

RHODE ISLAND HISTORY

VOL. 21, NO. 3

JULY, 1962

Wallpaper from the Dufour factory in Paris

see description on inside cover

NEWS-NOTES

A bill granting the Society \$4,000 toward the microfilming of the state's newspapers in our custody was signed into law by Governor Notte at the close of the General Assembly in April. Unfortunately the bill came out of the House Finance Committee reduced by \$2,000. However, since the bill for \$6,000 failed of passage in 1961, we are pleased to have the program of filming reactivated, even with this curtailment. The state has previously made grants for this project in 1959 and 1960.

* * *

By the will of the late Mrs. Samuel M. Nicholson the Society was left \$1,000. The thoughtfulness of our members in leaving such bequests is greatly appreciated. As our invested funds are increased, our sphere of influence is enlarged, and we find ourselves in a better position to serve the public. We are happy to acknowledge this gift from Mrs. Nicholson.

* * *

Mr. John H. Wells, whose most recent labor of love for the Society is indexing the 1865 census of Rhode Island, has completed the work on the following towns: Charlestown, Coventry, Cranston, East Greenwich, Exeter, Hopkinton, North Kingstown, North Providence, Richmond, South Kingstown, Warwick, West Greenwich, and West-erly. This notable work when completed will list every person living in Rhode Island at the time the census was taken, giving the names of members of each household with age, sex, occupation, and place of birth.

* * *

A case for the permanent display of the Mrs. Arthur Milton McCrillis Collection of Dolls has been installed on the third floor of John Brown House. The exhibition will be changed annually.

* * *

Mrs. Howard Johnson Greene has given to The Rhode Island Historical Society her collection of children's, dolls', and Lilliputian sets of dishes. Included are ceramics representing ceramic factories all over the world.

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Photograph by George C. Henderson

We are indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Perkins Brown for the opportunity of depicting another wallpaper from the Dufour factory in Paris. According to Nancy McClelland in *Historic Wallpapers* (Philadelphia, 1924) *this paper was printed in 1832 by A. Leroy, successor to Dufour. The complete set consists of thirty strips in color. The scenes are those of the invasion of Peru by Pizarro in 1531, the story being taken from Marmontel's book, "Les Incas, ou la Destruction de l'Empire du Perou."*

The panel which has been used as our cover is on the east wall of the southwest room of the Brown home at 2 George Street in Providence.

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NO. 3

FRANCIS WAYLAND: POLITICAL ECONOMIST AS EDUCATOR

by THEODORE R. CRANE

Department of History, University of Denver

I

THE CAREER OF FRANCIS WAYLAND (1796-1865), fourth president of Brown University (1827-1855), has yet to be adequately evaluated. His reputation today rests primarily on his work as an educator and advocate of reform in the pre-Civil War American college. His popular textbooks, *The Elements of Moral Science* (1835) and *The Elements of Political Economy* (1837), have attracted increasing attention in recent years.¹ To his contemporaries, however, Wayland was first of all a Christian moralist. Scholars have just begun to examine his inner struggles and the perplexities he confronted in applying his ethical principles as an educator and Baptist leader.² A clearer understanding of his basic values is required before his achievements can be fully understood.

Wayland's presidency reached its climax in 1850 when he inaugurated a "new system" of comprehensive reforms at Brown University,

¹Michael J. L. O'Connor, *Origins of Academic Economics in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944); Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization, 1606-1865* (New York: The Viking Press, 1946), II, Chapter XXVII: "The School of Wayland"; Charles C. Cole, Jr., *The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists, 1826-1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954).

²Wilson Smith, *Philosophers & Public Ethics. Studies of Northern Moral Philosophers Before the Civil War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956), Chapter VII: "Francis Wayland and the Dorr War"; Norman H. Maring, "The Individualism of Francis Wayland," in Winthrop S. Hudson, ed., *Baptist Concepts of the Church* (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1959), 135-169; Herman Eschenbacher, "Education and Social Unity in the Ante-Bellum Period," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXX (Spring, 1960), 154-163; Theodore R. Crane, "Francis Wayland and the Residential College," *Rhode Island History*, XIX (July, 1960), 65-78 and (October 1960), 118-129.

including elective studies and alternative degrees, and published his influential *Report to the Corporation*³ defending this major departure from traditional American collegiate practices. Some of his innovations rudely interrupted the natural development of Brown University, though they were accompanied by a major addition to its funds. The only permanent result of his curricular reforms was the introduction of engineering. In 1914 Walter Cochrane Bronson's sesquicentennial *History of Brown University* presented a fair but unenthusiastic picture of the era of reform. Bronson was not hostile to Wayland's expressed purposes but disappointed with their results, particularly the failure to raise academic standards.⁴

Though Wayland sincerely desired to improve undergraduate scholarship, it is significant that he stressed this objective less than the need for educational expansion. The democratic spirit and emphasis on a vocationally oriented curriculum of his 1850 *Report* forecast two of the principal features of American colleges after 1865. Impressed by Wayland's foresight, William Greene Roelker hailed him in 1943 as a "neglected pioneer" of the elective system and a forerunner of the great educators who created modern universities in America. In 1954 Henry Merritt Wriston described his predecessor as Brown University's greatest president, and recent Brown catalogs have compared Wayland with Thomas Jefferson.⁵

Others, however, have been more critical. In education as elsewhere evolution may be more effective than revolution. Behind Wayland's reforms, Donald Fleming suggests, lay a "failure of nerve in the tasks of liberal education."⁶ It is also clear that his *Report* of 1850 had a destructive impact on various colleges. It was used by

³[Francis Wayland], *Report to the Corporation of Brown University, on Changes in the System of Collegiate Education, Read March 28, 1850* (Providence: George H. Whitney, 1850).

⁴Walter C. Bronson, *The History of Brown University, 1764-1914* (Providence: Published by the University, 1914), 282-283, 290-293.

⁵William G. Roelker, *Francis Wayland. A Neglected Pioneer of Higher Education* (Worcester, Mass.: Published by the [American Antiquarian] Society, 1944), 54, cites tribute to Wayland's vision by Charles W. Eliot in 1885; Henry M. Wriston, "The Future of the College President," in *Eliphalet Nott, President 1804-1866* (Union College, *Union Worthies*, No. 9; Schenectady, 1954), 16; *Catalogue of The College and Pembroke College for the Year 1960-1961* (Brown University, *Bulletin*, Vol. LVII, No. 7; Providence, 1960), 42.

⁶Donald Fleming, *Science and Technology in Providence, 1760-1914. An Essay in the History of Brown University in the Metropolitan Community* (Brown University Papers, XXVI; Providence, 1952), 39.

critics of the classics and became a weapon for politicians demanding radical changes in existing institutions that they might serve the "practical" needs of laborers and farmers.⁷ In reviewing the most crucial such controversy, Harvard's historian, Samuel Eliot Morison, concluded that Wayland's reform philosophy was "probably productive of more mischief than any other in the history of American education."⁸

The Northern American public cared nothing for academic freedom or for scholarship as such, and suspected that a liberal education made men enemies of democracy. What it wanted was a cheap education, conducted by clerical teachers, and directed toward the acquirement of information or skills that would be directly useful in the student's future occupation. . . . Jefferson's idea was a liberal education for those who could profit by it, and the training of a few selected scholars; Wayland and democracy demanded vocational training for everybody.⁹

What was there in Wayland's outlook that led him to emphasize the democratic and vocational purposes of higher education to such a degree that his sincere desire to strengthen American colleges and raise scholastic standards was compromised? Neither his critics nor his admirers have indicated. Nearly fifty years ago, however, Professor Bronson suggested that his reforms suffered from a conflict between two objectives:

The President wished to spread the benefits of collegiate education more widely among the people, and he wished to see more

⁷See Basil Manly, *Report on Collegiate Education, Made to the Trustees of the University of Alabama, July, 1852* (Tuskaloosa: Printed by M. D. J. Slade, 1852), a survey of alterations in the traditional collegiate system presented as a defense against demands that the University of Alabama should adopt a freer and more utilitarian curriculum; also defense of Wayland's "new system" by Asa Mahan and subsequent discussion at American Association for the Advancement of Education, 1851, in *Proceedings of the First Session of the American Association for the Advancement of Education, Held at Cleveland, Ohio, August 19th, 20th, 21st, & 22d, A. D. 1851* (Philadelphia: E. C. & J. Biddle, 1852), 40-81.

⁸Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), 286; effect of political pressures on Harvard in 1850-1851 is discussed on pp. 286-293; the Democratic-Free Soil demand for a popular University is in Massachusetts, General Court, House of Representatives, [Document] No. 164 [April, 1850] by George S. Boutwell. See George S. Boutwell to Francis Wayland, April 22, 1850, praising the *Report to the Corporation*. (Unless otherwise indicated all unpublished materials cited are in Brown University Library.)

⁹Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942), I, 516-517.

students paying tuition into the treasury of Brown University. To what extent the democratic motive dominated the pecuniary it is impossible to decide, but doubtless each was sincere and powerful.¹⁰

More recently President Wriston observed that Wayland's reform scheme

as finally adopted, was vitiated by a fatal confusion. It was framed with a view not only to educational reform but also to financial support. No program can have promotion as one of its essential elements and be educationally successful. It is not possible to make money by emphasis on "high intellectual culture," practical philosophy, or Christian ethics.¹¹

These insights have never been developed. Most students of Wayland's economics have concentrated on his views on banking and the tariff. Yet ample materials exist for a fiscal history of Brown University, and crucial passages in Wayland's writings illuminate the problem which Professor Bronson and President Wriston have noted. The "new system" of 1850 was an outgrowth of changes Wayland had unsuccessfully urged on the Brown Corporation for almost a decade until a prolonged financial crisis threatened the institution's solvency. A simple economic explanation of the reforms is misleading, however. Though Wayland's role as a promoter in 1850 seems to justify describing him as "the man who saved Brown University from extinction,"¹² during the preceding years he had firmly resisted urgent pleas from his associates to raise additional endowment funds. His policies were based on principles of educational finance which he formulated as early as 1830 and adhered to thereafter in years of prosperity and adversity alike.

Thus, while Professor Bronson implied that Wayland may have considered Brown University's prosperity more important than its scholastic standards, further analysis suggests that he believed the maintenance of his own economic principles to be more important than survival of the college. This was true not because he was primarily an economist rather than an educator, but because he was a moralist before he was either. His world was ruled by the laws of a

¹⁰Bronson, *History of Brown University*, 283.

¹¹Henry M. Wriston, Review of William G. Roelker, *Francis Wayland: A Neglected Pioneer of Higher Education*, *Rhode Island History*, IV (January, 1945), 30.

¹²William G. Roelker, "The Man Who Saved Brown University from Extinction," *Providence Sunday Journal*, March 5, 1939.

sovereign Creator, which he insisted applied to the management of colleges as to every other human activity. His individualistic moral code, qualified faith in democracy and progress, and *laissez-faire* economics, which he associated with the laws of the universe, provided the basis for his educational policies. He paid little attention to the historical development of human institutions. If educators obeyed moral laws, their schools would probably prosper; in any case, their consciences would be clear. With a firmness that could become obstinacy Wayland followed these precepts throughout his twenty-eight years at Brown University.

II

Francis Wayland first proclaimed his views on human responsibility during his pastorate at Boston's First Baptist Church from 1821 to 1826, when he assumed a leading part in the institutional affairs of the New England Baptists. Such projects as foreign missions, ministerial education funds, and theological seminaries he then believed were useful means to promote the evangelization of the world, a mission which he insisted imposed particular responsibilities on Americans.¹³ The individualism which led Wayland after 1840 to repudiate his early commitments to denominational enterprises was also clearly evident in the twenties.

Man is now the instrument which genius wields at its will; it touches a chord of the human heart, and nations vibrate in unison. And thus he who can rivet the attention of a community upon an elementary principle hitherto neglected in politics or in morals, or who can bring an acknowledged principle to bear upon an existing abuse, may, by his own intellectual might, with only the assistance of the press, transform the institutions of an empire or a world.¹⁴

To neglect such opportunities, he believed, was sinful. "For whatever else . . . God may have designed us, one thing is certain, he designed us for the production of effect."¹⁵ "There is scarcely a more melancholy picture of man, than that which is presented by the comparison of what he is, with what he might have been." Ardent piety alone

¹³Francis Wayland, "The Duties of an American Citizen" (April 7, 1825), in *Occasional Discourses, Including Several Never Before Published* (Boston: Published by James Loring, 1833), 78-79.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 46-47.

¹⁵Francis Wayland, "Motives to Beneficence" [January 18, 1826], in *Occasional Discourses*, 249.

could overcome the inertia inherent in man's fallen nature.¹⁶

Wayland always spoke as a moralist and religious teacher, whether he considered political, economic, or educational issues. Popular government he knew was "inseparably connected with Protestant Christianity."¹⁷ Its preservation required both an expansion of the sphere of Christendom abroad and the strengthening of religious feeling at home. "The tenure by which our liberties is held can never be secure, unless moral, keep pace with intellectual cultivation."¹⁸ Although these views led him to take a conservative position on such critical occasions as the Dorr War in 1842,¹⁹ he was at heart a democrat. The "great changes in a nation must always be commenced with the common people," he wrote in the twenties. The success of Christian missions to the pagan world depended on conversion of the masses, not on an appeal to heathen princes.²⁰ Viewing the stirrings of post-Napoleonic Europe and the philanthropic activities of British and American evangelicals, he predicted that "what are now called the lower classes of society will cease to exist; men and women will be reading and thinking beings; and the word *canaille* will no longer be applied to any portion of the human race, within the limits of civilization."²¹ The United States, he hoped, would lead the world towards universal freedom. Her future lay in the hands of "the middling class of citizens, that portion of men who unite intelligence with muscular strength — the farmer, the mechanic, and the manufacturer."²² Throughout his career Wayland's first concern was for this group. He also remained committed to the means of achieving

¹⁶Francis Wayland, "Elevated Attainments in Piety Essential to a Successful Study of the Scriptures" (December 17, 1832), in *Occasional Discourses*, 201-202.

¹⁷"Duties of an American Citizen," in *Occasional Discourses*, 55.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 71.

¹⁹Francis Wayland, *The Affairs of Rhode Island. A Discourse Delivered in the Meeting-House of the First Baptist Church, Providence, May 22, 1842* (3d ed.; Providence: B. Cranston & Co. and H. H. Brown, 1842); *A Discourse Delivered in the First Baptist Church, Providence, R. I. on the Day of Public Thanksgiving, July 21, 1842*. (2d ed.; Providence: Printed by H. H. Brown, 1842).

²⁰[Francis Wayland], "Remarks on the Quarterly Review of Mrs. Judson's Account of the American Baptist Mission to the Burman Empire, No. LXXV for December, pp. 37-63," *The American Baptist Magazine*, n.s., VI (May, 1826), 152-153.

²¹"Duties of an American Citizen," in *Occasional Discourses*, 44.

²²[Francis Wayland], "Colonization Society." Review of *The African Repository and Colonial Journal*, nos. 1, 2, 3, 1825; *The American Baptist Magazine*, n.s., V (August, 1825), 238.

human progress which he had endorsed in the twenties. Simple piety, he believed, was more effective than learning. "The conscience, to which the gospel appeals, is a more powerful principle of action than the understanding," he wrote only a few months before assuming the presidency of Brown University.²³ In 1823 he declared:

The universal obedience to the command, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself, would make this world a heaven. But nothing other than the gospel of Christ can persuade men to this obedience. Reason cannot do it; philosophy cannot do it; civilization cannot do it.²⁴

Wayland's educational philosophy was derived from these beliefs in the primacy of religious and moral purpose, the unique opportunities offered middle-class Americans, and the efficacy of dedicated individual effort to achieve any objective which mortals might accomplish. From the beginning his vision of educational objectives was grandiose and his concepts of means more restricted. His earliest statement on education hailed Sabbath schools as "nurseries from whence may be sent forth the future poets and orators, the philosophers and statesmen of our country."²⁵ In 1826, on the other hand, he sought to separate the Baptist foreign missionary effort from Columbian College in the District of Columbia. The administration of the two enterprises had been combined in 1821; ostensibly the college contributed to the training of missionaries. Wayland viewed the association with disfavor. "The missionary cause lost its place in the hearts of Christians, until the souls of the heathen were almost forgotten, and every paper and every report seemed exclusively devoted to the praises and the successes of the Columbian College."²⁶ Never would he consider the prosperity of an educational institution as important as the spread of the gospel.

²³Remarks on the Quarterly Review of Mrs. Judson's Account of the American Baptist Mission to the Burman Empire," 153.

²⁴Francis Wayland, "The Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise" (October 26, 1823), in *Occasional Discourses*, 31.

²⁵Address at annual meeting of Sabbath schools of First and Second Baptist Churches, Boston, October 18, 1821, summarized in *Christian Watchman*, October 20, 1821.

²⁶[Francis Wayland], "Baptist General Convention," *The American Baptist Magazine*, n.s., VI (July, 1826), 209; on this episode see Francis Wayland and H. L. Wayland, *A Memoir of the Life and Labors of Francis Wayland, D.D., LL.D., Late President of Brown University, Including Selections from His Personal Reminiscences and Correspondence. By His Sons* (2 vols.; New York: Sheldon and Company, 1867), I, 176-180 (hereafter cited as *Memoir*).

Yet for education as an activity and for the role of the teacher he had the highest regard. Education was "the most important of the sciences, excepting only the science of the morals." Its object was "to render mind the fittest possible instrument for DISCOVERING, APPLYING, and OBEYING, the laws under which God has placed the universe." Teachers should be men of the greatest vigor and skill, respected in their communities as were the philosophers of ancient Athens.²⁷ Wayland retained this exalted view of the educator as long as he lived.

He is in many respects like a teacher of religion whose mission is to go into the world and proclaim the good news to every creature inculcating upon all the laws which Jesus Christ has promulgated. So the teacher should consider his as a mission to the whole world and his duty to make known to everyone who will receive them the laws of God as they are made known to us in the physical universe.²⁸

Because the teacher was enlisted on the same mission as the evangelist Wayland could feel that his own educational career was justified, even though he believed after retirement that he should never have left the pulpit.²⁹ His sympathies embraced every kind of school or college, public or private, and almost every curricular innovation discussed during his lifetime. Yet he was never sufficiently aware that a division of labor among institutions was necessary to achieve educational goals or that traditional procedures might be useful as well as venerable. Ancient colleges, established curricula, and degree programs were part of the apparatus of reason, philosophy, and civilization — imperfect agencies for the permanent improvement of mankind.

On moral questions Wayland insisted that "public opinion can make nothing either right or wrong,"³⁰ but as an educator he was opportunistic. In his sermon on the duties of American citizenship in 1825 he urged the necessity of providing for everyone an acquaintance "with what are now considered the ordinary branches of an English education," but did not think it either necessary or practicable

²⁷Francis Wayland, "Discourse on Education" (August 19, 1830), in *Occasional Discourses*, 297-297, 305-306.

²⁸Francis Wayland, *Reminiscences* (1860-1865), 126.

²⁹Francis Wayland, *Letters on the Ministry of the Gospel* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1864), 201.

³⁰Francis Wayland, *The Limitations of Human Responsibility* (Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1838), 188.

for all to become "able linguists, or profound mathematicians."³¹ Even in the twenties he believed that the Baptist denomination would never have more than a limited number of fully trained pastors and must continue to rely largely on "men, holding the noiseless tenor of their way in the uneducated walks of an unregistered and unenumerated ministry."³² Summarizing his views on the relation of education to Christian benevolence in *The Elements of Moral Science*, he declared that society's duty was to provide facilities for all citizens to learn to read, write, and solve such problems in arithmetic as might arise in the course of ordinary business affairs. These attainments were necessary to keep men from sinking into "mere animal existence," and to enable them to deal justly with one another. Schools for these purposes were sanctioned by a moral imperative, but the justification for more elaborate offerings was strictly utilitarian:

In so far, then, as education is necessary to enable us to accomplish the purposes of our existence, and to perform our duties to society, the obligation to make a provision for the universal enjoyment of it comes within the law of benevolence. Beyond this, it may very properly be left to the arrangements of Divine Providence; that is, every one may be left to acquire as much more as his circumstances will allow. There is no more reason why all men should be educated alike, than why they should all dress alike, or live in equally expensive houses. As civilization advances, and capital accumulates, and labor becomes more productive, it will become possible for *every man* to acquire more and more intellectual cultivation. In this manner, the condition of all classes is to be improved; and not by the impracticable attempt to render the education of all classes, at any one time, alike.³³

III

When President Wayland faced the possibility that Brown University might succumb to bankruptcy in the eighteen-forties he turned for guidance to principles of political economy which he had acquired after he moved to Providence and undertook to teach classical economics to Brown seniors.³⁴ Without such "laws" to follow his responsibilities would have been even more burdensome, for he had no deep

³¹"Duties of an American Citizen," in *Occasional Discourses*, 70.

³²"Elevated Attainments in Piety," in *Occasional Discourses*, 209.

³³Francis Wayland, *The Elements of Moral Science* (4th ed.; Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1837), 381.

commitment to liberal education.

Wayland's investigations in political economy strengthened his conviction that a benevolent providence governed human affairs and that social institutions must meet the test of utility. Economics he regarded as a "science" which had often been "most successfully cultivated by men who had no belief in the Christian religion. And yet, reasoning from unquestionable facts in the history of man, they have incontrovertibly proved that the precepts of Jesus Christ, in all their simplicity, point out the only rules of conduct, in obedience to which, either nations or individuals can become either rich or happy." Thus the laws of political economy paralleled and reinforced those of moral philosophy.³⁵

There is no evidence that Wayland had paid much attention to educational economics before he assumed his presidential responsibilities. As a tutor at Union College from 1817 to 1821 he had observed President Eliphalet Nott, one of the most successful promoters in American academic history. Wayland never shared Nott's zest for legislative lobbying and organizing lotteries,³⁶ but on the eve of his presidency did not object to endowed professorships. Funds for this purpose were sought "at all our institutions, where it is practicable"; they provided the only means "which insures permanency

³⁴Wayland first touched on economics in his moral philosophy lectures to the senior class during his first term at Brown (*Reminiscences of John H. Clifford, Memoir*, I, 223). A political economy course in terms II and III of the senior year is indicated in *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Brown University, for the Academical Year, 1828-9* (Providence: H. H. Brown, Printer, 1829), 14. The text used was C. R. Prinsep's translation of Jean Baptiste Say's *Traité de l'Economie Politique* (Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1821). Wayland, however, disliked to depend on textbooks, and prepared supplementary lectures which grew each year. Say was dropped in 1836, and the following year Wayland published his *Elements of Political Economy*.

³⁵Francis Wayland, "Encouragements to Religious Effort," (May 25, 1830), in *Occasional Discourses*, 146; compare Preface (January 16, 1837) to *The Elements of Political Economy* (New York: Leavitt, Lord & Company, 1837), vi: "The Principles of Political Economy are so closely analogous to those of Moral Philosophy, that almost every question in the one, may be argued on grounds belonging to the other."

³⁶In his *Reminiscences*, 15, revised in *Memoir*, I, 92, Wayland comments on Nott as a promoter: "I think I am not unaware of his errors. As the president of a college, he devoted himself to its material prosperity. Had he devoted himself more to improving its means of instruction . . ., I think his success would have been greater."

and affords a prospect of success."³⁷ Wayland certainly hoped that additional resources would be secured to strengthen Brown University when he accepted its presidency but was not disposed to solicit them himself.³⁸

A year after his inauguration he first suggested that financial stringency might be a useful incentive to educational effort. Writing to a committee of citizens promoting the improvement of public schools in New Jersey, he commented that "all our present teaching is nearly as bad as it can be," and insisted that state school funds to aid local communities were valuable "as a *condiment*, not as an *aliment*. They should never be so large as to render a considerable degree of personal effort on the part of the parent, unnecessary. The universal law of divine providence, in the distribution of its favors, is on the principle of *quid pro quo*."³⁹ Two years later he set forth his educational philosophy in a talk to the American Institute of Instruction in Boston. His studies of political economy had been assimilated in a statement of the principles of educational finance to which he remained firmly dedicated for the rest of his life.

Books are the repositories of the learning of past ages. Longer time than that of an individual's life, and greater wealth than falls to the lot of teachers, are required to collect them in numbers sufficient for extensive usefulness. The same may be said of instruments for philosophical research. Let these be furnished, and furnished amply. Let your instructors have the use of them, if you please, gratuitously; and if you do not please, not gratuitously, and then, on the principles which govern all other labor, let every teacher, like every other man, take care of himself. Give to every man prominent and distinct individuality. Remove all useless barriers which shelter him from the full and direct effect of public opinion. Let it be supposed, that, by becoming a teacher, he has not lost all pretensions to common sense; but that he may possibly know as much about his own business as those, who, by

³⁷Wayland's remarks in moving that a fund of \$20,000 be raised to support a professorship of Biblical Theology at the Newton Theological Institution, at a meeting of friends of the seminary, Boston, February 1, 1827. *Christian Watchman*, February 9, 1827.

³⁸Nicholas Brown to Francis Wayland, December 29, 1826; Francis Wayland to Nicholas Brown, January 4, 1827.

³⁹*The Report of the Committee Appointed at a Public Meeting of the Friends of Education, . . .* [November 11, 1828]; *Exhibiting a Succinct Account of the State of Common Schools in New-Jersey*. (Trenton, N. J.: D. Fenton, 1828), 29-30. Wayland's letter is dated October 2, 1828.

confession, know nothing at all about it. In a word, make teaching the business of men, and you will have men to do the business of teaching. I know not that the cause of education, so far as teachers are concerned, requires any other patronage.⁴⁰

From 1828 to 1850 Wayland resisted all proposals for Brown University to raise funds for faculty salaries or scholarships. He was fully aware of the inadequacies of faculty remuneration and of the plight of poor undergraduates, and wished that both could be relieved in some acceptable manner. Certainly he did not expect his colleagues to carry a greater burden in order to support indigent students.⁴¹ A college whose existence depended on attracting pupils by low tuition could never expect its instructors to put forth their best efforts.⁴² Yet he saw many dangers in fund raising. To aid a deserving young man to obtain an education was a "delightful mode of charity," but more important was the fact that the "early struggle for independence, is a natural and a salutary discipline for talent." Genius was as likely to be "withered by the sun of prosperity" as to be "nipped in the bud by the frosts of adversity."⁴³ Student aid funds should be exclusively restricted to needy individuals, and never applied to reduce the general level of tuition.⁴⁴ Though he was charitable to indigent students,⁴⁵ Wayland was coldly impersonal in formulating college policy. Brown University, he declared in 1829, should be managed "to meet the wishes of those parents who are desirous of giving their sons a

⁴⁰"Discourse on Education," *Occasional Discourses*, 306-307; see also *The Elements of Political Economy*, 456-457; Francis Wayland, *Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States* (Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1842), 48, 64-65, 74-75; Reminiscences, 130-133. The same concept appears in an article on a "NEW UNIVERSITY" for Rhode Island, in *Rhode Island American, Statesman and Providence Gazette*, September 10, 1830, published two weeks after Wayland's "Discourse on Education" in Boston. This article, Walter C. Bronson has noted (*History of Brown University*, 214), "curiously anticipates most of the ideas which Dr. Wayland advocated and partly put into effect twenty years later."

⁴¹This was the general practice of nineteenth-century colleges. Frederick Rudolph concludes in "Who Paid the Bills?" *Harvard Educational Review*, XXXI (Spring, 1961), 152-157.

⁴²*The Elements of Political Economy*, 457; see also Francis Wayland to Rufus Anderson, August 31, 1842, American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions Papers, Harvard College Library.

⁴³*The Elements of Moral Science* (4th ed., Boston, 1837), 381-382.

⁴⁴*The Elements of Political Economy*, 457.

thorough education," not for those "who from pecuniary misfortune are able only to hope for one in a very considerable degree imperfect."⁴⁶

When he considered faculty salaries he was preoccupied with the necessity of establishing a monetary incentive to professional effort. No man had a right to claim support from the public simply because he was a qualified teacher.⁴⁷ For years Wayland sought to raise stipends while eliminating the disadvantages of fixed salaries, which he held to be the chief cause of stagnation in American higher education and of the multiplication of an excessive number of weak colleges.⁴⁸ He realized that institutions could not be entirely self-supporting, and was willing to allow the "partial (and I would have it no more than partial) endowment of professorships."⁴⁹ He hoped, however, to introduce elements of the Scotch system, in which instructors' salaries depended on fees received from students attending their classes.⁵⁰ Adam Smith had praised this scheme, which had been endorsed by Thomas Jefferson and George Ticknor, and put into effect at the University of Virginia.⁵¹

While most American educators assumed that a collegiate educa-

⁴⁶Francis Wayland to Heman Lincoln, July 17, 1840, indicates he made personal loans to students, but never did so in his official capacity, nor did he advance money from the college funds; see also John Whipple Potter Jenks (class of 1838), *Autobiography*, 68-70, and Elbridge Smith (class of 1841), *The Founders of the Institute and Its First President. An Address Delivered Before the American Institute of Instruction, . . . Boston, August 1st, 1867* (Boston: Press of Samuel Chism, 1867), 57.

⁴⁷Francis Wayland, Report to the Corporation, September 2, 1829; see also his review of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, *North American Review*, LIX (October, 1844), 402-403.

⁴⁸*Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System*, 46.

⁴⁹Francis Wayland, Suggestions submitted to the Board of Fellows in relation to the present condition of the course of instruction in the University and the points in which it may be capable of improvement (ca. August 31, 1841).

⁵⁰*Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System*, 128, 64-65; foreshadowed in *The Elements of Political Economy*, 457.

⁵¹Wayland suggested partial compensation of faculty by student fees in his scheme for a national university financed by the Smithsonian fund in 1838. Francis Wayland to John Forsyth, October 2, 1838, in *Memoir*, I, 330-331.

⁵²Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Book V, Chapter I, Part III, Article II: "Of the Expense of the Institutions for the Education of Youth"; George Ticknor, *Remarks on Changes Lately Proposed or Adopted in Harvard University* ([Boston]: Published by Cummings, Hilliard & Co., 1825), 43; on salary system at University of Virginia see Philip A. Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919: the Lengthened Shadow of One Man* (5 vols.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920-1922), II, 180-184, and III, 98-101.

tion was too expensive for many aspiring students to afford, Wayland was convinced that colleges actually priced their offerings too cheaply. Higher fees would permit more adequate faculty salaries, which were desirable providing they were fully earned by energetic and conscientious instructors. The success of the Lowell Institute lecture courses suggested that many men sought instruction who could not afford to pursue a regular college course; here was an obvious means for colleges to increase their usefulness and income. The quality of teaching, however, should never be impaired. First of all education should be good; then, if possible, its cost might be reduced.⁵² These views, he realized, were not widely shared.

Collegiate education has come to be considered to a very great extent a matter of charity; and the founding of a college consists not so much in providing means for higher education and thus elevating the general standard of intellectual attainment, as the collecting of funds for eleemosynary distribution. . . .⁵³

Wayland adhered to these principles throughout his presidency, and during its first half insisted he was not concerned with fluctuations in enrollment. "As to numbers," he wrote in 1838, "provided you can live without them, I would have no respect whatever. The true way of filling a college is to render it worthy of being filled. He who makes the filling of it his primary object will soon have it all to himself."⁵⁴

IV

Francis Wayland assumed the presidency of Brown University at a critical moment in February, 1827. For eight years his predecessor, the Rev. Asa Messer, had been under attack by clerical trustees suspicious of his unorthodox opinions on the Trinity. Messer had withstood this assault successfully at first. His foes were a minority in a large bicameral Corporation, and the Baptists, though entitled by the college Charter to its presidency, were only one of several groups managing its affairs. But starting in 1825 a series of student disorders, vituperative pamphlets, and abusive newspaper articles made his position untenable. In December, 1826, as his foes had long hoped, he was "compelled to resign 'voluntarily.'"⁵⁵

⁵²*Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System*, 139, 142, 147, 156.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 15.

⁵⁴Francis Wayland to Basil Manly, January 16, 1838; see also Wayland to Manly, June 19, 1838.

⁵⁵Moses Stuart to Francis Wayland, June 19, 1821; brief review of campaign against Messer is in Bronson, *History of Brown University*, 186-192.

Fortunately constructive forces were also at work. Messer's ouster had been delayed by the influence of the University's chief patron, Nicholas Brown, for whom Rhode Island College had been renamed in 1804. He and his mercantile partners had sought to strengthen the faculty before 1826, and they sponsored Francis Wayland as Messer's successor, knowing he was acceptable to the orthodox Baptists of New England, and confident he would assist them to improve Brown University's reputation.⁵⁶ Wayland was in fact the inevitable candidate to succeed Asa Messer. In 1826 he was one of the most promising Baptist ministers in America. His educational qualifications were rare in the denomination, and his missionary sermon of 1823 had won fame throughout the evangelical Protestant world. He was widely acquainted in Boston and Cambridge, and since 1825 had been a trustee of Amherst College.⁵⁷ Thus he appeared admirably equipped to revive Brown University with fresh ideas from outside the hitherto dominant circle of its Rhode Island alumni.

Despite these advantages, Wayland could not escape the effects of the maelstrom of controversy into which he moved. Asa Messer's departure was neither the first nor the last incident in a complete turnover of Brown's faculty during the twenties. The situation

⁵⁶Nicholas Brown to Francis Wayland, October 13 and October 30, 1826; Nicholas Brown's influence is attacked in a series of articles urging Asa Messer's resignation in the *Literary Cadet*, and *Saturday Evening Bulletin* (Providence), July 22, August 19, 26, and September 2, 1826; new faculty appointments during the last years of Messer's administration: Alva Woods, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, 1824; Romeo Elton, Professor of Latin and Greek Languages and Literature, 1825; William Giles Goddard, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics, 1825. Goddard was the son-in-law of Nicholas Brown's partner, Thomas P. Ives.

⁵⁷Wayland received his A.B. at Union College in 1813, after two years' study. He attended medical lectures in New York City and studied with practicing physicians in Troy, but never pursued a medical career. In 1816-1817 he studied at Andover Seminary with Moses Stuart, pioneer Hebrew philologist. Wayland was a tutor at Union College from 1817 to 1821, and Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy there during the fall term, 1826. His sermon on *The Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise* (October 26, 1823) had appeared in seven editions, including one in Scotland, by 1827. Harvard associations: Appointment to Overseers' committee for examination in Grammar, Rhetoric and Oratory, 1825, is in Harvard College Papers, XI (1824-1825), 84, Harvard University Archives; Wayland delivered the opening prayer at Harvard Phi Beta Kappa exercises, 1826, according to *Manufacturers and Farmers Journal*, and *Providence and Pawtucket Advertiser*, September 7, 1826. His ties to Amherst are discussed in Claude M. Fuess, *Amherst. The Story of a New England College* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1935), 71-76.

Wayland faced called for tact and delicacy, neither of which were conspicuous in his intense personality. For several years there was a failure of communication between the new president and many local alumni, and it was especially significant that few Rhode Islanders understood how comprehensive were his purposes.

Every educational project Francis Wayland sketched after 1827 embodied two fundamental objectives. In the first place he expected each activity — teaching, study, discipline, and moral improvement — to be thoroughly performed. This insistence reflected a compulsive streak in his personality which was strengthened by his belief in the moral value of human effort. It stimulated his restless search for more effective teaching methods,⁵⁸ but it also had disadvantages. He could value effort for its own sake more than intellectual achievement, since effort had a moral value which learning lacked, and he was so sure that the dedicated expenditure of energy was a sovereign remedy for all problems that he was insensitive to some of the difficulties of working with his colleagues. Throughout his presidency he maintained a paternalistic system of student discipline which more than once compromised the achievement of his other educational objectives.

The second of Wayland's guideposts was his assumption that schools and colleges should serve the broadest possible constituency. "If education is good for one class of the community, it is good for all. Not . . . that the same studies are to be pursued by all, but . . . each one should have the opportunity of pursuing such studies as will be of the greatest advantage to him in the course of life which he has chosen."⁵⁹ Chemistry might be useful to a future apothecary, as Latin was for an intended minister; Wayland had little to say about their intrinsic value. These assumptions, like his insistence on thorough pedagogy, contributed to his interest in educational experimentation, but they too had their limitations. Wayland's projects were often more

⁵⁸In 1827 President Wayland banished textbooks from the recitation room, following a Harvard precedent, and introduced the practice of teaching by "analysis" of ideas instead of rote recitation, derived from President Eliphalet Nott of Union. Throughout his administration, especially after 1850, he encouraged teaching by lecture. In 1850-55 he required daily recitation marks for each student and written examinations. *The Laws of Brown University, in Providence, Rhode Island; Enacted by the Corporation, March, 1827* (Providence: Printed by Walter R. Danforth, [1827]); *The Laws of Brown University* (Providence: Printed by Albert C. Greene, 1851).

⁵⁹Reminiscences, 94, revised in *Memoir*, I, 206.

expansive than practical,⁶⁰ and he never acquired an adequate understanding of the intricate character of educational institutions.

In part this was because he did not really value any human institutions. The key to an understanding of Wayland's presidency lies in his frank remarks to the president of the University of Alabama in 1838, which he repeated publicly in defending his administration at the Brown Centennial in 1864:

I made up my mind early in my official life that it was not my business to decide whether there should be a college here or not. All I was responsible for was that so long as it existed it should be a good one. Whether the ship would sink or swim I did not know [Wayland had first written: "I did not care."] but I determined that if she went down it should be with sails set, streamers flying, all hands to quarters, and all things ready for action.⁶¹

Both thoroughness and broad utility were clearly intended by Wayland's reforms of 1850, but the latter objective is less obvious in his undertakings from 1827 to 1830. It emerges, however, in two proposals he urged without success at the beginning of his career. In 1827 he was "deeply impressed with the importance of two things: first, of carrying into practice every science which was taught in theory, and secondly, of adapting the course of instruction to the wants, as far as possible, of the whole community."⁶² On his urging a Corporation committee was commissioned to plan a new "course of study in modern languages and English literature and science."⁶³ Most of Wayland's associates, however, believed his scheme was "visionary." "The experiment, if successful, would not become remunerative until its merits had been proved to the community. For this we had no adequate means. . . ."⁶⁴ Significantly the president did not offer to raise additional funds. His "popular" course was set aside,

⁶⁰James Burrill Angell's judgment. See Walter C. Bronson, Notes of My Talk with President Angell, November 12, 1910.

⁶¹Francis Wayland to Basil Manly, June 19, 1838; speech at Centennial dinner, September 6, 1864, *Memoir*, I, 212-213.

⁶²Reminiscences, 93-94, revised in *Memoir*, I, 206.

⁶³*Manufacturers and Farmers Journal, and Providence and Pawtucket Advertiser*, March 22, 1827; Minutes, March 15 and September 6, 1827, Brown University Corporation Records, II (1810-1843), University Hall, Brown University. Wayland's proposal was probably influenced by the popular course briefly established at Amherst. See *The Substance of Two Reports of the Faculty of Amherst College to the Board of Trustees, with the Doings of the Board Thereon* (Amherst: Carter and Adams, Printers, 1827); Fuess, *Amherst*, 98-101.

⁶⁴Reminiscences, 94, revised in *Memoir*, I, 206-207.

though he continued to hope it would be established later.⁶⁵

Even clearer evidence of the breadth of Wayland's early educational objectives appears in his report of April, 1828, proposing improvements in the Providence public schools. The existing system of public grammar schools in Providence, he recommended, should be supplemented by primary schools and a high school, offering a classical course for intended college matriculants, as well as suitable training for future merchants and artisans. To Wayland the chief virtue of his plan was its comprehensive utility. Public funds, he argued, should be appropriated according to the "principle of equity": all who paid taxes should receive some return from the system they supported. "Unless the course of instruction be such as to interest every class of society it can be of material benefit to no class, and if it be so it must be much more extensive than at present." He believed that his proposals would be most beneficial to the middle classes, and rejected the idea that public schools were essentially a means whereby the rich could assure themselves that the poor would obtain the rudiments of intellectual competence and moral discipline necessary to preserve a stable society as "at variance with our Republican Institutions." Education was a "commodity" which all classes consumed; ideally it should be furnished so that they could enjoy it together.⁶⁶

Wayland's high school proposal was rejected by the town of Providence in 1828. To many citizens a public classical school seemed all too useful for the ambitious president of a declining University as a "nursery for the college."⁶⁷ "What a complete miniature of aristocracy, both in spirit and form, is this high school," one writer charged. "It has every feature, only the little thing's head is composed of learning instead of wealth."⁶⁸ These critics completely distorted Wayland's

⁶⁵In 1829 Wayland praised curricular reforms at the University of Vermont, and expressed the wish that Brown could undertake a similar project. Francis Wayland to James Marsh, October 20, 1829, Wilbur Library, University of Vermont.

⁶⁶Report dated April 22, 1828, published in *Providence Patriot & Columbian Phenix*, May 14, 1828. Signed: F. Wayland, Jr., Wm. T. Grinnell, Thomas T. Waterman.

⁶⁷*Manufacturers and Farmers Journal, and Providence and Pawtucket Advertiser*, May 26, 1828.

⁶⁸"One of the Committee," *Providence Patriot & Columbian Phenix*, May 31, 1828.

purposes. He had called for a school to teach "all branches necessary to a useful, mercantile, and classical education."⁶⁹ As Benjamin F. Hallett of the *Rhode Island American* pointed out, the high school, far from being primarily a preparatory academy for Brown University, might well detract from the college's prosperity, "as it would serve as a substitute with many who now give their sons a liberal education, designing them to engage in the active employments of life."⁷⁰

The rejection of his "popular" course at Brown in 1827 did not discourage President Wayland. He and his associates agreed that many other reforms were desirable. Tuition was raised 80%, and other fees were also increased. Admissions requirements were stiffened, permitting considerable revision of the undergraduate course. Classroom procedures became much more rigorous.⁷¹ So dramatic were these changes that it is easy to assume that they comprised Wayland's entire program for improving Brown. To many local critics it appeared that he was seeking to transform what had been Rhode Island College into an imitation of Harvard University. Benjamin F. Hallett warned him in 1829 of the difficulties he faced:

With the materials a President of Brown University has, it is in vain to attempt to model a Harvard or a Yale or even an Union. Here we depend almost wholly upon popular favor, and the distinction to be acquired must be founded on *usefulness*, rather than profound and abstract science. Our meridian is not highly scientific, and must first be raised before an institution highly scientific can flourish among us.⁷²

Wayland already accepted much of this philosophy, but his principal advisers were the chief merchants of Providence, Nicholas Brown and Thomas P. Ives, and Ives's son-in-law, Professor William Giles Goddard. Even before his inauguration they had supported his

⁶⁹Wayland's Report, in outlining a curriculum for the high school, listed the classical languages last. "CANDOR" in *Manufacturers and Farmers Journal, and Providence and Pawtucket Advertiser*, June 2, 1828 states authoritatively that Wayland originally proposed the high school should teach French rather than Latin and Greek; the classical languages were included at the insistence of his two associates.

⁷⁰*Rhode Island American and Providence Gazette*, May 27, 1828.

⁷¹*The Laws of Brown University . . . March, 1827.*

⁷²*Rhode Island American, Statesman and Providence Gazette*, September 1, 1829.

proposals to save the University and improve its quality, for they looked forward to the development of a learned institution of high repute, patronized by the rich and serving to prepare their sons for a life of culture and comfort as well as usefulness.⁷³ Wayland's close association with these men lent weight to accusations that his purposes were aristocratic. Moreover he had also provoked the opposition of influential alumni.

This occurred as a result of the most drastic reform of 1827, a Corporation edict of the Ides of March requiring faculty members to give full-time service, including supervision of student conduct in the dormitories, in order to receive salaries. Harvard had set a precedent for this rule in 1821, and there was support for it on College Hill before Wayland's inauguration.⁷⁴ The new president considered it a constructive move to permit the establishment of an effective disciplinary system and conserve funds for more adequate compensation of full-time instructors.⁷⁵ The immediate results, however, were destructive: it abruptly ended Brown's flourishing medical school, maintained for over a decade by practicing physicians and others who could not possibly remain permanently on College Hill. Wayland was not opposed to medical education, and anticipated it might again be offered at Brown, but in his determination to proceed with sweeping reforms he neglected to consider all the consequences.⁷⁶

Contemporaries were less troubled by the destruction of the medical school than by the loss as a result of the residence requirement of the Hon. Tristram Burges, class of 1796, member of Congress since

⁷³Wayland's comment on his association with Ives is in *Reminiscences*, 97, in *Memoir*, I, 209; with Goddard in Francis Wayland to James Hoby, February 27, 1846 (copy) and Francis Wayland, *A Discourse in Commemoration of the Life and Services of William G. Goddard, LL.D. . . . March 12th, 1846* (Providence: B. Cranston and Company, 1846), 3-4. Goddard's educational philosophy is set forth in his Phi Beta Kappa address, "The Value of Liberal Studies" (September 7, 1836), in Francis W. Goddard, ed., *The Political and Miscellaneous Writings of William G. Goddard* (Providence: Sidney S. Rider and Brother, 1870), I, 1-23.

⁷⁴Minutes, March 15, 1827, Brown University Corporation Records, II (1810-1843), University Hall, Brown University; *Statutes and Laws of the University in Cambridge, Massachusetts* (Cambridge: University Press — Hilliard and Metcalf, 1825), section 20; Nicholas Brown to Francis Wayland, October 30, 1826; William G. Goddard to Francis Wayland, December 29, 1826.

⁷⁵*Reminiscences*, 96, revised in *Memoir*, I, 207-208; speech at Centennial dinner, September 6, 1864, *Memoir*, I, 210-211.

⁷⁶Fleming, *Science and Technology in Providence*, 30-32; Francis Wayland to Usher Parsons, June 17, 1827, Anthony Autograph Collection, New York Public Library.

1825, and professor of oratory and belles-lettres at Brown since 1815. Burges was a leader of the Society of the Federal Adelpi, established in 1797 as a fellowship for students and alumni a few years after Harvard, Yale, and Dartmouth refused to sanction the establishment of the Phi Beta Kappa in Providence. He regarded his professorship as a matter of honor, and was not concerned with salary. Though he was not formally deprived of his title in 1827, his offer to present a lecture course was brusquely refused by Wayland in a manner which wounded his feelings. When the new administration threatened to destroy the Federal Adelpi by obtaining from other New England colleges a charter for the Rhode Island Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa in 1830, Burges could restrain himself no longer.⁷⁷

Thus it was that the differences between Burges and Wayland were dramatized at commencement in 1831. The president's inaugural address to the Phi Beta Kappa, an abstract discourse on "The Philosophy of Analogy," contained no reference to recent controversies.⁷⁸ Burges responded with an impassioned tribute to the Federal Adelpi and the Rhode Island College he had known. Though his brotherhood was doomed he felt compelled to protest against the new administration's disregard of Rhode Island traditions. The Federal Adelpi and Rhode Island College had both been established in a climate of religious liberty. If the society's charter could be altered, the college's might soon be destroyed too.⁷⁹

In fact, Burges's educational philosophy had much in common with Wayland's. Their chief difference was not their devotion to rival honorary societies or different models of the ideal college, but their contrasting views of moral philosophy, which both insisted was the most important field of knowledge. To Wayland ethical principles were part of the system of law by which God ruled the universe, and the study of morals was a "science," analogous to natural philosophy, political economy, and systematic rhetoric. In Burges's view ethics

⁷⁷Tristram Burges to the Corporation of Brown University, November 19, 1826 and March 10, 1827; Francis Wayland to Tristram Burges, June 7, 1827 (draft); these episodes are discussed in William T. Hastings, "Wars of the Greeks at Brown," *New England Quarterly*, V (July, 1932), 533-554.

⁷⁸Francis Wayland, "The Philosophy of Analogy" (September 7, 1831) in *Occasional Discourses*, 319-343.

⁷⁹Tristram Burges, *An Oration Delivered Before the Rhode Island Federal Adelpi, Thursday, September 9, 1831* (Providence: Weedon and Knowles, 1831), especially 9-14.

was closely tied to eloquence, in which he had always excelled. True eloquence, he believed, depended on a refined taste, reflecting not only aesthetic but also moral sensitivity. Eloquence in Wayland's opinion was an art, designed "to bestow upon man power over man," cultivated "whenever opportunities are offered for developing the love of power, either in nations or individuals." It could "move the centre of power along the surface of the horizontal plane," but never "give to the social mass a single hair's breadth of elevation."⁸⁰

In the fifties, when Nicholas Brown, Thomas P. Ives, and Professor Goddard were no longer alive to counsel him, Francis Wayland made his own contribution to Brown University's enduring tradition of usefulness to the Rhode Island community, which Tristram Burges was defending in 1831. Nothing in Wayland's scheme of values required him to maintain a Harvard University in Rhode Island.⁸¹ But public misunderstanding of his philosophy during his early years was partly his own fault. Scorning eloquence, he refused to employ the arts of persuasion on his own behalf, though he could argue earnestly for a cause of transcendent importance. Wayland made no direct answer to his critics in the Providence press. Instead he used appropriate and noncontroversial occasions to explain the principles on which his educational labors were based.⁸²

⁸⁰Compare Burges, *Oration*, 20-27 with Wayland, "Discourse on Education," in *Occasional Discourses*, 293-297, and *The Dependence of Science Upon Religion. A Discourse Delivered at the Dedication of Manning Hall, The Chapel and Library of Brown University, February 4, 1835* (Providence: Marshall, Brown & Company, 1835), 8, 22-23.

⁸¹Francis Wayland to H. Lincoln Wayland, March 14, 1865, contains his repudiation of his early ideas of imitating Harvard at Brown.

⁸²For Wayland's attitude towards press criticism see *Reminiscences*, 96-97, revised in *Memoir*, I, 208, and *Memoir*, I, 319. Excerpts from his Report to the Corporation, September 1, 1827, appeared in *Rhode Island American and Providence Gazette*, September 21, 1827; his Report to the Corporation, September 2, 1829, appeared in pamphlet form as *Annual Report of the Faculty of Brown University to the Corporation of That Institution. Made, September 3, 1829. Published by Order of the Corporation* (Providence: Printed by H. H. Brown, 1829). This is summarized in *Memoir*, I, 228-229; his Report to the Corporation, September 2, 1830, transmitted by "A Friend of the College," was printed in *Providence Daily Journal*, September 11, 14, and 15, 1830, reprinted in *Rhode Island American, Statesman and Providence Gazette*, September 17, 1830, in *Palladium* (citation not located), and from *Palladium* in *Christian Watchman*, October 8, 1830, also in *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Brown University for the Academical Year, 1830-31* (Providence: H. H. Brown, Printer, 1830), 17-24. Excerpts are in *Memoir*, I, 229-231. This is an extensive account of Brown's curriculum and teaching methods, published at a time when

Because moral questions were Wayland's paramount concern he paid far less attention to community opinion than to the internal state of the college, especially during his early years in Providence. The first great crisis of his presidency came not in 1830-1831 when the Phi Beta Kappa-Federal Adelpi clash reached its climax and the Providence press was filled with unfavorable comments on his policies, but in 1827-1828 when enrollment declined drastically and student rebellion threatened. Wayland viewed this situation as a test of his own character, and met the disciplinary crisis unflinchingly. The senior class was prepared to leave college in a body. "On an expected contingency," he recalled, "I had decided to dismiss the whole of them without recommendation or certificate of standing." Such a stroke would have convulsed the college, but clearly he possessed the determination to carry it out.⁸³

He was far more hesitant, however, in confronting the financial problems that arose as student numbers declined. In the fall of 1828 the Corporation reduced faculty salaries by \$100. Wayland was perfectly willing to make personal sacrifices.

What income I derived from my position was a secondary matter. I could live on the cheapest fare and wear the cheapest clothes but I must and would do what I considered my duty and having done this, I was not responsible for the result.⁸⁴

press criticism was most intense. More important as a statement of Wayland's educational philosophy is his "Discourse on Education" to the first meeting of the American Institute of Instruction, Boston, August 19, 1830 (in *Occasional Discourses*, 292-318). This talk contains no reference to Brown University, but includes his definition of education, concept of the role of the teacher, ideas on educational economics, and attitude towards the debates on curriculum then agitating American colleges. Wayland was no traditionalist, but sought to avoid these controversies, which did not engage his deepest feelings. Latin and mathematics, he believed, should stand on their own merits. The acquisition of information and the discipline of mental faculties were interdependent; neither could be achieved without the other. He argued much more earnestly that all principles taught should be applied to practical problems, not only as the best means to impart information and strengthen mental faculties, but also, as he made clear later, for moral reasons. "By uniting practice with theory, the mind acquires the habit of acting in obedience to law, and thus is brought into harmony with a universe which is governed by law." (*Reminiscences*, 94, in *Memoir*, I, 206). This concept contributed directly to Wayland's interest in a vocationally oriented curriculum with elective studies (see *Reminiscences*, 119-121).

⁸³*Reminiscences*, 197, revised in *Memoir*, I, 209; see also Francis Wayland to Jeremiah Day, November 17, 1827, Yale University Library.

⁸⁴*Reminiscences*, 98, revised in *Memoir*, I, 209; Minutes, September 4, 1828, Brown University Corporation Records, II (1810-1843), University Hall, Brown University.

But the "idea of soliciting suscriptions was very painful."⁸⁵ Only on the urgent insistence of his associates did he consent to a student aid program. In the fall of 1828 it was announced that the University would provide free tuition for about 35 indigent students, 20 of whom must be Baptist ministerial candidates. "It is a mode of operation generally, or rather universally, resorted to nowadays," he confided to a friend. "I am strongly opposed to the policy, but I yield to the present emergency, and I hope only for the present."⁸⁶

Quietly and unostentatiously a substantial scholarship program continued at Brown for over a decade. President Wayland himself supervised the grants inaugurated in 1828 until funds were exhausted, when he refused to recommend that they be replenished.⁸⁷ Another effort, evidently sponsored by interested Baptists, supplied \$15 per year towards the tuition bills of 101 ministerial candidates from 1832 to 1842.⁸⁸ Others were aided by established ministerial education societies: appropriations by the Northern Baptist Education Society to beneficiaries at Brown University reached their peak in the period 1833-1837.⁸⁹

These funds helped the University over a difficult period in the late twenties, but the growing prosperity which it enjoyed from 1831 to 1837 was due to a general improvement of conditions whose beneficial effects were shared by most New England colleges and by ministerial education funds and other philanthropies.⁹⁰ The thirties were the most successful and rewarding years of Francis Wayland's presidency. Without abandoning his conviction that moral improvement was more important than intellectual progress or his desire to render colleges useful to students whose intended vocations were not directly served by the existing course, he was cheered by signs of success in

⁸⁵Reminiscences, 128.

⁸⁶Notice in *Christian Watchman*, September 26, 1828; *Memoir*, I, 319-320.

⁸⁷Francis Wayland, Speech at Centennial dinner, September 6, 1864, in *Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of Brown University, September 6th, 1864* (Providence: Sidney S. Rider & Bro., 1865), 130.

⁸⁸*The American Baptist Magazine*, XI (October, 1831), 317; [Wayland], *Report to the Corporation of Brown University, . . . March 28, 1850*, 42.

⁸⁹See data for these years in the *Annual Report of the Directors of the Northern Baptist Education Society* (Boston: Lincoln, Edmands & Co. [1833-1834]; Gould, Kendall and Lincoln [1835-1838]).

⁹⁰See data on college enrollment in *The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, 1830-1839* (Boston: various publishers, 1829-1839). This was Wayland's source of figures cited in his writings on educational reform.

his more limited objectives. "God is opening for us a great door and we have not the means of occupying it," he wrote a Baptist friend in 1832. "Every thing favors if we can only sustain the instruction well. . . . Let us thank God and take courage and follow up the leadings of his Providence."⁹¹

As Brown's enrollment increased the additional tuition receipts made possible the establishment of new professorships in the natural sciences, rhetoric and literature, and the classics. Most of these appointments were offered to outstanding recent graduates.⁹² Unfortunately they were not accompanied by any increase in the University's funds. Commitments optimistically made in a time of rising enrollment became a serious burden in the forties when student numbers again declined.

However, during the thirties, important additions were made to the college's permanent resources in areas where Wayland believed that public support of education was justifiable. During 1828-1829 the Brown and Ives partners presented \$3,000 worth of European scientific instruments to the University.⁹³ In 1832 Nicholas Brown subscribed \$10,000 to inaugurate a successful appeal for a \$25,000 fund to make possible continued growth of the library, and in 1834 he erected a stucco-covered copy of the Temple of Diana-Propylea in Eleusis. Named Manning Hall, in honor of the University's first president, the new edifice provided a spacious chapel on its upper floor, and beneath a room (which soon proved inadequate) for the library collection.⁹⁴ Rhode Island Hall was dedicated in September, 1840, its name honoring the community support which had made its erection possible. A cement covered structure, like Manning Hall, its appearance was more utilitarian. Here were workrooms where the laws of science could be learned and applied through experiment and

⁹¹Francis Wayland to Lucius Bolles, October 5, 1832.

⁹²George Ide Chace (class of 1830), Tutor, 1831-33, Adjunct Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, 1833-34, Professor of Chemistry, Physiology and Geology, 1834-59; William Gammell (class of 1831), Tutor, 1832-35, Assistant Professor of Belles-Lettres, 1835-37, Professor of Rhetoric, 1837-50, Professor of History and Political Economy, 1850-64; Horatio B. Hackett, Adjunct Professor of Latin and Greek, 1835-38, Professor of Hebrew Literature, 1838-39.

⁹³*Rhode Island American, Statesman and Providence Gazette*, September 18, 1829; see also Francis Wayland, Report to the Corporation, September 2, 1829.

⁹⁴Reuben Aldridge Guild, *History of Brown University, with Illustrative Documents* (Providence: Published by subscription, 1867), 265-270.

demonstration and lecture rooms designed not only for undergraduate classes but also for public courses to extend the college's usefulness among the citizens of Providence. Behind a classical façade Yankee ingenuity would be sharpened for the practical problems of the age.⁹⁵

The Library Fund, Manning Hall, and Rhode Island Hall stand as monuments to Francis Wayland's vision and the continuing solicitude of Nicholas Brown for the college which bore his name. They were intended as components of a true university — an institution for the advancement of learning — far removed from the struggling college which Wayland had found in 1827. Before its growth could continue, however, the forties brought another test of its ability to survive.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 271-276.

[to be concluded]

PIRACY IN THE CARIBBEAN

A Rhode Island View

by EARL C. TANNER*

Assistant to the Director, Project Matterhorn, Princeton University

THE WAVE OF Caribbean piracy which reached its height in the early 1820's had its origin in privateering for the cause of Latin-American independence.¹ Certain revolutionary governments, especially those established at Buenos Aires, Venezuela, and Mexico, adopted the practice of granting commissions to veteran privateers from all parts of the world including many from the United States.

Privateering was a form of warfare for which there was ample precedent in United States history. From 1815 to 1819 American public opinion tended to favor the privateers, though the government, then negotiating with Spain for the purchase of Florida, affected disapproval.² The Spanish minister at Washington kept up

*This article is adapted from the author's *Trade Between the Port of Providence and Latin America 1800 to 1830* (typed Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1951), 81-87.

¹Two useful accounts of privateering at this time are Theodore S. Currier, *Los corsarios del Rio de la Plata* (Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, *Publicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*, XLV, Buenos Aires, 1929) and Lewis Winkler Bealer, *Los corsarios de Buenos Aires*, LXXII, Buenos Aires, 1937.

²Bealer, *op. cit.*, 155.

a constant barrage of complaints, but local officials were either unwilling or unable to stop the practice.³ Baltimore was the chief rendezvous and, actually, the home port for many of the privateer vessels. In 1817 the *Providence Gazette* noted:

The Buenos Ayrean privateer schr. Mangoree, from a cruise, has put into Baltimore (where it is probable the Captain has acquaintance) for water and provisions. The arrival lately, of this kind of craft in the U States is frequent.⁴

Baltimore did not have a monopoly on privateering, for many other seaboard cities, including the Rhode Island ports of Bristol and New Shoreham, if not Providence, had their share. In 1817 the brig *B* was seized off the coast of Rhode Island by federal authorities. The captain of the *B* maintained that his voyage was "a legal one, with intent to sell," but found it difficult to make his story convincing. As the Newport collector wrote to the Secretary of State, "Instead of the Cargo sworn to by the Captain in his Manifest, she was found provided with balls, grape, powder, cartridge, small arms, cutlasses, pistols, pikes, &c." Furthermore, she had on board about fifty men while her crew list showed only fourteen. "This latter circumstance was attempted to be obviated by producing several witnesses to swear that they were passengers going to Porto Rico on business or in search of business." The captain of the *B* came up for trial before the federal courts, but through some questionable maneuvers succeeded in getting the trial discontinued. The Newport collector thought it likely that the *B* continued her privateering or went into the illicit slave trade.⁵

Another Rhode Island privateering case was that of the *San Román*, captured in 1817 or 1818 off Cadiz by the same privateer *Mangore* mentioned above. The *San Román* was ordered to Buenos Aires, but the prize crew "thought proper to bring her to Block Island." The Block Islanders were engaged in smuggling the cargo

³*Ibid.*, 155, 157-160.

⁴*Providence Gazette*, Jan. 4, 1817. The vessel referred to was the Baltimore privateer, *Mangore*, James Barnes, master. She was formerly the *Swift* and later the *Pueyrredón*. Bealer, *op. cit.*, 57-58.

⁵William Ellery, Newport, R. I., to John Quincy Adams, Wash., D. C., Aug. 1, 1818; William Ellery, Newport, R. I., to William H. Crawford, Wash., D. C., Apr. 13, 1819, both in Newport Collector's letterbook for July 6, 1818 to May 16, 1820. This volume, consulted by the author at The Rhode Island Historical Society, has since been transferred to the Newport Historical Society.

when they were interrupted by federal officers, who seized both the vessel and what remained of the goods aboard.⁶

It was not long before the privateers began to get out of control. Many of them, being far more interested in profits than in the patriot cause, took a broad view of what constituted legitimate prey. "These privateers," commented the *Gazette*, "are said to be mostly manned by unprincipled desperadoes from the U. States, &c. who disgrace their country and injure the cause of South American liberty."⁷ The marine intelligence sections of the paper regularly featured notices such as the following:

A French frigate, with a tender, arrived at St. Thomas, Feb. 18, and sailed on the 22nd, on a cruise for Carthaginian privateers, on account of some depredations committed on the French flag.⁸

It was reported to St. Ubes, July 13, that three Indiamen, belonging to Lisbon, had recently been captured by Buenos Ayres privateers.⁹

By 1819 a large proportion of the privateers had hoisted the Jolly Roger and struck out for themselves. Public opinion in the United States was thoroughly alienated as the papers were filled with news of piracy: "Sloop *Gold Huntress*, Drown, of this port, arrived at Havana, from N. Orleans about the 1st inst. having been robbed by a pirate of every moveable article on board off the Tortugas, about the 25th of Oct."¹⁰ The question of privateering receded into the background, for the legitimate commerce of all nations was in danger.¹¹

Some pirate vessels were rather large, as, for example, the *Paloma*, mounting six guns and manned by a crew of 130; or the *Panchita*, mounting sixteen guns and manned by 120.¹² Most pirates, however, operated in small vessels with large crews hidden from view until the moment of attack. They generally confined their activities to waters near the pirate lairs, some of the most notorious of which were the

⁶ William Ellery, Newport, R. I., to Joseph Andrews, Wash., D. C., Dec. 11, 1818, Newport Collector's letterbook. The *Bello Corrunes*, another of Capt. Barnes' victims, also came to Rhode Island.

⁷ *Providence Gazette*, Apr. 26, 1817.

⁸ *Providence Gazette*, Mar. 29, 1817.

⁹ *Providence Gazette*, Sept. 6, 1817.

¹⁰ *Providence Gazette*, Nov. 27, 1819.

¹¹ Currier, *op. cit.*, 44, 58.

¹² Francis Boardman Bradley, *Piracy in the West Indies and its Suppression* (Salem, Mass., 1923), 22.

Bahamas, the Florida Keys, Cape Antonio, Matanzas, and Mugeris Island off the northeast point of Yucatan.¹³ It has been estimated that there were in all 10,000 pirates in the Caribbean during the decade 1820-30, although probably not more than 2,000 were active in any one year.¹⁴ It has also been estimated that about 500 vessels were captured by the pirates and that property to the amount of \$20,000,000 was stolen or destroyed.¹⁵

One of the most notorious of the pirates was William Gibbs, renegade member of a respectable Rhode Island family.¹⁶ He was born about 1794, left home at the age of fifteen, and joined the navy. As a member of the crew of the *Hornet*, he participated in the capture of the *Peacock* off Pernambuco. With the captain of the *Hornet* he was then transferred to the *Chesapeake* and was subsequently captured by the British. After a term in Dartmoor, he was exchanged and allowed to return to Boston where, with capital obtained from Rhode Island friends, he went into the grocery business. This venture having failed, Gibbs took passage for Buenos Aires where he signed onto an Argentine privateer. Having gone thus far, he was but a step from piracy. That step was taken soon after when the crew mutinied and put the officers on shore in Florida. During the next few years Gibbs participated in the murder of some 400 persons. Describing operations during the year 1824, he wrote:

In the summer and fall . . . 11 or 12 vessels (mostly American) were captured by us bound to and from different parts of Europe and the West Indies and some with valuable cargoes—one place of rendezvous and deposit of goods at that time was a small island or key in the neighborhood of Cuba; our prizes were generally conveyed there and after being disburdened of the most valuable part of their cargoes sometimes burnt and at other times scuttled and the crews, if it was thought not necessary otherwise to dispose of them, were set adrift in their boats and frequently without anything on which they could subsist a single day—"dead men can tell no tales," was a common saying among us, and as soon as we got a ship's crew in our power a short consultation was held and if it was the opinion of the majority that it would be better to take life than to spare it a single nod or wink from our captain was sufficient.¹⁷

¹³ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 21-22.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁶ The following data on Charles Gibbs (which was an assumed name) are taken from *The Confession of Charles Gibbs* (Providence, 1831).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

In 1826 Gibbs deserted piracy to join the Argentine navy. He was granted a commission under Admiral Brown and served on the *Twenty-fifth of May* for about four months. He was then promoted to the command of an Argentine privateer on which he cruised until captured by the Brazilians, who, from 1825 to 1828, were at war with the Argentines. After the peace Gibbs was released from his confinement at Rio and allowed to return to Buenos Aires and New York.¹⁸

The challenge of Caribbean piracy was taken up by the naval forces of the United States, Britain, and Spain. When lesser measures failed, Congress appropriated \$500,000 for an expedition to end the menace, and in 1823 an armada, known in naval history as the Mosquito Fleet, was placed under the command of Commodore David Porter.¹⁹ For two years Porter and his men patrolled the sea lanes, convoyed merchant vessels, and scoured the coastal waters for pirate lairs. As a result of this campaign and the continuing vigilance of Porter's immediate successors deprivations abruptly declined. By 1830 piracy had ceased to be a serious menace to Caribbean commerce.²⁰

¹⁸This completed Gibbs' South American career, though not his zeal for piracy, for he next determined to offer his services to the Bey of Algiers. He got as far as Port Mahon, whence he intended to sail to Algiers, but, "The vigilance of the French fleet prevented the accomplishment of my design, and I proceeded to Tunis. There finding it unsafe to attempt a journey to Algiers across the desert, I amused myself with contemplating the ruins of Carthage, and reviving my recollections of her war with the Romans. I afterward took passage to Marseilles, and thence to Boston." In 1830 he was seized for participating in a mutiny on board a brig bound from New Orleans to Philadelphia. *Ibid.*, 11-12.

¹⁹Bradlee, *op. cit.*, 33.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 23; Gardner W. Allen, *Our Navy and the West Indian Pirates* (Salem, Mass., 1929), 83-84.



JOHN SMITH, THE MILLER, OF PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS

by CHARLES WILLIAM FARNHAM

[continued from April 1962, v. 21, page 62]

18 CAPT. JOHN¹ SMITH (*Benjamin*,³ *John*,² *John*¹), of Providence and Gloucester, b. 8 Dec. 1694; d. in Gloucester 28 March 1778; m. 8 May 1718 Martha Mowry, daughter of Nathaniel and Joanna (Inman) Mowry of Providence. She d. in 1778.¹⁵⁹

Burrillville As It Was, and As It Is, written in 1856 by Horace A. Keach, says: "It was not long after the settlement of Providence, before the whites made inroads upon the wilderness in this direction, John Smith came from the northern part of that settlement, and with his axe and wallet of victuals, and felling trees across the streams, he traversed the woods till he came to a spot near what is now called the 'Tar Kiln Saw Mill.' Here he found the stream — on which several mills have since been built — and thinking it a good site, concluded to settle there.

"He looked the forest over, going out into Horse Head Woods, and around the foot of Den Hill, but at last pitched upon a spot in the side of a hill near where the Urania Smith house now stands.

"When his victuals was gone he went back to the city and his brother and several other adventurers came out with him. The spot they had selected was sheltered from the winds, and water was easily had from the brook near by. . . .

"At one time almost all that part of the town was occupied by the Smith family. They are all descendants of the hardy pioneer, who felled the first tree and built the first cabin in East Burrillville."¹⁶⁰

Gloucester deeds record 7 March 1723/4 the transfer by Benjamin Smith of Providence to his son John Smith of 150 acres at Tar Kiln Run on the west side of the Seven Mile Line "where he now lives, excepting a saw mill; also 50 acres on the east side of the river called the Branch; also 40 acres at the hill, being one half of the 100 acre

¹⁵⁹Smith Bible records at The Rhode Island Historical Society and Austin, *Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island*.

¹⁶⁰Horace A. Keach, *Burrillville As It Was, and As It Is* (Providence, 1856), p. 17-18.

lot I have there, laid out in the original right of John Smith, called Jameco."¹⁶¹

Many of the deeds in which Capt. John Smith is involved refer to land originally in the right of John Smith, Jameco. It should be explained that John Smith, called Jameco, was an early immigrant to Providence and as far as can be learned bore no relationship to John Smith, the miller. Following the death of John Smith, Jameco, his son and heir, John Smith of Medfield, Massachusetts, sold the inherited land rights to Samuel Comstock of Providence.¹⁶² On 16 Nov. 1706 Samuel Comstock sold these rights to Benjamin Smith of Providence.¹⁶³ The greater part of this land was given by Benjamin to sons Capt. John and Capt. Solomon Smith.

Capt. John served as deputy to the General Assembly from Gloucester in the years 1732, 1734, 1735, 1738, 1739, 1740, 1742, and 1744. At one time he was town treasurer. He was first mentioned as a captain in the militia from Providence in June 1730. After Gloucester was set off from Providence he was listed as captain of the second company of militia in May 1734, and his name appears frequently thereafter. He was justice of peace in May 1730.¹⁶⁴

The will of Capt. John, written 3 April 1775 and probated in Gloucester 14 Dec. 1778, named his wife Martha; daughters Esther Olney, Anne Plummer, and Martha Walling; son-in-law Daniel Smith; grandsons John Smith, Aholiab Smith, and Mark Bundy. Son Rufus Smith and son-in-law Joseph Olney were executors.¹⁶⁵

CHILDREN OF CAPT. JOHN⁴ SMITH AND
MARTHA (MOWRY) SMITH:¹⁶⁶

43 I BENJAMIN⁵ SMITH, b. 8 Sept. 1719.

44 II ELLAS⁵ SMITH, b. 21 Sept. 1722.

III MARY⁵ SMITH, b. 9 July 1724; d. 24 Dec. 1758 at 34 years;
m. 23 Jan. 1743, Daniel Smith, son of Elisha. Their chil-

¹⁶¹Glocester Deeds, 1:54.

¹⁶²Providence Deeds, 1:100.

¹⁶³*Ibid.*, 2:52.

¹⁶⁴Elizabeth A. Perry, *A Brief History of the Town of Gloucester, Rhode Island*, Providence, 1886, p. 117; Joseph J. Smith, *Civil and Military List of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1900).

¹⁶⁵Glocester Wills, 1:370.

¹⁶⁶James N. Arnold, *Vital Record of Rhode Island, 1635-1850*, Gloucester births, 3:60. Hereafter cited as Arnold.

dren included MARTIN Smith, SARAH Smith, JESSE Smith, ANNA Smith, ESEK Smith, and MARY Smith.

IV ESTHER⁵ SMITH, b. 23 Dec. 1728; m. Joseph Olney of Epenetus and Mary (Williams) Olney of Gloucester who d. in 1807 at 75. They had JOHN Olney, b. 22 June 1747, d. 1797, who fought at Bunker Hill, m. Lydia Steere of Jonah and Lydia (Whipple) Steere, and had eight children; DORCAS Olney who m. Reuben Mason 4 July 1773; STEPHEN Olney; NATHAN Olney who m. (1) Ann Seamans, (2) Sarah Taylor, died about 1811, lived in Scituate and Connecticut and had 12 children; and JEREMIAH Olney, Revolutionary War soldier.¹⁶⁷

45 V RUFUS⁵ SMITH, b. 11 May 1730.

VI ANNE⁵ SMITH, b. 21 Jan. 1731/32; d. 9 May 1784; m. Richard Plummer. He signed a receipt for a portion of the estate of Capt. John Smith in Gloucester in 1782. The 1774 census for Gloucester lists Richard Plummer with wife and one daughter under 16.

VII MARTHA⁵ SMITH, b. 1 March 1734/5; m. (1) — Staples, possibly David; (2) as Martha Staples, widow, John Walling, Jr. of Gloucester, 24 Feb. 1765.¹⁶⁸ Gloucester birth records list Mark Bundy, reputed son of Ebenezer Bundy and Martha Staples, b. 29 May 1781,¹⁶⁹ obviously an incorrect date; perhaps it should be 1761. Children of John and Martha Walling; RACHEL Walling b. 3 July 1765; ISHMAEL Walling b. 12 May 1767; RICHARD Walling b. 9 April 1769; and MARTHA Walling b. 3 Dec. 1773.¹⁷⁰ Receipts for division of John Walling's estate on 12 Jan. 1795 in Gloucester were acknowledged by the widow Martha; son Ishmael; son Reuben and wife Rachel (probably son-in-law Reuben); daughter Martha and husband Solomon Fairfield; and Ruth Walling.

The marriage of Mark Bundy of Ebenezer of Connecticut and Silvey Mowry of Thomas of Gloucester by Elder Edward Mitchell at Smithfield 30 Dec. 1784 is included in Gloucester marriages.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷James H. Olney, *A Genealogy of the Descendants of Thomas Olney* (Providence, 1889), p. 22.

¹⁶⁸Arnold, *op. cit.*, Gloucester marriages, 3:39.

¹⁶⁹*Ibid.*, Gloucester births, 3:48.

¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 3:66.

¹⁷¹*Ibid.*, Gloucester marriages, 3:11.

19 DANIEL⁴ SMITH (*Benjamin*,³ *John*,² *John*¹), of Providence, identified as a distiller, b. 27 June 1697; d. in Providence 9 Oct. 1770; m. 21 March 1725/6 Dorcas Harris,¹⁷² daughter of William³ (Thomas,² Thomas¹) and Abigail (—) Harris, b. 16 May 1704; d. 19 Nov. 1745. Both Daniel and Dorcas are buried in the Stephen Harris lot near Grove and Summit streets in North Burial Ground.

CHILDREN OF DANIEL AND DORCAS (HARRIS) SMITH:¹⁷³

- 46 I WILLIAM⁵ SMITH, b. 2 Feb. 1727.
- 47 II BENJAMIN⁵ SMITH, b. 7 April 1728.
- III ABIGAIL⁵ SMITH, b. 27 March 1731. *Providence Gazette* issue of 3 Sept. 1803, deaths: "Abigail Smith, daughter of Daniel, deceased, in her 73rd year."
- IV ALICE⁵ SMITH, b. 22 Nov. 1733; d. 13 March 1772, buried in the Harris lot at North Burial Ground. The W. W. Chapin ms. in The Rhode Island Historical Society states that Alice married Ambrose Page of William and had Job Page "who lived to be an old man, SALLY Page who married an Andrews and BENJAMIN Page who married Ann Sweeting, of Job, and had children." Buried beside Alice Page are also two children, Dorcas Page who died at 19 months, and Molly who died at five.
- 48 V JOB⁵ SMITH, b. 24 Sept. 1736.
- VI SARAH⁵ SMITH, b. 13 May 1738; d. 27 Feb. 1825; m. 27 Nov. 1760 John Brown of Providence (James,⁴ James,³ John,² Chad¹) who was b. 27 Jan. 1736; d. 20 Sept. 1803. John Brown, one of the noted four Brown brothers, was a leading merchant of Providence. In 1786 he built the great mansion on Power Street, Providence, which is now occupied by The Rhode Island Historical Society.
- Children of John and Sarah (Smith) Brown were: JAMES BROWN, 1761-1834, unmarried; BENJAMIN BROWN, 1763-1773; ABIGAIL BROWN, 1764-1766; ABIGAIL (Abby) Brown, 1766-1821, m. John Francis of Philadelphia; SARAH BROWN, 1773-1846, m. Charles Frederick Herreshoff; ALICE BROWN, 1777-1823, m. James Brown Mason.¹⁷⁴
- VII RUTH⁵ SMITH, b. 21 June 1743; d. 28 Sept. 1828, aged 85 years, three months. "She kept house alone the last 55 years

¹⁷²*Ibid.*, Providence marriages, 2:171.

¹⁷³*Ibid.*, Providence births, 2:245.

¹⁷⁴Abby Isabel (Brown) Bulkley, *The Chad Brown Memorial* (Brooklyn, 1888), p. 37.



R. I. H. S.

Oil by Francis Alexander

MRS. JOHN BROWN

48, vi Sarah Smith, 1738-1825

of her life and persevered until the last two days of her life in taking care of herself." (From a record of Lewis Herreshoff of Bristol, Rhode Island, and his sister, Miss Sally, quoted in the Chapin ms.)

20 CAPT. SOLOMON¹ SMITH (*Benjamin*,³ *John*,² *John*¹), b. 4 March 1702; d. at Gloucester 21 Feb. 1771. The marriage of Capt. Solomon is recorded in Gloucester vital records as "Capt. Solomon and — April 25, 1725."¹⁷⁵ The Dexter genealogy places his wife as Sarah Dexter, daughter of John and Mary (Field) Dexter, who was sister of Abigail Dexter, wife of William Smith of Joseph, and second wife of William Smith of Daniel. She was b. in April 1703, and d. 30 Oct. 1779.¹⁷⁶

Capt. Solomon joined his brother Capt. John Smith as an early settler in the Tar Kiln area of Gloucester, which later became a part of Burrillville. His farm at Tar Kiln was known following his death as the Jason Olney place and still later was occupied by a descendant, Daniel Aldrich Smith.

Solomon is listed as captain of the second company of Gloucester militia in May 1734. He was one of the early members of the Gloucester Town Council.¹⁷⁷ His will, written 10 March 1769, and offered for probate in Gloucester 25 March 1771, named his wife Sarah and children: Ezekiel, John, Mercy, Sarah, Anphillis, Ruth, Mary, and Margery. His son John was named executor.¹⁷⁸

CHILDREN OF CAPT. SOLOMON AND SARAH (DEXTER) SMITH:¹⁷⁹

49 I EZEKIEL⁵ SMITH, b. 13 March 1726.

II MERCY⁵ SMITH, b. 12 Jan. 1727/8; d. 4 June 1776; m. in Gloucester 13 Oct. 1743 Rev. John Winsor,¹⁸⁰ b. 2 March 1723, d. 30 March 1808, the son of Rev. Joshua Winsor of Smithfield. He married (2) Phebe Dexter, widow of William Dexter. Children of Rev. John and Mercy (Smith) Winsor; STEPHEN WINSOR, b. 14 Dec. 1744; SARAH WINSOR, b. 4 June 1746; PRUDENCE WINSOR, b. 3 Dec. 1747, d. Aug. 1778, m. — Cornell; JOSHUA WINSOR, b. 19 June 1749, d. 19 Jan. 1770; RUTH WINSOR, b. 18 May 1751, m. Ezekiel

¹⁷⁵Arnold, *op. cit.*, Gloucester marriages, 3:34.

¹⁷⁶Sylvanus E. Newman, *Dexter Genealogy* (Providence, 1859), p. 21.

¹⁷⁷Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Smith, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁸Gloucester Wills, 1:311.

¹⁷⁹Arnold, *op. cit.*, Gloucester births, 3:60-61.

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*, Smithfield marriages, 3:67.

Brown of Dudley, Massachusetts; ALSE OR ALICE Winsor, b. 12 Jan. 1753, d. 9 Jan. 1785, m. — Conan or Coman; DARIUS Winsor, b. 3 Sept. 1754, d. 4 Mar. 1784, m. Mary Eddy of John Eddy of Gloucester; DEBORAH Winsor, b. 31 March 1756, d. 3 April 1815, m. John Eddy of Dudley, Massachusetts, b. 31 Oct. 1748, d. 21 Jan. 1821; CANDACE Winsor, b. 1, Feb. 1758, m. 14 June 1788 Samuel Dexter; ZENAS Winsor, b. 22 Oct. 1759, d. 25 Feb. 1798; MERCY Winsor, b. 5 Aug. 1761, d. 13 Sept. 1813, m. 19 Dec. 1779 Samuel Holmes, Jr.; ZILPHA Winsor, b. 1 April 1763, d. 18 June 1773; CYNTHIA Winsor, b. 20 May 1765, m. Nicholas Otis; LYDIA Winsor, b. 1 Jan. 1767, d. 4 May 1771; ADAH Winsor, b. 9 Nov. 1768, m. Daniel Tinkham; JOHN Winsor, 1769-1776; SALOME Winsor, 1773-1776. Three children, Abraham, Phebe, and John Winsor, by second wife, Phebe Dexter.¹⁸¹

50 III JOHN⁵ SMITH, b. 20 Jan. 1729/30.

IV WILLIAM⁵ SMITH, b. 5 Mar. 1732, d. 3 July 1736.

V SARAH⁵ SMITH, b. 4 May 1734.

VI ANPHILLIS⁵ SMITH, b. 4 Oct. 1736.

VII RUTH⁵ SMITH, b. 25 May 1739.

VIII NAOMI⁵ SMITH, b. 3 May 1741. Miss Bertha Clark, 10 Jamaica Way, Boston, suggests she may have been the Naomi Smith who m. Benjamin Wood at Scituate 3 April 1761.

IX MARY⁵ SMITH, b. 24 Dec. 1742, m. Stephen Tourtelotte at Gloucester 25 Aug. 1766.¹⁸²

X MARGERY⁵ SMITH, birth not recorded, but she was named in her father's will. She m. in Gloucester 12 Dec. 1762 Rufus Bartlett¹⁸³ of Abner and Abigail (Arnold) Bartlett, b. 16 Nov. 1739, d. June 1798. Margery d. in March 1794 at 60. Rufus removed to Cumberland where he was a tavern keeper and blacksmith.

CHILDREN OF RUFUS AND MARGERY (SMITH) BARTLETT:

ANNIE Bartlett, b. 18 Sept. 1763, m. 12 Sept. 1794 George Ballou of Cumberland; ALPHA Bartlett, b. 8 Sept. 1764, m. Whipple A. Lovett; PHILADELPHIA Bartlett, b. 7 Jan.

¹⁸¹Root ms. and Winsor Family ms., The Rhode Island Historical Society.

¹⁸²Arnold, *op. cit.*, Gloucester marriages, 3:38.

¹⁸³*Ibid.*, 3:9.

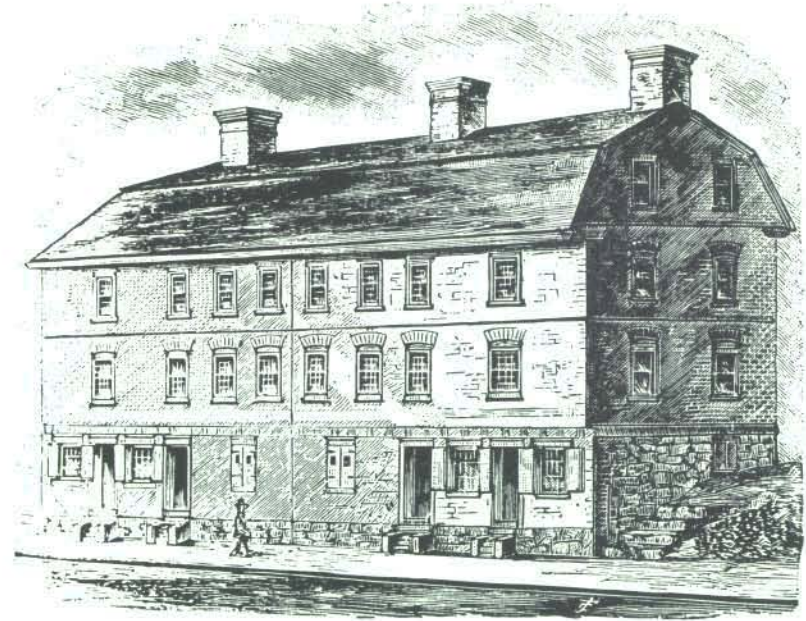
1766, m. Dr. Lamb of Grafton, Massachusetts; MARY Bartlett, d. young; ABNER Bartlett, b. 17 Sept. 1771; NATHAN Bartlett; SMITH Bartlett, b. 21 April 1780, d. Cape Vincent, Jefferson Co., New York in 1867, m. (1) Nancy, daughter of John Russell, who d. in Kingston, Canada, in 1819; (2) her sister, Mrs. Sarah Gladding, widow of Benjamin; RUFUS Bartlett, Jr., d. 24 Jan. 1770 in third year; POLLY Bartlett, d. 1 Feb. 1785. Latter two children buried in Manville, Rhode Island, Burial Ground.¹⁸⁴

21 HEZEKIAH¹ SMITH (*Benjamin*,³ *John*,² *John*¹), b. 18 Aug. 1706; d. 12 Nov. 1753 in what is now North Providence; married Rachel Smith,¹⁸⁵ the daughter of Edward Smith, Jr. and Marcy (Mowry) Smith of the Christopher Smith line, who married (2) 17 Dec. 1756 Andrew Brown of Elder James Brown.¹⁸⁶ Andrew Brown died in Gloucester 12 Feb. 1783 and his will, made 15 March 1773, mentioned his wife Rachel.

Benjamin Smith on 30 Sept. 1729 deeded to his son Hezekiah, for love and affection, one moiety or half of all his farm lands and meadows, 125 acres in all, "at the place called Wenscott." The deed included a proviso that Hezekiah or any other should not sell the property during Benjamin's lifetime.¹⁸⁷

Gloucester deeds include a transfer by Benjamin Smith of Providence to his son Hezekiah of Providence of about 118 acres on the east and west sides of Pascogue Brook in Gloucester, plus a lot of 65 acres on the Rhode Island-Connecticut line.¹⁸⁸

The will of Hezekiah, probated in 1753, gave to son Nehemiah his homestead at Wanskuck and a part of his Wanskuck meadow; to son Enos, 40 acres of homestead near Nehemiah; to son Jesse, a house lot in Providence (west side of North Main Street near Church Street); sons Benjamin and Edward, homestead property save that which was excepted; son Asa, 25 acres in southwestern part of Gloucester or northwestern part of Scituate; daughter Abigail, 500 pounds; wife Rachel was to have use and profits of Benjamin's share as long as she remained a widow, also 600 pounds in bills of public credit in lieu of



DEPUTY GOVERNOR ELISHA BROWN HOUSE
built ca. 1760.

The section at the left was torn down ca. 1810; the section at the right, 1961.

dowry rights. When the will was proved 11 Dec. 1753 the widow did not accept the provision of 600 pounds in lieu of dowry rights.¹⁸⁹

CHILDREN OF HEZEKIAH AND RACHEL (SMITH) SMITH
(not necessarily in order of birth):

- 51 I NEHEMIAH⁵ SMITH.
- 52 II ENOS⁵ SMITH.
- 53 III EDWARD⁵ SMITH.
- 54 IV BENJAMIN⁵ SMITH.
- 55 V JESSE⁵ SMITH.
- 56 VI ASA⁵ SMITH.

VII ABIGAIL⁵ SMITH. The will of her brother, Jesse Smith, in Smithfield, 1765, names her as Abigail Aldrich.¹⁹⁰ She may have been the Abigail Smith who married Job Aldrich of Smithfield on 26 Dec. 1759.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹Providence Wills, 2:345.

¹⁹⁰Smithfield Wills, 2:471.

¹⁹¹Arnold, *op. cit.*, Smithfield marriages, 3:6.

¹⁸⁴Thomas Edward Bartlett, *The Bartletts* (New Haven, 1892), p. 51-52, 64.

¹⁸⁵Root ms. Box 1, The Rhode Island Historical Society.

¹⁸⁶Arnold, *op. cit.*, 3:10.

¹⁸⁷Providence Deeds, 8:183.

¹⁸⁸Gloucester Deeds, 5:449.

22 JONATHAN⁴ SMITH (*Benjamin*,³ *John*,² *John*¹), b. 3 March 1708. He may have died before 1750, for he was not mentioned in the will of his father.

23 NEHEMIAH⁴ SMITH (*Benjamin*,³ *John*,² *John*¹), b. 21 May 1710. His death was the subject of an inquest: "Providence October ye: 25th 1726 wee the subscribers Impanneled Jury of Inquest upon the body of Nehemiah Smith of sd Providence he being found Dead in his fathers shop Chamber: on ye 24th of this Instant October: hanging with a Rope about his Neck: which ware fastened to a Jice In sd Chamber wee: having made strict Inquirey Into the matter: are of the Oppinion and our verdict is: he did it him self being the Occation of his own Death . . . and thereupon Give order that the sd young man may be decently buried by his father or his: Appoyntment."¹⁹²

24 WILLIAM⁴ SMITH (*Benjamin*,³ *John*,² *John*¹), b. 15 April 1736, a child by Benjamin's second wife, Mercy. Presumably he died as a youth, for there was no mention of him in his father's will.

25 PHILIP⁴ SMITH (*Elisha*,³ *John*,² *John*¹), of Smithfield, b. 6 Jan. 1703; d. sometime before 1792; m. 16 Feb. 1734/5 Waite, daughter of Ensign Resolved and Mercy (—) Waterman. The marriage has been incorrectly copied in Arnold's Providence *Vital Records* as Philip Smith Field and Waite Waterman,¹⁹³ and so listed in the Waterman genealogy.

On 29 June 1733 Elisha Smith made a deed of gift to his son Philip of his homestead farm in Smithfield of 140 acres, abutting Daniel Angell, Thomas Steere, and land he had given to his son, Abraham Smith.¹⁹⁴ Philip conveyed three acres to Thomas Steere of Smithfield on 6 June 1737.¹⁹⁵

The children of Philip and Waite Smith were not recorded in Smithfield vital records, but a conveyance in Smithfield deeds discloses their names. On 19 Sept. 1792 Elisha Smith, Mercy Waterman, Hannah Smith, Mary Smith, John Smith, and Patience Angell of Smithfield and Resolved Smith of Scituate, children and legal heirs of Philip Smith, late of Smithfield, deceased, gave full legal conveyance to Job Aldrich. The document explained that Philip had deeded a

farm to Solomon Smith, then of Smithfield, and in 1773 Solomon deeded the same farm to Job Aldrich, but it was later discovered that the deed of Philip to Solomon had never been recorded, and therefore the children took action to clear the title for Job Aldrich.¹⁹⁶

CHILDREN OF PHILIP AND WAITE (WATERMAN) SMITH
(as proved by the above conveyance):

- 57 I ELISHA⁵ SMITH.
II MERCY⁵ SMITH, b. ca. 1738; d. in Greenville, Rhode Island, 10 March 1820 in 83rd year.¹⁹⁷ She married as his second wife Col. Resolved Waterman of Greenville, of Ensign Resolved and Lydia (Mathewson) Waterman, b. ca. 1726; d. at Greenville 5 June 1772. John Waterman of Providence, paper maker, and John Smith, Jr., of Smithfield were administrators of Col. Waterman's estate.¹⁹⁸ John Smith, Jr., called junior to distinguish him from an older John in Smithfield, was the son of Philip Smith, and in papers concerning Col. Waterman's estate John referred to the widow as his "sister Waterman." The Waterman genealogy lists three children for Col. Resolved and Mercy Waterman: MERCY Waterman, b. 20 June 1762, d. 25 Jan. 1827; JOANNA Waterman, who married Capt. Obed Seaver of Smithfield and had at least one son, Welcome Seaver; LYDIA Waterman, b. ca. 1768, d. 2 Nov. 1834.
III HANNAH⁵ SMITH.
IV MARY⁵ SMITH, probably unmarried.
58 V JOHN⁵ SMITH.
VI PATIENCE⁵ SMITH, m. David Angell of Ezekiel of Smithfield 1 Sept. 1774.¹⁹⁹ The will of John Smith, brother of Patience, includes the name of Philip Angell, son of Patience. The Angell genealogy²⁰⁰ lists children of David and Patience as WAITE, PHILIP, ANNA, PATIENCE, and MARY, noting that David was a millwright and removed to Newport, New York. It also mentioned a grandson of David, Ezekiel Angell.
59 VII RESOLVED⁵ SMITH.

¹⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 8:436.

¹⁹⁷Gravestone in Waterman family burial ground in Greenville, Rhode Island.

¹⁹⁸Donald Lines Jacobus, *The Waterman Family* (Hartford, 1954), V, 111, p. 279-281.

¹⁹⁹Arnold, *op. cit.*, Smithfield marriages, 3:9.

²⁰⁰Avery F. Angell, *Genealogy of the Descendants of Thomas Angell* (Providence, 1872), p. 72.

¹⁹²*Early Records of the Town of Providence*, 9:45.

¹⁹³Arnold, *op. cit.*, Providence marriages, 2:193.

¹⁹⁴Smithfield Deeds, 1:95.

¹⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 1:332.

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