CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF MOSES BROWN SCHOOL

PORTSMOUTH 1784-1788 PROVIDENCE 1819-1919

Moses Brown

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1819-1919

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

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"To the worthies who saw with anointed eyes
Down the stretch of time, and whose quickened ears
Were alert to the call of the far off years,
Who matched their deed
To the coming need
And whose names to-day we would canonize."

—J. ELLWOOD PAIGE,
at meeting of New York Alumni, 1905

"In and out let the young life as steadily flow
As in broad Narragansett the tides come and go;
And its sons and its daughters in prairie and town
Remember its honor, and guard its renown."

—JOHN G. WHITTIER, *The Quaker Alumni*
at meeting of Alumni Association, Newport, R. I., 1860

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TO

THOMAS JESSE BATTEY

THE MASTER AT WHOSE FEET EAGER DISCIPLES HAVE LISTENED
AND LEARNED DURING HALF THE CENTURY
RECKONED IN THIS TALE

THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY IS
AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

PREFACE.

Rising from the task of compiling this history the sentiment uppermost in my mind is one of gratitude for the privilege of doing the work. Called from other pressing duties, that were relinquished somewhat regretfully, I found the new task pleasant and profitable to an unexpected degree.

The happy summer spent at Moses Brown School can never be forgotten. To the pleasure of my association there with the present officers of the school was added the inspiration of communion, through the channels of history, with the ancient worthies who founded it. To the former I offer my sincere thanks, and to the latter the vows of an enthralled devotee.

Thomas J. Battey, to whom this volume is dedicated, was an indispensable adviser in the work. Lois Anna Greene, of the second graduating class of the school, was my most painstaking and helpful critic. Norman Penney, as on former occasions, generously furnished materials from the Friends' Library in Devonshire House, London. Seth K. Gifford and Mary Amy Gifford, Daniel C. Maxfield and Alice W. Maxfield, and Charles Sisson were helpful to me at all stages of the work. They belong to "the great society of encouragers." Augustine Jones, Francis Barton Gummere and Amelia Mott Gummere, Rufus M. Jones and Elizabeth B. Jones were among my valued critics. Many others, not mentioned on this page, are gratefully remembered as co-workers in the project of the Centennial History.

Finally I may be allowed to testify that only the constant and efficient help of my wife, Naomi Binford Kelsey, made it possible to finish the work within the allotted time.

RAYNER W. KELSEY.

HAVERFORD, PENNSYLVANIA,
January 1, 1919.

CONTENTS.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE greatest day in the history of New England Quakerism was, I feel sure, the day when this school, situated on its noble hill-top overlooking Narragansett, first opened its doors to the tiny group of scholars which by continual additions has become through the years a great host. I can never think of that momentous event without a sense of awe, because so many lives have been changed forever in all their dimensions through the influences of the institution which was born on that day.

"Humanly speaking," Emerson says, "the school and college make the difference between men." He finely continues: "All the fairy tales of Aladdin or the invisible Gyges or the talisman that opens kings' palaces or the enchanted halls underground or in the sea, are only fictions to indicate the one miracle of intellectual enlargement. When a man stupid becomes a man inspired, when one and the same man passes out of the torpid into the perceiving state, leaves the din of trifles, the stupor of the senses, to enter into the quasi-omniscience of high thought—up and down, around, all limits disappear. No horizon shuts down."

For a hundred years this school has been rendering some such service as that, has in fact been working that Aladdin miracle, for multitudes of boys and girls, who but for it would have gone through life with the horizon shut down around them in a far more contracted circle. Many can say of this school what Clement of Alexandria said of his teacher: "It engendered in us a deathless element of truth," and so made

us other persons than we should have been without the awakening and the inspiration.

Two names are forever woven into the very fabric of Quaker educational history in the period before this school was born—Dr. John Fothergill and Moses Brown. In an earlier dispensation Moses came before John, but in this historical process John came before Moses, though not by a long interval—*non longo intervallo*. The famous English doctor had the genius to see that the creation of a central Quaker boarding school was the most constructive step the Society of Friends in his day could take and he employed his extraordinary gifts toward this end. His letters and papers on Quaker Education at once awakened the leaders of Quaker thought on this side of the Atlantic, for every part of the Quaker world was at that time sensitive to what was happening in every other part. In fact, Moses Brown was already charged with the same current and ready to respond instantly. As the currents of two electrodes, which touch the ground ever so far apart, unerringly find each other across all the stretch of intervening earth, so John Fothergill's discharged current met an immediate reaction from the corresponding electrode in Providence. Ackworth School was opened in 1779. Already two years before this, while Fothergill was outlining his project, Moses Brown was put on a committee to produce a plan for the education of the children of New England Yearly Meeting. By 1784 the plan was matured and the New England Boarding School was opened at Portsmouth. The story of its financial failure and suspension after four years is well told in this History. So also is well told the splendid story of Moses Brown's faith and patient persistence, crowned at length with success in

the great venture made one hundred years ago in Providence.

It is well nigh impossible to do full justice in any History to the successive leaders and teachers who have marked the constructive periods in the development of an institution. It is a mission and a service which more or less defies and eludes the scribe. Great teachers have little external history to record. Their lives go over into other lives. "God doth with them as we with candles do; not light them for themselves." They burn out to kindle some fresh flame and their biography is difficult to catch and put into permanent words. The really important thing after all is this—that the contributive lives of the principals and teachers and Committee Friends in the historic development of this hundred years have not only had a profound influence upon the characters of the long succession of scholars, but they have as well builded their contribution forever into the very structure of the institution itself as a permanent gift. The prophet on Patmos saw that the person who overcame and won out in the struggle had for his finest reward the consciousness of being builded forever as a pillar into the structure of the temple of God to go no more out, to be henceforth a permanent part of the unending revelation of God. There are such pillars in the intimate structure of this school. They will go no more out. They are more essential to it than its stones or its beams and whether their names are named by the boys and girls of a later date or not, they will continue to be a kindling force and a revealing power:

"Part of the necessary air men breathe."

This elusive thing we call "atmosphere," or sometimes

"spirit," is no "cunningly devised fable." No doubt some of those who pass through the school and sit on its benches fail to discover this invisible *aura* which is so real a feature of the place. They learn to say "some of all, please" at the table; they tramp through the halls to classes; they help carry the ball down the field; but they do not see the long row of torch bearers stretching back to Moses; they do not hear the quick and vital words of the dead prophets of the place; they do not notice that something unseen warms and stimulates the blood where they are as happens almost nowhere else. Those, however, who have eyes to see and ears to hear enter into the priceless heritage and share the slow accumulation of the past. A fair exterior is never enough to make a great school. No more can greatness be attained by piling up equipment, though equipment surely counts for much. Method and discipline alone cannot achieve the end, though chaos comes if they are wanting. This thing which I am calling the "spirit" of the place, the soul of the institution, is absolutely essential. If *that* once slips away and vanishes no adventitious successes can ever make up for that loss of inner spirit. The great outstanding feature, then, I hold, of these hundred years of life has been the formation of a deep, inward spirit which lives within and pervades the school and which is the life of its life, the soul of its being.

What the school has meant to the religious Society which created it and guided it, no words can adequately tell. Its life has constantly flowed back and revivified the body that gave it birth. It has not aimed primarily to train ministers or to equip leaders, but here nevertheless within its walls ministers and leaders have been silently, unconsciously prepared. It was not built for

the stimulation of emotional zeal nor intended to be a nursery for saints, and yet it has rekindled faith for many; it has widened their religious outlook; it has given greater spaciousness to their religious conceptions; it has constructed them in the truth; it has deepened their central loyalty and made them see that a life of service is a life of joy, and thus it has given them back with an immense spiritual increment in their lives to bless the Church which laid its broad foundations. We speak now a somewhat altered vocabulary from that familiar to John and Moses when they were planning the new epoch, and we have done *some* things they would not like, but if they could see into the spirit of things, as in their higher sphere they probably can, they would declare that their instrument for the promotion of truth has proved far more effective for its purpose than they dreamed in their most exuberant hopes.

I have dwelt much, perhaps unduly, upon the religious aspect of the school, but that is only one out of many of the impressive aspects of the complex life of the institution we love. Its hundred years have been full of rich life, and *life* can never be lifted up into the light by one thread alone of its intricate web. It would have been, for example, quite possible to have filled up all my available space with instances of humor that play about the place, for life is never complete without humor, and fortunately it has always smuggled into this Quaker fold and added its gleam to the radiance here. From Enoch Breed—who, when asked in the days of his white hair, if he were Methusaleh, replied from under his broad brim; "No, I am not Methusaleh, I am *Enoch*"—through the long administration of Augustine Jones, charged to his fingertips with native

humor and almost as full of good stories as Abraham Lincoln was, down to that rare soul Charles Jacob, who so recently left us forever poorer by his absence, there has always been a spice and flavor of good humor playing through the life of the school. This last named, almost too dear and sacred to be mentioned in a public manner, stands out as a shining figure at the end of the long list of worthies on our beadroll. He was one of the best of teachers, one of the purest of men, one of the most unselfish of workers and, though perhaps few knew it, possessed of inimitable humor and a play of mind and spirit which made him an unsurpassed friend and companion. He was so modest that he would not expect to be even mentioned among the heroes of the centennial, but I want to put his name here at the end as one of the best types the school has produced among its graduates and as one of the most beautiful characters in its fine galaxy of teachers who, having turned many to righteousness, shine as the stars forever and ever.

RUFUS M. JONES.

HAVERFORD, PENNSYLVANIA,
December 2, 1918.

CHAPTER I.

The Background.

At the time of the founding of the American colonies England had no specific educational legislation to serve as precedent for the New World. The nearest the mother country had come to such provision was in her poor-relief laws which culminated in 1601, just at the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign and at the threshold of English colonization in America. At that time it seems that only about half the population of England had sufficient income to supply actual sustenance. A part of the remedy provided for this situation was the enactment of apprenticeship laws, by which all children of indigent parents were to be placed under the care of masters who were to teach them a trade. The provision by the state for this type of trade-teaching is an interesting antecedent of modern public schools of commerce, business and domestic art.

Among the English colonies in America those of the south were the more backward in their educational development during the colonial period. The well-to-do had family tutors or patronized small private schools. The children of the poor had some opportunity for practical training through the system of apprenticeship.

In the middle colonies many schools were developed under the direct patronage of the church. The Reformed Dutch Church in New Netherland, the Friends, Lutherans and other sects of Pennsylvania, were careful to provide schooling under denominational control.

In New England, the most progressive section of all,

the church had great influence over the early school system because of its influence in the councils of the state in general.

At a very early period in New England a progressive development of the old apprentice system took place through the provision that masters should teach apprentices not only a trade but some rudiments of a literary education. By an order of 1642 the General Court of Massachusetts provided that all parents and masters should teach their children and apprentices "to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country," as well as to train them in a useful trade. This basic idea spread throughout New England and to the colony of New York. In later enactments it was often provided specifically that the children should be taught reading, writing and arithmetic. If any master was unable to give suitable instruction in these branches the apprentice might be sent to school at his expense or transferred to a more educated master. This in general was the extension of the apprentice system developed in New England and to a degree it was the forerunner of the compulsory education laws of the present day.

Another act of Massachusetts, passed in 1647, provided that, "Every township of fifty householders . . . shall . . . appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to read and write. . . . Where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth . . . for the university." This is another great step forward. The act of 1642 provided that children should be taught. That of 1647 provided the schools in which they should be taught in default

of home teaching. By the later act it was provided that the wages of the schoolmaster might be paid by the patrons of the school, whether parents or masters, or by the public at large through taxes. Both methods were tried in the beginning, but by the time of the Revolution practically all the towns of Massachusetts were supporting their schools by public funds.

From the standpoint of later development it is clear that the acts passed by the Massachusetts General Court in 1642 and 1647 were the groundwork for the later public school system of the United States.

While New Hampshire and Connecticut followed measurably in the progressive path opened by the Bay State, yet Rhode Island was more backward. This was largely because of the slow growth of population, and the separation of church and state with the consequent lack of church interest in the development of public schools. Certain towns, such as Providence and Newport, made some provision for the establishment of schools, but no state system of education came into being during the colonial period.

John Howland, a barber of Providence, is looked upon as the founder of the public school system of Rhode Island. As a result of the activities of this man of vision and a small group of his friends the state legislature in 1800 passed the first general education law for the state. Only Providence, however, took advantage of the law and the real foundation for the later public school system was another general law passed in 1828.[1]

In the city of Providence, however, great efforts were made by a few men during the latter half of the eight-

[1] The chief authorities for the above account are: *Cyclopedia of Education*, II, 115–118; W. H. Tolman, *History of Higher Education in Rhode Island*, 13–30.

eenth century to establish a public school system, efforts with which Moses Brown was prominently connected. After many discouraging delays four schools were established in 1800 with an aggregate attendance of nine hundred and eighty-eight pupils. In 1819 two more schools were added, making a total of six public schools in operation when the Friends' Boarding School was opened in the city.[2]

Aside from the public or semi-public schools in various towns several private schools or academies and a college were founded during the period under review. The University Grammar School was opened at Warren in 1764 and the next year Rhode Island College, later Brown University, began its career in the same town; both institutions were removed to Providence in 1770. In 1802 Washington Academy was established at North Kingston, and in the same year Kent Academy, later called East Greenwich Academy, began its long and useful career in its present location overlooking Greenwich Bay. Smithfield Academy was established at Union Village in 1810. In 1819 Pettiquamscutt Academy, later Kingston Academy, was opened at Kingston. This school had been founded in the latter part of the eighteenth century but its early history is obscure.[3]

Reviewing the progress of education in early American history it may be said then that by the close of the Revolution no general system of public schools had developed. The north had progressed much farther than the south. Many schools under direct denominational control existed in the middle colonies. Several states of New England, notably Massachusetts, had

[2] T. B. Stockwell, *History of Public Education in Rhode Island*, 131–162.
[3] W. H. Tolman, *History of Higher Education in Rhode Island*, 33–75.

laid real foundations for a public school system. Rhode Island lagged behind her sister states although a few towns were beginning to feel their way forward. In Providence six public schools and a college were in operation by 1819 and several private academies had been founded in various parts of the state.

Such was the educational background against which Friends' Boarding School appeared when it opened its doors at Providence on the first day of the year 1819.

CHAPTER II.

BEGINNINGS.

THE historical basis of the Quaker school system is commonly found in George Fox's action (1668) in setting up schools for teaching "whatsoever thinges was civill & usefull in ye creation." The general idea of denominational education was, of course, much older than this.

Throughout the Middle Ages the church practically monopolized learning and teaching. The judicial test for finding out whether a man was a clergyman was to discover whether he could read and write: hence our modern word "clerk," which originally meant merely "cleric" or "clergyman." When the Reformation came the reformers felt the need of having their own schools for the defense and upbuilding of the true faith.

So Friends early rallied to the idea of having their children taught under Friendly influence. Whether they were taught at home under private tutors, or sent to school, or placed out as apprentices it was desired that the teachers and masters be of the Friendly faith.

The serious purpose of Friends in this matter is seen in the following advice given by London Yearly Meeting in 1690: "And Dear Friends, It is our Christian and Earnest Advice and Counsel to all Friends concerned, So 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 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 the Simplicity of it."

The same "concern" for children who were to be taught a trade under the apprentice system is voiced in an advice of 1697: "It being under Consideration, how Friends Children might be Disposed of that are trained up in the Way of Truth, and fit to be put forth Apprentices; It's the Advice and Counsel of Friends, that special Care be taken to put them Apprentices to honest Friends, that they may be preserved in the Way of Truth."[1]

These Advices of London Yearly Meeting long served as guiding principles for Friends in America. The policy set forth above was therefore early followed in the Yearly Meetings of the New World and later embodied in their own Advices and Disciplines. In some of the more conservative Yearly Meetings of the present day the Query is still to be found, whether Friends' children are educated or trained under the care and influence of Friends.

The logical result of the "concern" thus set forth was the establishment of Friends' schools in England. As noticed above, George Fox early advocated the founding of schools, and by 1671 at least fifteen Quaker boarding schools were in operation. In 1702 a school for poor boys was established at Clerkenwell by London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting, and in 1779 the famous Ackworth School in Yorkshire was established

[1] For above quotations see *Christian and Brotherly Advices of London Yearly Meeting* (MS. copy of 1756 in Moses Brown School vault), pp. 40, 42. See also *same*, pp. 41, 253, 254, 331.

by London Yearly Meeting for poor children of both sexes.

In America many small private schools were established by groups of Friends conveniently located for the support of common teachers for their children. Other schools grew up under the patronage or immediate oversight of Friends' meetings. The Friends' Public School of Philadelphia, now called The William Penn Charter School, was founded in 1689 and received its first charter from William Penn in 1701. Toward the end of the eighteenth century the boarding school idea took root among Friends. The first experiment of New England Friends was in the Portsmouth school, 1784–1788, to be described later. New York Friends founded a school at Nine Partners in 1796, and the well-known school at Westtown, Pennsylvania, first opened its doors in 1799. Other Yearly Meetings, east and west, established primary and secondary schools at various times. Some of them developed into the Quaker colleges of the present. Many have gone down before the onward march of the public school system. A few of the older ones, more adequately equipped and endowed, continue the beneficent work envisaged by their founders.[2]

Friends of New England were faithful adherents of the idea of a guarded education under the care of "faithful Friends." A treasured transcript of the "advices" of London Yearly meeting was duly and consistently translated into practice.

In a session of New England Yearly Meeting held at Newport in 1708 a "Testimony" was issued that contained the following: "That Friends do their en-

[2] *Cyclopedia of Education*, II, 714–717. See also *History of Education in the Society of Friends*, York, England, 1855.

deavors to gett Friends School-masters or Mistresses. And in want of Such to have their children Taught att home. Not send them to Such as are not Friends because of the Danger of being Corrupted with the hurtfull Conversation of Other Youth, or other wise."

That the "Testimony" was observed by subordinate meetings is vouched for by the report of Salem Quarterly Meeting that it had decided "to restrain all Friends belonging to that quarterly meeting from sending their children to the Presbyterian Schools or to learn in their books."[3]

The testimony of New England Friends was, however, not merely negative. In 1684 Rhode Island Monthly Meeting recorded that "Upon the Request and desire of Christian Loddewick to have the yous of the meeting hous in Newport for keeping of a scoole: friends upon Consideratione and desire to doe him good doe grant it and all soe are willing to give him what Incoragement theye Cann." In 1703: "Abraham Anthony is Desird to Enquire after a scoole-master and Endevor to gett one heare." Later in the same year: "John Warner, a ffriendly man (a stranger Lately Coming ffrom north Caralina presented a Certificate ffrom theare Quarterly meeting; & proposed to Bee Imployed as a Scoolemaster. This meeting hath: Appoynted Abraham Anthony and John Easton, Junr. to Assist him & procure what Scolers they Can ffor his Incuragement: & yt hee ffirst Begin to Keepe Scoole at portsmoth meeting house or Else wheare as Abraham Anthony & John Easton Shall with Advise Thinck nessasarey & most Convenient."[4]

During the eighteenth century, then, the Friends of

[3] New England Yearly Meeting MS. *Minutes, 1683–1787*, pp. 44, 97.
[4] Rhode Island Monthly Meeting MS. *Minutes, 1676–1707*, pp. 42, 138, 139.

New England Yearly Meeting were carrying out the Quaker idea of a guarded education. In home tutoring, apprentice education, and in small local schools maintained by private patronage or by the encouragement of local Meetings a serious endeavor was made to secure Friends as teachers and to train the children in the Quaker mode of life.[5]

Yet was the progress slow and spasmodic, indeed at times the hands on the dial seemed to be turned back. At such a time of discouragement and need a woman Friend, Rachel Thayer, in a will approved February 23, 1767, established a fund that was destined to have a far-reaching effect. This fund was left to Smithfield Monthly Meeting to be used "for the support and schooling of the poor, or any other public use or uses the said Monthly Meeting shall see fit." It would seem that the income of the fund was not used strictly for educational purposes for a few years.

In the meantime, however, another event of momentous import occurred. In 1774 Moses Brown, heretofore a Baptist, became a "convinced" Friend and joined Smithfield Monthly Meeting of which Providence was a part. At a later time he wrote that he was at once "sorrowfully affected to find our discipline in regard to promoting of Schools so Neglected."[6] That he was

[5] The status of local schools in Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting in 1801 is given very fully in the document printed as Appendix C of this volume.

[6] The low state of education among Friends of New England at this period is clearly pictured in the letter above mentioned: "I was sorrowfully affected to find our discipline in regard to promoting of Schools, so neglected that there was not one to be found under the regulation of friends, and but few friends who were School Masters, but the Children most generally who got any Learning were sent to other schools for it, but a concern has since arose in the yearly meeting to a considerable degree of ammendment, and the monthly meetings are advised to have School Committees appointed to Incourage Schools amongst friends, but

not content to let things rest as they were perhaps accounts largely for the fact that in 1777 the subject of schools was revived and it was decided that the income of the Rachel Thayer fund ought to be devoted entirely to education. A committee for the purpose was appointed and Job Scott[7] was engaged "to teach a School at the Lower Meeting house in Smithfield, to be paid Eighty hard dollars, or an equivalent in Cloathing, or Other things, for One Year, to be paid Quarterly, and his bord to be found."[8]

the great Neglect of Education before, owing I believe to a mistaken apprehention that because Learning did not Quallify to the Gospel Ministry, and other professors erred on this hand friends were carried to an other extream, to think lightly of it as a quallification Useful in Society." The reference to "Society" is to the Society of Friends and he goes on to relate that in some meetings it was impossible to find enough members properly qualified to carry on the business of the meeting. Continuing he says: "The general Method of our Education now is, for Neighborhoods to hire a person a few months in the winter season to Teach School, the greater part of those thus hired are not able to teach with the propriety, or Accuracy of a Teacher, they having but a bare Quallification to do common business, and some not even this; there are but very few places where Schools are kept up the year round, so that by the time the season for Schooling comes round many Children, loose a Considerable part of what was before taught them. Many meetings are so scattered, as to the local Situation of their Members, that the Children can't be collected but in small numbers, which makes the hiring of so many Masters prove more expensive than their Abilities admit of in many places."—Draft of letter, Moses Brown to David Barclay, England, Mar. 15, 1787, in *Moses Brown Papers* (R. I. Hist. Soc.), vol. VI, Nos. 1474–1475, p. 3.

[7] Job Scott, judging from his published works, was one of the most voluminous writers among Friends of that period. Another school teacher of the same neighborhood was Elisha Thornton, an eloquent preacher. He was a member of the Smithfield School Committee and later, as a member of the Meeting for Sufferings, active in establishing the Yearly Meeting School at Portsmouth.

[8] Smithfield School Committee MS. *Minutes*, p. 7: It is of interest to note that scholars who were not Friends might be admitted to this school. *Minutes*, p. 10: The school was continued with vicissitudes and intermissions for some years. Later the fund was used at times to send children to other schools, including the Yearly Meeting Boarding School at Providence after 1819.

This school, which continued for some years, is an example of the Monthly Meeting School of the period, but it is more than that. Moses Brown was a member and the clerk of the committee in charge of the school. He and others on the committee, after their experience in starting the school at Smithfield, began to get greater visions of the duty of New England Friends in the field of education. As a result, it was from Smithfield Monthly Meeting that the original impulse came that resulted in the Yearly Meeting School at Portsmouth, and later at Providence.

At this time in Pennsylvania there was in progress an agitation of the school question that was to result in the establishment of Westtown School in 1799. In 1777 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting spent some time in "Consideration of the sorrowful Complaint of Deficiency in the religious Care, & Education of the youth," and as a result passed the following minute: "A lively Concern impressed our Minds for the Advancement of Righteousness and the real benefit of the rising Generation, both with respect to their pious Education, in Friends' Families, and also their School Education." In 1778 a very full and "weighty" report on education was made to the Yearly Meeting by a special committee, and in the epistle to New England the same subject was recommended to the "deep & serious Attention" of Friends there.[9]

Given the interest in schools aroused in Smithfield monthly Meeting by Rachel Thayer's bequest and the resulting school kept by Job Scott; add the enlarging vision of Moses Brown and his colleagues on the school committee; add again the impulse from the news of

[9] Phila. Yearly Meeting MS. *Minutes, 1747–1779*, pp. 380–381, 408–410; also box containing epistles, *Epistle to New England*, endorsed "Copied & sent to Moses Brown 1 mo. 23, 1779."

similar stirrings among Friends of Pennsylvania; result, the following minute of Smithfield Monthly Meeting held March 25, 1779: "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 appear 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."[10]

When the matter was brought before Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting the following month the subject did indeed appear to have "weight enough" to warrant carrying it to the Yearly meeting which was to meet in June of the same year.

Dark and difficult days were those of 1779 in the midst of the War for Independence. Food was scarce, business was stagnant, and the country flooded with depreciated paper money. Many of the more prosperous Friends of New England, merchants and traders,

[10] Smithfield Monthly Meeting MS. *Minutes, 1763–1780,* p. 208.—It is also worthy of note that several members of the Smithfield School Committee were members of the Meeting for Sufferings and active in opening the Yearly Meeting School at Portsmouth in 1784. The "rules" drawn up for the latter school (Meetings for Sufferings MS. *Minutes, 1775–1793,* pp. 213–216) were also a mere revision of the rules for the Smithfield School (at close of Smithfield School Committee's MS. *Minutes*) or else both were drawn from a common source. For the rules of the Portsmouth School see Appendix B, at the close of this volume.

faced financial disaster because of the war on the seas. Many Friends were in trying difficulty because of the ancient "testimony" of the Society against war and military service. The Yearly Meeting met at Smithfield, Rhode Island, because the British army was in possession of Newport. Yet in the midst of those dark days New England Friends saw a vision that was destined to bring light to generations yet unborn.

This page must lack no name of the committee appointed by that Yearly Meeting to consider the school question introduced by Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting: Stephen Morrell, Moses Farnum, Daniel Newall, Jeremiah Austin, Moses Brown, James Neal, Seth Gardner, Jonathan Dame, Paul Greene, Phillip Tripp, Joshua Fulsom, Peleg Delano, Stephen Hoxsie, Joseph Rogers, Abraham Dow, William Anthony, Jr.[11] These were the men who must decide whether the stirring of the waters should be a circling eddy to ripple and die, or a growing stream to flow and widen with the years.

This was their answer: "We have met according to appointment and solidly considered the proposal of Rhode Island Quarter, and the Recommendation of our Brethren of Pennsylvania & New Jersey in their last Epistle, Respecting the Education of our youth in Schools, under the care of Solid friends and the concern of divers Brethren to thus educate their Children being exprest and a union of Sentiments, Discovered upon conference, That this Important duty and concern hath for a long time been much Neglected, in the various parts of our yearly meeting.

"We have to recommend a revival of our Discipline in this matter, and also that Each Quarter be favored with a Copy of the Doings of the last yearly meeting

[11] New England Yearly Meeting MS. *Minutes, 1683–1787*, p. 334.

of Philadelphia, Upon this Subject, which in our Judgment would be usefully adopted Amongst us as fast as friends see their way there in, and to promote so necessary branch of our Christian Duty, as the Virtuous Education of our youth. We apprehend a Comtᵉᵉ of Solid friends in each Quarter, to advise and assist the Several Monthly Meetings in the best method of Education of the Children & youth among friends would be useful, and for each Quarter to return an acct. to the next Yearly meeting, of the progress that may be made, in order to ripen the Subject for further advice and assistance in this Interesting matter."[12]

Such were the beginnings of the educational impulse in the Society of Friends, and so this impulse was focused among New England Friends in a Yearly Meeting that gathered one hundred and forty years ago. It boded well for the future that the Quarterly Meetings were asked to report on the matter the following year, " in order to ripen the Subject."

[12] New England Yearly Meeting MS. *Minutes, 1683–1787*, p. 336.

CHAPTER III.

The Portsmouth School.

1784–1788.

The "ripening" of the subject contemplated by the Yearly Meeting of 1779 was a slow process but when its days were accomplished the mature fruit was the Yearly Meeting School at Portsmouth, the forerunner and progenitor of the school at Providence.

The steps leading up to the Portsmouth School, rugged and steep in the days of the fathers, may be taken more lightly and quickly in retrospect by their children. The Yearly Meeting of 1780 was informed that the subject in hand had received the "solid attention of the Quarterly Meetings," and that some progress had been made toward the establishing of schools within the bounds of the various local meetings. The one great obstacle in the setting up of schools, however, was the limited supply of Friends who were capable of teaching. This lack may be written down as the first and fundamental need that called for the establishment of a Yearly Meeting school.

"But as the want of Suitable teachers seems to obstruct the progress of Friends in that respect—This Meeting feeling a Concern to remove (as much as present circumstances will admit of) every obstacle that may prevent so necessary a work,"—such was the causal introduction to the appointment of sixteen Friends who were to take the matter into further consideration.

At a later session of the same Yearly Meeting the

new committee made a report that may well be counted the founding fiat of the later Yearly Meeting School: "We the Com^tee appointed to Consider of a plan, for the Erection of a School or Schools for the Education of our Children & youth, in order to Qualify, not only a sufficient number for Instructors and School Masters; But that the poor Children, and others of the Society may receive Necessary Learning, to Qualify them for business. Having considered with attention, and Solidly confered upon the Subject; Do propose the Recommending down to the several Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, The promoting Free, Liberal & voluntary Subscriptions, Donations, Bequests, and Devices, adequate to the design and Importance of the Subject; as a Fund, to remain forever, the Interest, or Income of which to be applyed to the Support of Education. . . . And that said Com^tee, as soon as it shall be enabled, open a school in such place as they may judge most convenient, with in the Limits of this Yearly meeting. . . . 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 forth with applyed for the purposes aforesaid; and that it become the care of Friends in future, to promote Annually subscriptions, to be applyed to the use of the school; until the Income of the Fund shall be Sufficient, —and so make Such Annual Subscriptions unnecessary."[1]

Aside from the first purpose of training up teachers for Friends' schools two other objects are named in the

[1] New England Yearly Meeting MS. *Minutes, 1683–1787*, pp. 347–348. —It was further stipulated in the above report that there should be "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."

above report. One is to give opportunity for the children of poorer Friends to attend school; the other was that such children "and others of the Society may receive the Necessary Learning to Qualify them for business." This trio of purposes was reiterated again and again in succeeding years and is an interesting commentary on the early school and its founders. The idea of having only Friends as teachers for the children of Friends was based upon a truly spiritual concept. The far-reaching purpose was to perpetuate the religious ideals of Quakerism uncontaminated by contact with "the world." However futile the method may appear to modern eyes, the goal was high and worthy. The other two purposes, to furnish education for the poor and to fit rich and poor alike to meet the exigencies of business life, are an admixture of the practical quite congenial to the modern mind.

The report of the committee, after being "several times read, and weightily considered" was approved by the Yearly Meeting. The whole matter of securing subscriptions and establishing the school was then referred to the Meeting for Sufferings."[2]

The struggles of this body with the problem in those days of war and persecution and financial distress can be more adequately imagined by the mind of the reader than delineated by printer's type. The appeal for funds; the printed subscription blanks sent out to individuals and meetings; the request that "as the Paper Currency is so uncertain it is proposed the Subscrip-

[2] The Meeting for Sufferings was a large executive committee charged with carrying on the affairs of the church between the annual sessions of the Yearly Meeting. The name is derived from the fact that one of the chief concerns of the committee in the early days was to extend care and help to those who suffered persecution on account of those Quaker principles that ran counter to the prevailing ideas of the time.

tions be in hard money; yet as it is a matter of Freedom and Benevolence other Subscriptions will be Acceptable"; the waiting for funds that came not at all at first and later in merely negligible amounts;—these were some of the rough, sharp stones that paved the pathway to the first Yearly Meeting School. Yet along that rugged path the fathers moved undaunted.

At last it was decided to make a strong and final appeal to the wisdom and loyalty of New England Friends. This appeal was drawn up and printed in pamphlet form in the latter part of 1782. It was "From the Meeting for Sufferings of New England, to the several Quarterly and Monthly Meetings belonging to the Yearly Meeting." It was dated November 11, 1782, and was signed by Moses Brown, Clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings. Probably few documents more significant or farther-visioned in relation to the time of their issue have been put forth by the Society of Friends.

Referring to the action of George Fox in 1668 in setting up schools to teach "whatsoever things was civill and usefull in ye creation," the writing follows the growth of the educational idea in the Society and the early founding of schools by Friends of the first generation. It then traces the growth of the same "concern" among New England Friends, culminating in the proposed "institution founded by the Yearly Meeting in 1780."[8] References are then made to similar contemporary movements for the founding of schools in other American Yearly Meetings and among English Friends. In this connection much stress is laid upon the success of Ackworth School, opened three years before in England, and long excerpts are printed

[8] See quotation containing the "founding" clause, p. 17, above. See also p. 140, line 4.

from a letter of Dr. John Fothergill, one of the most active and liberal among the founders of that school.

At suitable places throughout the paper there are references to the three-fold need of preparing Friends for the teaching profession, helping the children of poor Friends to secure an education, and providing that all pupils "may receive the necessary learning to qualify them for business."

In the last paragraph the telling appeal is launched: "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."[4]

Such was the effect of this appeal that in September, 1783, report was made to the Meeting for Sufferings that sufficient funds were in hand to warrant an early opening of the school. The amount available for the expenses of the first year was only slightly in excess of one hundred and thirty-four pounds (about $450), but the faith of those first sponsors of the school was sufficient to turn the balance in favor of action.

The question of the location of the school was next faced. Providence, Portsmouth, Greenwich, Smithfield, and Lynn were in the lists for the honor. At first Smithfield seemed destined to be the place and in that case Elisha Thornton was looked upon as the logical candidate for master of the school. Returns had

[4] For the full text of this pamphlet see Appendix A at the close of this volume.

not come from Portsmouth, however, and the decision was held in abeyance.

The last entry proved to be the winner of the race. It was found that thirty scholars could be boarded at private homes within a mile of the meeting-house at Portsmouth. Rhode Island Monthly Meeting offered a room in the meeting-house for the use of the school, and would make over for its help the rentals on certain lots in the town of Newport owned by the meeting. And a "solid Friend" was at hand in the neighborhood for master. He was Isaac Lawton, teacher, poet, sometime clerk of the Yearly Meeting and of the Meeting for Sufferings, and "a valuable Friend in the ministry." He was willing to teach the school with a remuneration of seventy-five pounds (about $250) per year.[5]

[5] Isaac Lawton was born in 1726, and died in 1803 at the age of 77 years. John S. Gould wrote of him: "Isaac Lawton was an eminent & eloquent minister. His figure was short and lithe, his motions brisk & lively, his manners polite and affable & his conversation intelligent & agreeable. His education was a good one for that day, & as he was fond of reading, his stores of knowledge were constantly accumulating. Among his favorite authors were Young & Milton whom he frequently quoted; & he wrote some poetry himself." Moses Brown says of him: "About thirty years intimate acquaintance with him in & out of meetings both for worship & discipline, observing his conduct & conversation in various committees before the General Assembly of this and of a neighboring State and in various trying circumstances during the Revolutionary war and before various authorities civil & military, have given me opportunity of judging of his real discretion and stability in the cause of truth & righteousness. These have been truly exemplary; while the meekness & tenderness with which he was favored had such a reach on those whom he addressed as often to have the desired effect, and left a favorable opinion of him on their minds. Few if any had greater place with those before whom he was laboring than my friend, though his humility and diffidence of his own powers seldom left him so sensible of his influence as to discover anything like importance. His public appearances in the ministry were not with enticing words of man's wisdom. His grave deportment & weighty manner of delivery in sound words of Scripture & experience—not hasty nor out of season—were often reaching and generally satisfac-

In those times of deliberate counsel and slow travel it took a year to arrange the preliminaries related here in a paragraph, but in the fullness of time, on November 8, 1784, "the Master of the Yearly Meetings School . . . attended and opened the School . . . agreeable to the desire of the last Meeting for Sufferings, with a small number of scholars since which it has been gradually increasing."[6]

"Rules and Regulations" were ready and awaiting the new school on its natal day. For more than a year a committee of the Meeting for Sufferings had been working on them, and passing thorough was their handiwork for the attainment of the desired objects. An even dozen great serious regulations rose up stark to meet the incoming children as they entered the meeting-house that late fall day of 1784.

1. That all 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 manifested to the Master.

2. 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.

5. 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

tory to his hearers. His services in meetings for discipline were useful and often decisive on the subject in view, and as superintendent & teacher of the Yearly Meeting School while kept on the island from 11 mo. '84 to 10 mo. '88 his instruction and affectionate treatment of the children gained their confidence & love."—Taken from MSS. of Samuel Austin.

[6] For account of the preparations for opening the school see Meeting for Sufferings MS. *Minutes, 1775–1793*, pp. 190, 192–193, 197, 199, 202, 206–207, 208, 218.

PORTSMOUTH FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE

IN AN UPPER ROOM OF THIS BUILDING THE SCHOOL WAS FIRST OPENED, 1784

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.

Thus was the "daily walk" of the pupils to be guarded both in and out of school. As summarized in a letter to the Monthly Meetings in June, 1785, the objects in view were high and worthy: "Besides the necessary literary instruction, the Children are to be taught habits of regularity, of decency, of respectful subordination to their Superiors; of forbearance, affection and kindness towards each other, and of religious reverence towards their Maker; and those habits of silence and recollection Taught and practiced in the ancient Schools, and inculcated in the holy scriptures."[1]

The great difficulty encountered by the school from the beginning was a small attendance of scholars. The plan of the founders was to have a goodly number of paying pupils to help float the institution financially. The children of poor Friends were to be supported by annual donations, the interest on the permanent fund, and the income from the lots at Newport. The most disappointing feature of the plan in practice was that the children of poor Friends did not appear at the school in any considerable number. An urgent appeal to the Monthly Meetings was issued in 1785 on this subject. Each meeting was asked to send to the school one scholar of "the first Class of poor" (*i. e.*, of the poorest class), whose entire expense of board, tuition

[1] Meeting for Sufferings MS. *Minutes, 1775–1793,* pp. 213–216, 223. For the complete "Rules and Regulations" see Appendix B, at end of volume. When the rules were adopted, Nov. 1, 1784, the following committee of the Meeting for Sufferings was placed in charge of the school: Jacob Mott, Isaac Lawton, Joseph Mitchell, Samuel Smith, Thomas Hazard, Daniel Howland, Jr., Moses Brown, Abner Potter, David Buffum.

and books was to be paid out of the school funds. Other scholars were solicited who might pay their own board but receive books and tuition free. Finally all Friends of financial ability who did not have suitable schools in their home neighborhood were urged to support the school with their patronage. For, said the appeal in conclusion, "We apprehend such temporary weaning of Children from their expectations of parental indulgences, will be advantageous to the Youth, and promote the School by lessening the Expences of or encreasing the Fund."[8]

The times were hard. Friends had lost heavily by the ravages of war, and because of their "testimony" against military service. When peace came business was prostrate; those engaged in fishing and trading pursuits found their incomes curtailed or demolished by the restrictions placed by England on trade with her late rebellious and now independent colonies; the whaling industry of Nantucket was ruined; worst of all many of the states, and especially Rhode Island, placed further prohibitions upon successful business pursuits by experiments in fiat paper money and the repudiation of debts.[9]

This was the period of the Confederation (1781–1789), between the close of the Revolution and the establishment of the new government under the Constitution. It is sometimes called the "Critical Period" of American History, when the newly enfranchised states, lacking any strong central government, were drifting rapidly toward anarchy and disruption.

It was, unfortunately, during the darkest years of

[8] Meeting for Sufferings MS. *Minutes, 1775–1793*, pp. 222–223.

[9] It is an interesting fact that Friends protested to the legislature of Rhode Island in the name of "Truth and Justice" against these sumptuary laws. See Meeting for Sufferings MS. *Minutes, 1775–1793*, pp. 260–261.

this period that the experiment of the Yearly Meeting School was essayed. Small wonder is it that the attendance was small and the financial support scanty. Even after the appeal to the Monthly Meetings, as mentioned above, the school was pupil poor. Early in 1786 there were about twenty scholars in attendance including only two of the "first class of poor," who required their entire support from the charitable fund. The highest attendance at any time was in the neighborhood of thirty.

Added to this embarrassment was the fact that the income on the lots at Newport could not be collected regularly and donations to the school were largely curtailed. In this emergency it was recalled that some of the subscription blanks of the school had been carried to England some time before and a report had come that some money had been pledged by English Friends. An appeal was therefore drawn up and forwarded to the London Meeting for Sufferings referring to the reported subscriptions and asking for aid to save the school. But New England Friends were destined to meet another disappointment. The English Friends who had subscribed when the school was first proposed had not heard of its opening and supposed the occasion for their pledges had passed. Moreover, continued the reply, "the Variety of occasions which have Latterly excited the Liberality of Friends here discourages the expectation of our being likely to afford you much assistance." So it was, contrary to all occasion before and since, that English Friends did not in this emergency rally to the support of their brethren in America.[10]

It is interesting to note that with the epistle of the New England Meeting for Sufferings to English

[10] Meeting for Sufferings MS. *Minutes, 1775–1793*, pp. 245–247, 253–254.

Friends, Moses Brown sent a convincing personal appeal to David Barclay, the correspondent to whom the epistle was sent. In this personal letter Moses Brown makes it known that aside from the income on the Newport lots which could not be regularly collected, practically all the financial support of the school came from the neighborhoods of Providence and Smithfield. The permanent fund of about four hundred pounds was largely subscribed by William Rotch, formerly of Nantucket, and "one other Friend." The reader of today recognizes the writer of that day as the "other Friend." In another letter of the time Moses Brown indicates that it was "country Friends" especially who laid no store by education.

One of the finest witnesses to the forward-looking vision of Moses Brown is a passage in this letter of 1787 to David Barclay in which he proposes some higher courses than those thus far maintained in the school. That passage must not be relegated to footnote or appendix. It is the cry of a prophet: "We have not in view anything further than real Usefulness and if a fund could be raised to support 30 of the Poor of Society it would give us who are Engaged in the Institution much Satisfaction and an Enlargement might be left to our Decendants, not but what I am of the opinion that if 3 times that Number could be supported the Usefulness would be nearly in proportion; yet that number would open the way for some advance in the Education of those whose parents may be able to give them a Sufficiency of Schooling and be highly useful in promoting Society at large. At such a School a Master may be employed capable of teaching a few Scholars whose genious and Capacity may lead friends to think suitable and best the Lattin, french, or some

other Language with such Usefull parts of the Mathematicks which at present cannot be learned in any School we have in Society here, and I have thought if thou and other friends should think well of Incouraging such Instruction and confine some Donation to the purpose I should willingly add one hundred pounds (about $333) to my subscription as a fund for that purpose in my Life-time instead of its standing in my Will, which has for some time been the case."[11]

It is evident from another passage in this same letter that reading, writing, and arithmetic were the staples of the curriculum at the Portsmouth School and that many Friends thought those rudiments, plus a "guarded" Friendly environment, were sufficient training for the exigencies of life. Still it is probable that even at the Portsmouth School some higher branches were taught to the better trained young Friends who came. For be it recorded that Moses Brown sent his only son Obadiah to mingle with " the poor of Society " around the fountains of truth, and there is still preserved in the school vault the boy's Latin grammar that he began to study at the Yearly Meeting School, April 3, 1787.

Yet Moses Brown was destined to wait forty-five long years to see a Yearly Meeting School with a regular department of languages, science and higher mathematics. And he was destined to wait a large part of

[11] Draft of letter, Moses Brown to David Barclay, Mar. 15, 1787, in *Moses Brown Papers* (R. I. Hist. Soc.), vol. VI, 1787–1789, Nos. 1474–1475, p. 3. See also letter to Samuel Neale, *same*, No. 1473; also letter to unnamed correspondent in England, Oct., 1787, in Samuel Austin's MS. *The Portsmouth School*, pp. 31–35. In a letter to Anthony Benezet dated October 2, 1780, Moses Brown had mentioned the need for young Friends to study foreign languages, especially Latin and French. In this connection he stated that perhaps only five or six Friends in New England Yearly Meeting at that time had any knowledge of a foreign language, " and many cannot write even their Names."—Draft of letter in Austin MSS.

that time for a day favored enough to nurture any Yearly Meeting School at all.

The days of the sojourn of the Portsmouth School were numbered. With most Friends of the Yearly Meeting listless in its support, with their English brethren unable to help, and times going from bad to worse in America, the last expedient was at hand. The Meeting for Sufferings appealed to the Yearly Meeting of 1788, "whether some present augmentation of the Fund, or a vacation to be concluded on will not be best till a change of circumstances take place." The Yearly Meeting called on the Monthly Meetings for the "augmentation" of funds and advised that a vacation of one year be taken. So the Portsmouth School was closed at the beginning of October, 1788, the years of its pilgrimage having been four years lacking one month.[12]

Agitated and founded amidst the vicissitudes of war, opened and conducted during the darkest days of a new and unstable government, the school failed to thrive. Yet it did succeed in blazing a trail that the feet of the founders would not forget.

The hoped for "change of circumstances" was, however, slow in coming. The vacation of a year stretched out beyond the span of three decades.

[12] Meeting for Sufferings MS. *Minutes, 1775–1793*, pp. 267, 268. Yearly Meeting MS. *Minutes, 1788–1819*, p. 5. After a careful study of all available evidence it is impossible to say whether any girls attended the Yearly Meeting School at Portsmouth. Certainly there was no prejudice among Friends at that time against having girls in their schools. Usually, however, the girls met in separate classes, with their own teachers. This complication may have operated to restrict the attendance to boys.

MOSES BROWN'S HOUSE
(SEE PAGES 36, 134, NOTES)

CHAPTER IV.

Moses Brown.

1738–1836.

The history of the long interregnum, from the closing of the school at Portsmouth in 1788 to its reopening at Providence in 1819, is largely the story of how one man of far vision and indomitable spirit refused to let the school idea die a quiet and seemingly inevitable death. Undaunted by the discouragement or indifference of many Friends who should have been his stalwart allies, he fought his good fight almost singlehanded. At last some loyal spirits, chiefly his own son, stirred by his long, lonely vigil, came to his side and helped bring the matter to its happy issue. Yet it may be written with historical fidelity that for more than two decades the idea of a New England Yearly Meeting School was kept alive by the inspired pertinacity of Moses Brown.

His activity in establishing the school was only one among his many and varied interests. Scarcely a public cause or a philanthropic effort lacked his support. He was the special friend of the poor and needy in his neighborhood. Constantly he loaned or gave money to those in the grip of poverty. His advice was sought from near and far by those tangled in the net of domestic difficulty. He was a kind of community physician, summoned by the poor in their distress or by the rich when regular practitioners failed. His chest was filled with standard and even rare remedies,

and preserved until now among his papers are treatises on, and prescriptions for, cancer, yellow fever, dropsy, dysentery, hydrophobia, nasal hemorrhage and many other afflictions of human kind. "Mrs. Anna Knight has requested me to write and inform you that she is quite sick and wishes to see you today. . . . She has a very severe pain in her side, has been bled twice, and had five Blisters applied but does not get any relief. She thinks you would probably suggest something that would relieve her."[1] This was a typical summons to Moses Brown, student of physick.

He was an apostle of temperance. In the year 1777 he went into his harvest field and, calling all his laborers together, persuaded them to dispense with the usual allowance of distilled spirits. He even offered to pay them extra wages as a reward of abstinence. Late in life he could say of the outcome: "I have never Since being now 57 years furnished Any Spirits in Harvest or Hay Time, & I have My business done better and the Labourers 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."[2]

As an advocate of peace during two wars he aided non-combatants in distress and secured leniency for those whose religious scruples would not allow them to bear arms. Yet his loyalty to his country's cause was unshaken. To James Warren he wrote just after the battle of Lexington and Concord: "My Religious principles, thou art I presume sensible, do not admit of my interfering in War, but my Love for my Country, and

[1] Letter, Jesse Howard to Moses Brown, Aug. 27, 1822. In R. I. Hist. Soc. Library, *Moses Brown Papers*, vol. XIV, p. 285.

[2] Memorandum by Moses Brown, Aug. 20, 1834. In R. I. Hist. Soc. Library, *Moses Brown Misc. Papers*, in filing boxes.

Sence of our Just Rights are not thereby abated, and if my poor abilities could be anyway subservient to a happy change of Affairs nothing on my part shall be wanting."[8] Such was the stand taken during the American Revolution by Moses Brown, patriot and pacifist.

His openness of mind to new truth and his resolute will to follow it are nowhere better seen than in his attitude toward slavery. After much thought, having come to the conclusion that slavery was wrong, with a stroke of the pen he set all his slaves free. In after years he made it clear that the final step in this direction came as the result of a religious impression due to the death of his wife, Anna, in 1773. The next year he joined the Society of Friends, largely influenced by its stand in opposition to slavery.

The fine spirit of Moses Brown, near akin to that of his contemporary, John Woolman, shines out in the preamble to his deed of manumission: "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 Consciences of all Men, however some may smother and neglect its Reprovings, and being also made Sensible that the Holding negros in Slavery, however Kindly Treated by their Masters has a Great Tendency to Encourage the Iniquitious Traffick and Practice of Importing them from their Native Country, and is contrary to that Justice, Mercy and Humility Injoined as the duty of every Christian, I Do therefore by these presents, for my Self, my Heirs etc. Mannumit and set Free the following Negros, being all I am Possessed of or am any ways Interested in."

[8] Draft of letter, Moses Brown to James Warren. In R. I. Hist. Soc. Library, *Moses Brown Papers*, vol. II, p. 32.

The latter part of the instrument is filled with kindly advice to his former slaves, urging lives of economy, sobriety, and honest labor. Remunerative employment with incentive to regular savings and investment is offered to all who wish to remain in his service and the use of an acre of land to all who did not have knowledge of a useful trade.[4] Other papers of later years furnish conclusive evidence that the former servants of Moses Brown, while loosed from the bonds of slavery, could never escape the outreaching hand of his beneficent charity.

Furthermore Moses Brown became one of the prominent anti-slavery champions of his day. In the Society of Friends and in his public activities as a citizen he was tireless in this cause. He was a founder of the Abolition Society of Providence. Against slavery and the slave-trade he directed his influence in all possible ways, with money, voice, and pen, in petitions to state legislatures and to Congress. Happily he lived to see the slave trade abolished by act of Congress and died before the great issue plunged his country into the terrors of civil war. The poet Whittier told in later years of reading to Moses Brown in 1833 the speech of the British Premier on the passage of the Emancipation Act for the British possessions.

In the history of American manufacturing industry Moses Brown looms large. The improvements in the textile industries were in the vanguard of the entire Industrial Revolution that began in England about 1750. John Kay's flying shuttle, Hargreaves' spinning-jenny, and Arkwright's machinery for spinning cotton yarn were the harbingers of those vast economic

[4] Official copy of deed of Manumission in Records of Probate Court, City Hall, Providence, *Wills*, vol. VI, pp. 73–75. Copies of same in vault of Moses Brown School and in R. I. Hist. Soc. Library.

changes that made a new creation in the nineteenth century. Certainly in American history the development of the cotton industry was fundamental to the great issues, national and sectional, that shook our country until the Civil War and continued in forms of tariff and trust problems in post-bellum days.

Moses Brown was the most effective promoter of cotton spinning at the inception of that industry in the United States. Samuel Slater has been called the father of American cotton manufactures. Moses Brown was the patron who made possible the work of Samuel Slater. Prior to 1790 practically all the so-called cotton cloth woven in America was cotton only in the weft. The warp was of linen because the cotton yarn was not twisted tightly enough to serve. In England the Arkwright machines made cotton warp successfully but the English government was careful to guard the process and to prevent the exportation of any machines to other countries. Attempts had been made to reproduce the Arkwright process in the United States but none had been commercially successful. Samuel Slater had worked with the Arkwright machines in England and came to New York with the deliberate though secret intent of introducing the process in the new world. When a proper opportunity did not appear in New York he wrote to Moses Brown at Providence, who, according to report, was interested in promoting cotton manufacture. Moses Brown responded with cordial encouragement and as a result young Slater came to Providence and began his experiment in a mill at near-by Pawtucket. Samuel Slater had to reproduce the Arkwright machines from memory but after laborious experiments and repeated discouragements his efforts were crowned with success. Cot-

ton warp as firm as any of English make was produced and the manufacture of pure cotton cloth in America became a commercial possibility. In this great accomplishment Samuel Slater supplied the technical knowledge, Moses Brown the financial and moral support.[5]

It is a matter of growing surprise to the student of his life that a man of such conservative religious views as Moses Brown was yet so broad in his sympathies and of such varied interests. Religious conservatism often begets narrowness. Perhaps in the stricter years of mature life his sympathies were broadened by the memory of earlier days when he was "of the world." He was born a Baptist, a direct descendant of the Reverend Chad Brown, one of the famous colleagues of Roger Williams in the settlement of Rhode Island.[6] In early life Moses Brown was a Freemason, and was

[5] W. R. Bagnall, *Samuel Slater*, 25 ff.; Grieves and Fernald, *The Cotton Centennial*, 23 ff.; P. Walton, *The Story of Textiles*, 168–174; G. S. White, *Memoir of Samuel Slater*, 71 ff.;—While Moses Brown procured the services of Slater and furnished money for initiating the enterprise he was not actively associated in the business. He had long before retired from active business life. In the firm of Almy, Brown and Slater, formed in 1790, William Almy was a son-in-law, and Smith Brown a cousin, to Moses Brown. Smith Brown soon retired from the firm and his place was taken by Obadiah, the only son of Moses Brown.—It may be added that for many years the above firm did not weave any cloth. They were spinners of yarn, which product was used largely by domestic weavers in households of the region.

[6] Moses Brown was a son of James and Hope Brown and was born in or near Providence, Sept. 23, 1738. He died in the same city Sept. 6, 1836. His father died in 1739 and Moses was adopted into the family of his uncle, Obadiah Brown, whose daughter Anna later became his wife. For about ten years (1763–1773) he was associated with his three brothers Nicholas, Joseph, and John, in a successful mercantile business in Providence but retired early from active business life with ample means drawn from the profits of his brief business career and inherited from his uncle and father-in-law Obadiah. After the death of his first wife Anna in 1773, Moses Brown was twice married: in 1779 to Mary Olney, who died in 1798; in 1799 to Phoebe Lockwood, who died in 1808. The graves of his wives are beside his in the North Burial Grounds, Providence.

secretary of his lodge for several years prior to 1769. In 1762 he was made director of a lottery to secure thirty thousand dollars to pave the streets of Providence. For some years he was a prominent member of the Rhode Island Assembly, and on the committee of that body to seek a rectification of the Massachusetts-Rhode Island boundary. He was appointed on other important committees of the legislature, including the one that drafted Rhode Island's ringing reply to the Stamp Act. He was a surveyor of land and an apt student of mathematics. He aided in an important observation of the transit of Venus in 1769. Like Franklin, his contemporary, he was interested in all scientific knowledge, especially such as would be put to practical use. The top of his chaise was painted white and he wore white linen on his hat in summer to deflect the sun's rays. He collected a large library of books on science and medicine, and the history and doctrine of Friends. He was one of the founders of the Providence Athenaeum Library, the Rhode Island Bible Society, the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture in Rhode Island, the Rhode Island Peace Society and the Rhode Island Historical Society.[1]

What manner of man was this of such varied and weighty interests? "At the door (of his house) thou may fancy a horse and Chaise standing, with 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." Thus wrote an acquaintance of 1823 when Moses Brown was eighty-five years old. The wart, happily obliterated in the standard portraits, was not the only thorn in the flesh of this apostle of truth. He was afflicted with a ter-

[1] Augustine Jones, *Moses Brown, A Sketch*, 35–36.

rible vertigo that hampered him throughout his mature life and hastened his early retirement from active business pursuits.[8] Yet his life reached the great span of ninety-eight years lacking a few days, and his courage and optimism never faltered. Conservative in his religious views, as has been noted, he joined the Society of Friends in 1774 and was an ardent advocate of its doctrines throughout the remainder of his life. His adherence to the weightier matters of the Quaker law, the anti-slavery and anti-war tenets, has been related. He was no less exacting in his support of the "minor testimonies" to plainness of "dress and address." He would not deign to call the days of week or month by the names of "heathen gods and goddesses" and in conversation he insisted that "thee" and "thou" be not confused in grammatical construction.[9] Yet, like George Fox, whose example he venerated, he was

[8] For above description of Moses Brown's personal appearance see letter, Stephen Gould to Thomas Thompson, 4 mo. 4th., 1823: Copy furnished by Norman Penney from original in Devonshire House, London.—There is evidence that conscientious scruples also influenced Moses Brown in his early retirement from business. A few years later he wrote to a Friend in Philadelphia: "I sold out to avoid the snare of the furnace and keep an easy conscience, as the part I owned could not govern the use of it." See Austin MSS. on Moses Brown and Friends' School, p. 8b. It is possible that certain commercial enterprises engaged in were in violation of the stringent trade laws of England.

[9] An authentic story is preserved illustrating Moses Brown's thoroughgoing adherence to plainness and simplicity. A newer portion of the residence which he purchased and occupied in his later life had been built by an English gentleman and was of Corinthian architecture and some elegance of finish without and within. Some "concerned" Friends being entertained by Moses Brown once found fault with the elegance of this part of the house. To demonstrate that he set no store by outward appearances the host opened his pocket-knife and, handing it to one of the guests, gave him permission to mar whatever offended his spiritual eye. This the visitor proceeded to do in goodly measure and his mutilations remained in after years a testimony to his zealous vandalism. Moses Brown often recalled the incident with pleasant humor.—See letter cited in note 8 next above.

THEODATE LANG MEMORIAL GATE

ERECTED 1907 IN MEMORY OF THEODATE LANG BAILY BY HER FIVE SONS

steadied with the blessed ballast of common sense that saves the trusty keel from shipwreck. He could be a pacifist in war-time and yet remain sympathetic with his country's cause. He parted company with those who would shirk the ordinary duties of citizenship because government found its ultimate support in military strength. He believed with early Friends that education was not essential to the apprehension of spiritual truth. Yet he saw the contrary delusion cherished by many Friends of his day that intellectual training was all in all a vain and superfluous accomplishment.

Even in hoary age he attended long sittings of his Yearly Meeting and served on committees between sessions. Until his ninety-eighth year he acted as Treasurer of the School Fund, having held that office continuously for more than half a century. He knew the amenities of social life and there is record of his calling in his ninety-third year on a newly wedded couple with apologies for not having presented himself sooner. To his last days he was kindly thoughtful of strangers and practiced the fine art of conversing with little children.

The interest of Moses Brown in education is a major topic of this volume and a fitting conclusion to this brief chapter devoted to his life. Although he left school at thirteen he was a student throughout his long life, and always intent upon giving the rising generation better scholastic privileges than he himself enjoyed.

While he believed devoutly in a "guarded education" under the care of the Society of Friends, his interest was not limited to denominational schools. He was appointed with three others by the town of Providence in 1767 to draft an ordinance for free schools and the report of this committee is a land-mark in the early history of education in Rhode Island. He was

the leading member of an association that established one of the early schools in his native city. He was a member of the Assembly that granted the charter to Rhode Island College, later named Brown University in honor of his nephew Nicholas. When it was proposed to move the college from Warren, its first home, Moses Brown and Stephen Hopkins were the representatives from Providence who secured the institution for that city. Moses Brown later gave one thousand dollars and a donation of books to the college, and is honored by historians of the institution as one of its earliest patrons and benefactors.[10]

Yet the fondest hope of Moses Brown was for a school of guarded Friendly influence, under the care of New England Yearly Meeting. How his hope took transient shape in the ill-fated school at Portsmouth has been recorded in a former chapter. How Moses Brown kept the faith through the long years of the interregnum and brought his dream at last to permanent reality, provides the plot for a continued tale.

[10] Augustine Jones, *Moses Brown, A Sketch*, 22–23. This sketch has been especially helpful to the present writer in the preparation of the above chapter.

CHAPTER V.

THE INTERREGNUM.

1788–1818.

THE vacation of "one year or longer," decreed in 1788, proved to be decidedly "longer." So great was its elasticity that it stretched beyond the span of three decades. The story of that interregnum is a tragedy of heart-breaking disappointments. It is the ancient tale of a Heaven-commissioned Moses, seeking to lead a stiff-necked and rebellious people out of their bondage into a promised land. And as ever there were seas and floods, mountains and deserts, beasts and giants to bar the way. Indifference and opposition, poor business and failing harvests, embargo on sea traffic and war on land,—these were some of the barriers that blocked the path.

The thing most essential to the reopening of the Yearly Meeting School was the husbanding of the limited resources that had been gathered with much labor into the School Fund. This the Treasurer, Moses Brown, set himself to do with miser care. The thing he needed most and received least was coöperation.

Be it recalled that when various monthly meetings were making contributions to the first establishment of the school, that of Rhode Island gave the use of the meeting-house at Portsmouth for housing the school, and, in lieu of a direct money contribution, several dwelling lots in Newport bequeathed to the meeting at an earlier day. After the school had been closed for

about two years it occurred to certain Friends on the Island who had never been very valiant in support of the school that a proper occasion had now arisen for getting the lots back. The matter was agitated somewhat in private and finally the Meeting for Sufferings made inquiry officially of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting whether it desired to continue the donation provided the school should be opened again on the Island as soon as sufficient funds could be gathered. In reply the Monthly Meeting "now inform that the donation was meant toward the support of said School so long as it continued to be held on Rhode Island and we now Consider it as reverted from the time said School ceased to be kept, and should now kindly accept a reconveyance." Needless to say the reconveyance was duly made and kindly accepted, as also for good measure a reimbursement for sundry expenses in preparing a part of the Portsmouth meeting-house for the use of the school in 1784.[1]

Less dubious in its import for the future of the school was the action of the Yearly Meeting in the same year (1790). Leaving the question of reopening the school to the wisdom of the Meeting for Sufferings, and suggesting that further subscriptions to the School Fund should be made by Friends "in perfect freedom," the Yearly Meeting handed down the further saving dictum that the said Fund "should not be diverted into any other channel." The chances are that the occasion for such a deliverance was a movement for dissipating the fund, headed by certain "country Friends" whose taste for education had never been intensively cultivated. The decision of the Yearly Meeting was a victory for Moses Brown, Treasurer of the School Fund.

[1] Meeting for Sufferings MS. *Minutes, 1775–1793*, pp. 289, 291, 295, 296, 299, 300.

The decade from 1790 to 1800 was a period of slow recovery from the economic misery of the period immediately following the Revolution. In 1789 George Washington was inaugurated the first President under the Constitution, but Rhode Island did not see fit to enter the new union until 1790, last of the original thirteen states. Great Britain continued to discriminate against her truant children, and commercial New England did not recover at once her erstwhile prosperity. The situation affected seriously those Friends who could have contributed most liberally to the re-establishment of the School.

So a decade passed and the Yearly Meeting contented itself with urging the monthly meetings to set up local schools. Apparently no great progress was made even in that modest program. Several schools were established but divers 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."[2]

Near the turning of the century came an awakening to the cause of the Yearly Meeting School. By 1801 the School Fund, far from having been "diverted" to other purposes, had increased in the practised hand of its Treasurer to the amount of $3,837.40. The state of the Fund having been reported to the Yearly Meeting, a special committee was appointed by that body to take the question of the boarding-school into renewed consideration. It is worthy of remark that Obadiah Brown, William Almy, and William Rotch, Jr., were members of this committee. Obadiah Brown was a son, and William Almy a son-in-law of Moses Brown,

[2] Yearly Meeting MS. *Minutes, 1788–1819*, p. 185.—A full account of the local schools in Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting in 1801 is printed in Appendix C.

and the former had been a pupil at the Portsmouth school. William Rotch, Senior, had been, next to Moses Brown, the most munificent benefactor of that school. So a new generation was arising to uphold the hands of those who had grown old in the battle.

The report of the committee was a call for immediate action: "We your Committee have solidly considered the subject referred to us this morning and are united in recommending that the Yearly Meeting appoint a Committee, to promote subscriptions throughout the Yearly Meeting, to increase the School-Fund at such time, and manner as they may think best, and also to consider and fix upon some plan for Establishing a Boarding School, with such other plan for the promotion of the object in view, as may occur to them, and report to our next Yearly Meeting their success and progress herein."[8]

High must have been the hope of Moses Brown and his worthy coadjutors when the Yearly Meeting accepted the report and appointed the new committee. Valiant must have been the effort put forth in the ensuing year to raise the amount deemed necessary for the undertaking. Yet the task was great. At the next Yearly Meeting (1802) the committee reported that sixteen thousand dollars had been fixed upon as the sum needed to guarantee the project. Subscriptions had been taken on condition that the entire amount be secured but only about half had thus far been pledged. The committee, feeling that "a small proportion only of the number of friends who are well able to do something for the institution have yet subscribed," wished to continue the quest. In response the Yearly Meeting, "deeply exercised in favor of the

[8] Yearly Meeting MS. *Minutes, 1788–1819*, p. 186.

institution," added several names to the former committee and recommended further perseverance in securing the additional subscriptions necessary to make up the required amount.

A bitter disappointment was again in store for those who had set their hearts upon an early reëstablishment of the school. In spite of every effort that could be put forth during the ensuing year the total of $16,000 could not be attained. The shining goal was beyond the reach of the outstretched hands of Moses Brown and his faithful little band of idealists. New England Friends in general were not yet awake to the opportunities awaiting them. The committee, at its own request, was dismissed by the next Yearly Meeting and the conditional pledges were canceled.

Now began another period of nearly a decade during which the aged champion of the school kept his lonely but ever vigilant watch over the little fund that continued as a heritage from the past. Those years were again a time of hardship and disaster. The Napoleonic wars were raging in Europe. England and her allies were locked in mortal combat with the adventurer of Corsica who dreamed of world dominion. Each sought to throttle the other by a control of commerce. The Orders in Council, of England, were met by the Decrees of Napoleon. Each new order or decree placed further restrictions upon all sea-trade that would aid the enemy country. America as the greatest neutral engaged in commerce with the contending countries found herself between the mill-stones. In retaliation the Congress of the United States passed embargo and non-intercourse acts to curtail or prevent the carrying of supplies to either belligerent. The policy failed of coercing England or France into a more reasonable

attitude toward neutral commerce but a staggering blow was dealt the sea-trade of America. Commercial New England suffered most of all. It was no time to ask Friends of New England to endow an institution of learning.

So the years dragged on and the cause of the boarding school lapsed. At last times began to improve. England and Napoleon appeared ready to treat more reasonably of American commerce. The embargo was abolished and non-intercourse laws relaxed. Ships long tied to New England piers loosed their moorings and put bravely again to sea. Merchants renewed their stocks, labor found employment, and times were better.

The hour had once more struck to renew the cause of a New England Yearly Meeting boarding school. In 1810 the subject was again agitated among Friends and the attention of the Yearly Meeting was called to a "dormant school fund" remaining in the hands of the former school treasurer. The slumbers of this "dormant" fund had been apparently of a healthy, recuperative sort for a committee, appointed to investigate, reported the sum to be nearly $8,000, about double the amount in hand nine years before. Under the impetus of this showing the Yearly Meeting again rallied to the good cause and for two years the star of the boarding school was in the ascendant. Committees were appointed, new subscriptions were recommended, and at last it was declared to be "a very desirable thing for a School to be opened, and that as speedily as may be, under the government and superintendence of the Meeting for Sufferings."[4]

The intrepid proponents of the school idea were not

[4] Yearly Meeting MS. *Minutes, 1788–1819*, pp. 301, 309–310, 313, 329, 330.

LUCRETIA GIFFORD CHACE MEMORIAL GATE

ERECTED 1911 IN MEMORY OF LUCRETIA GIFFORD CHACE BY HER HUSBAND, JAMES H. CHACE, AND HER DAUGHTER, MRS. GEORGE H. DAVENPORT

destined even now, however, to taste the fruits of victory. The very stars in their courses seemed to be mustered against them. The subject, taken over by the Meeting for Sufferings, was carried forward duly through several sessions of that body. A committee was even appointed to find quarters in which to open a school and to make inquiry for suitable teachers and superintendents. Then on a day the whole good story came to its tragic ending in a death-dealing decision: "The committee appointed to take into consideration the application of the interest of the Yearly Meeting School Fund, Report that since the renewed concern of last Yearly Meeting upon this subject no way has appeared to open in which they could proceed to effect the object of that meeting in rendering it beneficial to Society at this period,—and considering the disastrous situation of this section of the Country occasioned by a scanty harvest and the present National calamity of War, it is thought advisable that the Committee be now released."[5] So the scene of the early days was reproduced, as war and economic disaster again cast their shadow athwart the pathway of the school.

Quite beyond description are the long-suffering patience and indomitable perseverance of the champions of the school, waiting decade after decade, laboring earnestly when occasion offered, and ever seeing their most heroic efforts doomed to defeat. Now was the Nestor of the little band approaching the mortal bound of four-score years. If he would see the fruition of his long cherished plan he could brook not many more delays. Clearly must he have seen that heroic measures were demanded, and that if the telling blow were to be struck it must be by his own hand. The Napo-

[5] Meeting for Sufferings MS. *Minutes, 1793–1842*, pp. 159, 162.

leonic wars in Europe and the War of 1812 in America were drawing to their close and omens of a better day were at hand. Then from a bed of weakness and infirmity the unsubdued veteran of another kind of warfare sent forth an historic appeal and challenge:

PROVIDENCE, 4th of 5th Mo. 1814.

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 yours affectionate friend,

MOSES BROWN[6]

[6] Meeting for Sufferings MS. *Minutes, 1793–1842*, pp. 166–167.

Moses Brown was raised up again from his bed of sickness; happily so, because during the next four years he was to see the successful culmination of his life-long effort for the school. His inspiring offer, brought before the next session of New England Yearly Meeting, called forth the willing approval of that body. Committees were appointed and the great cause moved forward.

The site offered for the school was on a hill overlooking the town of Providence and the broad waters of Narragansett Bay. Nearly fifty years before had a situation farther down toward the city been selected as a fit home for Rhode Island College. How much more congenial might be the crown of the hill as a trysting place for the Muses! A committee of inspection appointed by the Meeting for Sufferings reported the property to contain about seven acres of valuable wood and a goodly quantity of stone that could be used in the erection of the school building. The plot was situated "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." All in all the committee judged it to be "a pleasant and healthful scite to erect such a Building upon."[7]

Now the Yearly Meeting rose to its renewed opportunity and its call for subscriptions to the building fund had a new ring of earnest eloquence: "We tenderly exhort Friends to be liberal in their subscriptions according to the means afforded them, remembering that we are only stewards of the goods we possess, that we

[7] Meeting for Sufferings MS. *Minutes, 1793–1842*, p. 169.—This land in the outskirts of the city was very valuable even at that day. An estimate of the time appraised it at $200 per acre.

hold them by a very uncertain tenure, and that a righteous and benevolent disposition of a part of them may call down a blessing upon the remainder."[8]

At first it was planned to erect two buildings, one for boys and one for girls, but the cost of building was high and the limited resources at hand contracted the plans of the committee to one building. From year to year new subscriptions were urged and secured. At one time, late in 1815, when the committee was almost ready to proceed with the building, a terrible storm swept over New England. Great damage was done in many places and nowhere was the storm more severe than in the vicinity of Providence. Again it seemed that the elements were marshalled against the cherished project. Labor and materials for repairing the damage to the city were in such demand that the erection of the school building was postponed.

Yet the exponents of the institution were this time not to be denied. Early in 1816 a special committee, of which Moses Brown was a member, was appointed to view the property and select a location for the proposed building. No spur to the imagination is needed to picture that aged champion leading forth his colleagues now here now there to find the perfect place to raise the walls so long projected by his prophetic fancy. The spot determined, materials were gathered and throughout the summer and fall of 1816 woodsmen and graders, masons and carpenters plied their tools upon the task. Tales were later told of how people of the neighborhood came to watch with eager interest the progress of the work. A niece long resident in the home of Obadiah Brown recalled her happy after-

[8] Yearly Meeting MS. *Minutes, 1788–1819*, pp. 371–372.

ORIGINAL ENTRANCE, 1819

NEW ENTRANCE, 1909

dinner journeys in her uncle's chaise as he went daily to inspect the building.[9]

Early in 1817 the outside of the building was practically completed except glazing, and some interior finishing had been done. Then, familiar story, expenses were found to be out-running the funds in hand and a crisis came in the project. The building costs thus far were eighteen thousand dollars and it was estimated that to complete the building and furnish it would require about seven thousand dollars more. Then had Friends recourse to an expedient not unfamiliar to later generations. Two loyal patrons of the project, William Almy and Obadiah Brown, offered to subscribe one half of the needed sum provided that other Friends raise the balance within six months. The challenge was brought before the Yearly Meeting and a committee was appointed to meet the issue. Subscription papers were at once circulated and before the close of the Yearly Meeting something in excess of the requisite amount had been raised.[10]

So it came to pass in the fulness of time that the new building upon its high hill neared completion. To the Yearly Meeting held in June, 1818, came the glad message from the Meeting for Sufferings that the building was so far completed that the school might be opened the following winter. In ready response the Yearly Meeting gave the Meeting for Sufferings, in conjunction with a committee to be appointed by the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends, full power to engage su-

[9] Obadiah, the son, and William Almy, the son-in-law of Moses Brown, took the contract for erecting the building, and were among the most munificent donors to the building fund.

[10] Meeting for Sufferings MS. *Minutes, 1793–1842*, pp. 186–188. Yearly Meeting MS. *Minutes, 1788–1819*, pp. 413, 415.

perintendents and teachers and make other arrangements for the opening of school.[11]

It was the close of an epoch. An end had come of the toil and battle and heart-break of the wilderness journey. Happily our modern Moses was destined not only to see from afar but to enter into the land of promise. No finer picture of what the victory meant to that valiant leader could be drawn than that by the pen of a contemporary. Addressing Obadiah Brown a few days before the opening of the school a Friend wrote: "I am frequently thinking of the School and am much interested in its welfare and usefulness. I think from its present situation and prospects it must be a bright light in the evening horizon of thy dear father, who has travailed long and ardently for its promotion. I well remember his weighty remarks on the subject when I was a boy sitting in the Yearly Meeting. I can but rejoice according to my measure, that he, like good old Simeon, has lived to see the dawning of that day for which he has so long waited. May his days be lengthened, with comfort to himself and usefulness to others."[12]

[11] Yearly Meeting MS. *Minutes, 1788–1819*, pp. 427–428.

[12] Austin, MS. *History*, pp. 24–25. Letter of Stephen Gould, who later had an important place in the management of the school, as Assistant Superintendent.

ORIGINAL BUILDING

FROM SKETCH ON DIAL OF OLD CLOCK IN SITTING-ROOM

THIS CLOCK WAS MADE BY JOHN BAILEY IN 1817, WHILE THE BUILDING WAS IN PROCESS OF ERECTION

CHAPTER VI.

A Hundred Years Ago.

1819.

Little Maria Augusta Fuller, shy, homesick, and twelve years old, sat among the pupils in the girls' school-room of the new building and wept quietly. Of the whole long line of scholars extending to the present day she was the first to arrive at the Boarding School, and the pioneer of many homesick sojourners there who have sought the solace of tears.

This was the first Monday in January, 1819, the first day of school in the new and permanent location. Maria Fuller, of Lynn, had come to the school several days earlier in the company and care of Matthew and Betsy Purinton, of Salem, Massachusetts, who had been appointed to have charge, as Superintendents, of the business and home-life of the institution. The building had been opened on the preceding Friday, the first day of the year. On that day there had been present also Benjamin Rodman, the boys' teacher, and as prospective scholars a girl from New Hampshire and three girls from Nantucket. No boy appeared on the first registration day of Friends' Boarding School.

The girls from Nantucket had come in the charge of Mary Mitchell and Dorcas Gardner, who were to act as assistant teachers in the girls' department. This little party had traveled one day's sail in a sloop from Nantucket Island to New Bedford and one day's jolt-

ing in a stage to the mansion of Moses Brown, there arriving in the evening of the last day of the year 1818.

So on the first day of the new year there were five pupils at the school under the care of two superintendents, one teacher, and two assistant teachers,—five to five. The ratio thus balanced, it was decided that school routine should not begin until the following Monday. On that day, eleven pupils being present, classes were called, Maria Fuller wept, and Friends' Boarding School at Providence began the first century of its beneficent work.[1]

The staff of teachers was completed early in the first week by the arrival of Deborah Hill as head teacher of the girls, and Thomas Howland as colleague of Benjamin Rodman among the boys. Of the five teachers composing the first faculty of the school, four set a trying pace for their self-sacrificing successors by giving their services gratuitously during a considerable part of the first school year.

The ages of most of the pupils fell between the limits of ten and fifteen years but a few were as young as seven and eight and several above twenty. A boy of twenty-seven and a girl of twenty-eight held an ample seniority over the younger members of the teaching force.

The principal subjects taught at the beginning were reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and geography.

[1] The pupils registered during the first three days were as follows:—*Friday:* Comfort Allen, age 22, Richmond, N. H.; Elizabeth Brayton, age 15, Nantucket, Mass.; Anna Fitch, age 14, Nantucket, Mass.; Hepsabeth Mitchell, age 14, Nantucket, Mass.; Maria Augusta Fuller, age 12, Lynn, Mass. *Saturday:* Philip A. Southwick, age 10, Danvers, Mass.; Milly Paine, age 15, Cumberland, R. I. *Monday:* Daniel Bicknell, age 11, North Providence, R. I.; Dorcas Hadwin, age 11, Providence; Charles Congdon, age 11, Providence; Charles Metcalf, age 15, Cumberland, R. I.—At the close of the first month forty-one students had been registered, the second month sixty-six, the third month eighty-one.

Memorizing and reciting choice bits of literature, especially poetry, were much in evidence, and some volunteer work in botany was indulged in outside of class hours. Aside from the basic elementary subjects it is probable that some opportunity for more advanced study was offered in the cases of a few individual scholars of exceptional ability or training.[2]

The building was new, not yet finished within. Carpenters still worked in the unoccupied parts, and the chips resulting from their handiwork were carried to the large fire-place to warm the shivering household during those first wintry weeks. The floors were unpainted and without carpets. The walls and lofty ceilings knew no paper nor even a humble whitewash. Yet, as one of that day wrote, "It was a noble building," and it held the promise of the future within its unpolished halls.

The early days were busy days. Pupils rose before the sun; washed and dressed in a haste superinduced by icy water and icy atmosphere; gathered in the boys' school-room to await the breakfast bell; broke their fast seated upon backless stools at two long tables, one for boys and one for girls. The morning school lasted until twelve. After dinner those who wished jumped the rope, or played with the battledore purchased by that beloved teacher and human being, Benjamin Rodman, against the head-shakings of sterner Friends. Afternoon classes held course from two until four-thirty, and supper was at five. Then came grammar until seven-thirty, and occasionally a lecture or the reading of a moral essay for the older scholars. The

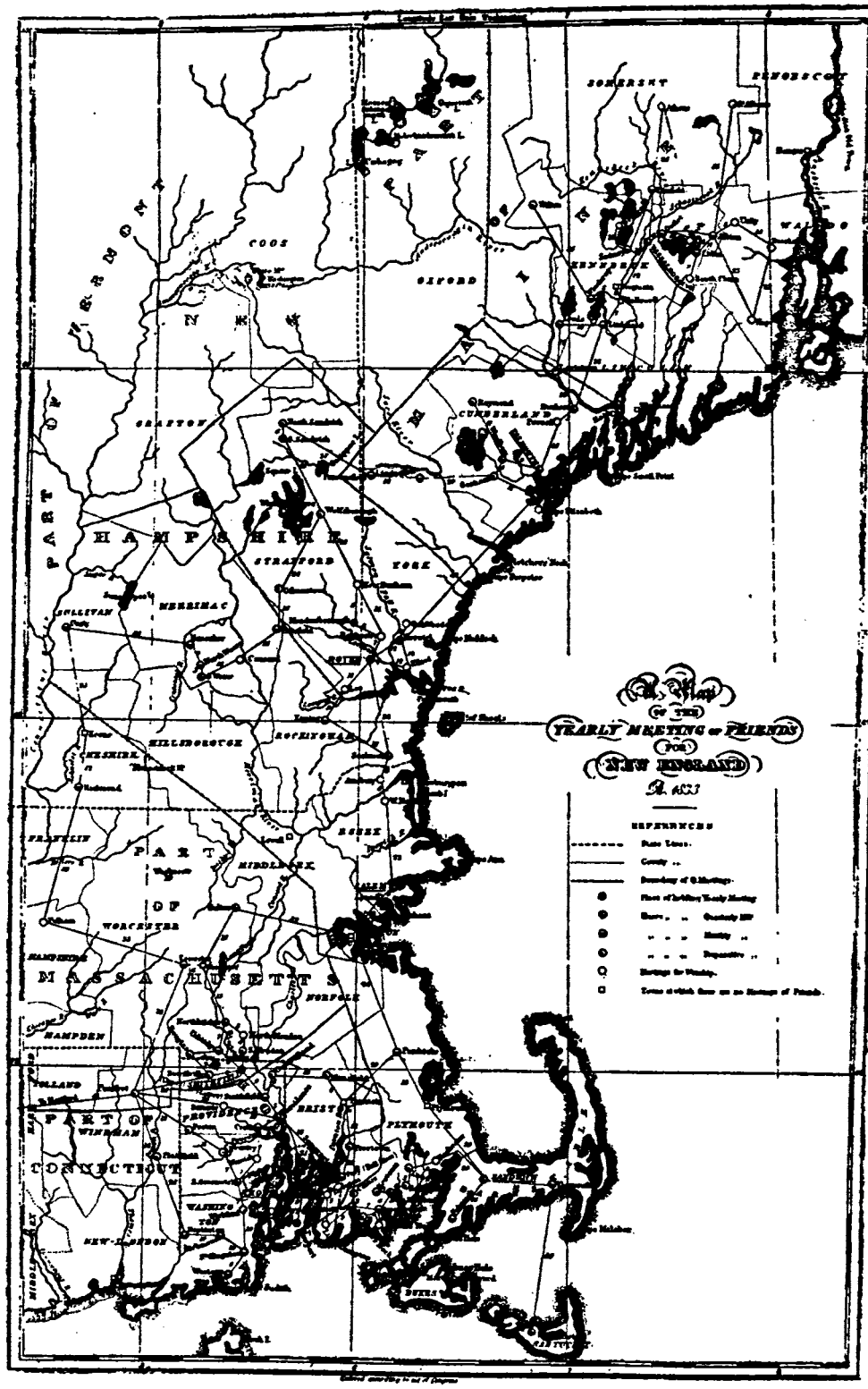
[2] An example in point would seem to be the case of Pliny Earle. His beautiful transcript of Professor John Gummere's *Plane Trigonometry* and *Problems in Surveying* is preserved at the school and is dated 1826.

younger children retired at eight and the older ones at nine.[3]

What boarding school of ancient lineage has not its tales of student grumbling against the table fare? "Baked beans and pork as usual today," wrote one lass after a noon meal of the vintage 1819, but added leniently, "and a good pudding." At supper time the long red tables were often lined with large white bowls, pitchers of milk and of molasses, and iron spoons for all, while a great tin bread pan held ample store of hulled corn. Yet some scholars would not be satisfied. At last a policy of food saving was instituted by passing a plate upon which the children might place the food served to them that did not meet with their fancy. To the dismay of those in authority some youths placed all their meal on the altar of conservation. Then to stop any possible cry of starvation a barrel of ship's biscuit was placed in a convenient location so that any hungering one might eat at his convenience. A bill of fare was secured from the Friends' Boarding School at Nine Partners, New York, and with some variations was adopted. Frequently Moses Brown and other neighboring friends brought vegetables and fruits to replenish the larder of the School.

If scholars complained of scanty fare yet was the school cuisine commended by the liberal patronage of traveling Friends. It was a Friends' school and those who bore the name of Friend proposed to claim it as their own. Some came to inspect the work of the classes; some to query concerning the spiritual atmosphere or "the plainess of speech and apparel"; some

[3] This description of the daily routine is taken largely from notes by Mary Mitchell, later Mrs. Walter Underhill, an assistant teacher during the early months of the school. See *Proceedings of Alumni Assoc.*, 2nd Annual Mtg., 1860, pp. 14–15.



MAP PREPARED BY PLINY EARLE. FIRST PUBLISHED 1833

traveling Friends lingered to rest from the journey or even to recover from an illness.

Especially at the time of Quarterly or Yearly Meetings were the guests multiplied. "A stage full of visitors arrived at a late hour. Many of the household had gone to bed. Dorcas and I assisted in making beds where there were no beds. It was almost twelve when we retired. Seventeen guests in the house! Only think!" So an early diary paints the picture. Thomas Howland, instructor, referred to the school as "The New England Phenomenon." Some called it "The Quaker Hotel."

Of all the phases of life in the school, the founders were most interested in the religious. Part of the vital outward expression of religion to their minds was plainness in speech and apparel. Again and again in committee reports, school regulations, and personal exhortations, scholars and parents were reminded that this "ancient testimony of the Religious Society of Friends" was fundamental in the polity of Friends' Boarding School.

Inward religion was fostered in the "meetings for worship" held at the school. On the first Sunday, January 3, 1819, Betsy Purinton, one of the superintendents, wrote in her diary: "It being proposed that a meeting for worship should be held in this building for the accommodation of the family and scholars, at half past ten o'clock they assembled for the aforesaid object; and in addition to the family, our friend Moses Brown and others met in solemn assembly." From other memoirs it appears that Obadiah Brown and his wife Dorcas, and two granddaughters of Moses Brown were the other visitors present in that first meeting. They sat in one of the four large square rooms

on the first floor, furnished only with a large stove and a few chairs. What was apparently the only vocal service is recorded in the sentence, "Betsy Purinton knelt in supplication."

In that first meeting the women sat with shawls on and bonnets tied. Later a discussion arose as to whether the girls should wear their bonnets in meeting. Thomas Howland favored it, Deborah Hill opposed. Betsy Purinton closed the debate by telling the younger girls to wear their bonnets and the older ones to follow their own inclination. Some wore them; some did not. Soon the bonneted and unbonneted were dubbed the Houses of York and Lancaster respectively.

Aside from the Sunday morning meeting one was held in the afternoon or evening of that day and another on Wednesday morning. At these religious meetings neighboring Friends or those from a distance were often present and took some vocal part in prayer or exhortation.

The presence and service of William Almy and his daughter Anna, later Anna Jenkins, are often noted in the early days. Daniel Howland, Rowland Greene, Edward Cobb, Thomas Jones, and John Wilbur were also present and of service on occasion.

One ministering Friend not so versed in the classics as in things of the spirit visited a class-room and, talking to the scholars, referred to the fact that they might study "Greek, Latin and Septuagint." The preservation of the story by a youth of the early days is another token of the ancient battle between the flesh and the spirit.

Yet the serious spiritual lessons expounded by the Quaker prophets of those days were remembered and pondered by many a tender heart and eager mind.

Micajah Collins "expatiated beautifully on the subject of love. May its diffusing influence be spread awide in every of our hearts; for without it our lives will be rendered unhappy while here. May jealousy and envy never have a place in my heart is my sincere wish." So wrote a little learner during the first year of the school after listening to a message from a visiting Friend.[4]

Such were the personnel, curriculum, and equipment of the first days. So went the round of work and play, of preaching and practice, of daily planning and effecting, by which hands seen and unseen pressed the plastic parts into shape and symmetry. And so betimes the good God, looking with favor upon the work of his hand-servants, breathed the breath of life into the new organism, and Friends' Boarding School became a living soul.

[4] Diary of Mary E. Nichols, p. 50.

CHAPTER VII.

Problems and Progress.

1820–1836.

An immeasurable loss was sustained by the school in 1822 through the death in that year of Obadiah Brown. Next to his father he was the most liberal and influential supporter of the movement for establishing the institution at Providence. He had been a pupil in the school at Portsmouth and undoubtedly all of his early education was under careful religious influence. His gratitude on this account is exhibited by the gift in his will of a silver watch to his father, "not for its value, but as a small token of the affection I feel for him and that of Remembrance for the Care he bestowed in religiously educating me; which I now record from grateful sensations therefor, and from a hope that whoever may see this Memorial of mine to his memory, if they have children, may extend the like Care in their early Education."[1]

He and his brother-in-law, William Almy, having been early associated in the business of cotton spinning[2] and various other mercantile enterprises, had accumulated ample fortunes which they were ready to invest liberally in worthy enterprises.

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

[1] Official copy of will in Records of Probate Court, City Hall, Providence, *Wills*, vol. XIII, pp. 132–138.

[2] See above, p. 34, note 5.

OBADIAH BROWN, BENEFACTOR

(SEE PAGES 58-59)

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.

He was a most valuable member of the School Committee to which he gave freely of his time and attention. He usually attended the religious meetings at the school and took a deep interest in the welfare of teachers and scholars, to whom he quickly endeared himself by the great sweetness and urbanity of his manners. It was his custom to give a book, as a token of his personal regard, to each student who was leaving the institution.

Removed suddenly from his gracious activities, by a short illness, in the fifty-second year of his life, he left to the Friends' Boarding School not only the financial means for permanent usefulness but a heritage of inspiring memories that form the imperishable endowment of such institutions.[8]

From the standpoint of attendance and financial condition the school was a success from the beginning. The enrollment increased from forty-nine at the end of the first quarter to ninety-nine at the close of the half-year. The average attendance for the first year was about seventy and remained near that figure for two or three years. Then a gradual increase began and the average for the next decade was about one hundred and twenty-five.

[8] Printed *Extracts from the Records of the New England Yearly Meeting Boarding School*, pp. 7–8.

With the tuition from this increasing patronage and the income from gifts and bequests the finances of the school prospered. The charge for board and tuition, fixed at one hundred dollars per year at the beginning, was gradually lowered until it reached a minimum of half that figure in 1831. Two years later it was raised to sixty dollars to meet an increased running expense. Almost from the opening of the school pupils who were non-Friends were admitted on condition that they would conform to the use of the plain language and to Quaker simplicity in their dress. For such pupils an increased tuition charge was made.[4]

The ancient "concern" for the education of the children of Friends not in affluent circumstances was not forgotten in the midst of the increasing prosperity. In 1820 the committee reported that ten children had already been aided by the "Charitable Fund," and in the following years it was customary for the school to admit one child for six months free of charge from each Monthly Meeting. A rule was also made (in 1823) to allow a mileage deduction, of eight cents per mile, on the charges of children who came from the more distant Quarterly Meetings."[5]

[4] The earliest cases of the admission of non-Friends discovered by the present writer were of Frances A. Bartlett in the spring of 1819, and the two daughters of Barnabas Bates about one year later. The first case was considered an exception to the rule at the time. The two Bates children had been refused admission in 1819 because they were not Friends but the decision was reversed the next year.—Austin *Collection*, Package XXIII. There were apparently very few non-Friends enrolled during the first decade. No boys over fourteen years of age were admitted in the early period except by special permission of the committee. This restriction was not applied to girls.

[5] Where no footnote reference is made to sources the authority can ordinarily be found by referring to the annual report of the School Committee as found in the *Minutes* of the Yearly Meeting. The dates given in the text are sufficient guide to these reports.

BUILDING WITH ADDITION TO WINGS, 1826
CLASSICAL BUILDING (REAR, LEFT), 1831

The school at Portsmouth had never boasted more than twenty or thirty scholars, and its financial support from Friends in general had been almost negligible. In outstanding contrast the school at Providence came at once into a goodly heritage of students and endowment. Such was the well deserved reward of the struggle and waiting of the long interregnum. Even the Hicksite controversy (1827–1828) that wrecked so many Friendly activities and developments in other parts left the school at Providence practically unscathed. While the winds blew upon New England Yearly Meeting and the waves of feeling ran high in some places, yet by the wisdom of its leaders and the blessing of Heaven the Yearly Meeting avoided a division. It was a great salvation for the Boarding School at Providence. It could continue its flourishing growth without that blight.

In early chapters of this writing reference has been made to the fact that in the Portsmouth School and at Providence some opportunity was given for an occasional student of unusual genius or preparation to pursue subjects in advance of the staple elementary studies; also to the fact that Moses Brown cherished aspirations, as early as 1787, for a department in which more advanced courses might be regularly offered.[6] So successful was the boarding school at Providence during the first decade of its existence that the question of a higher department began again to be agitated. This time the friends of the idea were not to be denied.

[6] See above, pp. 26–27. An academy for teaching some of these higher subjects was established at New Bedford in 1810. Its sponsors were Wm. Rotch, Wm. Rotch, Jr., Samuel Rodman and other Friends, who established it as a private enterprise not under the supervision of any Friends' meeting. This academy has had a long and useful career and is still continuing its work.

Moses Brown's ancient aspiration was to be attained. The Yearly Meeting of 1830 referred the subject to the School Committee and that committee adopted a program of immediate action. Already in 1826 the wings of the school building had been extended forty feet in either direction to afford accommodation for the increased attendance. Now a new addition was built, attaching to the rear of the west wing. The added structure was a child of faith. It was to house the new academic department.

Nor was the faith of the School Committee limited to the piling up of brick and mortar. It reached out after the best teaching talent available. For Principal of the new Department the Committee secured John Griscom, probably the most learned member of the Society of Friends in America. He had taught in schools at Burlington, New Jersey, and in New York City, and was an accomplished student of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry. He had traveled in Europe and formed personal acquaintanceship with Lafayette and with the great naturalists, Cuvier and von Humboldt. In England he had met such philanthropists as Elizabeth Fry and Thomas Clarkson, and in literary circles Sir Walter Scott, William Wordsworth, and Robert Southey.

John Griscom came to the Friends' School at the princely price of fifteen hundred dollars a year, probably three times as much as any instructor in the institution had before received. There were misgivings on the part of many "concerned" Friends but a few loyal supporters made up a large part of the salary and the great teacher came to Providence late in the year 1832. Aside from giving lectures in Chemistry and Natural Philosophy he was to organize the new upper depart-

JOHN GRISCOM
PRINCIPAL, 1832-1835

SAMUEL J. GUMMERE
TEACHER OF CLASSICS, 1832-1834

ment and indeed reorganize the curriculum and teaching methods in the whole school.[7]

Samuel J. Gummere, later President of Haverford College, Pennsylvania, had come to the Providence school some months prior to the arrival of Professor Griscom. Although much younger than the latter he too had received exceptional preparation for his work. John Griscom wrote in his *Memoirs:* "My position at the school was the more agreeable for having among the teachers Samuel J. Gummere, son of my very valued friend John Gummere, of Burlington. He had preceded me in his engagement at the boarding-school; and had been for some time established as teacher of Latin, Greek, and Mathematics. His qualifications for this comprehensive range of duty were unusually great for so young a man."[8]

Another teacher at this period was Pliny Earle. Although young and but lately a pupil in the school, he was destined to make a lasting impression upon the life of the institution and gain wide renown in later years as a physician and public benefactor. His capacity for work is indicated by the fact that he taught reading, writing, English grammar, algebra, geometry and botany in the school and at the same time carried on his medical studies in Providence. His pen-knife, used to sharpen the quill pens of the pupils, is still treasured at the school. More highly treasured in the early days was the wielder of the knife, the young man, whose charming curls were the admiration of many a shy Quaker maiden in the school. It is said that the quills used by the girls had to be brought with unwonted fre-

[7] See *Memoir of John Griscom, LL.D.*, N. Y., 1859.

[8] *Memoir of John Griscom*, pp. 244-245.—John Gummere and John Griscom were referred to at the time by Pliny Earle as "doubtless the two most learned Quakers in America." *Memoirs of Pliny Earle*, p. 49.

quency to the teacher's desk for the ministrations of his knife.

Moses A. Cartland was a teacher in the school at this time and few instructors succeed as did he in winning the loving regard of their pupils. He interested himself especially in those who were looking forward to teaching as a life work and organized them into a little class in which problems and methods of teaching were discussed. It may be recalled in this connection that one of the prime objects of the original founders of the school was to furnish a supply of competent teachers.

In description of the opening of the school in October, 1832, Pliny Earle wrote: "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."[9]

The lonely pupil from New Bedford did not long remain solitary. The fame of the new upper department was soon spread abroad and additional scholars turned their faces toward the school. The attendance in the entire school advanced from one hundred and twenty-eight in 1831, to one hundred and sixty-three the following year, and one hundred and seventy-two in 1833. In 1834 there were one hundred and sixty-eight pupils

[9] *Memoirs of Pliny Earle*, pp. 48–49.

in the whole school, and of these seventeen were enrolled in the upper school, a goodly number for that period.

This was the heyday of the school in its early history. The fame of John Griscom and the scholarly work of Samuel J. Gummere raised the institution to a new plane in the esteem of educators and all cultivated folk of the region. Professor Griscom delivered frequent lectures before the Franklin Society and the Mechanics' Society of Providence and to other select audiences in the vicinity. Members of the teaching force at the school were on cordial terms with professors in Brown University, and the entrée of the best homes in the city was theirs. In some of the higher subjects no better instruction was given at the university than at the school, and those who finished the higher courses at the school easily entered the Junior class at the university.

Glimpses of the school life of the period are permitted to modern eyes. "In the afternoon I was exercised two hours in Algebra by John Griscom," wrote a pupil of the day, revealing the care given by the Principal to the work of other departments than his own. "Pliny Earle, myself and about forty others went by way of the turn-pike to the lime rocks in Smithfield, collected a number of specimens of minerals and returned by way of the canal tow path; about fourteen miles." Such is an early description of a journey that taxed the endurance but thrilled the heart of many a later pilgrim. And how many teachers in Friends' schools of a subsequent period were numbered among the "twelve large scholars" who met "with Moses in his room to read and talk of school teaching," and who heard with eagerness his reading of the first chapter of

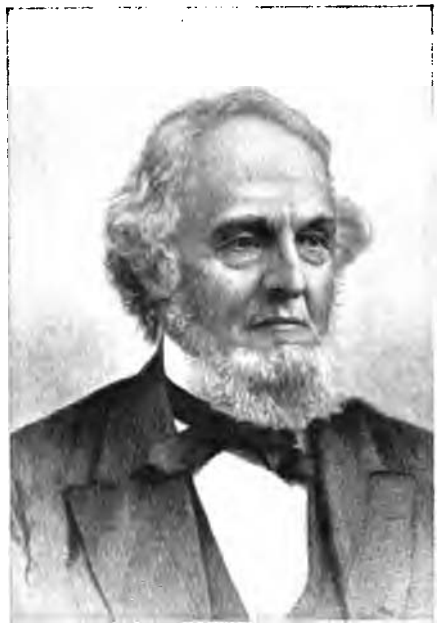
"The Teacher?" For such was one of the beneficent activities of

> "Moses Cartland, six feet high
> Jet black hair and sparkling eye."[10]

It is possible that some of the more rigorous restrictions of the first years were relaxed slightly by the administration of John Griscom, but during the whole of the period under review the rules were rigid enough to tax the imagination of present day liberals. Enoch and Lydia Breed were superintendents of the household at this time. The latter was a woman of unusual ability whose views on the subjects of education and religion were far in advance of the age. To Enoch Breed the ancient testimony of Friends against "hat worship" was so compelling that his hat, with its orthodox breadth of brim, was worn constantly in the house and out of doors. Meal time was no exception to the rule and when an upraised saucer of tea met the brim of Quaker hat, the sober demeanor of well-trained youth was only outward.

No pictures were allowed on the walls. Plainness in speech and apparel was strictly required. "It will be expected of every male admitted into this Institution, that his body-coat, jacket and vest, be single-breasted, and without lappels or falling collars." Females also were to avoid "the extravagance of the fashions of the present day. They will be required to wear silk or plain straw bonnets, without any trimmings for ornament. Their frocks or gowns should be of materials that are plain in color, and conformable in the size of the sleeves, and in other respects to con-

[10] Clarkson Macomber, MS. *Diary* (copy), pp. 5–7; *letter* of Humphrey Swift to Augustine Jones, July 11, 1892, p. 2.



PLINY EARLE
TEACHER OF "THE GREAT PERIOD," 1831-1835. (SEE PAGE 63 F.)

MOSES A. CARTLAND
TEACHER, 1831-1834

venience and propriety, and not according to the vain fashions of the world. Their handkerchiefs and collars should be without edgings or trimmings—and no article intended for ornament merely, will be permitted to be worn." Such were the regulations published in 1835, and all garments brought to the school in violation of the rules were to be laid aside until the pupil's return home or else altered at the expense of parents or guardians.

The flavor of ancient days is about the accounts of student life at the time. Scholars came to the school, not in Pullman sleeper nor private limousine, but in stately chaise, or lumbering farm wagon, or public stage. A double yoke of oxen drew great loads of firewood that the boys pitched into the school basement, taking their pay in pie and ginger-bread. Evening study was around japanned tin lamps filled with whale oil, that smoked until the room was clouded.

The boys played shinny, kicked the foot-ball, and brought apples from Moses Brown's orchard. When one lad kicked a foot-ball over the new building and the feat was questioned by a doubter from the woods of Maine, a witness, not of the English department, came shouting: "Yes he did, I seed him, he keeked it clean over the peckits yender."

Out in the old "north woods" was a big beech tree with names of ambitious youth carved on it to the topmost branch. Down the hill from it to a reservoir ran the little stream upon which the boys built dams and set up their saw mills, with saws made by filing teeth in watch springs.

The girls had less play and of a quieter sort. Stephen and Hannah Gould assisted in superintending the school household and the latter sometimes invited the

girls to her home where they sewed little articles for themselves or their friends. Journeys to the grotto, a wooded ravine northeast of the school grounds made gladsome outings for this as for later generations.

Simple play, simple dress, simple life of the early day! Yet, tell it not in Gath, the children of that day were yet human. The fence that divided girls from boys in the rear yard had knots in it and soon by virtue of shinny clubs it had knot holes. Then could boys and girls converse when no one saw, and even notes were passed. Sometimes the boys played jews-harps close to listening ears beyond the pale. Be it known, however, that music was under the ban and one girl had been compelled to stand on the platform before the school for having sung "a very dubious song" called Auld Lang Syne.

Girls were even known to fall so far from proper standing as to take crackers from the barrel in the basement when watchers were not present. Boys filched food from the tables. One lad seized three ears of steaming hot corn and hid them under his jacket while the Superintendent was in a fit of sneezing. The culprit was nearly blistered but he got safely away with the corn.

Mock trials were a feature of student life and one boy was tried for wearing his hat in the court-house. Another lad who took part in one trial is an example of the tender conscience of the more serious youth of that day. After the trial was over he had to repent of being engaged "in such folly and idleness." When asked again to participate he was not to be tempted. In his diary he wrote: "I, having had my fingers burned once, utterly refused to comply and withdrew

to read the Bible and Dr. Abercrombie's Philosophy of the Moral Feelings."[11]

The inevitable literary societies made their appearance at this early period, and were participated in by pupils and teachers. There were apparently two societies, perhaps rivals, among the boys. The Lyceum-Phoenix Society was organized April 17, 1833. The Social Lyceum (formed 1831) had lived and died before that time but was revived to stand for a short time beside its new competitor. Lectures, essays, debates, original poems, and dialogues were staged in their turn. The slavery question was settled more than once without a civil war and on one occasion it was recorded that "the Female teachers have passed in to hear the debate respecting Free suffrage."[12]

Such was the life at Friends' School in the first period of its existence, the period that came to its climactic height in the administration of John Griscom, 1832 to 1835. Yet the days of that splendid epoch were numbered. Some Friends had felt from the time the famous teacher was engaged that too much money was being expended in maintaining the higher courses.[13]

[11] For the above incidents of student life the author is indebted to Sarah G. Yarnall, a pupil of 1832–1833, still living (1919) and mentally alert in her hundredth year; also to notes and diaries by Pliny Earle, Abraham Barker, Humphrey Swift, and Clarkson Macomber, preserved in the vault of Moses Brown School.

[12] See the first *Record Book* of Lyceum-Phoenix, 1833–1838, in vault of Moses Brown School; also copy of Clarkson Macomber's MS. *Diary*. This society had a checkered career, ever rising appropriately from its ashes, for about seventy years. It was sometimes called the Social Lyceum or merely Phoenix. See *Phoenix Echo* of 1901 and earlier years. —A Classical Club was formed in 1833 and a Museum Association in 1841, but these apparently survived only a few years. The latter had a nucleus of interest in the mineral collection of John Griscom purchased of him for $1000 after he left the institution. It is still preserved at the school.

[13] John Griscom believed that Moses Brown shared this feeling. Possibly the aged founder did feel that the new movement was being carried

The division of opinion on this question was irksome to a man of John Griscom's sensibilities and after serving the school for two years he resigned his position. He was persuaded to remain six months longer but took his leave about the middle of 1835. His young friend, now his son-in-law, Samuel J. Gummere, had left the school a few months earlier to teach Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the newer Friends' School at Haverford, Pennsylvania, which institution he was later to serve as President when it had grown to the full stature of a college.

After the departure of John Griscom there was left in the firmament of the school only one of the galaxy of stars that had been wont to shine so brilliantly there.[14] Pliny Earle remained some months longer, although a different career was constantly beckoning him on. His preparatory medical studies were so far advanced that he was anxious to complete a regular course of study. His face was turned toward the Medical College in Philadelphia and in the fall of 1835 he took his journey to that city. Thus in the course of a year the Friends' School at Providence lost all of those men who had brought the institution, so recently established, to its first golden age.

This change in the fortunes of the institution was the result of discernible influences that were not confined to one locality. The school at Haverford, Pennsylvania, founded in 1833, and the Providence school were the products of a general movement in the So-

too far, since the prime purpose of the original founders and benefactors was undoubtedly to furnish an elementary education to children who could not otherwise secure it under Friendly influences. See *Memoir of John Griscom*, pp. 245–258, especially 245 and 256.

[14] Moses A. Cartland left the school late in 1834. He was perhaps not a brilliant scholar but a teacher of great and good influence.

ciety of Friends toward higher education. Each school had its periods of approach to the best college standards of the day, and of falling away toward the lower levels of a mere common school education. These variations were in part at least due to a conflict of ideals within the Society. Many Friends, as Moses Brown discovered a generation earlier, felt that a knowledge of "the three R's," coupled with "guarded influences" and strict adherence to "the ancient testimonies of Friends," were ample preparation for life. On the other hand there were the apostles of the higher education who felt that the exigencies of modern life demanded above all else the best possible intellectual equipment. As the one or the other of these groups prevailed for the time in the councils of the Society, the academic standards in Friends' schools rose or fell. Great was the fall at the Providence school when John Griscom and his efficient colleagues turned their faces toward other fields of service.

Nor was the departure of brilliant teachers to tell the full tale of loss at the close of this period. William Almy, one of the long time friends and supporters of the school died February 5, 1836, at the age of seventy-five years. Throughout mature life he had been an ardent worker for the welfare of the school. He gave nearly seven thousand dollars to the building fund and general expenses, besides providing funds to support not less than eighty scholars at various times for a period of at least six months each. More frequently than any other person he appeared in gospel ministry before the pupils at the school meeting from 1819 to the time of his death. While not an eloquent man, he was noted for using in his sermons the most correct language, and cogent reasoning,—qualities not too com-

mon in that day. Above all he had been a faithful exponent of the school idea during the dark days of the interregnum. Next to Moses and Obadiah Brown he is to be reckoned a founder of the institution.

Later in the same year died Moses Brown, September 6, 1836, aged ninety-seven years, eleven months, and fourteen days. He retained his mental capacity to the last and interested himself continuously in the school. His resignation as treasurer of the school committee was presented only a few months before his death. Addressed to the Clerk of New England Yearly Meeting, June, 1836, it was as follows:

I have, through thee, to ask of the Yearly Meeting a release of the care and labour of being the Treasurer of the Yearly Meeting's School Fund, which I have sustained from its commencement on Rhode Island, under the care of the Meeting for Sufferings, and since under the School Committee, now about fifty-three years; and though my concern for the prosperity of the Institution remains, I find my age, debility and often infirmities are such as induces me to ask a release from the necessary cares and labours of that Office, and that some suitable person may be appointed in my place; which please to mention in my behalf to the Meeting; and thy compliance will oblige

Thy friend,

MOSES BROWN.[15]

Many rejoiced in 1819 that Moses Brown had lived to see at last, as a reality, the school of his long-deferred hopes and ardent labors. None dreamed that

[15] Yearly Meeting MS. *Minutes, 1836-1847*, p. 5.—The substance of a discourse by Moses Brown in his 95th year, to the pupils at one of the school meetings was written down after the meeting and is still preserved at the school. Moses Brown attended a meeting of a sub-committee of the School Committee as late as Aug. 2, 1836.

he would outlive the second generation of the school's early supporters and see the institution at the height of its youthful glory. By a gracious dispensation of Heaven that favor was granted,—a richly earned reward for the services of the veteran founder, and a blessed benediction upon the future of the school.[16]

[16] By his will Moses Brown left $15,000 to the school, besides an additional plot of land, containing about two acres, and a valuable collection of books. According to the terms of his will about $5000 of the bequest was used a few years later to purchase two tracts of land of about ten acres each as additions to the school grounds. See report of School Comm. to Yearly Meeting, 1842. Official copy of Moses Brown's will in Records of Probate Court, City Hall, Providence, *Wills*, vol. XIV, pp. 23–36. Other legacies left to the school in its early years were by Thomas Folsom, Sylvester Wicks, Lydia Tillinghast, Amy Greene, and Abraham Shearman, Jr.—Extracts of various wills printed in pamphlet form with the Act of Incorporation of New England Yearly Meeting.

CHAPTER VIII.

Battling with Adversity.

1836–1852.

Pity the school that has never struggled for its existence! The battle against adverse circumstances, as in men so in institutions, is the training that develops moral stamina. The memory of such battles is a precious item in the endowment, producing a perennial income of courage and resolute will to further conquest. Without periods of adversity the past of a school is stuff for a mere chronicle. With the story of battles there comes an epic theme.

In the history of the school at Portsmouth and of the long interregnum there was adversity in plenteous measure. In the first decade and a half of the school at Providence there was prosperity and to spare. In the next period, from 1836 to about 1852, there were fiery trials again.

In the first place the loss of the four great teachers whose united strength had lifted the reputation of the school to a height almost perilous in itself, inevitably caused a sudden decline. The stock in trade of an educational institution is, after all, its faculty, though the fact be blinked until some crisis compels a stock-taking. So the lean years came in at Friends' School as the great scholars went out. The average attendance of one hundred and seventy during the years 1833 and 1834 dropped to one hundred and forty-three the following year, when the famous teachers began to

leave, and to an average of one hundred and thirty-five for the three years, 1835 to 1837.

In the latter year came the great financial crisis that ushered in President Van Buren and held the stage long enough to usher him out again. It was one of the most severe panics in the history of the United States. Under its impact long established business houses shook and fell, pioneer settlements of the west suffered a whirlwind of disaster, while the old commercial life and new industrial activities of New England struggled for their existence. Country people could raise enough to eat and wear but the surplus of farm products would not send the children away to boarding school. So the Friends' School at Providence felt the chilling blast of hard times. The attendance dropped from one hundred and thirty-four in 1837 to seventy-nine in 1838. It rallied somewhat in 1840 and 1841 but hardly averaged above eighty for the five years from 1838 to 1843.[1]

Then came the proverbial third stroke of adversity. This was a doctrinal controversy leading to a separation within the Society of Friends,—fitting climax to a sorry tale of ill-fortune. John Wilbur, of Hopkinton, R. I., a thorough-going conservative by nature, felt that Friends were departing from their ancient simplicity of life and dress. He was also opposed to the progressive evangelical views of Joseph John Gurney, an English Friend whose activities had gained for him a large following in America. The resulting factional differences led to a separation in New England Yearly

[1] In 1837 the School Committee reported only twelve pupils enrolled who were not members of the Society of Friends and ten of these were connected in some way with the Society, perhaps having one parent a Friend. This is given as one cause for the financial set-back of the school, as non-Friends paid a higher price for board and tuition. Probably the non-Friends were the first to drop out as the famous teachers went away.

Meeting (1844–1845) and the conservative branch came to be known as "Wilburite." The disturbance and disaffection in the Yearly Meeting were naturally reflected in the fortunes of the school, the attendance of which was only fifty-five for the year ending in 1844. This number was less than in any year since the school had been in operation at Providence and was verging closely on the small enrollment that caused the downfall of the school at Portsmouth.

There was perhaps another reason for the small attendance during this period. In its report of 1846 the School Committee said: "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."[2]

It is difficult to judge how much the Boarding School was affected by the competition of the rapidly improving public school system of this period but the School Committee was undoubtedly wise in taking cognizance of the new situation. Certainly there was no extensive system of local Friends' schools to compete with the Yearly Meeting School. A General Committee on Education, first appointed by the Yearly Meeting in 1846, reported in the succeeding years that the local Friends' schools were very few and that only a small

[2] Yearly Meeting MS. *Minutes, 1836–1847*, p. 302.

percentage of the children of Friends, less than thirty per cent. in 1848, were educated in them.[8]

The Providence School, however, made a quick recovery from the low enrollment of 1844. The next year it could report an average attendance throughout the year of eighty and for the period from 1846 to 1852 the average was about ninety-five. So at the end of the period under review the fortunes of the School were once more improving.

The years of low attendance in this period did not prove disastrous to the School because, unlike its predecessor at Portsmouth, it had an adequate endowment. The funds left by Moses and Obadiah Brown and other Friends were the ballast that held the good ship steady when the storms struck. During 1836 and 1837 the School ran behind something more than five thousand dollars. Remedial measures were at once adopted in the raising of the tuition price and the acceptance of a fewer number of scholars on a charitable basis. By dint of these and other economies the deficit was wiped out in a few years and during the period many improvements were made in the school plant. Chief among these perhaps was an alteration (1849) that enlarged the accommodations for the Boys' School in the west wing of the building; also the erection of a wash-house and the building of a substantial wall around part of the school farm, reported in 1843.

[8] Yearly Meeting printed *Minutes, 1848*, p. 28. In this year there were four schools maintained by local meetings, and eleven family schools. The number of Friends' children in Friends' schools was 203, in mixed schools 1,579. The situation in subsequent years was little changed. In 1853 there were two schools maintained by local meetings, and six family schools; 184 children in Friends' schools; 1,023 in mixed schools. The family schools were sometimes maintained by the grouping of two or more families, but more often consisted of the children of a single family with a private tutor.

Two tracts of land, amounting to about twenty acres, were also added to the school grounds (1842). The price, about five thousand dollars, was paid out of current funds, and later repaid from the bequest of Moses Brown in accordance with a provision of his will.[4]

While the glories of the higher school very largely departed with the famous teachers in 1835, yet the curriculum never dropped back again to the simple standards of the first decade at Providence. The three R's, with Grammar and Geography thrown in for good measure, could not again satisfy the generation that had known John Griscom's régime. So the catalogue of 1840, and of other years in this period, offered in addition to the elementary subjects, courses in Natural Philosophy, Natural History, Chemistry, Botany, Geology, Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, Geometry, Trigonometry, Calculus, Astronomy, Mensuration, Surveying and Navigation. Of the languages were offered Latin, Greek, French and German, with a choice of Hebrew if desired. Such a program was typical of the catalogues of the period and some instruction at least was given in most of the subjects offered.

The new teacher of languages was George F. Read. His was the hardy task of making a light to shine that would be visible against the effulgent background of the former régime. He it was, so says tradition, who bought a horse to ride and getting the wrong foot in the stirrup mounted his steed only to find himself and the horse faced in opposite directions. Again he forgot to stable the poor beast at nightfall and left it hitched to a chaise to wander in the grove throughout a long, cold night.[5]

[4] The parcel of land north of Olney street was sold a few years later. Yearly Meeting printed *Minutes, 1849*, p. 11.

[5] Augustine Jones, *Historic Sketch of Friends School*, p. 22.

An important change in school routine was made near the beginning of this period. When the school was opened at Providence the attendance of scholars was often for very short and irregular periods. The school was kept open the year round and pupils came and went according to the parental will or the exigencies of home economy. To be sure the school year was divided into quarters but the Committee had constant difficulty in getting pupils to fit their stay to the quarterly divisions. Under this system there was practically no recess, and teachers and officers served "indeterminate sentences." There was almost no chance for a respite except perhaps as a blessed by-product of some death-dealing epidemic that closed the school doors for a season.

In 1838 the old system was abolished. Thereafter the year was divided into two terms of twenty-four weeks each, with a vacation of two weeks at the close of each term. The summer term began about the first of May and the winter term early in November. Under the old system and the new, the attendance was much smaller during the summer months.

The library at this period contained no fewer than fourteen hundred volumes, chiefly provided through the bequests of Moses and Obadiah Brown. The School Committee was apparently troubled with unwelcome books brought by the scholars from home for private reading. Probably the books in the library were largely concerned with Quaker history and doctrine and other religious subjects. In any event the School Committee in 1840 came to the following conclusion: "Believing that the Library of this Institution, together with the books and periodicals that have already been approved by this Committee, will afford the means for as great a

variety of reading as the time and best interests of the scholars will require, it is our judgment that it is not expedient to extend the number at the present time; but that any books or publications brought by the scholars, or sent to them, be laid aside and preserved for them until they leave the School; or, if deemed best by the Superintendents, forwarded to their parents or guardians."

One custom, that since then has experienced fortunate modifications, held imperious sway throughout the early history of the school. At stated intervals, near the close of quarters or terms, members of the School Committee visited the school and examined the scholars. In 1846 there was a reorganization of the Committee by the Yearly Meeting, provision being made for a more rapid rotation of committee members and a closer scrutiny of the school. It was urged that members of the Committee "should give their personal attention closely to the School, and should meet there monthly and appoint of their number such as they should deem proper to have the more immediate charge thereof during the recess of their meetings. They should visit the Schools to know for themselves their true state, by attending them during school hours, and by witnessing, advising, and directing in relation to the process of instruction, and they should judge of the standing and progress of the children, and enter into free intercourse with them and their teachers."

It would seem that the school was taking the natural and fortunate course of coming under the control of those best suited to manage it, the better educated and more progressive spirits. The conservative members of the Yearly Meeting, stirred perhaps by the Wilburite

MOSES B. LOCKWOOD
PRINCIPAL, 1836-1838

agitation, desired to have more hand in managing the school and holding it firmly to the ancient standards. In line with such an effort was the reissue, in 1848, of a circular of 1835 requiring of the Boarding School scholars "plainness of life, speech, and apparel."

The personnel of the officers and teachers changed rapidly during the decade and a half following 1836. Moses B. Lockwood, as a teacher in the Boys' School, held over from the great days of the preceding period and was a worthy representative of the former high traditions. For a short time (1840–1841) Pliny Earle Chase, formerly a pupil at the school and later a distinguished professor at Haverford College, taught at the school. In this period also, as in later years, the institution profited by the presence on the teaching force of Samuel Austin, destined to become a most assiduous and painstaking historian of the School. There was a rapid succession of superintendents until 1839, after which Allen and Olive Wing served until 1845, Olney and Lydia Thompson from 1845 until 1847, and after that Silas and Sarah M. Cornell until 1852. The last named Friends were accomplished, well educated people who superintended not only the household affairs but the literary work of the institution. In fact their coming in 1847 marks the wane of the Superintendent. By a ruling of the Committee in that year they came into the School in the capacity of Principals, although the name "Superintendent" was retained during their term of office.

From the opening of the school at Providence in 1819 meetings for worship for the officers and pupils were held in the school building. The difficulty especially during the winter months, of having all the scholars go

to the meeting in Providence seemed to prescribe the course adopted. During the period under review, however, the School Committee began to see another side to the question. It was felt that the meeting at the school was essentially a private meeting and Friends had always felt bound to hold their meetings for worship in public. Moreover, it seemed that a real advantage might be derived from having the children meet in worship with older Friends, those with whom they were not associated at other times. So, after consultation with the Yearly Meeting, the change was made by the School Committee in 1851, and on meeting days the members of the school community turned their steps toward the Friends' meeting-house in Providence. After an experience of something over a year it was decided to reëstablish the meeting at the school on Sunday morning. In the afternoon and for the mid-week meeting the boys and girls in separate groups, led by their teachers, went in imposing array down the hill to the meeting-house at the corner of North Main and Meeting Streets.[6]

The life at the school was not essentially different from that of the first years. The strict separation of the sexes, the Quaker plainness of dress and address, and the repressive discipline were still in order at the school. Indeed there was a Boys' School and a Girls' School kept distinct in reports and catalogues and often referred to as "the schools." The classes of boys and girls were, with rare exception, held separately. In meeting they sat separated by the impassable chasm of the middle aisle with such stern prohibition upon the turning of heads that youthful eyes suffered strain

[6] Yearly Meeting printed *Minutes, 1852*, p. 9; *1853*, p. 12.

CHARLES ATHERTON
PRINCIPAL (WITH GERTRUDE E. WHITTIER),
1852-1855

DAVID BUFFUM
MEMBER OF SCHOOL COMMITTEE. (SEE PAGE 100)

from unnatural sidelong glances. Separate walks, separate groves, separate playgrounds, separate dining-rooms, separate everything indeed except those common irrepressible human emotions that drove them at times to evade or defy the artificial regulations!

After school in winter or after supper in summer the girls were allowed to walk around the great square south of the school, led by their teachers, and followed invariably by longing eyes from the windows on the boys' side. After the girls returned the boys made a similar tour, while window space on the girls' side was at a premium. When Silas and Sarah Cornell came to the school they sought to soften somewhat the asperities of the situation by allowing the boys to follow the girls in their round, but in a separate group. Also—unheard-of risk—they had a water-melon party in the girls' grove with boys present. The tables were formed in hollow square, maidens placed within and boys without. There the delicious fruit was tasted and the erstwhile forbidden fruit of glances into fair faces. But that heaven was not to be an eternal one. Serious Friends were determined that such progressive ideas should not find entrance into a school meant to provide a "guarded education." Besides, the line dividing the groups in the daily promenade tended at once to become indistinct. So the ancient rules were reëstablished, with added severity of enforcement.[7]

Yet there were incidents to relieve the serious round. One night Charles Atherton, a splendid teacher of the period, was reading the regular evening Bible lesson

[7] From reminiscences of Timothy Nicholson, Richmond, Ind., in conversation with the author, July 20, 1918. He was a pupil at the School, 1847–1848.

to the boys. In a deep voice he intoned: "And Nebuchadnezzar the king said,—sit up there boy!" The change of context, without any change of tone or accent, was too much for the susceptibilities of the boys and a moment of unrebuked merriment followed.

A pupil of the period tells of another human outbreak on the part of the boys in 1852, just at the close of the period under discussion: "The farmers were ploughing in the field next to the play-ground, and the bars were temporarily down. The men went to dinner, and the boys went out of bounds into the field, and attached their long jumping-rope to the plow, and with a hundred boys for power and a student at the handles ploughed eight most beautiful long furrows around the field, more perfect than the work of the farmers. The affair was made cheerful by the presence of beautiful faces at the windows of the other wing and of the middle house." While the boys had gone out of bounds and so broken the rules it was more a prank than a crime. Unfortunately the school authorities were wedded to the letter of the law and all the boys were punished.[8]

Such were the lights and shadows of student life and in the fortunes of the institution during the second period, the sixteen years from 1836 to 1852. Worthy names too numerous to mention adorn the records of that time and a few are left alive to witness the centennial celebration. They knew the school in its day of stress and struggle, in its battle against financial difficulty, factional difference, and the traditions of a by-gone age. The battle did not end with the year 1852 but the immediate crisis was passed.

[8] Augustine Jones, *Historic Sketch of Friends School*, pp. 25-26.

REAR VIEW, SHOWING HISTORIC OLD GYMNASIUM

(SEE PAGE 85 AND NOTE)

CHAPTER IX.

The Middle Age.

1853–1860.

An outstanding characteristic of the Middle Ages in European History was that they partook so largely of both the preceding and the following periods. Ancient ideas and customs seemed to dominate the life of the time and yet new movements and discoveries appeared as harbingers of the modern world. So it was in the middle age at Friends' Boarding School. Quaker plainness, strict separation of the sexes, and a repressive discipline were familiar landmarks of the "ancient testimonies." Improved physical equipment, new business methods, and an ordered course of study were sure signals of further changes to come.

Throughout the period needed changes were made in buildings and equipment. A new and much improved water supply was provided. A gymnasium was built west of the school building for the boys. It was a plain wooden structure but the equipment was good for that day, and great and loud was the fun that centered there. It is said that seventy-five boys of the old régime in that hall with a foot-ball as the center of attraction could rival the noise of any mammoth stadium, ancient or modern.[1]

A new stone barn was built early in the period but was almost immediately swept by a fire that carried

[1] The old gymnasium has been moved and is now (1919) numbered among the outbuildings of the school farm.

away horses and feed, another barn and small outbuildings. The loss was severe and it was necessary to rebuild the stone barn on a larger scale. At the same time an improvement in the grounds was made by the planting of two or three acres to fruit trees donated by a friend of the school.

Greatest advance of all in equipment was the change in the lighting system. Picture the old boys' schoolroom, lighted with whale-oil lamps! Each broad desk, seating two boys, held before them on a sturdy wooden pin a whale-oil torch. Unhappily when the lamps were all in action, with wicks indifferently adjusted, the smoke and odor little helped the wayfarers in their search for truth. So came to the old school the much talked-of gas lighting system, the greatest single boon of new equipment since the doors had opened at Providence almost thirty-five years before.[2]

The school year was still divided into two semesters or terms of equal length, beginning in May and November respectively. The vacation of two weeks between terms, graciously granted since 1838, was, however, changed to four weeks beginning with 1853. Twice a year one month's ease from the rigors of academic life,—how sweet the new dispensation for teachers and scholars!

The general committee of the Yearly Meeting continued to report in this period that only a small proportion of Friends' children throughout New England attended schools exclusively under the care of Friends. Another Friends' Boarding School was, however, opened at Vassalboro, Maine, in 1850. This new school, Oak Grove Seminary, offered convenient oppor-

[2] Augustine Jones, *Historic Sketch of Friends' School*, p. 26; Yearly Meeting printed *Minutes, 1853*, p. 7.

tunity for the attendance of children who lived a distance from Providence.[8]

The average attendance at the Providence school throughout the period from 1853 to 1860 was one hundred and forty-four, quite in excess of the preceding period and almost abreast of the record of John Griscom's day. Of the above number the average enrollment of boys was seventy-seven and of girls sixty-eight.

Yet the sailing was not all smooth. The cost of boarding students and paying teachers was constantly advancing, while the Friends of New England, patrons and ultimate managers of the school, were naturally slow to sanction an upward move in the price of tuition. Thanks to liberal endowments Friends' children could be sent to the school a whole year at the beginning of this period for seventy-two dollars. This price covered board and tuition. It was changed to eighty dollars in 1854 and remained at that figure throughout the period. The charge was proportionately higher for children not directly connected with New England Yearly Meeting, and the maximum price of two hundred dollars was for non-Friends. An extra charge of ten dollars per year was made for instruction in the ancient languages, French and drawing.

A difficulty arose from the fact that the buildings, inside and outside, were in constant need of repair. The plant had served for a generation without any thorough overhauling. Added to the perennial bills for improvements and repairs came the loss, by the burning of barns and outbuildings, as mentioned above.

[8] This new institution, at first called Oak Grove School, was founded privately by a few interested Friends. It was soon closed for want of sufficient funds, but within a few years an endowment fund was collected, and in 1857 the school was permanently reestablished. In 1884 it was taken under the care of New England Yearly Meeting.

All in all the current of the times seemed once more to set against the school. A deficit piled up larger and larger in the early years of this period until the committee fell back upon the old expedient of a "vacation," and the school was closed during the five months of the summer term, 1855. Fortunately this "vacation" did not extend itself indefinitely, as in the former case of the Portsmouth school.

The school was opened again about the first of the following November on a new business basis. Joseph and Gertrude Cartland, who became Principals at that time, engaged to run the school on a contract system. They were to receive the moneys paid in by scholars for board and tuition and three thousand dollars from the endowment income, besides the free use of the school plant including the farm. It was believed that there would be a sufficient balance from the income of permanent funds to cover repairs and improvements and gradually reduce the debt. The arrangement proved to be suited to the ends desired. In place of an annual deficit there was a small profit almost every year. During the five years of the Cartland administration the debt was reduced from $8,276.96 to $3,153.81.

While the new business arrangement solved the immediate financial problem, another innovation was the premier achievement of the period. Up to this time there had been no ordered and measured course of study upon the completion of which the student could enjoy the fine experience of graduation. Scholars carried away such portions of knowledge as they could master and used it in after life for what it might be worth. There were no such insignia of academic advancement as diplomas. At once upon taking charge of the insti-

JOSEPH CARTLAND
PRINCIPAL, 1855-1860

GERTRUDE WHITTIER CARTLAND
ASSOCIATE PRINCIPAL, 1855-1860

tution, Joseph and Gertrude Cartland secured the establishment of an ordered course of study leading to graduation. Immediately the pupils began to fall in line for the march toward a coveted diploma, and in 1857 a young lady, Mary S. Harris,[4] of Leeds, New York, became the first graduate of the School. The following year Martha J. Sands, of New York City, and Lois Anna Greene, of North Providence, Rhode Island, attained to the same honor. The last named graduate, who later became a distinguished teacher, has written recently: "Nothing connected with the Cartland administration awakened such deep interest among the older pupils, of the girls' side at least, as the establishment of a regular course of study. Even where there was not any great difference in subjects taught, or even in text-books, the effect of system, the feeling of falling into line with other educational establishments and methods was much. Then it was a certain step toward the coming admission to colleges which was already talked about and was for some of us a beckoning star."[5]

In the list of officers and teachers of the time appear the names of many who were prominent for many years in the school or in New England Yearly Meeting. Timothy B. Hussey, Augustine Jones, William P. Macomber, Franklin E. Paige, Joseph W. Congdon, Sarah E. Whittier, Ellen L. Whittier, and the redoubtable John F. Rowell. These and others contributed their share toward raising the academic standards of the

[4] Mary S. Harris became at once a teacher of English in the School but died January 4, 1860, just at the beginning of her career.

[5] Lois Anna Greene, MS. *Notes and Reminiscences.*—There were nine graduates in 1859 and eleven in 1860. Of the twenty-three graduates in these first four years only four were boys. It was perhaps more difficult for the boys to attend the full school year as they were needed on the farms during much of the summer term (May to September).

school to a new plane. The impact made upon students by the successful teachers of the time is illustrated by the following reminiscence: "Franklin Paige made us find something in Mathematics beyond the multiplication table. Trigonometry opened my eyes to uses and with a long breath I began to understand that my childish hand was laid upon a mighty tool. The course of study made no sex distinctions even when it came to Mensuration and Surveying. But while the girls stopped there Franklin Paige saw to it that we—one class at least—were taken out into the fields with a theodolite for a good practical illustration of its use."[6]

Charles Atherton had been a teacher during the preceding period, from about 1845. He was remembered by his pupils as "a man whose very name is a synonym of honor, dignity, and justice." After Silas and Sarah Cornell left the school in 1852 he became one of the Principals, Gertrude Whittier being the other. These two served until the school was closed for one term in 1855. They, like Silas and Sarah Cornell, had general charge of the household affairs as well as the academic life of the school. In the former duties they were aided by a steward and matron.

The title of "Superintendent," really an anachronism in the preceding régime, was at last abolished. This change was in reality the outward sign of an inward grace. In the beginning the superintendents were the most important personages in the institution because they maintained a "guarded" Quakerly household with all the restraints imposed by the "ancient testimony of simplicity in life, speech, and apparel." By the process of the suns this idea had finally become secondary to academic standards. Hereafter those whose

[6] Lois Anna Greene, MS. *Notes and Reminiscences.*

SAMUEL AUSTIN
TEACHER AND EARLY HISTORIAN OF THE SCHOOL

WILLIAM B. PHILLIPS
TEACHER OF CLASSICS, 1864-1870

primary interest was the scholastic life of the institution would also have a general oversight of the household.

Gertrude E. Whittier, a first cousin of John G. Whittier, had been a teacher at the school for about three years following 1845 and was Principal of the girls' department from 1852 to 1855. Joseph Cartland had been a pupil at the school from 1830 to 1832 at the time his older brother Moses was doing his splendid work as a teacher there. Later he was Superintendent at Haverford Friends' School, Pennsylvania (later Haverford College), where he probably developed the idea that soon resulted in the ordered course of study at the Providence School.

Joseph Cartland and Gertrude Whittier were married in the summer of 1855. This was during the vacation of one term at the School caused by the growing deficit of previous years. How the new contract system under the Cartlands decreased the deficit and how the reorganized course of study benefited school and scholars has been already related.

The life at the school under the new administration was of the ancient Friendly type. Joseph and Gertrude were stately, serious Friends, who believed implicitly in the letter of the Quaker law. At the same time their noble lives, in perfect harmony with their ideals, compelled respect and obedience.

An illustration of the power of Gertrude Cartland's personality is found in the remembrance by a pupil that no punishment for a girl was more severe than to be compelled to follow the Principal here and there until released from the awful penance. To play the culprit's rôle in close proximity to that stately being was an ordeal never to be forgotten.

A curious tale is told of the stern discipline of that day. On one occasion after Gertrude Cartland had read a passage of Scripture to the girls at their evening collection a teacher, Anna Mekeel, rose according to custom and led the girls from the room. As she went it was noticed at once by several present that a tiny mouse was clinging to the back of her dress. The pandemonium pictured in the modern reader's mind may be dismissed at once. Not a girl screamed nor even uttered a whispered exclamation. The procession moved with its wonted decorum. Such was the discipline of the old days.

Yet laughter was not tabooed if indulged on proper occasions and not too frequently. After the girls' light gymnastics were over Gertrude Cartland would sometimes say in a very dignified manner, "Who begins the laugh tonight?" At once some of the older pupils, who knew what was intended, burst into a loud affected peal of laughter with whatever variations they could invent. "In a few seconds all affectations and pretense were swept away in a genuine and general cachinnation, enjoyed all the more, of course because for the only time, I think, within those walls there was no limit to the racket allowed so long as it kept any resemblance to laughter. I have seen our stately Gertrude drop into her chair with tears actually rolling down her cheeks from enjoyment of sights and sounds. Only exhaustion quieted the uproar and even then I have known a belated giggle to re-arouse the tumult."[7]

The boys had their various forms of athletics in field and gymnasium, and in the winter skating on Silver Spring and Wanskuck. They were also somewhat given to breaking bounds and indulging in forbidden

[7] Lois Anna Greene, MS. *Notes and Reminiscences.*

pastimes. The reader of this page, young in years or spirit, may realize the glee with which a boy "of the Cartland epoch" would write home as follows: "As an instance of how a little something for a change here will produce an excitement, I will relate an event that happened here yesterday afternoon but it is perhaps of not much interest to thee. It being seventh-day afternoon we all felt as though we would like to have a little fun. A hand organ man came up the avenue and commenced playing in front of the front door. Some of the boys rolled money in paper several times and threw it out to him without being seen and so kept him there some time. By and by they motioned for him to go round the west wing. So he went round and as the teachers were all gone away or at any rate did not show themselves we had a pretty nice time.

"Every boy in school was out and we were careful to place him in a position so that he could be seen very plainly from the East Wing, so the windows were pretty well filled with the fair faces but I reckon Gertrude was not around then."[8]

There were a few blessed occasions when boys and girls met together. Such were the annual excursions by steamer to Rocky Point, or a tramp across fields to the "Grotto," that rare sylvan nook that had rejoiced the earlier generations of pupils at the school. Only occasionally was there held at the school a social, or "oscillation," participated in by both sexes. Then the boys "collected around the doors of the audience chamber but feared to enter; at last some more bold than the rest entered and were followed by the rest in rapid succession, and were soon conversing with the young women face to face. They were indeed fair to look

[8] Letter of Samuel Buffum, about 1860.

upon and their knowledge was even greater than our own, and their voices were pleasant and musical to the ear; they were indeed charming women and the likes of them I never saw before." So wrote Robert W. Douglas, a boy chronicler of 1853. Of that greatest of all "oscillations," the annual social at Dr. Tobey's, more will be told anon by the present compiler of chronicles.

Fortune favors modern eyes with vivid glimpses of the school life at the beginning of this period: "The boys' school-room was in the west end of the west wing. It was from forty-five to fifty feet, east and west, beginning at the present entrance to the boys' school-room, and from there extending east the distance named. The present boys' school-room was constructed later. Two boys occupied one desk, sitting on a form and not in chairs. . . . The boys' dining-room was the south portion of the present one. The girls had a separate one where the bake house now is. There were two long tables in each room; no conversation was permitted at the table unless you wished something to eat or drink, and then in a whisper. Instead of chairs the children sat on stools, three of them attached to a plank so that none could be thrown down without a conspiracy of three persons. Table-cloths had not yet appeared. There was neither color nor picture on the walls. The lodging-rooms were large, without partitions. Two persons slept in each bed. These rooms covered the second floor of each wing. The girls' trunk-room was their present play-room on the third floor. The boys' trunk-room was the present Belmont. There was a wash-room for boys at the west end of their present dining-room. A great iron kettle, in

place of bath-rooms, was heated to furnish warm water Seventh and Fourth days, and held about fifty gallons. If you wished a drink of water, except when in the dining-room, you must visit the pump in the back yard. A rusty, wrought iron ladle eight inches in diameter, bound by a chain of iron to the pump, was the only vehicle by which water was transported to the mouths of thirsty boys. If it was frosty it had to be used with wisdom or your mouth was frozen to it."[9]

Such was the life in the old school during those pregnant years of American history just prior to the Civil War. The slavery issue had been debated for a generation by the members of Lyceum-Phoenix and always settled in the right way. Now, in the fall of 1860, Lincoln had been elected and the actual settlement was at hand. The scholars at Friends' Boarding School were keenly alive to political issues. There was much pride taken in the anti-slavery poems of Whittier and the "ancient testimony" of Friends against the evil. John F. Rowell, inspiring teacher and rigorous disciplinarian, told the boys about the speeches and activities of Fred Douglas, Sumner, Garrison, Phillips, and other anti-slavery leaders. "Most everybody at the school talks about secession now," wrote a boy to his home folks in December, 1860. The rest of the letter had much to say of the new Principal, Albert K. Smiley, who had just taken charge of the school. So the great nation and the struggling Quaker school entered the unknown paths of a new administration.

[9] Augustine Jones, *Historic Sketch of Friends School*, pp. 26–27. Augustine Jones wrote the above about 1900 from personal recollections of the period described.—For a general sketch of the lives of Joseph and Gertrude Cartland by the above author see *The Westonian, XVII* (Oct., 1911), pp. 377–383.

CHAPTER X.

The Horn of Plenty.

1860–1879.

Albert K. Smiley was Principal of the school for nineteen years, from 1860 to 1879. His twin brother, Alfred H. Smiley, was Associate Principal during a considerable portion of the time. A sister, Rebecca H. Smiley, was at the head of the girls' department of the school from 1863 to 1879.[1] The outstanding fact of

[1] Eliza P. Smiley, wife of Albert K. Smiley, was associated as a Principal with her husband at the beginning of the period but soon had to retire from that service on account of ill health.

Alfred H. Smiley served as Associate Principal from 1860 to 1868, and after that time returned on two occasions to assist temporarily in managing the school. The twin brothers until late in life so resembled each other that many interesting stories are told of the confusion thereby caused among their friends. They were both graduates of Haverford School, later Haverford College, and subsequently were instructors in that institution. They were joint founders of an English and Classical Academy in Philadelphia and were associated together in many good works. Albert K. Smiley was Principal of Oak Grove Seminary, in his native town, Vasalboro, Maine, before taking charge of the Providence school. Each of the brothers in later life maintained a justly famous hotel in the Shawangunk Mts. of eastern New York. Albert K. Smiley was for many years a member of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners. He originated the Mohonk Indian Conference and the Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration. The former met annually after 1883 and the latter after 1894. On these occasions many prominent philanthropic people gathered at Albert Smiley's hotel overlooking Mohonk Lake, and became his personal guests during the period of the conferences.

The twin brothers in 1889 purchased jointly a large tract of land in Redlands, California, for a winter residence. This property, of which Albert K. Smiley became sole owner after his brother Alfred's death in 1903, was named Cañon Crest Park but was popularly called "Smiley Heights." For many years it has been open to the public and is visited annually by thousands of tourists. Albert K. Smiley in 1898 donated a

ALFRED H. SMILEY
ASSOCIATE PRINCIPAL

ALBERT K. SMILEY
PRINCIPAL, 1860-1879
(SEE PAGE 96)

the period was the material prosperity of the institution. Attendance went up, the debt went down, new buildings and equipment were provided, and the standard of teaching raised. The strict regulations of the early days were further relaxed.

The attendance reached a higher level at this period than at any previous time. True, there was little if any increase during the first few years of the period, the years of the Civil War, but when the war was over the children of New England Friends began to flock to the school as never before. For several years the enrollment passed the two hundred mark and in 1875 a high record of two hundred and twenty-two was reached. The average for the period was one hundred and seventy-two, one hundred and three boys and sixty-nine girls. While the girls were in the minority in attendance, they yet kept their advantage in the roll of alumni, for of one hundred and forty-eight graduates of the period seventy-one were boys and seventy-seven girls.[2]

It seems quite evident that the liberalizing tendencies of this administration aided in bringing to the school a larger proportion of non-Friends than had ever attended before. Statistics covering this point for a few years (1875–1878) show that during that time only

beautiful library to the city of Redlands. He was a member of the Board of Trustees of Brown University, of Bryn Mawr College, of Pomona College, California, and was President of the Board of Trustees of the New York State Normal School, at New Paltz, N. Y., from its beginning until his death in 1912.

[2] The exact attendance cannot be determined. The figures in the catalogue have been used and they probably represent the total enrollment. There is some reason to believe that the attendance was not far below the enrollment. The figures given in the annual reports of the School Committee to the Yearly Meeting vary somewhat from the figures in the catalogues, being sometimes higher and sometimes lower.

about half of the pupils were Friends and one-fifth of the Friends enrolled were from yearly meetings other than that of New England. As the charges for non-Friends were much larger than for members of the Society, the above proportion helps to account for the prosperity of the school at this time. Aside from this fact, the charge for board and tuition was more than doubled for Friends and non-Friends during this administration.[3]

The method of running the school on a contract basis had succeeded in lowering the debt during the Cartland régime and it was continued throughout the new administration. The Principal received a salary, and after his and all other salaries and operating expenses were paid he received one half of the annual profit. While this arrangement gave opportunity for the Principal to realize a considerable sum of money in some years, yet the School Committee felt amply repaid in securing by such incentive a competent business administration that could stop the erstwhile deficits, remove the accumulated debt, and provide a balance for improving the school plant.[4]

A balance of indebtedness amounting to more than three thousand dollars was wiped out during the first

[3] During the latter part of the Smiley administration the charge for board and tuition was scheduled as follows:

For members of our Yearly Meeting, per annum	$100.00
For members of other Yearly Meetings, or when one or both parents are members of our religious society	190.00
For all others who may be admitted	300.00

An additional charge of $10 per annum for instruction in Greek, Latin, French, German or Drawing. The charges at the beginning of this administration were $40, $60, and $100 respectively, with $5 extra for languages and drawing.

[4] Copy of contract in School Committee MS. *Record Book, 1863–1880,* p. 18.

REBECCA H. SMILEY
PRINCIPAL OF GIRLS' DEPARTMENT, 1863-1879

ELIZA P. SMILEY,
1860-1879. (SEE PAGE 96, NOTE)

two years of the new administration. Then the high prices of the Civil War period gave the school a setback for a year (1863–1864). The old remedy of raising the tuition was at once applied and during the whole of the remaining period of the administration the finances of the school were in a flourishing condition. An example of the prosperity of the school is found in the report to the Yearly Meeting in 1872 that the net profit accruing to the school during the preceding five years had been more than twenty-five thousand dollars.[5]

The object, so dear to the founders, of providing an education for the children of Friends in limited circumstances was not neglected in the midst of this time of plenty. A considerable addition to the Charitable Fund was made by a private bequest. Ebenezer Metcalf had made the school residuary legatee, after the death of his son, of securities to the value of $22,500, to be added to the above fund. In 1862 his son, Jacob Metcalf, made the income of the bequest immediately available for the school. Smaller gifts were made from time to time by private subscription so that at the close of this period the income from the Charitable Fund was more than three thousand dollars a year, by means of which twenty or more scholars were sustained at the school.[6]

[5] Yearly Meeting printed *Minutes, 1872*, p. 24; *1879*, p. 8.—In 1876 the Committee also reported having received $28,000.50 for land sold to the city of Providence for widening Hope St. and opening Lloyd Ave. from Hope St. to Arlington Ave. Other plots of land were sold to the city or to private parties and a decree of the R. I. Supreme Court was secured in 1877 to validate such sales.—See Yearly Meeting printed *Minutes, 1871*, p. 22; *1877*, p. 7.

[6] Yearly Meeting printed *Minutes, 1863*, p. 9; *1870*, p. 20; *1879*, p. 8. School Committee, MS. *Record Book*, Aug. 1, 1871; July 30, 1878; Aug. 5, 1879.

A much appreciated bequest was that of one thousand dollars made by David Buffum who died in 1873. He had been for long years an earnest friend of the school and a trusted adviser on the School Committee, of which he was a member for about forty-eight years, beginning in 1824. In this service he was but extending the tradition established by his father, David Buffum 1st, who was a collaborator with Moses Brown in the establishment of the school at Portsmouth and its successor at Providence.

One result of the financial prosperity of this period was the completion of a splendid program of enlargement and improvement in the physical plant. Aside from the building and equipment of an astronomical observatory (1862–1863), and the usual current repairs and improvements in buildings, heating and cooking apparatus and plumbing system, two important additions were made to the main building.

Alumni Hall was the supreme building product of the epoch. It did more at a single stroke than anything in the history of the school to bring the physical equipment abreast of the need. It was built and furnished at a cost of something more than forty-three thousand dollars and was named "Alumni Hall" because the Alumni Association, so active and loyal at that time, contributed the initial donation of about one quarter of the above sum.[7]

Two great needs were to be met by the proposed building. Up to that time the girls had all slept in two large rooms with beds arranged as in a hospital ward. The new building would offer a much desired opportunity for retirement and privacy by providing small

[7] Yearly Meeting printed *Minutes, 1867*, pp. 9–10; *1868*, p. 9. See also School Comm. MS. *Record Book*, Nov., 1866, and following.

rooms each suitable for the accommodation of two girls. Another desideratum was a commodious auditorium for religious meetings, lectures, commencement exercises, and similar gatherings. How the proposed building would meet the above needs and others almost equally pressing is best told in the words of the School Committee of that day (1867):

Accordingly, with the approbation of the Meeting for Sufferings, the Committee have begun the erection of a three story building 126 feet long, with an average width of 45 feet. The first floor contains a Hall capable of seating 400 persons, and adjoining it is a Library and Reading Room, fitted up with alcoves for the reception of books and cases for minerals and other Natural History collections. This room is connected with the Hall by sliding doors, and will enlarge its capacity so that six or seven hundred persons can be comfortably seated. The second and third stories are devoted to girls' dormitories. There are 29 rooms, ranging in size from 9 by 15 feet to 15 feet square, fitted for the reception of two pupils each. Each room is supplied with a large closet and separate means of ventilation. There are also large store closets for bedding, &c. in each of the upper stories, and proper washing apparatus supplied by tanks under the roof. In the basement are rooms for three hot air furnaces, coal room, a large reservoir cistern to be used in case of fire, and a spacious and convenient cellar. In consequence of the transfer of the minerals and the philosophical and chemical apparatus to the new library and apparatus rooms, and the removal of about fifty-six girls to the new dormitories, much room will be vacated in the present building. It is proposed to devote a part of this space on the south side of the building to increasing the limited accommodations for the sick. The present nurseries are on the north side of the house, exposed to the noise of the boys' play-ground, and are only suitable to receive patients slightly indisposed. It is very desirable that

pupils affected with contagious diseases, or seriously ill from any other cause, should be provided with quiet, well ventilated and sunny rooms, where they can receive careful attention from nurses specially devoted to them. It is proposed to divide off another portion of the room into separate dormitories for the girls, corresponding with those in the new building, and to appropriate the remaining space to increasing the somewhat limited sleeping accommodations of the boys, and to other purposes. It is expected that the building will be ready to be occupied at the opening of the year 1868.[8]

Alumni Hall came to completion early in 1868 and was ready for occupancy at the beginning of the spring term that year. So exceedingly satisfactory were the smaller lodging rooms for the girls that during the succeeding year eight more were partitioned off in the older part of the east wing. The utility of the library room and auditorium has been attested by patrons and friends of the school during a half century.

Hardly had these improvements been made on the girls' side of the house than similar claims on the part of the boys began to find a hearing. In 1872 the School Committee reported the division of the boys' sleeping wards into smaller rooms, the opening of hallways connecting the boys' wing with the middle-house, the provision of new bath-rooms and the refurnishing of school rooms on the boys' side.

Such alterations and improvements did not, however, meet the need. In 1867 the practice of holding school throughout the summer months, as had been done from the beginning, was at last abolished. Thereafter the school year was to begin in September and close about the end of June. The new plan released the boys for harvest work on the farms and immediately the excess

[8] Yearly Meeting printed *Minutes, 1867*, p. 9.

BOYS' BUILDING, 1872 — BUILDING WITH EXTENSIONS — ALUMNI HALL, 1868

of boys over girls in the school began to increase. Those in charge of the school felt the need of increased accommodations to meet the new situation but funds were not at hand. At this juncture (1871) the sum of $17,732.75 was received from the city of Providence for a plot of land cut off from the school grounds by an extension of Thayer Street. The Gordian knot thus happily cut, a plan for an extension of the building on the boys' side was promptly made and carried out.

As completed in the fall of 1872 the new building was a splendid complement of Alumni Hall. It was seventy-six feet long by forty-four feet wide and was three stories high. The first floor provided a boys' schoolroom more than twice the size of the former one. The second and third floors were divided into twenty-eight lodging rooms for the boys and their teachers.[9]

The new basement provided space for an enlarged dining room that would seat all the pupils, boys and girls. The ancient bondage of separate dining rooms was at an end. In the Cartland administration there had been for a time one table at which some of the younger boys and girls sat together. Again in 1864 Albert K. Smiley had inaugurated the innovation of having boys and girls sit as opposites at the tables in the two dining rooms. It is said that so great was the embarrassment of many scholars in the unwonted presence of the opposite sex that the consumption of bread fell off seventy-five loaves the first week. Yet such economy waned as the new acquaintanceship waxed.

[9] Yearly Meeting printed *Minutes, 1872*, pp. 23-24. The cost of the new boys' building, with furnishings and attendant alterations, was about $43,000, almost exactly the same as the cost of building and furnishing Alumni Hall.—A farm-house, carriage-house, concrete walks, and board fence around grounds were also built, and other improvements made.—See Yearly Meeting printed *Minutes, 1874*, p. 11; *1875*, p. 8.

Now the larger room was thrown open and the whole student body came together at meal time as one family. Epochal change from the old days when of all monitorial jobs that of table monitor was at a premium because these functionaries, boys and girls, met for a moment face to face in the kitchen while gathering supplies for their respective dining-rooms.

Now the strict separation of the sexes, so long held to be fundamental in a well regulated school, was being rapidly relegated to the dead past. To be sure, almost from the beginning of the school, the older boys and girls were occasionally allowed to meet together in a class-room when it was inconvenient to provide for two classes in the same subject. Yet was such practice only the exception, serving to emphasize the contrary rule. In the Cartland régime it became convenient to break the rule a little oftener than before. Now in this transition epoch, this renaissance that lay between the middle and the modern ages of the school, the old separation of the sexes became obsolete. In accordance with the enlightened thought of the more progressive Friends and as a matter of economy in administration the old bars were taken down and boys and girls met and worked together naturally in the class-rooms.

Some changes were made in the religious meetings of the school. In the first place the Sunday afternoon meeting in the city was dropped entirely from the program (1867), the morning meeting at the school was discontinued, and pupils went to the Friends' Meeting House in the city on Sunday morning and in the middle of the week. Later (1874), another change was made, and the time-honored procession through the streets to the meeting-house passed as a dissolving view into his-

DANIEL C. MAXFIELD
TEACHER, 1868-1875. BOYS' "GOVERNOR," 1875-1879. PRESENT CLERK OF SCHOOL COMMITTEE

ALICE W. MAXFIELD
TEACHER, 1867-1879 (EXCEPT ONE YEAR). MEMBER OF PRESENT SCHOOL COMMITTEE

tory. Meetings were held at the school on Sunday and Wednesday mornings at eleven o'clock.

With the influx of pupils who were non-Friends another time-honored custom began to disappear,—the general use of the plain language in the school. In the early years those pupils who were not Friends could not enroll unless they agreed to use the Friendly "thee" and "thou," and to call the names of the days and months by their respective numbers rather than by the names of "heathen gods and goddesses." Such a rule became progressively harder to enforce as the number of non-Friends increased among the pupils and as Friends became more liberal in their application of the "minor testimonies." Many of the more conservative Friends were troubled at the prevalence of "you" and kindred non-Friendly terms resounding in the sacred halls, but no rigorous enforcement of the old rule was attempted.[10]

A more vital expression of religion was manifest in the student life of the period. The great revival movement that began about 1858 soon found its way into the hitherto exclusive precincts of the Society of Friends and made itself felt with mighty force during the two decades from 1860 to 1880. This movement naturally made great impact upon the young and especially upon those of school age who were bound together by the intimate ties of boarding-school life. Consequently the Providence Friends' School was swept by frequent waves of religious feeling that had a marked effect upon the lives of the pupils. At one time a large majority of the scholars organized themselves voluntarily into temperance societies, taking a triple pledge to ab-

[10] See especially School Comm. MS. *Record Book*, Sept. 8, 1868.

stain from intoxicating liquors, tobacco, and profane language.[11]

If the period under review may be properly referred to as the administration of Albert K. Smiley, it may be as fitly called the reign of John F. Rowell. From the time John Rowell came to the school in 1856 until he left it, nineteen years later, he was the king of the boys. Sometimes he was despotic, to be sure, ruling by grace of his mighty physical prowess, but yet enthroned in the hearts of his subjects, even of those who felt the rod of his iron rule.

It must be recalled in this connection that "when it became known that there was a man at the helm who could manage any kind of boys who were sent to him, many were sent who could not be managed elsewhere outside of a reform school." So wrote one who was a pupil under him and later his colleague in the faculty, Thomas J. Battey, and added: "John Rowell was the inspiration of my boybood. . . . To hear him read a favorite poem or a chapter of the Bible was to make that selection a landmark for the rest of your life." Such is the tribute to John Rowell of one who has taught in the school for more than half a century.[12]

Walter S. Meader, another of John Rowell's liegemen, has written of him:

"On Saturday afternoon he collected us in the schoolroom directly after dinner and, before granting any permissions for the afternoon, would call for reports on certain of these rules. For example he would ask all who had used tobacco in any form, during the week, to stand. Few offenders dared keep their seats and if

[11] School Comm. MS. *Record Book*, June 4, 1872; Yearly Meeting printed *Minutes, 1878*, p. 9.

[12] Thomas J. Battey, MS. *Notes on John F. Rowell.*

JOHN F. ROWELL
BOYS' GOVERNOR, 1856-1875

JOHN MYRON POTTER
TEACHER OF MATHEMATICS, 1875-1885

any one of them did, John Rowell, ostentatiously consulting his list, would very likely call his name sharply and the boy would shame-facedly rise to receive double the punishment of those who confessed. The punishment was usually the loss of the Saturday afternoon holiday, the only time we were allowed off the grounds. The delinquents were obliged to spend this precious time on the 'Long bench' in the schoolroom, without whispering or reading. Needless to say the discipline in the study hall and in the dormitories was maintained with little friction and was exemplary.

"As a teacher John F. Rowell had few equals. In my time he taught Writing, Reading, Geography, Geometry and Mental Arithmetic. He enjoyed the teaching and made us enjoy the subject.

"He was an excellent reader and often read aloud to the boys during part of the study-hour. It were too long to speak of all the excellencies of his teaching. Next to his reading perhaps his Mental Arithmetic class was the most interesting, but Geometry, Geography and even his writing lessons were characteristic in the forceful way in which he impressed himself on his pupils. His indignant comment if our writing did not stand solidly on the line, neither above nor below it, could never be forgotten.

"His method of teaching and government would find few defenders today, though I believe he seldom found it necessary to use corporal punishment. It was a beneficent tyranny, but no teacher that I have met in school or college, was so much of a character builder, or on the whole so righteous a builder as John F. Rowell."

Another notable teacher of the period was William B. Phillips, later a professor in Swarthmore College,

Pennsylvania. His splendid scholarship in the languages and his equally great teaching ability made a lasting impression upon those who came under his instruction. He left the school in 1870, having given seven years of most acceptable service.

Among others connected with the school as teachers or officers in this period were Daniel C. Maxfield, Bessie T. Wing, Sarah A. Taber, John Myron Potter, Elizabeth G. Wills, Alice R. Wing, Seth K. Gifford, Mary Amy Collins, Sophia L. Pitman, Joel and Hannah Bean, and Allen Jay. Many of these were prominently connected in later years with the school or with other important activities of the Society of Friends.

Francis Barton Gummere was the teacher of English in the school during the later years of this administration. This distinguished son of a distinguished father[18] was destined later to have a brilliant career as Professor of English Literature at Haverford College, and to be the recipient of high academic honors in America and Europe. It is a notable fact that the school has had connected with it so many men who have gained the highest recognition for scholarship.

A great loss was sustained by the school in 1867 through the death of Doctor Samuel Boyd Tobey. He had been a teacher at the school when about seventeen years of age, and later, upon taking up his career as a physician he had continued his active interest in the institution. From 1829 until his death, with the exception of one year, he had been a member of the commitee appointed by the Yearly Meeting to manage the school.

Nothing could call up more vivid pictures of the social life of the school at the time than the name of

[18] His father was Samuel J. Gummere. See above, pp. 63, 65, 70.

SAMUEL BOYD TOBEY
TEACHER, 1821-1825. MEMBER OF SCHOOL COMMITTEE MANY YEARS

SARAH FRY TOBEY
TEACHER, 1821-1825. MEMBER OF SCHOOL COMMITTEE MANY YEARS

Doctor Tobey. For nearly a decade and a half prior to his death the greatest social function vouchsafed to scholars and teachers was the annual "oscillation," or social, provided by Samuel Boyd and Sarah Fry Tobey.

Full stately the tread of twice seventy feet
As slowly they marched in regular beat
In the sultry oppression of midsummer heat
To the grand rendezvous on Benevolent Street
Where the Doctor and Sarah were ready to greet
With grasp of the hand and welcome most meet
The pupils of Friends' Institution.

Such was the picture drawn by the deft hand of J. Ellwood Paige in memory of the great occasion. And a no less splendid climax crowned the evening at the good Doctor's than the permission for lads and lassies to join company by twos on the return trip to the school. Small wonder then that the poet continued his song:

May all the joys that sweeten life
Like Hermon's dews descending,
Still crown the Doctor and his wife
And with their lives be blending.

Full well they know that hearts of youth
Grow stronger by communion,
Full well they know the ancient truth
There's strength alone in Union.

'Tis well at times the lines to curve
Of rigid separation
And from the beaten track to swerve
By way of "Oscillation."[14]

[14] Aside from the poem by J. Ellwood Paige, quoted above, there is preserved at the school a clever bit of prose in chronicle form by Edwin R. Hoag, descriptive of an "oscillation" at Dr. Tobey's in 1866. The "oscillation" of that year was held on July 25th according to the *Diary* of Charles Sisson.

In truth the lines of separation curved not a little during this period from the narrow beaten track of the ancient régime. Not alone at Doctor Tobey's but at the school were "oscillations" to be enjoyed. The "coeducational sociable," so rare in the preceding epoch, became a regular function of the school life at this time. In fact the old idea of repression seems to have given way very largely to a policy of allowing the pupils a reasonable amount of freedom for natural association and recreation. The boys took an occasional tramp to the Cranston coal mines, the girls an excursion to Swan Point, or together they visited some place of interest in the vicinity. Even vocal music was allowed in the school toward the close of the period and the pupils, gathered in Alumni Hall, were trained in group singing by a competent leader. Measuring from the rigid standards of 1819 the progress of half a century had not been slow.[15]

It was a time for retrospect,—the first golden age of reminiscences in the history of the school. Those who were scholars and teachers in the early years had reached the evening of life. The present of the school was prosperous, and the past roseate through the mists. A reunion of old scholars and teachers was held at Newport, Rhode Island, in June, 1859, during Yearly Meeting week, and an Alumni Association was formed. This association held annual reunions for some years at which orations and original poems were delivered by the members.

On the programs appeared the names of Thomas

[15] The best contemporary record of the life of the boys in the school is to be found in the MS. *Diary, 1862–1866,* of Charles Sisson who was a pupil during those years. He has been for many years a valued member of the School Committee and Treasurer of the School Fund.

GEORGE HOWLAND, JR.
MEMBER OF SCHOOL COMMITTEE, 1868-1892.
CLERK OF COMMITTEE MANY YEARS

WILLIAM C. TABER
THIRTY-SEVEN YEARS A MEMBER AND TEN YEARS CLERK, OF SCHOOL COMMITTEE

Chase,[16] Pliny Earle, John S. Gould, William Rodman, Moses A. Cartland, Pliny Earle Chase, Edward Brown, Samuel J. Gummere, William H. Gove, Charles Taber and Augustine Jones. While John G. Whittier had never been officially connected with the school yet he had an abiding interest in its welfare and wrote two poems for the meetings of the Alumni Association, "The Quaker Alumni" (1860), and "In War Time" (1863).

"We were entertained in splendid fashion at the old Adams House, in Newport," writes one of the present day who as a youth attended the Alumni Meeting of 1865. "I forget the literary exercises utterly; but I remember the evening reception and informal speeches at the hotel, the coming and going and shaking hands and exuberant exchange of reminiscence. That was the first peace-summer after the war, and people were expansive enough on a double provocation."[17]

So the former teachers and pupils of the school met in those happy reunions that marshaled the scenes of earlier years in panoramic array and roused again the love of faithful children for their Alma Mater. So too it came to pass that those same faithful children did more than build airy dream pictures of the former days. The original impulse for a great extension of the school plant was born in an alumni meeting. As a result Alumni Hall reared its walls as a worthy monument to the memory of that noble generation of pupils

[16] Thomas Chase was a pupil in the school about 1840 and was later President of Haverford College. A few years after retiring from the presidency of Haverford College he taught Greek and Latin for a short time at the Providence School (1889).

[17] *Notes* written in 1918 by Professor Francis Barton Gummere whose father Samuel J. Gummere delivered the address at the Alumni Meeting of 1865.

and teachers who were the soul of Providence Friends' School in the childhood of its career.

The great building program of the Smiley administration, the prosperous financial standing of the school, the largely increased attendance, the liberalizing influences that found expression in the life of the pupils, boded well for the future. They formed the transition from the medieval to the modern age. The school was turning its face toward the future and girding itself for the service of a new generation.

AUGUSTINE JONES
PRINCIPAL, 1879-1904

CAROLINE ALICE JONES
1879-1904

CHAPTER XI.

Modern History.

1879–1904.

Augustine Jones was chosen by the School Committee to take the reins of administration laid down by Albert K. Smiley. The new Principal was destined to serve the school for twenty-five years, the longest administration in its history.

It was a period of rapid change without and within Friends' School. The country at large went through those vast and rapid economic changes that made it the greatest industrial nation in the world. The public school system, keeping pace with the increase in wealth and population, moved forward with giant strides. It was consequently a testing time for the finances and academic standards of private schools. Narrow sectarian limitations would not square with the new standards. Friends' School battled bravely toward the new ideals, and as bravely laid aside many of the old restrictions. The "ancient testimonies," even the moderate conservatism of the "middle age," were left far behind. If in the preceding epoch there were earmarks of a renaissance, in this period the story is distinctly a part of modern history.

Nothing was more typical of the acceptance of modern ideals than the advance in music and art. While singing had been allowed in the school during the preceding period and some training in group singing had been given to the pupils, yet no musical instruments

were allowed at the school, and the pupils had to take music lessons in the city if at all. To the modern mind such a situation was anomalous. If music was to be allowed in the school was it not better to have a good quality of music? If a good quality was desirable should not the school provide facilities for producing that quality?

The answer may seem simple to many but not to those who have known the force of the "ancient testimony" of Friends on the subject of music. From a testimony against the excessive use of music in church services, resulting in a form of worship without substance, the feeling developed gradually among early Friends that all music was "worldly" and of the "carnal" nature.

So it seemed to many older Friends that the inroads of music into the school constituted a departure from the standards for the upholding of which the school was founded. No doubt the founders, with the background of their own day, would have opposed the innovation. Yet that background was far removed from the standards of the late nineteenth century. Younger Friends had broken through the barriers of ancient exclusiveness and had established relations with people of other faiths and other minds. The fundamental doctrines of the fathers remained firmly established in the faith of the children, but many of the "minor testimonies" failed to stand the test of unbiased reason.

On the question of music the Principal of the school appealed to his friend, John G. Whittier. The great poet was known for his devotion to the basic Quaker principles and yet for his broad outlook upon the problems of the new age. In reply Whittier wrote: "I need not tell thee, that I have no scruples against music

EVELYN BARROWS
PRECEPTRESS, 1890-1901

BESSIE T. WING
TEACHER, 1863-1866, 1869-1890

as an art, or natural gift. It is innocent enough in itself, but it may be abused or misdirected, as in corrupting, sensuous compositions and songs or in military matters.

"I see nothing in it more inconsistent with Quakerism, than poetry, rhetoric, or painting.

"We both think the old Quaker testimony against it, as a form of worship, is right."[1]

The question was brought to an issue by the action of Clark Shove, of Fall River, in offering to present the school with a grand piano. After serious consideration the School Committee decided to accept the proffered gift with the understanding that music lessons should be given at the school only to those pupils whose parents specifically requested it.[2]

With vocal and instrumental music resounding within the school walls, the Muse of Art was not to be denied entrance. A beautiful bust of John Bright, cut from the whitest Carrara mountain marble, was unveiled early in 1884. The next year a similar bust of Elizabeth Fry was placed at the side of the rostrum in Alumni Hall, opposite the one of the great statesman. Between them, at the rear of the platform, was hung a fine oil painting of the Quaker poet, John Greenleaf Whittier. True no doubt was the judgment of one of that day: "Eloquence, poetry, and philanthropy will form an inspiring group for your scholars to have ever before their eyes, and may lead them to emulate what they admire."[3]

[1] Whittier's letter, of Dec. 16, 1880, is printed in Augustine Jones, *An Historic Sketch of Friends School*, p. 30.

[2] School Comm. MS. *Record Book*, August 2, 1881.

[3] The busts of John Bright and Elizabeth Fry were the work of the famous William Theed, of London, sculptor to Queen Victoria. The former was the gift of James H. Chace and the latter of Ella J. Wheeler.

Further gifts of paintings, busts, and other works of art continued to come into the possession of the school as a result of the good precedent thus set. Hannah J. Bailey, long time friend of the school and member of the School Committee, in addition to previous donations, gave generously toward beautifying the halls and rooms with busts and pictures. Three beautiful pictures by the distinguished marine and Arctic painter, William Bradford, were presented to the school, one by the artist himself, one by Mrs. Bradford, and one by Augustine Jones and Walter S. Meader. Mary R. Osborne donated an exquisite copy of Andrea Del Sarto's "Holy Family." The painters, George W. Whitaker and Elijah Baxter, gave of their own handiwork. A beautiful large relief of Guido Reni's "Aurora" was given in memory of Evelyn Barrows, much loved Preceptress of Girls, who died early in 1901.

The growing interest among the pupils in the study of mechanic arts, drawing and painting, and the crowded condition of the main building seemed to demand additional accommodations. Accordingly a new building was erected just north of the east wing for the housing of the above named interests. This "Studio of the Three Oaks" was opened early in 1892 and since that time has been of great practical service to the school, and a symbol of the æsthetic influences of the modern age.[4]

Throughout the entire period of Augustine Jones'

The painting of Whittier was the gift of Charles F. Coffin. See printed pamphlets on the formal exercises at the presentation of the two busts and the painting.—Among other busts placed in the school in recent years are those of Moses Brown, Lucretia Mott, and Abraham Lincoln.

[4] In 1883 a department was established for instruction in the practical use of tools in the working of wood (including ornamental carving) and of metals. This work was begun, and has continued until the present, (1919), under the able direction of Allen W. Weeks.

STUDIO OF THE THREE OAKS

(SEE PAGE 116)

administration and until the centennial year Sophia L. Pitman, beloved of her scholars, was the teacher of drawing and painting. Mary Rawson was the first teacher of singing employed in the school. She was a beautiful character, an inspiring teacher, a woman of refinement and culture. She exercised a lasting influence upon many boys and girls.

Not only was a new atmosphere of culture created at this time by the introduction of art and music as an inherent part of the life of the school, but there was also a distinct deepening of the religious life. Allen Jay, who was the spiritual leader during the early years of the period, touched and influenced the life of almost every scholar. It was a time of intense religious revival in many parts of the Society of Friends. At the school, as was fitting, emotionalism was absent. At the same time the reality of religion as a way of life and as a source of moral power was evident and had its marked result upon many lives.

The greatest building project of the period had for its finished product the Hawes Gymnasium. Before this time there had been only makeshift wooden buildings for the purpose. The new gymnasium was a commodious brick building erected in 1902 at an expense of something over thirty thousand dollars. As completed and its equipment finished early in the following administration it was an ornament to the grounds and a most useful addition to the working plant of the school. Probably few secondary schools in the country can boast a finer equipment for gymnastics and indoor sports.[5]

Aside from the buildings mentioned, various lesser additions were made to the plant in this period. A

[5] Yearly Meeting printed *Minutes, 1902*, p. 11. See also p. 130, below.

three-story structure of modest dimensions was erected at the junction of Alumni Hall and the old east wing. This provided an extension of the library and of the dormitory accommodations on the upper floors. A modern heating system, with a central plant, took the place (1895) of more than twenty furnaces and fires formerly used to heat the buildings. Improvements in the laundry facilities, the equipment of a chemical laboratory and the installation of a system of electric clocks and bells for calling classes were included in the progressive program of the administration. And as whale oil lamps had formerly paled in the presence of the newer gas lights so at this time (1884) the gas burners began to give way before the triumphant advance of electricity.

In 1897 William A. Marble, of New York City, a graduate in the class of 1867, presented to the school a beautiful large flag of the United States and a pole one hundred and seven feet high. The flag was raised with impressive ceremony and became a permanent landmark of the campus.

During this period as in former epochs there were several members of the teaching force who were destined to render distinguished service not only to the school but to other good causes in later times. Walter S. Meader, a teacher during almost the entire period, was subsequently for many years Clerk of New England Yearly Meeting. Rufus M. Jones, teacher of Modern Languages (1887–1889), later became Professor of Philosophy in Haverford College, author of many works in religious history, and a prominent apostle of Quakerism in America and England. George A. Barton, a teacher in the school from 1885 to 1889, be-

WALTER S. MEADER
BOYS' "GOVERNOR," 1880-1886. TEACHER OF HIGHER MATHEMATICS, 1886-1904

CHARLES R. JACOB
TEACHER OF FRENCH AND GERMAN, 1890-1915

came a Professor in Bryn Mawr College and a distinguished scholar and author in the field of Semitic languages and literature.

Dr. Henry Wood, later Professor of Teutonic Philology at Johns Hopkins University, was an inspiring teacher in the early part of this period. John Myron Potter, who had been a teacher under Albert K. Smiley, continued through the early years of Augustine Jones' administration. He had a real genius for teaching mathematics, and those who had his guidance in the class room in those years enjoyed a privilege never to be forgotten. Charles R. Jacob, referred to by Rufus M. Jones in the Introduction, began in this period his quarter century of service to the school. He was a great teacher in the fullest sense of the word, and contributed largely to the intellectual and moral strength of the institution.

Aside from recording the service of officers and teachers it should be written and remembered that the school was at all times and to a great degree the handiwork of the School Committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting. As members of this committee, men and women gave much precious time and untiring effort in the midst of the busiest years of their lives. For such labor there was no remuneration save the spiritual recompense that comes to faithful souls as the reward of worthy service well done.[6]

The attendance of scholars was not so great as in the preceding epoch. For the first six years of the

[6] The following are the names of some of the prominent members of the committee who served the school long and faithfully during the middle and later periods covered in this history: David Buffum, William C. Taber, Samuel Boyce, Samuel Boyd Tobey, Sarah F. Tobey, George Howland, Jr., Charles R. Tucker, Dorcas F. Tucker, Rachel S. Howland, Charles F. Coffin, Anna G. Wood, Ellen K. Buffum, James H. Chace, William O. Newhall, Hannah J. Bailey, Peter M. Neal, Timothy B. Hussey, Deborah P. Atherton, Samuel R. Buffinton.

administration the average number was one hundred and eighty-five, somewhat in excess of the preceding years. Then a variety of causes conspired to cut down the attendance so that within a few years the number of regular boarding scholars reached the minimum of one hundred and thirty-two.

To meet the situation it was decided (1884) to admit day scholars into the institution and from 1887 to 1904 the number of these regularly enrolled varied from about ten to thirty, with from twenty to thirty additional day students registered in the special arts course. At the same time the percentage of students completing the regular course continued to increase. During the twenty-five years of the administration there were four hundred and sixty-five graduates, about sixty per cent. of whom were girls and forty per cent. boys. This was an average of about eighteen graduates each year, more than double the average of the preceding period.

While fortune seemed fickle in the matter of attendance, and the appearance of an annual deficit had frequently to be faced, yet many things were accomplished that were to serve as a foundation for future prosperity.[7] Ella J. Wheeler donated thirty thousand dollars, the income of which was to be used to pay the board and tuition of pupils in the school. This addition to the charitable endowment was to be known as the Elizabeth Fry Fund, in memory of the great English Quakeress, so famous for her humane philanthropy. From the estate of Stephen T. Olney, of Providence, came an addition of about forty-three thousand dollars to the permanent funds of the school. Gifts or bequests by

[7] The contract plan of operating the school was abolished in 1890, and thereafter the Principal was paid a stated salary.—The tuition price was raised during this administration from $300 to $350 per annum, with full or partial scholarships available for the children of Friends.

SUSAN S. MOORE
PRECEPTRESS, 1876-1890; MATRON, 1892-1910

SOPHIA L. PITMAN
TEACHER OF ART, SINCE 1878. (SEE PAGES 108, 116-117)

Sarah Slade, Timothy K. Earle, Philip J. Tripp, Eleanor Cattell and others brought the total of gifts up to something more than ninety thousand dollars. Most of this was added to the permanent endowment.[8]

The removal of taxation from a large part of the school property was an achievement of great and lasting benefit. Throughout the early history of the institution its property had been exempt from taxation. By a law of 1876, however, this exemption had been removed and the property became subject to a tax that soon amounted to about four thousand dollars a year. To meet this new and unexpected demand it was necessary to adopt the ruinous policy of selling off outlying portions of the school grounds as building lots each year to meet part or all of the tax. In the long run such action must have caused the downfall of the school. By earnest, persevering effort, however, the burden of taxation was removed by the Rhode Island legislature early in 1893. The act passed at that time exempted from taxation the personal property, buildings and groves, playgrounds, orchards, and garden, in all more than twenty-six acres of land.

This happy result, as well as the securing of the Stephen T. Olney fund, was accomplished largely through the personal efforts of the Principal, whose previous experience as a member of the Boston bar and of the Massachusetts legislature fitted him in a peculiar way to achieve success in attaining the desired end. The exemption from taxation meant the removal of an almost insuperable barrier from the pathway of the school and the opening of a way to future prosperity and permanent usefulness.

[8] In 1884 some of the vacant land in the school grounds was called into service by the erection of houses upon it, which were offered for sale or rent.

The new age was marked by the revival of older organizations and activities and the creation of new ones. The old Alumni Association, moribund after a few heroic years of life, was replaced by one formed in 1887. For a decade and a half the new organization was active in drawing the graduates of the school into closer association with each other and more permanent relations with their Alma Mater. In 1892 a reunion of old students was held with the appropriate flow of speeches, songs, poems and jovial reminiscence,—even as in earlier years those of the first scholastic generation had met and renewed their youth.[9]

Athletics began to develop a volume and an intensity truly modern. The boys' campus was enlarged, and provided with the accoutrements of a proper athletic field, including a base-ball diamond, a foot-ball field, and a cinder track. An Athletic Association was formed and contests were arranged with other preparatory schools of the vicinity. Foot-ball and base-ball games, relay races, and track meets were held with a proper accompaniment of loyal enthusiasm and unstinted noise. With the boys bearing the brunt of the more strenuous athletics the girls were contented with the activities of tennis and bicycle clubs.

In the literary world the Lyceum-Phoenix society of ancient lineage served the boys. At this period its activities were confined largely to occasional debates and an annual dinner, the emphasis on the one or the other varying with the years. On the girls' side the Senior League and the Junior Literary Society provided opportunity for the exploitation of latent literary and

[9] See above, pp. 110–112. After another period of quiescence the Alumni Association lived again in a new organization formed in 1915.—From 1895 to 1917 annual reunions were held in New York by the alumni of that city and vicinity.

ELLEN K. BUFFUM
MEMBER OE SCHOOL COMMITTEE, 1874-1909

RACHEL S. HOWLAND
MEMBER OF SCHOOL COMMITTEE, 1892-1903

forensic ability. The religious activities of the pupils were under the care of a Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor. There was an Art Board, a Girls' Glee Club, a Male Quartette, a Boys' Cycle Club, a Boys' Reading Club, the "K. K." girls' drawing club, and the popular "A. V. S." for those among the gentler sex inclined to lawn-tennis.

The creative literary instinct of the students produced for a time "The Panorama," a monthly magazine, edited by a board of boys and girls. The girls also assisted the boys of Lyceum-Phoenix in the annual publication called the "Phoenix Echo."

Aside from the purely student activities there were enjoyable and instructive lectures given on Friday evenings during the winter months by teachers of the school or outside talent. Occasional evening lectures, reading recitals, and vocal and instrumental concerts were instructive and inspiring occasions.

The social side of student life was natural and enjoyable, far removed from the stern repression of the ancient régime. 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 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 sand-bar 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,[10] these were the sure signs that the ancient and medieval days were done, the renaissance accomplished, and the modern age at hand.

[10] Augustine Jones took an active part in the civic interests of Providence. He was a prominent member of the Rhode Island Historical Society, and as President of the Park Association was one of the first promoters of the Metropolitan Park System of Providence. He was also an influential member (1897–1899) of the Providence City Council. In 1907 the surviving members of the class of 1881 presented to the school an oil portrait of Augustine Jones painted by the Quaker artist, Percy Bigland, of London.

HANNAH J. BAILEY
SENIOR MEMBER OF PRESENT SCHOOL COMMITTEE APPOINTED 1874. (SEE PAGE 116)

ANNA G. WOOD
MEMBER OF SCHOOL COMMITTEE, 1876-1913

The improvement and increase in physical equipment, the art studio and the new gymnasium, the removal of taxation, and the additions to the permanent endowment made generous contribution to the succeeding epoch and to the far future of the school.

CHAPTER XII.

Moses Brown School.

1904–1919.

Few institutions of learning approach the venerable age of one hundred years without receiving a name. Yet the school that is subject of this sketch had so rare an experience. Many descriptive terms were applied to it at various stages of its career. It was called the "Friends' School" by those who were not Friends; the "Providence School" by Friends who did not live in that city, "the institution" by reverend patriarchs, or "the 'stution" by irreverent pupils, the "New England Yearly Meeting Boarding School" or the "Friends' Boarding School of New England" by all who wished to designate place as well as character. Moreover, it was called by many of these titles, and others, not only by the rank and file of patrons and acquaintances, but by officers, teachers, and Yearly Meeting Committees in official business, reports, and diplomas. So it came about happily that as the "Institution" entered the final stage of its century at Providence many thought it fit and relevant that it should have a name. The virtue of having waited the long years became at once apparent in the perspective that was given for viewing men and developments in their just proportions. In the light of such a view one name stood out paramount. It was the name of him who had always been recognized as the founder of the school. His generous charity and far vision, his prac-

SETH K. GIFFORD
PRINCIPAL, 1904 —

MARY A. GIFFORD
PRINCIPAL OF GIRLS' DEPARTMENT, 1904 —

tical statesmanship joined to high spiritual ideals, his sterling character and great soul had impressed all men of his time. The years that had passed since the close of his life had but served to emphasize the fact that his splendid spirit was woven inextricably into the warp and woof of the school. So in the year 1904 the New England Yearly Meeting Boarding School did itself the high honor of taking the name, "Moses Brown School."

The adoption of the name came appropriately at the beginning of a new administration. The selection of a Principal was never more important than at this time, near the opening of the twentieth century. Many of the problems faced by the former administration were still great and growing. The rise of educational standards due to the unprecedented development of the public school system made high and higher demands upon private schools. Public high schools are a phenomenon of the nineteenth century. Their rapid growth in attendance, curriculum, and equipment is due apparently to the conviction on the part of present day governments that democracy can be made permanently safe only through an educated citizenry. So in the last analysis private education has come of late into competition with the vast resources of the modern state. To meet the exigencies of this increasingly serious situation the school committee drew upon the faculty of a sister institution of Friends and secured the services of Dr. Seth Kelley Gifford, Professor of Greek in Haverford College, Pennsylvania. It thus became his destiny to pilot the school through the period of fifteen years at the close of its century at Providence.[1]

[1] Dr. Gifford was a pupil of the New England Yearly Meeting Boarding School and a graduate of Haverford College. Later he belonged to

Upon taking charge of the school, Dr. Gifford felt that two things were of vital importance. The one concerned its fundamental purpose, the other its relation to the community in which it was placed. He believed that the special function of the private school in the educational system of the present day is to prepare its pupils for higher institutions of learning rather than to offer general instruction and vocational training for immediate, practical needs. Accordingly, the curriculum of the school was reorganized with that end in view. A thoroughgoing college preparatory course was established, yet broad enough to furnish a substantial foundation for the smaller number of pupils who would not enter college halls.[2]

In the second place, the school with its extensive grounds and its close proximity to the city was admirably adapted to furnish to the community the advantages of the so-called Country Day School. Schools of this type, beginning with The Gilman Country School in Baltimore, founded in 1897, have been established in all the larger cities of the eastern and middle states. Their object is to offer pupils an all-day program, including recreation and supervised study, as well as class-room instruction.

In order to provide adequately for this extended program it was necessary to add to the equipment another building for the especial accommodation of younger pupils. The erection and equipment of this addition

the teaching staff of the two institutions consecutively. He received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Halle, Germany. His wife, Mary Amy Collins, was also a graduate of the school and for many years one of its teachers, so that both brought to their new task an intimate knowledge of the school and a living interest in its welfare.

[2] More than ninety per cent. of the graduates of this period have entered college or technical school.

LOWER SCHOOL BUILDING
ERECTED 1904

involved an outlay of twenty thousand dollars which seemed like a considerable venture for a school already struggling under a deficit. The plan put into practice, however, proved to be an immediate and permanent success, and it soon became necessary to build two additional rooms to accommodate the increasing attendance.

It was gratifying to find that the policy of providing for a larger number of day scholars than had previously been admitted proved a strength also to the boarding department. From year to year the number of pupils increased until now at the close of the century the enrollment of the entire school has reached the fine total of three hundred and twelve.[3]

At the same time, a high standard was set in the character of pupils admitted. The genial reception sometimes accorded by private institutions to dull or unmanageable outcasts from the public schools found no place at Moses Brown. Rather, the moral and academic standards were set so high that it presently became known that only the better class of students found entrance there.

A pleasing affiliation of interest was accomplished in 1904 when the University Grammar School of Providence was discontinued. That institution was founded in 1764 at Warren, Rhode Island, as a preparatory school for Rhode Island College, to be opened there the next year.[4]

[3] A serious problem arose from the fact that so few girls were enrolled as compared with boys. In some of the eastern states there is a strong prejudice against co-education in secondary schools. As the number of boys was nearly sufficient to occupy all the old accommodations, the School Committee formed the plan of establishing a separate Girls' School on another part of the campus, or elsewhere. This plan has been postponed for the present on account of war conditions.—See Y. M. printed *Minutes, 1916*, pp. 8–9.

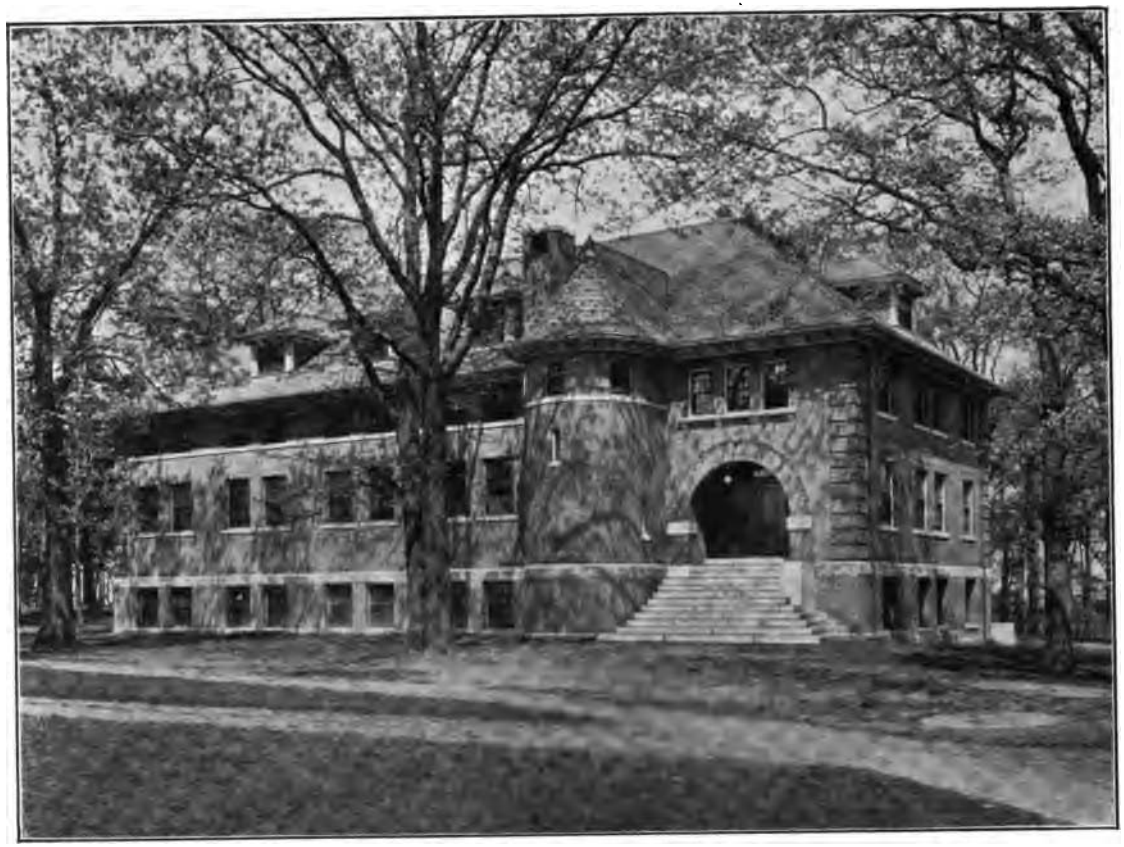
[4] Rhode Island College was later named Brown University in honor

Both institutions were removed to Providence in 1770 where the school continued its work and was later united with the well known Mowry and Goff School. The transfer to Moses Brown School of the patronage and good will of these two honorable institutions brought with it, aside from material benefits, a further heritage of venerable and renowned traditions.

The constantly increasing attendance had the natural effect on the financial condition of the school. Each year there was a surplus of income over expenditure and during fifteen years more than seventy-five thousand dollars of this surplus was invested in the permanent improvement of buildings and grounds. The grading of lawns and planting of trees and shrubs were carried on extensively. Granolithic walks were built to the two main entrances and around the buildings. Two beautiful memorial gates were made possible by special gifts. One on Lloyd Avenue, was erected in memory of Theodate Lang Baily by her five sons, and one on Hope Street in memory of Lucretia Gifford Chace by her husband and daughter. Along that side of the campus bordering on Lloyd Avenue was erected a substantial and artistic iron fence, the several sections furnished by and dedicated to various classes. One section provided by the Yearly Meeting School Committee was dedicated to the natal year of 1819.

The debt against the new gymnasium was provided for through a bequest left by Sarah J. Hall, and the building was named the "Hawes Gymnasium" in honor of George and Maria Greene Hawes, parents of

of one of its early benefactors, Nicholas Brown, a nephew of Moses Brown.



HAWES GYMNASIUM
(SEE PAGES 117, 130)

the donor. A complete equipment of apparatus, a swimming pool, and double bowling alleys were also provided for the gymnasium and a new athletic field with a fine cinder track was completed.

Within the buildings, the library, school rooms, class rooms, and all the dormitories were renewed and refurnished. A large number of lavatories were added. The electric lighting equipment was improved and enlarged. The modern system of heat and ventilation, installed during the previous administration, was extended to the entire school plant and later made more effective by the introduction of a vacuum system. A dignified front porch of Colonial style was provided for the original building with extensive improvement and artistic remodeling of the hall, corridors, and adjoining rooms of the Middle House. Through all these changes, the atmosphere and essential features of the old building were preserved, including the time-honored case of birds in the sitting-room and the historic cracked bell in the old belfry.

D. Wheeler Swift, a loyal friend of the school, who died in 1910, gave five thousand dollars to be used as a loan fund to help worthy scholars who needed financial assistance. Sarah H. Taber, of New Bedford, a member of the Committee, left by will one thousand dollars to establish The Charles Taber Memorial Lectureship in literature and art, in memory of her father. In 1917 a legacy of two thousand dollars was given by Sarah Howland, also to be used as a lecture fund. In addition to these bequests, there was one of one thousand dollars from Albert K. Smiley and another of two hundred and fifty dollars from Anna C. Swan.

The financial success of the school during this period

made possible the employment of a larger number of trained teachers and this led to a constant advance of academic standards.[5] Many graduates of the period took high honors in the best colleges and universities of America and so added luster to the long time illustrious name of Moses Brown.

A final happy result of the prosperity of these years was that the excellent instruction and splendid accommodations could be offered to students at a comparatively low cost. The charge for full-paying pupils was considerably less than in many other schools of similar standing. For members of New England Yearly Meeting the difference was still greater. By the help of accumulated endowments, granted by the worthies of former times, the children of New England Friends could secure the unusual advantages of the school, including board and tuition, for a charge that was only nominal as compared with the cost to the institution. In this respect it may be truly said that the founders and early benefactors of the school builded better than they knew.

Retrospect.

In reviewing the history of the school, it is an outstanding fact that an institution founded by peace-loving Friends has had so much experience of the vicissitudes of war as has Moses Brown School. It

[5] One whose teaching ability has in a notable way stood the test of the years is Thomas J. Battey, to whom this volume is dedicated. He began teaching at the school in 1868 and at the commencement exercises in 1918 he was presented by the School Committee with a token (in gold coin) from the treasury of the school in recognition of his faithful service of half a century.—Space does not permit the inclusion of complete lists of teachers in recent administrations. Those of the first fifty years are listed in Appendix D.

THOMAS J. BATTEY
TEACHER OF SCIENCE SINCE 1868. (SEE PAGE 132, NOTE)

CHARLES SISSON
GRADUATE OF THE SCHOOL. MEMBER OF SCHOOL COMMITTEE. TREASURER OF SCHOOL FUND

was agitated and founded during the Revolution, and the first experiment at Portsmouth suffered temporary defeat largely as an after effect of that war. The re-establishment of the school was delayed by the War of 1812. Then at a very critical time in its development, very near the mid-point of its century-long existence at Providence, it was called upon to face the rigors of the Civil War. Now at the close of a hundred years the shadows of the World War fall just short of the centennial anniversary.

In and about the old school are many monuments of the past and many marks of change. From the center of the original building rises the ancient cupola to its imposing height. On its windows glisten still the well cut names of aspiring youth of other generations. One clear, strong hand left its mark there in the summer of 1818, the season before the first opening of the school, when the building was nearing completion. Others there are of 1826, 1838, 1854 and years between,—pupils' names for the most part, that may be found again on the yellowed records safely kept in the basement vault below. From the cupola's height modern eyes look out upon the same stretches of hill and valley, river and bay, that charmed the folk of other days. Yet the marks of man's hand upon the face of the country have wrought a marvellous transformation. In all directions to the farthest confines of the state can be seen here and there the haze and smoke, the spires and chimneys, of towns and cities. Close at hand the scene is vastly changed. The little brick school-house on the hill back of Providence, surrounded by the woods and fields of a farming community can be seen only in

imagination. The modest forty-foot wings of the original middle-hall have been extended, and flanked on either side and buttressed in the rear by other spacious halls. The old farm of Moses Brown has disappeared before the dauntless march of a great American city. Even the site of the founder's ancient home is to be sought amidst the crowded lots of a closely built residence section.[6]

At the school the little group of Quaker lads and lassies, dressed in the plain garb of the early day, has given way to a student body three hundred strong, Friends and non-Friends, dressed after the ways of the great world. The plain language of "thee" and "thou" is heard only occasionally when those converse who are inured to the ancient Friendly mode. Even the days of the week and month are called by the names of "heathen gods and goddesses."

The curriculum has grown apace. The study of "the three R's" still has its fundamental place. But upon it has been built the full program of language, literature, history, and science, required for entrance to college and university.

The old games of battledore and kicking the foot-ball have been replaced by organized gymnasium work, modern inter-scholastic foot-ball, base-ball, basket-ball, and the full round of track and field sports. The repressive discipline and guarded social life, with its strict separation of the sexes, broken only by a rare journey to Doctor Tobey's or an "oscillation" at the school, is long past. In its place has come a discipline

[6] Moses Brown's residence was destroyed by fire March 8, 1865. It stood near the corner of Humboldt and Wayland Avenues.

PRESENT FRONT VIEW
LOWER SCHOOL BUILDING ON LEFT

that encourages a wholesome self-expression, in which boys and girls mingle together easily and naturally in their daily tasks.[7]

Such is the retrospect of one hundred years since the opening of the school at Providence; or of one hundred and thirty-five years since the beginning of the heroic experiment at Portsmouth.

Yet though the contrast of the old ways with the new is striking, the continuity of spirit and purpose is a golden thread binding the effort of past and present into a unified, harmonious whole. A school where Friends, rich and poor, and others who might desire entrance, could have as good training as in any school of the day; a school where spiritual ideals were not secondary to academic standards, where character would pass at par with scholarship: stripped of all ancient verbiage in precept and temporary mannerism in practice, these were surely the fundamental ideals of the founders. Passed on from hand to hand through the vicissitudes and changes of the most changeful period in human history these ideals have yet come intact to the custodians of the present day. It is reasonable to

[7] The Christian Endeavor Society gave way in this administration to the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A. The Lyceum-Phoenix found its counterpart in the Boys' Debating Club. For a short time about 1905 there was a Moses Brown Literary Society composed of boys and girls. Since 1904 "The Delphian," a monthly magazine, has been published by the students. —In 1904 New England Yearly Meeting met at Moses Brown School and since then it has usually met there every second year.—The main sources for the last period (1904–1919), as covered in the above chapter, are: MS. *Minutes* of the School Committee of New England Yearly Meeting; annual reports of the same committee as printed in the Yearly Meeting *Minutes;* annual catalogues of Moses Brown School.—The closing lines are from Whittier's poem "The Quaker Alumni," written expressly for the School and read at a meeting of the Alumni Association held at Newport, R. I., in 1860.

believe that if the honored founders could be present at the centennial day of their handiwork and see the school in its setting of twentieth century conditions and opportunities, the benediction of their approval would be upon it as it enters the second century of its beneficent service.

Not vainly the gift of its founder was made;
Not prayerless the stones of its corner were laid:
The blessing of Him whom in secret they sought
Has owned the good work which the fathers have wrought.

BUILDING TRACK CORNER OF LOWER SCHOOL EDGE OF FOOTBALL FIELD

GYMNASIUM STUDIO MAIN

BASEBALL DIAMOND

APPENDIX A.

APPEAL OF THE MEETING FOR SUFFERINGS, 1782.

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 clearly 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 desirious 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 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 sepa-

ration 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 essenctial 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 exampled 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 care 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 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, 1779, "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 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 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 3 s. 3 d. 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; 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 receive 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 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. 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 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 encreases 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 œconomy 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." 1 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." 1 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 it, would gladly 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 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 accompts, 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 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 as 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 affliction, 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 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.

APPENDIX B.

RULES AND REGULATIONS, NOVEMBER 1, 1784.

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 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. Mathew, 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.

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 complaints 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 them: 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 proficiencies 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 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.

—Taken from Meeting for Sufferings MS. *Minutes, 1775-1793,* pp. 213-216.

APPENDIX C.

REPORT ON SCHOOLS WITHIN RHODE ISLAND QUARTERLY MEETING, 1801.

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.—

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 an 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.

APPENDIX D.

OFFICERS, TEACHERS, AND ASSISTANTS.

1819–1869.

Note: Most of the dates given are those under which the names appear in the catalogues or the reports of the School Committee. Usually the name does not appear until the year following the entrance upon service, and it sometimes appears in the year following retirement.

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, Jarvis and Lydia.
1847–1852. Cornell, Silas and Sarah M.

Principals (to 1919).

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. Prin.—Also 1873–1879.
1863–1879. Smiley, Rebecca H., Prin. of Girls' Dept.
1879–1904. Jones, Augustine.
1904– Gifford, Seth K. and Mary Amy.

Teachers and Assistants.

1819. Gardner, Dorcas.
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.
1828–1830. 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. Fry, Dorcas.
1831. Hacker, Jeremiah.
1831–1834. Cartland, Moses A.
1831–1835. Earle, Pliny, Jr.
1832. Horton, Isabella.
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, Jonathan L.
1834. Lockwood, Anna T.
1835. Gale, Christina.
1835–1836. Cook, Louis.
1835–1837. Barker, Mary Ann.
1835–1837. Hathaway, Isaac.
1835–1843. Read, George F.
1835–1844. Aldrich, Emeline.
1836. Meader, 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.

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.
1848. Moore, Lindley Murray.
1848. Whittier, Gertrude E.
1848–1849. Cornell, Sarah Alice.
1848–1850. 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. Meader, 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.
1853–1854. Varney, William H.
1853–1854. Whittier, Gertrude E. (See also list of Principals.)
1853–1857. Varney, Pamelia 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. Haase, 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.
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. Dame, Elma M.
1860–1861. Duncan, 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.
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.
1867–1879. Wing, Alice R. (Except one year.)
1868. Wiggin, George W.
1868– Battey, Thomas J.
1868–1879. Maxfield, Daniel C.

APPENDIX E.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

I. Manuscript Sources in Vault of Moses Brown School.

Austin Collection of Moses Brown Documents. 17 packages.

"Note—These Documents are a portion of a large assortment of Material that Moses Brown Jenkins, son of William Jenkins, and grandson of Moses Brown, turned over to Samuel Austin many years ago, and were in his possession until his death in 1897, after which a large portion of them were given to the R. I. Historical Society, and the balance to Moses Brown School. The part received by the School was never examined until 1913, when the Custodian of the new Vault, just then becoming ready for use, sorted them over and . . . sent a part of the old pamphlets to the Providence Public Library, and another portion, consisting of business correspondence and account books, to the Historical Society, and placed the remainder in the Vault. In making this division and distribution great care was exercised to retain everything that seemed likely to have any special value, historic or otherwise, to the School or to the Yearly Meeting."

—Note by Thomas J. Battey, Custodian.

Collection consists of deeds, copies of yearly meeting epistles, Moses Brown's reports as Treasurer of the School Fund, school bills, papers relating to Moses Brown's slaves and their emancipation, and some correspondence of Moses and Obadiah Brown. There are also seven other bundles containing similar material, numbered 21–27, listed in the vault catalogue as "Austin Packages."

Austin Manuscripts. I–X.

Written by Samuel Austin from his valuable collection of manuscripts.

Articles on early education among Friends, the Portsmouth School, activities of Moses Brown, Isaac Lawton, Elisha Thornton, Job Scott, Daniel Howland, William Rotch, and Thomas Hazard.

Meeting for Sufferings, Minutes, 4 vols. 1775–1919.

In the beginning the above name was adopted because this body was commissioned to care for Friends who suffered persecution. In 1872 the name was changed to "Representative Meeting," and in 1901 to "Permanent Board" in accordance with the *Uniform Discipline.*

The detailed work of establishing the school at Portmouth and later at Providence was in charge of the Meeting for Sufferings.

Minutes of Quarterly and Monthly Meetings.

These are largely collected and deposited in the vault at Moses Brown School.

Those of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting are in the vault of the Newport Historical Society, Newport, R. I.

Miscellaneous Parcels, IX, XI, XIII, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXXI.

Valuable leaflets, diaries, letters of reminiscence, lists of scholars, plans of the school and garden, old text-books, first record book of Lyceum-Phoenix and of the Museum Association, deeds, bequests, subscriptions, old newspapers and pictures.

New England Yearly Meeting Minutes, 10 vols. 1683–1919.

This is the basic manuscript source, containing the record of the early "concerns" of the Yearly Meeting on the subject of education, the establishment of the school, and (from 1819–1919) the annual reports of the School Committee.

Reference is here made to the *Men's Minutes.* The separate *Women's Minutes* for the period prior to 1897 must sometimes be consulted to secure the names of the women members of the School Committee.

Nichols, Mary E., Extracts from the Diary of. In Parcel XXV, Misc. 957 A.

Interesting side-lights on school life in 1819.

Purinton, Betsy, Diary of. In Parcel IX, Misc.

This diary, seemingly of composite authorship, covers the opening and early months of the school, as also various short periods to 1824. There is a partial copy of this in a separate volume.

Rolls, parcels I–XXV.

Comprising maps, blue prints, specifications, etc., relating to the buildings and grounds of the school.

School Committee, Record Books of the.

One volume, 1780–1782, containing merely transcripts from the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting and the Meeting for Sufferings.

Two volumes, 1833–1850, are valuable records of the Sub-Committee, a kind of inner executive committee.

Four volumes, 1863–1919, are the regular records of the School Committee and are of course indispensable to a study of the period.

Treasurer of the School Committee, Record Book of.

This book covers the treasurership of Thomas Harkness, 1857–1887.

Later records are in the hands of Charles Sisson, Providence, present treasurer of the School Fund.

Testimonials and Memorials, 3 vols. 1761–1841, 1843–1868, 1871–1874.

Useful for data on the lives of certain Friends connected with the school.

Thayer, Rachel, Fund, Record Book of Committee in Charge of, 1777–1836. Austin Package 25.

Records the earliest educational activities of Moses Brown after he joined Friends.

II. Manuscript Sources in the Library of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence.

Almy and Brown, Account Books of. 1790–1836.

This is the firm of William Almy and, through most of the period, Obadiah Brown.

Brown, Moses, Account Books of. 4 vols.

Brown, Moses. *Account of the Yellow Fever in Providence, 1791–1797.* 2 vols.

Brown, Moses, Manuscript Materials Relative To. 4 boxes.

Miscellaneous letters and papers, including many treatises on diseases and recipes of remedies.

Brown, Moses, Papers, 1735–1842. 14 vols.

This is the greatest single collection of Moses Brown materials. Consists of letters to and from M. B. and miscellaneous papers written or collected by him, or relating to him. Over 4000 papers included.

A few other miscellaneous papers written or collected by Moses Brown, not bearing upon the subject of this treatise, and some books from his library, are in the Rhode Island Historical Society Library and listed in its card catalogue.

III. Printed Materials.

Ackworth School, Celebration of the Centenary of. Edited by James Henry Barber. London, 1879.

Act of Incorporation of New England Yearly Meeting in 1823. 16 pp. No date.

Printed much later than 1823, and pages 9 to 16 contain extracts from the wills of Thomas Folsom, Sylvester Wickes, Obadiah Brown, Lydia Tillinghast, Moses Brown, and Abraham Shearman, Jr., making bequests to the school.

Alumni Association, Proceedings of. 8 vols. 1859–1866.

Annual volumes in pamphlet form. Contain much valuable reminiscence, especially that by Mary Mitchell in the volume of 1860.

Bagnall, William R. *Samuel Slater and the Early Development of the Cotton Manufacture in the United States.* 70 pp. Middletown, Conn., 1890.

An excellent brief account.

Bright, John. Proceedings at the Unveiling of a Bust of, at Friends School, Third Month 28th, 1884. 60 pp. Providence, 1898.

Bronson, Walter C. *History of Brown University, 1764–1914.* Providence, 1914.
Contains many references to Moses Brown.

Catalogues of the School. 1832–1919.
Invaluable sources, giving names of officers, teachers, and pupils, and the titles of courses.

Delphian, The. Providence, 1904–1919.
A monthly publication by the scholars of the school.
An invaluable source for the school life during the period.

Dewees, Watson W., and Sarah B. *Centennial History of Westtown Boarding School.* Philadelphia, 1899.

Echoes of '87. 22 pp. Providence, 1917.
Proceedings of thirtieth anniversary of Class of 1887.

Education in the Society of Friends, History of. York, England, 1855.

Extracts from the Records of the New England Yearly Meeting Boarding School. 8 pp. Providence, 1854.
Valuable data on the lives, and efforts for the school, of Moses Brown, Obadiah Brown, and William Almy.

Fox, George. *Journal.* Cambridge edition. Edited by Norman Penney. 2 vols. 1911.
Printed *verbatim et literatim* and therefore the standard *Journal.*
Information on early Friends' schools.

From the Meeting for Sufferings for New England. 19 pp. 1782.
Pamphlet reprinted as Appendix A of this volume.

Fry, Elisabeth, Proceedings at the Unveiling of a Bust of, at Friends' School, Ninth Month, 29th, 1885. 82 pp. Providence, 1885.

Grieve, Robert, and Fernald, John P. *The Cotton Centennial, 1790–1890.* 176 pp. Providence, 1891.
A history of the centennial celebration of the beginning of the cotton industry at Pawtucket, R. I.
Chapter II is entitled, "Samuel Slater, and the Introduction of Cotton Spinning into America."

Griscom, John H., M.D. (Compiler). *Memoir of John Griscom.* New York, 1859.
Letters and autobiography of John Griscom describing his experience at Friends' School.

Haverford College, A History of, 1830–1890. Philadelphia, 1892.
Contains data on many people who were connected both with Haverford and with Moses Brown School in turn.

Jones, Augustine. *A Sketch of William Rotch.* Providence, 1901.
A pamphlet on one of the stalwart supporters of Moses Brown in his efforts to establish a Yearly Meeting School. Contains data also on Wm. Rotch, Jr.

Jones, Augustine. *Brief History of Providence Friends School.* Providence, 1900.
Compiled from sources and is itself a source for the period of the author's personal experience.

Jones, Augustine. *Moses Brown, A Sketch.* 47 pp. Providence, 1892.
Compiled from reliable sources and read before the Rhode Island Historical Society.

Jones, Augustine. *The Taxation of Friends School.* 25 pp. Providence, 1893.
The argument presented by Augustine Jones in securing exemption from taxation.

Jones, Rufus M. *The Quakers in the American Colonies.* New York, 1911.
Interesting chapters on early Friends in New England.

Monroe, Paul, editor. *A Cyclopedia of Education.* 5 vols. New York, 1911.
Various articles on early education in America.

New England Yearly Meeting Minutes. 1847–1919.
Two complete files of the printed *Minutes* from 1847. An invaluable source containing the annual reports of the committee in charge of the Providence school.

Newspapers, of Providence and neighboring cities.
A splendid collection is to be found in the library of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, R. I.

Panorama, The. Providence, 1894–?
A monthly magazine published by the scholars of the school. Nothing approaching a complete file is at hand.

Phoenix Echo. Providence.
An annual publication by the scholars of Friends' School. Scattering copies, 1889–1901, are at hand.
The most valuable source for the period on the life and activities at the school.

Reports of the School Committee. 1819–1846.
Scattering reprints of the annual reports prior to 1847 supplemented by typewritten copies to make a complete set, 1819–1846.

Richardson, E. *History of Woonsocket.* Woonsocket, 1876.
Sketch of the life and work of Elisha Thornton, pp. 79–80.

Sanborn, F. B. *Memoirs of Pliny Earle, M.D.* Boston, 1898.
Many side-lights on the life of Pliny Earle at Friends' School.

Seybolt, Robert Francis. *Apprenticeship and Apprenticeship Education in Colonial New England and New York.* Teachers College, Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 85. New York, 1917.
Describes the teaching requirements of the apprentice system.

Sharpless, Isaac. *A Quaker Experiment in Government.* 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1898–1899.
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Stockwell, Thomas B. *A History of Public Education in Rhode Island from 1636 to 1876.* Providence, 1876.
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Tolman, William Howe. *History of Higher Education in Rhode Island.* U. S. Bureau of Education. Washington, 1894.
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Walton, Perry. *The Story of Textiles.* 274 pp. Boston, 1912.
Chapter VII is entitled, "Era of Samuel Slater."

White, George S. *Memoir of Samuel Slater.* 568 pp. Philadelphia, 1836.
Contains reprints of interesting letters on the early activities of Slater in America, including his correspondence with Moses Brown.

Whittier, John Greenleaf, Proceedings at the Presentation of a Portrait of, to Friends' School, Tenth Month, 24th, 1884. 92 pp. Cambridge, Mass., 1885.