversion, I will cite that after meeting for silent worship one first day at the Providence meetinghouse, Friend Carl T. Bogus, a person who had attended the Moses Brown School during a time period in which he admits that there was no Quaker presence whatever in the daily life of the school, declared to me: “I have not read anything that you have written but I have seen the origination document by Friend Moses Brown. Its requirements have been fully met whenever there is a school—any school, regardless of the extent to which it is Quaker or not Quaker—on the premises.” (Friend Carl is a professor of law.)



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be the same more or
lefs and is bounded as follows, beginning at the south /
west corner of the
granted premises, and at the north west corner of land /
late belonging
to Knight Dexter, at the road formerly called Ferry /
lane, thence
along the dividing line as the wall now stands, /
about thirty eight rods
to a turn in the wall [the following inserted between /
the lines with a ^ mark] /
{then along the same about forty one rods to /
another turn in the wall} thence /
about twenty one rods, to the road at the
north east corner, of land late belonging to said Dexter, /
in said Providence
neck, thence north about sixteen degrees west seventy /
five rods along
the said road as the Wall now stands, to a corner of /
the Stone Wall opposite the Land
belonging to the children of Daniel Brown deceased, /
then turning and running Westward, by the
Stone Wall and ^the Road twenty eight Rods then turning /
at another corner of the Wall, at ^the junction
of an other Road, and turning and running South /
about twelve degrees West about eight and a half
Rods, along the said Road leading from Providence /
through the Neck to Pawtucket, then
running Westerly about thirty seven rods towards said /
Town till it meets Thomas L. Halseys
Wall, then turning and running South about two degrees /
West along said Halseys and said Moses line
as the wall stands about Forty seven Rods, the turning /
West about seventeen degrees South about
twenty Rods, along the dividing line aforesaid, to /
the first mentioned highway, then South about
twenty seven degrees East along the said highway as /
the Wall stands about thirty four Rods to the first
mentioned corner, to his for Obadiah Brown, /
Sylvester Wickes, and Micajah Collins, /
all since deceased,
and also to us William Almy, William Buffum, /
Thomas Howland, David Buffum, Samuel Rodman
and William Rotch junior and their succefsors and /
afsigns forever in Trust, for the use intent and
purpose for the aforesaid People called Friends /
or Quakers, of the yearly Meeting for /
New-England to



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erect suitable buildings thereon for a School House /
or Houses for the use, intent and purpose /
of instruct-
-ion and of a guarded, religious, moral and /
literary education, of the rising generation /
of Friends, and such others
as they may think best to admit in a Boarding /
Schoole [sic] or Schools, /
according to the original minutes of the intentions
of Said Yearly Meeting, which said Tract of Land /
so conveyed to us ^as aforesaid was /
by the provisions of said Deed, to be at
the sole disposal and under the direction of the /
said Yearly Meeting of Friends, but always /
in such a manner, as, that
the sole interest property, rents, profits, income, /
and use of the same should be applied /
at all times forever to and
for the sole use and purpose of keeping up and /
maintaining thereon a Boarding School /
or Schools for
the education of the rising generation as aforesaid, /
and to and for no other use or purpose whatever, /
as is
fully set forth expressed and declared, in the said /
Deed, of said Moses Brown, reference thereto /
being had.
And whereas the said Yearly Meeting of /
Friends have since the execution of said /
Deed become an
Incorporated Society by the name of the Yearly meeting /
of Friends for New-England by virtue of /
an
Act of the General Assembly of this State passed /
at their October Fefsion One thousand
eight hundred and Twenty three, entitled /
"An Act to authorise [sic] and enable the /
Yearly Meeting of
Friends for New-England to receive, hold, /
manage, appropriate and dispose of property /
for
charitable and benevolent and for other /
purposes" reference to said Act being had. /
And whereas it is
believed by all the parties interested in said tract /
of Land, and in the Trusts expressed and declared /
in
said Deed, the Trusts and purposes aforesaid would /



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be better performed, and the intentions of /
said Moses
Brown more fully executed carried into effect /
by a conveyance of said Trust property /
to said Incorporated Society and the same being conformable /
to the provisions of said Deed and having /
been required
by the School committee of the Yearly Meeting of /
Friends for New-England, by their minutes /
bearing date
the second day of the eleventh month one thousand /
eight hundred and twenty seven, reference /
thereto being
had, it is deemed prudent, expedient and advisable, /
to convey the said Trust property, /
to them and their
Successors accordingly. Now Know ye, that We the /
said Moses Brown, William Almy, William
Buffum, Thomas Howland, David Buffum, Samuel Rodman /
and William Rotch Jun^r in considera-
-tion of the premises and for the further consideration /
of One Dollar to us paid by the said Incorporated
Society of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for /
New-England the receipt whereof /
is hereby acknowledged, and
to the intent and purpose that the Trusts aforesaid /
should be completely executed, do hereby /
give, grant, convey and confirm to the said Incorporated Society /
of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for /
New England, and
to their Successors forever, the [^]afore described /
Tract of Land, with all the privileges /
and appurtenances thereto
belonging. ~ To have and to hold, the said granted /
premises with all the privileges and /
appurtenances thereof
to the said Incorporated Society of the Yearly Meeting /
of Friends for New-England, and their successors
forever, in Trust for the sole uses, intents /
and purposes, of erecting suitable Buildings /
for a School House
or Houses for a Boarding School or Schools, /
and of keeping up and maintaining a /
Boarding School or
Schools thereof for the Religious, Moral, /
and Literary Education of the rising generation /



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of Friends
and such others as the present Grantees may think /
best, from time to time to admit into the /
said School or
Schools. And the said granted premeses and the /
property, rents, income and profits thereof, /
are at all times
hereafter, to be at the disposal and under the /
direction and management of the said /
Incorporated Society
of the Yearly Meeting of Friends as for New England /
and their fuccessors forever, to be applied /
by them
for the sole use and purpose of educating /
the rising generation in manner as aforesaid, /
and for no
other use or purpose whatever. And the said /
Incorporated Society, and their successors /
forever as afore
=said, are hereby authorized and empowered, /
directed and required, at all times /
forever hereafter, fully effect
=ually and faithfully to fulfil, perform, /
and execute all and singular the uses, /
trusts and purposes, as set
forth, expressed and declared, in the Deed /
aforesaid of the said Moses Brown, /
reference thereto being had
as aforesaid, and also, as the same are /
in this present Deed set forth, /
expressed and declared according to
the true interest and a meaning thereof.

In Witnefs whereof we /

have hereunto set our hands and Seals this
Ninth day of the Eleventh month AD One thousand /
eight hundred and twenty seven,

Signed Sealed and delivered in	Mofes Brown	{LS}
presence of	William Almy	{LS}
	Nathan W Jackson	{LS}
	Steph Hopkins.	{LS}
Walter Allen Sam ¹ /	Wm Buffum	{LS}
Mann witnefses to Wm Buffums /		
signature	David Buffum	{LS}
Benj Cornell Stephen Goule witnefses /		
to David Buffums signature	William Rotch Jr	{LS}
T Whitehead Joseph Rotch witnefs to /		
William Rotchs ^jr signature	Samuel Rodman	{LS}
and also to Samuel Rodman /		



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signature {LS}
Providence Ye Town of Providence /
November 9th 1827
Personally appeared Mofes Brown and acknowledged /
the foregoing instrument to his free act /
and deed hand
and Seal Before me Nathan W Jackson
Town Clerk
Providence Ye town of Providence November 12 1827
Personally appeared William Almy and Thomas Howland /
and severally acknowledged the foregoing
instrument to be their free Act and Deed hand and Seal
Before me
Nathan W Jackson
Town Clerk

 October 28, Saturday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 28th of 10th M 1826 / This Morning took the Steam Boat Babcock, & with David Gould set out for [Providence](#) & arrived there about 1 OC. I took David right to the [School House](#) where his father has placed him for a quarter or more as the case may be - found John well & very glad to see me. - I spent the Afternoon & evening very pleasantly at the School House & Lodged -

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 October 29, Sunday: In [Cranston, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

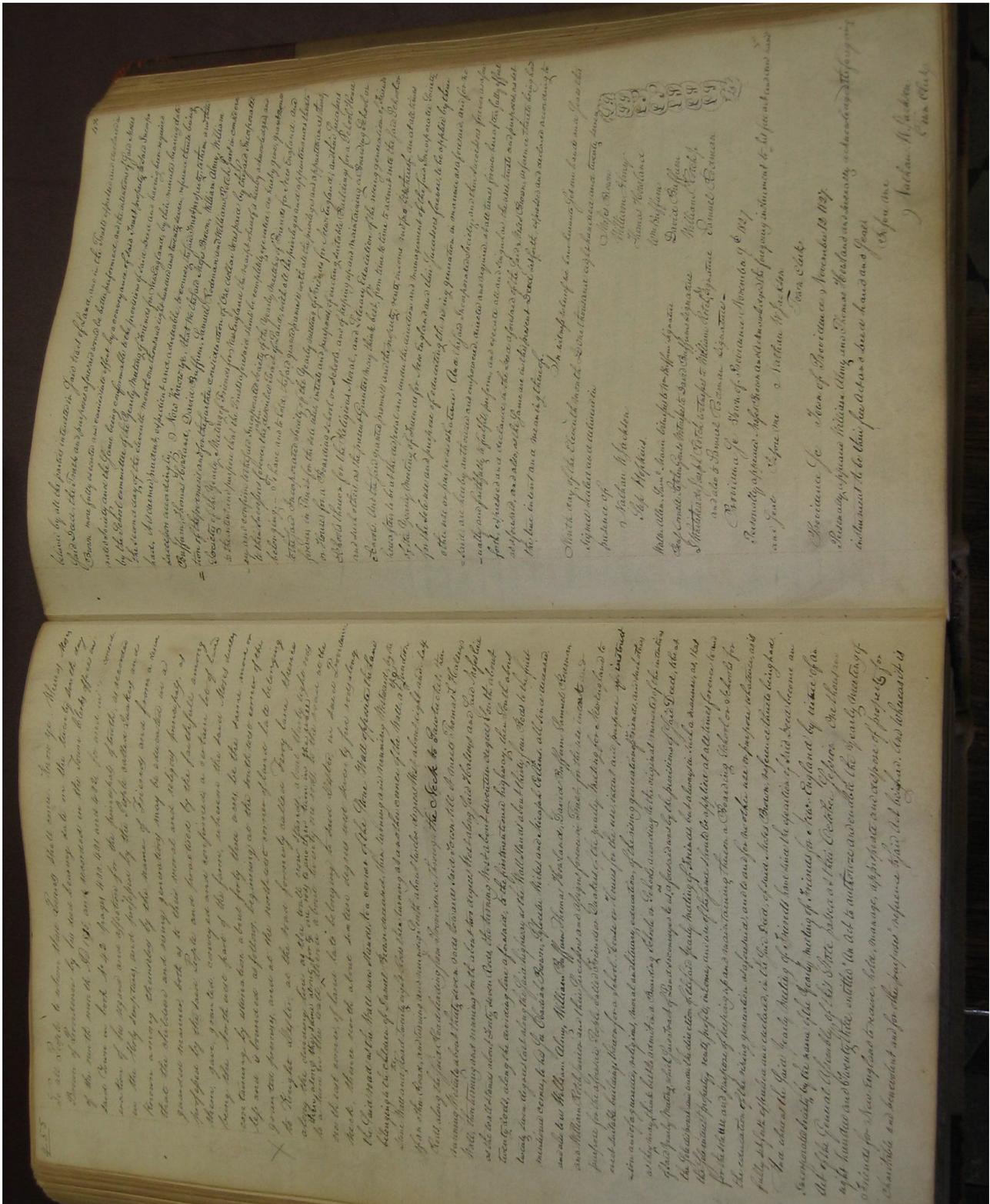
1st day Attended Meeting at the [School House](#) & felt rejoiced & thankful to observe the order prevailing throughout the Insitution, & my heart often was humbled with gratitude that my son had been favourd with so favourable oppourtiniy of obtaining school learning & of improving his mind in solid, sound principles of religion, & I am also thankful in believing that he has in very good measure, improved the time, & trust it will be a lasting advantage to him. - After Meeting in the Afternoon WmAlmy took me out to his house in [Cranston](#) where I lodged. -

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455
 To all People to whom these Records shall come. Know ye. Whereas Moses
 Brown of Providence by his deed bearing date on the twenty fourth day
 of the month month AD 1818, and recorded in the Town Clerks office in
 said Town in book N^o 42 pages 400, 401 and 402, for and in witness
 whereof of his regard and affection for the principals of truth, as recorded
 in the Holy scriptures, and professed by the People called Quakers and
 known among themselves by the name of Friends, and from a desire
 that the children and rising generations may be educated in a
 guarded manner, both as to their moral and religious principles, as
 professed by the said People and practised by the faithful among
 them, gave, granted, conveyed and confirmed, a certain lot of land
 being the north west part of the farm, whereon the said Moses does
 contain, by estimation about forty three acres, be the same more or
 less and is bounded as follows, beginning at the south west corner of the
 granted premises, and at the north west corner of land late belonging
 to Knight Sister, at the road formerly called Ferry lane thence
 along the dividing line as the wall now stands, about thirty eight rods
 then along the same about forty one rods to the place where the wall
 is a line in the wall, thence a line to the east side of the road at the
 north east corner of land late belonging to said Sister, in said Providence.
 thence north about sixteen degrees west seven by five rods along
 the said road at the Wall now stands, to a corner of the Town Wall opposite the same
 belonging to the children of Daniel Brown deceased, then turning and running Westward, by the
 Stone Wall and Road twenty eight rods then turning at another corner of the Wall, a line
 of an other Road, and turning and running South about twelve degrees West about eight and a half
 rods along the said Road leading from Providence through the Neck to Pawtucket, then
 running Westward about thirty seven rods towards said town till it meets Thomas Hatters
 Wall, then turning and running north about two degrees West about seventeen degrees South about
 twenty rods, along the dividing line aforesaid, to the first mentioned highway, then South about
 twenty seven degrees East along the said highway as the Wall stands about thirty four rods to the first
 mentioned corner, to his son Obadiah Brown, Joseph Michel and Micajah Collins, all since deceased,
 and also to William Almy, William Buffum Thomas Howland, David Buffum Samuel Rowman
 and William Kitch, junior and their Successors and assigns forever in Trust, for the use, intent and
 purpose for the aforesaid People called Friends or Quakers, in the yearly Meeting for New-England to
 erect suitable buildings, thereon for a school, house or houses for the use, intent and purpose of
 instruction and of a quarterly, religious, moral and literary, education, of the rising generations of Friends, and such others
 as they may think best to admit in a Boarding School or Schools, according to the original minutes of the intentions
 of said yearly Meeting, which said tract of Land so conveyed to us, aforesaid was by the provisions of said Deed, to be at
 the sole disposal and under the direction of the said yearly Meeting of Friends, but always in such a manner, as that
 the said tract property, rents, profits, income, and use of the same should be applied at all times forever to and
 for the sole use and purpose of keeping up and maintaining thereon a Boarding School or Schools for
 the education of the rising generation as aforesaid, and to and for no other use or purpose whatever, as is
 fully set forth expressed and declared, in the said Deed, of said Moses Brown, reference thereto being had.
 And whereas the said yearly Meeting of Friends have since the operation of said Deed become an
 incorporated society, by the name of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New-England by virtue of an
 Act of the General Assembly of this State passed at their October Session One thousand
 eight hundred and twenty three, entitled "An Act to authorize and enable the Yearly Meeting of
 Friends for New-England to receive, hold, manage, appropriate and dispose of property for
 charitable and benevolent and for other purposes" reference to said Act being had, and whereas it is



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believe by all the parties interested in said tract of Land, and in the Trusts expressed and declared in
said Deed, the Trusts and purposes aforesaid would be better performed, and the intentions of said Moses
Brown more fully executed and expedient effect, by a conveyance of said Trust property to said Incorporated
Society and the same being conformable to the provisions of said Deed and having been required
by the School committee of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, by their minutes bearing date
the second day of the eleventh month one thousand eight hundred and twenty seven, reference thereto being
had, it is deemed prudent, expedient and advisable, to convey the said Trust property, to them and their
Successors accordingly. Now know ye, that We the said Moses Brown, William Abney, William
Buffum, Thomas Howland, David Buffum, Samuel Rodman and William Patch, just in considera-
tion of the premises and for the further consideration of One dollar now paid by the said Incorporated
Society of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged and
to the intent and purpose that the Trusts aforesaid should be completely executed, do hereby give, grant, con-
vey and confirm to the said Incorporated Society of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, and
to their Successors forever, the aforesaid tract of Land, with all the privileges and appurtenances thereto
belonging. To have and to hold, the said granted premises with all the privileges and appurtenances thereto,
to the said Incorporated Society of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, and their Successors
forever, in Trust for the sole uses, intents and purposes, of erecting suitable Buildings for a School House
or Houses for a Boarding School or Schools, and of keeping up and maintaining a Boarding School or
Schools thereon for the Religious, Moral, and Literary Education of the rising generation of Friends
and such others, as the present Grantees may think best, from time to time to admit into the said School or
Schools. And the said granted premises and the rents, issue and profits thereof, in at all times
hereafter, to be at the disposal and under the direction and management of the said Incorporated Society
of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England and their Successors forever, to be applied by them
for the sole use and purpose of educating the rising generation in manner as aforesaid, and for no
other use or purpose whatever: And the said Incorporated Society, and their Successors forever as aforesaid,
are hereby authorized and empowered, directed and required, at all times forever hereafter, fully effect-
ually and faithfully to fulfill, perform, and execute all and singular the uses, trusts and purposes as set
forth, expressed and declared, in the Deed aforesaid of the said Moses Brown, reference thereto being had
as aforesaid, and also, as the same are in this present Deed set forth, expressed and declared according to
the true intent and meaning thereof.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this
Ninth day of the Eleventh month One thousand eight hundred and twenty seven

Signed Sealed and delivered in
presence of

Nathan W Jackson	Moses Brown	(S)
Leop Hopkins	William Abney	(S)
Walter Allen, Saml Hann	Thomas Howland	(S)
James Wilkes to Wm Buffum Signature	Wm Buffum	(S)
Genl Conell, John Paul Metzger to David Buffum Signature	David Buffum	(S)
St Matthew's Chapel Church witnesses to William Patch Signature	William Patch	(S)
and also to Samuel Rodman Signature	Samuel Rodman	(S)

Providence Jc Town of Providence November 9th 1827

Personally appeared Moses Brown and acknowledged the foregoing instrument to his free act and deed and
and Seal before me Nathan W Jackson
Town Clerk

Providence Jc Town of Providence November 12 1827

Personally appeared William Abney, and Thomas Howland and severally acknowledged the foregoing
instrument to be their free act and deed and Seal
before me
Nathan W Jackson



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1827



The increasing schism among Friends, between [Hicksite](#) and Orthodox, began to have a deleterious impact upon [Quaker](#) educational institutions. The secondary education that was available inside the city of Philadelphia was under the control of the Orthodox body. Hicksite Friends, therefore, in the country, had begun to have a problem in securing an appropriate secondary education for their young people. Since 1799 they had for instance been sending their young people to the Westtown School in Chester County, but in this year this school also came under the control of Orthodox Friends.

[QUAKER EDUCATION](#)



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers

We may note in passing that the school sponsored by the New England Yearly Meeting, in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the school now known as "[Moses Brown School](#)," was firmly under the control of the Orthodox side of the schism. Hicksite Friends were not welcome, not even to visit, not even to worship. The reason for that was Friend [Moses Brown](#) himself. Moses was rich, Moses was used to throwing his weight around, and Moses had decided that abolitionism, the abolition of race [slavery](#), meant segregation, the separation of the races — but the Hicksites had decided that instead what abolitionism meant was integration into a "Peaceable Kingdom" of the races: amalgamation. The two sides, Jim Crow segregationism versus liberal race mingling, had become anathema to one another.

(It is an irony of history that this pioneer in antebellum Jim Crow racial segregationism, Friend Moses Brown, is now considered to be among the Quaker saints — merely because, after he had calculated that his black slaves had paid him back through their labors the cash price he had paid for their bodies and souls, he did grant them manumission papers.)



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January 1, Monday: A contract was signed by Gioachino Rossini making him Premier Compositeur du Roi and Inspecteur General du Chant en France, honorary positions. This would allow him to give up his duties at the Theatre-Italien and spend more time composing for the Opera.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal about [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#):

*2nd day 1st of 1st M 1827 / This day in the Stage our dear Son John returned from the Yearly Meeting School at [Providence](#) where he has been about seventeen [smudged] 17 Months — We were heartily glad to see him. - but the rejoicing is mingled with fear & anxiety about his future welfare as his return is for a preparation for another perhaps longer separation. — his present prospect is to go to Hudson to enter a Factory there belonging to Benj Marshall to learn the Art of Making Calico & other cotton goods. —
We enter the New year & I feel under solemn impressions, which perhaps may as well be felt as expressed. —⁹⁵*



[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



January 27, Saturday: Franz Schubert was informed that he had failed to secure the post of Vice-Hofkapellmeister to the Imperial Court Chapel.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 27th of 1st M 1827 / This morning with our dear Son John Stanton Gould I set out for [Providence](#) in the Stage he on his way to Hudson in the State of N York & I to Quarterly Meeting,

95. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1823-1829: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 8 Folder 13: October 2, 1823-March 6, 1829; also on microfilm, see Series 7



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he being desirous I might accompany him thus far tho' three days sooner than I should have left to attend the Meeting. – We arrived in [Providence](#) early in the Afternoon & first called at Almy & Browns Store, where we found our frd Wm Almy, who was interested in Johns leaving us, & had much parting council to him, with which I was much gratified. – We then went to the School where John found his old associates glad to see him. – & he very glad to see & be with them a little while before he went on his journey. – First day mornng I went into [Providence](#) to attend Meeting & left John with his friends, -returned with [Moses Brown](#) to dine & then with him to attend the School Meeting in the Afternoon – I lodged with John at the School House & rose early on 2nd day [Monday] Morning & went into [Providence](#) before Day & at 5 O'clock he started in the Stage sleigh for Hartford. – he was not very cheerful, but sober & Serious, without depression Here I committed him to the care & protection of his heavenly parent, who I fervantly desire may preserve him from every hurtful thing. – I walked about the Streets of [Providence](#) till sunrise, when I went to Joa[Jonathon] Anthonys to breakfast, & spent the remainder of the day in town & lodged at the School House. –

3rd day attended the Sub-committee & lodged at [Moses Browns](#). –
4th day attended Select Quarterly Meeting & meeting for Sufferings. – lodged at [M Browns](#)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



January 13, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 13th of 1 M / This PM John returned from Fall River where he went to get information at a Factory there. – while there he had an invitation to ride with a Friend of his to [Providence](#) which he did & had another opportunity of seeing his friends at the [School](#), who all seem'd rejoiced to see him he passed one night & part of two days at the Insitution much to his satisfaction. – on his way home stoped at [Portsmouth](#) to visit his grandmother Gould Uncle & Aunt Stanton & too leave of them–

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 2, Friday: [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) underwent a 3d operation to remove excess abdominal fluid.

A cantata for the birthday of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar by [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) was performed for the initial time.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day Attended the [School committee](#) & went into [Town](#) & lodged



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at Wm Jenkins. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 3, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*7th day came home in the Stage. -
My visit to [Providence](#) has been an unusual time of favour to me,
& the visit will be memorable, as a time of parting with our
dear John [at the [Quaker school](#)]. - Our meetings were seasons
of life, & the good cause promoted according to our ability -
I know of no circumstance to cause pain, but on the contrary
feel encouraged to hope our Society in these parts is improving.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 19, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 19 of 6 M / This Mornng at 8 OC took the Steam Boat Babcock
with our friends Isaac & Anna Braithwaite & arrived in
[Providence](#) at 12 OC - we went to Wm Jenkins where I had an
opportunity of seeing my dear friends, particularly [Moses Brown](#)
-at 2 OC - I came on board the Steam Boat again & was home before
Sunset.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 3, Friday: [Friend Joseph Ricketson, Senior](#) wrote a letter to his sons [Daniel](#) and [Joseph, Junior](#).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day feeling an engagement of mind to attend the School
committee & Meeting for Sufferings at [Providence](#) I went on board
the Steam Boat Babcock at 8 OC & arrived at the School House
while the committee were at dinner. - & in season to their Second
setting & to visit the Schools. - In the Boys School T Shillitoe
imparted much excellent advice in a solid impressive manner. -
In the Girls School he also had much to say & Alice Rathbone
appeared in a very baptizing supplication on behalf of all
present & the various classes of Society -
I lodged at my dear friend [Moses Browns](#). -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 4, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day Attended the Meeting for Sufferings held at the [School](#)



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House & had two labourious sittings which resulted to Satisfaction. – The long tedious concern of the Boston Meeting House, was closed or Settled. so far as respects the Yearly Meeting, if Salem Moy [Monthly] Meeting agrees to it, which there is a prospect of & a hope is entertained that we shall not be tried with the question in the manner we have Done. I lodged at the School House –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 5, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day Attended the Meetings for worship at the [Institution](#) – In the Morning Obadiah Davis was there favoured in testimony. – In the Afternoon Lydia Wicks bore a good testimony. -- After spending the day in a very satisfactory manner to myself with the superintendents, teachers & Schollars...I went down in the eveng & to [Moses Brown](#) & lodged. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 7, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 7th of 10th M / I may acknowledge another pretty favour'd meeting [this] Morning in which Father Rodman was very lively & accepably engaged in testimony. – Recd last eveng a pleasant letter from [Moses Brown](#) giving some acct of Ohio Y Meeting [?] given him by our friend Elisha bates. – This Afternoon our Frd D Buffum was singularly lively in testimony he began with saying "Take heed to the light. this is necessary for us all – But my mind has been especially turned [to the] young & rising generation that you be careful to mind the light & whatsoever makes manifest is light. it justifies for good & reproves for evil, & quallifies us to fill our Stations in the civil & religious society with propriety – for on you the important concerns of both civil & religious society must soon devolve – he then went on in a very lively strain of exhortation for some time & said it was his concern to see the youth come up in the paths of virtue, now in his old age, not expecting to have much more opportunity to stir up our minds by way of remembrance, to those things which make for our present & everlasting peace & which if obeyed would qualify us to sing triumphant songs of praise in the world to come – I went home with him After meeting & took tea & set the eveng. – I might have added that Father Rodman followed him in a very lively pertinent & edifying short testimony

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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November 2, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day 2 of 11 M / Set out again for [Providence](#) in the Babcock & reached there about half after 2 O'clock & went immediately to the School House, where I found the committee in the Girls School. - After examining the Books & hearing the children read -After which we set in Silence & good appropriate & feeling communications were made by David Clapp Rowland Greene & Abigail Robinson. - we then went to the Boys School & after looking over their books, we sat in Silence with them. Stephen A Chase first addressed the Schollars on the subject of their education, in an appropriate manner Daniel Clapp then delivered a short testimony which was honest & well ment & in good degree impressive then Rowland Greene addressed them very appropriately - he was followed by [Moses Brown](#) on the Subject of Pride, which he endeavoured to guard them against, & encouraged humility as a beautiful ornament & adorning. - David Buffum then in a very affectionate manner said he had been favourd once more to visit the school, in which he had been often interested, & as he had advanced very far in life & felt the infermities of body & mind, it was quite within probability that it might be the last time he might Sit with them, he encouraged them to practice every virtue, & bid them affectionately fare well, reminding them that the way to fare well is to do well both here & hereafter - Mary B Allen then followed in a lively, sweet & pertinent testimony, alluding to the favour we experienced in the company of the beloved Ancients present, & closed in a manner which left much solemnity over the gathering -
The committee retired from the School room & met again in a committee capacity - after transacting the buisness necessary we separated & I went home & lodged at the house of my dear friend [Moses Brown](#) -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 3, Saturday: Le roi et le batelier, an opera comique by Fromental Halevy and Rifaut to words of Saint-Georges, was performed for the initial time, by the Opera-Comique, Paris. It would receive only 13 performances.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day Spent this day at the [School House](#) attending the School Committee & Trustees Meeting exceptibly [acceptably], we went into [Town](#) to attend the funeral of Caleb Wheaton, an old acquaintance of mine which was a season of favour - the corpse was carried to the Meeting house & several good testimonys were delivered the last & most expressive was by Mary B Allen. - went to my old Quarters at Night

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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November 4, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day attended Meetings at the [School House](#) in the Morning Deborah Otis, Royal Southwick Abigail Robinson, were all very lively & solemn in testimony & to me it was one of the most Watering Seasons I have experienced in a long time my mind travelled with the Ministers & favourd with the incomes of love & life in a manner which raised in my heart gratitude & humble admiration of continued love mercy & goodness vouchsafed in time of need. - I was also at the School Meeting in the Afternoon wherein Deborah Otis prayed & preached & Lydia Breed also offered an instructive testimony - lodged again at [Moses Browns-](#)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 5, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day The Meeting for Sufferings having adjourned to the Meeting house in [Providence](#), we met there at 9 OC & set till late dinner time when we closed - Dined at Wm Jenkins, where also a committee of the Meeting for Sufferings had agreed to meet in the Afternoon to inspect the Memorials of dead Friends - it was an interesting interview, & rendered perculiarly so from the circumstance of knowing two ancient friends present Vizt [Moses Brown](#) & David Buffum, who remembered most of the Subjects of the memorials & particularly, signed the Memorial of one friend & watched with him the night he died over 50 [?] years ago. - the additional anecdotes which they stated of some were very interesting to us that had the opportunity of hearing them - we did not finish the reading the testimonies tell 9 OC in the evening when I went home with [Moses Brown](#) & set an hour very interestingly & Memorably to me. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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 November 7, Wednesday: The Reverend Elijah Demond was installed as minister at Lincoln.

A notice appeared in the [London Times](#) that Greenwood's Map of London was finally, after a couple of years of surveying, available for distribution to its subscribers.

<http://www.bathspa.ac.uk/greenwood/imagemap.html>



CARTOGRAPHY

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

In the Morning I rose early to come into [town](#) in order to return home, but found my Kind & affectionate friend had left word with his family to tackle the Chaise & carry me in, if I was in a hurry to go before breakfast - mentioning to them that he wished to continue his attention to me as this might be the last opportunity we might have together. -

I set out with D Buffum & Abigail Robinson in his carriage & arrived in [Newport](#) at little before Dark at night & was glad to find myself at home. -

At no time of my visiting the [School](#) have I felt more Satisfaction - & found more solid well concerned young men & girls at the Institution

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 8, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 8th of 11 M / A good meeting to me & a little preaching - there are many trying things afloat in the World, & some trials attend me - but we were greatly comforted in our late visit to [Providence](#), under a consideration of the general good state of the [School](#) &c.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1828

 The old schoolhouse at 24 Meeting Street in [Providence](#) became the site of [Rhode Island](#)'s first public school open to its black citizens (a building considered insufficient for white children was good enough for children of color).

 February 4, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 4th of 2nd M 1828 / Contrary to previous prospects for some time past, I set out by land this morning by land to [Providence](#) with the view of attending the Quarterly Meeting & the School committee & to attend to some other buisness & appointments there. - My journey was a long one, the roads exceedingly muddy & we did not reach [Providence](#) till 8 OC in the eveng - lodged at Joseph Anthonys - on third day attended the Sub-School committee - & lodged at [Moses Browns](#) - on 4th day our Select Qtly Meeting was a season of favour mingled with a little sufferings - - on 5th day our Meeting at large was held, it was large & a number of savory & seasonable offerings were made - & our friend Rowland Greene was set at liberty to perform a religious visit to the Quarterly Meeting of Purchase in the State of NYork & also to attend the ensuing Yearly Meeting in the City of NYork in the 5th M next - After a Meeting of the Trustees of O Brown I went home with my Aged kind friend [Moses Brown](#) & spent 6th day in the School House attending the School committee on 7th day our Meeting for Sufferings was held at the School House & we had two long sittings. I staid that night at the School House & attended the Meeting there on 1st day [Sunday] which were solemn & to the feelings of many if not all present, were very interesting. - Rowland Greene in the Morning & in the Afternoon Rowland Greene & Ruth Freeborn were engaged in lively & powerful testimonys -towards night I walked into town, visited Nancy Pickering & lodged at Wm Jenkins & 2nd day [Monday] Morning came home by Water. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 28, Thursday: Fryderyk Chopin's Rondo a la Mazur was published by Andrea Brzezina, Warsaw as op. 5.

The initial issue of the [Cherokee Phoenix](#) appeared in the Cherokee Republic in the present state of Georgia, the 1st newspaper ever to be printed in a native American language.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



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5th day 28th of 2 M / Rode in the Stage to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Moy [Monthly] Meeting, which was a good encouraging time Mary Hix preached a little very sweet & lively then a few words by Anne Dennis, then a few by a daughter of Nathan Chase of [Tiverton](#), followed by Ruth Freeborn The Meetings public & private were very satisfactory seasons to me. – I dined at Asa Shermans & then Walked home, with the exception of a bout two miles which a man on the road gave me a ride in his Wagon.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

An Act to Incorporate the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New-England (as copied from the official document by Friend Margery S. Walker, Recording Clerk in about 1972 and 1973 of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#)).⁹⁶

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in the General Court Assembled, and by authority of the same, That [Moses Brown](#), David Buffam, William Rotch, Jun. Rowland Green, William Almy, Estaes Newhall, Daniel Johnson, John Osborne, James Hoag, Abraham Wilkinson, William Buffam, Jr., Enoch Breed, Samuel F. Hussey, Abraham Sherman, Jun. Daniel Howland, Abijah Chase, Thomas Howland, William Jenkins, Isaac Bassett, Jun. And Stephen A. Chase, together with the other members of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New-England, and their successors, be, and they hereby are made a body politic in this Commonwealth, by the name of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New-England, with power to take and hold, in their corporate capacity, in the City of Boston, and other places within this Commonwealth, real or personal estate, for religious and charitable purposes, provide the net income thereof shall not exceed, in any one year, the sum of three thousand dollars.

Sec. 2. Be it further enacted, That the said Yearly Meeting may, from time to time, convey to any person or persons, any of their said real estate; and a deed executed by their Committee, called the meeting for sufferings, or a majority of them, under their hands and seals, and acknowledged and recorded according to law, shall be sufficient to pass the title of said Yearly Meeting thereto.

Sec. 3. Be it further enacted, That this act may at any time, be altered or repealed at the pleasure of the Legislature.

[YEARLY MEETING SCHOOL](#)



August 8, Friday: St. Mary's Roman [Catholic](#) Church began in [Newport](#) (this is therefore the oldest Catholic Parish in [Rhode Island](#)). Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#), who never mentions in all the pages of his journal the existence of Catholics in his home town, typically took no notice the opening of this church.

6th day Spent this day at the School House on committee buisness

⁹⁶ The New England Yearly Meeting is incorporated, not only in Rhode Island, but as well in several other of the states of New England.



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- Our visit to the Schools were favoured opportunities - lodged at my kind friend [Moses Browns](#) -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 14, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day, rose early & accomplished all my buisness & after taking breakfast at Francis Tabers, got into the Stage & rode to [Providence](#) Wm Rotch James Nichols[?] & his wife & daughter on board. - we rode along very pleasantly, no subject started that would occasion or call forth altercation. we arrived in [Providence](#) between 3 & 4 OC PM, after attending to a little buisness I had in town I walked up to the School House on my way there met John Griscom of NYork & his daughter bound there Also. - we passed several hours at the School House & John & his daughter visited the School & inspected the institution generally & then went to [Moses Browns](#), took tea & lodged -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 5, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 5th of 10 M / [**Friend Stephen goes to the Yearly Meeting Boarding School in Providence until 21st of 10th Month**] This Mornng in the Steam Boat Chas Livingston I left home for [Providence](#) expecting to spend some time at the [YM Boarding School](#) in the Absence of Enoch & Lydia Breed who are on a visit to their friends in Ware NH. - I arrived in season to attend the Morning Meeting which was silent. John Farnum of the committee present. - In the Afternoon Wm Almy attended the Meeting & was engaged in an interesting testimony on the important doctrine of our society it was attended with life & in the close was remarkably in the Authority
The day passed pleasantly as the weight of care I feel will admit*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 6, Monday: Franz Schubert's song Glaube, Hoffnung und Liebe to words of Kuffner was published by Diabelli, Vienna as op. 97.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 6 of 10 M / This forenoon we had a pleasant visit from [Moses Brown](#). - I feel Awkward in my situation as caretaker. but the family are respectful & kind. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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October 10, Friday: [Nicolò Paganini](#) underwent an operation for an ulcerated tooth in Prague. This would produce severe inflammation of his lower jaw.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 10 of 10 M 1828 / The usual rounds of duty & my time mostly occupied in the [Library](#) in sorting the loose pamphlets & preparing them to be bound. much of this kind of care in necessary here. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 11, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 11th of 10 M / We have had considerable company at the [Institution](#) today & among the callers has been our frd [Moses Brown](#) - Joseph Tillinghast of [New Bedford](#) & Susan Ann Buffum with her son Thos on their return from Pembroke where they have been visiting their relations -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 12, Sunday: After a 3-month siege, Varna, north of Constantinople, fell to the Russians.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 12 of 10 M / At our morning Meeting we had the company of our Friend Royal Southwick, whose ministry was acceptable, seasonable & edifying - Saml Newett & his wife on their return from their journey into NYork state to visit their relations were also at Meeting & Saml offered a short but acceptable testimony. - In the Afternoon Wm Almy was with us & bore a noble & rich testimony to the Truth & both meetings were Seasons of favour I trust not soon to be forgotten by many minds present. - a couple of young women came in just before meeting & requested liberty to set the meeting with us which they did & at the close they both looked serious & one seemed much effected - I believe their minds were unexpectedly affected & I trust they carried away no bad impressions of our order, & the solemnity of our meetings. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 13, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 13 of 10 M / Nothing special has occured, but I find myself brought into a close investigation of things here. - I believe there are many things here which need to be helped, -



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but how they can be helped I do not clearly See. – Mary B Allen came this eveng & staid all night – her company was very agreeable to me. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 14, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 14th of 10 M / Thos Howland of the committee came & dined – his company was very pleasant tho' the time was short that he staid. – Toward night my Brother Isaac came & brought a letter from my wife – his wife & Daughter Susanna are in [Providence](#) & Yesterday I called to see them –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 15, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 15 of 10 M 1828 / Our Meeting was silent but solid & quiet. – This is the first day that we have had no company at meals since I have been here. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 20, Monday: Clara Wieck performed at the Leipzig Gewandhaus for the initial time, playing one part in a piano duet by Kalkbrenner.

[Horatio Gates Spafford](#) was born.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 20 of 10 M / Enoch & Lydia Breed returned this evening & I hope to get home tomorrow – This eveng after they arrived I called again on my friend [Moses Brown](#) & set a while with them. – My stay here has been as pleasant as it could be separated so long from my beloved wife & friends at home. – The family here has been uniformly kind & respectful & the children in good measure obedient & towardly in their deportment – all this is a satisfaction & encouragement & withall I have been favoured with religious sensibility, that has kept my spirit in a solid weighty frame & enabled me to go in & set[?] before the family in a manner which on introspection does not appear to leave any sting or disagreeable feelings – many times have I felt the need of increased Salt in myself that I might be enabled duly to Season others & this I have in small degree been favoured with. – to my own consolation & encouragement –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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 October 21, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 21st of 10 M 1828 / After taking leave of my friends at [Providence](#) this morning - At 12 OC I went on board the Chancellor Levington & came home finding my wife well but - Anut nancy Carpenter & James Hammond quite unwell.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 October 23, Thursday: Le Corsaire published an obituary for Franz Liszt, claiming that he had died on the previous day on his 17th birthday. He had lately been so despondent over a failed love affair that the rumor of his death spread easily through Paris.

The Christiania (Oslo) Public Theater gave its initial performance (it would concentrate on opera and singspiels).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 23rd of 10 M / Silent Meeting - In the Preparative Meeting nothing but the usual buisness - In my absence at [Providence](#) my wife recd letters from Several of our friends, a very comfortable one from John, one from Moses Lopez & one from Thomas Thompson. - The one from Thomas was very agreeable on every acct but more especially as it gave information of the arrival at home of our friend E Robson after a Passage of about 20 days from Philadelphia. -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 December 2, Tuesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 2 of 12 M 1828 / Today has been our sub committee - nothing unpleasent occurd and the number rather larger than usual attended & Among them our frd [Moses Brown](#) but very feeble & hardly disposed to take any part in the concerns of the Meeting

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



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December 3, Wednesday: The Democrat from Tennessee, General Andrew Jackson, was elected President of the United States of America, with 648,286 popular votes and 178 electoral votes.

“A large and respectable meeting of the citizens of [Concord](#) was convened ... at the Centre brick school-house, pursuant to public notice given by [Rev. Dr. Ripley](#) after the religious exercises on Thanksgiving Day [that was the week before], to take into consideration the expediency of forming a Lyceum in Concord.” [John Keyes](#) became the chairman of that [Concord Lyceum](#) project, and [Lemuel Shattuck](#) became its secretary. A committee consisting of Samuel Hoar, [John Keyes](#), Nathan Brooks, Daniel Shattuck, [Daniel Starr Southmayd](#), Samuel Burr, Daniel Stone, and [Lemuel Shattuck](#) was charged to prepare a constitution for this new society.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 3 of 12 M / Our week day Meeting which Mary B Allen Attended & had searching & powerful labour much to my consolation & edification & I have no doubt she spoke to the States & condition of many present. – Called a little while at [Moses Browns](#) on buisness found him more bright than yesterday –

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



December 11, Thursday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 11 of 12 M / Attended Meeting in [Providence](#), it was silent, & to me rather a hard time. The spring of life was low with me, but I hope others were better off. – [Moses Brown](#) who had been unable to attend for several Meeting days, was there today.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



December 12, Friday: Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation between the United States of America and Brazil.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 12th of 12 M / Today Philip Wanton Robinson who has been for some time a Schollar at the [Institution](#) left & went home - he had been several weeks confined to his room & bed from raising blood but had recovered so as to be able to be removed to his home in Point Judith. – This eveng [Moses Brown](#) was here at the [Institution](#) & spent it very pleasantly Among other interesting anecdotes. - he said he well remembered when [tea](#) was first drank in [Providence](#) & that two ounces was as much as was bought at a time, & a person who had half-pounds was considered extravagant -



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The first Hyson tea that was seen in [Providence](#) was prise goods & bought here in the Year 1758 - he bought a canister of it & he well remembers that he & the family were quite excited by its effects & that it was as perceptable as if they had drank a glass of wine. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 16, Wednesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 16 of 12 M / Silent but favour'd meeting to me & I hope we were favourd
Wm Almy called to see us a little while & went in to the [Schools](#)
a few minutes -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 18, Thursday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 18th of 12 M / Attended Meeting in [Providence](#) which was their Preparative Meeting & also ours in [Newport](#)
Wm Almy preached, tho' good I thought not as much in the life as I have sometimes heard him
I am thinking much about our meeting at home today - the little gathering there I hope will be favour'd to hold on their way. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 21, Sunday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 21st of 12 M 1828 / Morning Meeting Silent - In the Afternoon Wm Almy favourd in testimony - Our collection in the boys room in the eveng a time of labour I rejoiced in the Services of Mary B Allen & [Moses Brown](#) who were both present -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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December 30, Tuesday: The Swan River Settlement was created by Britain in western Australia.



In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 30 of 12 M / This is my birth day which completes my 47th Year – I have often silently remembered this thro' the day, with a feeling which I hope may be proffitable. – It has Also been our Sub committee Meeting & many of our friends have been here & it has been a pretty pleasant time mingled with some fear. – After transacting the buisness, the committee visited the boys School which was a time of searching & of favour in which our friend Wm Almy & Thos Anthony was engaged in close but encouraging testimony to the Schollars - In the Girls School Wm Almy & Thomas were again engaged in testimony & [Moses Brown](#) closed the opportunity with a few very pertinent & feeling remarks, which I trust as coming from his aged lips will be long remembered

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

1829

 January: A bill was introduced in the [Rhode Island](#) general assembly to repeal the 27th section of the law for assessment and collection of taxes that had been in effect since 1769 — the section which had up to this point exempted all property devoted to religious, charitable, and educational purposes from taxation. This bill was approved by a majority of nine votes. Henceforth the tax exemption would extend only to the buildings devoted to such purposes and the land on which they stood.

[PUBLIC EDUCATION](#)
[QUAKER EDUCATION](#)

(In 1850, largely in response to the presence of large numbers of Roman Catholics in the state, this tax exemption would be further limited, to three acres of land, so far as such land was used exclusively for religious and educational purposes, but this new stipulation would immediately become a political issue and would be repealed, with all such land “not leased or rented” being again free from taxation, and then 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 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 such institutions, and the school property of the Catholic church and other semi-private educational 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](#)

 January 1, Thursday: According to an almanac of the period, “The General Congress of Mexico assembled, and was opened by a speech from President Victoria.”

[CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS](#)

As an experiment, a gas streetlamp was placed in Dock Square in [Boston](#).

Martin Van Buren became governor of New York State.

[Prince Ibrahim](#), an Islamic prince who had four decades earlier been sold into slavery, recently manumitted on condition that he return to Africa, was an honored guest of the black citizens of Philadelphia in their New Year’s Day parade up Lombard and Walnut streets, and down Chestnut and Spruce streets.

The overture to the opera *Fierabras* D.796 by Franz Schubert was performed for the initial time, in the



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Musikvereinsaal, Vienna.

John Henry Eaton got married with the widowed Peggy O'Neale Timberlake (her husband had during the previous autumn committed suicide aboard the USS *Constitution*, where he was serving as Purser; she would be accused of promiscuousness and of having had a miscarried pregnancy, by Secretary of War Eaton, prior to their marriage, and would be ostracized by the society women of Washington DC, building toward the fall of President Andrew Jackson's first cabinet).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal about attending Friends worship in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), and there seeing Friend [Moses Brown](#) in the 91st year of his age:

5th day 1st of 1st M 1829 / In dating the New Year I sensibly feel that I have passed the old one & entered on another - & where or how situated & circumstanced We may be at the end of this, is wisely hid from us. - On entering our kitchen this morning to go to breakfast Many of the girls came up in a Sprightly manner to wish us a happy new Year innocency & sprightliness of their countenances was striking, & evinced the sincerity of their hearts - I hope it will be a happy Year to us & to them - but ear [ere] it may be passed it may not be presumptuous to apprehend that some of the members of this numerous family may be numbered with the silent dead & wheather living or dead I cordially wish all a happy Year

After breakfast I went into town to visit James Mitchell & his sisters - I found James very low & apparantly closing on this world & all the things of it to enter a new scene— as I entered the room I felt my mind solemnized & on drawing to the bed side he put out his hand to take mine. — After sitting a little time with him I asked him if he suffered much pain, he told me he had distress at the lungs - on which I took occasion to remark to him that we were but poor creatures without divine help - Oh yes he replied poor miserable creatures indeed - I then observed that it had been a consolation to me in times of disertion & poverty to feel that we have an advocate with the Father, this he signified was his consolation. - a little more was said, in which it was manifest that he had given up the world & the prospects of it, & his sisters told me he had fully expressed that to them & his anxious desire to depart & be at rest - it seemed to me his situation was even a desirable one. & I dont know that I ever visited a person in their last moments where there appeared to be a better hope on genuine christian ground. After this satisfactory, & even consoling visit to James - I attended Meeting in [Providence](#) which was silent & rather less Sensibility in my feelings than I had reason to expect from the previous opportunity. — Our frd [Moses Brown](#) was present on the day of the New Year - now in the 91st Year of his Age. —⁹⁷

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

97. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1823-1829: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 8 Folder 13: October 2, 1823-March 6, 1829; Box 8 Folder 14: April 1, 1829-December 31, 1832; also on microfilm, see Series 7



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Superintendents.

1819-1824.	Purinton, Matthew and Betsy.
1824-1835.	Breed, Enoch and Lydia.
1829-1835.	Gould, Stephen Wanton and Gould, 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.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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January 7, Wednesday:⁹⁸ A constitution was adopted, officers were chosen, and [Josiah Holbrook](#) inaugurated the [Concord Lyceum](#). Initially 57 persons signed up as charter members.

President	Rev. Dr. Ripley
1st Vice-President	Josiah Davis
2nd Vice-President	Reuben Brown
Treasurer	Ephraim Merriam
Recording Secretary	Lemuel Shattuck
Corresponding Secretary	Phineas Allen
Curators	Samuel Burr, Cyrus Hosmer, Daniel Stone

(Of course, this list of 57 [lyceum](#) members does not include the name of little [David Henry Thoreau](#); however, there is a story that when he turned 12 years of age he would join.)

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 7th of 1 M / Silent & rather low meeting at the Institution. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 10, Friday: William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army, was born.

[Felix Mendelssohn](#) left Berlin to accept an invitation to London. He would first travel to Hamburg with his father and sister Rebecka.

According to an almanac of the period, "Fire in Savannah, Georgia. Fifty buildings destroyed."

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

[Hector Berlioz](#) sent a copy of *HUIT SCENES DE FAUST* to [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#). The poet, after receiving a negative reaction to the work from Carl-Friedrich Zelter, would not write back.

Charles Valentin Alkan was appointed repetiteur at the Paris Conservatoire (he would soon be appointed as an assistant professor of solfege).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 10th of 4 M 1829 / At home all day buisily engaged in writing In the Afternoon [Moses Brown](#) called to see us & passed an hour pleasantly & to us interstingly. - In the evening I spent

98. Shattuck's HISTORY OF [CONCORD](#) provides the date December 31, 1828, but that is inaccurate.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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a little time in the girls School & was much intersted in their exercises. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 2, Saturday: According to an almanac of the period, “Extraordinary hail-storm in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. It fell to an average depth of twelve inches, and destroyed a great amount in gardens, orchards, windows, &c., in some instances killing animals exposed to its fury.”

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

Great Britain took formal possession of Western Australia.

In Washington DC, perusing the Baltimore American, John Quincy Adams and Louisa Adams learned that their son George Washington Adams had disappeared from a steamboat on the Long Island sound.

There was serious rioting in Manchester, England — a factory was burnt, and numerous provision-shops robbed.

In Providence, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

7th day 2nd of 5th M 1829 / Today the committee appointed by the General School committee for the purpose met in order to examine the accounts of the Institution for the past Year & I have the satisfaction to say that they found them in pretty good order & seemed well pleased with the State of them. - As the care of the Accounts has fallen to me since we have been here. -it is cause of no Small pleasure, & excites gratitude, & I dont know but I may say Thanksgiving that it is so.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June: The Rhode Island senate accepted the new statute of the general assembly, repealing the 27th section of the law for assessment and collection of taxes — which previously had exempted all school and religious property from taxation. The Senate, however, stipulated that this tax exemption would be allowed to continue, for any schools and religious properties which were under the protection of a charter.

PUBLIC EDUCATION
QUAKER EDUCATION

 July 8, Wednesday: Abraham Mendelssohn wrote to his son Felix in England urging him to adopt the name Bartholdy in place of Mendelssohn, in order to proclaim his Christian faith.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

4th day 8 of 7 M / Our dear Ancient Brother Thomas Shillitoe



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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from England was here at Meeting with our. – Our dear friends [Moses Brown](#) also attended with him. – Thos was largely & baptizingly engaged in public testimony - he was also engaged in testimony at the dinner table in the girls apartment. – he spent the rest of the day here & was very interesting & Sweet in conversation - I trust his visit will be remembered for good.
–

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



July 11, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 11th of 7 M / Today we have had rather a Solemn parting with Abigail Pierce who has been about ten years the principle teacher at this Institution. – She resigned her place & has been Succeeded by Deborah Ramsdell- & having paid her visits round among her friends left us today & took passage in the Steam boat Chanselor Livingston for NYork - Our dear friend Thomas Shillitoe also went in the Same boat expecting to attend the General Conference at Philad & after that is over he expects to take Passage pretty soon from NYork for his home in Old England – The other day when he was at the Institution I walked across the fields with him down to [Moses Browns](#) - & while Sitting with him in Moses's keeping room he gave me a Small Silver Watch Seal as a token of remembrance This seal he told me belonged to his great great grandfather & he believed to his great great Grandfather & he apprehended it might be two hundred Years old. – he informed me he had worn it himself many years, & it had been constantly with him in all his journeys on the Continent of Europe in England & America untill that time which was the 8 of 7 M 1829 - I took it in remembrance of him & shall leave or make an impression with it on wax on this page that if by any means I should look it I may retain the impression which is a Stags head [there is a rectangular space, taking up three line, of two by four inches with the mark of the seal in the middle.]

Thomas leaves us in much love, & we feel that his services in this country has been a blessing to Society, & truly wonderful that a man of his uncommon nervas sensibility & advanced age of 76 should be so favourd thro' the many trials he has had to pass through, of false brethren & in various other respects. –

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



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July 29, Wednesday: According to an almanac of the period, “Simultaneously movements by Russian corps from Maraseh and Karnabat; the former against the rear of Schumla, by General Krassowski, and the latter toward Jambouli, by General Sheremetief.”

[CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS](#)

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 29 of 7 M / Monthly Meeting has been held in [Providence](#) - the first Meeting was a very good solid comfortable one to me. - life was brought into operation if not into dominion by the preaching of Anna Jenkins & supplication by Lydia Breed - a good testimony was born by Daniel Howland & an old friend by the name of Crowell from Bass river said a little that I could not reject, tho' I did not understand it so fully as some communications. - The buisness in the last was pretty well conducted, but as their is a difference in their management from what I have been used to in [Rhode Island](#) Moy [Monthly] Meeting it did not seem as natural to me as at the proceedings of our own Moy [Monthly] Meeting. - however there was some encouragement & some trial - there were two disowned & one hopeful application for membership from a daughter of George Benson - This evening Perry Chase the Young man who lives with [Moses Brown](#) & drives his carriage came up to the Institution & brought the heavy & very afflicting intelligence of eleven failures in Pawtucket in the course of the day - & three in [Providence](#) & among them just at night, it came out that Jonathon Congdon & Charles Hadwen had failed. - this is indeed a sad shock. - in Jonathon's failure his whole hopeful family are involved & his son Arbold is clerk of [Providence](#) Moy [Monthly] Meeting & R I Quarterly Meeting It seems as if the stoutest heart shudders at the consequences, & we learn that some who have been remarkable for their firmness was much affected & not a little Shaken at recent occurrences. -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



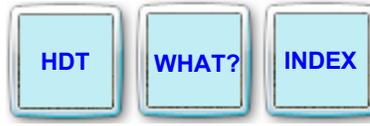
August 20, Thursday: According to an almanac of the period, “Capture of Adrianople [Edirne, northwest of Constantinople] by a Russian force consisting of 28,000 men, commanded in person by General Diebitsch. The garrison of the city, amounting to 100,000 regular troops, laid down their arms immediately on the approach of the Russians, to whom the Turks also abandoned all their artillery, camp equipage, and munitions of war; 54 pieces of cannon, 29 stands of colors, and 5 horse-tails, fell into the hands of the conquerors,” and “British Parliament prorogued to the 15th of October.”

[CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS](#)

[Robert Schumann](#) departed from Heidelberg on a journey to Switzerland and Italy.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 20 of 8th M / We attended preparative Meeting Hannah



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Robinson & Wm Almy preached -the latter a very satisfactory communication to my mind. - Several new [Schollars](#) arrive this Afternoon - the family is now enlarging fast -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 26, Wednesday: Stopping in Milan on his way from Paris to Bologna, Gioacchino Rossini sought out [Vincenzo Bellini](#) at his home and the two met for the 1st time. They have nothing but compliments for each other. Rossini went on to spread praise for Bellini throughout the city.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 26 of 8 M / Today we attended Monthly Meeting held at lower [Smithfield](#) - this is the first time I was ever at [Smithfield](#) - it seems like a pleasant Meeting house & I was much interested with its situation - The Meeting was an interesting one to me Wm Almy & Lydia Breed were acceptably engaged in testimony - There appeared to be but very little buisness on the Minutes - but Our fr [Moses Brown](#) introduced the subject of the recent Alarming occurence of Failures in Trade among the Members of our Society & particularly among the Members of this Moy [Monthly] Meeting, by which our good name has been evily Spoken of in the world - it resulted in the appointment of a committee to Inspect into the state of things & report accordingly

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 6, Sunday: Gioacchino Rossini and his wife arrived in Bologna from Paris.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 6 of 9 M / Morning meeting silent - In the Afternoon Wm Almy attended & preached in a lively & pertinent manner. —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 8, Tuesday, 1829: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 8th of 9 M / Yesterday & today I have been quite sick commencing in the Morning with an oppression at my Stomach which increased thro' the forenoon & at Dinner time I found it necessary to take Active medicine. which made me very sick in the Afternoon so that I kept my room & nearly or quite fainted way - In the eveng I thought it necessary to consult Dr Tobey who administerd an emetic but I passed the night comfortably & this morning felt a little better but the cause not removed When the Doctor came today he with our frd [Moses Brown](#) thought my symptoms indicated fever & that I had better keep my room &



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*take more medicine which I have done this Afternoon
Lydia Keene of Lynn returned to School today & says Matthew &
Betsy Purinton are there & that Betsy is very sick & Doubts are
entertained of her returning to [Providence](#). –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 9, Wednesday, 1829: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 9 of 9 M 1829 / Confined to my room & mostly to my bed.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 23, Wednesday: [London](#)'s new postoffice building opened.

The Philadelphia [Free Enquirer](#) related that a few nights earlier, the celebrated “High Priestess of Infidelity” Fanny Wright had been scheduled to deliver a lecture in the Walnut Street Theater, rented by her for \$75, but had found upon arrival that the theater’s stockholders had overridden their manager’s agreement. She then arranged to rent Washington Hall, but its proprietress was pressured into cancelling. Finally, near Military Hall, she managed to deliver a few words to a tightly packed street crowd of her admirers, from her carriage.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 23rd of 9 M / Having buisness at [Newport](#) I expect to go
down in the Steam boat at 12 OC – I remember that is it Moy
[Monthly] Meeting in [Providence](#) & that tomorrow is our Moy
[Monthly] Meeting at R Island which I expect to attend - I also
remember that our frd [Moses Brown](#) is this day 91 Years old &
spent the Afternoon here inspecting the Schools yesterday with
as much Pleasantness As many that had not attained half his age
– I also remember that it is the Anniversary of the Great Storm
14 Years ago -*

*I arrived safe in [Newport](#) about 3 OClock & nearly as soon as I
had landed an acquaintance of mine informed me that Our dear &
only son John Stanton Gould had arrived here the day before -on
going to Aunt Nancy Carpenters I found he had just left the house
to go to [Providence](#) in a Packet that Afternoon. I repaired
immediately to Banisters Wharf & got there just in time to
prevent his going - & detained him with me. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 9, Friday: At a meeting of the new [Concord Academy](#) Debating Society that had recently been organized by Preceptor [Phineas Allen](#), [David Henry Thoreau](#) debated Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar on the topic “Does it require more talents to make a good writer than a good extemporaneous speaker?” Our David took the affirmative position and would be judged to have lost the contest.⁹⁹

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

99. According to Dorothy Nyran’s “The [Concord](#) Academy Debating Society” in the [Massachusetts Review](#) 4 (1962): 83.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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6th day 9th of 10 M 1829 / In the Steam boat B Franklin My H returned from [Newport](#) I went with our Institute Chaise to the Boat & found her well & brought her home - She gave a pleasant account of her visit with John to our friends there & that he according to calculation Sailed yesterday for NYork & expects to be in Hudson on 2nd day [Monday] next. - - Our visit from John has been a truly comforting one, for which I desire to cherish a grateful sense & pray that he may continue to be preserved from evil, as I trust he has in good measure been. - This evening we had the company of several & among them Our friends Jonathon Dennis & [Moses Brown](#), the latter was remarkably pleasant & interesting in conversation. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 14, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 14 of 10 M / I was very unwell last night & thro' this forenoon which prevented my attending Meeting - Anne A Jenkins was there & preached sweetly as I was informed by those I esteem good judges - This Afternoon We had a Meeting of the sub committee to consider of Benj B Hussey preposition to leave the School on account of Ill health which was acceded to & he expects to leave us next 1st day [Sunday] to spend the Winter at Savannah in Georgia- At the same time [Moses Brown](#) & myself were directed to write to Isaiah Jones inviting him to return & take charge of the School. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 26, Saturday: Two new works by the Mendelssohn siblings were performed for the initial time, at the Berlin home of the composers' parents, in honor of their silver wedding anniversary: Die Heimkehr aus der Fremde, a liederspiel by [Felix Mendelssohn](#) to words of Klingemann, and Festspiel for vocal soloists, chorus, and orchestra by Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel to words of her husband, Wilhelm Hensel.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 26 of 12 M / This evening our Ancient & beloved friend [Moses Brown](#) called & set several Hours with us & was very pleasant & interesting - We recd also a pleasant letter from our dear John - Many things we have to be thankful for. - & I often feel that I make poor returns for favours recd. - Have thought much of things & friends at home. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1830

 January 1, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) about being in the company of [Friend Moses Brown](#), in the 92d year of his age:

*6th day 1st of 1st M 1830 / We commence a new Year — It has been a comfortable day to me in body & mind - I have been twice into town & transacted small concerns & feel thankful & grateful for my many favours. - I know that few who have lived 48 Years have got along more easily & pleasantly than I have tho' attended with some close trials yet I have much to be tankful for & desire to cultivate a disposition to be grateful & render the tribute of praise Where it is alone due
This evng we had the company of our friend [Moses Brown](#), now in his 92nd Year - he is still pleasant animated & interesting in conversation.—¹⁰⁰*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Anastasio Bustamante y Osegera became acting President of Mexico.

In South Carolina, meeting of merchants renounced a proposed state loan for railroad construction as inadequate, and “adopted a resolution urging the company to apply again for a congressional appropriation” — to the disgust of state’s rights radicals. Senator Robert Hayne and Representative William Drayton would be willing to present the petition to Congress, but not to support it. Ironically, it would then be presented to Congress by Hayne’s famous antagonist, [Daniel Webster](#).

In [Baltimore](#), an illustrious party, including William Wirt, rode a carriage pulled by one horse on the new railroad as far as the Carrollton Viaduct at a speed of 15 miles per hour (note that, to duplicate this feat on a conventional road, the carriage would have required four horses).

 January 28, Thursday: Fra Diavolo, ou L’hotelliere de Terracine, an opera comique by Daniel-Francois-Esprit Auber to words of Scribe, was performed for the initial time, at Theatre de Ventadour, Paris on the eve of the composer’s 48th birthday.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 28 of 1 M / A letter by Deborah Ramsdall mentioned the decease of our fr MOSES SLEEPER on the 20th inst - he attended China Monthly Meeting on the 19th & after which & on his return home was taken ill & died before he reached his own residence -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

100. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1829-1832: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 8 Folder 14: April 1, 1829-December 31, 1832; also on microfilm, see Series 7



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 January 29, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 29 of 1st M 1830 / This Morning the remains of our Schollar Timothy Gifford were removed from hence homeward: - His father accompanied by his neighbour & friend Isaac Lawrence & Ellis Gifford to drive the herse set out Wm Jenkins with the myself in a Chaise followed by teachers & large Schollars went as far as [Moses Brown](#)'s Bridge where we parted with them, leaving them to go a solitary & Mournful journey of 36 Miles the weather was very cold. The Thermometer standing when they set out at 5 above 0 - this with other circumstances have made them much the companions of my mind thro' the day - as we returned from the Bridge Wm Jenkins & I stoped at [Moses Browns](#) & took breakfast with him.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The first issue of the [Southern Times](#) came out in Columbia, South Carolina, with James Henry Hammond writing: "We are opposed to internal improvements. We are opposed to the Tariff in every shape, and upon every ground."

Congressman David Crockett's committee introduced its bill giving squatters on public lands an entitlement to purchase, cheaply, land they had improved.

 March 21, Sunday: Kantate zu Ehren von Josef Spendou D.472 by Franz Schubert to words of Hoheisel, for solo voices, chorus and orchestra was performed for the initial time, in the Landhaussaal, Vienna.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 21 of 3 M 1830 / After the funeral on 4th day Lydia returned & was taken sick & remains poorly. - Our Mornng Meeting was silent - In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & much favoured in testimony - After Meeting I walked with him to [Moses Browns](#) & took tea Moses has been very sick but is some better. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 1, Thursday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 1 of 4 M 1830 / Attended Meeting in town, but alas my leaness, my weakness & Poverty followed me even there. -- In the Afternoon we had a call from [Moses Brown](#) & Wm Jenkins & agreed to write to Phebe Burgess to come here as Second teacher.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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 April 23, Friday: The ship from Haiti, bearing Francis Wright, docked in Philadelphia. Fanny was pregnant. She would soon leave for New-York, to be with her sister Camilla.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 23 of 4 M / Our frined [Moses Brown](#) had a severe ill turn yesterday & last night - I visited him today & found him comfortable and pleasant. -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

Because of an unfortunate dalliance, when Fanny Wright arrived in Philadelphia from Haiti, she arrived pregnant. She would go on, to New-York, in an attempt to assist her troubled sister, Camilla, whose life had been wracked by tragedy and illness, and who was “visibly sinking.” The only person with whom she was hanging out was Robert Dale Owen, and the two were very possibly in love but he was attempting to cope with “the impossibility of their situation by burying his emotions in work.” He was commuting every day five miles on horseback from their rural home in the upper reaches of Manhattan Island to “the city” (south of Houston Street), and working there twelve hours a day.



Harriet Arbuthnot was the wife of a Tory MP and a great friend to Wellington. She secretly became his “social secretary” at No. 10 Downing Street. According to THE JOURNAL OF MRS. ARBUTHNOT 1820-1832, as edited by Francis Bamford and the duke of Wellington (Macmillan, 1950),

The King goes on much the same. The Doctors say he is a little



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better, but I think Halford is persuaded he will die. He gets black in the face & his pulse alters when he has these attacks on his breath, which they think shows something wrong about the heart. They took him out airing ten days ago &, when he got to the Lodge, he was so bad they were frightened to death & thought he would die. They gave him quantities of brandy, & he rallied so completely that he got into his carriage & drove 20 miles. His mode of living is really beyond belief. One day last week, at the hour of the servants' dinner, he called the Page & said, "Now you are going to dinner. Go down stairs & cut me off just such a piece of beef as you would like to have yourself, cut from the part you like best yourself, & bring it me up." The page accordingly went and fetched him an enormous quantity of roast beef, all of which he eat, & then slept for 5 hours. One night he drank two glasses of hot ale & toast, three glasses of claret, some strawberries!! and a glass of brandy. Last night they gave him some physic and, after it, he drank three glasses of port wine & a glass of brandy. No wonder he is likely to die! But they say he will have all these things & nobody can prevent him. I dare say the wine will not hurt him, for with the Evil (which all the Royal Family have) it is necessary, I believe, to have a great deal of high food, but the mixture of ale & strawberries is enough to kill a horse....



June 8, Tuesday: The USS *Vincennes* returned to New-York harbor as "the first warship to circumnavigate the earth." Well, anyway, that was its blurb in the patriotic press.

The [Quaker](#) educational institution in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), on its way to becoming today's [Moses Brown School](#), was visited by a couple of traveling [Hicksite](#) Quakers, and Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#), living in an apartment of the boarding house for students as a kind of house parent, found himself in deep opposition to these Hicksites and everything they stood for:

3rd day 8th of 6th M / Today Stephen Wilson & Hannah his wife from Goose Creek in Virginia called at the Institution - they are Hixites & Hannah as Preacher & has come on here to impose on Friends - She was formerly Hannah Pope of Bolton & an old acquaintance of ours as a Yearly Meeting lodger. - We treated her civilly but cool & felt grieved that one who had once been esteemed & no doubt in good measure religious should be attached to wrong principles - they were accompanied by Anson Potter a disowned Member of the Moy [Monthly] Meeting at whose house they lodged last night - From here they went to James Scott another disowned member. - After tea I went down to [Moses Browns](#) & sat with him & Elisha Bates. -



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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 July 9, Friday: Stanislaw Moniuszko received a certificate attesting that, through private education, he had attained adequate progress up to the 4th form.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 9th of 7 M / Our fr Joseph Bowne from Butternutts in the State of NYork called to see us with Wm Jenkins a little while. – he is on his return from [Nantucket](#) & a few Meetings that way where he has been spending his time Since Yearly Meeting & is now bound to Salem & Lynn to take those Meetings & then to return here & go directly home. – Phebe Field with Anna A Jenkins called at the door a little while in the Afternoon. – After tea I took Jon Slocum a Scholar & at present assistant teacher in the Absence of B B Hussey – & went down to [Moses Browns](#) & spent a little time J Bowne & Phebe Field being there. – it was a pleasant visit & interesting to us all. –

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 July 14, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 14th of 7 M / Our Meeting was held at 9 OC this Morning to accomodate Our friends Joseph Bowne & Phebe Field who wished to attend, so as to go on Board the Steam Boat at 12 OC for NYork. Joseph & Phebe were both engaged in testimony very acceptably, they were comforting and encouraging, both to the Caretakers & Scholars – Samuel Emlen son of our late friend Samuel Emlen was also at Meeting, & our always acceptable friend [Moses Brown](#) Ahab Arnold Wm Jenkins & Anna A Jenkins also attended. – I have no doubt that tender impressions were made on the minds of the Scholars & others present – Josephs preaching was well calculated to live in the minds of the children. –

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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July 24: Friend [Moses Brown](#) recommended the employment of Andrew Cutler as a teacher at the [Friends Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).



According to Cleveland Amory's *THE PROPER BOSTONIANS* (NY: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1957, pages 332-5 passim), this day marked the first issuance of the [Boston Evening Transcript](#), which would become something of a local institution:

It is doubtful if Boston's institution men would ever have achieved such prominence in their city if they had not had a voice to carry their "way of life" to the Proper Bostonian masses. They found this voice in one of the all-time curiosities of American journalism, the [Boston Evening Transcript](#). Daily except Sunday, just at tea-time –when the Proper Bostonian mind is traditionally at its most receptive stage– the [Transcript](#) was quietly laid, never tossed, on the doorsteps of the best people in Boston. Not to read the [Transcript](#) was unthinkable. It was never a newspaper in the vulgar sense of the word. The story of three representatives of the press who were received into a Beacon Hill home with a servant's announcement, "Two reporters from the papers, Sir, and a gentleman from the [Transcript](#)," was actually a legend once removed from the London [Times](#), but it became the Boston paper's trademark. The loyalty of its readers was proverbial. In the wind of its editorial opinion they swayed, said the poet T.S. Eliot, "like a field of ripe corn."...Throughout its history the paper stood like a rock for Boston's Old Guard. The [Transcript](#) was sound.... Its genteel tub-thumping for the blue bloods began with its first edition on July 24, 1830, with a front page devoted to column after column of free advertising for Boston merchants –of which one historian notes that "one will search the columns in vain for other than a good Yankee name"– and continued unabated for more than a hundred years through every test of Proper Bostonian standards. In May, 1846, the quasi-Bostonian Edgar Allan Poe was giving trouble and the [Transcript](#) editor was firm:

He is a wandering specimen of the Literary Snob, continually obtruding himself upon public notice; today in the gutter, tomorrow in some milliner's magazine; but in all places, and at all times, magnificently snobbish and dirty, who seems to invite the Punchy writers among us to take up their pens and impale him for public amusement. Mrs. Louisa Godey has lately taken this snob into her service in a neighboring city, where he is doing his best to prove his title to the distinction of being one of the lowest of his class at present infesting the literary world. Whenever seen in print his falsehoods are ever met by the reader with the simple exclamation – pooh! – Poe!



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 September 7, Wednesday: Gustave de Beaumont wrote a letter to Alexis de Tocqueville in Stockbridge.

Bonaventura Niemojewski replaced Jan, Count Krukowiecki as dictator of Poland.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 7 of 9th M / Silent meeting at the [Institution](#) Brother Isaac & his son Nathan was here today & I was very glad to see them – they gave us a pleasant account of the welfare of our friends & relations in [Newport](#). –

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 September 12, Sunday: Elector Wilhelm II of Hesse-Kassel returned to the capital from Karlsbad. In a few days, unable to depend on his military, he would call for a new constitution for the country.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 12th of 9th M 1830 / Silent Meetings at the [Institution](#) – In the Afternoon John Brown of Dover a member of the committee & his Brother Moses Brown of Philadelphia, attended. – Immediately after the close of our Meeting a number of us went to Town to attend the Funeral of Wm Jenkins's child Wm Almy Jenkins who died at his gan rd father Wm Almy's in Cranston yesterday Morning & was brought to Town this & buried from his fathers house this afternoon In the burying ground used by Friends here
This is a heavy loss to the Parents & connections who I have no doubt will be supported under it by the religion which they have long professed & I have no doubt professed in a very good degree. The funeral was Solemn the setting quiet & Wm Almy appeard in reverend supplication & also in a short testimony at the close. –*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 October 6, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 6th of 10 M 1830 / Silent Meeting at the [Institution](#)
We have had many Silent meeting of late.*

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FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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October 13, Wednesday: William Drayton derogated the conventionality of the Nullification approach.

Daniel-Francois-Esprit Auber's opera *Le Dieu et la bayadere, ou La courtisane amoureuse* to words of Scribe was performed for the initial time, in the Paris Opera.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 13th of 10 M / Our Meeting at the Institution was silent
& to me a good solid time
While we were setting in Meeting - Our frd [Moses Brown](#) came with
Smith Upton & wife & her companion intending for Salem Qrly
Meeting but did not come into the Meeting - being too late -
Sarah Upton is an approved Minister & is now on a visit to the
Eastern Quarterly Meetings of this Yearly Meeting. -*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



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1831



The charges for board and tuition at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) for young [Quaker](#) scholars in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) had been dropping steadily, and at this point had been cut in half, to \$50 per year. A north wing had been added in the rear of the original building, the “Classical Building,” as indicated, to house an “academic department” (now known as the Upper School).





FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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John Comly published, in Philadelphia in two volumes, THE WORKS OF THAT EMINENT MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, [JOB SCOTT](#), LATE OF [PROVIDENCE](#), [RHODE ISLAND](#).

JOB SCOTT WORKS I
APPENDIX
SALVATION BY CHRIST
FURTHER CONSIDERED
OPENINGS OF TRUTH
JOB SCOTT WORKS II
TENDER CAUTION
ONE TRUE GOD
ON PERSEVERANCE
REWARD / PUNISHMENT
ON BAPTISM
LIBERTY / NECESSITY

The Reverend [Henry C. Wright](#)'s later books would attribute his conversion to pacifism to a chance encounter he had at this point in time with some old [Quaker](#) man of [Providence](#). According to Wright's later account of the conversation, the old man's persuasive ploy in regard to the Peace Testimony of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was to twit or tease him: were he to kill someone in self-defense, obviously as a Christian he would need to do so "with love," no? (However, it is unlikely that Wright's conversion to pacifism was so sudden and single-caused as he later would make it out to have been, for in fact in the previous year he had begun a notebook on peace and war, and in this notebook we find that he was already thinking that Jesus's injunctions not to retaliate or do harm to others in response to their harmfulness to you were injunctions which applied not only to individuals but also to governments. For so long as governments maintained themselves by force, he had been theorizing, it would be improper for the Christian even to cast a ballot.)

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



March 16, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 16th of 3rd M 1831 / silent but pretty good meeting at the [Institution](#) -

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Victor Hugo's NÔTRE-DAME DE PARIS ([THE HUNCHBACK OF NOTRE DAME](#)) appeared in print. One of its chapters had been misplaced and left out of this initial printing.

1st production of [Concord](#) playwright [John Augustus Stone](#)'s play *TANCRED, KING OF SICILY; OR, THE ARCHIVES OF PALERMO*,¹⁰¹ at the Park Theater in New-York, with the author in the cast.

After 36 hours of labor, Anna Bronson Alcott was born to Abba Alcott. For days after the birth, the husband and father [Bronson Alcott](#) never left the room. He was hunched over the table writing HISTORY OF AN INFANT: OBSERVATIONS ON THE PHENOMENA OF LIFE AS DEVELOPED IN THE PROGRESSIVE HISTORY OF AN INFANT DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF ITS EXISTENCE (although this, and Bronson's observations of his other children, would amount to some 2,500 pages). Although it is arguably the first work of child psychology done in the United States of America, the manuscript has of course never been published. Bronson carefully recorded such things as the onset of the vowel sounds, and noted at what point the consonants f, g, k, j, and l could be distinguished. (Does this remind you of the "melting bank" section, in WALDEN? –It should.) To keep the family going, the Alcotts asked Abba's father for a loan of an additional \$300.⁰⁰.

[THE ALCOTT FAMILY](#)


 April 2, Saturday: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont embarked for America. When their ship *Havre* set sail from Le Havre, it promptly ran aground and did not get out to sea until after midnight.
Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 2 of 4 M / Spent the day at the [Institution](#) writing up the books & in the Afternoon recd a letter from Brother Isaac informing me that our dear Aged Mother departed this life at about half past 10 OClock last eveng Aged 83 Years & about 11 Months. – I did not expect she would have failed quite so soon, but the news did not surprise me - nor Shock my feelings as it is an event I have long anticipated & when we parted Yesterday Morning it was considered a final parting by both of us. & I should not have left her but from very necessary considerations -it was comfortable & relieving to my dear H as she was very anxious to hear from her family at home & in particular from her Br David, whose situation & state of mind is a tried one at present. –

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101. Note that this is a completely different play than 1827's *TANCRED; OR, THE SIEGE OF ANTIOCH*, which never was performed.



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 May 11, Wednesday: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont arrived in New-York harbor aboard “a tremendous steamship,” the *President*.



[Robert Schumann](#) mentioned for the 1st time a condition that may have been syphilis.

[Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) gave his 1st public concert on this tour to London, in the concert room of the King’s Theater, Haymarket. Attendance was lower than expected due to the ongoing election campaign.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 11th of 5 M / Silent Meeting at the [Institution](#) & not a very lively one to me

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 May 31, Tuesday: Lt. James Clark Ross, R.N. reached the North Magnetic Pole on the Boothia Peninsula.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 31 of 5 M / Today was our Sub-School committee meeting - we had not a large, but comfortable Number & harmony was prevalent - Our friend Jared Pattison & his companion Henry Stanton from Ohio were here & sat with the committee. -- Jared held a meeting with us in the Meeting room at 3 OC PM & went to [Moses Browns](#) to tea. -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 June 22, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 22 of 6 M / Our friends Jonathon & Hannah Chapman Backhouse & Elizabeth Coggeshall attended our School Meeting - [Moses Brown](#) & A A Jenkins were also present - Eliza Coggeshall spoke a little very sweetly as did Hannah - & Jonathon appeared very sweetly in supplication — he alluded in his supplication to the Aged & venerable head who was with us, in a feeling & appropriate manner, then on behalf of the Caretakers, teachers & Scholars. -

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 July 6, Wednesday: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont visited Syracuse, New York, interviewing prison employees. There was an interview with Elam Lynds.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 6 of 7 M / This Afternoon the News arrived in [Providence](#) that James Monroe late President of the United States died on the 4th inst in New York. - It is a very remarkable coincidence the three of our expresidents (Adams Jefferson & Monroe) should have died on the 4 day of the 7 Month. - When James Monroe visited New England soon after he was Elected President he was at [Newport](#) & I well remember of calling to see him & of shaking hands with him in company with Rowland Hazard. -I also well remember the embarrassment I felt on the occasion. - Our meeting at the [Institution](#) was a dull Heavy time to me. - This Afternoon our friend John Wilbour called a few minutes at the Institution & took leave of us preparatory to his leaving home, on his religious visit to Friends in Europe. -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



 July 8, Friday: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont visited Frenchman's Island.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 8th of 7 M / At 10 OC this forenoon Our frd [Moses Brown](#) came here with Nathen Hunt preposing to have an opportunity with the Scholars - we soon collected them in the Meeting room & Nathan had a great deal to say, all appropriate, feeling & good & a good opportunity it was. - After it was over I took him & his companion over the House & into the New Building, with which he seemed gratified & pleased - After tea we went to see our frd Elisha Bates & spent the evening with him at Wm Jenkins's - he is better & in hopes to be about tomorrow. -

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 July 10, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 10th of 7 M / Nathan Hunt was at [Smithfield](#) Meeting [Moses Brown](#) went with him as did Enoch & Lydia. – Our dear friend Elisha Bates came up & was with us at Meeting in the forenoon - his Sermon was very reaching & I have no doubt convincing to many minds both of the younger & more advanced scholars - all were serious & many in tears. – I have no doubt his visit here will be memorable to Many for years to come – he dined at the table with the Boys & noticed several of them in a way which pleased them & I have no doubt will be useful – The Afternoon Meeting at the Institution was silent. – The Meeting in Town was put off till five O'clock on Elishas account & a general invitation extended to the Inhabitants of the Town. –Our teachers a number of older Scholars went into the Meeting.–

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 [David Henry Thoreau](#)'s 15th stanza began on his birthday, July 12th, Tuesday, 1831.

During this period:

- Thomas Carlyle prepared SARTOR RESARTUS.
- William Miller predicted the 2d advent of Jesus Christ and the end of the world as we now know it.
- Nat Turner led a servile insurrection and was hanged.
- Alexis de Tocqueville interviewed the president of Harvard College.
- In Boston, abolitionists formed an anti-slavery society.
- Concord's playwright John Augustus Stone had several more triumphs.
- Frederick Douglass figured out that the word "abolition" must mean no longer having slavery.
- Charles Darwin sailed aboard the *Beagle*.
- Joseph Smith was tarred and feathered.
- Waldo Emerson visited Ellen's tomb and opened the coffin.



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- The ordinary costume for boys over ten years of age, from 1830 when David Henry was 12, to 1835 when he was 17, was:



a suit of long, rather loose-fitting pantaloons, a waistcoat cut rather low and showing a white shirt underneath, and a short jacket reaching to the waist line. The hats for boys of the early part of the nineteenth century were extremely ugly. The jockey cap with a round crown and a visor ... from 1801 to 1810 ... [had been succeeded by] the stove-pipe hat, made of straw in summer and of beaver in winter, which was actually worn for several years even by little boys in frocks ... [which in turn had been succeeded by hats] with rather high crowns and strait brims. In 1830 high hats were worn by very fashionable boys in trousers ... which looked like inverted flower pots. Beauty and fitness seem not to have been considered.

[BACKGROUND EVENTS OF 1831](#)

[BACKGROUND EVENTS OF 1832](#)



July 13, Wednesday: While leaving Auburn, New York, Alexis de Tocqueville made a journal entry about religion.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 13th of 7th M / Silent but good meeting to me -6th day 15th of 7th M 1831 / This morning we had the company of Jeremiah Hubbard & wife & our dear Aged friend [Moses Brown](#). -After a Social time in the family & walking over the house, Jeremiah had a mind to have the Scholars & family collected in the Meeting room. - We were soon together & a very favourd season it proved - he was much favourd in testimony & supplication & the children were very Solid & attentive -

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July 17, Sunday: Alexis de Tocqueville arrived in Batavia, New York. In Canandaigua, he interviewed John Canfield Spencer. On this day he and Gustave de Beaumont exchanged letters.



[Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) departed from London for Germany with a gift from Queen Adelaide.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 17 of 7 M / Both our meetings at the [Institution](#) were silent. - The Mornng Meeting a season of some favour - in the Afternoon very lifeless - perhaps a bad feeling in my head & the Prospect of Phila might have contributed to it a little - At 5 OClock attended Jeremiah Hubbards Meeting in [Providence](#) which was very large & many of the Clergy & gentry of the Town were present & he preached & prayed an abundance. - & said much that was good, & a few things that I believe if unsaid his service would have been better. -
It is a great thing to be a great Minister & a thoroughly skilful Minister too. -*

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 August 24, Wednesday: The Reverend John Stevens Henslow, Professor of Botany at [Cambridge University](#) and founder of the [Botanic Garden](#) there, suggested that [Charles Darwin](#) travel with him aboard HMS *Beagle*, a 10-gun brig, for its 2d world voyage of exploration and charting, visiting, among other locations, the Galápagos Islands.

THE SCIENCE OF 1831



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



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4th day 24th of 8th M 1831 / Rode with my wife to [Smithfield](#) & attended Moy [Monthly] Meeting - it was to me a remarkably solid & good meeting - in the first Meeting Wm Almy bore a short testimony In the last we did not have much buisness but affairs were conducted in a solid manner I believe this was the first meeting I ever attended with [Moses Brown](#) where he was wholly silent in a Meeting for buisness. - he was pretty smart in health, but he told me after meeting that he had nothing special to offer tho' he took an interest in the subject before us -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



August 26, Friday: At the [Quaker](#) educational institution that eventually would become the "[Moses Brown School](#)," in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) felt unwell, so he let some leeches attach themselves to his forehead and engorge themselves with his blood and drop away. After this he felt better (don't you wish you could have been there with a camera).

6th day 26th of 8 M / I have felt unwell today, my head much out of order, but I applied several Leeches to my temples this Afternoon & feel better - Our frd [Moses Brown](#) & Wm Jenkins called at the Institution today. - Recd a letter this Afternoon from Sister Elizabeth Nichols giving us a pretty favourable acct of Brother David Rodman & family, in their new situation in Lynn affording some hope it may again be well with them -

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August 28, Sunday: [Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin \(Frédéric François Chopin\)](#) performed a morning concert in München.

At the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) farm home of Friend [Moses Brown](#) that night, a burglar or team of burglars made off with the usual sorts of portable goodies.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 28th of 8th M 1831 / Silent meeting in the Morning Enoch
& Lydia absent at [Smithfield](#) Meeting –
In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & labour'd in the Gospel –
After Meeting by his invitation I went home with him to tea –
& returned in the eveng & finished a letter which I had begun
some days ago, to Elisha Bates.–*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



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“Citizens” communicated with Virginia Governor John Floyd in regard to the undesirability of permitting a religious meeting of the blacks:

His Excellency John Floyd

Governor of Virginia

Sir

There is at this moment a numerous meeting of the blacks from this place & the surrounding country, at the Rural Shades, for the purpose, as they allege, of Religious worship, the propriety of countenancing such a meeting at this time is respectfully submitted to your consideration by several

Citizens

A white man would find this letter written on this date, on the road south of the city of Richmond, and forward it to Virginia Governor John Floyd:

Richmond Aug. 28, 31.

To

Joe to "brother", no date

Dear brother I send you this by brother billy who can tel you more than I can rite you must beshore to rememer The day, for al dependes on that for you now tis the last Sunday in October we are al reddy down belo you mstnot be faint harted al depends on you if you deceve us we are al lost for ever your affecionat brother

Joe Dr.

Do burne This as soon as you receve it

[in another hand] Furnished by a gentleman near Richmond city after the insurrection. It was found in the road below the city five or six miles-John Floyd

“Anonymus” to Governor John Floyd in Richmond — posted from the town of Petersburg:

To the Governor of Virginia

Sir

It has been humbly & respectfully suggested that as Nat. Turner the leader & mover of the insurrection in Southampton has not been caught or killed that it would be adviseable to offer a large reward for him if caught by a white or free man, or manumission to any slave who will bring him dead or alive so that he may be punished. It is perhaps idle to think that this insurrection is ended until the Leader is killed

Aug 28th

Anonymus.





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August 29, Monday: [Nicolò Paganini](#) arrived in Dublin for a concert tour of Ireland. He would provide 23 concerts in 6 weeks.

Michael Faraday created the 1st electrical transformer, based upon electromagnetic induction.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 29 of 8 M / Last night some very wicked person or persons broke into the house of our friend [Moses Brown](#) & Stole his Watch from the head of his bed took some Money from his Pocket Book - opened several of his drawers & chests & rumaged over papers, & carried one of his small trunks some distance into his front yard where they broke it open, but left it & carried off his bunch of Keys. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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Williamson Mann of Chesterfield wrote the following to "Ben Lee in Great hast mail speedily Richmond swift":



My old fellow

Chesterfield Aug 29 1831

Ben-

You will tell or acquaint every servant in Richmond & adjoining countys they all must be in a strik readiness, that this occourance will go through virignia with the slaves & whites if there had never been an assosiation & a visiting with the free & slaves this would never had of been they are put up by the free about their liberation I've wrote to norfolk amelia nottaway & several other countys to different slaves bob bill Miller Bowler John furguson fed roney & several other free fellow has put of Dr Crumps nor field Mr Scotts & a great many gentlemen private servants how they must act in getting in getting of their liberation they must set fire to the cyty begining at Shockoe hill then going through east west north south set fire to the briges they are aboutt to break out in fousland & in meclenburg Cyt & several other countys very shortly now there is a barber here in this place as [—ry] tells me a methodist of the name edwards has put a great many servants up how they should do & act by seting fire to this town I do wish they may succeed by so doing we poor whites can get work as well as the Slaves or collard This fellow edward the methodist says that judge J. F. Maz is no friend to the free & your Richmond free assosiates that you master Watkins Lee brokenberry Johnson Taylor of Norfolk & several other noble delegates is bitterly against them all Ruben Mr archers servant say that billy hickman has jest put him up how to revenge the whites all the brite molatoes of Rich wants to be white So boys you all must do the best you all can for your selfes, only acquainted the servants how you all shall proceed as your friends has advise they has stopt your alls religeon edwards syas so you all ougght to get reveng Some way every white in this place is sceard to death except my slef & a few others this methodist has has put up a Great many slaves in this place how to do I can tell you to push on boys push on

Yor friend williamson Mann



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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 Fall: Andrew T. Judson and 17 other leading citizens of Canterbury, Connecticut set up a new female academy and hired a female teacher for that town's young white women. The young [Rhode Island](#) woman they selected, [Prudence Crandall](#), had completed a [Quaker](#) education¹⁰² and joined the [Baptist](#) church, and was known in



eastern Connecticut as a successful teacher. An available home was purchased for her school, in the center of Canterbury, and in its first year the school would thrive. Tuition at this boarding school “for young ladies and little misses” in Canterbury Green was \$18 a term and it offered a cultured education, including classes in moral philosophy, music, drawing and “French, taught by a gentleman.” (Sounds fairly innocent, huh? –Stay

102. It might be presumed that as part of this education at the [Moses Brown School](#) she “must have” attended Quaker worship at least once, but this is something, like the presumed or supposed Quaker origins of her family, in regard to which we have absolutely no direct evidence.

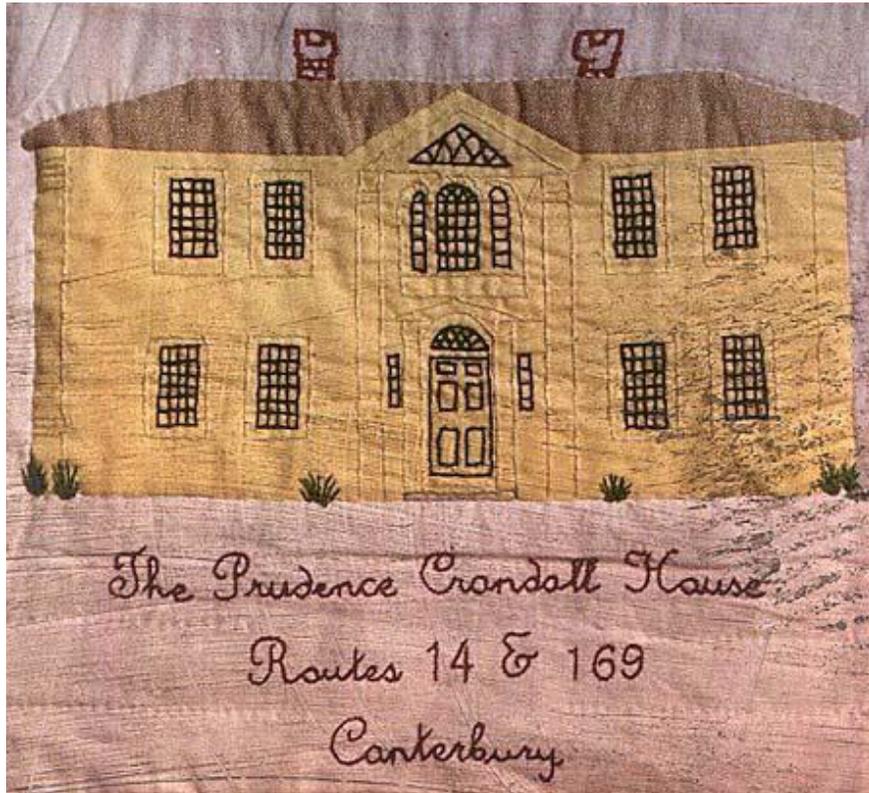


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 September 14, Wednesday: [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#) got married with Mary Storer Potter in Portland, Maine.



In England, the gardening writer [John Claudius Loudon](#) and the science fiction author Jane C. Webb were wed. He was 47 and she 23. The couple would honeymoon in the Lake District and in Scotland. They would have a daughter, Agnes. The new wife would learn to act as her husband's secretary, copyist, researcher, and note taker, toward the preparation of the ENCYCLOPEDIA OF GARDENING which would be published in 1834. [Jane Webb Loudon](#) would prepare INSTRUCTIONS IN GARDENING FOR LADIES, a nontechnical volume which would see nine editions and sell more than 20,000 copies.

Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont visited the prison in Charleston, Massachusetts.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 14th 9 M / Attended Meeting at the [Institution](#) which was silent but a pretty good meeting -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 September 21, Wednesday: Alexis de Tocqueville had an interview with Mr. Gray, a Senator of the State of Massachusetts, and confided to his diary as to the reasons for the relative moral purity of the American people:

American morals are, I believe, the purest existing in any nation, which may be attributed, it seems to me, to five principal causes:

- 1. Their physical constitution. They belong to a northern race, even though almost all living in a climate warmer than that of England.*
- 2. Religion still possesses there a great power over the souls. They have even in part retained the traditions of the most severe religious sects.*
- 3. They are entirely absorbed in the business of making money. There are no idle among them. They have the steady habits of those who are always working.*
- 4. There is no trace of the prejudices of birth which reign in Europe, and it is so easy to make money that poverty is never an obstacle to marriage. Thence it results that the individuals of two sexes unite ..., only do so from mutual attraction, and*



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find themselves tied at a time in life when the man is almost always more alive to the pleasures of the heart than those of the senses. It is rare that a man is not married at 2-+ years. 5. In general the women receive an education that is rational (even a bit raisonneuse.) The factors above enumerated make it possible without great inconvenience to allow them an extreme liberty; the passage from the state of young girl to that of a married woman has no dangers for her.

...

Mr Clay, who appears to have occupied himself with statistical researches on this point, told Gustave de Beaumont that at Boston the prostitutes numbered about 2000 (I have great difficulty believing this.) They are recruited among country girls who, after having been seduced, are obliged to flee their district and family, and find themselves without resource. It seems that the young blood of the city frequents them, but the fact is concealed with extreme care, and the evil stops there, without ever crossing the domestic threshold or troubling the families. A man who should not be convicted but suspected of having an intrigue would immediately be excluded from society. All doors would be shut to him.

Mr. Dewight was saying to me that a venereal disease was a mark of infamy which was very hard to wash away. On the other hand, the police do not concern themselves in any way with the prostitutes. The Americans say that it would be to legitimate the evil to oppose to it such a remedy. Mr. Dewight said to us (what we had already had occasion to remark in the prison reports) that of all the prisoners those who most rarely reformed were the women of bad morals.

Norborne E. Sutton wrote to Governor John Floyd of Virginia:

Bowling Green Sept 21st 1831

Honorable John Floyd

Sir It is now certain that the slaves in this county was apprised of the insurrection which developed itself in South Hampton. Some Gentleman have enquired of these slaves as to this fact, (Mr. Campbels) in this immediate neighbourhood all admitted that they had received information of the intended insurrection but that it commenced two soon by eight days Yesterday a faithfull servant of Mr. Wm P Taylors gave him information that large meetings of slave were held in his neighbourhood for the purpose of concerting and effecting the best cours they should pursue to get clere of the whits Much excitment and much alarm has prevailed in the couty especally with the slaves of the county and it is now so obvious that the slaves design an attempt between this and the 1st of October I have concluded to suggest to you the proprity of furnishg the malitia with arms at least to some extent For one until the information in relation to Mr Taylors slaves was received I had not even had my gun in my room Because I did not apprehend any danger and I was certain it was calculatd to create a greater degree of alarm with my wife and





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*I thought too it was giving an importance which might induce the negroes in this neighborhood to imagine that I was alarmed I hope sir you will arm the Troop and a part of the companies in this county if not all I am as perfectly satisfied that those traveling preachers and Peddlers have been instrumental to a great degree in producing the present state of things as that I am now addressing this letter to you And I do hope that the Legislature will at the next session at least pass a law which shall have for its object This That no man particularly a stranger shall preach in any County or Town until he shall have produced sufficient evidence that he has been regularly ordained and of his moral worth and standing when he was received on his last place of residence I hope I shall be excused for suggesting other civil slaves should not be permitted to have preaching at any time nor should they be permitted to go about contracting for themselves I would make the Law in relation to These matters more penal and I would make it the duty of every officer to arrest such slaves as are permitted to go at large and sell him forthwith the result to be applied to the use of the County Again Sir it is now the practice at every Court House to see large numbers of Carts some white and some black vending and trading in various things there Sir although I have used my exertions to arrest the civil practice of court nights frequently the exhibition of whites and blacks mingling together Beggars description They have no law imposed upon them They are composed of the very dregs of the different Counties and what I ask is to be expected but disorder and consequences of the most dangerous and alarming results Last October or November Mr Black had a valuable slave killed at these Carts white and black all engaged in the [encounter?] late at night I hope you will incur[?] these suggestions respectively yours &c
Norborne E Sutton*

*P.S. I would suggest the propriety of arming the four companies immediately about this place where information must be received first on sight to be fully armed say Capt John Bellah Capt John Washington Captain Washington Carter and Capt W. Wrights these I think should be armed fully
N. E Sutton*



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In [Rhode Island](#), as incendiary reports of a supposed massive slave revolt in [North Carolina](#) were appearing in the [Providence Journal](#) (slaves were maybe burning down the city of Wilmington; a white army was maybe gathering in Raleigh, etc.), there was another local race riot. In the white riot of 1824, the rioters had torn down several houses in the black district of Providence by Gaspee Street and the State House that was known as Hardscrabble. Again this was happening, fueled by [liquor](#) and property values, this time in Olneys Lane (now Olney Street) and in Snowtown, a hollow up against Smith Hill southwest of the Hardscrabble district, in the Charles/Orms Street area. The rioting was initiated by a mob of white sailors, continued with the throwing of stones between a group of blacks and a group of whites, and culminated with a black man stepping out of a house with a gun and warning the sailors away –“Is this the way the blacks are to live, to be obliged to defend themselves from stones?”– and then being forced to shoot dead one of the advancing white men. The mob, except for five sailors, retreated to the foot of the hill. After someone shot and wounded three of these sailors, the mob again advanced, and began systematically to knock down two houses and damage several others.

So, as a point of interest, here is the manner in which these events would be truncated in an almanac of 1844:

1831. A riot of four days continuance commenced Sept. 21, in Olney's lane, North end. It originated with some sailors and the colored people living in the lane, one of the former being shot by a black man, and instantly killed. An immediate attack was made on the houses, and two were promptly destroyed. Each evening the mob increased in number, and violence. The efforts of the Town Council and the Sheriff to suppress it were ineffectual, and the services of the military were called into requisition by the Governor. On the fourth evening, the corps, near Shingle Bridge, were assailed by the crowd, with stones and other missiles, and were commanded to fire, which they did, and four men fell mortally wounded. The crowd dispersed, and quiet was restored. Nearly twenty small houses had been destroyed or badly injured. – At a town meeting, Nov. 22, more than three-fifths of the votes polled were in favor of a City Charter.

We can afford to let local citizen [William J. Brown](#) tell the story, for his account is remarkably detailed despite the fact that we have no reason to suspect that he himself had been present and remarkably tolerant despite the fact that he himself had no reason whatever to be objective about this tense racial confrontation:

PAGES 50-54: The feeling against the colored people was very bitter. The colored people themselves were ignorant of the cause, unless it could be attributed to our condition, not having the means to raise themselves in the scale of wealth and affluence, consequently those who were evil disposed would offer abuse whenever they saw fit, and there was no chance for resentment or redress. Mobs were also the order of the day, and the poor colored people were the sufferers....

Not long after this [an earlier gentrification mob action] there was another mob, commenced at the west end of Olney Street. Here were a number of houses built and owned by white men, and rented to any one, white or colored, who wanted to hire one or more rooms, rent payable weekly. Some of these places had bar-rooms, where liquors were dealt out, and places where they sold cakes, pies, doughnuts, etc. These they called cooky stands. In some



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houses dancing and fiddling was the order of the day. It soon became dangerous for one to pass through there in the day time that did not belong to their gang, or patronize them. Most all sailors who came into port would be introduced into Olney Street by some one who had an interest that way. I remember when a boy, passing up one day to my father's garden, which was on that street, in company with two other boys, looking at the people as we passed along. Some were sitting at the windows, some in their doorway, some singing, some laughing, some gossiping, some had their clay furnaces in front of their houses, cooking, and seeing us looking at them, said "What are you gawking at, you brats?" hurling a large stone at the same time, and we were obliged to run for our lives. This street had a correspondence with all the sailor boarding houses in town, and was sustained by their patronage. Vessels of every description were constantly entering our port, and sailing crafts were seen from the south side of the Great Bridge to India Point. It was the great shipping port of New England in those days, and although the smallest of all the States, Rhode Island was regarded as among the wealthiest, the Quakers occupying a large portion of the State....

There was a sailor boarding house in Power Street, kept by a man from Virginia by the name of Jimmie Axum. He was a sailor, every inch of him, and his wife, Hannah, was an Indian woman of the Narragansett tribe. Uncle Jimmie was a shipping master and a fiddler, and when he failed to entertain sailors, they all knew where to go – Olney Street was their next port of entry.

When a ship's crew of sailors came ashore they would all go to Uncle Jimmie's to board, and Uncle Jimmie, with his household, would entertain them with fiddle and tamborine. There would be drinking and dancing through the day and evening, and every half hour some one would take a pitcher and go after liquor, which they purchased by the quart or pint. The best of Jamaica rum then sold for nine pence a quart; gin at the same price. Brandy was twenty-five cents a quart.

In those days it was common to drink liquor; everybody used it. Ministers drank and Christians drank. If you were passing on Main or Water Street in the morning the common salutation was: "Good morning, Mr. A. or B., won't you walk in and take a glass of brandy or gin?" If men were at work on the wharf, at eleven in the morning and four in the afternoon grog was passed around, consisting of a jug of rum and a pail of water. Each one would help himself to as much as he wanted. Even the people that went out washing must be treated at eleven and four o'clock, and people were considered mean who would not furnish these supplies to those whom they employed. If a person went out to make a call or spend the evening and was not treated to something to drink, they would feel insulted. You might as well tell a man in plain words not to come again, for he surely would go off and spread it, how mean they were treated – not even so much as to ask them to have something to drink; and you would not again be troubled with their company.



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The sailors often drank to excess. You could frequently see them on South Water Street lying at full length or seated against a building intoxicated.

After sailors had stayed at Uncle Jimmie's boarding-house long enough to be stripped of nearly all their money by Uncle Jimmie and his wife, and the females which hung around there, they would be suffered to stroll up to Olney Street to spend the rest of their money.

One night a number of sailors boarding at Uncle Jimmie's went up to Olney Street to attend a dance. It was about nine o'clock when they left the house, expecting to dance all night and have what they called a sailor's reel and breakdown. About ten o'clock there came to Uncle Jim's a large, tall and powerful looking black man to the door. He said, "Uncle Jimmie, where is the boys?" He answered, "You will find them up in Olney Street; they went up to a dance tonight." He replied, "I am going up there, and if anybody comes here and inquires for me tell them I am gone up to the dance in Olney Street." Uncle Jimmy said, "Who are you and what is your name?" The man replied, "I am the Rattler." No one took notice of him. Those that were on the floor continued their dancing. This man seeing no one noticed him went in amongst them and commenced dancing, running against one man and pushing against another, just as his fancy led him. There being at that time five or six large men calling themselves fighting men or bullies, came to the conclusion that they would not have their dance broke up in that shape by a stranger that nobody knew. One of the men by the name of James Treadwell, and known to be a great fighter, said to another large double-jointed man, so considered, by the name of Augustus Williams, "This fellow calls himself the Rattler, let's rattle his box." So they gathered three or four other men who would come to their assistance if needed. They approached the stranger and addressed him saying, "Who are you, stranger, and what do you want here?" He replied "I am the Rattler." They said to him, "If you don't clear out we will rattle your box." He replied, "That you can do as soon as you have a mind to." Without further ceremony they all pitched into him. The Rattler threw one man into the bar, another he threw across the room, some he slammed against the sides of the house, and in a few minutes he cleared the house, and as they had no power to resist him, they very wisely concluded that he was the devil in fine clothing. This story was told me by Augustus Williams, who was present and witnessed the whole affair and declared it to be the truth. The next visitation in Olney Street was made by two crews of sailors, one white and the other colored, consequently a fight was the order of the day, in which the blacks were the conquerors, and drove the whites out of the street. The white sailors not relishing this kind of treatment, doubled their forces the next night and paid Olney Street another visit, and had a general time of knocking down and dragging out. This mob conduct lasted for nearly a week. They greatly discomfited the saloonkeepers, drinking their liquors, smashing up the decanters and other furniture. One of



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their number was shot dead by a bar tender, which so enraged them that they began to tear down houses, threatening to destroy every house occupied by colored people. Their destructive work extended through Olney Street, Gaspee Street and a place called the Hollow, neither of which bore a very good reputation. They warned the better class of colored people to move out, and then went on with their work of destruction, calling on men of like principles, from other towns, to help, promising to share with them in the plunder, or take their pay from the banks. Governor Arnold hearing of this ordered out the military, thinking that their presence would quell the mob. They were not so easily frightened, and continued their work of ruin until the governor was compelled to order his men to fire. This had the desired effect; broke up the riot and dispersed the mob; but Olney Street had fallen to rise no more as a place of resort for rum shops, sailors and lewd women.

[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)

Here now is the same event, but as it would be described in William Read Staples's 1843 ANNALS OF THE TOWN OF PROVIDENCE FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT, TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY GOVERNMENT, IN JUNE, 1832:

The first outbreak of popular feeling was on the night of September 21. A number of sailors visited Olney's lane for the purpose of having a row with the blacks inhabiting there. After making a great noise there and throwing stones, a gun was fired from one of the houses. The greater part of the persons in the lane then retreated to the west end of it, and five sailors who had not been engaged in any of the previous transactions, went up the lane. A black man on the steps of his house, presented a gun, and told them to keep their distance. They in turn proposed taking his gun. This they did not attempt, but pursuing their walk a little further, then stopped. Here they were ordered by the black man "to clear out," or he would fire at them. This they dared him to do. He did fire, and one of their number was instantly killed. The first company, who were still at the foot of the lane, then returned, tore down two houses and broke the windows of the rest. During the next day there was a great excitement. The sheriff of the county with other peace officers were in Olney's lane early in the evening. As the mob increased in numbers and in violence of language, they were ordered to disperse, and seven taken in custody. Subsequently others were arrested, who were rescued from the officers. The sheriff then required military aid of the Governor of the state, and at midnight the First Light Infantry marched to his assistance. The mob, not intimidated by their presence, assaulted them with stones. Finding that they could effect nothing without firing upon them, the soldiers left the lane, followed by the mob, who then returned to their work, and demolished six more houses in the lane and one near Smith street, not separating until between three and four o'clock in the morning. On the morning of the



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23d, an attack on the jail being expected, the sheriff required military aid, and the Governor issued his orders to the Light Dragoons, the Artillery, the Cadets, the Volunteers, and the First Infantry, to be in arms at six o'clock in the evening. The mob appeared only in small force, and did little mischief. The military were dismissed until the next evening. On the evening of the 24th there was a great collection of persons in Smith street and its vicinity. Soon they commenced pulling down houses. Upon this, finding it impossible to disperse or stay them, the sheriff called again on the Governor, and the military were again assembled. During their march to Smith street they were assailed with stones. They marched up Smith street and took post on the hill. Here both the Governor and the sheriff remonstrated with the mob, and endeavored to induce them to separate, informing them that the muskets of the military were loaded with ball cartridges. This being ineffectual, the riot act was read, and they were required by a peace officer to disperse. The mob continued to throw stones both at the houses and soldiers. The sheriff then attempted to disperse them by marching the dragoons and infantry among them, but without success. He then ordered the military to fire, and four persons fell mortally wounded, in Smith street, just east of Smith's bridge. The mob immediately dispersed, and peace was restored.

This week, Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) and his wife had been visiting [Newport](#) from their current home at the [Quaker](#) educational institution that eventually would become the "[Moses Brown School](#)" in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).



6th day [Friday] 16th of 9 M 1831 / Having for sometime anticipated a visit to Newport We went on board the Steam Boat at 12 OC & arrived at our home about 3 OC PM. - I had not been there half an hour before I met with an accident which so lamed me that I was wholly unable to get about & 7th [Saturday] & 1st day [Sunday]s I was in Bed most of the time -



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on 2nd day [Monday] I was about a little & on 3rd day [Tuesday] we came home again to the Institution not a little disappointed in not being able to visit my friends & attend to many little things that was desirable to me. – But disappointment & trial is the lot of us all on this side of the grave, & I have much to be thankful for, in being favoured as I have. – Few have been more exempt from the disagreeables of life, while I may recount many bitter cups which I have had to take from time to time, yet I have been exempt from many which falls to the lot of some in passing down the Stream of time. –

We found our friends & relations at Newport in good health & comfortable in situation - Father & Mother Rodman tho' aged are Smart & now free from some trials which recently awaited them in Davids state of mind & the situation of his family - he having removed to Lynn & is more comfortable in mind & a pretty good prospect of maintaining himself & family. –

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



September 22, Thursday: Alexis de Tocqueville made an entry in his journal about juries. He and Gustave de Beaumont heard from [Francis \(Franz\) Lieber](#): “We Europeans, we think to create republics by organizing a great political assembly. The Republic on the contrary, is of all the governments the one that depends most on every part of society ... If an obstacle embarrasses the public way, the neighbors will at once constitute themselves a deliberative body; they will name a commission and will remedy the evil by their collective force, wisely directed ... For my part, I feel myself inclined to believe ... that constitutions and political laws are nothing in themselves. They are dead creations to which the morals and the social position of the people alone can give life.”

They asked Lieber about the purity of American morals:

We asked him: Is it true that morals are as pure here as they pretend?

He replied: Morals are less good in the lower classes than among the enlightened; however, I think them superior to those of the same classes in Europe. As for the educated, their morals are as perfect as it is possible to imagine them. I don't believe that there is a single intrigue in Boston society. A woman suspected would be lost. The women there are, however, very coquettish; they even display their coquetry with greater boldness than with us because they know that they cannot go beyond a certain point, and that no one believes that they overstep that bound. After all, I like still better our women of Europe with their weaknesses, than the glacial and egotistical virtue of the Americans.

Q. To what do you attribute the unbelievable master that one obtains here over the passions?

A. To a thousand causes: to their physical constitution, to Puritanism, to their habits of industry, to the absence of an unemployed and corrupted class, such as a garrison for example, to the early marriages, to the very construction of the houses,



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which renders the secret of an illicit liaison almost impossible to keep.

*Q. They say that the young men are not sages before marriage.
A. No. They are even, like the English, gross in their tastes, but like them they make a complete separation between the society in which they habitually live, and that which serves their pleasure. These are like two worlds which have nothing in common together. The young men never seek to seduce honest women.*

In England, a Reform Bill passed in the House of Commons.

Hackney coaches had been introduced in London in 1625 to ply for hire, and in 1634 Captain Baily had placed four such coaches at the Maypole in the Strand. A Lost-and-Found Office had in 1815 been established to deal with items left accidentally in these public coaches. On this day all restrictions, as to the numbers of such coaches for hire that might ply the streets of the municipality, were lifted. Taxi!

In [Rhode Island](#), the [Providence Journal](#) ran a very small report at the end of its news columns of this fatal local “affray” involving a “large mob.” The newspaper’s primary focus remained, however, on the larger events of the “Insurrection in North Carolina.” Although it had not been confirmed that the blacks had burned the city of Wilmington, the current estimate was that half the whites of the town had been killed. The slaves were supposedly sweeping across two counties, burning and killing as they went. The [Journal](#) reprinted a letter praising white citizens who were taking “vigorous measures” against these black “offenders.” This letter concluded with “I foresee that this land must become a field of blood.” That day’s issue of the [American](#) provided a lengthier account of the Providence “RIOT AND MURDER,” blaming white sailors for having instigated this confrontation. That day, also, the [American](#) published a letter, apparently from one of the rioters, asserting that the “Negroes armed themselves and fired upon four sailors,” and that the crowd had destroyed only the homes of these “foul-blooded” murderers. As the neighborhood was “worse than the celebrated Five Points District in New York, our populace are determined to level” the remaining houses. The anonymous writer’s main argument, justifying the demolitions, was the one that was so successful in 1824: that the neighborhood evil could be remedied only by gentrification, on a scale not contemplated since King Philip’s War. That evening a mob of 700 or 800 whites destroyed six more of the properties along Olney’s Lane while the sheriff, constables, and Town Council watched, now and again ordering the rioters to cease and desist. Governor James Fenner called out a militia company, and late that night 25 militiamen arrived. Pausing only to free rioters whom the authorities arrested, the mob finished off Olney’s Lane and proceeded to Snow Town, which most likely was somewhere near what is now the University of Rhode Island. They destroyed two houses there, dispersing around 4AM. The militia succeeded in taking only seven of the white rioters into custody.

Having arrived back at the [Quaker](#) educational institution that eventually would become the “[Moses Brown School](#) in [Providence](#) from his visit to his old haunts in [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) was settling in and taking care of business — and it becomes abundantly clear from his entry in his journal that in the nice white “Quaker close” of religious righteousness that they had set up for themselves, the fact that there were race riots going on in the less beautiful side of downtown Providence just across the river from the meetinghouse was none of their concern.

5th day 22 of 9 M / Preparative Meeting, the Boys attended but there was so much of a prospect of a Storm that the Girls staid at home – I have thought proper to stay most of this day in my chamber & keep my leg up –it has been more comfortable than



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Yesterday but is still poorly. -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 September 28, Wednesday: Oliver Cromwell had in 1657 signed a writ of privy seal establishing a university at Durham in England, but this institution had upon the Restoration of the monarchy been suppressed. On this day a new university was founded in Durham by the bishop, by an act of chapter (the parliament sanctioned this, it would receive the royal assent during the following year, and the institution would be able to open its doors in 1833).

The Anti-Masonic convention in [Baltimore](#) nominated William Wirt for president and Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania for vice president. Those secretive Masons, for sure we weren't going to let them get away with anything!¹⁰³

In [Rhode Island](#), the [Democratic Patriot](#) sadly approved of the action of the local white militia. It was good that they had fired on the [Providence](#) mob. However, it was also fitting that the white mob had been allowed to deconstruct the black residences along Olneys Lane, that had been such an "annoyance" to "the most respectable part."

No trace of an awareness of any general social problem is to be detected in this diary report by [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) of local [Quaker](#) goings-on:

4th day 28th of 9 M / Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting held in [Providence](#) was a good one all our Scholars [[the Quaker youths at the Institution](#)] attended - Wm Almy & Anna A Jenkins were very acceptable in testimony & Hannah Robinson also had a good little testimony to bear - & life was prevalent over the Meeting. - In the last Meeting the buisness was conducted in a solid Manner - two or three certificates were received & A friend applied for his children to be taken under care of Friends - A young man Also applied to be received into membership. -

103. Wirt would obtain, basically from Mason-haters, only 100,715 votes, amounting to 7 electoral votes, whereas Andrew Jackson would obtain, basically from slavery-lovers, 701,780 votes, amounting to 219 electoral votes.



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 October: In the municipality of New Haven, Connecticut, a white mob determined to prevent race mixture “stoned Arthur Tappan’s house on Temple Street, ... another invaded the ghetto ‘New Liberia’ and attacked amalgamation where it actually existed, capturing four white women and 14 white men.”

Meanwhile, in a smaller village to the east in Connecticut, the teacher [Prudence Crandall](#) who had been so determinedly embracing the idea of race amalgamation at least for purposes of education, having converted to being a [Baptist](#), was being formally dismissed from her [Quaker](#) meeting (I have been unable to determine what meeting that was, if actually it happened, and therefore suspect that it must have been a worship group or a preparatory meeting rather than a recognized monthly meeting).

[Prudence had been educated at the New England Yearly Meeting school in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the school which we now denominate the “[Moses Brown School](#).” What had she learned at this school? Had she learned a.) racial integrationist attitudes which she was here later in Connecticut implementing, or had she learned b.) racial segregationist attitudes which she was here later in Connecticut reacting against? I believe that the answer to this question must be b.), that she was reacting against the racial segregationist attitudes which she had encountered at the Moses Brown School, because that was, above all, a school of the Orthodox Friends, and the Orthodox Friends, above all, were the determined opponents of the Hicksite abolitionists.]

 October 2, Sunday: Alexis de Tocqueville made a journal entry based on an interview with a Mr. Henry Clay, a Georgia planter (not the Henry Clay of Virginia). He made journal entries about inheritance laws and religion.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 2nd of 10th M / Silent Meeting in the Morning In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & had good & acceptable Service. – Gilbert Congdon was here & staid the eveng & I had a very satisfactory opportunity with him in our room in the evening, previous to the collection of the [School](#), which we attended

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 December 16, Friday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 16th of 12 M 1831 / At 2 OClock today was the Meeting for the funeral of Mary W Townsend – a considerable number of Friends attended & the Meeting was a most Solemn & impressive one – Hannah Robinson was engaged in a few Words – Wm Almy followed in a most solemn & weighty supplication in which his mind was particularly drawn to supplicate for the Children & Youth present – then for all present & then particularly for the Afflicted parents – then Dorcas Paine in a few words – & Betsy Purinton concluded the Service in another Supplication – it was a time of uncommon favour, & the minds of most were impressed with solemnity. – The Male Scholars Attended the funeral in procession – but the Walking was such, on acct of the Snow & cold weather that the Girls did not go to the Grave – Our dear



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

Aged friend [Moses Brown](#) being very unwell was unable to attend but sent his carriage for the use of those who might wish to ride in it -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 December 29, Thursday: Hereditary peerages were abolished in France, leaving only life peerages. This would provide the monarch with greater control over the Chamber of Peers.

 December 31, Saturday: Friedrich August Koch, Baron Gise replaced Georg Friedrich, Baron Zentner as President of the Council of Ministers of Bavaria.

Following a special election in St. Helena, [William Elliott](#) qualified for the South Carolina General Assembly. He would resign from the South Carolina Senate because he was a Unionist and his constituents were instructing him to vote in favor of nullification of the federal tariff laws (he opposed secession because he feared the economy of the South was inadequate to sustain a condition of independence).

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 31 of 12 M 1831 / With my H attended the funeral of Avis Lockwood who died on the 29th about 3 O'clock in the Morning Aged 57 Years at the house of her Venerable father in law [Moses Brown](#) We sat in the Parlour where we had a solid opportunity -Hannah Robinson in testimony & supplication [Moses Brown](#) & the immediate connections were in the Keeping Room & he & Wm Almy had short but lively testimonies to the virtues of the deceased

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1832

➡ In about this year, at the age of 23, [George William Benson](#) became a partner in the wholesale and retail wool and leather firm of Benson & Chace, located at 12 Westminster Street in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

Amid controversy, the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) hired Friend John Griscom to head up its new academic department (now known as the “Middle School”). One bone of contention was the salary which they had agreed to pay, which at \$1,500 per year¹⁰⁴ was roughly triple any other teacher’s salary¹⁰⁵ — but this extra pay would be made up by private subscription among a number of individual Friends.



1832. The City Government was organized, and Samuel W. Bridgman was elected Mayor, on the 4th Monday of April, being the first election under City Charter. He retained his office, by repeated elections, to December 1839, when he died, and was succeeded by Thomas M. Burgess, the present Mayor. The Asiatic Cholera made its appearance here in August. It had, for some time, been doing the work of death in New-York and Philadelphia, and other cities, and its appearance in this city occasioned universal dismay. The Board of Health had a daily session, a new hospital was built, and every precaution was adopted by the city authorities to prevent its spread. Its ravages, however were not so disastrous or fatal, as was apprehended, and after a few

104. To get a sense of what that amounted to in today’s money, consult <http://www.measuringworth.com/exchange/>



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

weeks, it entirely disappeared.

Principals (to 1919).¹⁰⁶

1832-1835.	Griscom, John.
1835.	Earle, Pliny.
1836-1838.	Lockwood, Moses B.
(School managed for a time by Superintendents, without Principals.)	
1852-1855.	Atherton, Charles, and Whittier, Gertrude E.
1855-1860.	Cartland, Joseph and Gertrude W.
1860-1879.	Smiley, Albert K.
1860-1868.	Smiley, Alfred H., Assoc.
1863-1879.	Smiley, Rebecca H.
1879-1904.	Jones, Augustine.
1904-	Gifford, Seth K. and Mary Amy.

105. I believe he had been running a Quaker school in Burlington, New Jersey and had acquired a reputation for great knowledge and competence. In 1824 the New York assembly had favorably considered his proposal for the creation of a New York Water-Works, for a Manhattan water supply. At any rate, he was a well-published author:

- The New-York expositor, or, Fifth book: being a collection of the most useful words in the English language / by Richard Wiggins; to which is added A vocabulary of scientific terms ; by John Griscom ; the whole selected, divided, accentuated and explained, with references to a key for their pronunciation, chiefly on the authorities of Johnson and Walker; for the use of schools. New York: Printed and sold by Samuel Wood, 1811; 1814; 1818; 1825
- Considerations relative to an establishment for perfecting the education of young men within the Society of Friends: in a letter from a member of the Society in New-York to several others in Philadelphia. New-York: Printed by Samuel Wood & Sons, 1815
- Hints relative to the most eligible method of conducting meteorological observations: read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of New-York on the eight of December 1814 / by John Griscom. New-York: Printed by Van Winkle and Wiley, 1815
- Report of a committee on the subject of pauperism (chaired by John Griscom). New York, Printed by Samuel Wood & Sons, 1818
 - "Among the causes of vicious excitement in our city, none appear to be so powerful in their nature as theatrical amusements. The number of boys and young men who have become determined thieves, in order to procure the means of introduction to the theatres and circuses, would appall the feelings of every virtuous mind, could the whole truth be laid open before them."
- Geographical questions: containing, a copious and minute reference to the different parts of the globe: with a table of all the most considerable towns, rivers, mountains, capes, and islands: a table of latitudes and longitudes, and a comparative view of ancient and modern geography / by John Griscom. Edition Rev. and extended / by D. Griscom. New-York: Printed and sold by Samuel Wood & Sons, 1822
- A year in Europe: comprising a journal of observations in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Switzerland, the north of Italy, and Holland. In 1818 and 1819. / By John Griscom. New York: Published by Collins & Co. and H.C. Carey & J. Lea; [etc., etc.], 1823
- Monitorial instruction. An address, pronounced at the opening of the New-York high-school, with notes and illustrations, by John Griscom. New York, Printed by M. Day, 1825



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

An attitude expressed in this year toward [Quakers](#) in the arts:

“Ungrateful man! to error prone;
Why thus thy Maker’s goodness wrong?
And deem a Luxury alone,
His great and noble gift of song.
Hast thou not known, or felt, or heard,
How oft the poet’s heav’n-born art,
Feeling and thought afresh have stirr’d,
To touch, and purify the heart?”

—Bernard Barton

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



January 17, Tuesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 17 of 1st M / This forenoon I set an hour with my beloved Ancient friend [Moses Brown](#) & was very glad to find him much better in health & very comfortable & pleasant. – This Afternoon Wm Almy Jona[thon] Farnum & L B Tobey spent sometime with us. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 1, Wednesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 1st of 2nd M 1832 / Today was our Quarterly Meeting of Ministers & Elders - It was a season of favour & the preaching I thought was all good, & the buisness before us conducted harmoniously Our Ancient friend [Moses Brown](#) was able to sit with us – & also attended the Meeting for Sufferings in the Afternoon. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

106. “Principal” is here a term of art. It means that the person in charge was running the school on incentive compensation, and entitled to put into his own pocket half of the annual surplus of the school. “Principal” here indicates a person with a conflict of interest, because although formally **charged** with implementing the plan of the donor, is actually being **rewarded** not at all in accordance with whether he implements that plan (whatever it was, forget that noise), but solely in accordance with whether he is running the school in whatever manner will generate a maximal annual margin.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

 February 3, Friday: George Crabbe died in Trowbridge, Wiltshire.

The *USS Lexington* reached Montevideo from the Falklands, with its prisoners, planning to detain them until Argentina acceded to United States demands.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 3rd of 2nd M / A Large School committee & the buisness pretty well managed. – We engaged to stay at the [Institution](#) another year - which never looked so heavy in prospect before, but we must try to do the best we can, & perhaps we shall get through. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 12, Sunday: The Galapagos Islands were annexed by Ecuador.

There was an outbreak of cholera in London, that would take at least 3,000 lives.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 12 of 2 M 1832 / Our Morning meeting was silent & pretty good to me – In the Afternoon our Ancient fr Joseph Hoag attended & had good service. I thought there was a good deal of Gospel Oil attending his comminication & it was a very satisfactory & comfortable Meeting to me. – he also attended our collections in each [School](#) & had something to say in both all of which I thought was encouraging to the Scholars & had a good tendency H's companion was Amos Peasly a young man who has been a Scholar at this institution since we have been here, & now looks like a promising character in our society - He is from Sandwich Moy [Monthly] Meeting in the State of N Hampshire. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 16, Thursday: On their way across the Atlantic Ocean to South America, the HMS *Beagle* and [Charles Darwin](#) arrived at the small equatorial group of islands known as St. Peter and St. Paul's Rocks (0°56'N, 29°21'W).

[Joseph Smith, Jr.](#) recorded his revelation that there were 3 degrees of glory in heaven. In addition he began teaching that all humans are “begotten sons and daughters unto God.”

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 16 of 2 M / Preparative Meeting most of the [Male Schoars](#) attended – Wm Almy as usual was much favoured in testimony. – I have often seen & been sensible of the efficacy of Religion, from inward experience, & the evidence that is a divine reality



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

has of late been much renew'd & confirmed in my mind. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 26, Sunday: Tsar Nikolai I signed an “Organic Statute” establishing direct Russian rule over Poland and abolishing that nation’s constitution.

[Frédéric François Chopin](#) gave his initial concert in Paris, in the Salle Pleyel. The performance had been organized by Frederic Kalkbrenner and Camille Pleyel and was praised by Franz Liszt and [Felix Mendelssohn](#). The hall was only a third full and many of the patrons were Polish emigres. The program included [Ludwig van Beethoven](#)’s Quintet op.29, Chopin’s F minor piano concerto, and Introduction March and Grand Polonaise for six pianos by Kalkbrenner (Chopin and Kalkbrenner took part). Antoni Orłowski would profess grandly that “All Paris was stupefied!” Chopin had “mopped up the floor with every one of the pianists here.”

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 26th of 2 M / Silent in the Morng - In the Afternoon
Lydia Breed bore a short testimony - In the eveng with Enoch &
Lydia had a long conference in our room relating to the affairs
of the [Institution](#) which resulted satisfactorily*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 28, Tuesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 28th of 2nd M / Sub-committee Meeting - subjects relating
to the [Institution](#) was pleasantly resulted - the company was
small but an agreeable number*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 26, Saturday: [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) departed London for Berlin, two weeks before the production there of Robert le diable.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*7th day 26th of 5 M / The weather having been mostly Rainy &
uncomfortable for the last week - We have been mostly confined
within doors & John has not had an opportunity to call on some
of his friends with [which] duty & inclination prompted to
This Morning we passed an interesting hour at the Mansion of our
friend [Moses Brown](#) & went to Wm Almys & Dined & in the evening
he called on Wm Jenkins. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)



July 3, Tuesday: Count Sormani-Andreani, director of Milan Conservatory, reported the unfavorable results of Giuseppe Verdi's entrance examination. Giuseppe Corbari, a civil clerk, included comments that Verdi was too old, lived outside Lombardy and Venetia, and did badly on the piano examination.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 3rd of 7 M 1832 / Today was our Sub-committee Meeting
The Subject of the existance of Cholera in the City of NYork
were introduced early in our being together & engaged our close
& very Serious attention – Our friends [Moses Brown](#) Wm Almy &
Thomas Howland were of the opinion the School ought to be
immediately vacated, & as some doubted whether this committee
had power to cause a suspension & dispension of it – It was
concluded to call a Meeting for Sufferings to act in the case
which was accordingly done – to meet tomorrow at 10 OC at the
Meeting house in [Providence](#). –*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

FRIEND MOSES BROWN

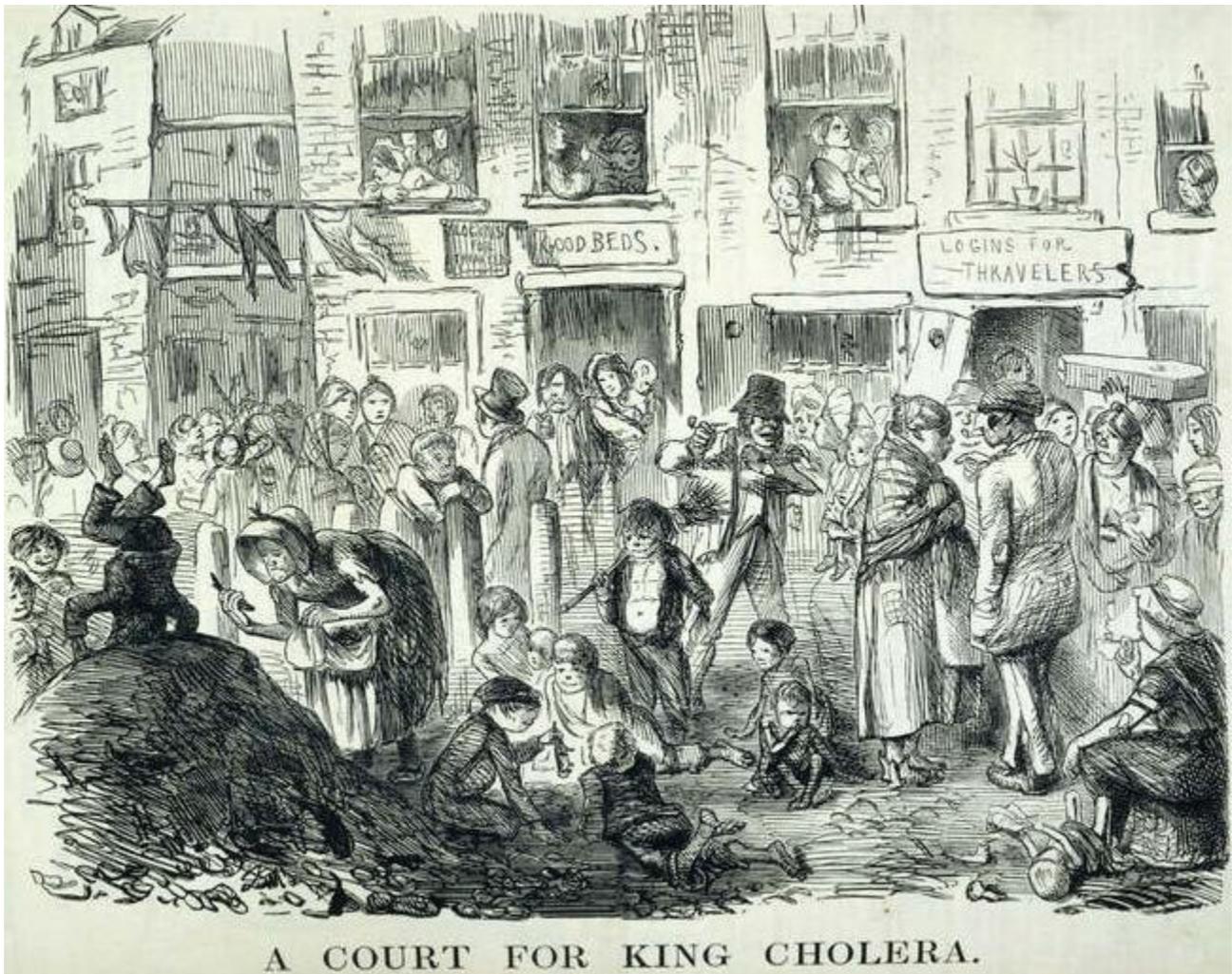
AND QUAKER EDUCATION

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

 Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 28th birthday.

The song "America" that had been jotted down by Dr. Samuel Smith on a scrap of paper was performed by Boston schoolchildren.

In New-York, Fourth of July celebrations were subdued due to a [cholera](#) epidemic.



[Prince Alexander Philipp Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied](#) and [Karl Bodmer](#) arrived in Boston harbor only to be detained there, also on account of this current epidemic.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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On the bank of the Potomac River, Henry Clay was guest of honor at a National Republican Celebration.

[CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY](#)



In England, the Durham University founded by Lord Protector Cromwell had been suppressed at the Restoration. At this point re-opening of that University was authorized by the monarch.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day the 4th of 7 M – The Meeting for Sufferings Met at the time & place, & entered into a feeling & solemn view of the Subject of the Cholera in NYork & the probability of it appearance in [Providence](#), & fully Authorised the School committee to Vacate the [School](#) in case it should appear necessary. –

In the Afternoon the committee again met & on examining the evidence before us, it did not appear that the disorder had increased in NYork & it was concluded to meet again next 7th day Afternoon, again to consider the subject & act as wisdom & prudence might then dictate

I attended the Meeting for Sufferings held at the Meeting House in Town. – Those who attended our Week day meeting at the Insitution report it to have been a remarkable solemn meeting & I did not learn there was any preaching

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



July 14, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 14th of 7 M 1832 / The sub-committee met this Afternoon & found the [School](#) reduced to about 16 of a side & not finding much to do, did not set long, & adjourned to next 7th day. – This afternoon recd a very good letter from Sister Ruth – & Also one from our dear son John.– it appears he has lately been to Albany & witnessed the progress of several cases of Cholera, & the examination of one after death, – I feel sorry he should expose himself to the infection unnecessarily. – but I must leave it, he is in the hands of Him who governs all things & will do right

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



July 15, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 15th of 7 M / Our Meeting was smaller than I ever saw it in this House – it was a time of much solemnity in the Morning Anna A Jenkins attended & was engaged in a very solemn testimony & also in Supplication. – it was a time not soon to be forgotten by most that were present. – Thos Howland was also at Meeting – In the Afternoon we were silent but solid & rather solemn –



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

Abraham Tucker was at Meeting with us. –
Our collection in the school was also a time of seriousness. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 23, Thursday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day 23 of 8 M / We attended Meeting in Town, it being preparative Meeting. – Hannah Robinson appeared in a sound & lively testimony which did me some good – Towards the close Wm Almy & Moses Brown had short offerings, but neither of the reached my feelings & State as Hannah did. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 26, Sunday: Messe in D-Dur for soloists, chorus and orchestra by Otto Nicolai was performed for the initial time, in Berlin.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*1st day 26 of 8 M / Silent Meetings at the Institution
In the eveng our beloved friend Moses Brown came & set a while with us & Attended our evening Collection & after the Scripture was read he felt engaged to make divers pertinent remarks –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 23, Sunday: In a storm at Macao, China, some 100 fishing boats were lost. After the storm 1,405 bales of cotton would be recovered floating in the sea.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*1st day 3rd of 9 M / My wife has set up most of the day & is comfortable. –
After tea, with Mary Griscom called to see our Ancient fr Moses Brown on his birthday having completed his 94th Year found him very smart & bright & had attended Meetings thro' the day –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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 October: The [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) opened for its educational year, as described by Friend Pliny Earle of the English Department: “The school-house was opened on Sunday last, pursuant to notice. In course of the week ten girls were admitted, and three boys in the Classical Department; while we [in the English Department] received so many that, were the number to double each succeeding week till April 1 (twenty-two weeks), we should then have no less than 4,194,304 pupils, more than the whole population of New England and New York combined. To save you the trouble of computation, I may as well add that we have just one solitary scholar, George Taber, a little fellow from New Bedford, who has been crying because he has been lonely, and picking potatoes for amusement.”



To the building and furnishing of the school at [Providence](#) Obadiah Brown gave four thousand two hundred and fifty dollars besides a supporting fund of one thousand dollars a year for five years. By the provisions of his will there was added to the funds of the school the munificent sum of one hundred thousand dollars, said to have been the largest single bequest made to an institution of learning in America up to that time. He also left to the school his splendid library of books and maps valued at more than six hundred and fifty dollars.

 November 6, Tuesday: [Robert Schumann](#) wrote to his mother, “I have become fully resigned and consider my hand incurable.” His loss of one hand was attributed either to a device intended to strengthen his hand or to mercury poisoning which was part of a treatment for syphilis.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day she returned finding our connections all well & leaving them so –
Our [School](#) is filling up fast, scholars come in every day*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 December 26, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

12 M 26 1832 / Went to [Smithfield](#) to attend Moy [Monthly] Meeting – A considerable number of our Scholars went – which made a pretty large Meeting – Wm Almy & Anna A Jenkins preached well – Our Ancient friend [Moses Brown](#) was able to be there & his company was very pleasant. –

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1833

➡ The rates for board and tuition at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence](#) had been cut down from \$100 per year per scholar to \$50, but due to increasing expenses were raised in this year to \$60 for [Quakers](#) (plus, for non-Friends, a surcharge).

Wanting money for general purposes, the [Rhode Island](#) state government dipped into its handy school fund — a forced loan.

The Orthodox Friends of Pennsylvania created a “school for advanced learning,” known now as Haverford College. This institution was for males and offered an education based upon Latin, Greek, science, ancient history, and literature.

QUAKER EDUCATION

➡ January 1, Tuesday: The initial issue of [Knickerbocker Magazine](#) was published, in New-York.

Sidney Smith began publishing Rochester, New York’s [Evening Advertiser](#) (he would soon turn it into a morning newspaper, to distinguish it from its afternoon rival the [Daily Advertiser](#)).

Concert Piece op.113 for clarinet, basset horn and piano by [Felix Mendelssohn](#) was performed for the initial time, in Berlin.

Leitch Ritchie began a Library of Romance series (Smith and Elder).

[Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal about his work at the [Quaker](#) Yearly Meeting Boarding School in [Providence, Rhode Island](#):

1st M 1833 / My old Book being full, at the end of the Month [12th Month, December 1832] I have concluded to make a new one for the purpose of occasional journalizing, concluding I may be less frequent in my entrys in it than for many years heretofore. — I do not feel quite satisfied to omit it altogether. — There is much of a Sameness in my daily round since I have been attached to the Yearly Meeting boarding School where we have now lived over four Years & how much longer we shall be here is uncertain - Another week may decide that we take a residence else where - & at present I am not anxious about it, tho’ I may acknowledge, our being here has been very advantageous to us in a pecuniary point of view & our outward circumstances much improved for which I desire to be thankful, & believe I am really & even humbly so. —In the course of this M we have had diverse good Meetings, & I have been out to Johnson with Wm Almy to attend the funeral of a widow Waterman Aged 88 Years, & tho’ some trials await me it has been a time of favour.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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__107

"MOSES BROWN SCHOOL"





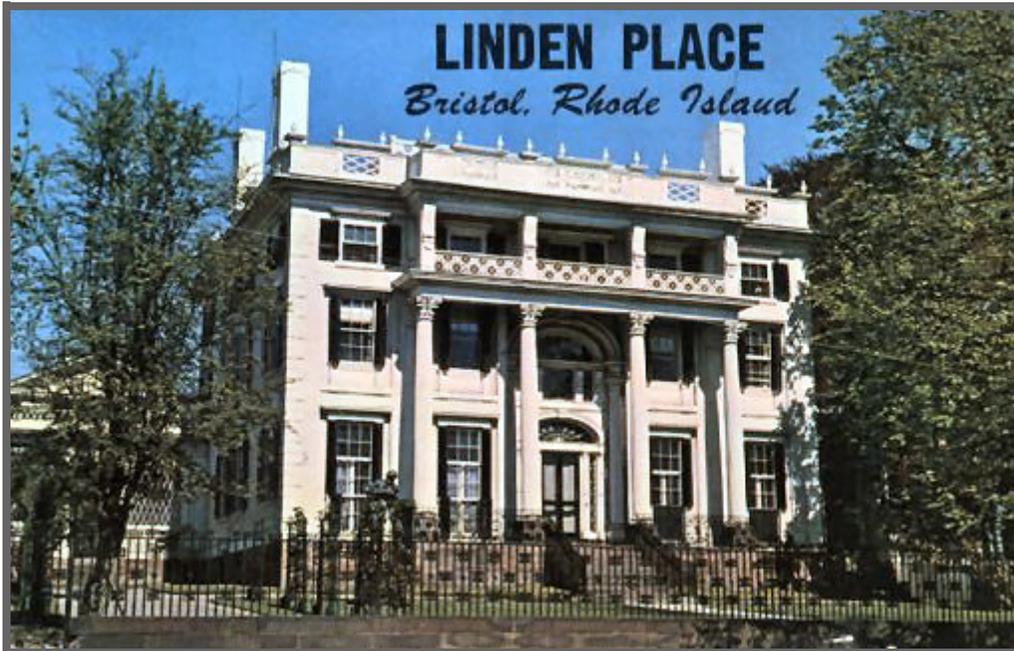
FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)



June: President Andrew Jackson visited [Newport, Rhode Island](#) and then, at the “Linden Place” mansion in downtown [Bristol](#), the President was entertained by William Henry DeWolf.¹⁰⁸



While the President stayed overnight at [Providence](#)'s City Hotel, [Friend Moses Brown](#) managed to visit him despite his 95 years and despite his severe and debilitating vertigo, mentioning that he had come down to meet him simply because he'd “met all the others.” The aged man “thee'd” and “thou'd” Old Hickory after the Quaker manner, and invited him to visit the [Yearly Meeting School](#), an invitation which the President was able to honor on the following day. The next morning, the Pawtucket artillery's salute shattered a number of windows (repair costs would be reimbursed). As the President reached the bridge at the state line of Massachusetts, he was welcomed by Josiah Quincy, Jr.

Passing through Boston, the president was ill, and was unable to view the new figurehead of the USS *Constitution*, shaped in his image.

When President Jackson arrived at Salem, Massachusetts, a large parade had been organized, but he was ill and was taken directly to his hotel. The people who cheered the presidential carriage were not aware that in the dusk they were cheering merely the shadowy bowing figures of Josiah Quincy, Jr. and Martin Van Buren inside the carriage, rather than the President himself. [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) was present and cheered with the deluded crowd, for he happened to believe that this genocidal racist, this precursor of [Adolf Hitler](#), was

the greatest man we ever had; and his native strength, as well of intellect as character, compelled every man to be his tool that came within his reach; and the cunninger the individual might be, it served only to make him the sharper tool.



But then, Hawthorne never had much judgment in these matters, as witness the fact that later in life he was

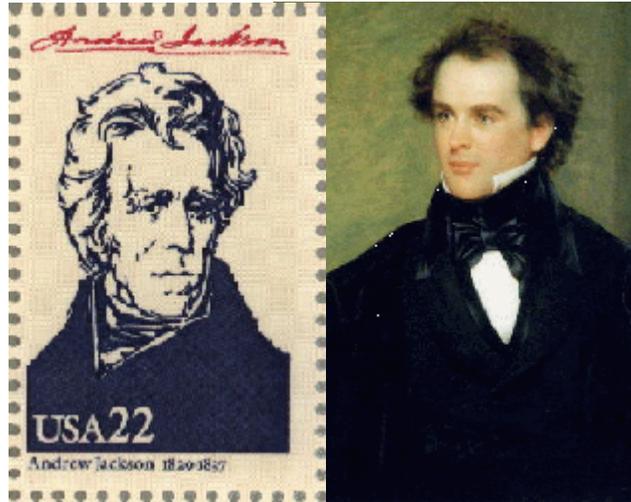
108. Birds of a feather flock together.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM



Pretty Boy Admires His Hero

willing to write a campaign biography for a drunkard who couldn't even stay on a horse, and lie about this man's racist attitudes, and help him become President of the United States, not out of any belief that he was the best person for the job but because of a personal connection (Franklin Pierce had been a "college buddy") and purely out of the expectation and hope that thereby he would receive a personal and magnificent reward.

President Jackson, in making his triumphal tour of the North, was escorted by Josiah Quincy, Jr., son of the Josiah Quincy who had been the president of [Harvard College](#). Jackson's appearance in Cambridge to pick up his obligatory, honorary Harvard degree became something of a spectacle when, as a man of the people, he mocked an address in Latin by spouting nonsense Latin.¹⁰⁹

[NOTE: Compare and contrast this episode with Thoreau's later remark about John Brown, with regard to the comparative unimportance of being able to set a Greek accent remark at the correct slant, versus being able to prop a fallen human being into an upright posture.]

109. Quincy, Josiah, Jr. "President Jackson Gives 'Em a Little Latin," pages 364-7 in THE HARVARD BOOK: SELECTIONS FROM THREE CENTURIES. Bentinck-Smith, William, ed. (Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, revised edition 1982).



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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1834

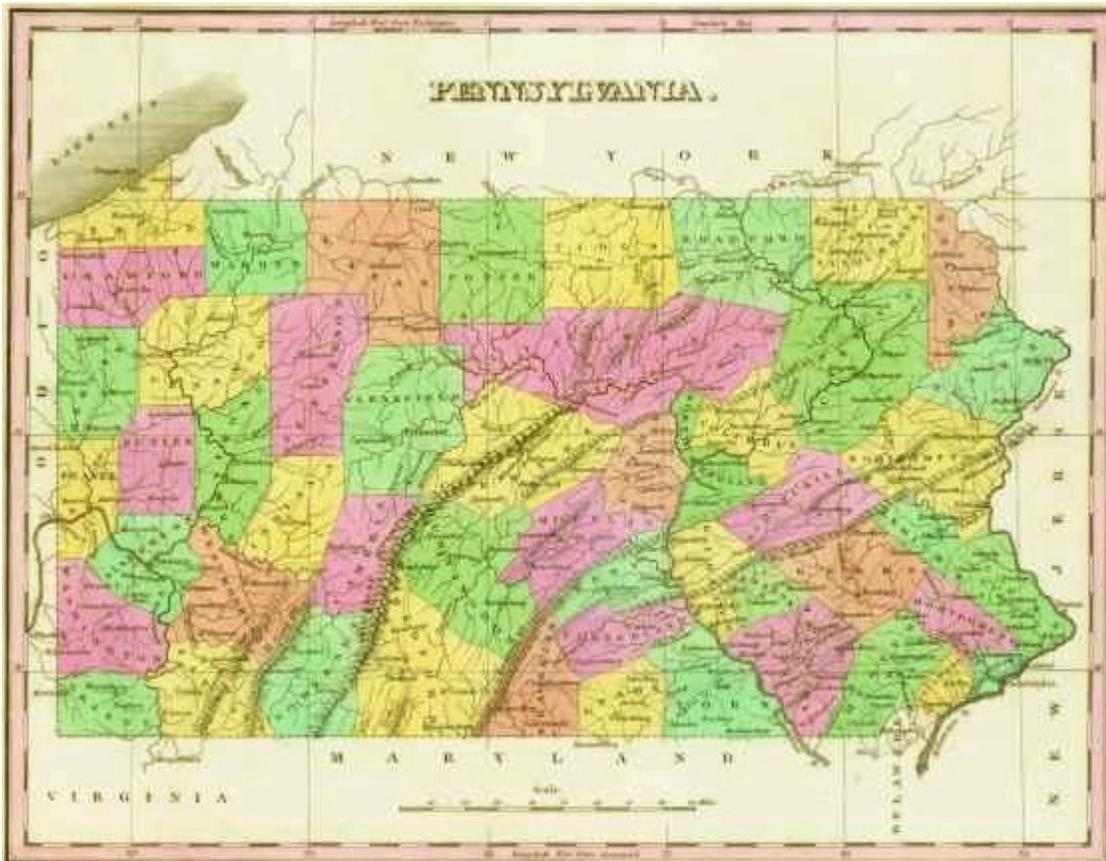


There were 170 young scholars enrolled at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence](#). Enrollment would begin to decline.

In the previous year the government of [Rhode Island](#) had been in need of some extra cash, and so of course it had forced itself a loan out of its educational fund. By this point the state owed the fund \$12,884.30. (By 1838 it would “owe” its education fund \$14,662.)

The “Act to provide for the education of children at public expense within the City and County of Philadelphia” that had been proposed in 1818 by [Friend](#) Roberts Vaux, an overseer of [Quaker](#) schools, was at this point enacted by the Pennsylvania Legislature. The bill provided for schoolhouses, teachers, and supervision by state controllers.

This is likely to have been the map of Pennsylvania available to Henry Thoreau, from the atlas of Anthony Finley:





FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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 January: The [Rhode Island](#) general assembly declared that unless property devoted to religious or educational purposes was under a charter granted by that assembly, it would be subject to taxation. Religious bodies were forbidden to possess real estate over and above their several churches and the lots upon which these churches stood, exceeding \$10,000 in value.

[YEARLY MEETING SCHOOL](#)

[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)

 January 31, Friday: Duelists from [Boston](#) fought on the [Moses Brown](#) farm (it seems likely that the [duel](#) occurred near the Cold Spring on the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) side of the Red Bridge). The duelists were Robert C. Hooper, Esq., a merchant, and Joseph Jones, Esq. (familarly known as “Shocko” Jones because his hometown was [Shocko, North Carolina](#)). The North Carolinian was a student at the Harvard Law School and the quarrel was over an alleged slur on the honor of a Miss Marian Marshall. The duel was fought with pistols at eight paces. After exchanging shots the parties returned to Boston, arriving at Tremont House at 11:30 P.M.

[Daniel Webster](#) delivered an address on “The Removal of the Deposits” in the US Senate in which he derogated the presumption that the poor, because they are poor, inherently harbor animosity toward the rich, because they are rich. What a silly supposition, the exact opposite of the truth!¹¹⁰

Sir, there is one other subject on which I wish to raise my voice. There is a topic which I perceive is to become the general war-cry of party, on which I take the liberty to warn the country against delusion. Sir, the cry is to be raised that this is a question between the poor and the rich. I know, Sir, it has been proclaimed, that one thing was certain, that there was always a hatred on the part of the poor toward the rich; and that this hatred would support the late measures, and the putting down of the bank. Sir, I will not be silent at the threat of such a detestable fraud on public opinion. If but ten men, or one man, in the nation will hear my voice, I will still warn them against this attempted imposition.

Mr. President, this is an eventful moment. On the great questions which occupy us, we all look for some decisive movement of public opinion. As I wish that movement to be free, intelligent, and unbiassed, the true manifestation of the public will, I desire to prepare the country for another appeal, which I perceive is about to be made to popular prejudice, another attempt to obscure all distinct views of the public good, to overwhelm all patriotism and all enlightened self-interest, by loud cries against false danger, and by exciting the passions of one class against another. I am not mistaken in the omen; I see the magazine whence the weapons of this warfare are to be drawn. I hear already the din of the hammering of arms preparatory to the combat. They may be such arms, perhaps, as reason, and justice, and honest patriotism cannot resist. Every

110. Edwin P. Whipple's THE GREAT SPEECHES AND ORATIONS OF DANIEL WEBSTER WITH AN ESSAY ON DANIEL WEBSTER AS A MASTER OF ENGLISH STYLE (Boston: Little, Brown, 1879).



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effort at resistance, it is possible, may be feeble and powerless; but, for one, I shall make an effort, – an effort to be begun now, and to be carried on and continued, with untiring zeal, till the end of the contest.

Sir, I see, in those vehicles which carry to the people sentiments from high places, plain declarations that the present controversy is but a strife between one part of the community and another. I hear it boasted as the unfailing security, the solid ground, never to be shaken, on which recent measures rest, **that the poor naturally hate the rich.** I know that, under the cover of the roofs of the Capitol, within the last twenty-four hours, among men sent here to devise means for the public safety and the public good, it has been vaunted forth, as matter of boast and triumph, that one cause existed powerful enough to support every thing and to defend every thing; and that was, **the natural hatred of the poor to the rich.**

Sir, I pronounce the author of such sentiments to be guilty of attempting a detestable fraud on the community; a double fraud; a fraud which is to cheat men out of their property, and out of the earnings of their labor, by first cheating them out of their understandings.

"The natural hatred of the poor to the rich!" Sir, it shall not be till the last moment of my existence, –it shall be only when I am drawn to the verge of oblivion, when I shall cease to have respect or affection for any thing on earth, –that I will believe the people of the United States capable of being effectually deluded, cajoled, and **driven about in herds**, by such abominable frauds as this. If they shall sink to that point, if they so far cease to be men, thinking men, intelligent men, as to yield to such pretences and such clamor, they will be slaves already; slaves to their own passions, slaves to the fraud and knavery of pretended friends. They will deserve to be blotted out of all the records of freedom; they ought not to dishonor the cause of self-government, by attempting any longer to exercise it; they ought to keep their unworthy hands entirely off from the cause of republican liberty, if they are capable of being the victims of artifices so shallow, of tricks so stale, so threadbare, so often practised, so much worn out, on serfs and slaves.

"The natural hatred of the poor against the rich!" "The danger of a moneyed aristocracy!" "A power as great and dangerous as that resisted by the Revolution!" "A call to a new declaration of independence!" Sir, I admonish the people against the object of outcries like these. I admonish every industrious laborer in the country to be on his guard against such delusion. I tell him the attempt is to play off his passions against his interests, and to prevail on him, in the name of liberty, to destroy all the fruits of liberty; in the name of patriotism, to injure and afflict his country; and in the name of his own independence, to destroy that very independence, and make him a beggar and a slave. Has he a dollar? He is advised to do that which will destroy half its value. Has he hands to labor? Let him rather fold them, and sit still, than be pushed on, by fraud and



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artifice, to support measures which will render his labor useless and hopeless.

Sir, the very man, of all others, who has the deepest interest in a sound currency, and who suffers most by mischievous legislation in money matters, is the man who earns his daily bread by his daily toil. A depreciated currency, sudden changes of prices, paper money, falling between morning and noon, and falling still lower between noon and night, – these things constitute the very harvest-time of speculators, and of the whole race of those who are at once idle and crafty; and of that other race, too, the Catilines of all times, marked, so as to be known for ever by one stroke of the historian's pen, **those greedy of other men's property and prodigal of their own.** Capitalists, too, may outlive such times. They may either prey on the earnings of labor, by their **cent. per cent.**, or they may hoard. But the laboring man, what can he hoard? Preying on nobody, he becomes the prey of all. His property is in his hands. His reliance, his fund, his productive freehold, his all, is his labor. Whether he work on his own small capital, or another's, his living is still earned by his industry; and when the money of the country becomes depreciated and debased, whether it be adulterated coin or paper without credit, that industry is robbed of its reward. He then labors for a country whose laws cheat him out of his bread. I would say to every owner of every quarter-section of land in the West, I would say to every man in the East who follows his own plough, and to every mechanic, artisan, and laborer in every city in the country, – I would say to every man, everywhere, who wishes by honest means to gain an honest living, "Beware of wolves in sheep's clothing. Whoever attempts, under whatever popular cry, to shake the stability of the public currency, bring on distress in money matters, and drive the country into the use of paper money, stabs your interest and your happiness to the heart."

The herd of hungry wolves who live on other men's earnings will rejoice in such a state of things. A system which absorbs into their pockets the fruits of other men's industry is the very system for them. A government that produces or countenances uncertainty, fluctuations, violent risings and fallings in prices, and, finally, paper money, is a government exactly after their own heart. Hence these men are always for change. They will never let well enough alone. A condition of public affairs in which property is safe, industry certain of its reward, and every man secure in his own hard-earned gains, is no paradise for them. Give them just the reverse of this state of things; bring on change, and change after change; let it not be known to-day what will be the value of property to-morrow; let no man be able to say whether the money in his pockets at night will be money or worthless rags in the morning; and depress labor till double work shall earn but half a living, – give them this state of things, and you give them the consummation of their earthly bliss.

Sir, the great interest of this great country, the producing



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cause of all its prosperity, is labor! labor! labor! We are a laboring community. A vast majority of us all live by industry and actual employment in some of their forms. The Constitution was made to protect this industry, to give it both encouragement and security; but, above all, security. To that very end, with that precise object in view, power was given to Congress over the currency, and over the money system of the country. In forty years' experience, we have found nothing at all adequate to the beneficial execution of this trust but a well-conducted national bank. That has been tried, returned to, tried again, and always found successful. If it be not the proper thing for us, let it be soberly argued against; let something better be proposed; let the country examine the matter coolly, and decide for itself. But whoever shall attempt to carry a question of this kind by clamor, and violence, and prejudice; whoever would rouse the people by appeals, false and fraudulent appeals, to their love of independence, to resist the establishment of a useful institution, because it is a bank, and deals in money, and who artfully urges these appeals wherever he thinks there is more of honest feeling than of enlightened judgment, — means nothing but deception. And whoever has the wickedness to conceive, and the hardihood to avow, a purpose to break down what has been found, in forty years' experience, essential to the protection of all interests, by arraying one class against another, and by acting on such a principle as **that the poor always hate the rich**, shows himself the reckless enemy of all. An enemy to his whole country, to all classes, and to every man in it, he deserves to be marked especially **as the poor man's curse!**

 February 11, Tuesday: New-York's Platt Street opened.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 11 of 2 m Rode in the Stage to Pawtucket to attend the funeral of Timothy Greene — I learn Timothy was much favoured in his last Illness & apparantly made a good close. — his corpse was singularly tranquil in countenance, & to me this has seemed an earnest of a quiet spirit in an after state — for tho' I have known some instances of this kind where it was justifiable to entertain doubts of future well being — yet not knowing how far the Mediatlional office of Jesus Church may prevail with the Father — I feel most satisfied to consider the countenance of Corpse Somewhat of an Index of an After State — The setting was a solid one — Lydia Breed was much favooured in testimony & many people were present. — After the funeral I walked back to the [Institution](#) thro' the New turnpike rode

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April 17, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 17th of 4th M 1834 / Attended Meeting in Town, it being Preparative & Select meeting In the Public Meeting Wm Almy, [Moses Brown](#), & Anna A Jenkins Spoke & tho' the forepart of it was painful, in ended under a good savour – In the last Meeting the queries were Answered & a communication was recd from a Man who stands as a Member, requesting to be dismissed from Society, & forwarded to the Moy [Monthly] Meeting – In our Select Meeting it was a searching & Very distressing season, but we were favoured to close well or pretty well, & I hope some good was done – It is time the Elders look around them & see what is for them to do. They ought to be Watchmen & Watch Women on the Walls of Zion, & it is greatly to be feared that unless they do stand firm & arrest wrong things & wrong doctrines in their first appearance, that our society will become quite another thing & the Doctrines of our Dear Ancient friends become very much despised or perverted at least, for there Are Doctrines advanced both in England & this country which are at variance with those held in the primitve days of the Society - My soul has long mourned over it & been sorely distressed with apprehensions that some are "Merging" into the Doctrines of other Societies instead of supporting our own.

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12th day of 5th month, Monday: Extracts from the will of Friend [Moses Brown](#) dated 12th day of fifth month, 1834, and from the codicil to the said will dated the 25th day of sixth month, 1835, relating to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England as a legatee, as copied from the official clerk's copy in the municipal records at the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) Town Hall by [Friend John R. Kellam](#) during October 2007 and February 2008:

Essential Summary of Items in last Will of Moses Brown. Executed 12th of 5th Month, 1834, and subsequent Codicil Executed 25th d, 6th Month, 1835; Approved for Probate as received October 11, 1836.

Docket No. A5706

Item 1st. To grand daughter Avis L. Harris, my Brick House Farm in Providence (city since 1832) and North Providence where William Earl now lives, containing about 175 acres

...

Item 33rd. To the Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, either by sea or by land, for the manumission of slaves and for the protection of the free people of colour, – acting under the Charter granted by the Legislature of this State, one share in Providence Banke.

Item 34th. I give to Providence Monthly Meeting of Friends, as



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a legal body, two shares in Providence Banke as a fund, the dividends, or income of which to be applied to the education of Friends' children belonging to said Meeting, in Friends School in this City.

I also give to said Monthly Meeting, one hundred dollars' worth of Friends' Books, for their library, to be kept in this City.

[Item] 35th. I give and bequeath, to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, a note of hand and mortgage, signed by Joseph Hawes, John Brewer, Henry Holden, Joshua B. Woods, and their wives, for the sum of Fifteen Thousand Dollars, – as a fund, the interest of which only, to be appropriated and used for the following purposes, –

One third part thereof to be added to the charitable fund of Friends' Boarding School in Providence, excepting so much of the income thereof as may be sufficient to pay the schooling herein given to divers persons, and such others as may be scholars in said School at my expense, at the time of my decease, which is to be paid out of this third part, – the interest of the said third part thereafter to be applied by the School Committee, as a charitable fund, for the schooling of such members of the Society as are actually poor, supported or not, as such, by the respective Monthly Meetings; – and females are to have equal advantage of the whole of this legacy, as males.

One other third part of the income of the said note and mortgage is to be applied towards paying the teachers in the respective departments, who dwell in the said school house, and have the care of the scholars out of, as well as in, school hours, watching over their morals in love for their good – equally to each of them.

11. The other third part, or Five Thousand Dollars, together with the interest thereof, to be reserved until there shall be offered a tract of land suitable for the institution, in its vicinity, which can be purchased for its value. – The School Committee are then, notwithstanding the foregoing restriction to the use of the interest only, hereby authorized to appropriate the said sum, or any part thereof, as may appear to them necessary, – to the purchase of the same, to belong to the said Institution, in fee simple forever. – And whereas it is most likely that the interest on the last mentioned Five Thousand Dollars may accumulate, therefore, notwithstanding the foregoing limitations and directions for the disposing of the same, it is my Will, that in case a larger Meeting House should be required in this City, sufficient to hold Yearly Meetings in, the said interest to be applied to



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that purpose, – and the said School Committee are hereby authorized to appropriate the same accordingly.

[Item] 36th. I further give to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, for their Boarding School, all such books as I have marked in my catalogue for that purpose. –

And I intend to leave directions, in writing, with my executors and executrixes, for the disposal of such other parts of my library of books, maps, papers and apparatus, as are not herein disposed of; – but in case I do not leave directions, the same are to be considered as embraced in the residuary Item of this Instrument.

[Item] 37th. I also give to the said Yearly Meeting, to remain as an appendage to the same School Institution forever, about two acres of land, with the dwelling house and shop thereon, – where Joseph Cole now lives, divided and separated from the school house lot by the road on the East of said school house lot.

[Item] 38th. I give and devise to my son in-law William Almy, my four and a quarter shares of thatch-beds lying near his salt-marsh, in the Cove above Weybosset Bridge, one of which was my father's; the other three and a quarter rights I purchased of sundry persons as per Deeds, to him, his heirs and assigns.

[Item] 39th. I give to Charles William Jenkins son of William Jenkins and his deceased wife Hannah, two shares in Manufacturers' Bank.

[Item] 40th. I give to William B. Tobey and Samuel B. Tobey sons of my grand daughter Sarah Lockwood Tobey deceased and Doct. Samuel B. Tobey, eight shares in Smithfield Union Bank; committing the same to the care, control and management of their said father – by selling and investing the same in some other safe Institution, or otherwise, at his discretion, until they arrive to the age of twenty-one years; when the said sons are to receive the same, together with the dividends, interest or income thereof, equally between them, which their father is to pay them, as and for their legacy.

[Item] 41st. I is my Will, that in all Legacies of notes or hands or mortgages, herein given, all the unpaid interest go with the same, to the legatees; and also the dividends on Bank and Turnpike stocks, declared after my decease, go with the stocks.

[Item] 42^d. I give to my great grand children, Sarah Brown Jenkins, and Anna Almy Jenkins, children of William Jenkins and Anna Almy Jenkins, – ten shares in Central Bridge, equally between them; and commit them to the care of their said father, until they become of age.

[Item] 43^d. I give to my amiable grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins



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wife of William Jenkins, and daughter of my daughter Sarah deceased, wife of William Almy, – the occupancy, use and improvement of my Homestead Farm where I now live, with all the buildings and appurtenances thereto belonging, – containing two hundred and fifty acres, be the same more or less, – and to her children after her, – for and during her and their natural lives: – and in case her children or any of them survive and are living to and at the age of twenty-one years, – or marry or have a child or children, – then and in either of those cases, my Will and Testament is, that they, or either of them who live to the age of twenty-one years, or marry and have a child or children, shall have, and I hereby give and devise to them, the said Farm, after their mother's life time, in fee simple forever. But in case there shall not be any such child of my said grand-daughter Anna Almy Jenkins, surviving to the age of twenty-one years, or that has or have a child or children living, – then and in that case my Will and Testament is, and I hereby give and devise the Reversionary Fee Simple of my Homestead Farm mentioned, after the decease of my said grand daughter and her said children, to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, to be by them applied to and as, and for an additional appendage to the Institution of the Boarding School standing on the Lot I heretofore gave for the erection of the same thereon. And it is my will, that the same and all the estates herein given to them, do vest in and remain to, the Yearly Meeting and their successors holding the same Christian faith and doctrines, as exemplified in the writings of George Fox, George Whitehouse, William Penn, Robert Barclay, and others of our early Friends, professors of the Christian Religion of our blessed Lord and Saviour, both as to his outstanding manifestations in the body, and inward Divine Light, Spirit, Grace, and Truth, for the conversion, regeneration, preservation and sanctification of the mind and soul of man, and is truly taught in the Scriptures when opened by the same divine spirit which superintended the writers thereof, for the very great benefit, strength and comfort of all pious people who read them, – and especially for the instruction and edification of religious, seeking minds of both young and old.

[Item] 44th. I also give to my said grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins, for and during her natural life, the following Estates, viz: –

My farm in Seekonk, containing about three hundred acres more or less, whereon my tenant parol Adam Comstock now lives: –

My lot of land, of thirty-six acres, now under lease to Jonathan Niles: –

My lot, and my stores standing thereon, nearly opposite the Providence Bank, extending from the Main Street to the lot I gave my son Obadiah Brown deceased, on which he caused a block of brick stores to be built and which he left to his niece, the said Anna Almy Jenkins, and are now in her possession: And after her decease, my Will is, and I hereby give the said Estates, to



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her surviving children, equally between them, their heirs and assigns, forever. – And should any of the said estates, by the decease of my said grand-daughter, become the property of any of her said children during their minority, – my Will is, that their father, William Jenkins, have the care, use, and improvement of the same, or of such minors proportion thereof, until they shall respectively become of age.

[Item] 45th. I give and devise unto my said grand daughter, Anna Almy Jenkins, the following lots or parcels of land, to her, heirs and assigns, forever; viz, – my House and Lot, – my Seven Acre and Hat-Factory Lots, – with the shop lately occupied by Arnold Wilkinson, – my Watered Meadow Lot, a little farther Northward, extending from the Main Street to the river, containing, by estimation, three acres, more or less, and is bounded Southerly by a lot of her father's, and Northerly by a road leading to Thurber's Mills, as the fence stands, – all situated at the Northerly part of this City: – My bleach-yard lot, adjoining the Old Cotton Mill Lot, and the lot rented to the Fire Engine Company in Pawtucket, in North Providence X my house and lot in Seekonk, near Central Bridge; – my Ridge Hill Lot, South thereof; my Gravelly-Hill Lot, South of the Creek flowing between this and the last-mentioned lot; – my Long Meadow Lot, still further South; – all purchased by Deeds: – the latter belonging to my predecessor, is included in the Deed of my House Farm; – my lots bounded Easterly by the stone wall lately through the Swamp meadow, from Angell Street to Old Gaol Lane (dividing between these lots and the lots hereinbefore given to Avis L. Harris,) and extending Westward from said stone wall to old Prospect Street, on the hill, leaving ten feet to widen said Street on the East side: (these lots are bounded on the North, partly by Friends Burial Ground:) – Also the small barn standing on one of the said lots: – the lots Westward of said Prospect Street, to Mathew Watson's and John Smith's house-lots, which said last-mentioned lot I sold to Benjamin Smith, son of the said John Smith; – leaving to the City, the correction of the mistake of leaving two avenues from Angell Street into Prospect Street. I say mistake – for it so appeared to the Town Council and to others – on considering my memorial to them on the subject: – and it was proposed to correct the same by widening the old street Eastward, to fifty feet; – but the business is not yet finished, but I trust will be regulated: – Also twenty seventy-one parts of the house and about ten acres of land belonging to the old proprietors of Central Bridge.

I also give my grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins, five shares in the Central Bridge, – a silver tankard, marked I. A. A., – a pint silver porringer, marked the same: – a pint silver-can, marked O.B to A.B., and a silver pepper-box marked the same: – all my undisposed of shares in Providence Bank, – all my undisposed of shares in Manufacturers' Bank.

And I furthermore express my will and decree that both my grand daughters herein mentioned, do their endeavours, as far



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as they can, to leave the Bank Shares, or the amount thereof, to their own heirs, without the control or disposal of any other person.

[Item] 46th. Finally, - I hereby give, devise and bequeath unto my said grand-daughter, Anna Almy Jenkins, all the residue and remainder of my estate and estates, real, personal and mixed, wheresoever lying and being, after all my just debts are paid out of the same; - which are few and small, - to her, her heirs and assigns.

I hereby nominate, constitute and appoint my friends and kinsmen Bates Harris, William Jenkins and William J. Harris, my executors, and my grand children Anna Almy Jenkins and Avis L. Harris my executrixes to this my Last Will and Testament, who are to receive, out of my Estate, ample compensation for their services.

In Witness whereof, I the said Moses Brown hereunto set my hand and affix my seal, this 12th day of the fifth month, in the Year of Our Lord, one thousand, eight hundred and thirty-four. 1834.

s/ Moses Brown {L.S.}

Signed, sealed, published, pronounced and	}
declared, by the said Moses Brown, as and	}
for his Last Will and Testament, in the	}
presence of us, who, at the time, at his	}
request, in his presence and in the	}
presence of each other hereunto set	}
our names as witnesses to the same.	}
Edward M. Robinson.	}
Welcome Congdon.	}
George C. Arnold.	}
William L. Patten.	}

I, Moses Brown of Providence in the County of Providence, State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Do make and ordain this Instrument as and for a codicil to my Last Will and Testament bearing date the twelfth day of the fifth month, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, - as follows, -

Whereas, my grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins wife of William Jenkins since the execution of my Last Will and Testament, aforesaid, has borne a son, born on or about the seventh day of the second month, this year, whose name is Moses Brown Jenkins, and whom I am desirous, if it be the Divine Will, may survive to enjoy a part of the estate his will has placed in my hands to dispose of; - and it is my Will, that in case he the said Moses Brown Jenkins should live to the twenty-one years, or marry and have a child, he should have, and I hereby give, devise, and bequeath unto him, the whole of my homestead farm where I now live, in Providence Neck, after the life time of my



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grand daughter his mother, to whom the same farm is given in my said Will and Testament during her natural life – any thing proposed or written in my said Will to the contrary notwithstanding. – And it is my further Will and pleasure, if he survive as aforesaid, that he have an equal share and part of my other estate given in my aforesaid Last Will to his mother and to his two sisters Sarah Brown and Anna Almy Jenkins as fully as though my Will was re-drawn and now executed including the same. And my meaning is, that the three children be otherwise equal in my estate, save this grant and devise to my namesake, as aforesaid.

And whereas, in Item 33 of my said Will, I have given one share in Providence Bank, to the Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, tr, “as by Charter established,” – and it not appearing probable that there may be another meeting of said Society legally convened, I do therefore make null and void that particular legacy as therein bequeathed; and do hereby give unto my trusty friends George W. Benson and Hugh H. Brown, in Trust, for the use of the Providence AntiSlavery Society, the said one share.

[Subscribing witnesses to codicil: William L. Patten, Jonathan Freeborn, James P. Hoskins, and Perry J. Chace. Both instruments, will and codicil were adjudged to be proved by Albert G. Greene, Clerk, and with a letter testamentary recorded on 18th day of October, A.D. 1836 in Will Book 14, pages 23-28.]

 June 11, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 6 M 11th 1834 / Early this Morning Ann V Allen daughter of Gideon Allen of [New Bedford](#) Died at the [Institution](#) aged 13 Years She was taken on 7th day last with a distressing disease which proved to be the Dropsy in the Head - her Agony was great till very near the close & she was deprived of reason very soon after she was taken – In the Afternoon her father carried her home for Internment - This event was an exceedingly trying one -not only to us but throughout the whole Institution

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 June 15, Sunday: Despite Hungarian opposition, Prince von Metternich granted permission for the publication in Zagreb of a political newspaper and literary magazine in Croatian.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 15th of 6th M 1834 / Our public Meetings were very large



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- In the Morning Richard Mott had the weight of the Service very much to the gratification, & I trust the edification of the people present, & particularly to the comfort of his friends. - In the Afternoon Richd was sick & was not at Meeting - there were divers offerings most of which were Satisfactory & I thought the people were very quiet & a good degree of solid weight over the Meeting. -

This Morning I had the Satisfaction to Meet our dear John Stanton Gould on the Long Wharf when the Steam Boat landed her pasangers - it was matter of Mutual regret to us he could not have been here to have attended the funeral of his beloved Aunt Ruth, but it was orderd otherwise & it is our duty to submit. - Second Day Morning the Meeting opened under a solemn covering - & as I cannot [two pages repeated] recollect with sufficient precision to enter each days exercise. I must close the account by inserting that it was a season of uncommon favour & a general harmony prevailed & a sense of love was singularly manifest in the progress of the buisness of the Meeting - It closed on 6th day forenoon, & my wife having the Service of Clerk to perform we could not return to the School House on 7th day but were detained in [Newport](#) till 12 OClock on first day, when we took the NYork Boat which had been detained in the fog, but we reached the [School House](#) just after the Afternoon Meeting had commenced - we did not go into Meeting but caught the dripings in the entry & heard a living Sermon from Rebecca Updegraft

We regretted not being able to Stay in [Newport](#) to attend the funeral of our Ancient friend & worthy Elder Hepzibah Buffum who died yesterday - but it seemed most prudent to return - under a thankful sense of a week of divine favour, tho' the loss of our dear & truly valuable Sister Ruth, was trying & Afflicting to our feelings, but the consoling belief that she has escaped a world of conflict & great suffering for a year past, & is doubtless translated into another & far better country - assuages all our privation & loss sustained by her removal.

In addition, (until 6th day) we had the company of our dear John who left us before the Meeting closed, his buisness at Hudson requiring his return. It is a great consolation to us that he retains the Principles, & in a very good degree the appearance of a Friend & is much attached to Society taking an interest in the concerns of it, & is actively engaged in promoting many good things - particularly Temperance. We desire & I trust we are, humbly thankful that he has thus far, been in good measure preserved & our prayer to God is, that he may be enlarged in every good word & Work. -

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August 4, Monday: Abraham Lincoln, age 24, was elected to the [Illinois](#) General Assembly as a member of the Whig party. He would begin to study law.

Barthelemy Theodore, chevalier de Theux de Meylandt replaced Jean Louis Joseph Lebeau as head of government for Belgium.

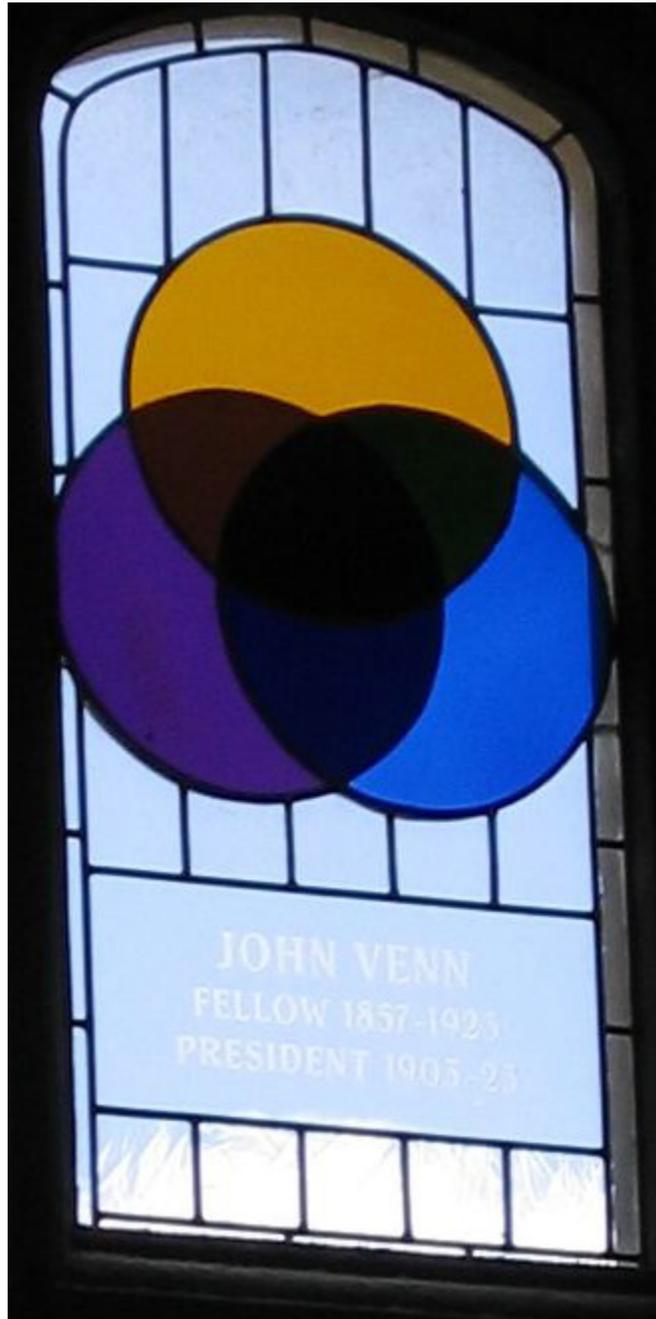


FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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[John Venn](#) was born at Hull in Yorkshire.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 4 of 8th M 1834 / Joseph Bowne returned from his religious visit to the eastern Quarterly Meeting & attended the Afternoon Meeting in Town yesterday – today he called here at the [Institution](#) & sat less than an hour & then returned homeward



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taking the SteamBoat for NewYork.

This Afternoon took a pleasant & interesting walk to [Moses Browns](#) Bridge with the little girls -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 13, Wednesday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*4th day 13th of 8th M 1834 / Our Meeting was silent but some favour experienced - This Afternoon I have been favoured to feel very quietly & pleasantly. It is comfortable to feel the Mind tendered & sweetened by the fresh incomes of Divine life. [Moses Brown](#) called & set some time with us this Afternoon, he showed us a few lines he had recd from Josiah Foster, accompanying the London Eoistles both of which we read, that to the Mens & Womens Yearly Meeting. - which produced a Solemnity & quiet over our Minds. -
I have had one letter & one verbal account from [Newport](#), which impart that Aunt Nancy is not worse than when we left her. -*

The Evening Transcript:

The general excitement occasioned by the proceedings of night before last at Charlestown, and which yesterday-for the honor of the city be it said-raged among us with an earnestness corresponding to the atrocious character of that affair, has today, in a good degree, subsided. To the active exertions of the Mayor, and other municipal authorities-the spirit and unanimity with which these were seconded by the whole community, and especially the great meeting called at Faneuil Hall-and finally, to the very commendable course pursued, as will be seen, by the Reverend Bishop Fenwick-must it be attributed, that after so stormy a day, the night passed off without disturbance in any direction. At Charlestown, also, the proceedings of the public meeting undoubtedly had a similar effect.

Among all the comment excited by this unprecedented enormity, we have noticed none which more justly describes the nature of the case than that of the Atlas, a portion of which we transfer to our columns.

What a scene must this midnight conflagration have exhibited-lighting up the inflamed countenances of an infuriated mob of demons-attacking a convent of women, a seminary for the instruction of young females, and turning them out of their beds, half naked in the hurry of their flight, and half dead with confusion and terror. And this drama, too, to be enacted on the very soil that afforded one of the earliest places of refuge to the puritan fathers of New England-themselves flying



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from religious persecution in the old world-that their descendants may wax strong and mighty, and in their turn be guilty of the same persecution in the new!

We remember no parallel to this outrage in the whole course of history. Turn to the bloodiest incidents of the French Revolution-roll up the curtain that hangs before its most sanguinary scenes-and point us to its equal in unprovoked violence, in brutal outrage, in unthwarted iniquity. It is in vain that we search for it. In times of civil commotion and general excitement-of confusion, and cruelty, and blood-when the edifice of civil society was shaken to its base and crumbling into ruin-when the foundations of the great deep were broken up, and rapine and fire and murder, were sweeping like a torrent over the land-in times like these there was some palliation for violence and outrage, in the tremendously excited state of the public mind.

But here there was no such palliation. The Courts of Justice were open to receive complaints of any improper confinement, or unauthorized coercion. The civil magistrates were, or ought to be on the alert, to detect any illegal restraint, and bring its authors to the punishment they deserve. But nothing of the kind was detected. The whole matter was a cool, deliberate, systematized piece of brutality-unprovoked-under the most provoking circumstances totally unjustifiable-and visiting the citizens of the town, and most particularly its magistrates and civil officers, with indelible disgrace.

The violation of the tomb in the garden, alone, would seem sufficient to justify these remarks, severe as they are. The feelings with which, yesterday morning, we witnessed the rude exposure of those remains to the glare of the day, and the gaze of an indiscriminate multitude, are such as we hope may never be aroused again.

The destruction of the Bishop's Lodge, in front of the Convent, has not excited much comment; but we cannot forbear expressing our regret-especially since the publication of the course adopted by that prelate on this occasion-that a large and valuable library, consisting of classical and other works, should have been utterly consumed in the common ruin which overwhelmed the whole establishment; not a single book was saved.

We rejoice that no occasion arose last night for the application of any of the means provided by the authorities and the citizens generally, for the preservation of good order. Large numbers of volunteers acted as special constables and watchmen during the



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night, the firemen were on the alert, and the Independent companies had made arrangements for very prompt attendance in case of necessity, but fortunately none of their services were required.

MEETING OF THE CATHOLICS. So great was the excitement among the Catholics, that Bishop Fenwick deemed it necessary to call a meeting at the Church in Franklin street. The account of which, we copy from the Gazette of this morning.

At 6 o'clock several hundred were assembled, when the Bishop came in and addressed them for about thirty minutes, in a most eloquent and judicious manner. He deserves the warmest commendation from his Protestant fellow citizens, for the admirable style in which he managed this business. Previous to speaking, the Bishop read a part of the fifth chapter of Matthew, containing the following among other verses:

"you have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. But I say to you, not to resist evil: but if one strike thee on thy right cheek, turn to him also the other.

"And if a man will contend with thee in judgment, and take away thy coat, let go thy cloak also unto him. And whosoever will force thee one mile, go with him other two.

"You have heard that it hath been said, Thou shall love thy neighbor, and hate thy enemy. But I say to you, love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that persecute and calumniate you."

Bishop Fenwick then proceeded to address his hearers, embracing several hundred of both sexes. He spoke of the destruction of the Usuline Convent and the adjacent buildings. He spoke also of the beauty and utility of that institution, and alluded to its growing popularity among the intelligent classes, both in this vicinity and at a distance. Among the pupils of the institution were some from Louisiana, and the West India Islands. After denouncing the conduct of the incendiaries in appropriate terms, he asked, "What is to be done? Shall we say to our enemies, you have destroyed our buildings, and we will destroy yours? No, my brethren, this is not the religion of Jesus Christ-this is not in accordance with the spirit of that blessed religion we all profess. Turn not a finger in your own defence, and there are those around you who will see that justice is done you."

The Bishop then complimented the City Authorities and others for the stand they had taken in defence of the rights of the Catholics; and he assured his hearers that they had the sympathies of all respectable citizens. The



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destruction of the Convent, he said, was an act of the most degraded of the human species, and it met with no favor from the intelligent people of Boston. He impressed upon the minds of his Catholic brethren the fact, that it was not their duty to seek revenge for this vile act; and said that that man was an enemy to the religion he professed, and would put the Catholic Church in jeopardy, who should raise a finger against their opponents at this time.

The Bishop said he had no fears that those who were present would act in opposition to his advice and if any acts of violence were committed, it would be by those who, with perhaps a commendable ardor and alacrity, were rushing to their aid from a distance, and who may not have correct information on the subject. He enjoined it upon all present as solemn duty, to inform these individuals, if they should fall in with any of them, of what he had said, and the advice he had just given them.

He concluded his admirable remarks-which were delivered in a most impressive manner-by assuring his hearers that the Public Authorities were not idle spectators of what was passing. They are on the alert, (said he) and it is your duty to remain quiet, to remain peaceable, and they will see you righted.

GREAT MEETING AT CHARLES TOWN

A meeting was called yesterday afternoon by the Selectmen, for the purpose of obtaining an expression of the opinions of the citizens, in regard to the recent outrage. Dr. Thompson was chosen Moderator, and P. Dodge Esq, Secretary. The following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, That a liberal reward be offered by the Town, for the detection of the authors of the outrage last night committee.

Resolved, That a committee of five persons be appointed to report such resolutions as it may be expedient for the town to adopt, and to nominate a Committee Vigilance.

The following persons were appointed: Hon E. Everett, Capt Whipple, John Soley Esq, William Austin Esq, and John Skinner Esq.

The above committee retired, but soon returned and reported the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, The Ursuline Convent, in this town, was attacked last night by a riotous and lawless assemblage, its peaceful and unoffending inmates-consisting exclusively of women and children-driven out, and the Convent, after being pillaged, was, with the adjacent



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buildings, reduced to ashes, therefore

Resolved, unanimously, by the citizens of Charlestown, in town meeting assembled, that we regard with feelings of indignation and horror, the aforesaid lawless acts of midnight violence, committed within the limits of town.

Resolved, unanimously, that the citizens here assembled consider it a duty to themselves and the town, to take all proper measures to ascertain the authors and perpetrators of the aforesaid acts of violence and outrage, committed in a manner unexampled in this country-in defiance of the laws, and in violation of those feelings of honor and humanity, by which the innocent and defenceless are place under the protection of all good citizens.

Resolved, That it is the incumbent duty of all good citizens, to co-operate with the Selectmen and the magistrates in detecting and bringing to justice all persons concerned as perpetrators and abettors of outrages so discreditable to the community in which we live, and to the country at large.

Resolved, That the following persons be appointed a Committee of Vigilance, whose duty it shall be in conjunction with the Selectmen, to take such measures as may be necessary to reserve the public peace, and to detect the perpetrators of the outrages last night committed, biz: Gen N. Austin, Joseph Tufts, Esq, David Devens, Esq, J. K. Frothingham Esq, Capt L. Turner, Dr A. R. Thompson, Capt Joe F. Boyd, Benjamin Thompson Esq, Dr J. S. Hurd, and Wm Sawyer Esq.

Resolutions were also passed, authorizing the Committee of Vigilance to offer a suitable reward, not exceeding \$1000, for the detection of the projectors of the conflagration, to be paid in proportion to the degree of guilt proved against the offenders, and requesting the Governor of the Commonwealth to offer a suitable reward for a similar purpose.

The Rev Mr Byrne, Catholic Priest, made some just and pertinent remarks, and assured the meeting that he had used, and he hoped effectually, the most untiring exertions to prevent a reaction on the part of the Catholics. He was listened to with marked attention.

Mr Everett, after reading the resolutions, drawn up by himself, made a few brief, but energetic remarks, and the resolutions were carried nem con.



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 August 20, Wednesday: In 1777 Friend [Moses Brown](#) had gone into his harvest field and called his laborers together, and offered to pay them extra wages if they would be willing to dispense with the usual allowance of distilled spirits that employers of that period provided to their laborers. At this point he confided to his journal that “I have never Since being now 57 years furnished Any Spirits in Harvest or Hay Time, & I have My business done better and the Laborers come in and go out More Quiet and Satisfactory to them & their Family than they used to do when Spirits were freely Given and Used by them.”

Aboard the *Pilgrim*, [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) began to learn the ropes, but some of these “ropes,” such as the rope known as race relations, Dana already knew with sufficient precision. For instance, at numerous points in his nautical narrative there would be references to “the cook” by occupational title, and he would repeatedly be characterized as simple-hearted and as old and as African, but one thing we will **never** learn is that for our adventurous author a black person has a name.

 November 14, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 11M 14 1834 / After a residence of Six Years lacking 8 days My wife left the [Institution](#) today in the Steam Boat President for [Newport](#) where we expect to reside for a time - I expect to follow her in a few days & join in the cares of our family

Aunt Nancy Carpenter having requested in her life time that we would keep her family together & also left me one of the Executors of her Will renders it necessary we should be in [Newport](#) - we therefore resigned our Standing in the Institution at [Providence](#) at the last Meeting of the General Committee

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Hughes Bernard Maret, duc de Bassano replaced Etienne Maurice, comte Gerard as prime minister of France.

In Parma, [Nicolò Paganini](#) played his 1st concert in Italy since he left in 1828.

The *Pilgrim* entered the Pacific Ocean and began to turn toward the north:

Friday, Nov. 14th. We were now well to the westward of the Cape, and were changing our course to the northward as much as we dared, since the strong south-west winds, which prevailed then, carried us in towards Patagonia. At two, P.M., we saw a sail on our larboard beam, and at four we made it out to be a large ship steering our course, under single-reefed topsails. We at that time had shaken the reefs out of our topsails, as the wind was lighter, and set the main top-gallant sail. As soon as our captain saw what sail she was under, he set the fore top-gallant sail and flying jib; and the old whaler- for such, his boats and short sail showed him to be- felt a little ashamed, and shook the reefs out of his topsoils, but could do no more, for he had sent down his top-gallant masts off the Cape. He ran down for us, and answered our hail as the whale-ship, *New England*, of Poughkeepsie, one hundred and twenty days from New York. Our



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Wednesday, Aug. 20th. We had the watch on deck from four till eight, this morning. When we came on deck at four o'clock, we found things much changed for the better. The sea and wind had gone down, and the stars were out bright. I experienced a corresponding change in my feelings; yet continued extremely weak from my sickness. I stood in the waist on the weather side, watching the gradual breaking of the day, and the first streaks of the early light. Much has been said of the sun-rise at sea; but it will not compare with the sun-rise on shore. It wants the accompaniments of the songs of birds, the awakening hum of men, and the glancing of the first beams upon trees, hills, spires, and house-tops, to give it life and spirit. But though the actual rise of the sun at sea is not so beautiful, yet nothing will compare with the early breaking of day upon the wide ocean.

There is something in the first grey streaks stretching along the eastern horizon and throwing an indistinct light upon the face of the deep, which combines with the boundlessness and unknown depth of the sea around you, and gives one a feeling of loneliness, of dread, and of melancholy foreboding, which nothing else in nature can give. This gradually passes away as the light grows brighter, and when the sun comes up, the ordinary monotonous sea day begins.

From such reflections as these, I was aroused by the order from the officer, "Forward there! rig the head-pump!" I found that no time was allowed for day-dreaming, but that we must "turn to" at the first light. Having called up the "idlers," namely, carpenter, cook, steward, etc., and rigged the pump, we commenced washing down the decks. This operation, which is performed every morning at sea, takes nearly two hours; and I had hardly strength enough to get through it. After we had finished, swabbed down, and coiled up the rigging, I sat down on the spars, waiting for seven bells, which was the sign for breakfast. The officer, seeing my lazy posture, ordered me to slush the main-mast from the royal-mast-head, down. The vessel was then rolling a little, and I had taken no sustenance for three days, so that I felt tempted to tell him that I had rather wait till after breakfast; but I knew that I must "take the bull by the horns," and that if I showed any sign of want of spirit or of backwardness, that I should be ruined at once. So I took my bucket of grease and climbed up to the royal-mast-head. Here the rocking of the vessel, which increases the higher you go from the foot of the mast, which is the fulcrum of the lever, and the smell of the grease, which offended my fastidious senses, upset my stomach again, and I was not a little rejoiced when I got upon the comparative terra firma of the deck. In a few minutes seven bells were struck, the log hove, the watch called, and we went to breakfast. Here I cannot but remember the advice of the cook, a simple-hearted African. "Now," says he, "my lad, you are well cleaned out; you haven't got a drop of your 'long-shore swash aboard of you. You must begin on a new tack,—pitch all your sweetmeats overboard, and turn-to upon good hearty salt beef and sea bread, and I'll promise you, you'll have your ribs well sheathed, and be as hearty as any of 'em, afore you are up to the Horn." This would be good advice to give to passengers, when they speak of the little niceties which they have laid in, in case of sea-sickness.

I cannot describe the change which half a pound of cold salt beef and a biscuit or two produced in me. I was a new being. We had a watch below until noon, so that I had some time to myself; and getting a huge piece of strong, cold, salt beef from the cook, I kept gnawing upon it until twelve o'clock. When we went on deck I felt somewhat like a man, and could begin to learn my sea duty with considerable spirit. At about two o'clock we heard the loud cry of "Sail ho!" from aloft, and soon saw two sails to windward, going directly athwart our hawse. This was the first time that I had seen a sail at sea. I thought then, and have always since, that it exceeds every other sight in interest and beauty. They passed to leeward of us, and out of hailing distance; but the captain could read the names on their sterns with the glass. They were the ship *Helen Mar*, of New York, and the brig *Mermaid*, of Boston. They were both steering westward, and were bound in for our "dear native land."



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captain gave our name, and added ninety-two days from Boston. They then had a little conversation about longitude, in which they found that they could not agree. The ship fell astern, and continued in sight during the night. Toward morning, the wind having become light, we crossed our royal and skysail yards, and at daylight, we were seen under a cloud of sail, having royals and skysails fore and aft. The "spouter," as the sailors call a whaleman, had sent out his main top-gallant mast and set the sail, and made signal for us to heave to. About half-past seven their whale-boat came alongside, and Captain Job Terry sprang on board, a man known in every port and by every vessel in the Pacific ocean. "Don't you know Job Terry? I thought everybody knew Job Terry," said a green-hand, who came in the boat, to me, when I asked him about his captain. He was indeed a singular man. He was six feet high, wore thick cowhide boots, and brown coat and trowsers, and, except a sun-burnt complexion, had not the slightest appearance of a sailor; yet he had been forty years in the whale trade, and, as he said himself, had owned ships, built ships, and sailed ships. His boat's crew were a pretty raw set, just set out of the bush, and, as the sailor's phrase is, "hadn't got the hayseed out of their hair." Captain Terry convinced our captain that our reckoning was a little out, and, having spent the day on board, put off in his boat at sunset for his ship, which was now six or eight miles astern. He began a "yarn" when he came aboard, which lasted, with but little intermission, for four hours. It was all about himself, and the Peruvian government, and the *Dublin* frigate, and Lord James Townshend, and President Jackson, and the ship *Ann M'Kim* of Baltimore. It would probably never have come to an end, had not a good breeze sprung up, which sent him off to his own vessel. One of the lads who came in his boat, a thoroughly countrified-looking fellow, seemed to care very little about the vessel, rigging, or anything else, but went round looking at the live stock, and leaned over the pig-sty, and said he wished he was back again tending his father's pigs.

At eight o'clock we altered our course to the northward, bound for Juan Fernandez.

This day we saw the last of the albatrosses, which had been our companions a great part of the time off the Cape. I had been interested in the bird from descriptions which I had read of it, and was not at all disappointed. We caught one or two with a baited hook which we floated astern upon a shingle. Their long, flapping wings, long legs, and large staring eyes, give them a very peculiar appearance. They look well on the wing; but one of the finest sights that I have ever seen, was an albatross asleep upon the water, during a calm, off Cape Horn, when a heavy sea was running. There being no breeze, the surface of the water was unbroken, but a long, heavy swell was rolling, and we saw the fellow, all white, directly ahead of us, asleep upon the waves, with his head under his wing; now rising on the top of a huge billow, and then falling slowly until he was lost in the hollow between. He was undisturbed for some time, until the



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noise of our bows, gradually approaching, roused him, when, lifting his head, he stared upon us for a moment, and then spread his wide wings and took his flight.



November 22, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 22nd of 11th M 1834 / It is just Six Years today, the same day of the Month & Week, since we Came to [Providence](#) to reside at the [yearly Meeting School](#) - I am still here, but my wife returned to [Newport](#) more than a Week ago - our things are packed up or nearly so, & I am waiting for the Packet to come up & take them on board, to convey them to our Native town & former residence.

Alas what changes have taken place there since we left it, many whom we loved in life were intimately associated with, have gone to their long homes, to be Seen of men no more, yet some are left who we shall be glad to greet again as friends & neighbours on this side of the grave. - Since our residence at [Providence](#) we have enjoyed much & suffered much, & after all have much to be thankful for.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



November 26, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

On the 26th of 11th M I left the [Institution](#) after taking leave of both Schools, the Help in the Kitchen, & those who usually are occupants of the setting room - at 12 OC went on board the Steam boat Benj Franklin & returned to [Newport](#). -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



December 24, Wednesday: [Robert Schumann](#) purchased all publication rights to the Neue Zeitschrift fur Musik, making him the sole owner.

Little more than a year after he entered the Paris Conservatoire, Jacques Offenbach was officially removed from the list of students, voluntarily.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 24th of 12 M 1834 / I have lately recd a letter from Wm Rickman of Rochester England now in the 90th Year of his Age it was written in a fair & pretty firm hand, tho' the tremulous hand of Age appears in some parts of it - yet it evinces a lively frame of spirit & shows that the religion of his youth is not Lost in old age & that he yet occasionally travels in the Ministry & in the course of the last summer took a circuit of many Miles & attended three Quarterly Meetings. - I have this Afternoon recd a letter from My dear friend [Moses Brown](#), now in



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the 97th Year of his age in a hand writing nearly as good as W Rickmans & evincing the same greenness in old age & liveliness of Spirit which convinced him of Friends principles in the Morning of life & is now the guide & staff of his old age. – I shall keep these letters as precious mementos of these venerable Friends the first I was acquainted with when here on a religious visit in the Year [blank] And with the latter I have been long intimately & interestingly acquainted before I lived in [Providence](#) & while there was much united in travel of spirit for the welfare of society & the Institution, with which we were connected.

It is not likely I shall ever have many more letters from those Friends, tho' if M B continues in Mutability I may occasionally get one from him. –& I am willing here to record that he has been my long tried & well proven Friend - I love & venerate his name

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1835

 Friend [Moses Brown](#)'s nephew Nicholas Brown was one out of a very long list of vice-presidents of a newly founded Providence Anti-Abolition Society. For information about the agenda of this curious group, you may want to refer to "Anti-abolition Meeting," an article in the [Providence Daily Journal](#) for November 4th, 1835 which is to be found on the website of the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice at <http://dl.lib.brown.edu/slaveryandjustice/>:

Resolved, That we regard the efforts of the Anti-Slavery Societies as most injurious to the welfare of the slaves; that, in our opinion, all such efforts lead to exasperate their passions, to agitate their minds with fallacious hopes; to render necessary their subjection to unwonted restraints; and, more than all, to postpone to an indefinite period all such changes in their condition as their owners, under the direction of an enlightened benevolence, might aim to accomplish.

Resolved, That, although the Anti-Slavery Societies disclaim all intention to excite servile insurrections, yet we believe that the tendency of their exaggerated statements and inflammatory appeals is, not only to create feverish discontent among the slaves, but to cause such an explosion of their worst passions as would spread havoc and consternation over entire regions of our country.¹¹¹

SERVILE INSURRECTION

111. Page 417 in Donna McDaniel's and Vanessa Julye's FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).



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At the racially segregated [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) that had been created by Friend [Moses Brown](#), things were not going swimmingly. Finding that the governing committees of the Yearly Meeting resisted his expenditures to develop the school, Friend John Griscom resigned from his position as headmaster of the academic department.



Two other teachers also left: Samuel Gummere was hired by a school that had been founded in 1833 in Haverford, Pennsylvania,





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and Pliny Earle decided to attend Medical College in Philadelphia.



The average annual enrollment of pupils would continue to decline.

In this year Friends Enoch Breed and Lydia Breed were replaced as superintendents by Friends Seth Davis and Mary Davis.

Superintendents.

1819-1824.	Purinton, Matthew and Betsy.
1824-1835.	Breed, Enoch and Lydia.
1829-1835.	Gould, Stephen Wanton and Gould, 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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March 25, Wednesday: Gaetano Donizetti departed from Paris after modest success, to return to [Naples](#).

When he would get back in [Newport](#) on the evening of the 27th from this trip to [Providence](#), [Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) would write of the events of this day in his journal:

4th day 25th of 3 M 1835 / This morning rose by 4 O'clock & got breakfast & went to the head of the Long Wharf to wait for the Steam Boat which arrived in season for me to get to [Providence](#) by 9 O'clock after attending to a little business I went to the Monthly Meeting held there - which to me was a season of favour, of Memorable favour - Hannah Robinson appeared in a very satisfactory testimony to me - Then Dorcas Paine in testimony of solid weight & good savour & then H Robinson appeared in supplication & if it was not attended with life I do not understand what the life is - In the last meeting the business was conducted well - I had asked the preceeding Preparative Meeting for a Certificate directed to [Rhode Island](#) Moy [Monthly] Meeting which request was recognized & Enoch Breed & Arnold Congdon appointed to make the necessary inquiry & prepare one to be presented next Month

Report was made by a committee that they had laboured with John Albertson & considered further labour useless - this was an Ancient plain friend & who I knew had been useful in society & served as an overseer - not understanding by the report what the nature of the complaint was I requested to have the minute of last Month read by which I found [that he] had petitioned for & received the allowance which government had made to the old revolutionay Officers & Soldiers, he having been one - when I found the nature of the Offense a conversation which I had at last Yearly Meeting with Old Thomas Davis of Weare Moy [Monthly] Meeting who was himself a Soldier & was engaged in Service at Bunker Hill - occurred to me with so much weight that it seemed as if I should be short in duty not to in Form the Meeting of it & requested the Youth present to mark the expressions Thos told me that ne never had any disposition to receive the Stypend allowed by government - for the little payment he had received seemed like a curse upon him. - After Meeting I went up to the School House & dined & spent the Afternoon then went down to [Moses Browns](#) drank tea spent a pleasant evening & lodged I found him sick with a cold & hard cough & If I had not seen him recover from a much worse state, I should conclude it was the last time I should ever see him in mutability - After breakfasting with my Aged & dearly beloved friend I went to Town - visited Mary Griscom & then walked out to see my dear friend Wm Almy who has recently had an attack of Paralysis & lost the use of his left side, but has recovered so as to walk with help, but his hand is nearly useless - his mouth considerably drawn & his speech rather thick - his mind was clear, & his conversation correct, & his feelings very tender & loving - he wept frequently in speaking of subjects, & individuals that interested him, particularly of the departure of our late dear friend Abigail



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Robinson. Soon after dinner I prepared to leave him when in speaking of some subject we both were much tenderd & after I had got out the door, he sent for me back to request me to send his love to our Son John at Hudson - that he should remember him at that time, in so affectionate a manner & so much brokenness of spirit was very affecting to my feelings, & quite broke me into tears, which I could not surpress till I got considerable distance from his house.

When I got into Town I call & set an hour at Dr Tobey & then went out to the School House - spent the Afternoon took tea & lodged there - on 6th day Morning the 27th - I came into town, & called a while at Jon[athon] Congdons - then on my way to the boat attended to a little buisness, & called on several of my old friends - we had a slow time down the River in very thick fog & some rain - it was so thick a fog that the boat was obliged to Stand Still several times, & we did not get to [Newport](#) till 4 OClock. -

While I was at [Providence](#) I thought if I never went there again, I could say my last visit was a good one. -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 25th day of 6th month: Extracts from the will of Friend [Moses Brown](#) dated 12th day of fifth month, 1834, and from the codicil to the said will dated the 25th day of sixth month, 1835, relating to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England as a legatee, as copied from the official clerk's copy in the municipal records at the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) Town Hall by [Friend John R. Kellam](#) during October 2007 and February 2008:

Essential Summary of Items in last Will of Moses Brown. Executed 12th of 5th Month, 1834, and subsequent Codicil Executed 25th d, 6th Month, 1835; Approved for Probate as received October 11, 1836.

Docket No. A5706

Item 1st. To grand daughter Avis L. Harris, my Brick House Farm in Providence (city since 1832) and North Providence where William Earl now lives, containing about 175 acres

...

Item 33rd. To the Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, either by sea or by land, for the manumission of slaves and for the protection of the free people of colour, - acting under the Charter granted by the Legislature of this State, one share in Providence Banke.

Item 34th. I give to Providence Monthly Meeting of Friends, as a legal body, two shares in Providence Banke as a fund, the dividends, or income of which to be applied to the education of Friends' children belonging to said Meeting, in Friends School in this City.

I also give to said Monthly Meeting, one hundred dollars' worth of Friends' Books, for their library, to be kept in this City.

[Item] 35th. I give and bequeath, to the Yearly Meeting of



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Friends for New England, a note of hand and mortgage, signed by Joseph Hawes, John Brewer, Henry Holden, Joshua B. Woods, and their wives, for the sum of Fifteen Thousand Dollars, – as a fund, the interest of which only, to be appropriated and used for the following purposes, –

One third part thereof to be added to the charitable fund of Friends' Boarding School in Providence, excepting so much of the income thereof as may be sufficient to pay the schooling herein given to divers persons, and such others as may be scholars in said School at my expense, at the time of my decease, which is to be paid out of this third part, – the interest of the said third part thereafter to be applied by the School Committee, as a charitable fund, for the schooling of such members of the Society as are actually poor, supported or not, as such, by the respective Monthly Meetings; – and females are to have equal advantage of the whole of this legacy, as males.

One other third part of the income of the said note and mortgage is to be applied towards paying the teachers in the respective departments, who dwell in the said school house, and have the care of the scholars out of, as well as in, school hours, watching over their morals in love for their good – equally to each of them.

11. The other third part, or Five Thousand Dollars, together with the interest thereof, to be reserved until there shall be offered a tract of land suitable for the institution, in its vicinity, which can be purchased for its value. – The School Committee are then, notwithstanding the foregoing restriction to the use of the interest only, hereby authorized to appropriate the said sum, or any part thereof, as may appear to them necessary, – to the purchase of the same, to belong to the said Institution, in fee simple forever. – And whereas it is most likely that the interest on the last mentioned Five Thousand Dollars may accumulate, therefore, notwithstanding the foregoing limitations and directions for the disposing of the same, it is my Will, that in case a larger Meeting House should be required in this City, sufficient to hold Yearly Meetings in, the said interest to be applied to that purpose, – and the said School Committee are hereby authorized to appropriate the same accordingly.

[Item] 36th. I further give to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, for their Boarding School, all such books as I have marked in my catalogue for that purpose. –

And I intend to leave directions, in writing, with my executors and executrixes, for the disposal of such other parts of my



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library of books, maps, papers and apparatus, as are not herein disposed of; – but in case I do not leave directions, the same are to be considered as embraced in the residuary Item of this Instrument.

[Item] 37th. I also give to the said Yearly Meeting, to remain as an appendage to the same School Institution forever, about two acres of land, with the dwelling house and shop thereon, – where Joseph Cole now lives, divided and separated from the school house lot by the road on the East of said school house lot.

[Item] 38th. I give and devise to my son in-law William Almy, my four and a quarter shares of thatch-beds lying near his salt-marsh, in the Cove above Weybosset Bridge, one of which was my father's; the other three and a quarter rights I purchased of sundry persons as per Deeds, to him, his heirs and assigns.

[Item] 39th. I give to Charles William Jenkins son of William Jenkins and his deceased wife Hannah, two shares in Manufacturers' Bank.

[Item] 40th. I give to William B. Tobey and Samuel B. Tobey sons of my grand daughter Sarah Lockwood Tobey deceased and Doct. Samuel B. Tobey, eight shares in Smithfield Union Bank; committing the same to the care, control and management of their said father – by selling and investing the same in some other safe Institution, or otherwise, at his discretion, until they arrive to the age of twenty-one years; when the said sons are to receive the same, together with the dividends, interest or income thereof, equally between them, which their father is to pay them, as and for their legacy.

[Item] 41st. I is my Will, that in all Legacies of notes or hands or mortgages, herein given, all the unpaid interest go with the same, to the legatees; and also the dividends on Bank and Turnpike stocks, declared after my decease, go with the stocks.

[Item] 42^d. I give to my great grand children, Sarah Brown Jenkins, and Anna Almy Jenkins, children of William Jenkins and Anna Almy Jenkins, – ten shares in Central Bridge, equally between them; and commit them to the care of their said father, until they become of age.

[Item] 43^d. I give to my amiable grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins wife of William Jenkins, and daughter of my daughter Sarah deceased, wife of William Almy, – the occupancy, use and improvement of my Homestead Farm where I now live, with all the buildings and appurtenances thereto belonging, – containing two hundred and fifty acres, be the same more or less, – and to her children after her, – for and during her and their natural lives: – and in case her children or any of them survive and are living



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to and at the age of twenty-one years, – or marry or have a child or children, – then and in either of those cases, my Will and Testament is, that they, or either of them who live to the age of twenty-one years, or marry and have a child or children, shall have, and I hereby give and devise to them, the said Farm, after their mother's life time, in fee simple forever. But in case there shall not be any such child of my said grand-daughter Anna Almy Jenkins, surviving to the age of twenty-one years, or that has or have a child or children living, – then and in that case my Will and Testament is, and I hereby give and devise the Reversionary Fee Simple of my Homestead Farm mentioned, after the decease of my said grand daughter and her said children, to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, to be by them applied to and as, and for an additional appendage to the Institution of the Boarding School standing on the Lot I heretofore gave for the erection of the same thereon. And it is my will, that the same and all the estates herein given to them, do vest in and remain to, the Yearly Meeting and their successors holding the same Christian faith and doctrines, as exemplified in the writings of George Fox, George Whitehouse, William Penn, Robert Barclay, and others of our early Friends, professors of the Christian Religion of our blessed Lord and Saviour, both as to his outstanding manifestations in the body, and inward Divine Light, Spirit, Grace, and Truth, for the conversion, regeneration, preservation and sanctification of the mind and soul of man, and is truly taught in the Scriptures when opened by the same divine spirit which superintended the writers thereof, for the very great benefit, strength and comfort of all pious people who read them, – and especially for the instruction and edification of religious, seeking minds of both young and old.

[Item] 44th. I also give to my said grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins, for and during her natural life, the following Estates, viz: –

My farm in Seekonk, containing about three hundred acres more or less, whereon my tenant parol Adam Comstock now lives: –

My lot of land, of thirty-six acres, now under lease to Jonathan Niles: –

My lot, and my stores standing thereon, nearly opposite the Providence Bank, extending from the Main Street to the lot I gave my son Obadiah Brown deceased, on which he caused a block of brick stores to be built and which he left to his niece, the said Anna Almy Jenkins, and are now in her possession: And after her decease, my Will is, and I hereby give the said Estates, to her surviving children, equally between them, their hiers and assigns, forever. – And should any of the said estates, by the decease of my said grand-daughter, become the property of any of her said children during their minority, – my Will is, that their father, William Jenkins, have the care, use, and improvement of the same, or of such minors proportion thereof, until they shall respectively become of age.



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[Item] 45th. I give and devise unto my said grand daughter, Anna Almy Jenkins, the following lots or parcels of land, to her, heirs and assigns, forever; viz, - my House and Lot, - my Seven Acre and Hat-Factory Lots, - with the shop lately occupied by Arnold Wilkinson, - my Watered Meadow Lot, a little farther Northward, extending from the Main Street to the river, containing, by estimation, three acres, more or less, and is bounded Southerly by a lot of her father's, and Northerly by a road leading to Thurber's Mills, as the fence stands, - all situated at the Northerly part of this City: - My bleach-yard lot, adjoining the Old Cotton Mill Lot, and the lot rented to the Fire Engine Company in Pawtucket, in North Providence X my house and lot in Seekonk, near Central Bridge; - my Ridge Hill Lot, South thereof; my Gravelly-Hill Lot, South of the Creek flowing between this and the last-mentioned lot; - my Long Meadow Lot, still further South; - all purchased by Deeds: - the latter belonging to my predecessor, is included in the Deed of my House Farm; - my lots bounded Easterly by the stone wall lately through the Swamp meadow, from Angell Street to Old Gaol Lane (dividing between these lots and the lots hereinbefore given to Avis L. Harris,) and extending Westward from said stone wall to old Prospect Street, on the hill, leaving ten feet to widen said Street on the East side: (these lots are bounded on the North, partly by Friends Burial Ground:) - Also the small barn standing on one of the said lots: - the lots Westward of said Prospect Street, to Mathew Watson's and John Smith's house-lots, which said last-mentioned lot I sold to Benjamin Smith, son of the said John Smith; - leaving to the City, the correction of the mistake of leaving two avenues from Angell Street into Prospect Street. I say mistake - for it so appeared to the Town Council and to others - on considering my memorial to them on the subject: - and it was proposed to correct the same by widening the old street Eastward, to fifty feet; - but the business is not yet finished, but I trust will be regulated: - Also twenty seventy-one parts of the house and about ten acres of land belonging to the old proprietors of Central Bridge.

I also give my grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins, five shares in the Central Bridge, - a silver tankard, marked I. A. A., - a pint silver porringer, marked the same: - a pint silver-can, marked O.B to A.B., and a silver pepper-box marked the same: - all my undisposed of shares in Providence Bank, - all my undisposed of shares in Manufacturers' Bank.

And I furthermore express my will and decree that both my grand daughters herein mentioned, do their endeavours, as far as they can, to leave the Bank Shares, or the amount thereof, to their own heirs, without the control or disposal of any other person.

[Item] 46th. Finally, - I hereby give, devise and bequeath unto my said grand-daughter, Anna Almy Jenkins, all the residue and remainder of my estate and estates, real, personal and mixed,



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wheresoever lying and being, after all my just debts are paid out of the same; – which are few and small, – to her, her heirs and assigns.

I hereby nominate, constitute and appoint my friends and kinsmen Bates Harris, William Jenkins and William J. Harris, my executors, and my grand children Anna Almy Jenkins and Avis L. Harris my executrixes to this my Last Will and Testament, who are to receive, out of my Estate, ample compensation for their services.

In Witness whereof, I the said Moses Brown hereunto set my hand and affix my seal, this 12th day of the fifth month, in the Year of Our Lord, one thousand, eight hundred and thirty-four. 1834.

s/ Moses Brown {L.S.}

Signed, sealed, published, pronounced and }
declared, by the said Moses Brown, as and }
for his Last Will and Testament, in the }
presence of us, who, at the time, at his }
request, in his presence and in the }
presence of each other hereunto set }
our names as witnesses to the same. }
 Edward M. Robinson. }
 Welcome Congdon. }
 George C. Arnold. }
 William L. Patten. }

I, Moses Brown of Providence in the County of Providence, State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Do make and ordain this Instrument as and for a codicil to my Last Will and Testament bearing date the twelfth day of the fifth month, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, – as follows, –

Whereas, my grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins wife of William Jenkins since the execution of my Last Will and Testament, aforesaid, has borne a son, born on or about the seventh day of the second month, this year, whose name is Moses Brown Jenkins, and whom I am desirous, if it be the Divine Will, may survive to enjoy a part of the estate his will has placed in my hands to dispose of; – and it is my Will, that in case he the said Moses Brown Jenkins should live to the twenty-one years, or marry and have a child, he should have, and I hereby give, devise, and bequeath unto him, the whole of my homestead farm where I now live, in Providence Neck, after the life time of my grand daughter his mother, to whom the same farm is given in my said Will and Testament during her natural life – any thing proposed or written in my said Will to the contrary notwithstanding. – And it is my further Will and pleasure, if he survive as aforesaid, that he have an equal share and part of my other estate given in my aforesaid Last Will to his mother and to his two sisters Sarah Brown and Anna Almy Jenkins as fully



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as though my Will was re-drawn and now executed including the same. And my meaning is, that the three children be otherwise equal in my estate, save this grant and devise to my namesake, as aforesaid.

And whereas, in Item 33 of my said Will, I have given one share in Providence Bank, to the Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, tr, "as by Charter established," – and it not appearing probable that there may be another meeting of said Society legally convened, I do therefore make null and void that particular legacy as therein bequeathed; and do hereby give unto my trusty friends George W. Benson and Hugh H. Brown, in Trust, for the use of the Providence AntiSlavery Society, the said one share.

[Subscribing witnesses to codicil: William L. Patten, Jonathan Freeborn, James P. Hoskins, and Perry J. Chace. Both instruments, will and codicil were adjudged to be proved by Albert G. Greene, Clerk, and with a letter testamentary recorded on 18th day of October, A.D. 1836 in Will Book 14, pages 23-28.]



August 6, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 6 of 8 M / Again went to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Quarterly Meeting at large, - It was a season of Watering under the Ministry of Moses Beede & Mead Atwater - Ruth Davis in supplication at the conclusion - The Meeting for buisness was not long - very little buisness but the Answers to the queries before it. - After Meeting we rode home without dinner & got into town in season to get on board the Lexington for [Providence](#) & arrived there just after Sunsett & went to my dear Friend [Moses Browns](#) & lodged - found him well & very glad to see me - I spent the evening very pleasantly with him & the company of there. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Commander [George Back](#) arrived at Montréal on his way back home to England and glory.

Bolivia gained its independence.



November 6, Friday: Unable to resolve the spoliation issue, United States charge d'affaires Thomas Barton departed from Paris, thus severing relations between the two countries.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day attended the School committee at the School House. - lodged again at [Moses Browns](#).

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1836

 Publication in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) of a description of the various components of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

READ ALL ABOUT IT

The “Act to provide for the education of children at public expense within the City and County of Philadelphia” that had in 1834 provided schoolhouses, teachers, and supervision of a free public school system was at this point amended to form the basis for a system of free, tax-supported general education throughout Pennsylvania.

[QUAKER EDUCATION](#)

Publication of the 2d edition of George Savage White’s 1836 volume [MEMOIR OF SAMUEL SLATER](#), THE FATHER OF AMERICAN MANUFACTURES; CONNECTED WITH A HISTORY OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA; WITH REMARKS ON THE MORAL INFLUENCE OF MANUFACTORIES IN THE UNITED STATES (we know that [Thoreau](#) would peruse an extensive review of this).

SAMUEL SLATER



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 January 1, Friday: During this general period [Halley's Comet](#) was in the constellation of Scorpius. As the [comet](#) would recede in the heavens, Sir John Herschel from his South Africa location would be well positioned to observe and sketch an entirely unexpected and most blazing amazing display. As the comet fled, Frederick Douglass made a new years resolution:

SKY EVENT

**“By this date
next year
I will be
a free man!”**



[Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal, mentioning that he was in the process of writing to [Friend Moses Brown](#):

6th day 1st of 1st M 1836 / It has been a pleasant day as to the outward, & norm [?] in the inward to render it otherwise -called in the Afternoon to visit my cousins Henry & Thos Gould in their respective Mills - & this evening wrote a letter to my dear Ancient friend [Moses Brown](#).¹¹²

112. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1833-1838: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 9 Folder 15: January 1, 1833-August 28, 1836; Box 9 Folder 16: September 1, 1836-September 20, 1838; also on microfilm, see Series 7



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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 July 5, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 5 of 7 M / This Morning I went on board the Steam Boat & got to [Providence](#) in season to attend the Meeting of the Subcommittee & Spent the day at the School House Lodged at my dear fr [Moses Browns](#)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[David Henry Thoreau](#) wrote from [Concord](#) to Henry Vose, a classmate at [Harvard College](#) and fellow [Concordian](#) who would eventually sit on the Superior Court of Massachusetts.

Concord, July 5.th 1836.

Dear Vose.

You will probably recognise in the following dialogue a part which you yourself acted.

Act 1st. Scene 1st.

T. Come, Vose, let's hear from a fellow now and then.

V. We—ll, I certainly will, but you must write first.

T. No, confound you, I shall have my hands full, and moreover shall have nothing to say, while you will have bonfires, gunpowder plots, and deviltry enough to back you.

V. Well, I'll write first, and in the course of our correspondence we can settle a certain other matter.

Now 'tis to this "certain other matter" alone that you are indebted for this epistle. The length and breadth, the height and depth, the sum & substance, of what I have to say, is this. Your humble servant will endeavor to enter the Senior Class of Harvard University next term, and if you intend taking a room in College, and it should be consistent with your pleasure, will joyfully sign himself your lawful and proper "Chum".

Should the case be otherwise, you will oblige him much if you will request that sage doughface of a Wheeler to secure me one of the following rooms. Agreeably to his polite offer.

H. 23

St. do

H. 27

St. do

St 28

H. do

Look well to the order.

I shall expect to hear from you forthwith. I leave it to you to obtain a room, should it be necessary.

Yrs

Matter-of-factly



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D H Thoreau

Until Friday, aboard the *Alert*, [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) would be sick in his hammock.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

I went below and turned-in, covering myself over with blankets and jackets, and lay in my berth nearly twenty-four hours, half asleep and half awake, stupid, from the dull pain. I heard the watch called, and the men going up and down, and sometimes a noise on deck, and a cry of "ice," but I gave little attention to anything. At the end of twenty-four hours the pain went down, and I had a long sleep, which brought me back to my proper state; yet my face was so swollen and tender, that I was obliged to keep to my berth for two or three days longer. During the two days I had been below, the weather was much the same that it had been, head winds, and snow and rain; or, if the wind came fair, too foggy, and the ice too thick, to run. At the end of the third day the ice was very thick; a complete fog-bank covered the ship. It blew a tremendous gale from the eastward, with sleet and snow, and there was every promise of a dangerous and fatiguing night. At dark, the captain called all hands aft, and told them that not a man was to leave the deck that night; that the ship was in the greatest danger; any cake of ice might knock a hole in her, or she might run on an island and go to pieces. No one could tell whether she would be a ship the next morning. The look-outs were then set, and every man was put in his station. When I heard what was the state of things, I began to put on my clothes to stand it out with the rest of them, when the mate came below, and looking at my face, ordered me back to my berth, saying that if we went down, we should all go down together, but if I went on deck I might lay myself up for life. This was the first word I had heard from aft; for the captain had done nothing, nor inquired how I was, since I went below.

In obedience to the mate's orders, I went back to my berth; but a more miserable night I never wish to spend. I never felt the curse of sickness so keenly in my life. If I could only have been on deck with the rest, where something was to be done, and seen, and heard; where there were fellow-beings for companions in duty and danger— but to be cooped up alone in a black hole, in equal danger, but without the power to do, was the hardest trial. Several times, in the course of the night, I got up, determined to go on deck; but the silence which showed that there was nothing doing, and the knowledge that I might make myself seriously ill, for nothing, kept me back. It was not easy to sleep, lying, as I did, with my head directly against the bows, which might be dashed in by an island of ice, brought down by the very next sea that struck her. This was the only time I had been ill since I left Boston, and it was the worst time it could have happened. I felt almost willing to bear the plagues of Egypt for the rest of the voyage, if I could but be well and strong for that one night. Yet it was a dreadful night for those on deck. A watch of eighteen hours, with wet, and cold, and constant anxiety, nearly wore them out; and when they came below at nine o'clock for breakfast, they almost dropped asleep on their chests, and some of them were so stiff that they could with difficulty sit down. Not a drop of anything had been given them during the whole time, (though the captain, as on the night that I was on deck, had his coffee every four hours,) except that the mate stole a potful of coffee for two men to drink behind the galley, while he kept a look-out for the captain. Every man had his station, and was not allowed to leave it; and nothing happened to break the monotony of the night, except once setting the main topsails to run clear of a large island to leeward, which they were drifting fast upon. Some of the boys got so sleepy and stupefied, that they actually fell asleep at their posts; and the young third mate, whose station was the exposed one of standing on the fore scuttle, was so stiff, when he was relieved, that he could not bend his knees to get down. By a constant look-out, and a quick shifting of the helm, as the islands and pieces came in sight, the ship went clear of everything but a few small pieces, though daylight showed the ocean covered for miles.



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[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

 January 15, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day 15th of 1st M 1836 / In the course of this Week I have recd interesting letters from my Friends Thos Thompson & [Moses Brown](#)
Attended the funeral of my cousin Anne Gould - Hannah Dennis preached - the remains were carried to Middletown & interd in the family burying ground on the Paternal estate. - a part of which Still remains in regular descent in the Name of Gould from Jeremiah & Daniel Gould*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 July 6, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 6th of 7th M 1836 / Still at [Providence](#) engaged with others by appoinment from the Yearly Meeting in transferring the School fund from [Moses Brown](#) the old treasurer resigned to Wm Jenkins who was appointed in the 6 M to succeed him - We were engaged all this forenoon in receiving the fund from [Moses Brown](#) & receipting to him for the same & giving him a discharge from his long & arduous duties for the space of 50 Years - After dining at the house of our Venerable friend we went to Wm Jenkins Store & Paid the effects over to him amounting to \$94, 999 or thereabout & took his receipt for the same. - I went with Thos Howland to the School House & lodged there. -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 July 7, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day after attending to a little buisness of my own I attended the Week day Meeting in [Providence](#) which was held in Silence Dined at William Jenkins's, who at 4 OC carried me to the Steam Boat & I came home. - This is the first time the treasury of the School fund was ever transfered - [Moses Brown](#) having held it from its first commencement - My visit was a pleasant one & I left my friends there under a good degree of encouragement & good feelings. -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 September 5, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 5th of 9th M / This Morning rose early & got on Board the Steam Boat & went to [Providence](#) & attended the sub [School](#) committee - Mary Ann Barker left the School & went in the Boat this PM with her Brother Josiah & Sister Martha to Louisiana -



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*The School was left in the charge Emeline Aldrich & Mary Osborn
untill the next Meeting of the Genl Committee - returned home
in the Afternoon*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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September 6, Tuesday: Having lived a long and productive life despite the most severe and debilitating attacks of vertigo, [Friend Moses Brown](#) died just before his 98th birthday.

This would go into Quaker records as: “*Moses Brown was born in Providence the 12th day of the Ninth month 1738 old Stile now recond the 23 day of the 9th m^o 1738. Moses Brown died the 6th day of 9th m^o 1836.*”

He bequeathed \$15,000 and two acres of land to the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), in addition to his library. We now have, at the Rhode Island Historical Society, eight boxes of books said to have been in the joint library of Obadiah and Moses Brown. Here is the list of the books that are now in those eight boxes:

OBADIAH AND MOSES BROWN'S LIBRARY

TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
An Account of the Gospel Labours and Christian Experiences of <i>John Churchman</i>	John Churchman?	Philadelphia: Benj. & Tho. Kite		1818	
A Journey Through Albania	J.C. Hobhouse	Philadelphia: M. Carey and Son		1817	Volumes I and II
The Domestic Encyclopedia	AFM Willich, MD	Philadelphia: Wllm Young, Birch and Abraham Small		1804	(loose boards) Volume V of V (only)
Elements of Chemistry	James Woodhouse, MD	Philadelphia: Benj. & Thos. Kite		1807	Volumes I and II
Italy by Lady Morgan	Lady Morgan	New York: J. Seymour		1821	Volumes I and II
Junius	?	?: T. Bentley		1797	Volumes I and II (rebound)
The Substance of some letters by an Englishman written during the reign of Emperor Napoleon	?	Philadelphia: M. Thomas		1816	
Universal Biography	J. Lempriere, DD	New York: 86 Broadway, New York, F. Sargent		1810	Volume II
Varieties of Literature		London:	J. Debrett	MDC-CXCV (1795)	Volumes I and II
Voyages and Travels	Pinkerton	Philadelphia:	Kimber and Conrad	1810	Six Volumes



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OBADIAH AND MOSES BROWN'S LIBRARY

TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
Brown's Answer to Nocutt, An Examination of Wllm Notcutt's Reply to H.B.'s vindication etc.	H.B.	London:	J. Sowle	1735	
A Collection of the Works of Thomas Chalkley	Thomas Chalkley	London:	Luke Hinde	1766	
An Answer to the Speech of Declaration by the Great Turk	?	London:	A. Sowle	1688	
The Modern Practice of Physic	Robert Thomas, MD	New York:	Collins and Co.	1811	
Brief Narrative of Life and Death of Gilbert Latey	?	London:	J. Sowle	170 (?)	
A Collection of the Christian Writings, Labours ... of Roger Haydock	Roger Haydock	London:	T. Sowle	1700	
Lawson's Works	Lawson?	London:	T. Sowle	1703	
Truth Exalted, Writings of John Burnyeat	John Burnyeat	London:	Thomas Northcott	1691	
The New Testament		Boston:	F. Ingraham and J. Putnam	1827	
The Book of Martyrs (abridged)		New York:	Sam'l Wood	1810	
The Design of Christianity, epistles and manuscripts of John Crook	John Crook?	London:	T. Sowle	1701	
Guthries Grammar	Guthrie?	?:	?	1782	
Life and Posthumous Works of Richard Claridge, collected by Jo. Besse	Richard Claridge?	London:	J. Sowle	1726	two copies
Edmundson's Journal	Edmundson?	London:	sold and printed by Mary Hinde	1774	
Journals and Travels of Samuel Bownas and John Richardson	?	London, reprinted in Philadelphia:	Wllm Dunlap	1759	
Kerseys Treatise	?	Concord:	Dan'l Coolege	1818	three copies



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TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
Keith's Works	Keith?	?:	?	1678	
Ellwood's Sacred History	Ellwood?	London:	James Phillips	1783	Volumes I and II
An Account of the Gospel Labours etc. of John Churchman	?	Philadelphia:	Jos. Cruckshank	1729	
Hints on Scriptural Instruction	?	Philadelphia:	T. Kite	1831	
Thorp's Letters	Thorpe?	Liverpool:	Printed by James & Johnathon Smith	1820	
The Way to Bromley on the Sabbath		London/Germantown:	?	1759	
Popery Exposed	Henry Mollineux	London:	T. Sowle	1718	
Life and Labours of Samuel Neale	?	Philadelphia:	James Parke	1806	
Law's Address	Law?	New Bedford:	Benj. Lindsey, printer	1818	
Memoirs	William Lewis	Philadelphia:	B & T Kite	1821	
Catalogue of books printed and sold by James Phillips	?	London:	James Phillips?	?	Pamphlet
Memoirs, Isaac Penington	Isaac Penington, and Joseph Gurney Bevan	London:	Wllm B. Sewell	1807	includes review by Joseph Gurney Bevan
The Friend	?	Philadelphia:	J. Richardson	1829	
Holy Bible		Philadelphia:	Bible Association of America	1831	Volumes I, II, and III?
Life of William Reckitt	?	Philadelphia:	Joseph Cruckshank	1783	
Life of Ambrose Riggs	?	London:	T. Sowle	1710	
The Centaur not fabulous		London:	A. Millar	1755	
The Book of Disciplines	?	Providence:	John Carter	1785	



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TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
Bevans Defence of Friends	?	London:	Phillips and Far-don	1805	
Memoirs and Life of Sarah Stephenson	Sarah Stephen-son?	Philadelphia:	Kimber, Conrad	1805	
History of the New York African Free Schools	?	New York:	Mahlon Day	1830	
Memoirs of Isaac Penington	William Gro-ver	Philadelphia:	Thomas Kite	1831	Friends Family Library, Volume I
Prynne on Plays	?	?:	?	1776	
Means of Preserving Health ...	Shadrach Ricketson, Physician in New York	New York:	Collins and Per-kins and Sons	1806	
An Apology for the True Christian Divinity...	Robert Barclay	London:	J. Phillips	1780	
An Essay on Slavery	Granville Sharp	Burlington:	Isaac Collins	1773	
A Confutation of the Charge of Deism wherein the Christian and Orthodox Sentiments of William Penn are ... demonstrated	Joseph Besse	London:	J. Sowle	1734	
An Introduction into the making of Latin	John Clarke	London:	Strahan, Living-ton, et al	1780	
The Anthology of Religion	Jos. Butler, Bishop of Dur-ham	?:	?	printed 1754	
Collection of some papers of William Crouch		London:	T. Sowle	1712	
John Churchman, Gospel Labours	John Church-man?	Philadelphia:	Skerret	1818	
Lux Evangelica ... A reply to George Keith's Cen-sure	Richard Clar-idge	London:	T. Sowle	1701	
Gospel Labours, etc.	Stephen Crisp	Philadelphia:	Benj. and Thos. Kite	1822	
Elwood's Life	?	London:	Luke Hinde	1765	



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TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
Cotton's Reply to Williams, 1647-1652	?	?:	?	?	
The Life of David, a sacred poem	Thomas Elwood	London:	Luke Hinde	1763	
The Foundation of Tythes Shaken	Thomas Ellwood	London:	T. Sowle	1720	
Dictionary of the Bible		London:	Beecroft and Strahan et al	1759	Volumes I?, II?, III?
A letter to a Friend	Joseph John Gurney	Philadelphia:	Benj. and Thos. Kite	1824	
Statutes of Connecticut		Hartford:	Elisha Babcock	1786	
A Faithful Testimony ...		London:	Andrew Sowle	1689	
Works of William Dell	William Dell?	London:	John Kendall	1773	
Treatise concerning the Fear of God	John Field	London:	T. Sowle	1713	
Treatise concerning Baptism	?	London:	T. Sowle	1695	
Life of Joseph Coale	?	London:	T. Sowle	1706	
An Account of ... Richard Davies	?	London, Philadelphia:	Jos. Cruckshank	1770	
Principles and Precepts	Samuel Fuller	Newport:	S. Southwick	1769	
Necessity of a life of purity...	Samuel Fothergill	Philadelphia:	Cruckshank	1780	Pamphlet included
Of Religious Declention	Andrew Fuller?	Manchester?:	?	1829	
Reflections	George Dillwyn	Burlington, New Jersey:	David Allison	1815	
Sermons by Dewsberry, Barclay etc.		Philadelphia:	Benj. and Thos. Kite	1825	
Home's Principles: The Principles of Agriculture and Vegetation	Francis Home	London:	A. Millar	1762	
Degge's Law of Tythes	?	London:	Richard and Edw. Aytkins	1695	



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TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
The Trials of the Spirit	William Dell	London:	Mary Hinde	1770	
Treatise on Baptism and the Lord's Supper		London:	T. Sowle	1695	
Brief Memorials of Davidworth, being sketches of his character; Life and Death of Hannah Logan Smith by her daughter Rebecca		Philadelphia:	Sherman?	1847	
Friends' Tracts, Volume I: Memoirs and Essays		Philadelphia:	Kite, published by the Tract Association of Friends	n.d.	
Testimony concerning Sufferings and Death of James Parnel	Ellis Hookes	London:	?	1695	three volumes in one
Miscellaneous Repository	Elisha Bates	Mount Pleasant, Ohio:	?	1829	Volume 2 and 3
Compendium of the Impending Crisis in the South	Hinton R. Helper	New York:	Burdick	1860	Clearly, this has crept into the boxes while in storage
No Cross, No Crown	William Penn	Philadelphia:	Kinber, Conrad and Company?	1807	
The Correspondence between committee of the Yearly Meeting of Friends and Isaac Crowdson		London:	Hamilton	1836	
A History of the People Called Quakers, in four volumes	John Gough	Dublin:	?	1789	
AN INTRODUCTION TO PHYSIOLOGICAL AND SYSTEMATICAL BOTANY, with notes by Jacob Bigelow	James Edward Smith	Boston:	Bradford and Ready?	1814	
ESSAYS	Joseph John Gurney	Philadelphia:	Kite	1829	
IMMEDIATE REVELATION	George Keith	?:	?	1676	2d Edition
EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS OF JONATHAN HUTCHINSON, LATE OF GEDNEY, WITH A BRIEF NOTICE OF HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER		London:	Phillips	1835	
SOME BRIEF MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF DAVID HALL		London:	Hinde	1758	



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TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
LETTERS OF WILLIAM GROVER		London:	Harvey and Danton	1828	
Catalog of the Books Belonging to the Library of the three Monthly Meetings ...		Philadelphia:		1813	
A CLASSIC TOUR THROUGH ITALY	Reverend John Chetwode Eustace	Philadelphia:	M. Curry	1816	
A VIEW OF THE PROPHECY BY THE REVEREND GEORGE STANLEY FABER		Boston:	William Andrews	1809	
THE PUBLIC LAWS OF THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND		Providence:	Miller and Dutchers	1822	
THE PUBLIC LAWS OF THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND		Providence:	Carter and Wilkinson	1798	MB stamp
SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND GOSPEL LABOURS OF WILLIAM RICKETT ... ALSO, MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE ... OF JAMES GOUGH		Philadelphia:	Joseph Crukshank	1783	Mary Brown signature, MB stamp
LECTURES ON SCHOOL-KEEPING, with advertisements for school books sold by A. Shearman.	Samuel R. Hall	Boston	Richardson, Lord and Holbrook	1829	MB stamp
OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELIGIOUS PECULIARITIES OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS	Joseph John Gurney	Philadelphia	S. Potter and Co.	1825	
OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELIGIOUS PECULIARITIES OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS	Joseph John Gurney	London		1824	2d Edition
AN INQUIRY INTO THE ACCORDANCY OF WAR WITH CHRISTIANITY	Jonathan Dymond	Philadelphia	I. Ashmead and Co.	1834	
ELEGANT EXTRACTS		Dublin	P. Byrne	1793	Second Edition
A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING ... DECEASED ... QUAKERS		Philadelphia	Joseph Crukshank	1787	
A COLLECTION OF THE EPISTLES OF THE YEARLY MEETING IN LONDON TO QUARTERLY MEETINGS AND MONTHLY MEETINGS ... 1675-1820		New York	Samuel Wood and sons	1821	
EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS BY MARGARET JACKSON		Philadelphia	B. and T. Kite	1825	



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TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
AN EPITOME OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD	John Hoyland	Philadelphia	B. and T. Kite	1816	Two Volumes
AN ... ADDRESS TO THE CLERGY	William Law	New Bedford	B. Lindsey	1816	
EXTRACTS FROM THE WRITINGS OF FRANCIS FENELON , ARCHBISHOP OF CAMBRAY		Philadelphia	Kimber, Conrod and Co.	1804	edited by John Kendall
EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES AND ADVICES OF THE YEARLY MEETING IN LONDON		London	James Phillips	1783	
THE CHRISTIAN OBSERVER, CONDUCTED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH FOR THE YEAR 1804		New York	T.B. Wait and Sond	1814	Volume 3
A PRACTICAL TREATISE ON THE HOLY SPIRIT	Reverend G.S. Faber	New York	Eastburn, Kirk and Co.	1814	
ON THE DIFFICULTIES OF INFIDELITY	George Stanley Faber	New York	D. Cooledge	1829	
SERMONS PREACHED BY SEVERAL OF THE PEOPLE KNOWN AS QUAKERS		London	Mary Heade	1775	
WORKS	Isaac Pennington	London	James Phillips	1775	
<i>MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA</i>	Cotton Mather	Hartford	Silas Andrews		two volumes
Collected Writings by various authors		London	?	1690?	
A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS THAT HAVE LATELY TAKEN PLACE IN IRELAND	?	London	?	1804	
HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR	John Entick			1766	Volumes 1-5
A DEFENSE OF THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF THE FRIENDS	Elias Hicks	Philadelphia	?	1825	
LETTERS BY ISAAC PENNINGTON	Isaac Pennington	London	Holdsworth and Ball	1829	
THE GREAT CASE OF TITHES	Anthony Pearson	London	?	1730	



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TITLE	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER		DATE	NOTES
A BRIEF VIEW OF THE DOCTRINES OF FRIENDS	John Bevans	Philadelphia	Kimber and Conrod	1810	
MISCELLANIES, MORAL AND INSTRUCTIVE ... FOR SCHOOLS AND ... YOUNG PERSONS	?	Philadelphia	Henry Sweitzer	1802	
AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF MARY ROWLANDSON ...	Oliver Sanson	London	J. Sowle	1710	
A BRIEF JOURNAL	Thomas Wilson	London	James Phillips	1784	two copies
THE DOCTRINE OF THE PASSIONS EXPLAINED AND IMPROVED	Isaac Watts	London	J. Phillips?	1770	
STRENGTH IN WEAKNESS MANIFEST IN THE LIFE ...	Elizabeth Stirredge	Philadelphia	B. and T. Kite	1810	
A SCRIPTURE CATECHISM FOR CHILDREN	Ambrose Rigge	London	?	1772	
HINTS, CHIEFLY SCRIPTURAL ... RESPECTING REGENERATION	Richard Phillips	Philadelphia	B. and T. Kite	1810	
ESSAYS ON PEACE AND WAR	Philanthropus	Exeter, New Hampshire	J. Burnham	1827	
AN ABSTRACT OF ... THE SPIRITUAL GUIDE	Michael de Molinos	London	?	1774	
SION'S TRAVELLERS COMFORTED	Charles Marshal	London	T. Soule	1704	
TWO DISCOURSES AND A PRAYER		Bristol	S. Farley	1768	5th edition
THE GREAT AUDIT, OR GOOD STEWARD	Matthew Hale	London	John Kendell	1775	
A JOURNAL OF THE LIFE	John Gratton	London	James Phillips	1779	
A BRIEF COLLECTION OF REMARKABLE PASSAGES ...	Margaret Fox	London	J. Somes	1710	

At his home in Newport, Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 6th of 9 M 1836 / This forenoon I went down town with a view of attending to some buisness but being disappointed I walked further on till I came to the street which leads to the place where Harrisons Mill used to stand Walked thro' it, & across the fields till I came to the Ocean & so round to the



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Beech & while there stood & had many serious recollections on my rambly to that place when a child & in younger life - from the Beech I walked across the fields to Thos B Goulds Mill where I sat a while & then returned home.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 7, Wednesday: The Emperor Ferdinand of Austria became King Ferdinand V of Bohemia.

Prime Minister of France Marie Joseph Louis Adolphe Thiers proposed that the French invade Spain in support of the liberal Queen Maria Cristina, and resigned. He was succeeded as Prime Minister by Louis Matthieu, Comte Mole.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 7th of 9th M / We had heard for a Week or two past that Our friend [Moses Brown](#) was sick & thought to be failing - When the first Steam Boat came down I went to the Long Wharf to inquire but seeing no person I knew, returned home where I found two letters one from Dr Tobey & one from Gilbert Congdon announcing his Decease He Died yesterday the 6th of 9th M 1836 about five Minutes after 12 OClock Noon

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

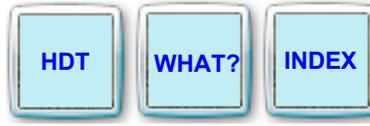
 September 9, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 9th of 9 M / This Afternoon Our much esteemed & very kind young friend Avis Harris came down from [Providence](#) in the Steam Boat to See us we were very glad to have an opportunity to repay some of her kind attention to us at the house of her late venerable grandfather [Moses Brown](#) where I in particularly as well as our son John have been kindly treated by her. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 23, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day 23 of 9 M / Seventeen days ago my dear & valued Friend [Moses Brown](#) Died - had he have lived till this day he would have been 98 years old, but he has gone to reap the reward of a life well spent & has beyond any doubt with me joined the society of Saints & Angels & of just men made perfect in the realms of endless felicity - May I, may all, so live, as to leave to survivors as well grounded a life that it is as well with us in the After State
My friend Daniel B Smith of Phildelphia called & set an hour with us this Afternoon, his company was interesting, he appears*



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to be a friend of the true Stamp much engaged for the good of Society. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 3, Thursday: From the log of the lightkeeper on Matinicus Rock: “*Rainstorm N.E. waves washed into well and salted the water.*”

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day was exceedingly stormy high Wind & hard rain so that we could go but a short distance without getting wet & but very few could cross Heids ferry from Fall River – the Meeting however was pretty large & would have been very full but for the Storm – It was a solid good Meeting – Divers good testimonies were bourne but Thos Anthony had the weight of the service The Storm abating after Meeting we rode to [Providence](#) & lodged at our old Quarters the residence of our late Ancient & dear friend [M Brown](#) & was kindly received by Avis Harris who is his last wifes Granddaughter & to whom he has given liberally of his estate

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 31, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 31 of 12 M 1836 / In closing the year I can but afresh commemorate the goodness of God for all his Blessings bestowed on me – This has been a Year remarkable in my life – a number of very interesting Friends & acquaintances have been removed by death & no one more beloved than my dear friend [Moses Brown](#) whose memory I shall continue to love & revere having enjoyed a long & intimate personal acquaintance with him as well as an interesting correspondence

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1837

 January 31, Tuesday: Achilles Paganini, son of [Nicolò Paganini](#), was officially legitimized in Piedmont.

Publication of the 1st serial installment of Charles Dickens's OLIVER TWIST, OR THE PARISH BOY'S PROGRESS in Bentley's.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day Attended the sub-committee & spent the day at the School House & lodged there

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

HDT

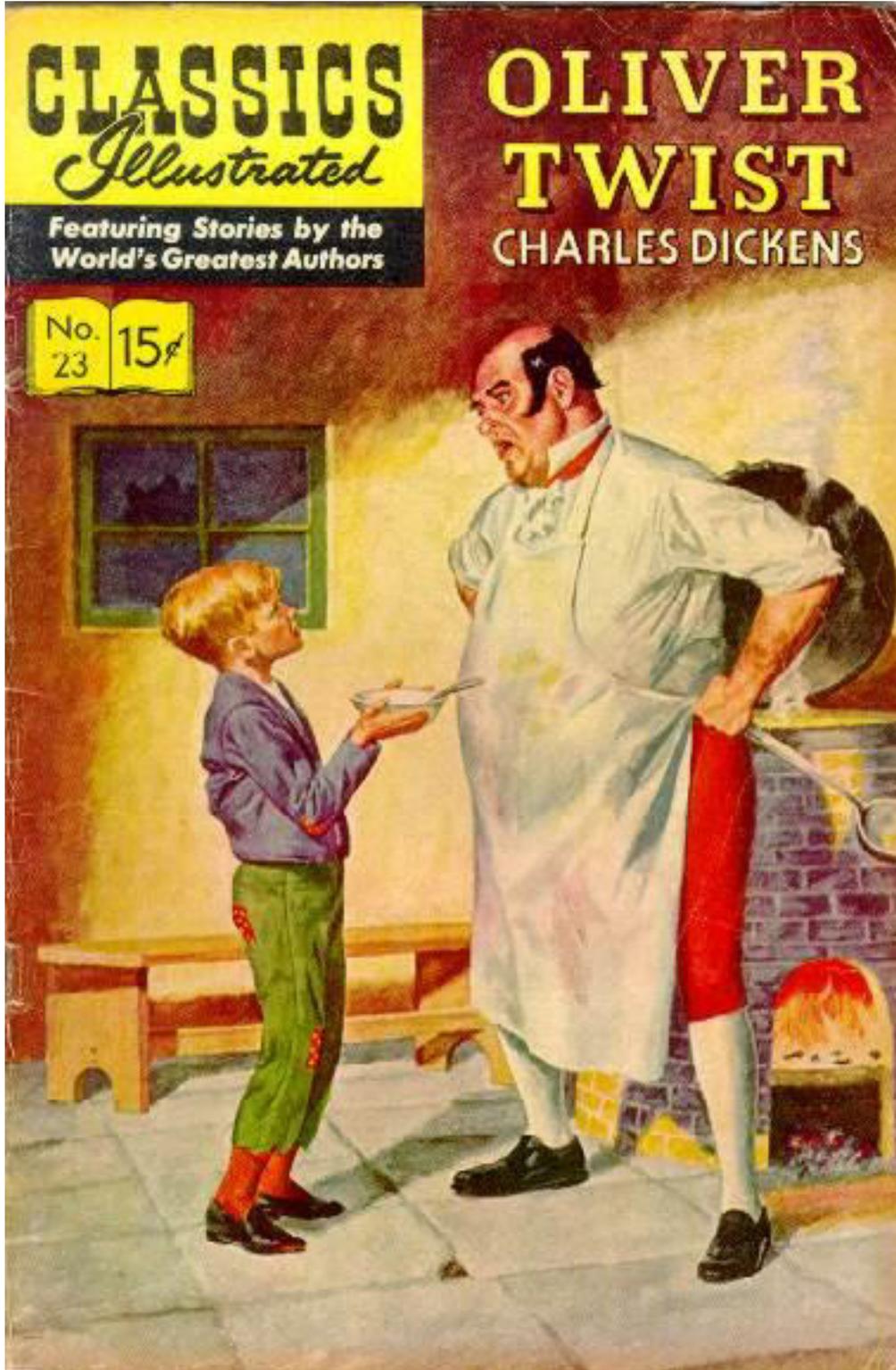
WHAT?

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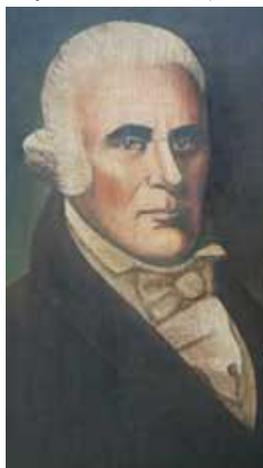
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 December 21, Thursday: [James DeWolf](#), unrepentant [Rhode Island](#) slavetrader and US senator, died on his thousand-acre estate paid for with blood money, near [Bristol](#).



(The thousand acres are still there, he having been seemingly unable to take any of this with him. His grave in the DeWolf family cemetery off Woodlawn Avenue is now, as you can see above, receiving the sort of tending appropriate to our memory of such a man.)



The general financial crisis and panic of this year in the United States of America hit the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) hard, its enrollment plunging from 134 to 79 as parents found themselves unable to continue to fund the education of their children. The loss of non-[Quaker](#) scholars hit the school especially hard, since it lost their tuition surcharges. For the following five years, enrollment would hover at around 80, with 10 of those having only one parent who was a Friend, or having some non-parental connection with the Society (perhaps by their having themselves become a “convinced” Friend). Only two of the 80



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students had no connection whatever with the religion.

Friends Enoch Breed and Lydia Breed came back for another year as superintendents of the school.

Superintendents.

1819-1824.	Purinton, Matthew and Betsy.
1824-1835.	Breed, Enoch and Lydia.
1829-1835.	Gould, Stephen Wanton and Gould, 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.



May 5, Friday: In [Providence](#) Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day Attended the School Committee, the Meeting of OB Trustees & also a committee of the Meeting for Sufferings in the evening to prepare an address on Slavery to be circulated among our Members & people at large lodged at the School House –

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

[David Henry Thoreau](#)'s essay on his [Harvard College](#) assignment "Paley in his NATURAL THEOLOGY,  Chap. 23 — speaks of minds utterly averse to 'the **flatness** of being content with common reasons' — and considers the highest minds 'most liable to this repugnancy.' See the passage, and explain the moral or intellectual defect."

[WILLIAM PALEY](#)

Turgot has said, "He that has never doubted the existence of matter, may be assured he has no aptitude for metaphysical inquiries." It would seem as if doubt and uncertainty grew with the growth of the intellect, and strengthened with its strength.



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The giant intellect, it is true, is for a season borne along with the tide, the opinions and prejudices of the mass are silently acquiesced in, the senses are, for awhile, the supreme arbiters from whose decisions there is no appeal – mystery is yet afar off, it is but a cloud in the distance, whose shadow, as it flits across the landscape, gives a pleasing variety to the scene. But as the perfect day approaches, its morning light discovers the dark and straggling clouds, which at first skirted the horizon, assembling as at a signal, and, as they expand and multiply, rolling slowly onward to the zenith, till at last the whole heavens, if we except a faint glimmering in the east, are overshadowed. The earth was once firm beneath the feet, but it now affords but a frail support, – its solid surface is as yielding and elastic as air. The grass grew and the water ran, and who is so blind as to question their reality? A feeling of loneliness comes over the soul, for these things are of the past.

This is the season of probation, but the time approaches, and is now at hand, when the glorious bow shall "rise on the lurid rear of the tempest, the sun laugh jocosely abroad, and

*Every bathed leaf and blossom fair
Pour out its soul to the delicious air."*

The embryo philosopher seeks the sunny side of the hill, or the grateful coolness of the grove – he instinctively bares his bosom to the zephyr, that he may with the least inconvenience discuss the reality of outward existences. No proposition is so self-evident as to escape his suspicion, nor yet so obscure as to withstand his scrutiny. He acknowledges but two distinct existences, Nature and Spirit; all things else which his obstinate and self-willed senses present to him, are plainly, though unaccountably, absurd. He laughs through his tears at the very mention of a mathematical demonstration. There is a flatness about what is common that at once excites his ridicule or disgust. He goes abroad into the world, and hears men assert and deny in positive terms, and he is astounded – he is shocked – he perceives no meaning in their words or their actions. He recognizes no axioms, he smiles at reason and common sense, and sees truth only in the dreams and superstitions of mankind. And yet he but carries out principles which men practically admit every day of their lives. Most, nay all, acknowledge a few mysteries; some things, they admit, are hard to understand; but these are comparatively few, and could they but refer them back one link in the chain of causes and effects, the difficulty would at once be removed.

Our philosopher has a reasonable respect for the opinions of men, but this respect has not power to blind his judgment; taking as he does an original view of things, he innocently confounds the manifest with the mysterious.

That such is the common reason, was properly enough, in the first



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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place, no recommendation with him, and is now a positive objection. What is more common than error? Some seeming truths he has clung to as the strongholds of certainty, till a closer investigation induced mistrust. His confidence in the infallibility of reason is shaken, – his very existence becomes problematical. He has been sadly deceived, and experience has taught him to doubt, to question even the most palpable truths. He feels that he is not secure till he has gone back to their primitive elements, and taken a fresh and unprejudiced view of things. He builds for himself, in fact, a new world.

The opinions of the few, the persecuted, the dreamers of this world, he has a peculiar respect for – he is prepossessed in their favor. Man does not wantonly rend the meanest tie that binds him to his fellow; he would not stand aloof, even in his prejudices, did not the stern demands of truth, backed by conviction, require it. He is ready enough to float with the tide, and when he does stem the current of popular opinion, sincerity, at least, must nerve his arm. He has not only the burden of proof, but that of reproof, to support. We may call him a fanatic – an enthusiast – but these are titles of honor, they signify the devotion and entire surrendering of himself to his cause. Where there is sincerity there is truth also. So far as my experience goes, man **never** seriously maintained an objectionable principle, doctrine, or theory. Error **never** had a sincere defender; her disciples were **never** enthusiasts. This is strong language, I confess, but I do not rashly make use of it. We are told that "to err is human," but I would rather call it **inhuman**, if I may use the word in this sense. I speak not of those errors that have to do with facts and occurrences, but rather errors of judgment. Words, too, I would regard as mere signs of ideas.

That passage in the Vicar of Wakefield which Johnson pronounced fine, but which Goldsmith was wise enough to strike out, previous to publication, must be taken in a very limited sense. "When I was a young man," he writes, "I was perpetually starting new propositions; but I soon gave this over; **for I found that generally what was new was false.**"

At best, we can but say of a common reason, that men do not dispute it. True, they defend it when attacked, for if **they** did not, Reason never would. This is well explained by Gray, when he undertakes to account for the popularity of Shaftesbury. "Men are very prone," says he, "to believe what they do not understand; – they will believe anything at all, provided they are under no obligation to believe it; – they love to take a new road even when that road leads nowhere."



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1838

There was at this point a hot debate going on in [Providence](#) as to whether the capital city of [Rhode Island](#) ought to expand its public school system beyond its existing elementary schools, by establishing a free high school. Some members of the public objected that creating such a school would encourage the dilution of the local aristocracy, by fostering onto it a bunch of people who had merely attended a free public institution. This would interfere with the apprentice system by tending to “educate children above working for their support.” The free public high school concept would be simmering on the back burner until 1843.

In 1834 the government of [Rhode Island](#) had “owed” its education fund \$12,884.30. By this point the figure had become \$14,662.

The [Quakers](#) at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) on top of the hill was attempting to be innovative. The school abandoned its four-quarter year for a two-semester year, the winter semester to begin in early November and the summer semester in early May. This change brought a change in vacation patterns as well. Previously, the young scholars had attended as they could and had been able to go back go back and forth between the school and the homes of their parents. Under the new semester system, however, the young scholars would be with their families of origin only during two-week breaks between the semesters.

Friends Rowland Rathbun and Alice Rathbun came to the school as superintendents.

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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May 17, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 17th of 5th M 1838 / Nearly a Silent Meeting but pretty solid -

I am thinking of late much of our approaching Yearly Meeting - It looks as if it may be a season of some trial & in short what will be the result of the State of things in our Society as they now generally exist I do not foresee - Our great & ancient leaders in this Yearly Meeting are gone, that is David Buffum, [Moses Brown](#) & some others - the burthen & management now devolves on a few who have not the weight & Standing which they had but I cannot but hope strength will be afforded in the needful time.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1839

Anonymous publication of [Elizur Wright, Junior](#)'s small volume [LA FONTAINE](#); A PRESENT FOR THE YOUNG.

In this year in which in England [Friend Joseph Sturge](#) was founding the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and in which in America John A. Collins was becoming general agent for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, for some reason abolitionism simply was not prospering. Those whites who had an economic investment in or social interest in or libidinal involvement in human enslavement were proving to be quite immune to, merely hardened and angered by, all the relentless propaganda. The initial idea, that first the abolitionists would convince the institutions of the North to be righteous, and then the North would bring righteous pressure on the South, had proved in application to be utterly disconnected from the reality of our condition. For instance, in eight years of agitation not a single one of the white religious denominations had separated into a northern sect opposed to human enslavement and a southern sect in favor of human enslavement, despite the standoff between their northern white congregations and their southern white congregations over this issue. Although there had been a few anti-enslavement advocates positioned in the US House of Representatives, there had also been enacted a very specific gag rule to silence them on this one central topic. The ideological and emotional commitment of a number of leaders in the struggle against practices of human enslavement, however, the ones whom I am here terming "pragmatics," was that American democracy was basically sound, and that the flaws in American character that had led to this enslavement situation were minor and isolated flaws. A few agreements, a few insights, a few changes in the rules, and the institutions supporting the practice of human enslavement would crumble. There was no need to tamper with



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anyone's soul. Examples of this attitude were:

- [Elizur Wright, Jr.](#)
- Henry Brewster Stanton
- James Gillespie Birney (who wanted to establish a third political party, the "Liberty" party, which would be antislavery, and compete directly in the political process, making deals and peddling influence like the Republicans/Democrats of that era)



In this year Gerrit Smith condemned his denomination, Presbyterianism, for its failure to denounce slavery, yet when it was proposed to him that young black men be trained in Canada and Mexico and sent into the slave



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states to lead revolts, he rejected that plan.

[SERVILE INSURRECTION](#)



Then there were the Garrisonians. The struggle between the two abolitionist psychologies, like the struggle between the Orthodox or Evangelical [Quakers](#) and the [Hicksites](#), was a struggle that can readily be described in terms of a binary split over a single issue. Previous analyzers of the split have attempted to conceive of a binary split between the abolitionists who wanted to mix anti-slavery with the “confounded woman question” and those who wanted to keep such issues in separate compartments, and have not been able to make a case for that analysis, or have attempted to conceive of a binary split between the abolitionists who embraced the principle of non-resistance to evil and those who regarded this principle as the pinnacle of wickedness, and have not been able to make a case for that analysis. Some have suggested that the split was not binary, that the struggle was between those abolitionists who wanted to be understood as “pragmatics,” and those abolitionists who wanted to be understood as “strugglers” and as “Come-outers.”

[COME-OUTISM](#)

These are not the analyses that I favor. In this “Kouroo” contexture, you will find, the analysis that I have favored is that of a binary split between, on the one hand, the abolitionists who wanted a future of racial integration, “amalgamation” as it was then called, in which all God’s children could live together on God’s holy mountain (these people known as “Hicksites,” a type case of this being Friend [Lucretia Mott](#)), and, on the other hand, the abolitionists who wanted a future of apartheid, of racial segregation, of Jim Crow, in which we were equal, more or less, but existed separately (these people known as “Quietist Friends,” and as “Orthodox



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Friends,” and as “Evangelical Friends,” a type case of this being Friend [Moses Brown](#)).



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1840

[Providence](#) workers formed the [Rhode Island](#) Suffrage Association.

Friends Allen Wing and Olive Wing came to the [Yearly Meeting School](#) on top of the hill as superintendents.

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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1842

The [Quaker](#) monthly meeting of [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#) was suspended due to religious dissension. In 1845 it would divide into a majority group and a minority group, Wilburites versus Gurneyites (conservative followers of Friend John Wilbur of Hopkinton versus liberal followers of English traveling minister Friend Joseph John Gurney). In 1847 divided worship would resume — until 1881 when the local Wilburite meeting would be laid down (discontinued), and 1899 when the local Gurneyite meeting would also be laid down.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the [Yearly Meeting School](#) used \$5,000 of the money from the last will and testament of [Friend Moses Brown](#) to purchase two tracts of land of about ten acres each.



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1845

The Friends of Germantown, Pennsylvania extended their [Quaker](#) schooling beyond primary into secondary education.

QUAKER EDUCATION

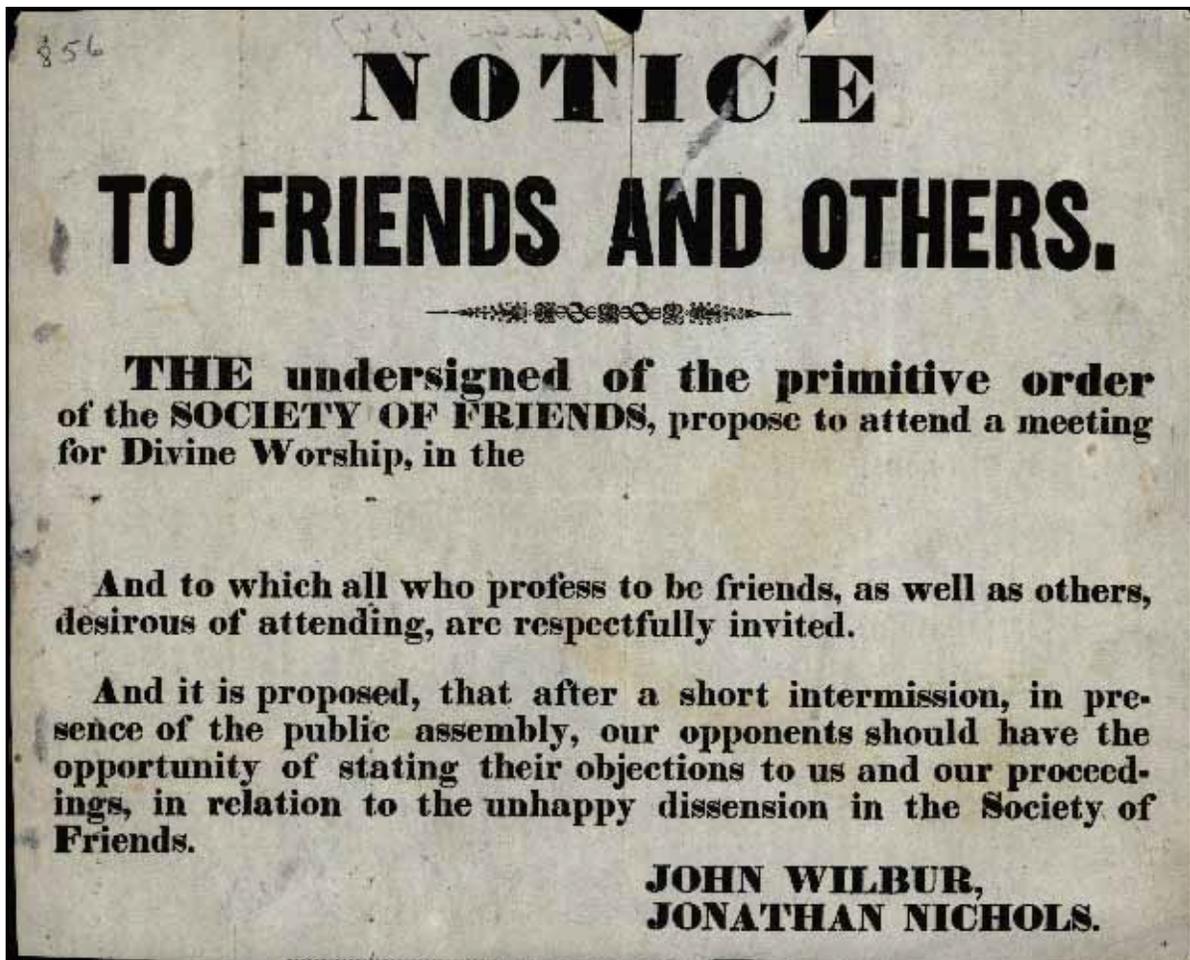


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The [Providence](#) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was split by the great Wilburite schism of 1844, having to do with the message of Friend [John Wilbur](#), a [Rhode Island](#) farmer and traveling Friend (minister). At the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) they [disowned](#), not only Friend John, but his entire monthly meeting as well. (These separated Friends formed a separate body which they called the “New England Yearly Meeting of Friends” to distinguish it from the “Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England,” or simply “the smaller body” in distinction from “the larger body,” the Gurneyite bolsheviks –adherents of the English evangelical Friend [Joseph John Gurney](#)– claiming 8,136 adherents, the Wilburite mensheviks claiming only 629. One group, the Wilburites, became the Providence Monthly Meeting of North Providence/Pawtucket. This meeting would be laid down in 1881, its members joining to [South Kingstown](#) Monthly Meeting and worshipping until 1892 as the Pawtucket Worship Group.)



As the [Yearly Meeting School](#) affiliated with the Gurneyite grouping, letting the Wilburites depart, its enrollment plunged to 55 resident young scholars.

Friends Olney Thompson and Lydia Thompson came to the school as superintendents.



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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.

The Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on [Nantucket Island](#) declared itself to be a Wilburite meeting, following the teachings of Friend [John Wilbur](#) in regard to the ongoing divine inspiration provided by an Inner Light. With the Gurneyite split among the [Quakers](#), some of the former members of the disbanded [Hicksite](#) meeting on [Nantucket Island](#) joined this new Gurneyite meeting.

[READ ALL ABOUT IT](#)



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1846

Here is a typically negative attitude toward Quakers in the arts, as expressed during this year in an epistle of the London Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#): "...we believe [music] to be both in its acquisition and its practice, unfavourable to the health of the soul.... Serious is the waste of time of those who give themselves up to it.... It not unfrequently leads into unprofitable, and even pernicious associations, and in some instances to a general indulgence in the vain amusements of the world."

There had come to be more lay opportunities for education than had previously been the case, and some Friends had begun to send their children to secular academies rather than to the Quaker school. In this year the School Committee reported that "The improved condition of schools, both public and private, within the limits of New England, may seem to have diminished the necessity of placing our children in the Boarding School; but we believe that most of these schools will be found to exercise an influence adverse to the simplicity and purity of our Christian profession, and many of them to expose the susceptible minds of our youth to those corrupting associations from which it has ever been the concern of Friends carefully to guard them." Also, the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) was splitting apart, into conservative followers of Friend John Wilbur of Hopkinton and liberal followers of English traveling minister Friend Joseph John Gurney, and this was having an impact on the school's attendance (attendance for the year ending in 1844 had been merely 55, which was less than in any year since the school had been in operation at Providence). In an attempt to cope with the ongoing problems at their [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) and elsewhere, the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) established a General Committee on Education. This new committee was charged to give their personal attention closely to the school, meeting on campus monthly, attending instruction during school hours and "witnessing, advising, and directing in relation to the process of instruction." The members of the committee were charged to enter into free intercourse with both the young scholars and their teachers, and would "judge of the standing and progress of the children."



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1847

As [Providence, Rhode Island](#) grew, crowding became a problem at the [Dexter Asylum](#). When the [Butler Hospital](#) for the mentally ill would open in this year at a pastoral setting overlooking the Seekonk River, some of the asylum's inmates would be transferred there.



ASYLUM

In this year Friends Jarvia Congdon and Lydia Congdon came to the [Yearly Meeting School](#) on top of the hill as superintendents, briefly, and were then superseded by Friends Silas Cornell and Sarah M. Cornell.

Superintendents.

1819-1824.	Purinton, Matthew and Betsy.
1824-1835.	Breed, Enoch and Lydia.
1829-1835.	Gould, Stephen Wanton and Gould, 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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1848

A [Quaker](#) attitude toward the arts: “Sorrowful it is, that even some in conspicuous and influential stations, have actually ‘sat’ for their portraits; and this, not for the hasty moment of the Daguerreo-typist (questionable as even this prevalent indulgence is), but patiently awaiting the slow business of the limner. Shallow indeed must be the religion of him who knows not that in himself, as a man, dwelleth no good thing.... We cannot suppose that our primitive Friends would for a moment have sanctioned so vain and weak an indulgence.”¹¹³

In this timeframe more than seven out of every ten American [Quaker](#) children were receiving secular educations, at non-Quaker schools.

YEARLY MEETING SCHOOL

113. “Biographies and portraits,” extract from the [Philadelphia Friend](#), reprinted in the [British Friend](#).



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1849

The Boys School accommodations of the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) were during this year enlarged. We have a receipt from this year, for a payment that a [Quaker](#) father, Friend George G.T. Burling, made for the education of two daughters at the facility's Girls School:

*Friends Y. M. S. School
Providence 9 Mo 14 - 1849*

<i>John Burling</i>	<i>To School</i>	<i>Dr</i>	<i>\$</i>
<i>To Board & Tuition of his two Daughters</i>	<i>18 Weeks each</i>	<i>37.50</i>	<i>75.00</i>
<i>To use of Books</i>			<i>.20</i>
			<hr/> <i>75.20</i>
	<i>Received Payment</i>		
	<i>Alice Cornish Guff</i>		

<i>75.20</i>
<i>45.00</i>
<hr/> <i>30.20</i>

Publication in this year in [Providence](#) of a memorial to certain deceased members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).¹¹⁴

READ ALL ABOUT IT

114. The lives which are memorialized are those of Huldah B. Hoag of the Sandwich, New Hampshire monthly meeting, Phebe B. Taber of the Unity monthly meeting in Albion, Maine, John Page and Lydia Breed of the Weare, New Hampshire monthly meeting, Alice Rathbun of the Smithfield, Rhode Island monthly meeting, and Noah Reed of the Windham, Massachusetts monthly meeting.



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In about this year a Daguerreotype was made of Friend Pliny Earle, MD:



Some land north of Olney Street, which had been purchased in 1842 by the school with money left in the last will and testament of Friend Moses Brown, was resold by the school.



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1850

The [Providence](#) Reform School for wayward children was organized at the former Tockwotton¹¹⁵ Hotel of India Point. This facility would become the core of the [Rhode Island](#) reform school for juvenile offenders.¹¹⁶

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

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

116. “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.¹¹⁷

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



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1851

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

at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence](#), [Quaker](#) discipline was eased a bit and enrollment picked up from its low point of 55 in 1845, and would average about 95. In the future the school would not be utilizing superintendents, but instead would be utilizing principals:



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1819-1824.	Purinton, Matthew and Betsy.
1824-1835.	Breed, Enoch and Lydia.
1829-1835.	Gould, Stephen Wanton and Gould, 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.

(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



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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

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.





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1854

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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1855

[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.¹¹⁸

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

118. 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

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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.¹¹⁹

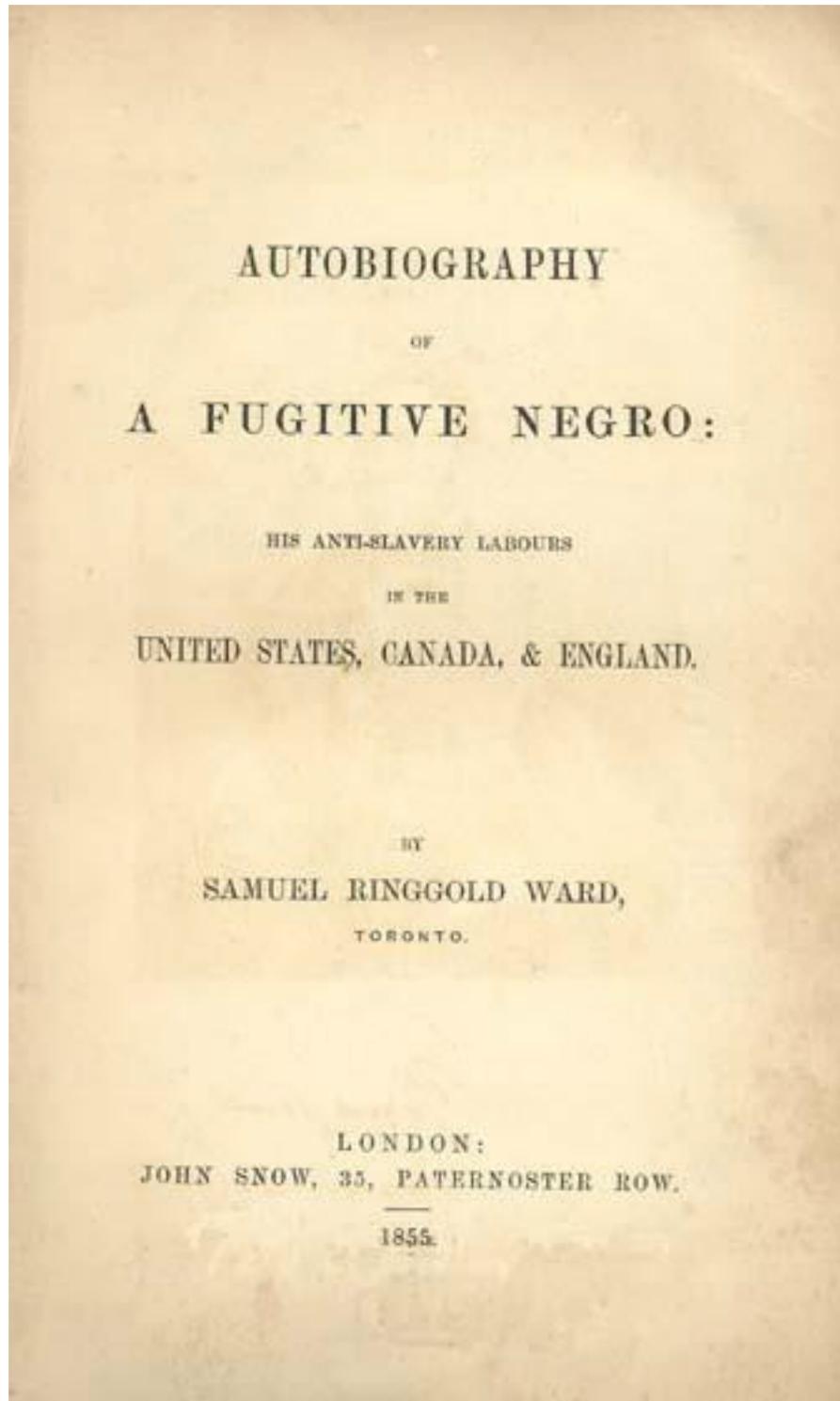
119. Here's an amusing anecdote about the school. Recently some historical researchers asked the school's official historian in what year it had been that the Quakers had admitted their very 1st student of color. After due research into the records –or pretense of research –or simple stalling, the school 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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1856

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.”¹²⁰

[Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth](#) died.

120. 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.)



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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](#).

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?





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(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.



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1858

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



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1859

In this year nine young scholars were graduated from the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

Publication of the MEMOIR OF JOHN GRISCOM, which contains the letters and autobiographical writing of Friend John H. Griscom, MD describing his experiences at the school.

Publication, by John Miller in Providence, of THE FRIENDS' NEW ENGLAND YEARLY MEETING BOARDING SCHOOL. ITS RISE AND HISTORY, WITH NOTICE OF SOME OF ITS FOUNDERS AND INSTRUCTORS.

There emerged at this point a reasoned critique of the too-typical Quaker negative attitude toward the arts (a too-typically negative Quaker attitude with which, very plainly, [Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) did not agree): “The attitude assumed by the Friends towards the fine arts, furnishes another evidence (as it appears to the writer) of their imperfect apprehension of the dignity of all the feelings and emotions, originally implanted by the Creator in the constitution of man.... Whilst the primitive Quakers did not purpose absolutely to banish these pursuits from the homes of themselves and their successors, they so far restrained the development of the aesthetic element, that acting in conjunction with the general subjective character of the system, Quakerism became (what the French denominate) a spécialité, without the elastic, adaptive qualities, which fit Christianity for every tribe of men.... Here, we imagine, lies the secret why Quakerism has made no progress amongst the aboriginal tribes it has befriended –amongst the Negroes whose liberties it has struggled for– or (with trivial exceptions) anywhere beyond the limits of the Anglo-Saxon family; and also why it has not proved a congenial home to that large class of persons whose characters are rather emotional, than intellectual or reflective.”¹²¹

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

121. John Stephenson Rowntree. QUAKERISM, PAST AND PRESENT; AN INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES OF ITS DECLINE IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1859), pages 55f



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1860

In this year eleven young scholars were graduated from the [Quaker Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).¹²² The “Smiley Administration” began at that school. According to 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, this is what the “Smiley Administration” amounted to:

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)¹²³

After due consideration, the Orthodox [Friends](#) of Philadelphia issued their advice to black Christians, as to how they should conduct themselves while subjected to slavery. **They should act exactly as white Quakers would act should they be unjustly subjected to such a condition of slavery.** Which is to say, they should

endeavor to serve with patience and fidelity while in bondage, to fulfill their Christian duties with propriety, and to commit their cause into the hands of a merciful and omnipotent Father in Heaven.



One of the people who disagreed with these Orthodox Quakers of Philadelphia, Frederick Douglass, informed of the death of his daughter Annie, age 10, returned to the United States from England, risking possible arrest and execution for treasonous complicity in the raid on Harpers Ferry for having neglected to betray a white friend to the federal authorities.

122. Of the first 23 graduates, 19 were female.



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1862

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.

123. 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:

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



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1865

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.



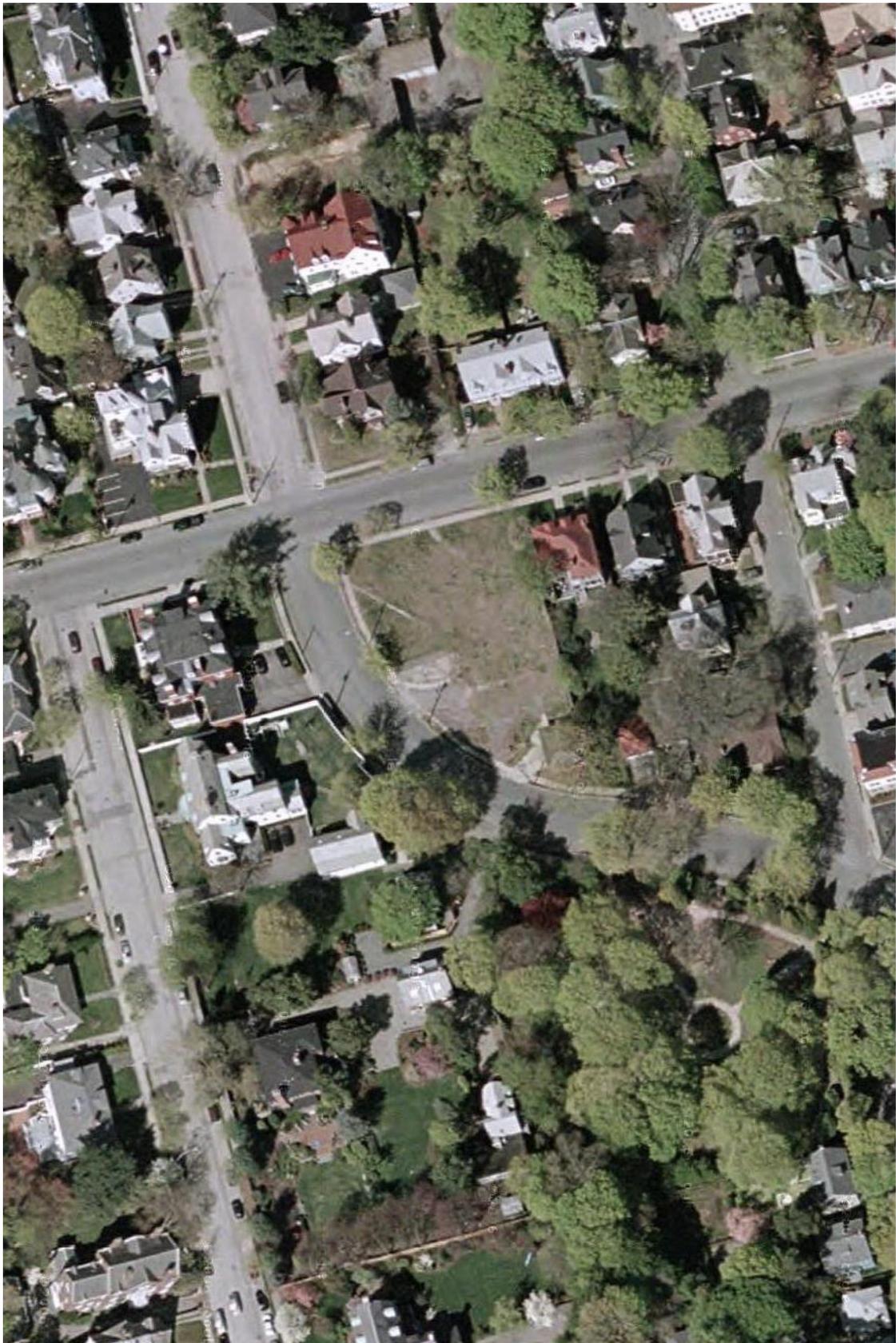
[Gregor Mendel](#) read more from his paper "Experiments in Plant Hybridization" to a meeting of the Natural History Society of Brünn (Brno).

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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.”¹²⁴

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.”

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



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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.



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1869

[Hicksite Friends](#) created a coeducational college in Pennsylvania, Swarthmore College.

QUAKER EDUCATION



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1870

Father [Isaac Hecker](#) and the [Paulist Fathers](#) established the periodical [Young Catholic](#).

As of this point in our national trajectory merely 2% of Americans were obtaining high school diplomas.

Exemption of the personal property of religious and charitable societies in [Rhode Island](#) from taxation was in this year again restricted, with any such property having a value greater than \$20,000 becoming taxable. (Anti-[Catholic](#) prejudice would in 1872 cause the tax exemption to be restricted further 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 education institutions, would become taxable. In 1894 the schools of the [Catholic](#) church would be again freed from taxation, and added to that would be the freeing from taxation of buildings of charitable institutions plus one acre of the ground on which they stood.)

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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,



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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, 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.)

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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.

[ASYLUM](#)

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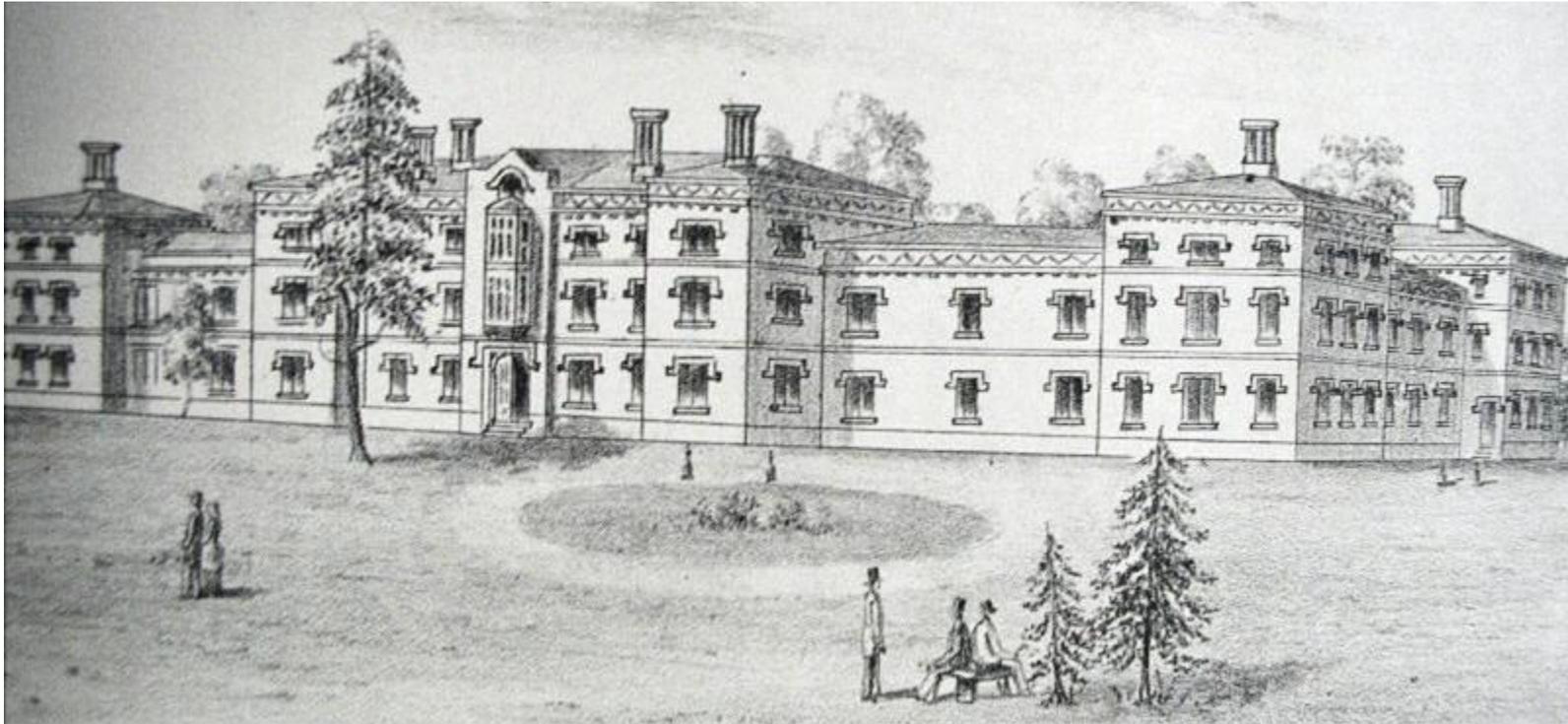
[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

1874

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.

[ASYLUM](#)





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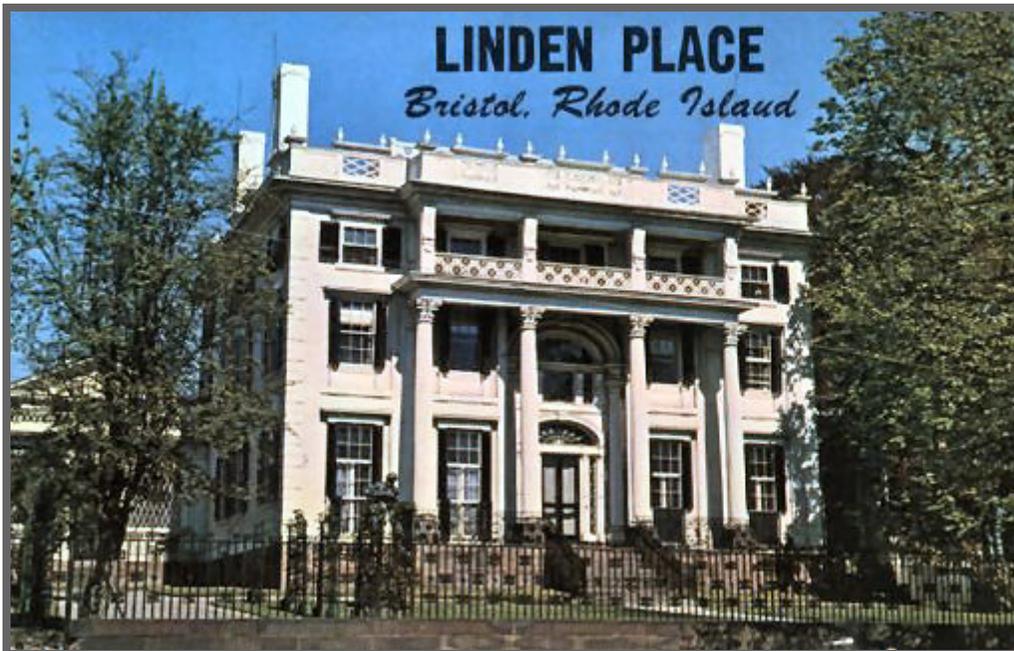
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1875

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](#).





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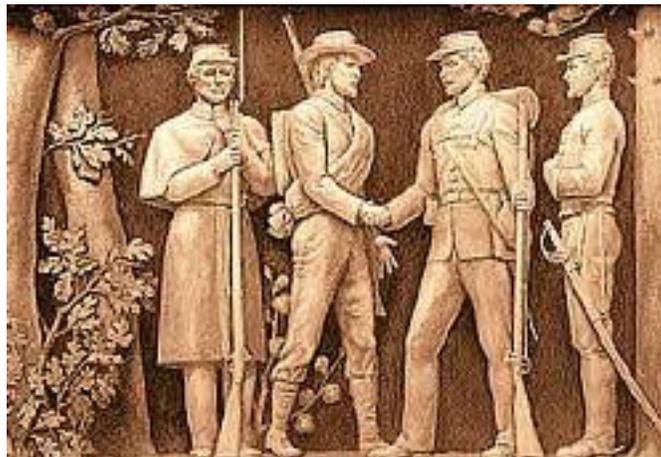
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1876

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 Chace](#) resigned from the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) Woman's Club — over its refusal to admit a black schoolteacher.¹²⁵



125. 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 Chace](#) 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, Chace 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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AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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Elizabeth B. Chace.



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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 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

[ASYLUM](#)



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allowance of food.”



The grassy enclosure of about 9 1/2 acres located west of Dexter Street near High Street, which had been for 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 be 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.



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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.





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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.)



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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:

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.¹²⁶



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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.

126. 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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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.



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1882

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



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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. 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.



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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](#)



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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.





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1888

A [Quaker](#) boarding school was established at Abington, Pennsylvania.



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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).¹²⁷ 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.

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



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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 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.

Friend Augustine Jones’s address would soon be printed up in Providence as [MOSES BROWN, A SKETCH](#).¹²⁸

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. Despite the fact that he himself was

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



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recognized as an orthodox Friend, 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 than 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 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.

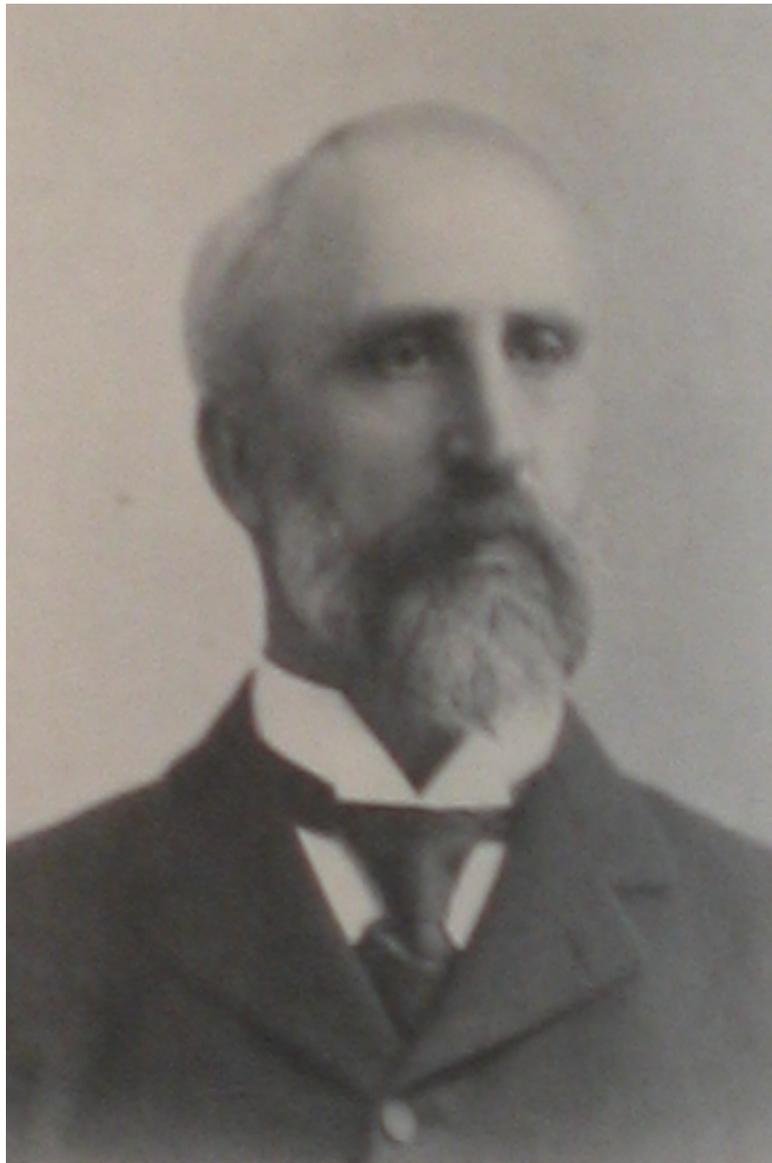
Am I here “reading between the lines” of this text? I would say that no, I am not reading between the lines — I am merely making plain the meaning of a document that can have no other plain explication. If you suppose that Principal Jones’s words might be provided with some other interpretation, it would 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?



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Principal Augustine Jones



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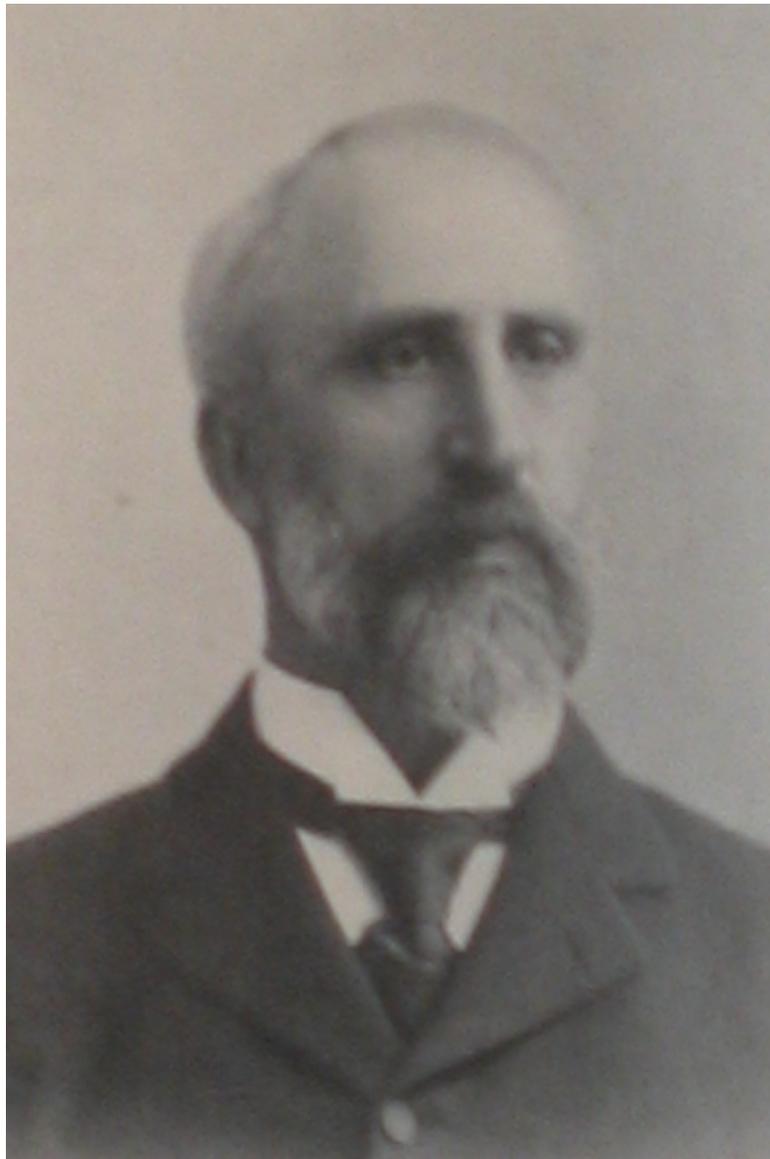
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1893

Publication, in [Providence](#), of Augustine Jones's THE TAXATION OF FRIENDS SCHOOL, containing his argument early in this year before the [Rhode Island](#) legislature, that the tax-exempt status of the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), which had been voided in 1876 by that legislature, ought to be restored. The argument had been successful, at least in regard to the central 26 acres of land that were in use by the school for its buildings and groves, playgrounds, orchard, and garden.





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The George School was established for [Quaker](#) education in Newtown, Pennsylvania.



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1894

In [Rhode Island](#), the [Catholic](#) school system was again freed from taxation — and also the buildings of charitable institutions and one acre of the ground upon which they stood.

Publication, by the federal government, of William Howe Tolman's dissertation entitled HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN [RHODE ISLAND](#), of which some dozen pages dealt with the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence](#).

FRIENDS BOARDING SCHOOL

READ THE ENTIRE THING



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

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1895

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 Braithwaite¹²⁹

129. “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)



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1898

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](#).



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1900

At about the turn of the century the area of downtown [Providence, Rhode Island](#) available to its [Chinese](#) population was being narrowed down, by urban renewal projects, to the point that all of Chinatown was made up of one stretch along Empire Street. Surprise, the white people didn't really want the Chinese around.

Publication, in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), of Augustine Jones's BRIEF HISTORY OF PROVIDENCE FRIENDS SCHOOL, about the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill.

In this year or the following one, the Quaker schoolhouse near Princeton, [New Jersey](#), virtually abandoned and a ruin, would be torn down. The land on which it stood is now the parking lot of the new school.



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1901

In its beginnings, the Quaker Meeting for Sufferings committee of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), which had been so named because it was commissioned to care for Friends who were suffering persecution during the American revolution, had acquired a dominant position within the society. In 1872, in a belated recognition of the fact that Friends were no longer being persecuted for their peace testimony, the name of this governing committee had been updated to “Representative Meeting.” At this point the name was updated again, to “Permanent Board.”

Publication, in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) of Friend Augustine Jones’s A SKETCH OF WILLIAM ROTCH, a pamphlet which contained information relating to the role played by Friends William Rotch and William Rotch, Jr. in the formation of the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the top of the hill.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

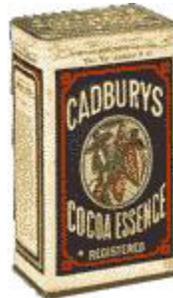
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1902

The federal Congress revised the Margarine Act of 1886, raising the tax on [oleomargarine](#) by a factor of five.

The [Quaker Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), in the process of transforming itself into the sports school that it is today, went into debt in order to erect Hawes Gymnasium at a cost of more than \$30,000 (the debt would be retired later when a bequest would be received from Sarah J. Hall).



[Friend William Cadbury](#) of Cadbury Chocolates was offered a [cocoa](#) plantation on San Thome (a West African island) but saw an advertisement on which its workers had been listed as assets, at so much a head, so [Cadbury](#) instead looked to the Gold Coast (Ghana) where the quality of [cocoa](#) was at the time perceived as poor.

At the [Cadbury](#) facility in England, Men's and Women's Suggestions Committees were set up, formalizing a process that had already begun (in 1893 women had voted in favour of starting work later than 6AM and working later each day).



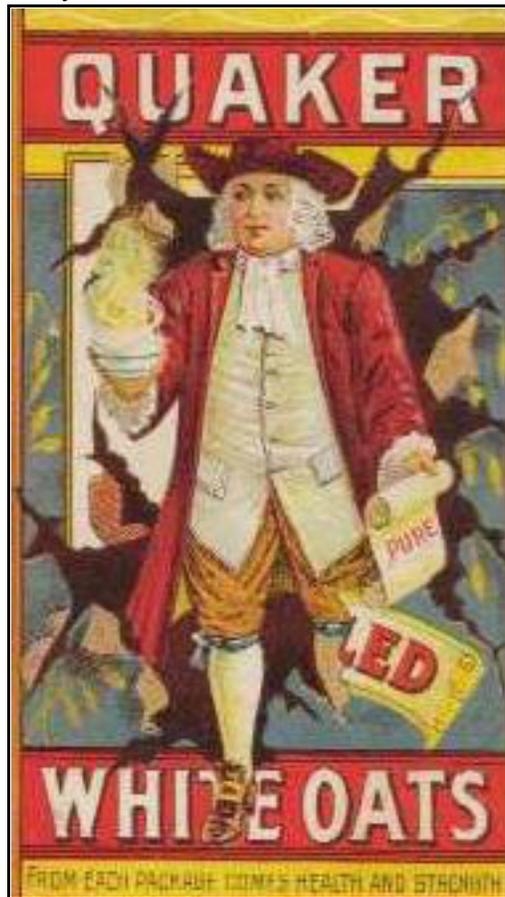
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1903

[Quakers](#) had in this year, as always, a grand reputation, more or less warranted, for probity and solidity, tending mildly in the direction of obesity:



It is evident, however, that there was in this year some doubt, among the general public, about allowing these Quakers of probity and solidity and stick-to-your-ribs substance to educate the next generation of your family. What sort of weird ideas would your kiddies try to bring home, from a Quaker school? –Would they try to bring home, for instance, the Quaker Peace Testimony? In this year the Friends [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the New England Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) under Friend Augustine Jones (who as “principal” rather than “headmaster” was entitled to pocket one half of the annual excess income) took out an advertisement, which it printed among other places in the “Who’s Who,” in which it offered among its many advantages as a school the fact that although it was admittedly “under the management of the Society of Friends,” what it was engaged in nevertheless amounted to nothing other than “the most complete preparation for the best American colleges and universities, and for the highest walks of business or professional life.” One need not be afraid of the influence of this Friend Moses Brown, since he also helped found Brown University (and you know that Brown University isn’t weird). You can feel free to



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send your child to this “unsectarian” school, since we can reassure you that in point of fact most of the students are non-Quakers and therefore non-problematic, and since we can reassure you that in point of fact most of the teachers also are non-Quakers and therefore non-problematic! Don’t worry, the actual Quakers are in a minority and can be handled. (This actual advertisement is pictured on a following screen — so that you can judge for yourself whether these extrapolations from its implicit argument are appropriate or inappropriate.)

In the absence of any policy of racial inclusiveness it goes without saying that this advertisement by Principal Augustine Jones of the “Friends School” was aimed only at acceptably white matriculants. Despite the school’s need to attract a wider clientele, and despite Quakerism, any applicant of color would have been turned away:

Quakers had created schools for free people of African descent and newly freed African Americans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but, well into the twentieth century, they showed little interest in educating students of color in the schools they had created for their own children. This disinclination was, in part, a function of the Quakerism of earlier centuries when Friends founded schools to retain the purity and the distinctiveness (or sometimes their own branch) of their religious society. Quaker children, Friends maintained, required a “guarded” education where teachers could instill religious values and limit the influence of the secular culture. As the Quaker population began to decrease, Friends faced the choice of opening schools to non-Quaker students or closing for lack of adequate income. Most schools chose the former, but they typically admitted the children of parents attracted to the particular teachings and quality of Quaker education, who — without concerted efforts to attract a diverse student body — were virtually always of European descent.¹³⁰

130. Page 319 in Donna McDaniel’s and Vanessa Julye’s FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**FRIEND MOSES BROWN****AND QUAKER EDUCATION****GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM**

Friends School, PROVIDENCE Rhode Island

Augustine Jones, Principal

Historical

First opened at Portsmouth, R. I., Eleventh Month, 8th, 1784, by Isaac Lawton. Closed in 1788 for want of funds; opened again in Providence in 1819. Moses Brown (a founder of Brown University), donated the site, and subscribed to its funds, and left it \$15,000 at his death. His son, Obediah, donated over \$100,000 in 1822, and many other donations were made to the School : : : :

A THOROUGH School for boys and girls. Pupils may here lay the foundation in the elementary studies, pursue regular courses in the mathematics, sciences, ancient and modern languages, philosophy, and all the studies required for the most complete preparation for the best American colleges and universities, and for the highest walks of business or professional life.

The buildings are large, equipped in the best manner for educational purposes and for home life, and the new gymnasium building provides an admirable opportunity for recreation and physical development. The campus comprises 26 acres "on top of Providence," the cupola of the main building overlooking nearly every town in Rhode Island. There are spacious playgrounds for boys and girls.

While the school is under the management of the Society of Friends, it is under a broad and liberal policy. Less than half the teachers are Friends, and less than half the pupils are from the families of Friends. The moral and spiritual welfare of pupils is, however, promoted in a thoroughly unsectarian way.

The faculty includes a large number of permanent teachers, both men and women, of accurate scholarship and large experience.

FOR TERMS AND PARTICULARS
ADDRESS

FRIENDS SCHOOL

[HDT](#)

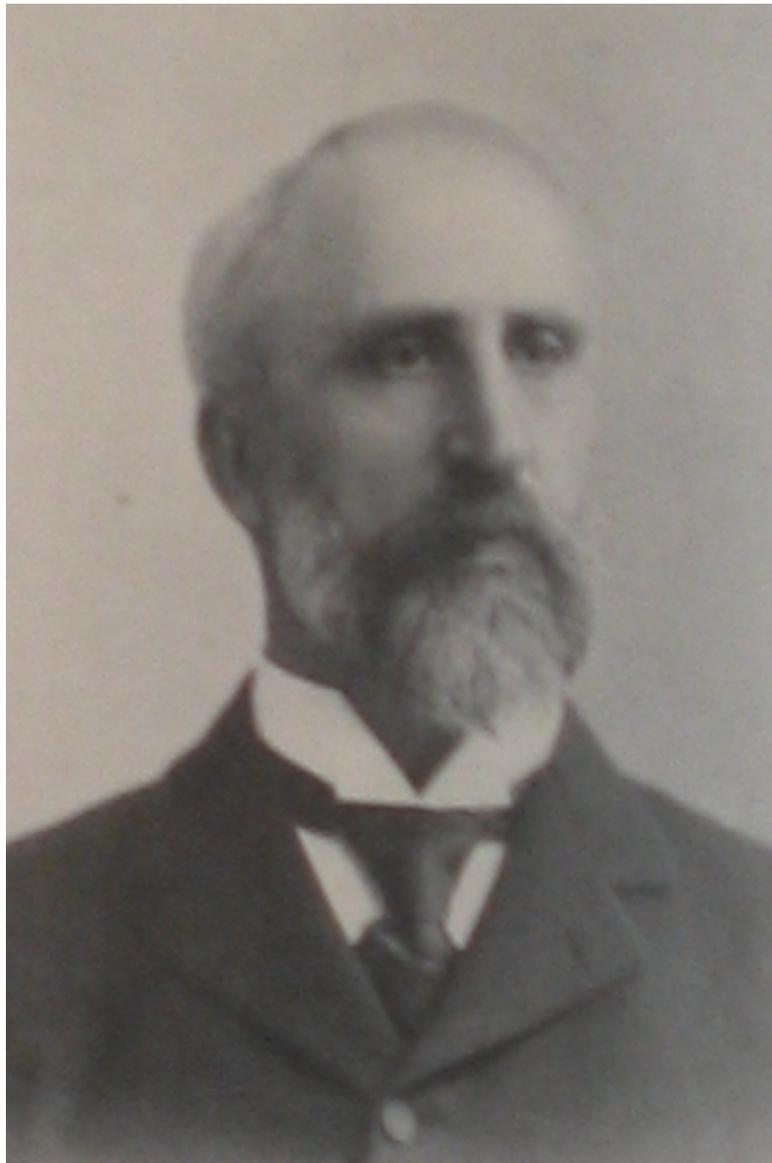
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Principal Augustine Jones



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1904

As the administration of Friend Augustine Jones as “principal” ended and the administration of Dr. Seth Kelley Gifford began, at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the New England Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the Lower School building was constructed at a cost of \$20,000 and the school formally changed its name to the [Moses Brown School](#).¹³¹ There were 172 students. The overt objective of the new headmaster would be to convert this old Quaker school into a college-preparatory academy. Here is how this new administration at the school 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:

1904-1924: rising academic standards to compete with public high schools; Upper School (Forms I-V [grades 8-12]) curriculum reorganized as a college preparatory course, yet with a broad scope to satisfy those who may not go on to college (more than 90% of students in this period did go on to college); admission standards become stricter (number of non-college preparatory students rapidly declines); last herd of School’s farm animals sold; day student enrollment greatly increased, and a lower school (grades 1-7) built to accommodate younger students; total enrollment regularly more than 300 students; number of girls continues to decline and co-education seen as a problem needing to be solved; numerous surpluses allowed the school to invest more than \$75,000 in physical plant; playing fields extended, tennis courts built, trees, shrubs and lawns planted, memorial gates erected and a fence installed along Lloyd Ave., heating and lighting systems extended and renovated, and Middle House remodeled. (page 8)

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

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

131. The school had been taking out advertisements in which it termed itself “Friends School,” but in these advertisements it attempted to distance itself from the Friends, pointing out for instance that they were in a minority. Would not changing the school’s name ease this problem of feeling a need to apologize for the Quaker influence? The suggestion to make this change had originated with Charles Sisson, a member of the School Committee. The timing of the name change obviously was inspired by the fact that the College of Rhode Island had changed its name to Brown University exactly one century earlier, in 1804. However, there is something to be said about this other than the mere timing of it. For some four decades the school had been being administered for the incentive compensation of its headmaster, who had been putting half of its annual surplus in his own pocket, rather than in implementation of the intent of its benefactor Friend Moses Brown (that it provided a guarded environment in which a Quaker education was provided to Quaker students) — and a sorry situation such as that cries out for a cover story. **Since we are no longer honoring our founder in fact, we will honor him nominally!**



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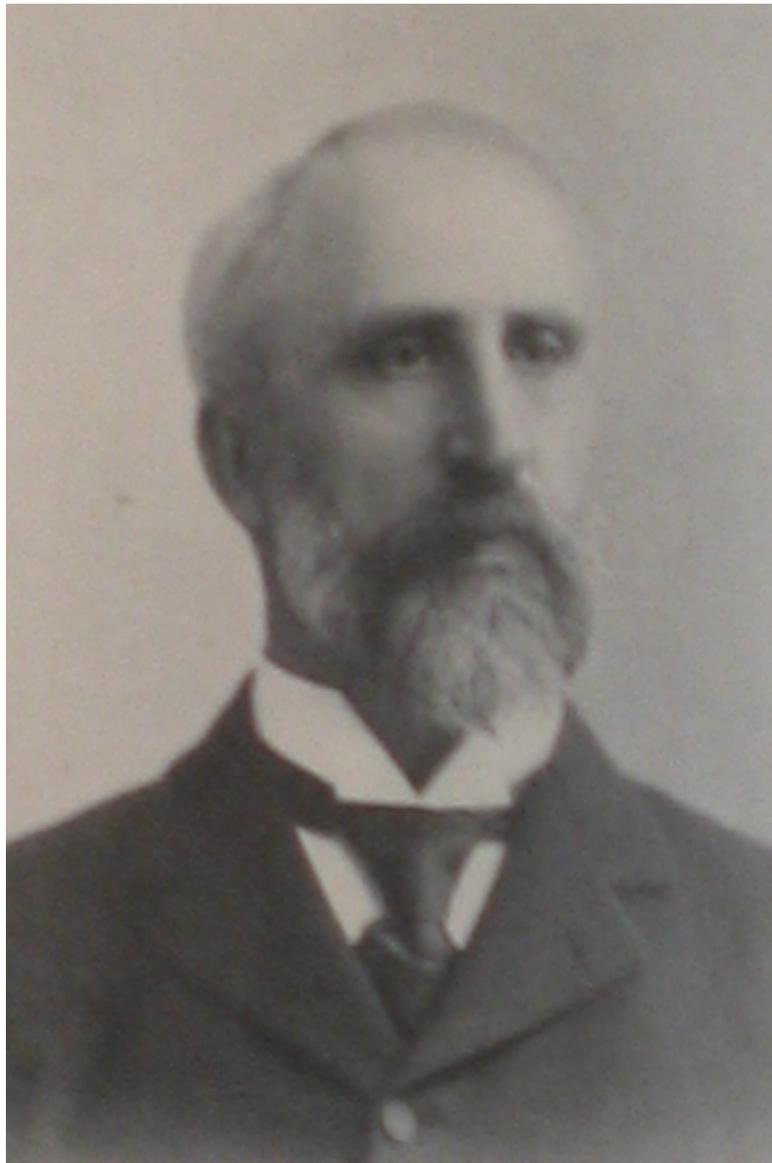
bring the gift total to more than \$90,000 most of which was added to the permanent endowment. (page 7)



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Principal Augustine Jones



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1911

Publication of [Friend](#) Rufus M. Jones's THE QUAKERS IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES, in New York and London. This book alleged that in the great New England race war of 1675/1676,

"The [Quaker](#) officials in the [Rhode Island](#) Colony were in every instance devoted to the maintenance of peace"

although the author also confessed that indeed these Quakers had been guilty of performing

"public acts of a warlike nature."

(He provided us with no explanation whatever for how these two things would have been compossible.)

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



"The usual interpretation of the actions and inactions of the Rhode Island government has been that its members were inhibited by the pacifist scruples of the Quakers among them. Historians have not cited, nor have I found, evidence upon which to base this belief.... Such reading back of later Quaker understandings of the peace testimony obscures not only other wartime motives but the nature of the peace testimony as it was understood in that particular time and place. Third, in many respects the government activities do not appear to have been constrained. ... There were Quakers who bore arms during the war. Captain Weston Clarke, who was sent to relieve Warwick, Lieutenant Robert Westcott, who was killed in the Great Swamp Fight, and Abraham Mann of Providence, who was wounded are three examples."



– Meredith Baldwin Weddle, WALKING IN THE WAY OF PEACE: QUAKER PACIFISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. England: Oxford UP, 2001, pages 172-173, page 204

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY



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1916

In England, Fry's, a competitor to [Cadbury](#) dating back to 1756 when [Friend](#) Joseph Fry had set up business as an apothecary and maker and seller of [chocolate](#), had been the market leader for the whole of the 19th Century. At this point that firm, suffering from inefficient buildings and outdated machinery, was no match for Cadbury's well-planned and efficient factory in Bournville, and so the manufacturing activities of the Fry's firm was absorbed into the Cadbury operation. Two formerly [Quaker](#) firms would be becoming one formerly Quaker firm.

In America, at the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), it became the recommendation of an ad hoc committee of the School Committee that [Moses Brown School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) create a separate building for the gender segregation of all girl scholars, whether they be day students or boarding students. (The girls were already de facto segregated, since in class they always needed to take the seats in the back. Although this proposal would not itself come to anything, in 1925 the existing Lincoln School would be purchased and converted to the use of these girl scholars — thus accomplishing the same objective.)

The exceedingly tall flagpole that had been erected at the [Moses Brown School](#) in 1898 was in this year destroyed by lightning (a matter of little consequence since Quakers don't have a flag).



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1918

The minister (!) at the [Moses Brown School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) resigned from his post at this [Quaker](#)-funded school in order to enlist in the US military (!) and take part in World War I. (Meine Gott, whatever happened to [the Quaker Peace Testimony](#)? –Nowadays there happens to be a plaque at the school to honor its students who got killed while attempting to kill the enemy, but happens not to be any plaque to honor any student who had sought to honor our Peace Testimony.)

A “free public campground” was opened at Longmire on the slopes of [Mount Rainier](#) with seasonal entry permits at \$2.50 per auto — and immediately the grounds were overrun by visitors.

[Friend Floyd Schmoe](#), a Conscientious Objector, agreed to join a Red Cross ambulance unit serving at the front in France but never to touch a weapon of any kind. After the armistice but while German armies still occupied Eastern Europe, the Hoover Commission sent him to assist in delivering a trainload of food and clothing to refugees inside Poland. Upon his return to Kansas he would get married with his high school sweetheart, [Friend Ruth Pickering](#), a pianist.



No [Nobel Peace Prize](#) was awarded in this year — there wasn’t anyone to hand it to (the Red Cross having already been the recipient, in the previous year).

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1919

In England in 1916 Fry's and [Cadbury's](#) had merged their manufacturing operations, and at this point they merged also their financial interests. Two formerly [Quaker](#) firms had coalesced into one formerly Quaker firm.

At the combined factory Saturday ceased to be a full day of work and the hours of workers thereby fell, to 44/week.



CHOCOLATE

The [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) celebrated the centenary of its initiation in 1819.



Publication, by the school, of Professor Rayner Wickersham Kelsey's A CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF MOSES

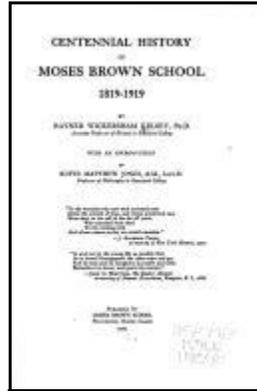


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BROWN SCHOOL, 1819-1919.



(Associate Professor Kelsey was at the Department of History of Haverford College.)

[VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES](#)

Enrollment at the school, which had been 172 in 1904, had doubled to 345. It is clear that by this point in the curricular trajectory of the Friends' School the practice of informing the charges of the Peace Testimony of the Friends had been entirely discontinued, for the educational content being offered had come to differ not one whit from what would have been being offered in any lay academy intended for the socialization of the well-endowed. The influence of the Quaker founder [Moses Brown](#) had been entirely superseded by the influence of his Baptist brother of the *Gaspee* incident, [John Brown](#):

The social side of student life was natural and enjoyable, far removed from the stern repression of the ancient regime. The social occasions were manifold and multi-named: the introductory sociable in the fall and the farewell sociable in the spring were interspersed with the Hallowe'en, the Thanksgiving, and the Valentine sociables and other similar events. There were skating parties at Cat Swamp, and holiday excursions to Sakonnet Point and Newport. Above and before all there was the [Mount Hope](#)



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excursion. On this gala day the teachers and pupils not only



enjoyed the view of water and country green, but lived again the heroic scenes of earlier times. As they passed down the harbor the earthworks on opposite sides, at Fort Hill and Fields Point, were pointed out to them as the places where the bristling cannon of the Revolutionary patriots bade defiance to the ships of King George. A few miles farther down the bay appeared Gaspee Point, where Captain Ben Lindsay swung his packet around the point in 1772 and lured the Gaspee to her tightening berth on the sandbar where the patriots of Providence seized and destroyed her. Then at Mount Hope, with the gracious view of wooded hills and far-flung bay, came those other visions of the good chief [Massasoit](#), friend and protector of the Pilgrim Fathers, and then the mighty struggle and tragic death of his son, King [Philip](#). Amid such scenes, with Walter Meader to point out the historical landmarks, and Thomas Battey to reveal the hidden wonders of nature in brook and inlet, field and forest, the picnic parties from Friends' School spent some of the happiest and most profitable days of the epoch. The life of the period was new life. The tendency of the preceding epoch to break through the ancient [Quaker](#) exclusiveness was accentuated. Old forms were laid aside. Innovations were welcomed if they gave promise of usefulness. The happy social life, the rapid growth of student organizations and activities, and the more intimate association with other schools and with outside interests in general, these were the sure signs that the ancient and medieval days were done,



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the renaissance accomplished, and the modern age at hand.



However, in this year the school discontinued the “principal” system of incentive compensation which had been in effect for well over half a century, and which had led to the desires of their founder, Friend Moses Brown, being so utterly ignored! –Would that mean that the school was going to go back to being what it had been chartered to be, a guarded environment for the imparting of a Quaker education to Quaker youth? Stay tuned.



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1924

September: The Gifford administration ended with Seth Gifford's retirement, and the Thomas administration began, at the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on the East Side of [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:

1924-1955: School continues to build on combining its enrollment of boarders with the "Country Days" model initiated by the Gifford administration. Girls leave Moses Brown for Lincoln School. Daily chapel consisting of "a hymn, a scripture reading or words of inspiration from a guest speaker and silent prayer" started each day in the Upper School. Sundays included "Bible classes followed by services conducted by Dr. Purdy." Alexander Purdy was Acting President of the Hartford Theological Foundation and was Clerk of the Schools Committee, and came to the school nearly every other week to conduct morning services and meet older boys in discussion groups. In 1939, first non-Friends added to the Schools Committee. (page 9)

Here is how Friend Eric Kristensen had described the previous "Gifford Administration" which was ending:

1904-1924: rising academic standards to compete with public high schools; Upper School (Forms I-V [grades 8-12]) curriculum reorganized as a college preparatory course, yet with a broad scope to satisfy those who may not go on to college (more than 90% of students in this period did go on to college); admission standards become stricter (number of non-college preparatory students rapidly declines); last herd of School's farm animals sold; day student enrollment greatly increased, and a lower school (grades 1-7) built to accommodate younger students; total enrollment regularly more than 300 students; number of girls continues to decline and co-education seen as a problem needing to be solved; numerous surpluses allowed the school to invest more than \$75,000 in physical plant; playing fields extended, tennis courts built, trees, shrubs and lawns planted, memorial gates erected and a fence installed along Lloyd Ave., heating and lighting systems extended and renovated, and Middle House remodeled. (page 8)



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1925

A new dance craze began in [Charleston](#)'s pubs and dancehalls and spread across the nation. It would soon be referred to as "the Charleston."

Dubose Heyward created the tragic novel PORGY, set in Cabbage Row across from his house on Church Street (the street name was changed to Catfish Row in the book).

[Dr. Elbert Russell](#)'s EARLY [FRIENDS](#) AND EDUCATION (15 pages; Committee on Education of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends). In about this year, his "The Little Girl God Forgot" and "Not This Man But Barrabbas." He was traveling for the Service Committee and delivering lectures at Guilford College, the University of [North Carolina](#), and Duke University.

In this year and in 1927 the two Philadelphia Yearly Meetings of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) would be issuing, apparently quite independently of one another, extensively revised Books of Discipline. In each of these revisions of the Books of Discipline the historic phrase "receive such into membership, without respect to nation or color" would be allowed to disappear. This would to all appearances be the result of mere editing as there had never been an official reversal of the color-blind racial policy that had been established during the 18th Century in either branch of the society.¹³²

At the nobody-but-us-white-people [Moses Brown School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), a playing field for the primary grades was created, and the Alumni Hall erected in 1868 received extensive renovation. At the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) it was reported that the most serious problem of this nobody-but-us-white-people school, for the past decade, had been a declining enrollment of the girl type of white children. To remedy the deficiencies which were causing this decline of one of the two types of white children, the existing Lincoln School standing a short distance to the east would be purchased by the Friends.

132. The data elements for this series on the acceptability of persons of mixed race as [Quakers](#) are from Henry Cadbury's "Negro Membership in the Society of Friends" in [The Journal of Negro History](#), Volume 21 (1936), pages 151-213.



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1926

The five girl scholars who were graduated from the [Moses Brown School](#) would be the last until the 1970s, since the Lincoln School on [Providence, Rhode Island](#)'s East Side had taken over the function of being the [Quaker](#) school for girls.

The Rhode Island Supreme Court upheld the provisions of Ebenezer Knight Dexter's will,



ASYLUM

declaring that no part of the [Dexter Asylum](#) property could be sold — much to the disgust of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) Alderman Sol S. Bromson, who declared that the city could board the inmates at the Biltmore



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Hotel for less than it was costing the public to maintain this asylum.



Despite this ruling, this is what the Dexter Asylum property looks like today from the air. Can you find a poor farm in this photo, somewhere amidst all the baseball diamonds and lacrosse fields and tennis courts and sports complexes?





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1927

When the Independent Man atop the dome of the State House in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) was damaged by lightning, all the king's horses and all the king's men used 42 copper-plates staples to put the statue back together again.



The [Quaker Moses Brown School](#) on Providence's East Side was bursting with students, with an enrollment of 403 young scholars, and therefore plans were being made to erect a new building to supplement the Lower School building that had been erected so many years before (due to the intervention of depression and world war, construction of this new building would not actually begin until another three decades had passed).



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

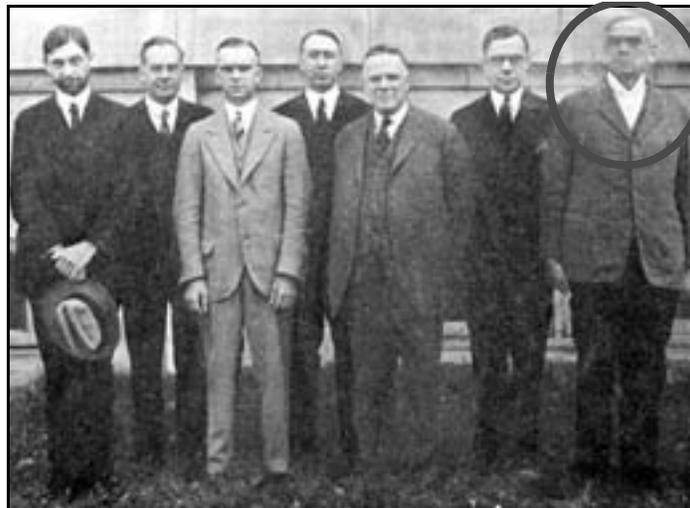
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1931

The Great Depression would be depressing enrollment at the [Quaker Moses Brown School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), with the number of white boys enrolled having already fallen to 366. As enrollment would drop off further to 318 white boys in the following two years, construction of the planned new Lower School would need to be put off indefinitely.

AN OPEN LETTER TO [DR. ELBERT RUSSELL](#) FROM ALLEN H. GODBEY¹³³



133. Allen Howard Godbey, Professor of Old Testament History in the Duke School of Religion, was a Methodist minister. He was in addition the author of an open letter to President W.P. Few of Duke University. There are a number of recorded reactions by scholars, students, and alumni, on file at the Duke University Library for your evaluation. Professor Godbey had been the author, in 1889, of STANLEY IN AFRICA: THE PALADIN OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. A SUCCINCT AND CORRECT HISTORY OF THE TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS OF HENRY M. STANLEY, ... AND A COMPLETE HISTORY OF HIS LATEST AND MOST INTERESTING EXPEDITION, THE RELIEF OF EMIN BEY (Chicago: Standard).



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Also, in this year, Dr. Russell offered THE VALE OF [BEAVOR](#) TODAY as the John Bowne lecture.





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1934

The Great Depression had been depressing enrollment at the [Quaker Moses Brown School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), with the number of boy scholars enrolled having dropped off to 318 — but during this year they experienced an enrollment increase.



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GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM

1935

Elisha R. Potter's EARLY HISTORY OF NARRAGANSETT WITH AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS MANY OF WHICH ARE NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME PUBLISHED. [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#).



At the [Quaker Moses Brown School](#), where there had been no cows since the herd was sold in 1924, the stone barn was remodeled into a gym for the Lower School.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

[GO TO MASTER HISTORY OF QUAKERISM](#)

1936

At the [Quaker Moses Brown School](#) for boy scholars on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), in this year, social dancing came to be permitted. A structural weakness was discovered in the main beams of Alumni Hall, constructed in 1868, which would require the complete renovation of that 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.



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1938

A new public high school for 2,000 students opened on Hope Street across the street from the campus of the [Moses Brown School](#) on top of the hill in the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), replacing a smaller such public school that had been on the same side of the street as the campus.



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

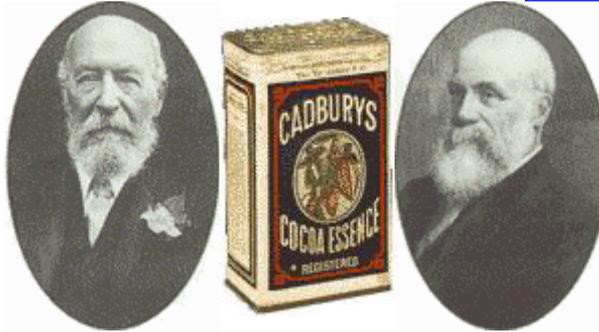
AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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1939

In England, the formerly [Quaker](#) chocolate company, [Cadbury](#), as it had during World War I, would during World War II entirely disregard the Quaker Peace Testimony by in every way possible contributing to its nation's war effort. The company had become just another war contractor and would manufacture all sorts of war equipment, such as milling machines for rifle factories and pilot seats for Defiant fighter planes. The workers ploughed up its football pitches for crops, and the company's St John's Ambulance unit would be a first responder during German air raids. After an air attacks, the employees would distribute cups of hot [cocoa](#) to rescue workers.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



(The company would later boast about this curious mixture of legitimate relief activity with illegitimate belligerent activity. It had done nothing of which it felt it needed to be ashamed, either in relief of the slaughter or in furtherance of that slaughter.)

At the [Quaker Moses Brown School](#) for boy scholars on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), radical changes in governance were in the works. Here is how this new arrangement 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:

Yearly Meeting records the following in Minute 52: "Rufus M. Jones presented the request of the Committee on Moses Brown School and Lincoln School to add four members from outside the Yearly Meeting membership, such appointment to be made by the School Committee itself and to consist of local interested people, representative of the alumni, the parents, and other Providence friends of the School." Minute 54 records that "The Committee on Moses Brown School and Lincoln School is given permission to add to its present number four additional members, who may or may not be Friends." (page 10)



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1941

In Princeton, [New Jersey](#) (which initially had been largely [Quaker](#) but had then become over the years largely Presbyterian, with the local Friends meeting “laid down” as of 1878), a local monthly meeting was formally re-established. (Initially, this group would be meeting at the local YWCA and on the campus of [Princeton University](#), but eventually the monthly meeting would reconstitute itself at its historic Stony Brook property outside town, and a Friends School would also have constituted itself on those premises.)

Hope High School, which had been erected in a corner of the [Moses Brown School](#) bequest that had been seized by the city of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) by eminent domain in the realignment of Hope Street so that the street would continue directly into East Avenue, the older high school building that it had superseded became at this point the headquarters for the 6th Army corps, for the duration of [World War II](#). Hey, [Quaker](#) peaceniks pacifist cowards, this has got nothing whatever to do with you, so you keep over on your farm!



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During this year this school of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) would lose a number of its teachers to the military draft, and the possibility of the students continuing to transit directly from their high school education into their college education was accepted to be just about nil.¹³⁴

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)

An article in the [Sunday Journal](#) characterized [Dexter Asylum](#) on Hope Street as a “well-meaning legacy of a bygone day which has made time stand still.”



Pardon me, I've lived in Rogue Island for long enough to know what such a sentence signals locally. What it signals is “Hey, there's a bunch of money here lying around loose, that maybe we can steal!” It's the vibes of the wounded. It's blood in the water. Cue sharks.

134. The official school accounts make it clear that for the duration of the war, the Quaker Peace Testimony was entirely outside the bounds of the thinkable, both for the students and for their teachers. Their thoughts were consumed with ways to maneuver so that their military draft obligations would fit as neatly as possible into their overall personal life trajectories.

[THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY](#)



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1942

[Elbert Russell](#)'s THE HISTORY OF [QUAKERISM](#) (New York: Macmillan Company).¹³⁵ The Quaker group initiated by Friend Elbert in [Durham, North Carolina](#) would swell with the addition of [conscientious objectors](#) working at the Duke Hospital during [World War II](#).

[Dr. David Tillerson Smith](#) became president of the North Carolina [Tuberculosis](#) Association.

At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), a summer session was added so that students who would be seniors in the following year could complete their studies before being drafted and going off into "service" in the US military during [World War II](#). At night the city of [Providence](#) was blacked out, to make it harder for the German bombers to fly all the way across the Atlantic Ocean and bomb Providence the way they were flying all the way across the English Channel and bombing London. Military searchlights criss-crossed the skies.

The US Navy began to make use of Rear Admiral Ralph Waldo Christie's¹³⁶ expensive new Mark 14 proximity torpedoes in live combat situations. Field commanders reported back again and again from the battle zones: "This new torpedo doesn't go off." The Bureau of Ordnance, of course, refused to credit such reports. At the Newport Torpedo Station on what little still remained above water level of what had once been [Goat Island](#) in the harbor of [Newport](#), production of the deficient devices continued apace.



135. This book would receive the [Mayflower Cup](#) award of the [North Carolina](#) Literary and Historical Association for works of nonfiction by local authors.

136. Commander, US Submarine Force, Southwest Pacific (ComSubSoWesPac).



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December 14, Monday: An agreement signed in London by Foreign Minister Anthony Eden and Charles de Gaulle turned Madagascar over to a Free French administration.

Fleet Air Command, Noumea, New Caledonia (Rear Admiral M.A. Mitscher), was established.

The submarine *Sunfish* (SS-281) laid mines in the entrance to Ise no Umi, [Japan](#).

President Felix Morley of Philadelphia's Haverford College was quoted in TIME Magazine as admitting frankly that his [Quaker](#) college's having agreed to become part of the Army's nationwide chain of "little West Points," to train young men for commissions as meteorologists in the Army Air Force, had "strained its Quaker traditions of absolute pacifism."

WORLD WAR II

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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1944

The [Providence](#) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) was merged with the independent Providence Friends Fellowship Monthly Meeting and with the Nantucket Monthly Meeting (formerly a group of [Wilburites](#)).

At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), enrollment was up to 361 and tuition increased for the first time since 1929. Henceforth the tuition for an Upper School student would be \$450 per school year and board for an Upper School boarding student would be \$650. (In the publication I am looking at, there is no mention of Quakers, or surcharges for non-Quaker children.)



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1945

When, at the end of [World War II](#), some British members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) went to Buckingham Palace seeking an audience with King George VI, the monarch inquired who these people were. Informed that they were Quakers, he allegedly responded “Oh, I didn’t know that there were any of them left.”

[Dr. Elbert Russell](#) spent the year teaching at Guilford College.

Friend [Rosalind Gower Smith](#) graduated from Duke University in [Durham, North Carolina](#).

Rebelling against their 79-hour work week, some of the [Conscientious Objectors](#) serving as attendants at the Eastern State Mental Hospital in Williamsburg, Virginia refused to report for duty. After extensive negotiations the American Friends Service Committee sent more attendants to the hospital and their work week was pared down to a minimum of 60 hours.

During [WWII](#) 46 alumni of the [Moses Brown School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) had been killed. (Is there a monument to honor their war dead, anywhere on this supposedly-[Quaker](#) campus?)

The legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts revoked the Edict of Banishment which had been enacted against Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#) and authorized \$12,000.⁰⁰ to erect a bronze in the memory of the missionary martyr, Friend [Mary Dyer](#) (the statue would actually depict Friend Nancy St. John, wife of the Headmaster of the [Moses Brown School](#)). In downtown [Boston](#) Nancy now faces the bronze of Mistress Hutchinson.¹³⁷



137. In 1865, a paradigmatic old-school dead-white-male thingie in honor of Horace Mann, sculpted by Emma Stebens, had been positioned on the State House grounds, and so these new bronzes in honor of Mistress [Anne Hutchinson](#) and Friend [Mary Dyer](#) were in this era positioned in such a manner as to outflank that old erection — a positioning which has given rise to the idea that the one bronze might be adorned with the so-Mannly locution “You have stepped out of your place, you have rather been a husband than a wife,” the other with the so-Mannly locution “My life not availeth me in comparison to the liberty of truth.”



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1946

At the [Moses Brown School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), significant contributions were being made to the American Friends Service Committee.

Under “La Loi Mile. Marthe Richard,” the brothels of Paris were shut down and regulated medical examination of sex workers abandoned — such establishments had come to be regarded as venues of [slavery](#), although prostitution itself was quite OK and the demimondaines remained free to work the streets (the eponymous Mile. Richard was a member of the French Assembly).

In [Newport](#), dedication of the structure that had housed the 1st synagogue in what is now the United States of America, [Touro Synagogue](#) of Congregation Jeshuat Israel, as a national historical site.¹³⁸



Affixed to the south side of the exterior wall is a plaque with the following inscription:

**NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
TOURO SYNAGOGUE
JESHUAT ISRAEL CONGREGATION
FOUNDED 1658 THIS OLDEST SYNAGOGUE BUILDING IN THE
UNITED STATES WAS DESIGNED BY PETER HARRISON. GROUND
WAS BROKEN AUGUST 1, 1759. IT WAS DEDICATED ON DECEMBER
2, 1763. HERE 1781-84 THE RHODE ISLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY
MET, AND DURING WASHINGTON’S VISIT TO NEWPORT IN 1781 A
TOWN MEETING WAS HELD HERE. THE STATE SUPREME COURT
HELD SESSIONS HERE AT THAT PERIOD. THE BUILDING WAS**

138. Some of the Jews of this synagogue, like some of their Christian neighbors, such as the [Quakers](#) next door up the hill, had engaged in the [international slave trade](#). After their synagogue building, in what had become the bad part of town, had been deconsecrated, the empty structure, under a caretaker who was a Quaker, would find use occasionally, surreptitiously, for the harboring of escaping [slaves](#) as a station on the Underground Railroad, or so ’tis persistently said although I have never seen a scintilla of evidence to back up such claims (we all know that the way to make something true is to repeat it any number of times). —When you visit, and are proudly shown the must-see “secret hidey hole” beneath the lectern, for Heaven’s sake be polite and do not complicate matters by inquiring about participation in the international slave trade. Remember that the international slave trade wasn’t just for Jews.



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**REOPENED FOR RELIGIOUS SERVICES ON AUGUST 2, 1850. IN
1790 GEORGE WASHINGTON WROTE TO THIS CONGREGATION THAT
... “HAPPILY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES...
GIVES TO BIGOTRY NO SANCTION, TO PERSECUTION NO ASSISTANCE.”**



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1947

The [New England Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) expressed concern that the [Moses Brown School](#) and the Lincoln School in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), although supposedly, nominally, they were under its care, were racist establishments that were not in fact extending this Quaker educational opportunity to “children of all races.”

By the mid-1950s, most Friends schools in the East had admitted at least a few African American students, and in some cases a substantial number had gained admittance. In 1958 Friends Select and Westtown were the two Friends Schools with the most African American students. Friends in New England, however, appear to have lagged behind. In 1947 New England Yearly Meeting expressed its concern that Moses Brown and Lincoln School in Providence, Rhode Island, two schools under the yearly meeting’s care, should include “children of all races in their school family”; six years later another minute suggested that the schools were then ready to do so. Still, in 1957 the yearly meeting continued to question whether Friends and their schools were “clear of discrimination.” Ten years later the meeting created a seventeen-member committee, including heads of the yearly meeting’s schools, to further “the meeting’s concern to meet the needs of more students from disadvantaged and minority groups” and to raise funds for scholarships. By the 1960s several African Americans had been admitted to Moses Brown School.¹³⁹

139. Page 332 in Donna McDaniel’s and Vanessa Juley’s FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).



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Former war prisoner and convicted felon [John R. Kellam](#) was accepted as worker for the [American Friends Service Committee](#)—which was queerly unprejudiced against him¹⁴⁰ although they were well aware of his record of draft dodging— in a project called PennCraft:



I had been working for the American Friends Service Committee in its subsidiary called Friends Service, Incorporated, helping coal miners who wanted to build their own homes in their spare time, when they were only partly employed and had been completely unemployed earlier when their fathers built a group of stone houses in the farm adjoining the one that I had gone out to manage. I had only eight homesteaders building their houses, homesteading families. There were fifty in the original group, six and a half times as many. It was a place called PennCraft.

I worked at PennCraft for subsistence wages and I did truck driving, materials delivering, building techniques teaching, technical and administrative accounting, and later on some land subdivision surveying. I was accounting for dollars spent on materials and manhours of labor that were exchanged by the various homesteaders working on each others houses at times, keeping two sets of books. Manhours and dollars. The capital for that whole project had been originally contributed by the owners of the big idle coal mines and the mine workers union. They put in equal amounts and the Service Committee made this project out of it where the miners borrowed the cost of the materials, did their own labor, built their own houses and paid off for the materials over time on a contract per deed basis and eventually when they made their last payment, we delivered their deed, meaning that they were the sole owners of the property that they had created.

Well, fresh out of prison, after a very short time with the

140. This was a special year for the American Friends Service Committee. Not only were they receiving Friend John as an employee, but also they were receiving the [Nobel Peace Prize](#).



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National Council for Prevention of War, I was told that the Friends Service Committee was looking for a new project manager at PennCraft. They had a young fellow just starting who within two or three weeks felt overwhelmed by his job so much that even with just a suitcase to carry, leaving a small trunkfull of stuff behind, he went out on the highway and hitchhiked all the way to his home in Minnesota, without notice to anybody. He was made almost sick by his job because it was just too much. I had more technical information about building included in my architectural training, even though I had never had any responsibility on a building job. The only practical experience I had ever had was from climbing all over new construction and watching the workmen, talking with them and seeing how they did things. This, along with talking sometime with the designing architect, was the only practical supplement to my theoretical design, mathematics and mechanical studies in college.

Anyway, I went to PennCraft knowing that this other fellow had left that way. When they hired me, they got in contact with him and said that his successor had been acquired and would show up at a certain date. Would he, therefore, knowing that he would not be expected to continue, with that assurance, would he then be willing to come back for a week or two and help to break me in to the job? I would be otherwise just as ignorant of what I was facing as he had been. With his help, I would be more likely to be able to continue for as long as needed at PennCraft. So he did come back and, incidentally, he did pick up his trunk! He stayed with me for just one week. It was the minimum time that he'd had to promise! Maybe ten days, maybe two weeks, but he wasn't sure of that. So I had to learn as fast as possible how to pick up his loose ends. I found, just as he had been, as soon as I realized what was pending, what was facing me, I felt as if I was forty days behind in my work on the first day! He had had that same feeling, so I wondered whether I would really be able to stick to it. But then I had my whole family out there so I had to stick with it no matter how difficult it was. Also I knew that I could go through a difficult experience.

There was an FBI man who came to PennCraft where I was working later on after I had been out of prison a couple of years. He showed his badge and I recognized FBI on it and he asked me if we could talk in some place that wasn't as open as at this barn where some fellow homesteaders were using materials and equipment. So we went up to the house. On the way I told him that with respect to his own official duties there was nothing I could say that could help him. The only thing that I could think of to say that would be constructive and helpful was that I felt he would be a lot happier if he would quit that kind of a job and get into something useful where he wouldn't be adversarial with people, or bothering them as they were trying to live their lives, as if they were criminals. It seemed to me that he would be much better off in any other kind of occupation. I said, "Weren't you ever interested in something else almost as much as you are in this?"



FRIEND MOSES BROWN

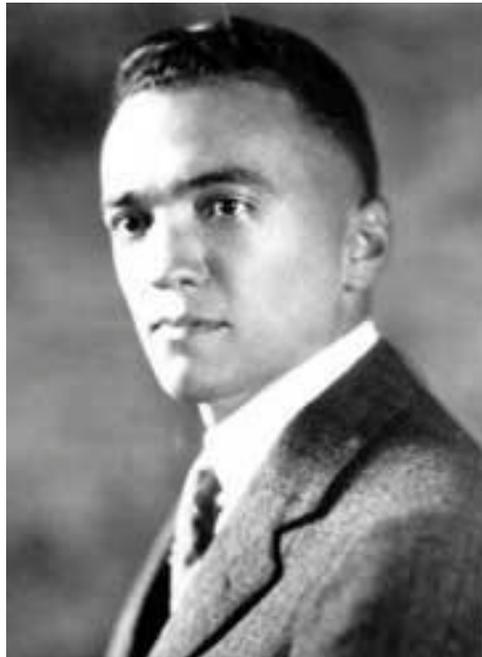
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"I'd studied a while for the ministry."

"Oh, that would have been wonderful! Why settle for so much less?"

Maybe he wasn't too good at it! According to the congregation! Anyway, as an official of the FBI, ever since I became aware of how outrageously the FBI could go astray from the truth, under oath, in court, to lie about a defendant, there hasn't been an FBI man since that has been worth the time of day off my watch. But as a person, I said, "I respect you and I wish you could have a happier life than you could possibly have had with this job."



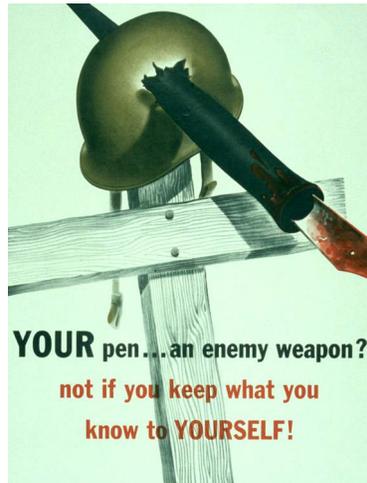
I still didn't know the worst about [J. Edgar Hoover](#). When the whole press of the country acknowledges the sort of a defective guy he was, even in that position, and how he had lists of enemies and people he'd like to find a way of putting in jail, without caring in advance what they might have done that was contrary to law, I couldn't have respect for that kind of official so corrupted. Hoover wasn't so much of a misfit during the war as he was in peacetime, because the first casualty of war is the truth. One of the best tools in warfare is deception. You're trying to deceive the enemy even if it means deceiving your friends first, having them unwittingly tell the enemy things that are not so.



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YOUR pen...an enemy weapon?
not if you keep what you
know to **YOURSELF!**



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1951

From the report of the [Moses Brown School](#) to the [New England Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#):

Of interest to the Yearly Meeting because of its great importance to the Moses Brown School and to Providence Monthly Meeting, is the building of a Meeting House on the school grounds.... The School Committee indicates its willingness to cooperate in this project and special committees were appointed to work out an arrangement that would be satisfactory to the School and to the Meeting. A parcel of land at the corner of Olney Street and Morris Avenue has been selected and a legal agreement has been drawn up. The meeting house property has been sold to the City of Providence, and architect has been engaged, and plans are being drawn. The Permanent Board, at a special meeting on Fourth Month 21, agreed to approve in advance any arrangement which is agreeable to the School Committee and the Providence Meeting. At the writing of this report there remain only a few details to be worked out. The two organizations, the School and the Meeting, will remain completely independent entities, but the proximity of each to the other should be of great advantage to both.

From the Minutes of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) for this year.¹⁴¹

L. Ralston Thomas has presented a request from the [Providence](#) Monthly Meeting that approval be granted, in advance of any lease or deed of land which the [Moses Brown School](#) Committee may grant to the Monthly Meeting, on condition that the Monthly Meeting erect and maintain a suitable Friends' Meeting House on the property, and that in case such a Meeting House is not built and maintained the land is to revert to the Moses Brown School Committee. The request is approved.

...

L. Ralston Thomas has presented an agreement of trust between Providence Monthly Meeting and the Moses Brown School Committee. The meeting approves the agreement and designates Donald B. Snyder, of the Moses Brown School Committee, and Ernest C. Ainsworth, Treasurer of the Yearly Meeting, to sign the agreement.

...

The meeting approves the appointment of the Clerk of the Yearly Meeting and the Treasurer to sign on behalf of the Yearly

141. I must admit that I was greatly surprised when I first read this. I had been told repeatedly, by all and sundry, that we had "leased" this houseplot on the Moses Brown farm after a strip of houseplots along Olney Street at the north end of the campus had been divided off and sold. Nobody had ever mentioned to me that this had been, not a commercial deal made at arms length for the purpose of raising money, but instead an insider political accommodation in which the use of this plot had been simply gifted to us in a "sweetheart" manner after the land had been purchased for us by the city of Providence as part of its obtaining our old lot at the corner of Meeting Street and Main Street for the purpose of building a new firestation.



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Meeting on the proposed agreement of Trust between the Yearly Meeting and the [Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting of Friends. Russell D. Brooks has explained, and the Permanent Board understands, that the appointment of Russell D. Brooks and Seymour Wiley as Trustees of the property of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting was intended to make them responsible for the care of the properties and the use of the income from the funds of the Meeting.

Russell D. Brooks and Seymour Wiley are appointed at this meeting to serve as members of the Rhode Island Monthly Meeting Properties Committee.
Taken from the records.

ROBERT E. OWEN, Clerk



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1952

September 28, Sunday: For many years the Friends of [Providence](#) had worshiped in [Saylesville, Rhode Island](#) at what had been known as the “South” meetinghouse, the “North” meetinghouse having been across the river in



[Smithfield](#) (this “South” meetinghouse near Lincoln has by now become one of the two oldest surviving continuously operated [Quaker](#) meetinghouses in America). Then, belatedly, a Quaker meeting had taken place within the town limits, near the town fort on Stampers Hill (at the foot of today’s Olney Avenue). Then a new meetinghouse had been erected on North Main Street on the site of what is today the brick firehouse, and eventually it was expanded. When that expanded building had become old, it had in 1844 been put on heavy sledges and tugged by a team (a team of horses, we are told) down the snow-covered Town Street, then up Wickenden Street on Fox Point, and then uphill to 77 Hope Street, where it became a 2-family residence (demolished in 1860; the site now has an apartment building). Thus its century-and-a-quarter old foundation had been cleared, to hold up the west half of a 3d meeting house created in 1844 of plain uninsulated barn construction (the east half of the new structure would be on top of crawl space). This newer meeting house on Meeting Street had lasted the local Friends for 108 years, until the city of Providence was needing a central site for a proposed new Fire Station (another site was available to the city, but a brick building on it would have



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been more expensive to clear and its location between North Main Street and Canal Street had inferior access for fire equipment). So we offered our lot to the City and it was purchased gratefully for enough money to cover 90% of the cost of erection of a better new structure. Our very plain 1844 building was of no architectural import,¹⁴² so we took the benches and little else and the City razed what was left behind. In consequence, in about this year, a 4th meeting house was erected, a brick meetinghouse with a slate roof, at the corner of Olney and Morris on Friend [Moses Brown](#)'s trust property atop the hill on the East Side. The land is subject to a long term lease from the New England Yearly Meeting, which is trustee for this trust property established by Friend Moses.¹⁴³ Friend Thomas Perry clerked the building committee and the architect was Albert Harkness. In September the building was dedicated, with a talk by Alexander Purdy. — That's where you can now¹⁴⁴ join

142. Sometimes people get the idea that we Quakers worship old stuff. Yes, we have a long history but no, we don't.

143. I have seen a Moses Brown School document that refers to this lot as "school property." This is their insolence, as it is not. The Moses Brown School is squatting on the trust land left by Friend Moses precisely as the Friends meetinghouse is squatting on it, only through the permission of the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. The difference between the school's use and the meetinghouse's use is that the monthly meeting holds a long-term lease entitlement whereas the school holds no such legal document.

144. Sometimes people get the idea that the Quakers are gone. No, we're still here.



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us for worship:



1699	The "Great Meetinghouse" in Newport, Rhode Island
1704	2-story Saylesville meetinghouse completed
1718	"Providence" monthly meeting set off from "East Greenwich" monthly meeting
1719	Construction began on a small Smithfield meetinghouse
1725	1st Providence meetinghouse erected near town fort at the very north edge of town, on "Stampers Hill" (up from Town Street at the foot of Olney Lane)



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1745	Kitchen shed added to Saylesville meetinghouse; 2d Providence meetinghouse erected at the corner of what at the time was known as Town Street but is now known as North Main Street and what at the time was known as Gaol Street but is now known as Meeting Street, across from Salt Cove; the name “Stamper’s” having passed out of existence, this Quaker meetinghouse was being referred to as that of the Providence Worship Group of the Providence Monthly Meeting
1755	The small Smithfield meetinghouse was enlarged
1752	The Smithfield Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends’s “upper” meetinghouse was at Woonsocket or Quinsnickert, and its “lower” meetinghouse was at Saylesville
1775	The 1719 Smithfield meetinghouse was again expanded
1783	The Quakers who met in the meetinghouse on Main Street in Providence, Rhode Island had up to this point been considered to be a “worship group” affiliated with the Providence Monthly Meeting (with meetinghouses in Smithfield and in Saylesville), a worship group that happened to be meeting to worship locally for convenience rather than going on the carriage ride all the way north to the Smithfield meetinghouse on the one side of the river or the Saylesville meetinghouse on the other side of the river. At this point the affiliations and the names were rearranged. Henceforth the group that was attending the Smithfield meetinghouse and the “Lower Smithfield” meetinghouse near Saylesville would be considered to constitute a separate Smithfield Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. That is, there would be two monthly meetings rather than one, and the name “Providence” would hereinafter adhere to the group that actually was inside the town of Providence.
1784	2d Providence meetinghouse enlarged
1822	2d Providence meetinghouse renovated: “what was called the Negros Gallery” removed (still in existence in Saylesville meetinghouse)
1844	2d Providence meetinghouse moved to Hope Street and became a residence; 3d meetinghouse erected with its west part atop old foundation
1849	The Smithfield meetinghouse was remodeled
1860	the old meetinghouse, become a residence on Hope Street, was demolished
1881	The Smithfield meetinghouse burned, and would be replaced by the present structure
1952	3d meetinghouse property at Main and Meeting streets purchased by city of Providence for firestation
September 1952	brick 4th meetinghouse, on Moses Brown farm property atop College Hill at corner of Olney and Morris (99-year renewable lease), dedicated



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September 28, Sunday: For many years the Friends of [Providence](#) had worshiped in [Saylesville, Rhode Island](#) at what had been known as the “South” meetinghouse, the “North” meetinghouse having been across the river in



[Smithfield](#) (this “South” meetinghouse near Lincoln has by now become one of the two oldest surviving continuously operated [Quaker](#) meetinghouses in America). Then, belatedly, a Quaker meeting had taken place within the town limits, near the town fort on Stampers Hill (at the foot of today’s Olney Avenue). Then a new meetinghouse had been erected on North Main Street on the site of what is today the brick firehouse, and eventually it was expanded. When that expanded building had become old, it had in 1844 been put on heavy sledges and tugged by a team (a team of horses, we are told) down the snow-covered Town Street, then up Wickenden Street on Fox Point, and then uphill to 77 Hope Street, where it became a 2-family residence (demolished in 1860; the site now has an apartment building). Thus its century-and-a-quarter old foundation had been cleared, to hold up the west half of a 3d meeting house created in 1844 of plain uninsulated barn construction (the east half of the new structure would be on top of crawl space). This newer meeting house on Meeting Street had lasted the local Friends for 108 years, until the city of Providence was needing a central site for a proposed new Fire Station (another site was available to the city, but a brick building on it would have



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been more expensive to clear and its location between North Main Street and Canal Street had inferior access for fire equipment). So we offered our lot to the City and it was purchased gratefully for enough money to cover 90% of the cost of erection of a better new structure. Our very plain 1844 building was of no architectural import,¹⁴⁵ so we took the benches and little else and the City razed what was left behind. In consequence, in about this year, a 4th meeting house was erected, a brick meetinghouse with a slate roof, at the corner of Olney and Morris on Friend [Moses Brown](#)'s trust property atop the hill on the East Side. The land is subject to a long term lease from the New England Yearly Meeting, which is trustee for this trust property established by Friend Moses.¹⁴⁶ Friend Thomas Perry clerked the building committee and the architect was Albert Harkness. In September the building was dedicated, with a talk by Alexander Purdy. — That's where you can now¹⁴⁷ join

145. Sometimes people get the idea that we Quakers worship old stuff. Yes, we have a long history but no, we don't.

146. I have seen a Moses Brown School document that refers to this lot as "school property." This is their insolence, as it is not. The Moses Brown School is squatting on the trust land left by Friend Moses precisely as the Friends meetinghouse is squatting on it, only through the permission of the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. The difference between the school's use and the meetinghouse's use is that the monthly meeting holds a long-term lease entitlement whereas the school holds no such legal document.

147. Sometimes people get the idea that the Quakers are gone. No, we're still here.



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us for worship:



1699	The “Great Meetinghouse” in Newport, Rhode Island
1704	2-story Saylesville meetinghouse completed
1718	“Providence” monthly meeting set off from “East Greenwich” monthly meeting
1719	Construction began on a small Smithfield meetinghouse
1725	1st Providence meetinghouse erected near town fort at the very north edge of town, on “Stampers Hill” (up from Town Street at the foot of Olney Lane)



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1745	Kitchen shed added to Saylesville meetinghouse; 2d Providence meetinghouse erected at the corner of what at the time was known as Town Street but is now known as North Main Street and what at the time was known as Gaol Street but is now known as Meeting Street, across from Salt Cove; the name “Stamper’s” having passed out of existence, this Quaker meetinghouse was being referred to as that of the Providence Worship Group of the Providence Monthly Meeting
1755	The small Smithfield meetinghouse was enlarged
1752	The Smithfield Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends’s “upper” meetinghouse was at Woonsocket or Quinsnickit, and its “lower” meetinghouse was at Saylesville
1775	The 1719 Smithfield meetinghouse was again expanded
1783	The Quakers who met in the meetinghouse on Main Street in Providence, Rhode Island had up to this point been considered to be a “worship group” affiliated with the Providence Monthly Meeting (with meetinghouses in Smithfield and in Saylesville), a worship group that happened to be meeting to worship locally for convenience rather than going on the carriage ride all the way north to the Smithfield meetinghouse on the one side of the river or the Saylesville meetinghouse on the other side of the river. At this point the affiliations and the names were rearranged. Henceforth the group that was attending the Smithfield meetinghouse and the “Lower Smithfield” meetinghouse near Saylesville would be considered to constitute a separate Smithfield Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. That is, there would be two monthly meetings rather than one, and the name “Providence” would hereinafter adhere to the group that actually was inside the town of Providence.
1784	2d Providence meetinghouse enlarged
1822	2d Providence meetinghouse renovated: “what was called the Negro Gallery” removed (still in existence in Saylesville meetinghouse)
1844	2d Providence meetinghouse moved to Hope Street and became a residence; 3d meetinghouse erected with its west part atop old foundation
1849	The Smithfield meetinghouse was remodeled
1860	the old meetinghouse, become a residence on Hope Street, was demolished
1881	The Smithfield meetinghouse burned, and would be replaced by the present structure
1952	3d meetinghouse property at Main and Meeting streets purchased by city of Providence for firestation
September 1952	brick 4th meetinghouse, on Moses Brown farm property atop College Hill at corner of Olney and Morris (99-year renewable lease), dedicated



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1953

May 28, Thursday: A new board of directors was constituted for the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), made up of 13 members of the School Committee of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#), 3 members of the Moses Brown Alumni Association (to wit the president of that group, the predecessor in office of that president, and one additional member of their selection), 2 members of the Moses Brown School Parents' Council (to wit, the chairperson of that group, and the predecessor in office of that chairperson), and 7 persons selected by the new Board of Directors from among the alumni, the parents, and other friends of the school. At this meeting William Edwards was elected as president, Friend Thomas Perry, Jr. as vice president, and Mrs. Edwin Sherman as Secretary.

June: The Board of Directors of the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) was beginning their search for a new headmaster to succeed the retiring L. Ralston Thomas.



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1954

October: At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), it was announced that Schoolmaster L. Ralston Thomas was retiring and his post being filled by a member of the New Haven monthly meeting, Friend George St. John.

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "The [Nicholites](#) of [North Carolina](#)" ([North Carolina Historical Review](#) 31, pages 453-462).



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1955

Ruth Upson's "New Jerusalem and the Public Universal Friend (Jemima Wilkinson)," New York Folklore Quarterly, Vol. XI (1955), page 25.



At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Headmaster L. Ralston Thomas retired and was replaced by [Friend](#) George St. John.



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1957

May 17, Friday: Friend [Bayard Rustin](#) took part in the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom to Washington that urged President Dwight David Eisenhower to enforce the US Supreme Court's 1954 ruling requiring desegregation of the nation's schools.



The pilgrimage culminated with a rally of 20,000 at the Lincoln Memorial.

Groundbreaking for a new science building on the campus of the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

The wife of André-Marie Tremeaud, the former prefect of Algiers, was killed by a package bomb.

[Egypt](#) declared that it would never allow an Israeli-flagged ship through the [Suez Canal](#).

End of May: After studying the condition of the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the principal of the Germantown Friends School in Pennsylvania, Henry Scattergood, and the headmaster of Gilman School in Baltimore, Maryland, Henry Callard, recommended "that strenuous efforts be made to engage more teachers who are Friends, to enroll an increasing number of children of Friends, and to take vigorous steps toward reestablishing Quaker influence and practice in the School." In response to this recommendation, steps would be taken to cause the students to attend Sunday meetings for worship in the Friends meetinghouse next to the campus. (It is unclear to me how effective this could have been, since many of the students would not have been from Quaker families and anyway would not have been on campus during a weekend and might well have been worshipping with their families in their own churches of choice on First Day, while other students such as for instance Jews would have been worshipping on a day other than Sunday. –Doesn't this make you suspect that we're not being shown the whole picture here?)

June: After but two years of service as Headmaster at the [Moses Brown School](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend George St. John was gone. Accounts differ in regard to the nature of his departure. The institution's official truth is that he resigned, but then, of course, we all understand the imperatives of institutional truth don't we?



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Summer: Different [Quakers](#) remember different years, but in **about** this timeframe there was a tense confrontation at the New England [Yearly Meeting](#), over the governance of the [Moses Brown School](#). School officials were saying that the school could no longer function properly if it remained a Quaker boarding school, that such a requirement kept the enterprise on the edge of financial collapse. Meanwhile, various Quakers were becoming outraged at the manner in which the governing board of the school, although a committee of the Yearly Meeting, had gotten inbred, incestuous, noncommunicative, authoritarian, and, fundamentally, self-perpetuating.¹⁴⁸ A decision was reached, that the Yearly Meeting's school would no longer cater to the sort of students who would come and live there separate from their families of origin, but would instead cater to students who lived in the bosoms of their families in the surrounding community, which is to say, the vicinity of [Providence, Rhode Island](#). It is an open question whether any of the Quakers who assented to this were aware at the time that, since there were only a handful of Quaker children living within daily commuting distance of the school buildings, this decision to abandon boarding was in essence a fateful decision to start educating children of non-Quaker backgrounds in preference to the children of Quaker families.

July: The School Committee of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), and the Board of Directors of the [Moses Brown School](#), announced the appointment of Robert Cunningham, a non-Quaker, as Acting Headmaster of this [Providence, Rhode Island](#) institution.

148. There is a commonality to be noticed here, between the [New England Friends Home](#) asset of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), in Hingham, Massachusetts, and the [Moses Brown School](#) asset of the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, in Providence, Rhode Island. Neither institution will permit a full and fair appraisal of the asset. Both institutions offer entirely fraudulent balance sheets in which the value of assets are persistently lowballed. The New England Friends Home, for instance, is carrying the land value at its nominal acquisition value of \$10,000 way back when, while their cost accountant falsely asserts that the use of such a value rather than the true current value is mandated by the tax laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The Home relies upon the appraisals that its banks conduct every three years in order to validate the wisdom of their loans, disregarding the fact that such bank appraisals limit themselves merely to ascertaining that the value of the asset if forfeited would exceed to some degree the open balance of the loan (\$2,100,000 on a property informally estimated to be worth at least \$6,000,000), and falsely pretending that such a lowball figure represents the true total worth of the property were it put to its highest and best economic use. In the case of the Moses Brown School, I have seen no evidence that the asset has ever been appraised — and in the absence of such an appraisal, the non-religious prep school that presently occupies a campus that is worth approximately (order of magnitude) \$200,000,000 on the open market and is the property of the Quakers is being allowed to maintain its entirely secular occupancy at an annual rent of \$0.00. It is an ongoing surreptitious asset transfer of mind-boggling magnitude.

Given such a situation, there is only one possible explanation: the school has become an example of what the sociologists refer to as “regulatory capture.” That is to say, like the Civil Aeronautics Board which protected airlines from competition, the Interstate Commerce Commission which restricted competition in transportation, and the Department of Agriculture which implements policies that are alleged to favor the interests of large corporate farming concerns over those of consumers and family farmers, and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the Quaker committees that are supposedly governing Moses Brown School and the New England Friends Home have been infiltrated and taken over by people whose loyalty is not “upstream,” to the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, but “downstream,” to those in actual control of these entities as institutions functioning as business corporations. The term “regulatory capture” is central in a stream of research that is often referred to as the economics of regulation, which is critical of earlier conceptualizations of regulatory intervention by governments as being motivated to protect public goods. Two cited references, which I have not yet consulted, are M.E. Levine and Forrence, J.L.'s 1990 paper “Regulatory capture, public interest, and the public agenda. Toward a synthesis” in the [Journal of Law Economics & Organization](#), 6: 167-198, and J.J. Laffont and Tirole, J.'s 1991 paper “The politics of government decision making. A theory of regulatory capture” in the [Quarterly Journal of Economics](#), 106(4): 1089-1127.

Outside the United States government apparatus, the most notorious current example of regulatory capture happens to be the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations. That agency is presently paralyzed because the most vicious nations have insisted upon having seats there and influence there, and are using their seats and their influence to ensure that the Commission not do its job.



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1958

At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Robert Cunningham took charge as Acting Headmaster under the following stipulations:

that a qualified Friend be employed as Assistant or Dean;
that a special effort be made to add to the faculty some able and experienced teachers who are Friends;
that the Headmaster take early steps designed to upgrade the faculty, strengthen the curriculum, and lay the groundwork for a new Development Program;
and that he will join sympathetically in any studies which may be undertaken to develop further co-operative activities with Lincoln School and the possible integration of some of the activities and/or services of the two schools if they should prove to be feasible and desirable.



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Friend Whittemore Whittier was made Assistant Headmaster.

A Middle School was created. An advising system was created for Upper School students. Enrollment began to exceed 500 students.

The building that the Quakers had been using as a residence for retired spinster [Quaker](#) teachers, in Amesbury, Massachusetts, the Huntington Dixon Home, had been condemned as unsafe for congregate living. Friend [Polly Thayer Starr](#) came to the rescue when her mother Ethel Randolph Clark Thayer, an Episcopalian, died, by donating the lovely quiet slate-roofed brick-veneer home on Turkey Hill near Hingham, which would become the [New England Friends Home](#). This Georgian-style building had been erected after the family's



larger shingle summer home previously on the site had burned in 1929. Interestingly, at the back of the property there is a small pet cemetery having headstones bearing appropriate verses — and among these pet graves there is a headstone for one Peter Kocche. Mr. Kocche had instructed Mrs. Thayer in German and had once expressed a wish that his ashes might be interred there, so when eventually he died, this comment had



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been taken seriously.



Friend Polly is an artist of note and here is one of her self-portraits:



Her portrait of her mother Ethel is hanging in the building. The blue tiles used in the building were imported



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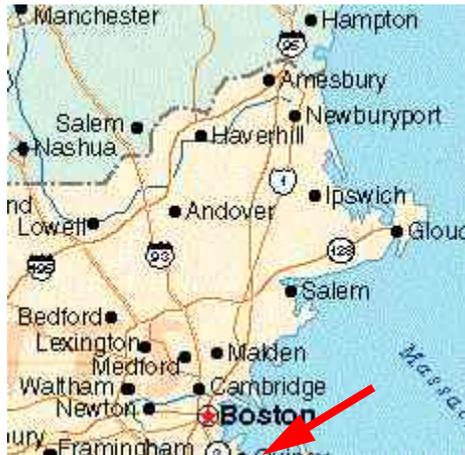
from Japan, the marble in the fireplaces from Italy, the carved woodwork in the library fireplace from England. Stone camels and peacocks and pheasants had been added from the San Francisco World Fair in 1935. There is an oil portrait of Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)'s mother, Friend Abigail Whittier, and several depictions of the poet himself. There is a photograph of the Whittier farmhouse in Haverhill ("Snow Bound") and a photograph of the later home in Amesbury MA. A number of nice-to-have items were found in the basement of the home in Amesbury: spectacles, slipper chairs, sofa, gilt mirror, candlestand, etc. The folding wooden stand and brass tray were brought from [Egypt](#) by Katherine Howland, who also provided the Rose Garden Memorial. Before the building would be opened for senior occupancy, some \$110,000 worth of renovation work would need to be accomplished, some \$40,000 of which would come out of the fund established in 1886

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by Sarah Nichols Pope-Dixon.¹⁴⁹





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January: At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), a science building was dedicated.

149. Fire escapes and a fire alarm system were added. Some of the rooms on the 2d floor were subdivided, creating 10 bedrooms, and the 6 bedrooms on the 3rd floor remained unchanged, as did countless bathrooms. Three new bedrooms were created on the 1st floor from what had been servant quarters. The kitchen was enlarged. As a safety measure, the lily ponds were filled in to create rose gardens. The driveway was paved and a parking-lot installed. The carpet in the “Whittier Room” was a gift from members of the Providence, Rhode Island monthly meeting and the carpet in the Library was a gift of the Hartford, Connecticut monthly meeting. Katherine Haviland, the first director of the Home, planted flowering crabapple trees in front of the house. The renovated structure would open in 1961.



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1959

July 9, Thursday: In front of the State House in [Boston](#), dedication of the [Mary Dyer](#) statue by sculptor Sylvia Shaw Judson. She had been the winner of the competition sponsored by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and by Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, and by the Fairmount Park Commission in Philadelphia.



(The model for this statue was [Friend](#) Nancy St. John, wife of deposed Headmaster George C. St. John at [Moses Brown](#) School in [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#).)

The central inscription reads:

MARY DYER

QUAKER

WITNESS FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

HANGED ON BOSTON COMMON 1660

"MY LIFE NOT AVAILETH ME

IN COMPARISON TO THE

LIBERTY OF THE TRUTH"¹⁵⁰

At about this point an entirely new situation had been inaugurated at the [Moses Brown](#) School. The interests of the school as an institution had decidedly diverged from the interests of the owners in perpetuity of the Moses Brown farm bequest (the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends) when the school had left off being a boarding establishment for Quaker children from all over the New England states and had begun to cater exclusively to local students living with their local families. This was simply because these local students who had become the overwhelming bulk of the student body were not Quakers, nor had their parents any particular interest in Quakerism. What these families needed from the Moses Brown School was an affordable whitebread college-prep education that would prepare their progeny for entry into ivy league colleges. The name of their game was upward mobility over the generations.

So what was the school administration to do? The staff of the school had begun to consist, more and more, of teachers and administrators who had no connection whatever with Quakerism. They were teachers, period. They were administrators, period. –And along would come these representatives from the New England Yearly



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Meeting, and harass them while they were out and about in their function of prepping these upper-middle-class local kiddies for taking their ivy-league matriculation examinations. The things the Quakers wanted were utterly irrelevant — and they owned the place.

The solution was simplicity itself. The school administration delegated teachers and administrators to go turn Quaker and begin to attend the annual get-togethers of the New England Yearly Meeting, and infiltrate the committees that dealt with education issues. The Quakers of course suspected nothing. Pretty soon these infiltrators were more Quaker than the Quakers.

Meanwhile, the Friends monthly meeting in Providence had relocated its meetinghouse from Meeting Street downtown (where the city needed to erect a fire station) to a nearby lot on former Moses Brown farm land, at the corner of Morris Street and Olney Street. This meeting “on campus” would provide a perfect cover story, as the Quaker content of the education offered by the school reached a vanishing point. “Of course Moses Brown School is a Quaker school, see, it’s named after a Quaker! Of course it’s Quaker, look, its football team is named ‘The Quakers’! Look, we have a Quaker meeting on campus! Look, the children are taken over to this meetinghouse once a week, during their class day, to sit in silence for twenty minutes! Look, we actually have a Quaker teacher here, to teach the children how to build boats! Nobody can accuse us of not being a Quaker school!”

To ensure that the Providence monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends remained compliant and convenient for the school, the school’s infiltrators infiltrated its Ministry and Counsel Committee. Once ensconced in this central committee, these infiltrators ensured their continuity by arranging that the only Quaker names that could be nominated by the Nominating Committee once a year, to become new members of this all-important M&C committee, would be names pre-selected by the school’s infiltrators. Thus no “unsafe” person would ever be allowed to become a member of the controlling committee (this is called self-perpetuation). They also ensured their continuity by decreeing that the only issues that could be brought before the meeting’s monthly Meeting for Business were items on the pre-established agenda, and that the M&C

150. [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) has beautifully told the story of [Samuel Shattuck](#)’s mission in his poem, “The King’s Missive.” Henry Wadsworth Longfellow has made the sufferings of the [Quakers](#) the subject of his dramatic poem, “New England Tragedies.” The story of Quaker sufferings is told in George Bishop’s “New England Judged.” The best modern book on the subject is Hallowell’s “Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts.” A total of four [Friends](#) were executed — [William Robinson](#), [Marmaduke Stevenson](#), [William Ledra](#), and [Mary Dyer](#). Even [Waldo Emerson](#) would see a moral in this, although he would come at the facts in a simplified manner:

We are always coming up with the emphatic facts of history in our private experience, and verifying them here. All history becomes subjective; in other words, there is properly no history; only biography. Every mind must know the whole lesson for itself, — must go over the whole ground. What it does not see, what it does not live, it will not know. What the former age has epitomized into a formula or rule for manipular convenience, it will lose all the good of verifying for itself, by means of the wall of that rule. Somewhere, sometime, it will demand and find compensation for that loss by doing the work itself. Ferguson discovered many things in astronomy which had long been known. The better for him. History must be this or it is nothing. Every law which the state enacts indicates a fact in human nature; that is all. We must in ourselves see the necessary reason of every fact, — see how it could and must be. So stand before every public and private work; before an oration of Burke, before a victory of Napoleon, before a martyrdom of Sir Thomas More, of Sidney, of Marmaduke Robinson, before a French Reign of Terror, and a Salem hanging of witches, before a fanatic Revival, and the Animal Magnetism in Paris, or in Providence. We assume that we under like influence should be alike affected, and should achieve the like; and we aim to master intellectually the steps, and reach the same height or the same degradation, that our fellow, our proxy, has done.



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committee had total control over the setting of this agenda. They also ensured their continuity by decreeing that the only way to bring an issue before the meeting was to get it on the agenda to be discussed at the monthly Meeting for Business. They also ensured their continuity by decreeing that members of M&C could serve two terms, and then if they laid off for one term, would be able to come back.

And, of course, no conflict of interest rules would ever apply. For instance, it would always be perfectly proper for paid employees of the Moses Brown School to sit on the Quaker boards that made decisions about the school, and for paid employees to serve as advocates of the interests of the school in all Quaker discussions of the goings-on at the school. Their self-interested pronouncements would always have full weight, and no accusations of conflict of interest or of concealed agenda could ever be brought. Nor would it ever be possible for the Quakers even to know who was on the school's payroll, or the extent to which these infiltrators were being financially compensated for this infiltration efforts — since it would be a violation of their privacy to ask these people where their money was coming from, or how much was in it for them.

Thus it would come to pass, over the years, that instead of the Quakers controlling the school and its endowment, the school and its endowment would control the Quakers.



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1960

The Ford Foundation, concerned about the general physical unfitness of America's youth, funded a Monsanto Corporation study of a new all-weather playing surface. Initially this new all-weather playing surface would be termed "Chemgrass," but you are probably more familiar with the product under a later coinage, "Astroturf." The first experimental Chemgrass playing field would be installed during this decade inside the fieldhouse at the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). The surface would hold up well for more than 25 years. Yea team! Go Quakes!¹⁵¹

[Dr. David Tillerson Smith](#) served as consultant for [tuberculosis](#) in the Veterans Administration Hospital system for the Southeastern United States. He received Duke University's highest recognition by his appointment as James B. Duke Distinguished Professor of Microbiology (the student body would proclaim him "best preclinical teacher").



151. I bet you didn't know that Quakers had a special thing for competitive team sports!



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1961

At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the playing fields were extended. MB was really turning into a sports school! Go team! Yea Quakes!

When he attended a triennial meeting in Kenya, [Friend Kenneth L. Carroll](#) began what would turn out to be a long connection with the [Friends World Committee for Consultation](#), both on the national and international levels. He would serve for a time as Assistant Clerk of the FWCC, Section of the Americas, and for a number of years would chair the nominating committee of the world-wide FWCC. In that capacity he would attend a number of their meetings on three continents.



Clerks of Meeting	
1943-1947	Edward K. Kraybill
1947-1948	William Van Hoy, Jr.
1949-1949	John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
1950-1951	Harry R. Stevens
1951-1952	John A. Barlow
1952-1957	Susan Gower Smith
1957-1960	Frances C. Jeffers
1960-1961	Cyrus M. Johnson
1961-1965	Peter H. Klopfer
1965-1967	Rebecca W. Fillmore
1967-1968	David Tillerson Smith
1968-1970	Ernest Albert Hartley
1970-1971	John Hunter
1971-1972	John Gamble
1972-1974	Lyle B. Snider (2 terms)
1974-1975	Helen Gardella
1976-1978	Cheryl F. Junk



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1978-1980	Alice S. Keighton
1980-1982	John B. Hunter
1982-1984	Edward M. Arnett
1984-1986	Calhoun D. Geiger
1986-1988	John P. Stratton
1988-1990	J. Robert Passmore
1990-1992	Karen Cole Stewart
1992-1995	Kathleen Davidson March
1995-1998	Nikki Vangsnes
1998-2000	Co-clerks J. Robert Passmore & Karen Cole Stewart
2000-2002	Amy Brannock
2002-2002	Jamie Hysjulien (Acting)
2002-2005	William Thomas O'Connor
2005-2007	Terry Graedon
2007-2009	Anne Akwari
2009-2012	Joe Graedon
2012-2013	Marguerite Dingman
2013-	Co-clerks Cathy Bridge & David Bridge



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1962

At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence](#), a rigidly racially segregated institution, ground was being broken for a new classroom building which would have nothing whatever to do with Quakerism but which would, despite that sad fact, be denominated “Friends Hall” as lip service to the Quakers who were paying approximately a third of the school’s bills and receiving in return for their investment in Quaker education approximately diddly squat. Also, completion of the new football field for our football team “The Quakers,” and a surrounding track.

Also in this year, publication of Mack Thompson’s *MOSES BROWN, RELUCTANT REFORMER*, about the life of the now-ignored eponymous founder of the New England institution who had created and funded it in an attempt to guard children against too contaminating an encounter with worldly beguilements. Meanwhile, very near to the University of North Carolina Press in Chapel Hill, [North Carolina](#) at which this book was being printed, in the nearby municipality of [Durham](#) in what is known as the “Deep South,” the members of the local [Quaker](#) monthly meetings were collaboratively and very deliberately beginning to offer a Quaker education to students of all colors! Informal discussions among Durham and Chapel Hill Friends raised the notion of founding a racially integrated school as an appropriate response to segregated public school facilities. At a meeting of a special School Committee attended by Mildred Ringwalt, Adolph and Christa Furth, [David Tillerson Smith](#) and [Susan Gower Smith](#), and Peter and Martha Klopfer, the Durham Meeting (and then also the Chapel Hill Meeting) agreed to allow their facilities to be used. The Claremore Fund, a foundation in California interested in furthering the cause of racial integration, would award this Committee \$6,000 as seed money.

(Go figure – in this year a rigidly racially segregated [Quaker](#) institution of education, in [Rhode Island](#), matched up against a totally racially integrated [Quaker](#) institution of education, in [North Carolina](#).)

The Birth of the School¹⁵²

The year 2012 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Carolina Friends School. CFS was incorporated as a not-for-profit educational institution in 1962. The idea of the School was born among a group of Friends from the Durham and Chapel Hill Friends Meetings in the midst of the Civil Rights movement. These Friends wanted to provide education that was racially integrated and rooted in both Quaker values and sound, progressive educational practices.

[Writing for the School’s twenty-fifth anniversary publication in 1988, Mildred Ringwalt, the first chair of the CFS Board, recalled that “the idea of starting a Friends school” originated with Cecile DeWitt, a woman professor of physics at UNC-Chapel Hill. Cecile had failed to interest the foundations she had approached about funding a racially-integrated school, but she told Mildred that “You can do it where no one else can!” – because Mildred was a Quaker.

152. Written by Carolina Friends School teacher Jim Henderson during November 2012



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In fact, the group of Friends who started CFS (Mildred Ringwalt, Adolphe Furth, Stuart Willis, and Claude Shotts from Chapel Hill, and Peter and Martha Klopfer and David and Susan Smith from Durham) did succeed in attracting a start-up grant from a family foundation. However, they used the money not to launch a feasibility study - as the grantor had expected - but instead to hire a teacher!

Carolina Friends School opened its doors to students on Sunday, September 13, 1964. The first CFS classroom was the Durham Friends Meetinghouse. Yesterday I spoke with Barbara Boineau, the first teacher at the "Durham Kindergarten" (now known as Durham Early School). Barbara raises alpacas in Utah now, but as I spoke with her, memories flooded back about the first days of CFS, the school that she helped to birth.

Answering my surprise that the first day of school should have been a Sunday, Barbara explained that on Sunday evenings teachers, parents, and students would first spread out a large canvas tarp to cover the Meetinghouse floor and then bring out of storage the supplies and equipment needed for that week. Thus the religious became the secular.

Barbara was very clear that what she did as a teacher was informed by Quaker values and practices. Martha Klopfer and Naomi Adams, her volunteer coteachers and school administrators, helped Barbara facilitate the marriage of Quaker values and progressive educational practices. Children were taught to explore silence, to look within, to respect the differences in others, to love nature, and to seek community. Sound familiar? Barbara had a background in Montessori education but she also practiced an approach to learning she called "creative education." There were times in the school day for instruction, and times for imaginative play. Both times mattered. "Kids who came from tightly controlled families we loosened up," Barbara told me yesterday. "Kids from loosely controlled families we tightened up." The families that came to the Durham Kindergarten were both white and black. A community of parents quickly formed, focused on issues of carpooling as well as racial integration. Many of the first CFS parents were members of the Duke University and the North Carolina Central University faculties, Barbara recalled. Both President Sanford of Duke and President Friday of UNC were early supporters of CFS.

The following year, in 1965, the "Chapel Hill Kindergarten" opened at the Chapel Hill Meetinghouse with a similar purpose and philosophy. Ruth Wright taught the five year olds and Margaret McCallister the six year olds. In 1966 the main campus opened, right next to the Klopfer's farm. The first structure on the main campus was an oversized water tower. David Smith wanted the School to plan for future growth. As CFS entered the twenty-first century, we needed a new well. David Smith would have been very pleased!

A small group of visionary Friends and progressive educators gave birth to CFS. The School survived trying, early years. It learned to stand and then to walk - to laugh, to talk, to serve.



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And so the School grew to maturity. Now, as a Fiftieth Anniversary Committee begins to plan a year of celebration in 2014-15, CFS parents and teachers gratefully recall the names, and the dedication, of the remarkable people who labored to give this community life.

Thompson, Mack. MOSES BROWN, RELUCTANT REFORMER (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1962):



PROVIDENCE LIES in the northwestern part of Rhode Island only a few miles from the Massachusetts border. It stands astride the Providence or Great Salt River at the head of the great Bay of Narragansett that stretches down to Newport and the Atlantic. In the eighteenth century, a score of sloops, schooners, and brigantines could ride safely at anchor in a great salt cove near the center of town while their owners outfitted them for a new voyage to the southern coast, the West Indies, or England.



It was on the east side that the first Browns settled. Chad Brown and his family arrived in Boston from England aboard the ship Martin in 1638 but quickly moved to Providence. Chad was a man of strong character and exceptional ability. He soon rose to a position of eminence in the civil and spiritual affairs of the tiny commonwealth. Two years after his arrival he was chosen one of five arbitrators to settle a serious land dispute that divided the colony. The same committee drew up a new frame of government - "the Combination" - which served for several years. He was an elder in the Baptist Church and a man of deep religious feelings. Subsequent generations of Browns followed in Chad's footsteps, adding occasionally to the family's property holdings, continuing their interest in the Baptist religion, and extending their influence by marrying into other prominent families throughout the colony.

Moses Brown was thus born into a family that had lived in Providence for a hundred years. His father recorded his birth in "James Browne's First Ledger": "Heir folloth the time of the bearth of the children born of the boddey of hope Brown wife of James ... Seventh and Lastly Moses September the 12 AD 1738."¹⁵³ For fifteen years Moses celebrated his birthday on that date, but in 1752 the Gregorian calendar was adopted in the British Empire and thereafter the celebration was held on September 23. Moses' mother, Hope (Power) Brown, left no account of her life or of her son's childhood, but he undoubtedly attended the Baptist Church with other members of the family and held the conventional religious beliefs of the time and place. George Taylor, a Church of England man, kept a schoolhouse for a time near the Quaker meetinghouse in the north end of town, and Moses may have received his early education from him.¹⁵⁴ There is a

153. JAMES BROWN: HIS BOOK OF ACCOUNTS BOTH DEBT AND CREDIT, 1, Rhode Island Historical Society. Moses was probably born in the old Homestead House on Towne Street near what is now the junction of College and North Main Streets.

154. Petitions to the Rhode Island General Assembly, 1734-38, III, 20, Rhode Island Archives, State House, Providence, hereafter cited as Rhode Island Archives.



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legend -perhaps true- that Moses attended school until he was thirteen; at any rate, by the time he had reached his teens he could "read, write, and do a sum in the rule of three." Whatever formal education he received was supplemented by informal schooling at home, in his uncle's countinghouse, and on the Providence wharfs. As a boy he was fascinated by the busy water front and often waited on his uncle's wharf for the sloop *Four Brothers* to tie up after a voyage of several months to the West Indies. As a nephew of the owner, he was undoubtedly allowed to satisfy his curiosity about the ship and cargo and to question the master and crew about their experiences in the Indies, on the Guinea Coast, or at one of the southern ports. He quickly won a reputation as an expert judge of West Indian molasses. The story is frequently told of the importer who was asked by a prospective buyer "What casks are your best?" and the reply, "Ask that little molasses-faced Moses, he will tell you."¹⁵⁵

Moses' education in business really began when he moved from his home on Towne Street to his uncle's house across the lane and started his apprenticeship in the shipping business. Removal to his uncle's home was dictated by common sense. James, Moses' oldest brother who had probably assumed responsibility for Moses' education, had recently died while on a voyage to Virginia. The other brothers, Nicholas, Joseph, and John, were serving their apprenticeship with uncle Obadiah, and were still not old enough to look after their young brother. Since Moses was expected to follow them into the shipping business, what could be better than close association with a man of Uncle Obadiah's proven business acumen. To a certain extent, his uncle also would fill the vacancy left by the death of his father.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION presented members of the Society of Friends with a terrible dilemma: whether to remain faithful to their religious principles as Quakers or to their political principles as Englishmen or Americans. As Quakers they condemned war as morally and spiritually evil; it resulted in hatred and bestiality and could not possible solve anything - good could not come from evil. In Pennsylvania as early as 1756 many Quakers had withdrawn from participation in political affairs because of the government's policy of violence toward the Indians and its involvement in the French and Indian War.¹⁵⁶ Although Quakers had become unpopular because of their pacifism they had not been molested. In Rhode Island they had fared pretty much the same. The approaching conflict with England, however, placed Quakers throughout American in a much more difficult position. Both royal and revolutionary governments began to question the sincerity of Friends' neutrality, and the Quaker elders and ministers began to enforce more strictly the Society's testimony against war. Unlike Friends in the middle colonies, New England Quakers had no great leaders such as the Pembertons to hold the members steady. When the war broke out in New England, Friends there began to grope for leadership and guidance.



155. Hedges, *The Browns*, 14.

156. Theodore Thayer, *Israel Pemberton: King of the Quakers* (Phila., 1943), 18-96, 113-22.



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For Moses Brown the decision as to what course to follow was not an easy one. Privately he sympathized with the American cause. This was to be expected. He had been deeply involved in agitation against British policy during the preceding decade, and it would have been odd indeed if he had become a Tory. Had he not become a Quaker, he would probably have joined his brothers in their support of the Revolution. His position was therefore a difficult one, and he stated his views on public events carefully. In a long letter to his good friend James Warren, member of the Massachusetts revolutionary Provincial Congress, he tried to define his position: "My religious principles thou art I presume sensible does not admit of my interfering in war, but my love for my country, and sense of our just rights is not thereby abated, and if my poor abilities could be any way subservient to a happy change of affairs nothing on my part shall be wanting."¹⁵⁷

Publicly, Moses was until early 1776 an advocate of compromise and reconciliation. He sounded more like a British sympathizer than a neutral Quaker. In April 1775 he pleaded for "a restoration of all those benevolent and kind offices that hath for more than a century subsisted between this and our mother country."¹⁵⁸ In an appearance before the Providence town meeting he endorsed the sentiments of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Earl of Dartmouth, who urged an "accommodation of the unhappy differences subsisting between the two countries." At the same meeting he persuaded the council to postpone the erection of an artillery battery until the General Assembly could meet to discuss proposals for reconciliation. At one point in his campaign he traveled to Boston to lay before the Massachusetts military governor, General Gage, more than half a dozen letters from men in Providence and Newport urging peaceful reconciliation.



IN THE COURSE of the long years of the Revolution, Moses Brown emerged as the leading Quaker in New England. The basis of his leadership was an ability to hold the diverse groups within the various meetings together in the face of economic disaster, public ridicule, and divided loyalties. The solidarity of the Society of Friends was threatened not only by external enemies but by internal disputes. The war raised many problems that Friends had never had to deal with before, and the individualistic tendencies of their beliefs encouraged many to challenge the authority of tradition and the collective will of the meetings. To Moses the internal conflicts brought on by the war were as serious as dangers from battle or from governmental authorities, and he made strenuous efforts to minimize their effects.

The most divisive threats to the Society were posed by paper money and taxes. These two issues were intimately connected with the much broader question of acceptance or rejection of the new governments which used the taxes and money to support their

157. May 11, 1775, MOSES BROWN PAPERS, II, 32.

158. William Greene Roelker, THE PATROL OF NARRAGANSETT BAY (1774-76), Rhode Island History, 8 (1949), 45-63.



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civil and military establishments. In the early years of the Revolution, some Friends felt that currency issued by the rebellious governments should not be accepted, and this attitude became the official position of the Society, although it was more strictly adhered to in the middle states than in New England.¹⁵⁹ Moses thought that the distinction made by Quakers between specie and paper money was ridiculous; one promoted the war as much as the other. His position was determined by sympathy for the American cause and by common sense: it was fortified by his experience when distributing the donations to the poor sufferers around Boston from 1775 to 1777. There he found that while some Friends accepted specie, others refused to take the new paper currency "from a principle of its promoting the war as well as on account of the authority making it."¹⁶⁰



In order to halt this practice, Moses decided to organize a society for the abolition of the slave trade. He already had a plan, drawn up in 1786, modeled after similar organizations in America and England. There were many people in the state eager to emulate their friends in New York and Philadelphia. Meetings were held in Providence during January 1789, and on February 20, in the Friends' meetinghouse, the Providence Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was officially organized with ex-Congressman David Howell as president, Thomas Arnold, merchant and Friend, as secretary, and Moses Brown as treasurer.¹⁶¹ Samuel Hopkins sent his congratulations but objected to the title given the society as being "too confined. It should, at least, be extended to the whole state. And I think it ought not to be confined to the Abolition of the Slave Trade. It ought to promote the freedom of those now in slavery, and to assist those who are free, as far as may be, to the enjoyment of the privileges of freemen, and the comforts of life." [...]¹⁶²

Back in Rhode Island, Moses devoted himself to the cause of the freed Negro. Appeals for financial assistance received prompt and generous attention, and he was always ready to go to the aid of a Negro who was in trouble with the authorities. Slaves who had escaped from their masters and Negroes who were in danger of being sold into slavery found sanctuary in his home, one of the main stations on the Underground Railroad that ran from Quaker homes in New Bedford to inland Massachusetts. Despite the secrecy which shrouded the business on the escape route - few records were kept - numerous references in Moses' correspondence suggest that the traffic to and from his house was heavy. Indeed, his activities as well as his correspondence make it clear that he was considered the leader of the antislavery movement in New England.

159. Pemberton to Moses Brown, August 28, November 9, 1775, MOSES BROWN PAPERS, Misc. MSS., B-814, Box 6. The Pembertons' refusal to accept paper money issued by the revolutionary governments may well have been an expression of their pro-British feeling rather than an effort to maintain the Quaker discipline, although admittedly the two motives are hard to differentiate. For an argument that Israel Pemberton did not defend the acts of the British government, see Thayer, ISRAEL PEMBERTON, 207.

160. April 30, 1776, MOSES BROWN PAPERS, Misc. MSS., K-AB.

161. See the announcements in the United States Chronicle, February 5, 12, 19, 26, 1789.

162. Samuel Hopkins to Moses Brown, March 7, 1789, MOSES BROWN PAPERS, VI, 57. [Quoting from page 202, Chapter 9]



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1964

January: Robert Cunningham resigned as Headmaster of the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). Friend Whittemore Whittier, the Assistant Headmaster, would serve as Acting Headmaster until June 30th.

In Chapel Hill, [North Carolina](#), a 30-year-old assistant professor of Zoology at Duke University, Friend Peter H. Klopfer, along with five other professors and several younger persons, were arrested on a charge of simple misdemeanor trespass after a [civil disobedience](#) action at a local segregated restaurant. The case of Professor Klopfer would differ from the others, who would all be convicted either after trials or after a collective plea bargain — in his case the jury would deadlock and the judge would declare a mistrial. Subsequent to this court event, however, the local prosecutor would rely on a procedural device whereby the indictment might remain open indefinitely, hanging over the professor's head as a legal threat to guarantee future “good” conduct. This interesting variant on primate behavior would be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, which would decide that such a legal procedural device might not be deployed in such manner as to nullify statutes of limitations.



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1965

Friend [Jeanne Whitaker](#) began to teach at Wheaton College in Massachusetts. She would teach there until 1999, while attending the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) with her children. During this period there would be many trips to Africa and to France, where most of Jeanne's sisters were teachers.

THE CREATIVE CENTRE OF [QUAKERISM](#), ed. [Kenneth L. Carroll](#) (Birmingham, England; Philadelphia: Friends World Committee for Consultation).

In its temporary building on Alexander Avenue, the [Carolina Friends School](#) of the [Durham, North Carolina Friends monthly meeting](#) began to offer not only racially integrated kindergarten classes, but also 1st-grade



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classes.



Clerks of Meeting	
1943-1947	Edward K. Kraybill
1947-1948	William Van Hoy, Jr.
1949-1949	John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
1950-1951	Harry R. Stevens
1951-1952	John A. Barlow
1952-1957	Susan Gower Smith
1957-1960	Frances C. Jeffers
1960-1961	Cyrus M. Johnson
1961-1965	Peter H. Klopfer
1965-1967	Rebecca W. Fillmore
1967-1968	David Tillerson Smith
1968-1970	Ernest Albert Hartley
1970-1971	John Hunter
1971-1972	John Gamble
1972-1974	Lyle B. Snider (2 terms)
1974-1975	Helen Gardella





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1976-1978	Cheryl F. Junk
1978-1980	Alice S. Keighton
1980-1982	John B. Hunter
1982-1984	Edward M. Arnett
1984-1986	Calhoun D. Geiger
1986-1988	John P. Stratton
1988-1990	J. Robert Passmore
1990-1992	Karen Cole Stewart
1992-1995	Kathleen Davidson March
1995-1998	Nikki Vangsnes
1998-2000	Co-clerks J. Robert Passmore & Karen Cole Stewart
2000-2002	Amy Brannock
2002-2002	Jamie Hysjulien (Acting)
2002-2005	William Thomas O'Connor
2005-2007	Terry Graedon
2007-2009	Anne Akwari
2009-2012	Joe Graedon
2012-2013	Marguerite Dingman
2013-	Co-clerks Cathy Bridge & David Bridge

May 22, Saturday: At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), a new fieldhouse was dedicated.



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June: A selection committee was formed by the Board of Governors and the School Committee to decide upon a permanent replacement for the resigned headmaster of the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Robert Cunningham.

December: The selection committee of the Board of Governors and the School Committee reported that Gordon Davis had been approved to become the next Headmaster of the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).



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1966

Vincent “Buddy” Cianci, Jr. graduated from [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).





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1969

February: There were a series of [civil disobedience](#) sit-ins and protests on the campus of the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). Enrollment had reached nearly 600.¹⁶³

April: Headmaster Gordon Davis submitted his resignation effective July 1st. The School Committee of the New England Yearly Meeting of the Friends appointed a selection committee to obtain a permanent replacement for Headmaster of the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

June: Peter Mott was selected to be the next headmaster of the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

163. In this year, also, black students protesting alleged racism at the public Hope High School across the street were also trashing its facilities.



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1970

Eric Foner's [FREE SOIL, FREE LABOR, FREE MEN: THE IDEOLOGY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR](#) described how historical scholarship during the 1960s had brought a decline in the reputation of the early Republican party, as a number of scholars had begun to notice that it had been straightforward race prejudice—a desire to prevent blacks, either free or [slave](#), from entering the new western territories— that had been at the root of their antislavery crusade, rather than any great desire to bring race justice to America. (The book has been republished with a new introductory essay as of 1995.)

The [Great Meetinghouse](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Newport, Rhode Island](#) was restored under the guidance of Orin M. Bullock, architect, and then presented by its owner, Mrs. Sydney L. Wright, to the Newport Historical Society.

This structure had been at first a Quaker meetinghouse, and then, beginning in about 1905, a black dancehall. The main industries of Newport used to be piracy and the [international slave trade](#), and then the occupations of pirate and of international slave trader fell into some disrepute and the town fell into despair and disrepair. Now Newport has an industry again, that of catering to families on vacation. Tourism is king, Newport is no longer in disrepair, and despair has become a stranger there. Therefore, when this huge structure was restored, its history as an interesting swinging black dancehall has been carefully erased. (In Newport you can be confronted with black people as [slaves](#) and victims, but not as dancers and party-goers — it is, of course, not so much that there is no place in the catering industry for black people as that there is no place in the catering industry for such a thing as cognitive dissonance.)

On the East Side of [Providence](#), at the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), an unprogrammed meeting for worship was re-introduced, for such students as would voluntarily attend such sessions.



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[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "[Quaker](#) Opposition to the Establishment of a State Church in [Maryland](#)" ([Maryland Historical Magazine](#) 65, pages 149-170). Also, his [QUAKERISM ON THE EASTERN SHORE](#) (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society).

Racially integrated primary education continued at the [Carolina Friends School](#) of the [Durham, North Carolina Friends monthly meeting](#), but in this year [Susan Gower Smith](#) and [David Tillerson Smith](#) provided funds and it became possible to add a preschool in a wooden addition to the temporary building.¹⁶⁴



164. This wooden addition would later be replaced by a brick building. The Early School complex would serve Carolina Friends School for more than 35 years before being removed to make way for the new meetinghouse.



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Clerks of Meeting	
1943-1947	Edward K. Kraybill
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1957-1960	Frances C. Jeffers
1960-1961	Cyrus M. Johnson
1961-1965	Peter H. Klopfer
1965-1967	Rebecca W. Fillmore
1967-1968	David Tillerson Smith
1968-1970	Ernest Albert Hartley
1970-1971	John Hunter
1971-1972	John Gamble
1972-1974	Lyle B. Snider (2 terms)
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1978-1980	Alice S. Keighton
1980-1982	John B. Hunter
1982-1984	Edward M. Arnett





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1984-1986	Calhoun D. Geiger
1986-1988	John P. Stratton
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1971

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), [Butler Hospital](#) became affiliated with [Brown University](#)'s Medical School.

PSYCHOLOGY

The “cumbersome and complex system” of governance of the Quaker boys school and the Quaker girls school (Lincoln School) on the East Side of [Providence](#) began to engage the full attention of the Schools Committee and the Permanent Board of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#). The Board of Trustees of the two schools set up a Religious Life Committee charged to advise it in regard to “the development and planning of religious programs as part of the School life.” Planning was begun on an addition to the residence of the Headmaster of the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) that could function as a space for student meeting for silent worship. (This addition was to be known as “The Exchange.”)

When the city of [Providence](#) implemented a desegregation plan in its public high schools, one involving extensive busing, parents and students marched to protest what they consider to be an attack on the quality of educational programs. Was the local private Quaker institution of education, the Moses Brown School on the East Side of Providence, also implementing a desegregation plan at this point? –We don't know, and the officials at the school aren't saying. All we know is that at some point during the 1970s, earlier in the decade or later in the decade, the Quaker institution would accept its very first student of color. It has proved impossible to ascertain the year, and it has likewise proved impossible to ascertain the name of this student, specifically because the school's officials have stonewalled every attempt to obtain such derogatory information. The only thing we know for certain is that when finally such students of color were found acceptable whenever that was during this decade, they would not at least initially find themselves being treated the same as the white students.

Quaker Rosalind Cobb Wiggins, who taught African American history there in the 1970s and later became a school trustee, charged that of all students at Moses Brown on scholarship, only African Americans were expected to wait on tables and scrub floors.¹⁶⁵

165. Pages 339-340 in Donna McDaniel's and Vanessa Julye's FIT FOR FREEDOM, NOT FOR FRIENDSHIP: QUAKERS, AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND THE MYTH OF RACIAL JUSTICE (Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009).



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1972

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "Martha Simmonds, a [Quaker](#) Enigma" ([Journal of the Friends' Historical Society](#) 53:1, pages 31-52).

The [Reverend George Mills Houser](#) was interviewed by Jervis Anderson for his A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: A BIOGRAPHICAL PORTRAIT:

"We in the non-violent movement of the 1940s certainly thought that we were initiating something of importance in American life. Of course, we weren't able to put it in perspective then. But we were filled with vim and vigor, and we hoped that a mass movement could develop, even if we did not think that we were going to produce it. In retrospect, I would say we were precursors. The things we did in the 1940s were the same things that ushered the civil rights revolution. Our Journey of Reconciliation preceded the Freedom Rides of 1961 by fourteen years. Conditions were not quite ready for the full-blown movement when we were undertaking our initial actions. But I think we helped to lay the foundations for what followed, and I feel proud of that."



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The old [Quaker](#) meetinghouse in [Conanicut or Jamestown, Rhode Island](#) was placed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Rather than having a School Committee of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) overlooking a single board of overseers for both the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) and the Lincoln School on the East Side of [Providence](#), there would in the future be two separate boards of overseers, plus a Coordinating Committee of the New England Yearly Meeting. (The Schools Committee, which had been in existence since 1780, was to be laid down.)

There was formed an “Ad hoc Committee on the Long Range Future of the Relationship of the New England Yearly Meeting to the Moses Brown School and the Lincoln School.”

[Calhoun D. Geiger](#) left off being a director of [Quaker Lake Camp](#) in the piedmont region of [North Carolina](#) to become a teacher at the Carolina Friends School in [Durham](#). He would initiate the Upper School Service Learning Program. After retiring as a teacher, he would continue to serve on the school’s Board, and teach basket weaving.

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1947-1948	William Van Hoy, Jr.
1949-1949	John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
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1965-1967	Rebecca W. Fillmore
1967-1968	David Tillerson Smith
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1970-1971	John Hunter
1971-1972	John Gamble
1972-1974	Lyle B. Snider (2 terms)





FRIEND MOSES BROWN

AND QUAKER EDUCATION

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1974-1975	Helen Gardella
1976-1978	Cheryl F. Junk
1978-1980	Alice S. Keighton
1980-1982	John B. Hunter
1982-1984	Edward M. Arnett
1984-1986	Calhoun D. Geiger
1986-1988	John P. Stratton
1988-1990	J. Robert Passmore
1990-1992	Karen Cole Stewart
1992-1995	Kathleen Davidson March
1995-1998	Nikki Vangsnes
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2013-	Co-clerks Cathy Bridge & David Bridge



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May 15, Monday: The headquarters for the US Army in [Vietnam](#) was decommissioned.

The US Supreme Court decided, in the case of Wisconsin v. Yoder, 406 U.S. 205, dealing with an Amish reluctance to school their children beyond the 8th grade, that a way of life, however virtuous and admirable, may not be interposed as a barrier to reasonable state regulation of education if it is based on purely secular considerations. The court held that to have the protection of the religion clauses of the US Constitution, the Amish would have needed to base their claim on their religious belief, rather than through the creation of a way of life based on a mere subjective evaluation and rejection of contemporary societal norms. This is not the sort of world in which every person is going to be allowed to decide his or her own standards on matters of conduct in which society as a whole has important interests. In the words of Chief Justice Warren Burger:

Thus, if the Amish asserted their claims because of their subjective evaluation and rejection of the contemporary secular values accepted by the majority, much as Thoreau rejected the social values of his time and isolated himself at Walden Pond, their claims would not rest on a religious basis. Thoreau's choice was philosophical and personal rather than religious, and such belief does not rise to the demands of the Religion Clauses.

(Of course this Supreme Court decision, however abhorrent, would have no impact at the [Moses Brown School](#) in [Providence](#), since not only was the school's curriculum entirely secular but also nothing was being offered to its children that would even remotely approximate a religious orientation. There was simply no conflict – and no plausible expectation of any conflict– with reasonable regulation of public education by the [Rhode Island](#) legislature.)



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1974

At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), construction work began on a new building for the Lower School.

Publication by the school of William Paxton's MOSES BROWN SCHOOL: A HISTORY OF ITS THIRD HALF-CENTURY, 1919-1969 (Paxton was head of the school's English Department and this was billed as a "Continuation of Rayner W. Kelsey's Centennial History of Moses Brown School, 1819-1919").

The fences and curbing designed by Isaiah Rogers of Boston, that had been put in place in 1842 around the Jewish Cemetery on Bellevue Avenue as part of the bequest by [Judah Touro](#), and that had been put in place in 1843 around the [Touro Synagogue](#) as part of the bequest by [Abraham Touro](#), were renovated.



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1975

The cost of living in the [New England Friends Home](#) on Turkey Hill near Hingham, Massachusetts is reported, by the institution, to have been at this point about \$11 per day.¹⁶⁶

The board of governors of the Lincoln School for girls on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) decided to overtly declare the mission of their school to be “the education and development of young women,” with nothing at all in regard to any alleged involvement with [Quakerism](#). That being the case, the Coordinating Committee that had been struggling to integrate the activities of that school with those of the Quaker [Moses Brown School](#) for boys on the East Side was forced belatedly to confront a hard fact, that the objectives of the two schools were “not coincident.”

166. Such institutional statistics are, of course, entirely bogus. The prices that the residents pay are nowhere near the true costs, since the Home has an endowment that in part sustains it. This is a classic case of a “disregarded externality” and is dishonest. The basic reason for this persistent dishonesty, upon which the Home Committee and the Matron insist, seems to be that, for so long as the responsible parties can keep the true costs of the service entirely hidden, there is no way for anyone to evaluate their job performance, and determine whether the service provided is superior to, or inferior to, the services provided by the Home’s tax-paying, for-profit nearby competitors. There is a commonality to be noticed here, between the [New England Friends Home](#) asset of the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), in Hingham, Massachusetts, and the [Moses Brown School](#) asset of the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, in Providence, Rhode Island. Neither institution will permit a full and fair appraisal of the asset. Both institutions offer entirely fraudulent balance sheets in which the value of assets are persistently lowballed. The New England Friends Home, for instance, is carrying the land value at its nominal acquisition value of \$10,000 way back when, while their cost accountant falsely asserts that the use of such a value rather than the true current value is mandated by the tax laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The Home relies upon the appraisals that its banks conduct every three years in order to validate the wisdom of their loans, disregarding the fact that such bank appraisals limit themselves merely to ascertaining that the value of the asset if forfeited would exceed to some degree the open balance of the loan (\$2,100,000 on a property informally estimated to be worth at least \$6,000,000), and falsely pretending that such a lowball figure represents the true total worth of the property were it put to its highest and best economic use. In the case of the Moses Brown School, I have seen no evidence that the asset has ever been appraised — and in the absence of such an appraisal, the non-religious prep school that presently occupies a campus that is worth approximately (order of magnitude) \$200,000,000 on the open market is being allowed to maintain its occupancy at an annual rent of \$0.00. It is an ongoing surreptitious asset transfer of mind-boggling magnitude.



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1976

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "[Quaker](#) Weavers at Newport, [Ireland](#), 1720-1740" ([Journal of the Friends' Historical Society](#) 54, pages).

In this year and the following one, restoration work was done to the old [Quaker](#) meetinghouse in [Conanicut or Jamestown, Rhode Island](#), a structure dating to 1786 (the building is now maintained by the Jamestown Historical Society).

[Providence](#)'s Lincoln School for girls was set off as a separate corporation from the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).

May: A group of 40 [Friends](#) gathered to discuss the issue "How Do We Teach Our Children?"

[MOSES BROWN SCHOOL](#)

Fall: Since the Lincoln School for girls was no longer under the governance of Quakers, girl scholars were once again admitted to the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#). A total of 62 girls were admitted. There was comment about the cost of maintaining a boarding program at the school — which had begun so many years before as exclusively a boarding school.

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "A Look at the [Quaker](#) Revival of 1756" ([Quaker History](#) 65, pages 63-80).

[QUAKER HISTORY DOWNLOAD](#)



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1977

Late June: The resignation of Peter Hawes as Headmaster of the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) became effective. Assistant Headmaster Richard Gaines was appointed Acting Headmaster for 1977/1978 while a Search and Screen committee began to look for a permanent replacement.



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1978

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "[Quakerism](#) and the Cromwellian Army in [Ireland](#)" ([Journal of the Friends' Historical Society](#) 54, pages 135-54).

David Burnham was made Headmaster of the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

The "cost" of living in the [New England Friends Home](#) on Turkey Hill near Hingham, Massachusetts was reported, by the institution, to have been at this point about \$13 to \$14 per day, depending on the size of the room.¹⁶⁷

167. Actually, since the Home is endowed and receives contributions, the prices the residents pay are nowhere near the true costs. This is a classic case of dishonesty involving a "disregarded externality." Such dishonesty in "cost" accounting enables the responsible parties to keep the true costs of the service entirely hidden so that there is no way for their job performance to be evaluated and no way to determine whether the service they are providing is competitive with services which might be obtained by contract with one of the Home's nearby tax-paying, for-profit elder-care competitors. The way it's set up, it's a no-fault, best-effort situation without measurements or responsibilities — of course that's a sweet package for those whose performance is being evaluated, whenever they can negotiate this.



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In the [Durham monthly meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#):

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1981

At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the boarding department was continued for the time being but only under close scrutiny.

Antonio Caprio, Jr., principal of Hope High School (the public high school across the street), resigned upon being charged with having burned down his own home.



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1982

At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the idea of being even in part a boarding school was “laid down” by the Board of Overseers. In the future the students would come primarily from the neighborhood, which is to say, the toney East Side of Providence, and would therefore of necessity be primarily non-Quaker (nevertheless, a small “Residential Community” would be retained for students and faculty).

Friend Margaret Katranides has reminisced about her time with the [Durham, North Carolina](#) Friends, from 1980 to 1982, as follows:

You were the first meeting I was a member of, and I was grateful that my state of agnosticism was not a barrier. You assured me that if I was open to the spiritual search, you didn't object to the fact that I had not yet found much except for the sense that there was something real in the darkness within me.

I am grateful for the messages I remember from morning worship, and for the gentle but serious silence from some who didn't give messages out loud. Once I tried to elicit something from Virgie Geiger, by saying that I would sometimes have a thought in meeting but before I could decide whether or not to share it, someone else would speak on the same idea, saying more and saying it better, and I asked if that happened to her. She silently smiled and nodded. (What a teacher!) Cal Geiger spoke out loud, and set some high standards for us all for following faithfully what we were being taught. Hale Stevenson gently reminded us not to scapegoat others for the evil in the world, saying that when he looked clearly inside himself he could understand where evil comes from without needing to look outside himself. (This from such a gentle, honest man.) Harry Nagel ended a post-worship round robin by saying, "...and I love everybody in this room," thus giving me a label for the feeling of warmth and rest that would come from a gathered meeting.

So many ways I learned about being Quaker from you all. You gave me a great foundation for the long learning path I continue to travel.



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1983

At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on the East Side of [Providence](#), construction began on a new student center.

The mill and homestead house at [Saylesville, Rhode Island](#) were purchased from the estate of Ella Moffett Mowry by Mr. and Mrs. Edward Del Grande.

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "[Quaker Captives in Morocco, 1685-1701](#)" ([Journal of the Friends' Historical Society](#) 55, pages 67-79).¹⁶⁸

March 20, Sunday night: In a townhouse on [Providence, Rhode Island](#)'s toney "East Side," Mayor Vincent "Buddy" Cianci, Jr., a graduate of the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), assaulted Raymond DeLeo with a fireplace log and a lit cigarette.



The local police helped him do this.

168. Ken's interest in world history made him a frequent visitor not only to England and Ireland, but to France, Italy, Greece, and Israel. In fact, although he never made it to South America, he did travel widely on all the other continents, in the South Pacific, and in New Zealand.



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1984

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "[Nicholites](#) and [Slavery](#) in Eighteenth Century [Maryland](#)" ([Maryland Historical Magazine](#) 79, pages 126-133). Also, his THREE HUNDRED YEARS AND MORE OF THIRD HAVEN [QUAKERISM](#) (Easton, Maryland: Queen Anne Press).

The Overseers Committee of Princeton Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends began to consider the establishment of a Friends School under care of the local monthly meeting. There would be some three years of feasibility studies, and some local [Quakers](#) expressed concerns "about the financial responsibility of a school and the appropriateness of the building. Some feared that the project would unduly sap the energies and resources of the Meeting, that the project would undermine public education in Princeton, and that the school would assume more importance than the Meeting." The outcome of this would be that the school in question, when it would be founded, would be incorporated separately and placed under the care not of the local monthly meeting but of the Burlington Quarterly Meeting comprised of several monthly meetings in that [New Jersey](#) region.

At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the Jenks Student Center was dedicated.

After abducting and beating up his former wife's boyfriend, Vincent "Buddy" Cianci, Jr., a graduate of this religious school, needed to plead no contest to an assault charge and step down as Mayor of Providence. That is to say, it was not as a result of 30 of his city employees being indicted on federal charges of corruption,



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or as a result of 22 of them being convicted, that this local figure needed temporarily to step aside from political office.



“Regular” required meeting for worship in the Upper School was reinstated (although we were not told what “regular” meant in this context, we were reassured also to be told that “Lower School and Middle School had regular daily and weekly worship for many years”; subsequent events have revealed to the Quakers watching this from off campus that by deployment of the claim “regular” in this context the school had not claimed “daily” –and had not claimed “weekly” –and had not claimed “monthly”).

The Permanent Board recommended transfer of endowment funds for the Quaker school into a separate entity to be known as the Moses Brown Foundation.



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1986

The Lynn MA [Quaker](#) monthly meeting was laid down (its records are now at the Rhode Island Historical Society).



The Stony Brook monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) near Princeton, [New Jersey](#) approved the rental of their First Day School building for use as a Friends School.

Responsibility for management of the endowment funds of the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) was transferred from the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends's Board of Managers of Investments and Permanent Funds to the Board of Overseers of the Moses Brown School, incorporated as the entity "Moses Brown Foundation" (note very carefully that responsibility for management of endowment funds, on the one foot, and ownership and control of endowment funds, on the other foot, are entirely different animals, since management is a delegable activity whereas ownership and responsibility are not thus transferable).

The Upper School instituted a monthly meeting for worship (the modifier "required" is nowhere to be found in their descriptive statement).



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Professor [Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "Thomas Loe, Friend of William Penn and Apostle to [Ireland](#)" appeared in SEEKING THE LIGHT: ESSAYS IN [QUAKER](#) HISTORY IN HONOR OF EDWIN B. BRONNER, J. William Frost and John H. Moore, editors (Wallingford: Pendle Hill Publications, Haverford: Friends Historical Association). At the end of this year he retired from his duties as a professor of religion in Dallas, and as an activist in the Friends World Committee for Consultation, to return to his home town of Easton, [Maryland](#) and become a member of the Third Haven monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) (he would be serving on its Worship and Ministry Committee).

In the [Durham](#) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#):

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1989

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "The Berry Brothers of Talbot County, [Maryland](#): Early Antislavery Leaders" ([Maryland Historical Magazine](#) 84, pages 1-89). Also, his "Voices of Protest: Eastern Shore Abolitionism Societies, 1790-1820" ([ibid](#), pages 350-360). He became clerk of the Third Haven Friends monthly meeting in Easton, Maryland (until 2001).

At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the Board of Overseers became "self-perpetuating" with "nominating input" from the New England Yearly Meeting (we knew of course what "self-perpetuating" meant, having had some historical experience with hereditary monarchies, but wondered what "nominating input" might mean other than "you're free to petition of course, and maybe we'll pay some attention and maybe we won't").



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1992

Enrollment at the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) reached 760 students.



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1993

The [Quaker](#) monthly meeting at Stony Brook near Princeton, [New Jersey](#) instituted a standing “Liaison Committee” to address issues around the sharing of the Quaker property with the Friends School on the premises. The Meeting approved a summer camp and an after-school program.

The Permanent Board recommended to the [New England Yearly Meeting](#), that operation of the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) be transferred to an entity to be known as the “Moses Brown School Corporation,” and that this new entity be granted a 99-year lease on the land and buildings of the bequest made by Friend Moses Brown (which recommendation was not accepted).

Friend [Kenneth L. Carroll](#) became President of the Friends Historical Association that had been founded in Philadelphia in 1873 (until 2011).

Friend Kent Wicker has offered us his memories of his arriving in an unexpected place — the [Durham, North Carolina Friends](#) meeting:

My first memory of Durham Friends Meeting begins with me showing up at the old brick meetinghouse one Firstday morning in 1993. I had my infant daughter Alix in my arms and toddler son Jared in tow. As I recall, Bob Passmore saw me standing in the old kitchen around 9:45 looking curious and confused. He took pity on us, helping both me and the kids to get settled.

To my surprise, he led me out the back door and across a playground – to one of the most ramshackle buildings I had ever seen. There was a room-sized wooden section of building at the top of a slope, which was followed by a narrower wooden section that tumbled down the hill behind until it reached a wide concrete block section at a lower level. Doors and windows seemed distributed randomly. It looked like the result of an accidental collision between several storage buildings. (This is not too far from the truth: I am told that the top section had originally been a construction shed during the building of Duke's West Campus.) This was the DFM Firstday School facility – and the Durham Pre-K campus of Carolina Friends School.

My children were happy to try Firstday School, so Bob and I returned to the meetinghouse for worship. We paused for a moment in the tiny entrance hall outside the meetingroom doors, and then went in. I found myself at one end of a dimly lit 20x40-foot room with interior walls of painted concrete block, with three to four dozen people sitting quietly on metal folding chairs. There was an aisle between the chairs running the length of the building to a fireplace at the opposite end of the building. The chairs at either end of this long room faced each other; at the center, the orientation of chairs changed so that Friends instead faced each other across the central aisle.

I found a free seat, sat down, and tried to be as quiet as everybody else.

I had done enough research to know a bit about Friends. Having



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been unable to find in Durham the sort of progressive, lay-led United Methodist church my wife Cheryl and I had attended in D.C., we had gotten by just fine without church during the years I was earning my Ph.D. at Duke. But as I was finishing my degree, I came to realize that my soul felt dry, drained; I suddenly longed for spiritual community. So -despite our two kids and the fact that Cheryl worked weekends- I had been visiting those local churches that seemed to lean toward the liberal end of the theological spectrum: the UUs, the UCCs - and now the Friends. Having always enjoyed sermons, liturgy, ritual and singing in the choir, I was a bit wary about worshiping with Friends. But I experienced something at worship that morning that I had never quite experienced before. Later, I tried to explain it to Cheryl: "What they do in worship gets me to that spiritual place that I've always used ritual to get to before. But instead of ending there, they start there..."

Although I didn't know it at the time, I was hooked. I continued to visit other churches for a while, but kept coming back to Friends Meeting - now with Cheryl, who no longer worked weekends. We began showing up regularly for Building & Grounds workdays, which is the main way we got to know others in Meeting. We attended potlucks; we joined Friendly Eights. We gradually became part of the Meeting. At one early point, we did try to leave DFM, because we felt that the Meeting did not offer a consistent program of religious education for our children. But we came to realize that, in a spiritual community (especially such a small one) it was up to us to provide what we felt was lacking. So, despite any real knowledge of Quaker ways, or much in the way of a prepared curriculum, we started teaching Firstday School in that rickety old school building, which we ended up doing for many years.

As the seasons passed in the old Meetinghouse, Cheryl and I discovered just how hot a non-air-conditioned masonry building can be in the summer - and how wonderful it was to sit near the fire that Hale Stevenson, arriving early in the morning, would faithfully build every fall and winter Firstday. It was here that I first learned how sweet and deep waiting worship could be. With the electric lights kept dim during worship, the sunlight that played through the shutters sometimes seemed to be a Divine revelation all its own. The whirr of the ceiling fans, the rumble of the city bus down Alexander Avenue, the noise of children on the playground - all of these seemed to aid a worshipful atmosphere rather than detract from it. There seemed to be a sort of spiritual intimacy that was created by packing so many people into such a compact space, like so many spiritual batteries joined together. Years later, we would divide this space into two large but cozy classrooms that still retain some of that original worshipful spirit.

But the space also had its limitations. The heat kept many away in summer. Every Firstday, after Meeting for Worship, we would fold all the chairs and stack them against the wall, so that the space could be used by renters during the week. If there was an



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after-worship meal or event, we would have to shoo half of Meeting out of the building while we brought in folding tables from their storage area in the women's restroom. If the weather was good, we'd set up tables outside instead. The kitchen was old and poorly planned, and very few people could fit in it at once.

We didn't realize it at the time, but our family was part of a small but growing wave of growth for Durham Friends Meeting. There were already several families with children when we arrived at Meeting. However, around the time we started attending regularly, we were joined by several other 30-somethings with young kids: the Bairds, the Laursens, the Hannapels, the Sweitzer-Lammes. We continued some practices - such as Stone Soup- that were begun by the older kids, and we introduced a few of our own, such as a Christmas pageant with kids acting the parts of Mary, Joseph and the animals.

Gradually, the empty chairs in Meeting for Worship began to fill up more and more often. Eventually there came a time when latecomers had to sit on the floor regularly. The school building's facilities also grew increasingly inadequate for the sort of program Carolina Friends School wanted to offer. It was time -after a long and careful process of Friendly discernment- for some new buildings.



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Hasbro, a [Pawtucket, Rhode Island](#) firm which had come to own the [Milton Bradley](#) Company, revised “The Game of Life” for the generation of the baby-boomers. There was no longer, as there had been during the 19th Century, any pretense that playing this game was going to lead to the encouragement of virtuous conduct.



Bradley avowed that his game would promote virtue.

At the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), monthly, and then weekly, required meeting for worship in the Upper School was instituted (“Lower School and Middle School had regular daily and weekly worship for many years”).

The [Quaker](#) monthly meeting at Stony Brook near Princeton, [New Jersey](#) formally took the “Friends School” educational institution on its premises under its spiritual care. (The school’s by-laws at that time required that a majority of the school’s trustees be members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).)



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February 15, Sunday: An extraordinarily different article appeared in the local [Providence, Rhode Island](#) newspaper, the "ProJo":

History of slavery in R.I. not a story in black and white, but shades of gray

By JODY McPHILLIPS, Journal-Bulletin Staff Writer

Steven Spielberg shot his slave-revolt film [La Amistad](#) in [Rhode Island](#) because the state has great Colonial architecture.

It made sense for other reasons.

Rhode Island played a bigger role than any other state in the [Atlantic slave trade](#) and had the only slave plantations in New England. At the same time, it was an early leader in the efforts to abolish slavery.

"Throughout the 18th century, Rhode Island merchants controlled between 60 and 90 percent of the American trade in African slaves," writes historian Jay Coughtry in *THE NOTORIOUS TRIANGLE: RHODE ISLAND AND THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, 1700-1807*.

To be fair, the American slave trade amounted to just a small fraction of the European trade, which brought more than 11 million Africans to the New World over nearly 400 years.

Only half a million of them went directly to North American colonies; the rest went to the plantations and slave markets of Central and South America, from which some would be resold later to the southern colonies.

By comparison Rhode Island, which came the closest of any colony to having a slave trade of its own, made more than 900 slaving voyages during the 18th century, transporting about 106,000 slaves.

Few actually settled in Rhode Island, which was poorly suited for large-scale agriculture with its small rocky farms and icy winters. But they were bought from the slave fortresses of Africa's Gold Coast with Rhode Island-made rum; transported on Rhode Island-built ships to the slave markets of the Caribbean; and later dressed in Rhode Island-made slave cloth.

Why did Rhode Island get so involved?

Money, mostly. The state had good ports and skilled seamen but not much good farmland. Once the fertile areas of South County were settled, the only place to make real money was at sea.

And no trade was as profitable as slaving.



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Slave traders like the Browns of [Providence](#) amassed great fortunes, enough to build those mansions along Benefit Street and to found Brown University. Later, [Rhode Island](#) textile manufacturers produced the coarse cotton cloth slaves wore throughout the New World, much like prison garb today.

There were also coincidental connections.

Two groups who eventually settled here -the Portuguese and the Cape Verdeans- played huge roles in the early slave trade. In the 1400s, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to buy or steal humans from the west coast of Africa; they turned the empty, volcanic Cape Verde islands into a major depot for the worldwide slave trade and created a mixed-race population that flourishes today throughout southeastern New England.

And yet, from the earliest days, some Rhode Islanders were repelled by this human commerce.

The conflict tore families apart. [John Brown](#), of [Providence](#), was an avid slaver, his brother [Moses Brown](#) an abolitionist who fought him at every turn. [Bristol](#) slaver James DeWolf's son Levi made one slaving voyage and abandoned the trade in disgust; Levi's brother Charles once defended his extensive slaving activities by telling a preacher, "Parson, I've always wanted to roll in gold."

In 1774, the General Assembly outlawed importing slaves into [Rhode Island](#); a decade later, it was one of the first states to free children born of slave mothers.

It's a complicated story, with many moral shadings. Or, as Keith Stokes of [Newport](#) says, "It's not black and white so much as gray."

Humanity is divided into two: the masters and the slaves.

- Aristotle, POLITICS.

How could it happen? How could supposedly civilized people enslave other human beings?

Historian Hugh Thomas, in *THE SLAVE TRADE*, says slavery is as old as recorded history, known in virtually all cultures. Typically, slaves were people who lost wars, owed debts, broke laws or were sold into servitude by impoverished parents.

Throughout the Middle Ages, enslavement was increasingly linked to religious conflict. Moslems would enslave Christians, or vice versa: the dominant culture felt they were doing the "less enlightened" people a favor, by liberating them from error and exposing them to the true faith.

By the 1400s, the seafaring Portuguese had begun trading with the small fiefdoms of northwest Africa. They went



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looking for gold, but didn't find enough; increasingly, they brought home slaves, with the blessing of the Pope. Better a slave in an advanced Christian nation than a free subject of a "cannibal" king, the reasoning went. African slaves quickly became highly prized as strong, hardy workers able to withstand punishing tropical heat. As European colonists flooded into the New World, demand for workers grew exponentially, especially in the Caribbean islands and the plantations of Central and South America.

At first, the Europeans tried to enslave the native Indians too. The first slaves transported across the Atlantic, in fact, went west to east: Taino Indians brought to Spain from the Caribbean by Christopher Columbus.

But the New World Indians proved too susceptible to European diseases, and not strong enough to cultivate the new cash crops of sugar, tobacco, rice, cotton and indigo in the tropics.

It was the Africans' bad luck that they were physically well suited to hard work in hot climates – and that African kings and chieftains were so willing to sell their enemies and rivals into slavery.

Over the next centuries, the combined lure of gold and slaves drew successive waves of Europeans to Africa: the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Dutch, the French, and finally the English, in the mid-1600s.

They made no bones about why.

"A ship full of blacks brings more to the Treasury than galleons and fleets put together," wrote Pedro Zapata de Mendoza, governor of Cartagena de Indias (in present-day Colombia), in 1648.

The British entered the trade two centuries after the Portuguese, but quickly made up for lost time. One maritime city after another sent huge ships to Africa, capable of carrying as many as 450 slaves at once.

They made money hand over fist.

"Liverpool was in no way shy about the benefits brought her by the slave trade," Thomas writes about the city.

"The facade of the Exchange carried reliefs of Africans' heads, with elephants, in a frieze, and one street was commonly known as 'Negro Row.'"

By the end of the 17th century, British traders had exported nearly 100,000 slaves from Africa; by 1725, 75,000 had been sold to British North America.

It was about that time that slaving voyages start showing up in [Rhode Island](#) records.

The early eighteenth century marked the end of North America's novitiate in the traffic of slaves. In the seventeenth century, too poor or too concerned with



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primitive agriculture, colonists there had been slow to participate in any substantial way.

A few slaves acting as servants had always been seen in all the colonies; but it was not until the owners of plantations in the Carolinas ... realized they could make considerable profits from rice and indigo that anything like a regular trade in slaves began.

– Hugh Thomas

The only land in Rhode Island good enough for plantation-style farming was the [Narragansett](#) Country (South County today), where a handful of white landowners did get rich off the labor of black slaves in the years before the Revolution.

But the rest of the settlers had to come up with other ways to make money. The colony's most successful industry was distilling rum, which at first was sold mainly to other colonies. The strong, good-quality rum soon found a market with slave-trading Africans of the Gold Coast who preferred it to Caribbean rums, which could be weak, salty or packed in leaky barrels.

[Rhode Island](#) distillers in [Newport](#) (and later [Bristol](#) and [Providence](#)) were soon making double- and triple-distilled rums for the African trade, taking care to pack it in sturdy hogsheads. [Rhode Island](#) rum became so popular in Africa that, like gold, it served as money. The rum-for-slaves trade began slowly, with occasional voyages as far back as 1709. The triangle trade that evolved was simple: take rum to Africa, and trade it for slaves; take the slaves to the Caribbean, and trade them for molasses; take the molasses back to [Rhode Island](#), and make more rum.

Everybody made out – except the slaves.

At first, the trade was concentrated in [Newport](#). By 1725, one or two voyages a year were being recorded; by 1735, it was up to a dozen a year, a pace maintained until 1740, when fighting between England, Spain and then France disrupted all colonial commerce.

A pattern developed: when hostilities broke out, trade faltered; when peace resumed, slaving boomed. In 1750, 15 [Rhode Island](#) trips were recorded; by 1772, that number had doubled.

[Rhode Island](#) and, particularly, Newport, was, in the 1750s and 1760s, still the North American colonies' most important slaving zone. Newport, which always welcomed enterprising people without asking whence they came, also used more slaves in small businesses, farms, or homes than any other Northern colony.

– Hugh Thomas



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One Rhode Islander in nine was black, the highest percentage north of the Mason-Dixon line. Most were slaves on the [Narragansett](#) Country plantations, but others clustered in Newport, where an artisan class of skilled workers developed.

Slavery in New England -and particularly liberal Newport- was probably never absolute. From the early days, a small percentage of Newport blacks were free men, having bought or otherwise obtained their freedom. Keith Stokes, in an essay on the slave trade, writes, "An early 1770s census lists nearly one-third of (Newport's) 9,000 inhabitants as being Negro, both slave and free."

Ship captains were always looking for able mariners; by 1800, "black seamen made up 21 percent of all Newport crews engaged in the West Indian, European and African trades," writes Coughtry.

Yet at the same time, slavers were working out of [Providence](#), [Bristol](#) and [Warren](#) as well as Newport. (Bristol, in fact, surpassed [Newport](#) as the state's primary slaving port as the century closed). Merchants in Greenwich, [Tiverton](#), Little Compton and [North Kingstown](#) played a lesser role.

The slavers were some of the colony's leading citizens, their names still familiar today: Newport's John Bannister (Bannister's Wharf) and Abraham Redwood ([Redwood Library](#)); [John Brown](#) of [Providence](#) (Brown University); the DeWolfs of [Bristol](#), who built Linden Place.

One of the most active was [Aaron Lopez](#) of Newport, a founder of [Touro Synagogue](#), who entered the slave trade in 1762 and by 1775 was the largest taxpayer in Newport, with more than 30 ships.

Some were more reprehensible than others. In 1764, Simeon Potter of [Bristol](#) wrote to his captain on the slaver *King George*: "Water your rum as much as possible and sell as much by the short measure as you can."

Or the captain of James DeWolf's slaver *Polly*, who lashed a slave infected with smallpox to a chair, threw her overboard, and "lamented only the lost chair."

Merchants not rich enough to build their own ships pooled resources and invested in voyages. Later on, the ships were more often owned by individuals or family groups.

Rhode Islanders made a go of slaving for a number of reasons. Their small, sturdy ships held from 75 to 150 slaves, far fewer than the massive British or French slavers, but their survival rates were better. Shorter loading times in Africa exposed the crews to fewer new diseases, and less crowding of slaves meant fewer died on the voyage, which took from five to 12 weeks.

[La Amistad](#)-style rebellions did occur -17 revolts were



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recorded on [Rhode Island](#) slavers between 1730 and 1807– but were about half as common as on British and French slavers, perhaps because conditions were somewhat better on the smaller boats.

The British destruction of [Newport](#) during the Revolution brought a temporary halt to the trade. When it resumed after the war, much of the action shifted up the bay to [Bristol](#), home of the DeWolf clan.

Without a doubt, then, the DeWolfs had the largest interest in the African slave trade of any American family before or after the Revolution; theirs was one of the few fortunes that truly rested on rum and slaves.

– Jay Coughtry

It was a family operation, all right – along the lines of la cosa nostra.

The first DeWolf slaver was Mark Anthony DeWolf, who began as captain for his brother-in-law, Simeon Potter. By 1774, Mark Anthony and Charles, one of his five sons, had completed seven voyages and may have been financing their own ships, Coughtry writes.

Between 1784 and 1807, seven DeWolfs completed 88 slaving voyages, or one-quarter of all [Rhode Island](#) trips made in those years; they were involved in 60 percent of the slaving voyages from [Bristol](#).

They didn't just sail the ships – they branched out into all aspects of the operation. James DeWolf, another of Mark Anthony's sons, married the daughter of William Bradford, who owned [Bristol](#)'s rum distillery; he went on to make another fortune in cotton manufacturing, and served in the U.S. Senate.

Other sons sold slaves at slave markets in Charleston and Havana; the family also bought a Cuban sugar plantation, so they had a piece of the action at all stages of the cycle.

They were resourceful. As the public grew more repulsed by slavery and anti-slavery laws began to be passed, the DeWolfs dug in, and used their clout and connections to keep the money flowing.

By the turn of the century, William Ellery, the customs collector in [Newport](#), was cracking down on illegal slaving. The DeWolfs got the General Assembly to create a separate customs office in [Bristol](#), and in 1804 snared the collector's job for Charles Collins, a DeWolf in-law and a slaver himself.

It was clear sailing out of [Bristol](#) after that.

Although slavery was outlawed nationally as of 1808, James DeWolf continued slaving until 1820, "the period of the [[Rhode Island](#)] trade's greatest profits," writes Arline Ruth Kiven, in a history of the state's



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abolitionist movement called [THEN WHY THE NEGROES?](#)
"This was also the time of his greatest affluence," although, she notes, there are no records for the [Bristol](#) port during this period because Collins burned them all when he was finally ousted in 1820. Slavers were pretty crafty about staying ahead of the anti-slaving laws. A 1794 law banning U.S. citizens from carrying slaves to other nations, for example, had only one real enforcement provision: much like modern-day drug laws, the government could confiscate slaving vessels and sell them at auction. Slavers promptly rigged the auctions so they (or straw buyers) could buy back the ships for pocket change. The government countered by getting the ships assessed, and then sending an agent to the auction to enter that price as an opening bid. Samuel Bosworth, the surveyor for [Bristol](#), was the unfortunate soul sent to bid on the *Lucy*, a slaver confiscated from Charles DeWolf. He undertook the job "with considerable fear and trembling," writes Coughtry. The night before the sale, Bosworth got a visit from DeWolf, his brother James, and [John Brown](#), who advised him to refuse the assignment. He stood his ground. The next morning the DeWolfs dropped by again, telling Bosworth that while they certainly wouldn't harm a hair of his head, if he showed up at the sale he would probably be "insulted if not thrown off the wharf" by sailors. Bosworth never made it to the auction. "His would-be baptizers, in nominal Indian dress and with faces blackened, seized him as he approached the wharf, and hustled him aboard a small sailboat" which took him for a pleasant two-mile ride down the bay, Coughtry writes. By the time he made it back to [Bristol](#), the *Lucy* had been bought by a captain who worked for the DeWolfs. The DeWolfs - or their agents - at times went in for outright thuggery. In 1800 the Treasury Department sent Capt. John Leonard to [Rhode Island](#) as a kind of special prosecutor targeting slave traders. He promptly sued James DeWolf for \$20,000 over violations by DeWolf's slave ship *Fanny*. The jury found for DeWolf. But some months after the trial, "apparently fearful that Leonard's strategy against DeWolf would become a dangerous and costly precedent, a group of civic-minded Bristolians traveled to Washington to make their own appeal at the Federal Courthouse," Coughtry writes. When they spotted Leonard coming down the courthouse steps, "several unidentified assailants assaulted him."



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Whereas, there is a common course practiced by Englishmen to buy negers so that they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventing of such practices among us, let it be ordered that no blacke mankind or white, being forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assignes longer than 10 years or until they come to bee 24 years of age....

– [Rhode Island](#)'s first anti-slavery law, 1652

The 1652 law was supposed to ban slavery of any kind from [Providence](#) and Warwick, or indentured servitude for more than 10 years. It was enforced for whites but largely ignored for blacks; like so many cultures before them, the British colonies were deeply conflicted over slavery.

In 1636, Roger Williams, who founded the colony in [Providence](#), questioned the justice of enslaving the Pequots. Yet in 1676, the same man denounced one of the early calls for freeing black slaves as "nothing but a bundle of ignorance and boisterousness."

Kiven writes that the northern part of the state was always less enamored of slavery than the seafaring and farming south.

Slaving was not confined to a particular religion or sect. Christians and Jews made fortunes in the trade, though by the early 18th century [Quakers](#) began to question the ethics of what they were doing.

Abolitionist sentiment got a boost in 1738, when an article in the [English Weekly Miscellany](#) "declared that, if Africans were to seize people from the coast of England, one could easily imagine the screams of 'unjust' which would be heard," writes Thomas.

In [Newport](#) in 1770, the Rev. Samuel Hopkins of the First Congregational Church preached his first sermon against slavery, and was surprised when his congregation -many of whom owned slaves- did not walk out en masse.

Three years later, Hopkins got the idea of sending two educated blacks to Africa as missionaries. To that end, John Quamine and Bristol Yamma were sent to Princeton College to prepare.

The Revolution intervened, however, and Quamine died aboard a [privateer](#), while Yamma apparently dropped out of school to go to work and disappeared into history.

According to Kiven, the Quakers were the biggest and best-organized religious group in [Rhode Island](#), and once they began to oppose slavery, its days were numbered.

One by one, slave owners changed their minds. "College Tom" Hazard, heir to [Narragansett](#) Country landowner Robert Hazard, refused his father's offer of slaves on his marriage (Robert was said to own 1,000 slaves in 1730).



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In 1773, the younger Hazard convinced the Quaker Yearly Meeting to ban Quaker participation in slavery. That same year [Moses Brown](#) of [Providence](#) quit the family slaving business, and began a decades-long assault on his brother, [John Brown](#), for continuing to buy and sell humans; the next year he became a [Quaker](#).

The approach of the Revolution brought a temporary end to slaving, but also disrupted abolitionist momentum. In 1774, the General Assembly passed a law banning residents from importing slaves to [Rhode Island](#), though it said nothing about visitors, or slaveowners who might want to move here.

(That was partly because [Newport](#) had a prosperous relationship with rich Southern plantation owners, who summered in [Rhode Island](#) before the Civil War, to escape the ferocious southern heat).

Brown, working with Hopkins, set about lobbying the state legislature as well as the Continental Congress; Hopkins wrote a persuasive tract, DIALOGUE CONCERNING THE SLAVERY OF THE AFRICANS, which was used well into the 19th century as an argument for abolition.

The war also gave blacks a chance to earn their own freedom. In 1778, a law was passed freeing any slave who would enlist in the Continental Army; several hundred formed the First [Rhode Island](#) Regiment, which performed well in battle, although the soldiers later had trouble getting paid.

"Their courage in battle and the subsequent gratitude of the people of the state to them is credited for the law, passed in 1784, providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in the state," writes Kiven.

The new law, which freed children born of slaves, passed only after a provision banning the trade entirely was removed. According to [Moses Brown](#), the act was eviscerated by the Speaker of the House, William Bradford of [Bristol](#).

Yes, the same Bradford who ran the big Bristol rum distillery, and whose daughter was married to slave-trader James DeWolf.

State House insiders were apparently getting pretty sick of lectures from the reform-minded [Quakers](#). Wrote Brown, "We were much flung at by several."

Is it not extraordinary that [[Rhode Island](#)], which has exceeded the rest of the states in carrying on this trade, should be the first Legislature on this globe which has prohibited that trade?

— Rev. Samuel Hopkins, Nov. 27, 1787

Other states were wrestling with the slavery issue. It proved so contentious that in 1787, when the Continental



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Congress adopted a constitution, it deferred any national action on slavery until 1808.

New England, however, wasn't waiting around. [Rhode Island](#) banned the trade entirely in 1787; Connecticut and Massachusetts followed suit the following year.

True, the slave trade would continue for 70 years, by one means or another. Some slavers shifted operations to ports like New York, which had not yet passed any slaving laws; others simply broke the law.

But in 1789, Hopkins and [Moses Brown](#) helped found the Providence Abolition Society, which worked for anti-slaving laws and sued those who broke them.

One such was [John Brown](#), Moses' brother. The society sued him in 1796 on charges of illegal slave-trading; though he offered to abandon the trade and pay all court costs, they seemed to want to make an example of him. They should have taken the deal. He was acquitted.

"The verdict was a definite defeat for the Society, many of whose members became convinced that a [Rhode Island](#) jury would not give judgment against the prominent type of men engaged in the slave-trade," writes Kiven.

Over the next few decades a pattern evolved. Abolitionists would pressure the government to pass anti-slavery legislation, and the slaving interests would do what they could to water it down.

Once a law was passed, business would temporarily falter while the slavers watched to see how strictly the law would be enforced; usually, enforcement was sporadic, and business actually increased.

The American and British governments finally banned slaving as of 1808. But the trade hardly stopped. Some American ships flew Spanish flags; Gen. George DeWolf of [Bristol](#) simply shifted his operations to Cuba.

The American law only banned the international slave trade. American slavers could still trade slaves internally, or move them up and down the coast. And they did, because demand was huge.

With the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, the demand for agricultural workers exploded in the south, Thomas writes. In 1792, the United States exported 138,328 pounds of cotton; by 1800, it was 17,790,000 pounds and by 1820, 35,000,000 pounds.

The planters weren't going to pick it themselves.

[Rhode Island](#) participation in the slave trade after Jan. 1, 1808, is a maddening puzzle, for most of the pieces are missing.

– Jay Coughtry

It looks like [Rhode Island](#) slavers began to pull out of the business after the federal ban, although it's hard

HDT

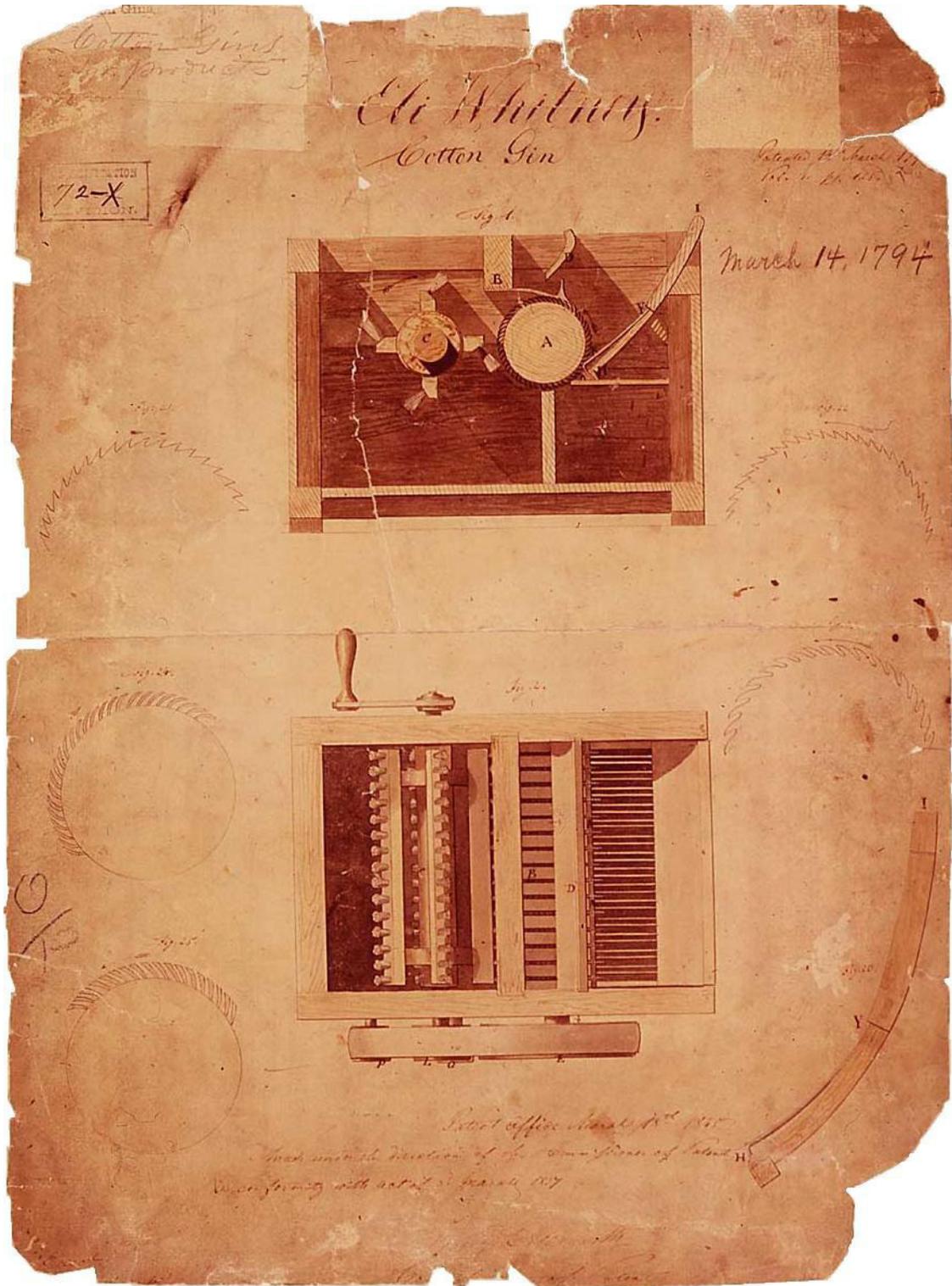
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to be sure since it was easy to cheat, particularly at first.

Some, like the DeWolfs, continued to slave illegally. But Coughtry concludes that "it does not appear that [Rhode Island](#) ports or individual [Rhode Island](#) merchants participated in the illegal heyday of the modern American slave trade" between 1820 and 1860.

They abandoned the business sporadically, much as they had started. [John Brown](#) died in 1803. James DeWolf quit the trade in 1808, though his brother George continued until 1820, when the sympathetic Collins was fired in [Bristol](#); after a series of business failures, George fled the state in 1825 for his Cuban plantation.

[Rhode Island](#) merchants gradually turned away from the maritime trade and invested their money in cotton mills – by 1830, the state had 130 of them. They managed to squeeze yet more profit from slavery: many specialized in coarse slave or negro cloth, worn by slaves throughout the New World.

Abolitionists kept up the pressure. The Providence Abolition Society was joined by other groups; three buildings still standing today served as stations on the Underground Railroad – the Isaac Rice homestead in [Newport](#), the Elizabeth Buffum Chace house in [Central Falls](#), and the Charles Perry home in [Westerly](#).

Some decided not to wait. In 1826, a group of free Newport blacks, led by former slave Newport Gardiner, sailed for Liberia with the help of the American Colonization Society.

Gardiner, who worked for years to buy freedom for himself and his family, was freed in 1791. He helped found the nation's first black civic organizations, the African Union Society, and the African Benevolent Society.

His decision to leave came 14 months after white rioters destroyed Hard Scrabble, the black community in [Providence](#) (University Heights today).

He was 75 years old.

"I go to set an example for the youth of my race," he said. "I go to encourage the young. They can never be elevated here. I have tried it for 60 years.... It is in vain."

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2000

Restoration work began on the mill buildings at [Saylesville, Rhode Island](#).

I, Austin Meredith, came to [Providence](#) from Southern California in this year as a retired person, and as a member of the Religious Society of Friends. As part of making this move, I promised my spouse that I wouldn't just hang around our new townhouse on Providence's East Side — but would find a way to get out there in our new community and make myself useful. Since the [Moses Brown School](#) was proclaiming itself to be a Quaker institution, and since it was just down the street from our new digs, I began to presume that I could fill in the slack hours of my retirement by providing volunteer services for the school.

ASSLEY

At this point the Quaker historian Rosalind Cobb Williams, “Posie,” was a member of our monthly meeting that met at 99 Morris Avenue, amid the trees just beyond the sports field of the Moses Brown School. She had been clerk of our meeting, and had served as the New England Yearly Meeting's curator of Quaker records stored on the 2d floor of the New England Historical Society on Hope Street. She had not yet been forced out of the meeting on account of her historical research and on account of her friendships with persons of color.

[Obviously I am going to need to go into some detail here, since I have just written that Posie would be forced out of the Quaker faith in part on account of her having black associates. This flies in the face of something that “everybody knows,” which is that Quakers, although they tend in England and America to be of the white persuasion, are not race haters. I will, therefore, digress to a piece of information that I had opportunity to learn back in 1958, at the University of Texas in Austin, Texas. The piece of information that I there and then acquired was that racial integration is one thing, but interracial association is something else. As a boy with a twisted spine, of course none of the other white UTex students wanted to be seen with me, but after awhile I got involved in a student movement to integrate the student cafeteria, and as part of this student group I was sometimes in the same room as some black Texans. At that time black students were being tolerated at UTex in Austin, so long as they did not take drama classes with the white students, drama classes in which there would be touching, and so long as they did not attempt team sports such as football in which students of different colors would be playing together on the same team, or competitive sports such as wrestling in which there would be interracial touching of skin. The black coeds lived in a special dormitory, Whitis House, one of the oldest and most decrepit on campus, and in the lobby of this dorm a white stripe had been painted on the floor from wall to wall to warn others away: THIS IS THE WHITE LINE: THIS FAR AND NO FARTHER. At the student center, black students could enter only through the service entrance and only if they were employed there. There would be no such thing as whites and blacks sitting at the same table or eating together, since while the white student would be sitting and eating, the black student employee would be erect and would be performing the traditional service role. Our logo was a mimeographed card with a simple drawing in which a black hand and a white hand were caught in the act of shaking hands, and our initial objective was to integrate the student cafeteria to the point at which, to get something to eat, black students would not need to snack out of the coke and candy machines, or to have a hot sit-down meal, board a bus and go all the way downtown to the Negro section of Austin. At this point I met a very obese and very black coed and we walked together on campus several times. Then, at my suggestion, we went together to a student production of Molière's “Le Misanthrope.” I think I knew her a week, or slightly longer. We must have made an interesting pair: a male student who was deformed in that his spine was not straight, with a female student



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who was deformed in that her skin was not white. Then the student couple who were acting as the leaders and organizers of the righteous student movement for race integration came and had a serious sit-down with me. What was I trying to pull? What were my motives? Did I have a covert personal agenda that I was trying to implement? (After awhile it became clear that what they meant was, I must be trying to get in this black coed's pants, and this was obvious to them, and disgusting, and amounted to a harmful and selfish taking of advantage on my part.) They instructed me that from that moment, I was to keep my distance from any and all of their race integration activities. What I had learned there in 1958 in Austin was, of course, that race integration can be construed as one thing, a good thing, while race association can be simultaneously construed as another thing entirely, a bad thing. That bit of learning had lain fallow in my mind for 42 years and was brought forward again by the case of Posie at the Providence monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. Now, you have presumably noticed that Quakers are not race haters and that they are always very polite, so it goes without saying that nobody ever fielded a term such as "niggerlover" when dealing with Posie and her peculiar predilections. And Posie, in turn, was scrupulously polite, and reacted to this treatment only by using her skills as a historian and going back to the point in time at which this pattern of apartheid behavior was becoming fixed (the 1830s), and describing how it originally happened, and publishing this as an article in Quaker History (this article was just ignored). It was one thing for Posie to be for racial integration, it seemed (all Quakers are for racial integration just as all Quakers are righteous), but it was another thing entirely for Posie to make friends among the blacks, have black associates. It was just too embarrassing, it was too like Friend Richard Ristow with his black pug Lapsang Souchong, as Richard kept his dog in his lap being fondled and muttering dog things during silent worship on a First Day (until Ministry and Counsel asked that Richard **stop that**). –Friend Richard would knuckle under and cease bringing his black pet to meeting with him, and Posie would at the end of her life take the advice of one of her black friends and enlist in the Episcopalians, refusing to have anything more to do with Quakers.]

On a Sunday during the summer of 2006 a curious incident has happened to me. I went over to the Friends meetinghouse adjacent to the Moses Brown School campus, as was my wont, an hour before our silent First Day meeting for worship was scheduled to begin, in order to unlock the doors and open the windows and pick up the mail and turn on the sound-amplification-for-the-hearing-impaired system in the attic, and generally get stale air out of the place. A young lady with a big dog on a leash approached. She walked around inside the meetinghouse and told me that she had once been there, because she was a former student at the Moses Brown School. I asked her, "In what year did you graduate?" She told me that she had graduated with the class of 2000. I asked her what the class on Quakerism had been like that year. She responded that she knew nothing about any such class. I asked her "Wasn't Betsy Zimmerman teaching such a class?" and she responded, "No, Betsy Zimmerman was my arts teacher." I commented that I had been told that that class was mandatory for all graduating seniors, and asked her if she could, in general terms, tell me what she knew about Quakerism. She said that of course she had been in and out of this building during her four years at MB, and remembered having to sit in the big meeting room in silence, but she said, nobody ever explained to her what this was about. She had no idea what Quakerism was, what it was about. Moses Brown was a Quaker institution, she knew, but what did that mean? She said "I don't have a clue." She added "It was a good school." I told her that Meeting for Worship began in an hour, at 10AM. She wandered away and I wandered away, and I thought no more of this until it was time for Meeting for Worship and I noticed that she had not stayed for worship. –She had, it would seem, just been looking around and reminiscing while walking her dog. (Of course, although this is about what was going down at the Moses Brown School in 2000, it is something I found out about in 2006 and therefore at that point I began to reflect on the theory of "regulatory capture," a doctrine in regard to which I have recently been brought up to speed by a Professor of Sociology. It seems that this is a frequent occurrence in all sorts of venues: it is through such "capture" that agencies that are supposed to be controlling become controlled by the entities that they are intended to control. For instance, as I was already aware as a veteran of the nuclear power industry, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission of the federal government over time came to



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be controlled by the industry, rather than continuing to have a controlling power over that industry. I had watched over a period of years, as General Electric executives left to take important jobs in the NRC, and then a few years later came back to take even more important jobs again with GE. I had watched loyalty to the industry and disloyalty to the government be rewarded and rewarded.) It seems to me now, having had this conversation with this sociologist, that what has happened is that at about midcentury the Moses Brown School started sending its teachers to the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, where they managed to qualify themselves as Quakers in good standing and then volunteered themselves for the committees that were regulating the school from which they were receiving their paychecks. In that way, the Quaker committees that are supposed to be “upstream” in control of the school are actually now “downstream,” that is, controlled by the school. They do only their master’s bidding. When I made a request last year that anyone who had a potential “conflict of interest” (financial ties, etc.) recuse themselves, and no longer take part in the proceedings, I was greeted with outraged stonewalling from the very people who have these conflicts of interest. They are in control and have every intention of staying in control. They even have



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it set up now so that they have veto power over any new nominations for their committees: nobody can even get nominated, let alone appointed, without the existing committee's explicit prior approval. My request that these individuals who had conflicts of interest identify themselves was met with the response that I was trying to pry into people's private affairs, something which I had no right to do. I was informed that although previously I had been considered to be a member of the Providence Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, and therefore a member of the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, I was not any longer to be considered to be a member. Reclassified as a non-member, I had sacrificed any right to interfere in the proceedings. (But here I am getting ahead of my story.)

In the [Durham, North Carolina monthly meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#)

Clerks of Meeting	
1943-1947	Edward K. Kraybill
1947-1948	William Van Hoy, Jr.
1949-1949	John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
1950-1951	Harry R. Stevens
1951-1952	John A. Barlow
1952-1957	Susan Gower Smith
1957-1960	Frances C. Jeffers
1960-1961	Cyrus M. Johnson
1961-1965	Peter H. Klopfer
1965-1967	Rebecca W. Fillmore
1967-1968	David Tillerson Smith
1968-1970	Ernest Albert Hartley
1970-1971	John Hunter
1971-1972	John Gamble
1972-1974	Lyle B. Snider (2 terms)
1974-1975	Helen Gardella
1976-1978	Cheryl F. Junk
1978-1980	Alice S. Keighton
1980-1982	John B. Hunter



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1982-1984	Edward M. Arnett
1984-1986	Calhoun D. Geiger
1986-1988	John P. Stratton
1988-1990	J. Robert Passmore
1990-1992	Karen Cole Stewart
1992-1995	Kathleen Davidson March
1995-1998	Nikki Vangsnes
1998-2000	Co-clerks J. Robert Passmore & Karen Cole Stewart
2000-2002	Amy Brannock
2002-2002	Jamie Hysjulien (Acting)
2002-2005	William Thomas O'Connor
2005-2007	Terry Graedon
2007-2009	Anne Akwari
2009-2012	Joe Graedon
2012-2013	Marguerite Dingman
2013-	Co-clerks Cathy Bridge & David Bridge





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2001

When I, Austin Meredith, had come to [Providence, Rhode Island](#) from Southern California in the previous year as a retired person, and as a member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), as part of making this move, I had promised my spouse that I wouldn't just hang around our new townhouse on Providence's East Side — but would find a way to get out there in our new community and make myself useful. Since the [Moses Brown School](#) was a Quaker institution, and since it was just down the street from our new digs, I had begun to plan that I would be able to fill in the slack hours of my retirement by providing volunteer services for the school.

The first thing I had attempted, to be of service to the school, was to write up a biography of Friend Moses Brown, founder of the school, and a history of the legacy that he left to provide for the institution that he had founded. When I had this all written up, in this year, I took it over to the teachers and staff at the School, and presented it to them. “Here,” I went, “Take this, make any alterations and elaborations as you see fit, take my name off of it and put your name on it, use it in your publicity, and use it in the teaching of your Quaker students. I give you all rights.”

I was startled by their response. They weren't at all involved in the Quaker history of their institution. Instead of going “Thank you, obviously you put a lot of work into this” they went “So, who's going to pay us for doing that?” They were more than uninterested, they were downright hostile.



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2002

In the [Durham, North Carolina monthly meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#):

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When I, Austin Meredith, had come to [Providence, Rhode Island](#) from Southern California as a retired person, and as a member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), as part of making this move, I had promised my spouse that I wouldn't just hang around our townhouse on Providence's East Side — but would find a way to get out there in our new community and make myself useful. Since the [Moses Brown School](#) “was a Quaker institution,” and since it was just down the street from our new digs and next door to our Friends meetinghouse in Providence, I had begun to plan that I would be able to fill in the slack hours of my retirement by providing volunteer services for the school.

I had no awareness at that time, that the Permanent Board of the New England Yearly Meeting of the Friends, which supposedly had oversight over the school as an arm of the religion, was at this point setting up an ad hoc Committee on Corporate Restructure, that would be contemplating an abandonment of the responsibility.

The first thing I had attempted, to be of service to the school, was to write up a biography of Friend Moses Brown, founder of the school, and a history of the legacy that he left to provide for the institution that he had founded. When I offered this manuscript to them, suggesting that they could remove my name and put their own names on it, and change it in any manner they saw fit and use it in their publicity, however, they had unexpectedly become hostile.



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I didn't understand at the time, the source of this, because I was thinking of the school as a Quaker school.¹⁶⁹ I was supposing that if there was anything they were going to be in need of, they were going to be in need of Quaker instructional goodies to offer to the kiddies. So I persisted. I created more and more of these Quaker biographies, about Friend John Greenleaf Whittier the Quaker poet, about Friend Lucretia Coffin Mott the antislavery activist, about Friend [Paul Cuffe](#) the black and Native American sea captain — electronic stuff that they could use in their teaching if they chose, stuff that the computer-savvy kids could relate to a whole lot better than dusty old yellowed falling-apart Quaker paper publications. And, relations kept on getting inexplicably worse and worse. After months and months of my finangling and their stalling, I was allowed to make a presentation of my materials to their “History Department” staff, in a classroom at the Moses Brown School. When I arrived to give my presentation, I found that they were refusing to initialize their classroom's presentation equipment. I was unable to use their overhead projector or other tools, and instead needed to stand in front of them holding up my laptop so they could see the screen, while attempting to explain this Kouroo Contexture I had created by use of the FrameMaker tool, and how it worked to display Quaker biographies and general Rhode Island history. The teachers were politely unimpressed and uncommunicative, but they did grant me permission to load the database I had created into their History Department computer, a computer which they kept in a locked conference room not normally accessible to students.

169. More recently, I went swimming at the Brown University pool and afterward a professor and I who had been sharing a lap lane found ourselves chatting in the locker room as we got dressed. He pulled on an old T-shirt with a “Moses Brown 1784” logo, and so I asked him about this. He said “I spent a zillion bucks sending my son to Moses Brown and then to a classy college.” I asked him what his son had thought of the Quakerism class at the [Moses Brown School](#) and he went “Well, they made him go over and sit in silence in the meetinghouse one in awhile but he never seemed to mind — they weren't pushy or anything.” I said “No, I meant to ask about the **required Senior class** in Quakerism that he took in his senior year. What was that like? What year did he graduate in?” This teenager had graduated in the year 2002, but the father didn't know anything about any such Quakerism class. He drew a complete blank. I explained that it was a mandatory thing for every graduating senior. He went “Well, that's the first time I **ever** heard about **anything** like that!” I asked what his religion was and he said “Nothing, but my son, he's become an Episcopalian.” (This is not, by any stretch of the imagination, the first time I have been told a story of this sort. Such experiences have caused me to wonder whether, when the Quakers who are on the payroll of that school insist to me so vehemently and with such sincerity that every child is required to attend a full year's class in Quakerism, they are not deluded, but perhaps are lying through their teeth.)



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I then went home and waited for the other shoe to drop — but it did not drop. There was no feedback. After a few months of this silence, I started phoning them with the proposal that I drop by to refresh and update the copy of my database that I had loaded onto their machine. They never returned any of my phonecalls. Never. Not once ever.

I have no sense that any of these “History Department” staff people ever so much as glanced at the materials I had loaded onto their computer for their use. They presumably merely erased what I had gone to the trouble to load for their inspection. I found myself faced with the necessity of explaining, to my spouse, why it was that I was not keeping the promise that I had made to her in moving to Providence, to get out of our East Side townhouse from time to time, and make myself useful during my retirement.

ASSLEY



“Autobiography is only to be trusted when it reveals something disgraceful. A man who gives a good account of himself is probably lying, since any life when viewed from the inside is simply a series of defeats.”



— Eric Arthur “[George Orwell](#)” Blair
“[Benefit of Clergy: Some Notes on Salvador Dali](#)” in THE SATURDAY BOOK FOR 1944 (London: Hutchinson)

March 31, Sunday: A reparations lawsuit was filed, to obtain compensation for human slavery on behalf of the descendants of American slaves, from the inheritors of American corporations that historically had profited from the uncompensated labors of slaves or from the slave trade’s dealings in human beings:

March 31, 2002

Lawsuit maintains slavery extended past plantations
Action on behalf of descendants claims companies profited unfairly

By JEFF DONN

Associated Press

BOSTON — Imagine slavery, and you’ll likely picture black workers stooped over rows of cotton in the South.

Yet lawyers who recently filed a federal lawsuit seeking corporate reparations for slavery named three companies far removed from farming, two of them based in New England.

The lawyers, suing on behalf of millions of slave descendants, may eventually name more than 1,000 companies.

But the initial defendants are FleetBoston Financial Corp., of Boston; insurer Aetna, of Hartford, Conn., and railway operator CSX Corp., of Richmond, Va.

How can this be?

Historians say the lawsuit, whatever its merits, serves as a reminder that slavery also extended into the Northern economy and, in the Old South, touched many industries beyond the plantations.

Lawyers for slave descendants picked FleetBoston because [Rhode](#)



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Island slave trader John Brown was a founder of its 18th century predecessor, Providence Bank.

The bank financed Brown's slave voyages and profited from them, the lawsuit says.

Brown was born in 1736 into an influential merchant family with holdings that would eventually extend into salt, meat, lumber, bricks, iron and even chocolate.

He helped charter what became Brown University (though it is named for his nephew, Nicholas Brown, Jr.).

John Brown owned or co-owned at least six ships with inspirational names like the Hope and the Providence, according to Rachel Chernos Lin, a Brown University graduate student researching the history of the area's slave trade.

Brown's boats would load up with local rum, sell it in West Africa, pick up slaves, sell them in the Caribbean or the South, and often fill up with sugar or molasses for the journey home. They would carry 200 slaves or more on a trip.

Other local merchants did the same sort of trade, but it didn't always go unchallenged. Brown's own brother, Moses Brown, was an ardent abolitionist.

He helped the Abolition Society successfully sue his brother under the U.S. Slave Trade Act of 1794, an early anti-slavery law that banned outfitting ships to carry slaves.

John Brown had to forfeit the Hope, according to Jay Coughtry, a historian at the University of Nevada-Las Vegas.

From 1709 to 1807, Rhode Island merchants invested in more than 930 slaving trips to Africa, Coughtry estimates. They wrested more than 105,000 Africans from their homeland.

Brown eventually dropped that kind of business - "not because it was immoral, but because it wasn't profitable," says Norman Fiering, a library administrator at Brown University.

FleetBoston has declined comment.

CSX wants the lawsuit thrown out. In a statement, the rail line said the impacts of slavery "cannot be attributed to any single company or industry."

Railway historians say slaves virtually built the rail network of the South from the 1830s to the 1850s.

Of nearly 120 railroads, at least 90 -and probably more- used slave labor for construction, maintenance or other jobs, says historian Ted Kornweibel at San Diego State University.

In the peak years before the Civil War, he says, about 15,000 slaves labored annually for Southern railroads.

The companies that eventually folded into CSX are no exception. At least 37 of them used slave labor, Kornweibel says, based on his research. Sometimes they owned the slaves; sometimes they rented them from seasonal surpluses at plantations.

A contract signed Feb. 12, 1862, is typical. P.V. Daniel Jr., president of CSX's Virginia predecessor, the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac railroad, promised to pay \$160 to Mrs. B.B. Wright.

Her two rented slaves were identified only as John Henry and Reuben. They were to be returned clothed as when they arrived.



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Some years, individual slaves, often worth more than \$1,000 in a sale, cost up to \$200 to rent for a season.

Some railroad contracts of that era specified that they must be properly fed. If a rented slave ran away, the owner often paid for lost job time.

Slaves remained valuable economic commodities into the Civil War years. Insurers, including Aetna, began selling a new product, life insurance, to compensate owners for the loss of slaves.

In its response to the reparations lawsuit, Aetna said the "events -however regrettable- occurred hundreds of years ago" and "in no way reflect Aetna today."

Still, the company, founded in 1853, has acknowledged that it holds records of five Aetna life insurance policies on slaves and knows of at least two others. Together, they insured the lives of 16 slaves in Virginia and South Carolina. In one policy, a slave was identified simply as "James, 23, a blacksmith."

The slave owners who took out the policies agreed to pay \$5 to \$10 for a term of one-to-three months, perhaps to insure against loss during a planting season. "From their perspective at the time, they really needed that labor," says Aetna spokesman Fred Laberge.

Plantation owners mostly sought out such policies, beginning the business with other insurance companies in the 1840s. Sometimes railroads, canal builders, and others with dangerous work also insured the lives of slaves.

"Slaves were involved in almost all aspects of Southern industries," said historian Charles Dew, at Williams College, in Williamstown, Mass.

As with some policies today, the insured person had to be healthy. Slaves were rejected for coverage for such reasons as a hernia or simply being "unsound," according to Todd Savitt, a historian at East Carolina University, in Greenville, N.C.

In a review of 1,693 life policies for slaves in 1856, Savitt calculated the average payout on death at \$665. The average payout on 500 policies insuring whites during the same period was \$3,500.



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Summer: Convicted of organizing a criminal conspiracy to loot the city government, the Mayor of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), [Vincent Albert “Buddy” Cianci, Jr.](#), a graduate of [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), would not seek re-election. Instead he would go to federal penitentiary, and then host a local radio talk show.



When the administration of the [Moses Brown School](#) suggested in this year that it had liability concerns that could only be met by a transfer of ownership of the school property away from the [Religious Society of Friends](#), a number of Friends denounced this expressed concern as a spurious cover for other less savory motives, pointing out that the normal manner in which an entity handled such concerns was through the purchase of liability insurance (this proposal by the school administration would come to be referred to as the “Buddy Technique for Asset Management”).



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2003

When I, Austin Meredith, had come to [Providence, Rhode Island](#) from Southern California as a member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), as part of making this move, I had promised my spouse that I wouldn't just as a retired person hang around our new townhouse on Providence's East Side — but would find a way to get out there in our new community and make myself useful. Since the [Moses Brown School](#) was a [Quaker](#) institution, and since our new home was just down the street from our new digs, I had begun to plan that I would be able to fill in the slack hours of my retirement by providing volunteer services for the school.

I had begun by writing up a biography of Friend Moses Brown, founder of the school, and a history of the legacy that he left to provide for the institution that he had founded. Then I created more and more of these Quaker biographies, about Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) the righteous American Quaker poet, about Friend [Lucretia Coffin Mott](#) the righteous antislavery activist, about Friend [Paul Cuffe](#) the righteous black and Native American sea captain — electronic stuff that the school would be able to use in their teaching if they chose, stuff that the computer-savvy kids could relate to a whole lot better than dusty old yellowed falling-apart Quaker paper publications. However, when I made a presentation to their History Department, I got exactly nowhere. So I attempted to donate a PC to the school, a machine that they could have in their student facility alongside their other PCs, one that could be available to their students. They stonewalled this, throwing up a barrier of lies.

Well, the Quaker monthly meeting right next to the Moses Brown School, the Providence Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends that I attend every First Day (Sunday), is of course a member of the New England Yearly Meeting, and the New England Yearly Meeting of course owns the Moses Brown endowment asset that runs this school. Our Meeting has a library with multiple “PLEASE DONATE” signs posted. Since the Moses Brown School students are in and out of this building as part of their school day, I donated that PC, with my Quaker history and Rhode Island history database on it, to our meeting's library. I figured that the Moses Brown students might have an opportunity to consult these electronic materials while in the meeting library. Maybe. —Anyway, I couldn't figure out any better thing to do, given the strange and unexplained intransigence I had been running into. What was I supposed to do, lie down and die? I had invested years of my life in preparing this stuff!

So I presented the machine and the database to our meeting's Library Committee. A member of the Library Committee then stood up after Meeting for Worship one First Day and publicly thanked me for my “magnificent gift,” and briefly described it for the benefit of the members and attenders of the Quaker meeting.

But after this thanks, the machine and the database failed to appear in the meetinghouse library. Finally I confronted the Library Committee with “What is going on?” I extracted from this committee, over their reluctance, the information that the Ministry and Counsel committee of our meeting had taken the machine and the database away from the Library Committee. This Ministry and Counsel committee has members who are deeply involved with the operation of the Moses Brown School. They were keeping the stuff under lock and key in a dark room upstairs. Evidently they were looking it over? Then I found out they sabotaged the machine by ripping up the cover in order to get at the hardware OFF switch — forcing the machine into a hard shutdown from which it was not possible to restart the database. They had, for reasons of their own, rendered the machine unusable.



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Well then, I fixed the machine, doing a file system check and restore routine, and getting everything re-initialized. Then I found myself being elderered and warned. I was to examine my conduct! Nobody had asked me to do this! Nobody wanted me to do this! What did I think I was going to pull off? I should be grateful that they didn't just throw the machine, and my Quaker and Rhode Island historical database, into the dumpster! I found that, for having written these materials on Quaker history and Rhode Island history, and for having donated this PC to the meeting, I needed to be treated like some kind of criminal.

In sum, I found myself still unable to keep the promise that I had made to my spouse in moving to Providence, to get out of our East Side townhouse from time to time, and make myself useful during my retirement.

ASSLEY



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2004

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I had created a biography of Friend Moses Brown, founder of the school, and a history of the legacy that he left to provide for the institution that he had founded, and then had created more and more of these Quaker biographies, about Friend John Greenleaf Whittier the Quaker poet, about Friend Lucretia Coffin Mott the antislavery activist, about Friend [Paul Cuffe](#) the black and Native American sea captain — electronic stuff that the school would be able to use in their teaching if they chose, stuff that the computer-savvy kids could relate to a whole lot better than dusty old yellowed falling-apart Quaker paper publications. However, when I had made a presentation to their History Department, I had gotten exactly nowhere, and when I had attempted to donate a PC to the school, a machine that they could have in their student facility alongside their other PCs, one that could be available to their students, again I had gotten exactly nowhere. And when I had attempted to install this PC in the library of our Quaker meetinghouse right next to the Moses Brown School, again I had gotten into a stalemate.

In this year my monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends appointed a censorship committee, to put pressure on me, falsely terming this a “Listening Committee” and a “Media Committee” and a “Communications Committee.” The committee contained a “Mr. Paycheck” Moses Brown employee who was livid in his anger and in his self-righteousness. He protested that of course the Moses Brown School was a Quaker school — because his own children went there. He protested that of course the Moses Brown School was a Quaker school — because its football team went by the name “Quakers.” Disregarding the fact that the school has had free use year after year of several hundred millions of dollars of Quaker educational assets, he indignantly protested that one of the problems was that the Quakers weren't “doing anything” to help the school.

Every year the head of the [Moses Brown School](#) reports, to the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, the situation in this supposedly Quaker institution. The report is intended to be reassuring to the Quakers, or to blow smoke up their asses or something. This year, Head Joanne P. Hoffman's allegations made a particularly interesting read. For one thing, in her report she carefully made no distinction whatever between her school's agenda and its accomplishments, mixing these two things together and stirring vigorously as if to confuse the mixture. She wrote about making a plan to begin to implement a future program that would possibly someday bear great fruit, in an Institute for Nonviolence and Conflict Reconciliation 5-day workshop, a workshop that has not yet been begun and has not yet been funded. Head Hoffman wrote about how “now” all entering freshmen are required to take a minor course in “service learning,” without indicating how this is connected with Quakerism in particular and without indicating whether this is a requirement which was satisfied by last year's freshman class or whether it is a requirement that is to begin with next year's freshman class. And so on and so forth. She wrote, for instance, about hiring a Quaker to direct the school's community service efforts and coordinate Quaker education in all three divisions, and named that



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person: she would be Friend Galen McNemar. (Since then Friend Galen has shown up, in the local Quaker meeting, a grand sum total of twice, missing almost all the meetings. It would appear that this young woman's sole qualification for the job is that she has been raised in a Quaker family. She has no academic qualifications whatever to teach Quakerism, and appears to know nothing whatever about Quaker history. Never mind, her job as director of the school's community service efforts and as the coordinator of Quaker education in all three divisions has turned out to be a mere add-on, to a full-time job that is, basically, working around the office.)

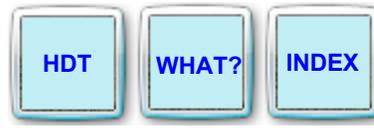
Not only is it a fact that nowhere in Head Joanne P. Hoffman's brief was there any distinction made between mere agenda (blowing words) and actual accomplishment, but also, nowhere was there any substantiation or documentation that what she was alleging was indeed the truth. The Quakers were simply supposed to take her word for it since she is offering herself as a woman of good faith.

This may not mean anything, but we have been told that Head Joanne P. Hoffman has never herself been involved with Quakerism.

She informed the Friends that "we" continue to explore ways to "connect with the Providence meeting," although we do not recollect having ever seen anything that could be characterized in such a manner, taking place during Meeting for Worship, or after Meeting for Worship, or at a Meeting for Business. We notice in particular that one member of the Providence Meeting, Friend John Kellam, has now written about his wartime experiences in prison as a practitioner of the Quaker Peace Testimony, something that ought to be of great interest to the kiddies — but in fact that Quaker has never been contacted by the school in this effort to "connect with the Providence meeting" of which the Head has written. One wonders, why not? Of course, we can trust that she is telling the truth despite lack of any obvious evidence — since she is offering herself as a woman of good faith.

The head of the school wrote about her agenda to take ownership and possession of the Moses Brown grounds and facilities away from the New England Yearly Meeting, and vest that ownership and possession instead now solely and totally in the Moses Brown School, as if this were mere "corporate restructuring" (her category). Therefore, let me specify, a little bit, what "corporate restructuring" is and what it is not. When a corporation restructures a debt, it goes out and refreshes the debt, maybe it changes the lender, maybe it consolidates or diversifies its portfolio of debt, but here's the thing, the debt doesn't simply go away. If the debt goes away, then what is happening is not to be described as a "corporate restructuring," it is something else — perhaps it is theft, or bankruptcy, or fiduciary fraud, but what it is not is, it is not "restructuring." The use of such a category to describe a change in ownership can only be an attempt to blow smoke up Quaker asses to find out whether that tickles us pink.

The head of the school wrote that "our foundation is our mission, which is integral to our very existence, and it has been sustained for 220 years." Let's see, this was 2004, so 2004 minus 220 gives us 1784, right? In 1784, a Quaker school was established in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, known as the Friends Yearly Meeting School. That effort would endure for precisely four school seasons, until precisely 1788. Then, after a hiatus of two decades, in 1808, Friend Moses Brown would revive this school board, and then, after more than another decade of planning, the school would begin anew in 1819, this time where it is now atop College Hill in Providence. Evidently the head of the Moses Brown School has not been informed that for a period of two decades nothing about the school was in existence, and that then for another more than a decade, what existed was merely a school committee rather than a school, and it was engaged during that period of more than a decade only in planning. Head Hoffman's figure should therefore, to be truthful, have been 2004 minus 1819, plus that initial four years in Portsmouth: 189 years max, not 220 years. But if the head had said that "our foundation is our mission, which is integral to our very existence, and it has been sustained for 189 years,"



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would she have been telling the truth? You know and I know that she would not, as there have been a number of years during this century during which the school was actually in full flight from its Quaker foundation and its Quaker mission. And, we may surmise, the head of the school would be aware that those years of denial of Quaker involvement did exist. She was in her report merely piously wishing them out of existence, wishing them out of existence by the telling of a lie.

There is one respect in which performance measurement is indeed possible. The head of Moses Brown School wrote that a number of graduating students were accepted into Quaker colleges. She failed to specify what that number was, but evidently it was greater than one. Why did she not inform the Quakers, therefore, how many of the graduating students have been accepted into Quaker colleges, since obviously she must know how many it was? What must be the reason for this lack of specificity? Well, we do notice that there is a definite number, for the number of graduating students who are going to actually attend Quaker colleges. That number has been provided. It is zero. Precisely zero of the graduating students are going to be accepting these offers and attending Quaker institutions of higher education. —On the one matter in regard to which her accomplishment as head of the Quaker institution could be actually measured, her accomplishment has been zero.

In fact, at Moses Brown School in Providence, Rhode Island, which is supposed to be a Quaker institution, nothing whatever is taught any of the students about Quaker history. The students aren't even told anything about Friend Moses Brown, the founder of the school. When I wrote out a detailed chronological history of Friend Moses Brown himself in particular, and of their school as a continuation of his benevolence, and asked them to vet this for accuracy, they absolutely refused, inquiring of me "Who is going to pay us to do this?" When I put this history on the internet at www.kouroo.info, they did not inform their students so their students would not be able to look at it. When with their prior permission I installed the Kouroo Contexture on one of the PCs on their campus for their review, the machine outside their History Department office, they cut off contact with me. Very possibly the students at this supposedly Quaker institution know, in fact, no more about the history of Quakerism that the students know at the nearby hopeless public high school —Hope High School— which would be approximately nothing. Each class is marched over to the Quaker Meetinghouse on their campus, where they sit in silence in the pews for half an hour or so. They learn that that sort of thing is the sort of thing that Quakers do (for some reason they sit around in silence) and they perhaps learn that Quakers have PC attitudes like "Quakers are opposed to human slavery," but that is precisely all they are allowed to learn. They hear nothing whatever, for instance, about the Quaker Peace Testimony. We have in our Quaker monthly meeting a Friend, John Kellam, who once upon a time was put in a federal maximum security prison for his adherence to our Peace Testimony. He is immediately available, and a very presentable and grandfatherly figure, but has never been asked to speak to the students. Why is that? The answer is, only a subset of the students in this school are from Quaker families. Most of the students are from non-Quaker families. And, you know what would happen if any of these parents got the idea that their children were being subjected to "religious instruction"? —You know what would happen if these parents got the idea that their children were being taught disloyalty? — Those students would be yanked out of this school so fast it'd make your head spin, and the school would collapse for lack of paid tuition. So basically, the Quaker school is reduced to teaching Quakerism without allowing the children to find out about Quakerism. It's an Orwellian world in which "teaching" amounts, not to providing information, but to withholding information.

Right now the Moses Brown School is attempting to persuade the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends to transfer ownership of the entire property to them. The school officials aver that there are legal reasons for this: "What if someone sues your pants off, New England Yearly Meeting, and the judge finds out that you have this asset? —How would you keep this asset away from someone you had harmed? —You know how these things go, the judge could take our campus away from us and sell it and award the money to someone whom you had sexually molested, or had killed in a boating accident." They point out that



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if they themselves held the legal title and the New England Yearly Meeting no longer had any say whatever in the operation of the institution, then if the Quakers were for some reason sued, the campus would be secure from seizure by the courts. (Of course, if they owned the property, they could take the school private at any time at their own decision, and be in name as well as in fact what they already are: a classy expensive Prep School for well-to-to New Englanders — but bite your tongue because that is not what this is really about.)

Here is a quiz that I could give the Moses Brown students were I permitted to come into contact with them — and I guarantee to you in advance that every last student would fail this test:

TEST YOUR HISTORICAL UNDERSTANDING — (true or false)

- 1. When Friend George Fox visited Rhode Island, he and the Reverend Roger Williams got along together very well.
- 2. When the Wampanoag Indians of King Philip went on the warpath in 1676, and there was great killing, the Quakers of Rhode Island remained defenseless in their homes and were not molested.
- 3. The Reverend Roger Williams was a Baptist minister in Providence, Rhode Island and was opposed to the “traffic in manbody,” human slavery.
- 4. When Friend Mary Dyer of Newport, Rhode Island went to Boston to preach and was hanged from a tree on Boston Common, her children, who like her were Quakers, stood underneath the tree and pleaded unsuccessfully with the Puritan judges and magistrates to spare their mother’s life.
- 5. When the American colonies declared their independence from the King of Great Britain in 1775, many young Quaker men flocked to the standard of General Washington and helped bring our Revolution to a successful conclusion. After the United States of America had been founded, these Quaker warriors returned to their local meetings to receive grateful thanks.
- 6. Friend Moses Brown, who created the Moses Brown School, never himself traded in black Africans and never himself owned slaves.
- 7. The money that the Brown family of Providence donated to Rhode Island College, that caused it to be renamed as “Brown University,” was not connected in any way with the moneys that the family had earned while engaging in the “triangular trade” in slaves from Africa.
- 8. We named a public high school in Providence after Esek Hopkins to honor him for his early stand against human slavery.
- 9. Friend Stephen Hopkins, who was many times governor of Rhode Island, manumitted (freed) his personal manservant Toney during the period in which American Quakers were declaring their entire disengagement from the institution of human slavery.
- 10. The Butler Hospital for the Insane on Blackstone Avenue in Providence initially offered care at the cost of only \$2 per day in order to better serve the needs of local mentally disturbed people who could not afford other facilities.
- 11. The massive stone wall around the Brown University practice fields across Lloyd from the Moses Brown School was created in order to cut down on traffic accidents from balls bouncing out into the road.
- 12. During World War I and World War II, while our nation was struggling against Germany and its allies, most Quaker men declared themselves to be conscientious objectors (COs) and were allowed to perform “alternative service” such as being firefighters in our national forests, and serving unarmed as medical corpsmen (none of them were ever imprisoned for their religious convictions).
- 13. For some reason there are fewer Quakers now than there used to be.



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May 13, Thursday: An attorney's advice, that of Parish Lentz, was received by the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) in regard to the current proposal that the [Religious Society of Friends](#) abandon its historical role in regard to the [Moses Brown School](#) on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), and allow this school—which has over the years been transforming itself into basically a secular hoity-toity college preparatory academy with a student body made up almost totally of non-Quaker residents of Providence, a teaching staff made up mostly of non-Quakers, an administration made up almost totally of non-Quakers, and a governing board made up mostly of non-Quakers, with, it must be allowed, a football team named “The Quakers”— to manage its own affairs in its own way without any interference:

The original deed from Moses Brown (the individual) to certain trustees which was recorded in the Providence Land Records April 24, 1819 grants the property “In trust and to their successors and assigns forever to have and to hold and for the intentions and purpose of the aforesaid People, Friends or Quakers of the Yearly Meeting for New England to erect suitable buildings thereon for a School House or Houses for the purpose of instruction in guarded education of the rising generations in a Boarding School or Houses for the purpose of instruction in guarded education of the rising generations in a Boarding School or schools according to the original minutes of the intentions of the said Yearly Meeting and hereafter set forth for the most effectual government thereof by the grantor and grantees herein expressed.” This deed further recites: “It being always hereafter to be understood that the whole of the said granted premises is and are to be at the sole disposal of the said meeting best in such manner that the said interest property, rents, profits, income and use is to be forever hereafter held and proved by the said meeting for the purpose of keeping up and maintaining a School or Schools for the education of the rising generation as aforesaid and is never at any time hereafter to be divested or applied to any other use or purpose whatsoever.” The trustees then transferred the property to the newly incorporated (by act of Rhode Island Legislature) Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England by deed recorded August 15, 1828. This transfer was subject to the restrictions of the deed from Moses Brown.

I personally reviewed these deeds in the Providence City Archives and have discussed the language with John Murphy who is the attorney who helped us on the title work for the bond issue. Although this is not a formal opinion, our initial conclusion is that the restrictions recited in these deeds limited the use of the property primarily and would not serve as an impediment to transferring it to a separately incorporated subsidiary of the New England Yearly Meeting of Friends. The deed from the trustees to the newly incorporated Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England convey the property to the said “incorporated society of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England and to their successors forever”. The fact that the property was also transferred from the original trustees to the newly incorporated entity is also an indication that the restriction runs primarily to the use of the property as a school in the tradition of the Friends.



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June: During New England [Yearly Meeting](#), advice was received from a Boston attorney in regard to the [Moses Brown School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#):

I will be very interested in a Rhode Island attorney's interpretation of the 1819 deed. If I were interpreting this deed under Massachusetts law relating to the creation of charitable trusts, I would advise that the deed created a trust whereby the NEYM must both hold the property forever and use it forever "for the purpose of instruction in guarded education of the rising generations in a Boarding School or schools according to the original [circa 1819] minutes of the intentions of the said Yearly Meeting." I also think it is significant that, according to the quotation from Parish Lentz's memorandum in the minutes, the 1819 deed from Moses Brown to the original trustees was to the trustees and their successors and assigns but the 1828 deed from the trustees to NEYM was to NEYM and its successors (the omission of "assigns" is, to me, significant). It was stated in one of our committee meetings that a portion of the property was sold, but I presume that was in accordance with the further language of the deed "that the whole of the said granted premises is and are to be at the sole disposal of the said meeting best in such manner that the said interest property, rents, profits, income and use is to be forever hereafter held and provided by the said meeting for the purpose of keeping up and maintaining a School" if it was determined that the sale of some of the property was necessary for the purpose of keeping up and maintaining the school. it is not clear to me how the change from a boarding school to a day school was justified under this deed - was there a court order allowing the change? Regarding the present proposal for a transfer to a new MBS corporation, if NEYM decides it is no longer practicable for NEYM to hold the property, if this were under Massachusetts law I would recommend a so-called "cy pres" petition to the court, which must name the state Attorney General as a defendant in his capacity as overseer of charitable trusts, praying that the court permit a change in the trust, to be as close as possible to the donor's original intent under the changed circumstances, whereby NEYM would be permitted to convey the property to the MBS corporation subject to a reworded trust approved by the court as practicable under the circumstances.

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When I, Austin Meredith, had come to the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) from Southern California as a retired person, and as a member of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), I had promised my spouse that I wouldn't just hang around our new townhouse on Providence's East Side — but would find a way to get out there in our new community and make myself useful. I thought it would be a lock, for me to volunteer to help the [Moses Brown School](#), a [Quaker](#) institution or so I was supposing, just down the street from our new digs, and fill in the slack hours of my retirement. I created a biography of Friend [Moses Brown](#), allegedly the respected endower of the school, and a history of the legacy that he had left to provide for the institution that he had founded (the grandest such legacy ever granted to any American institution of education, up to that point in time), and then created biographies of Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) and Friend [Lucretia Coffin Mott](#) and Friend [Paul Cuffe](#) — electronic stuff that the school would be able to use in their teaching if they chose, stuff that the computer-savvy kids could relate to a whole lot better than dusty old yellowed falling-apart Quaker paper publications. However, their History Department turned out to be hostile, and they wouldn't even accept the donation of a PC to the school, and when I attempted to install this PC in the library of our Quaker meetinghouse next to the school, again there was endless grabass. My monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends supposed that they could use a censorship committee to threaten me. Finally I realized what the problem was. I had believed people when they told me that this was a Quaker school. My bad. I had bought a cover story, and as a result, I needed to be punished. The situation escalated to the point at which I obtained one of the headmistresses annual reports to the Quakers, and picked it apart as a tissue of falsehoods, and published these lies on the Internet.

At this point the school could have responded, either to acknowledge that in their annual report mistakes had been made, that would be corrected, or to argue that what I was proclaiming to be falsehood actually was the truth. They did not.

One of the arguments for what is presently going down at the school has been the argument that the Moses Brown children come trooping over in columns to our meetinghouse for their own episodes of silent worship, therefore they are receiving a Quaker education. I should tell you that this is not an argument that I find persuasive. There's nothing particularly religious about being required to sit still for a period of minutes. This sitting still **can** be religious in nature, if properly done (in a Quaker context, in a Zen context, etc.), but it can also be merely disciplinary, or merely an opportunity for daydreaming. It is only in the context of our Quaker lives that our silent worship becomes religious, which means, that if the silent sitter knows nothing whatever about Quaker lives, then the silent sitting is of necessity without religious content. It is not education because no fact is conveyed. Instead, it amounts to indoctrination, or persecution, and is naturally resented by every school child who has ever encountered it anywhere. Quite typically, being leaned on in mandatory Chapel in an institution of higher education drives young people away from religion for the rest of their lives. Thus we create persons such as Nobel-Prize-winner K. Barry Sharpless, who attended Friends Central School in Philadelphia in the 1950s, who now writes about his religious education as follows:

From 6th through 12th grades I attended a Quaker school on the Philadelphia city line. Twice a week the entire school attended Quaker Meeting, silent gatherings except when someone received a personal call to speak. I never got a call, but nonetheless my head was full: I thought about fishing and boats. Or else I thought



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about when next I could get from Philadelphia to our cottage on the New Jersey Shore in order to go out fishing in a boat.

Quakerism is “a historical religion” in a very important sense. What other religions attempt to convey to the following generation by creed and dogma and symbols and scriptural stories, we attempt to convey to the following generation through the study of previous Quaker lives. When, therefore, we deny to the following generation an opportunity for them to learn about these previous Quaker lives, what we are denying them is a Quaker education, and what we are replacing Quakerism with amounts to sheer self-righteous posturing.

The censorship committee accused me of having failed to follow traditional Quaker procedures, in offering this PC and these materials to the monthly meeting’s Library Committee. The fact that this accusation is the precise inversion of the truth—that it has been me who has been following traditional Quaker procedures and others who, in this instance, in their insistence upon the primacy of censorship, have not been following traditional Quaker procedures—seemed entirely lost on them.

Someone then wrote to a Quaker discussion group on the internet, “outing” a teacher at the Moses Brown School as entirely unqualified. This Moses Brown employee on my censorship committee brought this message to the group (with its identifying headers removed), and accused me of having posted that message. I of course insisted that I was neither the person who had originally carried this information as to the unqualified teacher out of the school, nor the person who had originally posted this information to the Quaker discussion list on the internet — but this did not persuade him to stop treating me with contempt. The information was “hurtful,” end of story. I was going to continue to be gummed to death by these yappity yappity Quaker attack puppies, end of story.

I repeatedly asked the obvious question — whether this information, information that had originally been supplied by, and then had first been posted to the discussion list on the internet, by persons other than myself, was true, or was false. No response, as to whether this information as to an entirely unqualified teacher was true, or was false, has ever been released. Why should they answer such a question — the information was “hurtful,” end of story. We have transited from being Friends of the Truth (yes, we used to call ourselves that), to being instances of “Mr. Politenessman” and “Ms. Churchlady.” Evidently it is deemed to be nobody’s business but the administration of Moses Brown School, whether they have appointed a teacher who is entirely unqualified. Evidently, it is inappropriate to be concerned over the quality of the “Quaker” education that is being offered.

The censorship committee has repeatedly accused me of a refusal to negotiate in good faith. I would offer that it is not my negotiation, but their own, that has been disingenuous, and I will offer two instances in corroboration of their bad faith. One of their complaints has been that the PC I donated is simply too large to be placed in our library room, which is roughly twelve feet by twenty feet. When I brought my laptop to one of the censorship meetings, and pointed out that I might donate it, my gesture was met with nothing more than a stony silence — clearly, then, when they had made out that their concern was with size, they were simply telling a lie as to the nature of their concern. Again, one of their complaints has been that electronic materials are maintainable, and thus I could sneak in at any time and load new, unapproved materials onto the machine without their knowledge or consent. When I offered that it was not necessary that the electronic materials be maintained—that I would not insist upon maintaining them, that there were technical ways by which the materials could be preserved in the form they had been originally as donated—my gesture was again met with nothing more than a stony silence — clearly, again, when they had made out that their concern was with the introduction of new, unapproved materials in a surreptitious manner, they were simply telling a lie as to the nature of their concern.



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I have, I acknowledge, made us of the word “lie” in relation to some of these activities of the meeting’s Ministry and Counsel committee. (You’ll notice that I am not apologizing for this: you will not catch me apologizing for holding Quakers to a higher standard of truth.) For instance, when they posted an innocuous notice, on the machine that they were privately demanding that I remove from the building, to the effect that all meetinghouse computers had simply “been turned off for the summer,” and then Summer went into Autumn into Winter while they demanded that I remove this machine that had allegedly “been turned off for the summer,” I taunted them by way of response by pointing to this innocuous notice: “Your lie has expired, time for you to invent a new lie.” In general, their attempt has been to sneak around in the shadows, concealing what they were attempting in the way of censorship from the view of the general membership of our monthly meeting. Their response to my use of this term “lie,” in regard to various of their efforts to conceal what they are doing, has been email to this effect: “For you repeatedly to impugn other people’s characters (by calling them liars) serves only to alienate them and to end any possibility of dialog.” In no case have they offered any specific explanation or justification for any of their remarks which I have been categorizing straightforwardly as lies, in no case have they apologized, and in no case have they altered or revised any of their lies.

It is as if this group were a group of Puritans rather than a group of Quakers. It is as if this were the 17th Century rather than the 21st. We are still debating censorship as if no-one had ever heard tell of freedom of speech and of the press. We are concealing what is going down as if we had never been known as the Friends of the Truth.

My donated PC, with the Quaker and Rhode Island historical materials it contains, has since disappeared from the locked room in the meetinghouse. I do not know what has happened to it. (I do not suspect that they have actually thrown it into the Dumpster as threatened. I suspect that, instead, probably, they have secreted it somewhere.)

The general membership of our meeting has had no idea what has been going on — all they know is that I have been publicly thanked. A year and a half ago I put my biography of the life and works and writings of Friend George Fox in the context of his times on the internet at <http://www.kouroo.info/RSOF/FriendGeorgeFox.pdf>, and yet the local stonewalling of my efforts has been so total that the general membership of my own monthly meeting is still, after this year and a half, totally unaware that I have done this work, that I have authored a 390-page biography of this founding father. Thus, recently, Jordan Vernier needed to ask the other members of our meeting for the origination of a quote from Friend George’s “journal”:

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> Does anyone know the original wording of this (rewritten)
> quote by George Fox? I've been looking for it for a while.
>>"Be patterns, be examples in every country, place, or
>> nation that you visit, so that your bearing and life
>> might communicate with all people. Then you'll happily
>> walk across the earth to evoke that of God in everybody.
>> So that you will be seen as a blessing in their eyes
>> and you will receive a blessing from that of God within them."
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— and in response, no-one referred Jordan to page 126 of my biography of Friend George! Every single person on our Ministry & Counsel Committee is very much aware of this work, yet none wanted to alert him to the fact that it existed!

Now, this Ministry & Counsel Committee has repeatedly asserted, that the suppression and stonewalling that they are practicing is due to the fact that I have written this offensive protest against their censorship (the very document that you are even now reading), a protest which they never dare characterize as false but which they repeatedly characterize as “hurtful.” That this is a false description of my historical work can easily be seen, for if you inspect my biography of Friend George Fox at <http://www.kouroo.info/RSOF/FriendGeorgeFox.pdf>, you will see that it was written before this protest and does not contain this protest. Their stonewalling of my work began considerably before I began to protest against their stonewalling, and therefore for them to now allege that their censorship is due to my having protested it is, straightforwardly, disingenuous. It is an inversion of the truth: it puts what came before, after, and what came after, before. To put this in the Anglo-Saxon, the Quaker elders of my meeting are lying.

All this activity of censorship that has been going on behind the scenes in our meeting, has been entirely surreptitious, and their explanation for their secrecy has been that they are seeking to “protect me” from the general censure that obviously would be my fate were my activities known. My protests, that I do not **want** to be thus protected, have been completely ignored. The true explanation, of course, for why they have been sneaking around in the shadows, is not that they have been trying to protect me from censure, but that they have been trying to protect **themselves** from censure. (When someone videotaped the beating of Rodney King by police in the street, from the front window of an apartment facing the scene, the first reaction of these US coppers was that private citizens should not be allowed to make such videotapes of police brutality — the police, however, would need to bring themselves kicking and screaming into the world of responsibility for one’s own conduct, because this new spotlight on police actions was not going to go away — with this new technology generally available, citizens were simply not going to stop videotaping acts of police brutality. Similarly, when military personnel began sending around picture-phone images of brutality inside Iraq prisons, the first reaction of the US brass was to ban all taking of picture phone pictures inside their military prisons — the military was going to need to learn that this new spotlight on covert abuse was not going to go away, for with this new technology generally available, individual soldiers were simply not going to stop snapping images of instances of prisoner abuse. These are two instances of good technological development and its benevolent social consequences, minicams to bring our coppers under control and picture phones to bring our brass under control. Similarly, now, the initial reaction of this Ministry and Counsel committee of the local monthly meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, to my attempt to provide usable electronic Quaker educational materials, has been this egregious attempt to ban Quaker history as in the same pot category with internet pornography, from which our children do need to be protected — but our control committee of meeting elders is going to need to learn now, that the good new technology of the Internet is not going to go away anytime soon, and that instead of being able to continue their long habit of sneaking around in the shadows whispering falsehoods to one another, they are going to have to learn to conduct their control operations with a spotlight of truth and disclosure shining directly upon their conduct. This transition is going to be painful, admittedly, but the outcome is eventually going to constitute a real improvement in Quaker governance.)

Incidentally, in recent years there has been another Quaker historian in this Providence meeting, Friend Rosalind “Posie” Cobb Wiggins. She had served as a teacher at the Moses Brown School, as clerk of our meeting, and as curator of our New England Yearly Meeting Archives, archives which are now kept at the Rhode Island Historical Society on Hope Street in Providence, Rhode Island. Since then she has published works about Friends and African Americans in 18th- and 19th-Century New England. Unable to sufficiently



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compromise in her historical researches into Quaker race history, she was driven away. She is now dead, buried as an Episcopalian, and I have pledged in her memory that I am going to prove myself to be of sterner stuff — that I will never allow myself to be driven away by these elders and their intransigence in the manner in which she had been driven away.

Posie encapsulated her difficulties with the Friends in an article “Paul and Stephen, Unlikely Friends,” which appeared in Quaker History, Volume 90 Number 1, for Spring 2001. The article appears on the surface to be about problems in the Providence Monthly Meeting in the 19th Century, which is polite, but if you read beneath the surface of this bland treatment of past problems, you can see that Posie was describing the same problems as were, more than a century later, driving her away from the Providence Monthly Meeting. Now, at the time of Posie’s death, I obtained a copy of this article, which is not otherwise available in Providence (not, for instance, at the Brown University Library, or at the Moses Brown Library, or in our meeting library), and I bound it and specially presented it to a member of our meeting’s library committee. I described the article as a reproach of our behavior, and asked that it be included in our library for us to consider. Since that point in time, months and months have elapsed, the one copy we have of this article in Quaker History has disappeared, and the members of our library committee have nothing to say to me. It is my considered opinion that this material, because it would induce re-examination, has been suppressed by the local thought police.

Twice I have requested an audience before our Ministry and Counsel Committee. The first time, I requested this verbally of the Clerk of our Monthly Meeting, Friend Elizabeth Zimmerman, after our Meeting for Business at Saylesville Meetinghouse. The second time, I requested this verbally of Friend William Monroe after our Meeting for Worship on a First Day, while he was sitting in the meetinghouse’s library room as the official representative of our Ministry and Counsel Committee. Both requests for a personal appearance before this committee have, to date, been ignored. All official contacts from this committee to me have been by email.

These folks seem to have not yet learned the First Rule of Holes, which is “When you’re in a hole, stop digging.” Rather than make public disclosure of which of them are on the payroll of the Moses Brown School and therefore guilty of a conflict of interest (as I have formally requested that they do, in our Meeting for Business), they have responded that they have discovered a flaw in my paperwork, a flaw which means that although everyone had been presuming, for five years, that I was a member of this meeting, actually I am no member — and since I am no member, they don’t have to respond to my questions about their private finances or their possible conflicts of interest. I honestly have come to suspect that they would disown me — if they dared. So, for the time being, what I have been doing, in frustration, is distilling my historical materials, which are in FrameMaker 7.0, into Adobe Acrobat .pdf documents of the sort that I could put up onto a website on the Internet — documents such as this file you are presently looking at. These Acrobat distillations are extremely limited in comparison with the database materials that can be seen by use of FrameMaker, but any port in a storm. My thought is, maybe the students at the Moses Brown School, as they are surfing the Internet from their home PCs, will come upon these Acrobat materials. —Well, that’s a forlorn expectation I know, but it is what I am presently reduced to.

My personal suspicion has come to be that what we have here is the classic case of the slowly cooking frog. They say that if you put a live frog in a pot of cold water, it will hide in the bottom of the pot and as you heat the pot on the stove, it will continue to hide down there, making no attempt to free itself, until little pieces of frog meat begin to appear at the bubbling top of the pot. I don’t know if that is so or not, never having conducted the requisite experiment, but it may well be that the transition of this Moses Brown School, from being a Quaker institution to being a hoity-toity college preparatory school for middle-class white kids in which Quakerism is actively shunned, has been so gradual over the years, that the Quakers have not noticed that the institution is continuing to sit on several hundred millions of dollars of Quaker educational assets,



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while lately delivering to us, in the way of Quaker education, what amounts to chump change.

The school proclaims that it has an annual budget of approximately 20 million dollars. However, nothing on its balance sheet reflects the real worth of the hundreds of millions of dollars of Quaker educational assets that it holds within its grasp. If those hundreds of millions of dollars of real assets are captured in their accounting as part of their annual budget, I believe, a case can be made that their annual budget is not approximately 20 million dollars, but instead approximately 30 million dollars. In other words, Quakers provide about one third of the annual budget for this school. In return for this, in return for funding a full third of the school's annual operational budget, we receive one class, maybe. This is a crime which we Quakers have for almost half a century now been committing against ourselves.

I might mention in passing that good old Buddy Cianci is a product of this school. (For those of you who are not up to date on Rhode Island history: [Vincent Albert "Buddy" Cianci, Jr.](#) was the mayor of Providence, and has been in prison for his egregious personal conduct, and is at this moment back in prison again, this time as the result of a federal prosecution for egregious political corruption.) Is it really necessary for me to point out, that if this Moses Brown School which bills itself as a Quaker school had continued to be a Quaker school, rather than becoming "pretend-Friend," then our glad-handing "Buddy" might at this moment be the mayor of Providence rather than a jailbird? –That we might, given half a chance, have been able to install in this man some ethics and self-discipline to keep snug and warm under his "squirrel" toupee?

The East Side of Providence, Rhode Island has had two major benefactors, the Ebenezer Knight Dexter who gave us his farm for use as a city poor farm and the Friend Moses Brown, right across Lloyd Avenue from Dexter's poor farm, who gave us his farm for a Quaker school. The city broke Mr. Dexter's will in the 1950s, and where the poor farm used to be is now — a Brown University sports complex. (You can read about the breaking of the Dexter bequest at <http://www.kouros.info/RSOF/DexterAsylum.pdf>.) Right now, even as you read this, an attempt is being made by the administrators of the Moses Brown School to similarly break the bequest of Friend Moses Brown that originally set up their school. Obviously they are struggling to eliminate whatever is left of the influence that the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends once had over this once Quaker school, but of course they are not admitting that this is their agenda.

In our Friends Meeting, which is adjacent to the Moses Brown School campus, we have one member who is most especially affiliated with the Moses Brown School, our present clerk Elizabeth Zimmerman. She is the teacher who presided over the ghettoization of Quakerism at the school, by confining it to one-count-'em-one course that they offer to their graduating class. Now, when the school began to attempt to break the will of Friend Moses Brown, one of our first points of concern was to discover what in fact had been in the will of Friend Moses Brown — where might we obtain a copy of this will, to read it, and discover what it had said? It proved to be extraordinarily difficult to obtain a copy. The New England Yearly Meeting was the custodian and executor for this will, but we were unable to obtain a copy of the will from the New England Yearly Meeting. The archives of the New England Yearly Meeting are stored at the New England Historical Society on Hope Street, yet these archives contain no copy of this foundational document. The permanent staff of the



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New England Yearly Meeting was unresponsive to our request. Therefore, Friend John Kellam and I undertook a historical investigation, and we discovered a clerk's copy of the will in storage with Providence real estate records under the mansard roof of our Town Hall downtown. Friend John and I carefully transcribed the Moses Brown bequest document, word for word, and our idea was that we would distribute this document to the members of the Providence Monthly Meeting by putting it on our meeting's listserv, <providence_quakers@yahogroups.com>. When we attempted to communicate this document, however, our meeting's clerk, Friend Elizabeth Zimmerman, prevented us from so doing.

Why, under such circumstances, would the clerk of our Quaker meeting seek to prevent the communication of the truth?

“And said unto them, It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer;
but ye have made it a den of thieves.”

— MATTHEW 21:13



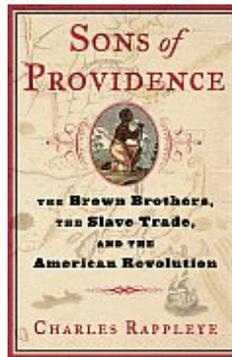
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2006

Rappleye, Charles. *SONS OF PROVIDENCE: THE BROWN BROTHERS, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2006)



The burden of this book about the brothers [John Brown](#) and [Friend Moses Brown](#) of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) is that Moses probably discontinued his abolitionist work after the death of his brother John because the struggle had not been so much between enslavement and liberation, as between two brothers locked in a game of "sibling rivalry." Rappleye concludes that "With John gone, Moses had lost his personal stake in the contest."

Those of you who want to know the real reason why Moses discontinued his abolitionist work may consult Rosalind Cobb Wiggins's article "Paul and Stephen, Unlikely Friends" in [Quaker History](#), Volume 90 Number 1 (Spring 2001). The truth of the matter is that as soon as the antebellum American friends had divested themselves of their slaves, and as soon as these black people had affiliated themselves into separate-but-equal religious groups such as the AME church, race relations became for the white Quakers one of those "not our problem" problems. Quakers, in purifying themselves of involvement in slavery, had established a sort of apartheid. The Quakers were all white people. The Quakers were quietists, isolated within their "Quaker Close." They had set up a region of personal and corporate purity, within which they were safe and secure. Persons of color who approached the Quaker meetings and asked to become members were simply stifled, endlessly stifled. The situation got so unwholesome that when "[Hicksites](#)" such as Friend [Lucretia Coffin Mott](#) visited Providence and attempted to enter the Friends meetinghouse there for worship, Friend Moses had someone posted at that door to turn them away. These "Hicksites" were Quakers who had remained abolitionist after these "Orthodox" Quakers had purified themselves by separating themselves entirely from people of color and the concerns of people of color, in effect embracing apartheid or segregation,



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so they were not about to allow themselves to be contaminated by them – so Friend Lucretia had to go worship with the Unitarians.

Now get this. You might suppose that the line of continuity stretches across the Civil War, from the **antebellum white abolitionists** to the Reconstruction-era **white liberal integrationists**. It does not. The line of continuity that stretches across the Civil War starts with the **antebellum white abolitionists such as the Quakers** and ends up with the Reconstruction-era **white segregationists and Jim Crow**. How do we know that? We know that because, even before the Civil War, abolitionists like Moses had already become “Orthodox” segregationists, and had shunned those “Hicksites” who had refused to become racially segregationist.

The newsman storyteller Rappleye -with his reductionistic “John died and so the sibling rivalry was over” pseudoexplanation-entirely missed this, and the reason why he missed this is that he didn’t do his historical homework.

The author offered a book talk in Providence, sponsored by the Rhode Island Historical Society which Moses Brown helped to found. He began with an explanation: “I’m not a historian, I’m a storyteller.” He sold hardcover copies of his book, autographed, and I bought one. What I found was that this storyteller has copied a bunch of stuff from previously published books about the Brown brothers John and Moses, and larded this out with general historical paragraphs about the American revolution and Rhode Island’s involvement in the Triangular Trade, and added a slew of his own new factoids (all of which are incorrect). That’s sorry enough, but he did this in order to support a simplistic, reductionist, and inaccurate conclusion, that Moses Brown’s opposition to the international slave trade is primarily to be accounted for as a mere case of sibling rivalry.

On the back cover, the book receives an “advance praise” blurb from the historian Doris Kearns Goodwin, author of *TEAM OF RIVALS: THE POLITICAL GENIUS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN*, which also happens to be issued by the trade press Simon & Schuster (a mere coincidence). Here is the blurber, posing with a reader who had the face of



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Abraham Lincoln tattooed onto his shoulder:



Goodwin describes her fellow author's book as "a terrific story."

On its back cover, Rappleye's book also receives an "advance praise" blurb from A.J. Langguth, author of *PATRIOTS: THE MEN WHO STARTED THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION*, which also happens to be issued by the trade press Simon & Schuster (another mere coincidence).

On its back cover, Rappleye's book also receives an "advance praise" blurb from Thomas Fleming, author of *WASHINGTON'S SECRET WAR: THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF VALLEY FORGE*, a book which was issued by the publisher HarperCollins's American subsidiary. Collins happens to be a trade press devoted to books on "Wellness, Lifestyle, Business, Design, and Reference, with the mission to empower consumers to Live More, Do More, Learn More."

On its back cover, Rappleye's book also receives an "advance praise" blurb from Henry Wiencek, author of *AN IMPERFECT GOD: GEORGE WASHINGTON, HIS SLAVES, AND THE CREATION OF AMERICA*, a book issued by Farrar Straus Giroux, a trade press specializing in literary fiction, nonfiction, poetry, and children's books. Wiencek alleges that "[t]his powerfully told narrative sheds new light." —Evidently he didn't take note of Rappleye's factual errors even when those factual errors extended into his own field of expertise, that of the relationship between President Washington and his slaves.

One can only hope that these blurbers' standards of accuracy and



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responsibility, in doing their own work, are **substantially higher** than the standards by which they provide their "advance praise" blurbs for a trade press effort as crowdpleasing, and as offensive, as this one.

This is not a book published by a scholarly press, with peer review. Had there been some sort of peer review by actual historians such an amateur effort would have died the silent death of a thousand papercuts. It is, instead, a book published by Simon & Schuster, a commercial corporation which one might characterize as one of the "trade presses." That is to say, when an author comes to such a press with a manuscript, the schlockmeisters have one question at the forefront of their minds and one question only. How many copies of this piece of shit can we sell?

The day of the academic press, publishing subsidized scholarly monographs, is well known in the groves of academe to be over – there simply isn't the money available, for the universities to maintain that kind of publishing. The day of the trade press, publishing unanalyzed schlock like this, however, ought to be over, and ought to be over as soon as humanly possible. From now on let's do internet publishing, and by means of internet publishing combined with peer review, **let's raise our scholarly standards.**

March 15, Wednesday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#)'s "ProJo," the [Providence Journal](#), Paul Davis's series about the days of [slavery](#) and the [international slave trade](#) continued:

1 Boye Slave Dyed: The Terrible Voyage of the Sally

The first ship to leave [Providence](#) for Africa was sent by James Brown in 1735, but only a smattering of ships departed from that port before the Revolutionary War. Providence never became a busy slave center, like [Newport](#) and Bristol.

Newport dominated the state's slave trade for the first 50 years. All trade came to a halt during the seven years the colonies fought for independence from Great Britain. When the war ended, [Rhode Island](#) ships again cleared for Africa. Newport continued to send dozens of ships to Africa, but Providence and [Warren](#), and especially [Bristol](#), became bigger players.

Between 1784 and 1807, 402 ships sailed from Rhode Island for Africa.

Providence, which sent 55 of those ships, accounted for only 14 percent of the state's slave trade.

* * *

Capt. [Esek Hopkins](#) had just cleared the African coast when one of his captives died.

The young girl wasn't the first.

For nine long months, Hopkins had bartered with slave traders on behalf of the Brown brothers of Providence - Nicholas,



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Joseph, John and Moses. By late August 1765, he had finally purchased enough slaves, 167, so he could leave. Tarrying on the malarial coast -sailors called it the White Man's Grave- Hopkins had already lost 20 slaves and two members of his crew.

On his first -and last- slave trade voyage on the *Sally* in 1765, Capt. Esek Hopkins lost 109 slaves to uprisings and disease. The failed attempt marked a turning point for the Brown family of Providence as [Moses Brown](#) turned his back on the slave trade. Now, on board the 120-ton brig *Sally*, the deaths continued.

"1 boye slave Dyed," Hopkins wrote on Aug. 25. He kept a tally of the slave deaths in his trade book. The young boy was number 22.

The Browns had instructed Hopkins to sell his slaves in the West Indies for "hard cash" or "good bills of exchange."

"Dispatch," they reminded him, "is the life of Business."

Esek Hopkins, 46, had spent years at sea, but, until now, he had never helmed a slave ship.

At 20, he left the family farm in Scituate to board a ship bound for Surinam, a South American port favored by Newport captains and slave dealers. Two older brothers also sailed. John died at sea; Samuel died at Hispaniola, a Caribbean slave and sugar center, now known as Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

Stephen, a third brother, rose through the ranks of colonial politics and became governor of Rhode Island.

Esek married in 1741, bought a farm in Providence and also dabbled in civic affairs. But he preferred the sea. Aggressive and outspoken, he worked for more than three decades as a privateer and merchant-adventurer, sometimes for the Browns. During the Seven Years' War between England and France, he captured a French ship loaded with oil and other goods.

But commanding a slave ship required knowledge of African tribal customs and negotiating skills; he possessed neither. He wasn't even the Browns' first choice; many Rhode Island captains were already on the African coast.

Stocked with handcuffs, leg irons, chains and padlocks, the *Sally* was a floating prison.

The women, mostly naked, lived unchained on the quarterdeck. Crew members believed there was little chance they would stage a rebellion.

The males, chained together in pairs, were kept below deck, where they struggled for air in the dark humid hold. Their spaces were so cramped they struggled to sit up.

In good weather, Hopkins and his crew exercised the more than 100 African slaves on deck, and scrubbed their filthy quarters with water and vinegar.

On Aug. 28, just eight days after leaving the coast of Africa, Hopkins freed some of the slaves to help with the chores. Instead, they freed other slaves and turned on what was left of his crew. "...the whole rose upon the People, and endeavored to get Possession of the vessel," the Newport [Mercury](#) reported later. Outnumbered, the sailors grabbed some of the weapons aboard the *Sally*: 4 pistols, 7 swivel guns, 13 cutlasses, 2



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blunderbusses and a keg of gunpowder. The curved cutlass blades and short-barreled blunderbusses - favored by pirates and highwaymen - were ideal weapons for killing enemies in close quarters. "Destroyed 8 and several more wounded," Hopkins wrote. One slave suffered broken ribs, another a cracked thigh bone. Both later died.

At sea, the *Sally* creaked and rolled as the crew kept careful watch on the remaining males shackled on the decks below. Above deck, Hopkins revised the death count in his trade book. 32, he wrote.

* * *

Back in Providence, the Browns had high hopes for the *Sally*. Among the city's richest men, they operated under the name Nicholas Brown and Company. They owned all or partial interest in a number of ships; a candle factory at Fox Point; a rope factory, sugar house and chocolate mill and two rum distilleries.

Just before the *Sally* sailed, they invested in an iron foundry on the [Pawtuxet](#) River, the Hope Furnace in [Scituate](#). Esek's brother, Stephen, was a partner. To help raise cash for the new foundry and their candle business, the Browns invested in the *Sally* and two non-slave ships that carried horses and other goods to the Caribbean.

Sending the *Sally* to Africa marked the first time the four brothers, as a group, had ventured into the slave trade.

Their great-great grandfather, [Chad Brown](#), had been an early religious leader of the colony along with founder Roger Williams. The brothers' grandfather, James, a pious [Baptist](#) church elder, was openly critical of Providence's rising merchant class.

Yet, his son, Capt. James Brown, rejected the pulpit for the counting house. He sailed to the West Indies, ran a slaughter house, opened a shop and ran two distilleries. Unlike the earlier Browns, James recorded his children's births in his business ledger, rather than the family Bible.

And in 1735, he sent Providence's first slave ship to Africa. "Gett Molases if you can" and "leave no debts behind," James wrote to his brother, Obadiah. The market was poor; still, Obadiah traded the Mary's human cargo in the West Indies for coffee, cordage, duck and salt. He brought three slaves, valued at 120 English pounds, back to Providence.

When James died three years later, Obadiah helped raise his brother's sons: Nicholas, Joseph, John and Moses.

In 1759, John and Nicholas joined Obadiah and other merchants in outfitting another slave ship, the *Wheel of Fortune*. It was captured by a French privateer. "Taken" wrote Obadiah in his insurance book.

The sons were not deterred.

[Abraham Redwood](#) was one of the principal contributors to The Redwood Library and Athenaeum when it was opened in 1750. Although he made his fortune from his Caribbean plantations and the slave trade, Redwood was remembered at the time of his death



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as a philanthropist and benefactor of the poor. Although the local economy had suffered during the war between France and Britain, the slave trade surged in 1763. In Virginia, plantation owner Carter Braxton urged the Browns to send him slaves. I understand, he said, there is a "great Traid carried on from Rhode Island to Guinea for Negroes." The Browns did not act on Braxton's offer. But in the summer of 1754, three of the brothers helped stock the *Sally* with 17,274 gallons of rum, the main currency of the Rhode Island slave trade, 1,800 bunches of onions, 90 pounds of coffee, 40 barrels of flour, 30 boxes of candles, 25 casks of rice, 10 hogsheads of tobacco, 6 barrels of tar, and bread, molasses, beef and pork. The *Sally's* crew included a first and second mate, Hopkins' personal slave and a cooper to make barrels for the molasses the *Sally* would receive in trade for slaves. The Browns agreed to pay Esek Hopkins 50 pounds a month for the voyage. Although it was slightly less than the wages paid the first and second mates, Hopkins was also promised a fat bonus, or "privilege," including 10 barrels of rum and 10 slaves. Most Rhode Island captains received a bonus of 4 slaves per 104 sold at market. Because hard money was scarce in Rhode Island, the first and second mates were also offered slaves as commissions. For the Browns, the stakes were high. For 50 years, Newport had been the colony's major shipping port. The Browns, along with Gov. Stephen Hopkins and a few other merchants, wanted to make Providence the political and commercial center of Rhode Island. "The Browns knew that the trade posed risks, but they also knew it could result in tremendous profits," says James Campbell, a Brown University professor. "They clearly anticipated a very profitable voyage."

* * *

Hopkins, however, fared poorly in Africa. With the end of the Seven Years' War, transatlantic trade resumed; British and New England ships jammed Africa's slave castles, trade forts and river mouths. "Demand was great and prices were high," Campbell says. "The seller had the upper hand." Hopkins had no choice but to sail a 100-mile stretch of coast, looking for deals. Worse, he didn't understand local customs, which depended on gifts, tributes and bribes. The trade, which dragged on for months, "involved an exchange of courtesies, gifts and negotiations," says Campbell. "You had to establish your credentials and character before trade actually began." By mid-December, Hopkins had purchased 23 slaves. But the trading went slowly. Hopkins gave King Fodolgo Talko and his officers two barrels of rum and a keg of snuff. It wasn't enough. The next day, he gave another leader and his men two casks of rum. On Dec. 23, he met with the king beneath a tree. He gave him 75 gallons of rum and received a cow as a present. The next day



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trading resumed, and Hopkins offered another 112 gallons of rum. He got one slave.

Later that day, the king demanded more rum, tobacco, iron and sugar for himself, his son and other officials.

Rhode Island captains spent an average of four months on the African coast; it took Hopkins nine.

"Hopkins was inexperienced as a slaver," says Campbell. "You wanted to get in and out as quickly as possible. As long as a slave ship was close to land, there was a danger of insurrection. Moreover, you die when you're on the West African coast. You're being exposed to diseases like malaria and yellow fever. Your slaves and crews start to die."

On June 8, Hopkins logged his most successful day of trading - 12 slaves. That same day, one of his earlier captives hanged herself between the decks of the *Sally*.

* * *

Now, as Hopkins crossed a cruel stretch of ocean called the Middle Passage, death came almost daily.

"3 women Slaves Dyed," Hopkins wrote in his trade book on Oct. 1. The ink had hardly dried when, a day later, he wrote: "3 men Slaves and 2 women Slaves - Dyed."

On Oct. 3, "1 garle Slave Dyed."

The family clock of Adm. Esek Hopkins sits today in an office in University Hall at Brown University, which was Rhode Island College at the time. The first building on campus, it was built using slave labor. The clock was presented by his granddaughter Elizabeth Angell in 1855.

In a letter to the Browns, Hopkins blamed the deaths on the failed slave revolt. The survivors were "so dispirited," he wrote, that "some drowned themselves, some starved and others sickened and died."

But the rate at which the Africans died "suggests an epidemic disease," probably smallpox or dysentery, says Campbell.

Amoebic dysentery, carried through fecal-tainted water, was spread by the filthy conditions below slave ship decks. It caused violent diarrhea, dehydration and death. Traders called it the "bloody flux."

The remaining Africans aboard the *Sally* were in a "very sickly and disordered manner," Hopkins wrote to the Browns when he arrived in Antigua. The emaciated slaves, fed a gruel made of rice, fetched poor prices; some sold for as little as 4 to 6 English pounds.

By the time Hopkins returned to Newport, he had lost 109 Africans. For most investors, a 15 percent loss of life was an acceptable risk; Hopkins lost more than half of his human cargo. And, the Browns lost the equivalent of \$10,000 on the voyage, says Campbell. "The debacle represented a turning point for three of the brothers -Nicholas, Joseph and Moses- who thereafter left the trade for good," says Campbell. "It would be nice to say that they quit because of moral qualms, but there isn't much evidence to support that, at least initially. More likely, they simply concluded that [slavery](#) was too risky an



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investment.”

John invested in additional slave voyages -between four and eight more- and became a defender of the trade.

His younger brother, Moses, took another path.

Depressed, unable to sleep, he avoided the family counting house. In 1773 -eight years after the *Sally's* voyage- he freed his six slaves. He was sure his wife's death was the result of his role in the trade.

Joining other [Quakers](#), Moses declared war on New England's slavers.

One of his first targets was his older brother, [John Brown](#).

March 16, Thursday: In [Providence, Rhode Island's](#) “ProJo,” the [Providence Journal](#), Paul Davis's series about the days of [slavery](#) and the [international slave trade](#) continued:

Brown vs. Brown: Brothers Go Head to Head

In 1770, the Rev. Samuel Hopkins preached his first sermon against [slavery](#) and the slave trade, calling them terrible sins. His message surprised church members, some of them slave traders. One family left the church. The notion that slavery was immoral was slow to take hold.

The [Quakers](#) were among the first to question the practice and, in 1773, they asked members to free their slaves. Not everyone agreed. Wealthy businessman Abraham Redwood and even a long-term [Rhode Island](#) governor refused to free their slaves and were disowned by the group.

Although the Quakers would help federal officials prosecute slave traders in the 1790s, they were seen as a quirky fringe group. A century earlier, the Puritans in Boston hanged Quakers and Roger Williams called them heretics.

* * *

By 1797, [John Brown](#) had burned the British ship *Gaspee*, co-founded [Providence's](#) first bank, sent a trade ship to China and laid the cornerstone of Brown University's administration building.

He was, says a biographer, one of America's leading merchants. But the federal government had other words for him: illegal slave trader. Agents seized his ship, the *Hope*, for violating the U.S. Slave Trade Act of 1794. Brown was the first Rhode Islander -possibly the first citizen in the new nation- to be tried under the law which forbid the trading of slaves in foreign ports.

On Aug. 5, in District Court in [Newport](#), Judge Benjamin Bourn outlined the reasons for seizing the *Hope*. Brown and others had “fitted, equipped, loaded, and prepared” the ship that sailed from Providence to Africa and on to Havana “for the purpose of carrying on a trade and traffic in Slaves” which was contrary to the Statute of the United States, Judge Bourn wrote.

Federal authorities learned of John Brown's activities from his



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own brother [Moses Brown](#) and other anti-slavery radicals. John and Moses had been at odds over the slave trade for more than a decade. Moses, in fact, had helped push for the federal law after an earlier state law to stop the trade was not enforced.

Now, in the late 1790s, the Providence Abolition Society was suing merchants for breaking the federal law. The group's strategy was a simple one: if the slavers agreed to quit the trade, they would drop their suits.

John Brown, one of America's leading merchants in the late 1700s, vigorously fought government efforts to end the slave trade. Moses Brown, a devout Quaker after quitting the slave trade, was an abolitionist who pressed the government to end slavery.

One of Providence's biggest slave traders, Cyprian Sterry, buckled under the group's pressure, and agreed to stop selling Africans.

But John wouldn't.

After months of out-of-court wrangling, the two sides failed to reach an agreement.

In court, John lost one round but won another.

The judge decreed that the *Hope*, along with "her tackle, furniture, apparel and other appurtances" be sold at an India Point auction on Aug. 26.

But, in a second court appearance, John triumphed over the abolitionists. In Newport, the center of the state slave trade, jurors were reluctant to convict a vocal defender of the African trade.

In a 1798 letter to his son James, John Brown said he had won a verdict for costs against his prosecutors whom he called a "Wicked and abominable Combination."

The state's anti-slavery foes, he said, were "Running Round in the Rain.... I tell them they had better be Contented to Stop ware they are, as the Further they go the wors they will fail." It wasn't the first time John Brown clashed with his brother and Rhode Island's other slavery foes.

And it wouldn't be the last.

* * *

The two brothers did not always quarrel.

As young men, they learned the sea trade and manufacturing from their uncle Obadiah. With their brothers Joseph and Nicholas, they formed a family firm, Nicholas Brown and Company in 1762. The brothers shipped goods to the West Indies, made candles from the oil of sperm whales and later produced pig iron at Hope Furnace in Scituate.

Each man brought a different skill to the partnership. Nicholas was methodical and plodding, John was bold and reckless, Joseph was a good technician and Moses was erudite, says Brown family biographer James B. Hedges.

In 1764, the four brothers invested in their first slave voyage. It was a financial disaster; more than half of the slaves died before they could be sold in the West Indies. The Browns never



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financed another slave trip together. But John, anxious to expand his business interests, struck out on his own. In 1769, he outfitted another slave ship to Africa. The family dynamic changed forever.

* * *

After the death of his wife and a daughter, Moses embraced the spiritual beliefs of the Quakers. In 1773, following their example, he freed the six slaves he owned and relinquished his interest in four others who worked at the family's candle works. He invited his family and several Quakers to hear his explanation. "Whereas I am clearly convinced that the buying and selling of men of what color soever as slaves is contrary to the Divine Mind," he began, "I do therefore ... set free the following negroes being all I am possessed of or any ways interested in." Moses promised to oversee the education of the youngest slaves and he gave each of the men the use of an acre of land from his farm. Consider me a friend, he told them. For generations, the Browns had been [Baptist](#) ministers and churchmen. But a year after he freed his slaves, Moses officially converted to Quakerism. He was sure his wife Anna's death in 1773 was God's way of punishing him for his role in the slave trade.

Almost immediately, he and other Quakers began prodding local and federal lawmakers to ban both slavery and the slave trade. In 1774, the General Assembly passed a law prohibiting the importation of slaves into Rhode Island, an amended version of a bill advanced by Moses Brown that would have ended the slave trade altogether. In fact, it included a loophole that allowed slaves who could not be sold elsewhere to be brought into Rhode Island for one year. In addition, the proposed fines for importing slaves were omitted.

The "law proved totally ineffectual," says historian Christy Millard Nadalin.

The Brown family's influence is still evident on Providence's East Side from the stately family mansions to the university that bears their name. The institution's first building was built by slaves.

The first act calling for the freeing of slaves in Rhode Island came in 1784. But the General Assembly did not want it done quickly. Under the act, children born to slave mothers after March 1, 1784 would be free when they became adults. The law, says Nadalin, "required no real sacrifice on the part of the slave owners, and it did nothing to curb the actual trade in slaves."

In 1787, the General Assembly made it illegal for any Rhode Islander to be involved in the African slave trade – the first such law in America. But, again, it was ignored; in the next three years, 25 ships sailed to Africa. Two years later, Moses Brown, the Rev. Samuel Hopkins of Newport, and about 180 others organized the Abolition Society. Its mission, according to J. Stanley Lemons, history professor at Rhode Island College, was to enforce the laws against the slave trade.



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Just as the abolitionists were organizing, a bitter attack against them erupted in the Providence Gazette.

The society, a critic wrote, was "created not to ruin only one good citizen but to ruin many hundreds within the United States" who have all or part of their property in slaves and the slave trade.

These people you are calling "Negro-dealers" and "kidnappers" are some of the "very best men" in Rhode Island, he wrote.

"This traffic, strange as it appears to the conscientious Friend or Quaker, is right, just and lawful, and consequently practiced every day."

The diatribe was signed "A Citizen."

It was John Brown.

Brother Moses and other abolitionists responded, accusing John and other defenders of slavery as selfish, ignorant and pitiful. Moses publicly refuted a number of the "Citizen's" arguments, including the assertion that Africans were better off as slaves in America because they would have been killed back home.

The "Citizen" had his facts wrong, Moses countered. But if his argument were right, wouldn't it be an even greater act of humanity to grant the captives their freedom after arriving in America?

The battle was the "most bitter and unrestrained controversy" in the state's early history, says Moses Brown biographer Mack Thompson. What started as a discussion about the pros and cons of the slave trade "soon degenerated into an acrimonious debate in which politics and personalities became the main subject." Moses eventually withdrew from the public debate.

But, privately, he continued to plead for an end to the state's slave trade. "Confronted with public apathy, inefficient state officials, and the power of the slave traders," Moses and his fellow abolitionists had little impact, says biographer Thompson.

Moses couldn't even convince his own brother that slave trading was evil. So he and others turned to U.S. Attorney Ray Greene, who dragged John and other slave traders into court.

John lost his ship but never publicly apologized.

* * *

In 1800, two years after he was elected to Congress, John Brown was one of only five congressmen to vote against a bill to strengthen the 1794 law under which he had been prosecuted.

Speaking against the measure, he offered three familiar arguments. First, he said, it was wrong to deny to American citizens the benefits of a trade that was open to Europeans. Second, the trade was not immoral because the condition of those enslaved was "much bettered." Finally, he argued that the trade would bring much-desired revenue to the nation's treasury.

"Why should a heavy fine and imprisonment be made the penalty for carrying on a trade so advantageous?" he asked.

The abolitionist Moses, meanwhile, joined [Samuel Slater](#) and made cloth in a mill in [Pawtucket](#). They made clothes from cotton



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picked by slaves on plantations in the South.

* * *

[John Brown](#) never changed his mind about profits and [slavery](#), says Joaquina Bela Teixeira, executive director of the [Rhode Island](#) Black Heritage Society in Providence. "His sense of morality never shifted." He tried to fix tobacco prices and filed false insurance claims, she says, "yet he's touted as one of Providence's patriots."

But the Browns "aren't big slave traders," says James Campbell, history professor at Brown University.

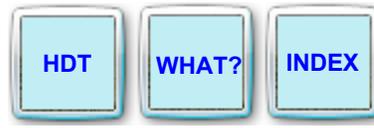
They play a big role in the state's slave trading history, in part, because they are major historical figures, kept meticulous records and have a name linked to a major university.

"Slavery was a fact of life. Yet, what is compelling about that late 18th-century moment is that you get this new moral sensibility. At some point, people acted against the slave trade. Not everyone did, and not everyone acted at the same time. But through the Browns you can see these deep historical currents" that ran through the era, Campbell says.

It's also important to understand that, despite their public arguments, the two brothers cared about each other, Campbell says.

"In private correspondence, they are very frank with one another. My sense is that they loved one another. In one letter, Moses says, 'John, I'm doing this for you.'"

Summer: On a Sunday during the summer a curious incident happened to me, Austin Meredith. I went over to the Friends meetinghouse for [Providence, Rhode Island](#), adjacent to the [Moses Brown School](#) campus, as was my wont, an hour before our silent First Day meeting for worship was scheduled to begin, in order to unlock the doors and open the windows and pick up the mail and turn on the sound-amplification-for-the-hearing-impaired system in the attic, and generally get stale air out of the place. A young lady with a big dog on a leash approached. She walked around inside the meetinghouse and told me that she had once been there, because she was a former student at the Moses Brown School. I asked her, "In what year did you graduate?" She told me that she had graduated with the class of 2000. I asked her what the class on Quakerism had been like that year. She responded that she knew nothing about any such class. I asked her "Wasn't Betsy Zimmerman teaching such a class?" and she responded, "No, Betsy Zimmerman was my arts teacher." I commented that I had been told that that class was mandatory for all graduating seniors, and asked her if she could, in general terms, tell me what she knew about Quakerism. She said that of course she had been in and out of this building during her four years at MB, and remembered having to sit in the big meeting room in silence, but she said, nobody ever explained to her what this was about. She had no idea what Quakerism was, what it was about. Moses Brown was a Quaker institution, she knew, but what did that mean? She said "I don't have a clue." She added "It was a good school." At this point she thought also to assure me that Quakers were OK, because we don't proselytize: although she had attended a Quaker school, she summarized, "You never made me feel put upon." I told her that Meeting for Worship began in an hour, at 10AM. She wandered away and I wandered away, and I thought no more of this until it was time for Meeting for Worship and I noticed that she had not stayed for worship. -She had, it would seem, just been looking around and reminiscing while walking her dog. At this point I began to reflect on the theory of "regulatory capture," a doctrine in regard to which I have recently been brought up to speed by a Professor of Sociology. It seems that this is a frequent occurrence in all



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sorts of venues: it is through such “capture” that agencies that are supposed to be controlling become controlled by the entities that they are intended to control. For instance, as I was already aware as a veteran of the [atomic power industry](#), the Nuclear Regulatory Commission of the federal government over time came to be controlled by the industry, rather than continuing to have a controlling power over that industry.¹⁷⁰ I had watched over a period of years, as General Electric executives left to take important jobs in the NRC, and then a few years later came back to take even more important jobs again with GE. I had watched loyalty to the industry and disloyalty to the government be rewarded and rewarded. It seems to me now, having had this conversation with this sociologist, that what has happened is that the Moses Brown School sent its teachers to the New England Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), where they managed to qualify themselves as Quakers in good standing and then volunteered themselves for the committees that were regulating the school from which they were receiving their paychecks. In that way, the Quaker committees that are supposed to be in control of the school are actually now controlled by the school and do only their master’s bidding. When I made a request last year that anyone who had a potential “conflict of interest” (financial ties, etc.) recuse themselves, and no longer take part in the proceedings, I had been greeted with outraged

170. From the Wikipedia we learn that in the United States, the most notorious historical examples of regulatory capture are the Civil Aeronautics Board which protected airlines from competition, the Interstate Commerce Commission which restricted competition in transportation, and the Department of Agriculture which implements policies that are alleged to favor the interests of large corporate farming concerns over those of consumers and family farmers. The term is central in a stream of research that is often referred to as the economics of regulation, which is critical of earlier conceptualizations of regulatory intervention by governments as being motivated to protect public goods. Two cited references, which I have not yet consulted, are M.E. Levine and Forrence, J.L.’s 1990 paper “Regulatory capture, public interest, and the public agenda. Toward a synthesis” in the [Journal of Law Economics & Organization](#), 6: 167-198, and J.J. Laffont and Tirole, J.’s 1991 paper “The politics of government decision making. A theory of regulatory capture” in the [Quarterly Journal of Economics](#), 106(4): 1089-1127. Outside the United States government apparatus, the most notorious current example of regulatory capture happens to be the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations. That agency is presently paralyzed because the most vicious nations have insisted upon having seats there and influence there, and are using their seats and their influence to ensure that the Commission not do its job.



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stonewalling from the very people who have these conflicts of interest.¹⁷¹ They were in control and had every intention of staying in control. They even have it set up now so that they have veto power over any new nominations for their committees: nobody can even get nominated, let alone appointed, without the existing committee's explicit prior approval. My request that these individuals who had conflicts of interest identify themselves was met with the response that I was trying to pry into people's private affairs, something which I had no right to do. I was informed that although previously I had been considered to be a member of the Providence Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, and therefore a member of the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, I was not any longer to be considered to be a member. Reclassified as a non-member, I had sacrificed any right to interfere in the proceedings. I was to be a mere visitor, a mere attender.

[ASSLEY](#)



"Autobiography is only to be trusted when it reveals something disgraceful. A man who gives a good account of himself is probably lying, since any life when viewed from the inside is simply a series of defeats."



– Eric Arthur "[George Orwell](#)" Blair
(Although "[Benefit of Clergy: Some Notes on Salvador Dali](#)" was printed in THE SATURDAY BOOK FOR 1944, the publisher Hutchinson in its wisdom then cut the review physically from all copies prior to distribution).

October 18, Wednesday: A panel created by President Ruth Simmons of [Brown University](#) has suggested that the institution should atone for its ties to [slavery](#):

By PAM BELLUCK

BOSTON, Oct. 18 – Extensively documenting Brown University's 18th-century ties to slavery, a university committee called Wednesday for the institution to make amends by building a memorial, creating a center for the study of slavery and injustice and increasing efforts to recruit minority students, particularly from Africa and the West Indies.

The Committee on Slavery and Justice, appointed three years ago by Brown's president, Ruth J. Simmons, a great-granddaughter of slaves who is the first black president of an Ivy League institution, said in a report: "We cannot change the past. But an institution can hold itself accountable for the past, accepting its burdens and responsibilities along with its benefits and privileges."

The report added, "In the present instance this means

171. It is actually not difficult to demonstrate that these people have a conflict of interest which is determining their conduct. Whenever a proposal is considered, that the Moses Brown bequest not be treated as a valueless "externality" but instead be appraised for its current market value, and that the Yearly Meeting then provide an annual invoice to the School for its year's rented use of this valuable real estate commodity, these people begin to howl with outrage and interrupt every deliberation. –However, such a process of quantification and internalization of costs onto a balance sheet is at the very basis of unchallenged accounting practice and could be objected to only by a thief and a liar.



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acknowledging and taking responsibility for Brown's part in grievous crimes."

The committee did not call for outright reparations, an idea that has support among some African-Americans and was a controversial issue at Brown several years ago. But the committee's chairman, James T. Campbell, a history professor at Brown, said he believed the recommendations "are substantive and do indeed represent a form of repair."

The committee also recommended that the university publicly and persistently acknowledge its slave ties, including during freshmen orientation. Dr. Campbell said he believed that the recommendations, if carried out, would represent a more concrete effort than that of any other American university to make amends for ties to slavery.

"I think it is unprecedented," Dr. Campbell said, adding that a few other universities and colleges have established memorials, study programs or issued apologies, but not on the scale of the Brown recommendations. It was not clear how much the committee's recommendations would cost to carry out.

"We're not making a claim that somehow Brown is uniquely guilty," Dr. Campbell said. "I think we're making a claim that this is an aspect of our history that not anyone has fully come to terms with. This is a critical step in allowing an institution to move forward."

Even in the North, a number of universities have ties to slavery. Harvard Law School was endowed by money its founder earned selling slaves for the sugar cane fields of Antigua. And at Yale, three scholars reported in 2001 that the university relied on slave-trading money for its first scholarships, endowed professorship and library endowment.

Dr. Simmons issued a letter in response to the report, soliciting comments from the Brown community and saying she had asked for the findings to be discussed at an open forum. She declined to give her own reaction, saying, "When it is appropriate to do so, I will issue a university response to the recommendations and suggest what we might do."

She said "the committee deserves praise for demonstrating so steadfastly that there is no subject so controversial that it should not be submitted to serious study and debate."

Initial reaction to the recommendations seemed to be appreciative.

"It sounds to me like this makes sense," said Rhett S. Jones, a longtime professor of history and Africana studies at Brown. "I did not expect the committee would emerge saying, Well, you know, Brown should write a check."

"I never thought that was in the cards. I'm not sure I think it's even appropriate that a university write a check, even though it's pretty widely agreed on that Brown would not be where it is if it were not for slave money. These recommendations seem to me to be appropriate undertakings for the university."

Brown's ties to slavery are clear but also complex. The university's founder, the Rev. [James Manning](#), freed his only



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slave, but accepted donations from slave owners and traders, including the Brown family of [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#). At least one of the Brown brothers, [John Brown](#), a treasurer of the college, was an active slave trader, but another brother, [Moses Brown](#), became a Quaker abolitionist, although he ran a textile factory that used cotton grown with slave labor.

University Hall, which houses Dr. Simmons's office, was built by a crew with at least two slaves.

"Any institution in the United States that existed prior to 1865 was entangled in slavery, but the entanglements are particularly dense in Rhode Island," Dr. Campbell said, noting that the state was the hub through which many slave ships traveled.

The issue caused friction at Brown in 2001, when the student newspaper, the Brown Daily Herald, printed a full-page advertisement produced by a conservative writer, listing "Ten Reasons Why Reparations for Slavery Is a Bad Idea And Racist Too."

The advertisement, also run by other college newspapers, prompted protests by students who demanded that the paper pay "reparations" by donating its advertising fee or giving free advertising space to advocates of reparations.

The Brown committee was made up of 16 faculty members, students and administrators, and its research was extensive.

"The official history of Brown will have to be rewritten, entirely scrapped," said Omer Bartov, a professor on the committee who specializes in studying the Holocaust and genocide.

The report cites examples of steps taken by other universities: a memorial unveiled last year by the University of North Carolina, a five-year program of workshops and activities at Emory University, and a 2004 vote by the faculty senate of the University of Alabama to apologize for previous faculty members having whipped slaves on campus.

Katie Zezima contributed reporting.



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June 6, Wednesday: An attorney for a title company, Jeffrey A. St. Sauveur of the Pilgrim Title Insurance Company of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), advised the [Moses Brown School](#) that it “may want to consider a full title search ... to determine the exact status of the real estate from a title perspective.” He explained that it did appear from the chain of title deeds that title to the subject real estate is vested in Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, a corporation established by an act of the General Assembly of Rhode Island in October, 1823, subject to the restrictions and covenants set forth and referenced in the Deeds recorded in Book 43 at Page 400 and in Book 54 at Page 455 of the Land Evidence Records of the City of Providence. He commented that if the Yearly Meeting conveyed the subject property to a new School entity established for purposes of holding the real estate and operating such School in accordance with the Quaker tradition, this would not require any “Cy Pres” action, but that the conveyance would need to be treated as a Trust conveyance subject to Rhode Island General Laws §34-4-27, governing Trust conveyances: “This section provides for a simple statutory form of Memorandum of Trust; in this instance, I would anticipate the need to (i) confirm within the Memo that the Yearly Meeting has the authority to convey and (ii) attach the minutes/resolutions from the meeting authorizing the transfer. As we discussed, the new entity would own the real estate subject to the restrictions, covenants and conditions set forth in the Deed instruments.”

This legal opinion from a title attorney had been sought by the [Moses Brown School](#) in its ongoing effort to separate itself from any control by Quakers. It is apparently their presumption, that under this new School entity separate from the New England Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), it would be easier for them to continue their ongoing fraud in which an entirely lay college preparatory academy is being fronted as offering a Quaker education simply because it is making use of Quaker money, squatting upon Quaker property, without information as to this religion being integrated in any major manner into the school’s entirely vanilla instructional curriculum. Perhaps their conceit is that it will prove to be easier for them to “pack” this new entity with their moles, people who surreptitiously do their bidding while posing as [Quakers](#). Perhaps their conceit is that their “regulatory capture” and control of the board that is supposed to regulate them will under this new structure be more complete, and less likely to fall out of bed.

July: According to Minute 29 of the New England Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), when Head of School Joanne Hoffman, accompanied by staff members, alumni and overseers, presented the annual oral report of the [Moses Brown School](#) in [Rhode Island](#), she indicated that the institution had re-written its Mission Statement so that it now read, in its entirety, as follows:

Moses Brown, a Friends school, exists to inspire the promise of each student and to instill the utmost care for learning, people, and place.

According to Minute 30 of the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, the Permanent Board ad hoc Committee on Corporate Restructure, formed in 2002, had in 2006 appointed a small committee known as “The Project” to look into the relationship between the Yearly Meeting and the Moses Brown School, and this committee having met together over a period of ten months facilitated by Arthur Larrabee, currently General Secretary of the Pacific Yearly Meeting, had arrived at the following four recommendations to be presented to the Yearly Meeting:



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- That the New England Yearly Meeting and Moses Brown School establish a caring and nurturing relationship.
- That the title to all real estate used by the school be transferred into a new corporate entity.
- That the expectations of the roles and policies of the Overseers be clarified.
- That the school and the yearly meeting undertake to address the concerns of Providence Monthly Meeting with respect to these recommendations.

According to Minute 60 of the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Richard Frechette (Smith), the incoming clerk of the Permanent Board, reported on a threshing session recently held on concerns over the proposed recommendations for the relationship of the New England Yearly Meeting with the Moses Brown School, put forward by the Permanent Board based on the work of the small committee known as “The Project.” It became clear that the recommendations put forward by the Permanent Board did not speak to the condition of the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends as a body. A strong desire was expressed, to do something to improve or alter this relationship, and “to carefully discern the responsibilities that have been laid on us by the initial trust from Friend Moses Brown, our own neglect as a body of our responsibilities to this trust, and to the present mix of passionate support, deep disappointment, and desire for a relationship that works for both NEYM and Moses Brown School.”

According to Minute 72 of the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Nancy Haines reported on the work of a group of Friends who had met recently to continue discernment on the relationship between the New England Yearly Meeting and the Moses Brown School, that had made the following three recommendations (Friends approved):

- That NEYM appoint an ad hoc committee to examine the original deed of trust and to determine whether we are fulfilling the terms of that trust.
- That NEYM establish an ad hoc nurture and care committee consisting of 12 members: 6 appointed by NEYM; four appointed by the MBS Board of Overseers; the Head of School; and the School’s Friends Education Coordinator. The Clerk of the committee shall be appointed by the Yearly Meeting. This committee will continue the work of fostering understanding and appreciation between the school and the YM, and of building up the trust relationship between NEYM and Moses Brown School that has already begun.
- That NEYM and Moses Brown School undertake to address the concerns of [Providence](#) Monthly Meeting in order to strengthen the relationship between that meeting and the nearby school.

August 1, Wednesday: The Ad Hoc Moses Brown School Project delivered its report to the New England Yearly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). This report contained a tendentious legal falsehood, to wit:

By transferring title to the MBS land and buildings to a new corporation, NEYM would not be giving up a valuable asset that it could otherwise sell or use to raise funds for the Yearly Meeting. The Yearly Meeting holds title to the Moses Brown School property pursuant to an 1827 deed from Moses Brown’s trustees. That deed conveys the property to the Yearly Meeting for the sole use and purpose of erecting buildings for a school and maintaining a school for the religious, moral, and literary education of the rising generation of Friends and other students. The income and profits of the property are to be used solely for that purpose. As a result, while the Moses Brown



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School property might be valuable for development or other purposes, such profitable uses could not be made without a breach of the deed and the Moses Brown trust. The proposed conveyance to a new School corporation would be subject to the same trust. It has been suggested Moses Brown School should pay NEYM for the property, thereby providing funds for the Yearly Meeting's use. This would be impermissible both legally and morally. It would divert funds from use for the educational purposes of Moses Brown's gift to use for other Yearly Meeting purposes, and would do so in plain violation of the deed and trust requirements that all income from the gifted property are to be used for school purposes "and for no other use or purpose whatever." In short, there is no prospect that the School property is an asset that the Yearly meeting could use to raise funds for any other purpose.

The tendentious legal falsehood that is contained in the above quotation from the project's report is, that it creates a false opposition between a [Moses Brown School in Providence, Rhode Island](#) that is operating in fulfilment of the covenant established by Friend Moses Brown, to provide a guarded environment in which a Quaker education might be offered to Quaker youth, on the one hand, versus, on the other hand, a New England Yearly meeting that is seeking to dishonor that covenant by converting the estate entrusted to it by Friend Moses Brown to purposes other than that of providing a guarded environment in which a Quaker education is offered to Quaker youth. The facts are precisely the opposite. These words, in the above quotation, are magic words designed to confuse, and by confusion intercept the Quakers from doing precisely what it is their obligation to do. If there is anything "guarded" about the educational experience available at the School, it is that the lay students are presently being shielded from learning anything whatever about the history and trajectory of the Quakers (other than would be found in the educational curriculum of any lay college-preparatory academy). Quakerism in this school has effectively been ghettoized into, at most, one elective no-grade course offered when convenient to some graduating seniors. The Moses Brown School has been dishonoring the covenant by converting the estate entrusted to the New England Yearly Meeting by Friend Moses Brown, big time, long term, to purposes other than that of providing a guarded environment in which a Quaker education is offered to Quaker youth. It is the New England Yearly Meeting's obligation, therefore, to remove that trust from the control of the Moses Brown School in order finally to devote the assets of that trust to their intended purpose, that of providing a guarded environment in which a Quaker education is offered to Quaker youth. The objective might be accomplished in a number of ways:

1. The New England Yearly Meeting might evict the Moses Brown School from the premises as part of returning this collection of acreage and structures to its trust purpose.
2. The New England Yearly Meeting might invoice the Moses Brown School for the annual rent value on the open market of the premises, and use this rental money to fund the expenses of a new school located elsewhere, that would provide a guarded environment in which a Quaker education is offered to Quaker youth.
3. The Moses Brown School might elect to purchase the acreage and structures it presently occupies from their owner, the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, at its current fair value on the open market, so that the Quakers might set up a trust account of investments, the proceeds from which would be available exclusively for the sole purpose of providing a guarded environment in which a Quaker education is offered to Quaker youth.

The one thing that is legally impermissible is the only thing that the project's report regards as legally



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permissible, that the trust of Friend Moses Brown continue to be diverted to purposes other than its original intent.

The one thing that is legally mandatory is the very thing that the project's report regards as legally impermissible, that the New England Yearly Meeting belatedly begin to fulfil its pledge to devote these assets to their original intent.

You will note the term "tendentious" above. The report of the project is tendentious, very specifically, in that it offers that it would be legally impermissible to sell off the asset, whereas in fact as is well known, the Moses Brown School has in previous years already been selling off portions of the asset, to wit, dividing it into parcels along surrounding Hope Street, Olney Avenue, and Arlington Avenue, and selling off these parcels to the city of Providence or to the highest bidder. The report alleges, therefore, and alleges falsely and tendentiously, that it would be impermissible to do with the entire asset what the School has already been doing with portions of the asset. This is a fundamental and plain attempt at obfuscation –a pretense by people who have been converting property that does not belong to them that it would be impermissible for its owner to do precisely the same thing– and calls into question the honesty of this group's recommendations.

There is a current question, of what happened to the money that they obtained from the sale of these peripheral portions of the trust estate along Hope, along Olney, and along Arlington. If this money was placed in a trust fund and preserved, with the income from this trust fund going to the support of the School, then the conversion may have been proper; if, however, this money has evaporated, then what has happened legally qualifies either as incompetence or as Grand Theft — although presumably the Statute of Limitations for Grand Theft would by now have rendered criminal penalties no longer an option, and civil penalties the only available mode of restitution.

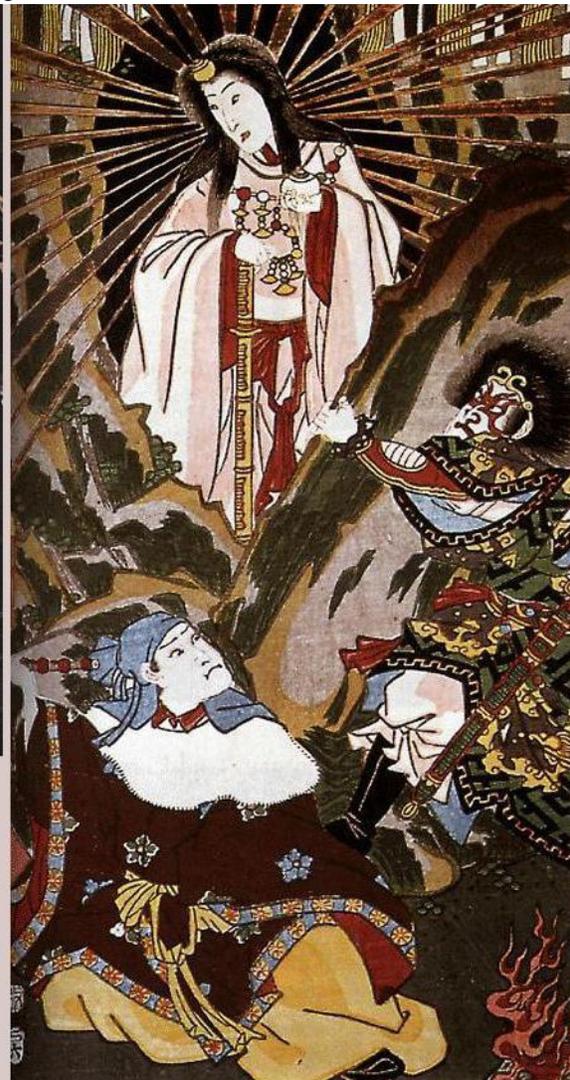
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October 31, Wednesday: An item in the [New York Times](#) reminded me of the situation of the [Quakers](#) at today's [Moses Brown School](#). It seems there is this shrine in Ise between [Kyoto](#) and [Tokyo](#), at the start of the 4th Century, that is now a center of pilgrimage for Shintoism. It is a shrine dedicated to Amaterasu, the sun goddess who is the spiritual ancestor of the imperial family. Japanese who visit this shrine, since 1707, have been able to take a "mochi" or glutinous rice cake in red bean jam back home, as a sweet present for their loved ones. The confection has been being made fresh each day for 300 years by Akafuku, a firm run by one family for eleven successive generations. Recently Akafuku has been revealed by a whistleblower to have been seriously cheating, for decades, on the freshness of its daily Akafukumochi package for pilgrims, a package with a picture of the shrine on its lid. The current manager denied that these mochi confections, which were supposedly being made fresh each night, might actually be recycled from a previous day's leftovers, or might be frozen and thawed. Then he was forced to reveal the truth. The doors of the firm are shuttered as of this 300th birthday with an apology pasted upon them, and their website has been taken down and replaced by an apology. The shutters may never reopen. Kenichi Yano, a retired priest from this Shinto shrine, has just attempted to explain the matter to the news media: "The purer something is, the dirtier it will become."



"The purer something is, the dirtier it will become."



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2009

May 17, Sunday: There was an “informational session”¹⁷² at 7PM at the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) Monthly Meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), in regard to incorporation of the [Moses Brown School](#):

Fifth Month 2009

To: Friends in the New England Yearly Meeting family:

Re: Proposed Moses Brown School incorporation and invitation to 5/17/2009 Informational Session, 6:30pm Providence Meetinghouse

For several years, Yearly Meeting has discussed and prayed over its relationship with Moses Brown School (MBS). Many Friends recognized that corporate restructure was probably needed for the benefit of the School as well as of NEYM. The matter of liability has been an issue widely discussed, as have the legal and logistical problems presented because of the unusual corporate relationships of NEYM and its unincorporated operating divisions (including MBS, Friends Home and Friends Camp). At the same time, Friends recognized that Yearly Meeting may not have adequately lived up to its responsibility regarding the gift of deed of Moses Brown to NEYM.

At Sessions last year, Friends directed Permanent Board to “discern whether it is necessary to create a new corporate structure to ensure, as Friend Moses Brown mandated” the continued effective governance of the school, given the financial and legal realities of today. (Minute 57).

Permanent Board in turn determined that prospective by-laws of an incorporated School would serve as the principle tool to insure such effective governance. Hence, Permanent Board and Moses Brown School Board of Overseers jointly created an ad hoc committee to draft said by-laws. The draft was presented to Permanent Board at our March 21 meeting, and the following minute resulted:

Minute 09-20: On behalf of the ad-hoc Moses Brown School by-laws committee (which consisted of Russell Carpenter, Richard Frechette, Habib Gorgi, Joanne Hoffman, Christopher McCandless, James Reavis and Betsy Zimmerman), Richard Frechette presented the latest draft of the by-laws, which address comments of Permanent Board members. These are a necessary part of a recommendation to incorporate the Moses Brown School. We approve the proposed by-laws. We will recommend to sessions that MBS become incorporated. We understand that these by-laws call us to a deeper nurture of and engagement with the school. They affirm our mutual goal of Quaker education for all, including Quaker children and poor children. We trust the Committee for Nurturing Friends Education at Moses Brown School will ensure

172. Notice, please, that what “informational session” means is “we’re not asking you, we’re telling you.”



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continuing evaluation and growth.

It is the sense of the Permanent Board that the draft by-laws of the prospective Moses Brown School corporation:

- Continues and deepens the relationship of NEYM and Moses Brown School, both immediately and for the long term;
- Requires that Quaker process be followed in the conduct of business;
- Establishes a permanent mechanism jointly subscribe to by MBS and NEYM to continually evaluate how Moses Brown School will provide a Quaker Education.

While Permanent Board has discerned the appropriateness of this change, we recognize that the change is major and demands careful discernment on the part of our full Yearly Meeting family, and that such discernment should begin in advance of Sessions. Hence we are distributing the draft by-laws now for review, which can be downloaded from the Yearly Meeting website, neym.org <<http://neym.org/mbs/mbs-bylaws.html>>. For those unconnected to the internet and unable to obtain a copy from a f/Friend, please contact the Yearly Meeting office for a paper copy.

Permanent Board, jointly with the Moses Brown School administration, will sponsor a discussion session focused on the proposed change and the draft by-laws, to be held at the Providence Friends Meetinghouse, 99 Morris Ave. Providence on Sunday evening May 17. We will have refreshments and fellowship at 6:30PM, and begin formal discussion at 7:00PM.

In peace,
Richard Frechette, Clerk of Permanent Board

“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY



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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: August 30, 2014



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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, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process 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 requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.



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