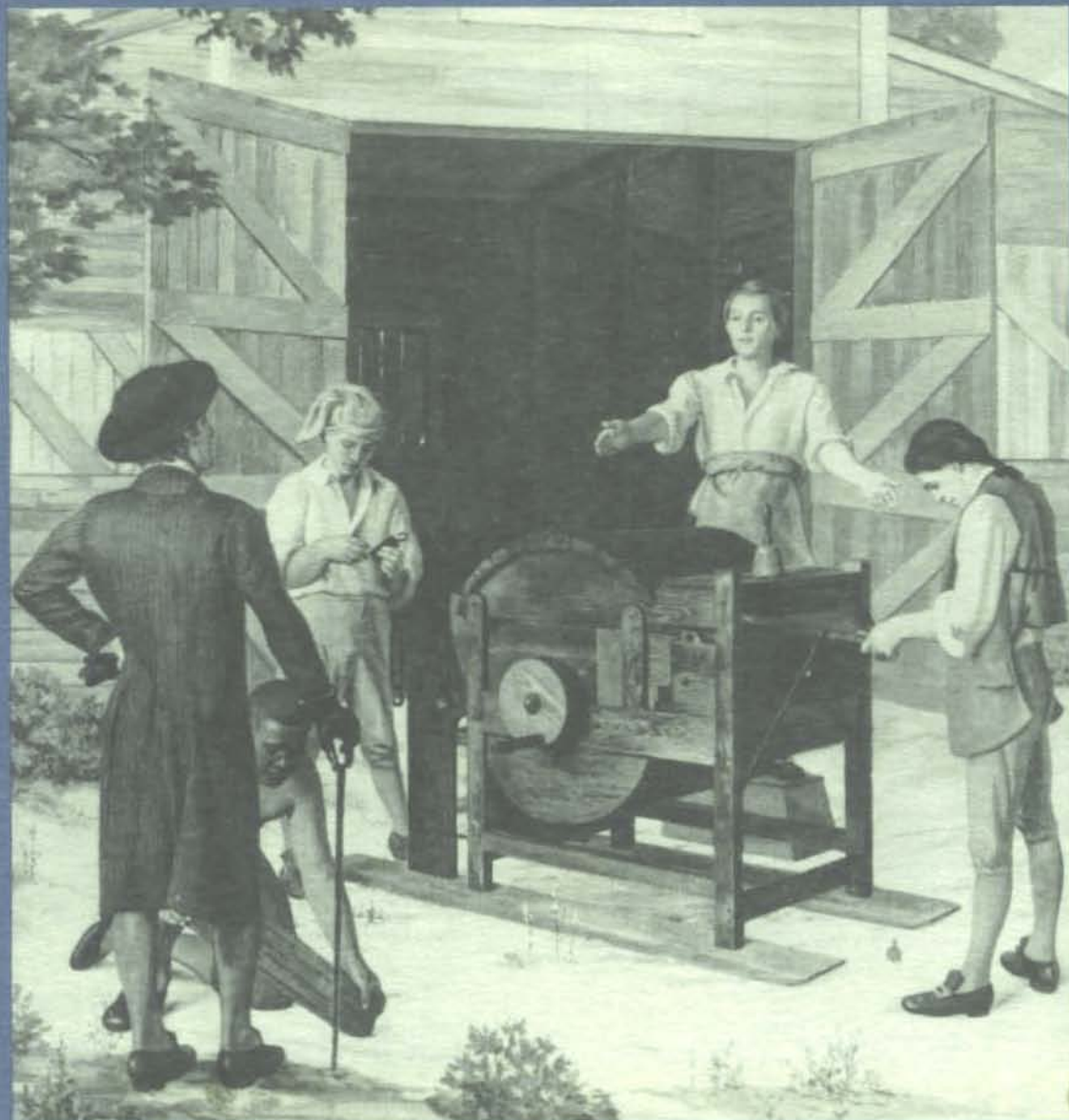




Rhode Island History

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This previously unpublished view of the John Brown House's exterior circa 1884 is the earliest known photograph of this Providence landmark. A companion photograph, retouched, appeared in RIH 3 (Jan. 1944): 12. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 5336).



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ELAINE FORMAN CRANE

I have more of your mill than I wrote him ~~and~~ he ~~and~~ came
 but on viewing the Mills, he declined doing any thing with them
 and ~~but~~ proposed to ~~takeing one of the materials~~ ~~from of them~~ and
 making a new one using such parts of the Old as would answer
~~the end~~ We had by this time got Samuel Garrison's offer

From the first draft of Moses
 Brown's letter to John Dexter, 22
 July 1791, titled "Manufactures
 in Providence." Moses Brown
 Papers—Subject File. RIHS
 Collection (RHi X3 5293).

Spinning Mills on the Continent but mine I proposed to come &
 work them. I wrote him & he came accordingly, but on viewing
 the Mills he declined doing anything with them and proposed making
 a New One Using such parts of the Old as would answer, We had
 by this

From Moses Brown's final draft
 of the letter to John Dexter, 22
 July 1791 (closed 15 Oct. 1791).
 Moses Brown Papers—
 Correspondence. RIHS
 Collection (RHi X3 5294).

These two excerpts reveal the
 difficulty Moses Brown
 experienced in describing
 Samuel Slater's role in
 constructing and operating
 successfully the first
 waterpowered spinning
 machinery in America.

The Making of a Hero: Samuel Slater and the Arkwright Frames

James L. Conrad, Jr.

For over a century and a half, historians matter-of-factly assumed that Samuel Slater worked strictly from memory in 1790 when he constructed and then successfully operated waterpowered textile machinery invented by Englishman Richard Arkwright. This machinery—the awkward-looking carding machine necessary to prepare cotton for spinning, the more complex spinning frame with its rollers and spindles, and the simpler drawing and roving machines—made it possible for unskilled labor, including children, to spin great quantities of cotton yarn for Slater and his partners in North Providence (now Pawtucket), Rhode Island. In the telling of history, Samuel Slater's success long ago took on heroic proportions. One historian of technology called Slater's construction of the Arkwright machines "one of the most remarkable feats in the whole history of technology." Another credited him with building a "mechanical contrivance the likes of which was never before seen in America." Historian Daniel Boorstin wrote admiringly of Slater's "crucial feat" resulting from a "phenomenal memory." And so on.¹

Actually nonoperational models of Arkwright-type spinning frames had been constructed in East Bridgewater, Massachusetts, as early as 1787, two years prior to Slater's arrival in the United States. Rhode Islanders quickly built two spinning frames after examining these so-called "State's Models." Moses Brown of Providence then purchased both Rhode Island built frames in 1789 fully aware that they had not functioned properly. According to the traditional interpretation, Slater rejected the machinery patterned after the "State's Models" when he was asked by Brown to make the frames operational. Slater, the interpretation goes, from "memory" and "principally with his own hands," then constructed the machinery which in turn introduced America to a bright new age of technology.²

This traditional or "heroic" interpretation of Samuel Slater's role in constructing the first American-built operational Arkwright spinning frames is being challenged. Three recent studies essentially agree that Slater received more assistance and required less time to spin the first yarn than previously believed.³ They conclude Slater did utilize the "old" machinery in place when he arrived and that local mechanics probably made important contributions. The business records of Slater's

James L. Conrad, Jr., is Professor of History at Nichols College, Dudley, Massachusetts. He is currently writing a history of Almy and Brown, Providence manufacturers and partners of Samuel Slater.

1. For these quotations see Roger Burlingame, "The Spinning Hero, Sam Slater," *The North American Review*, 246 (Fall–Winter 1938–39), 158; S. McKee Rosen and Laura Rosen, *Technology and Society: The Influence of Machines in America* (New York, 1941), 33; and Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York, 1965), 27. Other examples of this heroic interpretation include, for instance, Curtis P. Nettles, *The Emergence of a National Economy, 1775–1815* (New York, 1963), 275; Arnold Welles, "Samuel Slater Imports a Revolution," *American Heritage* 9 (1958): 34–39, 90–92, reprinted in *Historical Viewpoints: Notable Articles from American Heritage*, 2 vols., ed. John Garraty, 4th ed. (New York, 1983) 1: 310–19; and James MacGregor Burns, *The Vineyard of Liberty: The American Experiment* (New York, 1981), 291–92.

2. George S. White, *Memoir of Samuel Slater, The Father of American Manufactures Connected with A History of the Rise and Progress of the Cotton Manufacture in England and America* (Philadelphia, 1836), 42, 74.

3. James L. Conrad, Jr., "The Evolution of Industrial Capitalism in Rhode Island, 1790–1830: Almy, the Browns, and the Slaters," (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 1973), 57–60; Paul E. Rivard, "Textile Experiments in Rhode Island, 1788–1789," *RIH* 33 (May 1974): 33–45; Gary Kulik, "The Beginnings of the Industrial Revolution in America, Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1672–1829," (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1980), 141–42. See also Gary Kulik, Roger Parks, and Theodore Z. Penn, eds., *The New England Mill Village, 1790–1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 55, 93–99.

4. Kulik, Parks, and Penn, eds., *New England Mill Village*, 55.

5. Almy and Brown to Dr. Thayer (Thayer, Bartlett & Co.), 15 March 1790, Almy and Brown Papers, RIHS [hereafter cited as ABP].

6. Louis C. Hunter, "The Heroic Theory of Invention," *Technology and Social Change*, ed. Edward T. Layton, Jr., (New York, 1973), 25–46; Robert S. Woodbury, "The Legend of Eli Whitney and Interchangeable Parts," *Technology and Culture* 1 (1960): 235–53.

7. American State Papers, *Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States: From the First Session of the First to the Third Session of the Thirteenth Congress, Inclusive*, vol. 1 of *Finance*, (Washington, 1832), 123.

8. John S. Dexter to Moses Brown, 7 July 1791, Moses Brown Papers, RIHS [hereafter cited as MBP].

9. For the drafts of Brown's response, see Brown to Dexter, 22 July 1791, MBP. His first draft carries the title "Manufactures in Providence." The final draft can be found in Arthur H. Cole, ed., *Industrial and Commercial Correspondence of Alexander Hamilton, Anticipating His Report on Manufactures*, (Chicago, 1921), 71–79.

partners, William Almy and the Browns, which itemize work performed on the old frames by Pawtucket artisans Oziel Wilkinson, Sylvanus Brown, and their assistants, support the revisionist position.⁴ And, although historians generally have assumed that Slater worked for nearly a year building and installing the Arkwright system including the new spinning frames, Almy and Brown correspondence indicates yarn was spun on Arkwright frames only two months after Slater's arrival in North Providence or Pawtucket.⁵ Given the relative sophistication of the Arkwright spinning frame, the absence of experienced machinery builders, Slater's unfamiliarity with available resources, and the time required to design and build an entirely new frame, it simply was not possible to erect an Arkwright spinning machine from the ground up in two months.

Without question, the revisionist approach offers an impressive opportunity to gain new insights into one of the earliest American experiences with machine technology. For example, attention can now be focused on the roles that artisans, merchants, and others played in this truly exciting episode in American textile history. At the same time these studies are consistent with reexaminations of hitherto revered inventors and innovators. For example, the roles traditionally assigned to Eli Whitney in developing the principle of interchangeable parts and to Robert Fulton in the construction of the steamboat have been under review with scholars now concluding that these inventors initially received too much credit from historians apparently eager to bestow heroic status.⁶

Is Samuel Slater in line for a similar debunking? By focusing on the early chroniclers of Slater's role in constructing the first operational Arkwright frame in America, we can better understand how he acquired this heroic status and evaluate the evidence supporting such a view. A letter written by Moses Brown in 1791 and George S. White's

Memoir of Samuel Slater (1836) provide the starting points. Together they launched the heroic interpretation.

Samuel Slater's role in the construction of American-built Arkwright machinery was described first in a letter Moses Brown wrote to John S. Dexter, Rhode Island supervisor of revenue, in 1791. The previous year, the United States House of Representatives had asked Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton to report on the state of American manufacturing.⁷ Hamilton immediately requested information regarding Rhode Island manufacturing from Dexter, who, in turn, asked Moses Brown to respond since, in Dexter's opinion, "no one in the state has been more indefatigable, and liberal in the establishment, improvement and rise of them [domestic industries] so no one can possibly possess a more competent knowledge of their commencement, progress, and present state."⁸ Moses Brown began to draft a reply to Dexter on 22 July 1791. He did not complete this letter, however, until 15 October of that year.⁹ Apparently procrastination along with Brown's desire to include Almy and Brown production data through September delayed its completion.

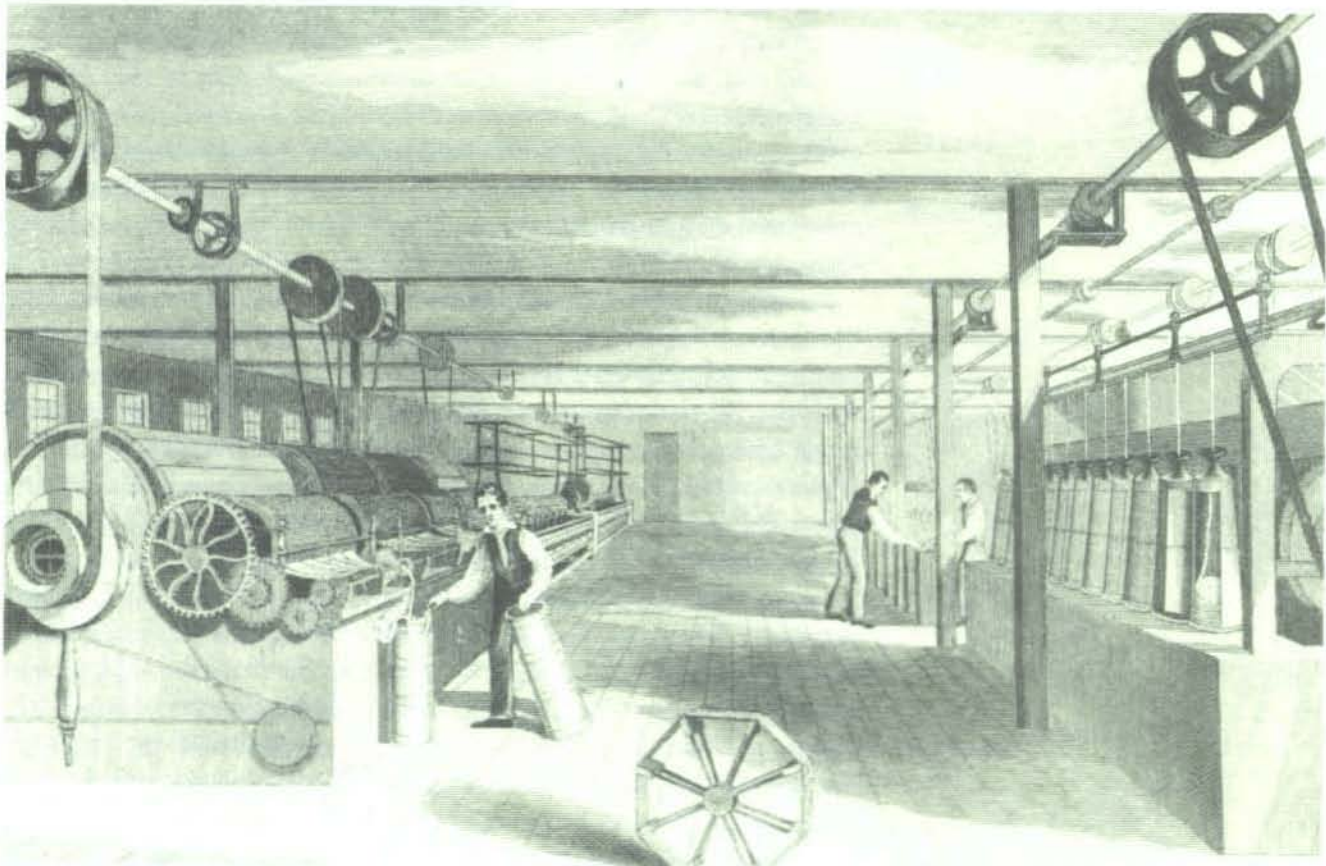
He proceeded to use both dates in his letter: the earlier date opened the letter; the later date closed it. Nevertheless, in spite of possible confusion created by a letter carrying two dates, Brown's correspondence with Dexter has become a wellspring of information. Moses Brown was most familiar with conditions at Pawtucket and in a position to evaluate Slater's immediate impact. Others, including Slater, eventually spoke out, but their statements appeared long after the fact. When Slater did write in 1835 (and only after a formal request), he submitted just a few disappointing lines.¹⁰ Then too, Slater's initial insistence on secrecy concealed many details. Consequently even greater importance has been assigned to Brown's commentary.

When he wrote to Dexter in 1791, Brown was financing and guiding the partnership of Almy and Brown, a Providence cotton manufactory managed by his son-in-law, William Almy, and Smith Brown, a cousin. Moses Brown was not out of place; few in America had his experience. Historian James Hedges commented perceptively that Brown family operations in which Moses had been a partner were unique in pre-Revolutionary America. Manufacturing, not commerce, had been the primary focus.¹¹ Moses Brown, then a prominent New England Quaker, had considered manufacturing cloth at some point in 1787 if not earlier. When Almy, his future son-in-law, also indicated an interest in textiles, Brown committed both his time and full resources to create a

10. *Manufacturers' and Farmers' Journal*, 11 Oct. 1827; *Pawtucket Chronicle*, 29 May 1830; White, *Memoir*, 42, 106.

11. James B. Hedges, *The Browns of Providence Plantations: The Colonial Years* (Providence, 1968), 154, 173-74. For more on Brown family activities, see *The Colonial Years* in its entirety. For Moses Brown's early years, see Mack Thompson, *Moses Brown, Reluctant Reformer* (Durham, NC, 1962), 8-26, 135, 152.

"Representations of Carding, Drawing, Roving and Spinning as introduced by S. Slater," from White's *Memoir of Samuel Slater* (Philadelphia, 1836), 79. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 5296).



Samuel Slater, 1768–1835. From Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Rhode Island (Providence, 1881), 35. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 5297).



viable commercial opportunity for his family. This included purchasing the machinery in place when Slater arrived. He also attracted a number of craftsmen, artisans, and journeymen to Providence; among them, Samuel Slater.

An analysis of the Dexter letter must start with Brown's first draft which he titled "Manufactures in Providence." Generally overlooked by historians, this draft is vital to our understanding of Slater's work with the old spinning frames. Actually all drafts of the Brown-Dexter letter basically agreed that the spinning frames purchased prior to Slater's arrival had not functioned as desired and Samuel Slater then was asked to come to North Providence. At this point in his first draft Moses Brown began to make important changes.

Judging from the number of cross outs, Moses Brown had difficulty describing Slater's utilization of the old frames. In the process, Brown's pen literally wrote and then rewrote history. He first noted that Slater "declined doing anything with them [the old frames] but proposed taking one of them" presumably to rebuild. Not satisfied with this wording, Brown then apparently wrote that Slater was "takeing materials of one of them." Finally he changed his wording once more to state that Slater "declined doing anything with them [the old frames] and pro-

posed making a New One using such parts of the Old as would answer." History would have to settle for this last and less-than-precise description.

The equivocal nature of Brown's final phrasing is unfortunate. In the first writing, the old machinery has a central role. In the adjusted first draft and the final draft, reference to the old frames seems more of an afterthought. The rewriting does not answer the crucial question regarding "parts of the Old." Just how extensively were they "used"? Brown provided no final answer to a question which probably was of little importance in 1791. After all, Slater had succeeded and this was Brown's point. In fact, however, Moses Brown's uncharacteristically vague wording introduced an element of confusion into what later became a deceptively complex and pivotal historical event.

Even so, Brown's flawed description might not have become a factor had it not been for George S. White's *Memoir of Samuel Slater* (1836) which cited the Brown-Dexter letter to support conclusions regarding Slater's achievement. Indeed, in the unfolding of the Slater story, George S. White's efforts to immortalize Slater have been extremely effective. The durability of *Memoir of Samuel Slater* is remarkable given the tendency of historians to rewrite their history every generation or so. For instance, a recent study of the New England mill village features White's comments and documentation and describes *Memoir of Samuel Slater* as "the most reliable source" on Slater's early life.¹²

Unlike Samuel Slater and Moses Brown, George Savage White has received little attention. The author of *Memoir of Samuel Slater* was born in 1784 in Bath, England. The son of a well-known English clergyman, he was ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1803. Nine years later White arrived in Boston from England with his wife and two children, settling in Massachusetts near the Rhode Island border. In 1816, he became a minister in the Protestant Episcopal Church and was ordained in Boston by Bishop Alexander V. Griswold. Described variously as aggressive, eloquent, "a man of considerable ability" with a "strong character and multifarious knowledge," White had a disturbing tendency to become involved in controversy while at churches in Boston and the Connecticut towns of Brooklyn and Canterbury.¹³

In all probability, White and Samuel Slater first met between 1812 and 1816. Bishop Griswold, also a friend of the Slater family, provided at least one link between White and Slater; a common English heritage was another. Apparently their paths crossed frequently. According to White, Samuel Slater visited him in 1827 and, undoubtedly, there were other visits.¹⁴ At that time, Slater's problems were beginning to build: current difficulties with neighbors and partners in Pawtucket and Dudley and Oxford in Massachusetts added to more than a decade of insecurity in the cotton textile industry.¹⁵ Slater's letters reflected an understandable disillusionment, and he undoubtedly passed this feeling on to White.

At first White "only intended the memoir of a friend." Although

12. Kulik, Parks, and Penn, eds., *New England Mill Village*, 59, 62, 64, 70-77, 347-69. For the quotation see page 69.

13. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 63 vols. to date, (New York, 1893-), 4: 319; Calvin R. Batchelder, *A History of the Eastern Diocese*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1910), 2: 394; John C. Kimball, *Connecticut's Canterbury Tale; Its Heroine, Prudence Crandall* (Hartford, Conn., 1887), 5-8; Ellen D. Larned, *History of Windham County*, 2 vols. (Worcester, Mass., 1880), 2: 490; and *A Memorial Sermon delivered by Thomas Brinley Fogg in Old Trinity Church, Brooklyn, Conn., on the Hundredth Anniversary of its Opening, April 12, 1871* (Hartford, Conn., n.d.), 26-27.

14. White, *Memoir*, 97.

15. Conrad, "Evolution of Industrial Capitalism," 311-58; Jonathan Prude, *The Coming of Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810-1860* (New York, 1983), 158-80.

16. White, *Memoir*, 11, 281.

17. Kulik, Parks, and Penn, eds., *New England Mill Village*, 345–46.

18. White, *Memoir*, 113–82.

19. See *Manufacturers' and Farmers' Journal*, 25 Jan. 1821, 20 Jan. and 24 April 1823, 31 Oct. 1825, and 28 Feb. 1828; and *Columbian Centinel*, 24 Oct. 1827.

20. George S. White to H. N. Slater (copy), 26 Nov. 1835, Nelson Slater Papers, Slater Mill Historic Site (hereafter cited as NSP).

21. *Ibid.*

Memoir of Samuel Slater generally is seen as eulogistic, White denied this to be his purpose.¹⁶ In addition, White's argument describing the moral benefits of the factory is understood by some as a defense of the factory system, while others have seen it as an aggressive forward move by factory proponents seeking to counter longstanding societal hostility.¹⁷ These perceptions are accurate as far as they go.

Clearly, matters of importance to Samuel Slater and his family motivated White initially. *Memoir of Samuel Slater* presented the Slater position on a number of issues: the introduction of the first water-powered machinery, the benefits of Slater's manufacturing approach featuring an emphasis on moral well-being, and the threat to manufacturing interests posed by "capitalists." White sought to strengthen Slater's image by describing his contribution to American manufacturing and to the evolution of a "moral society" which fully utilized its "property."¹⁸

By its very nature, however, a discussion of the first Arkwright machinery had to extend beyond immediate family concerns. Any conclusion regarding Slater's contribution was bound to become a central issue in a growing rivalry between Rhode Island and Massachusetts textile boosters. Each claimed their state deserved the credit for introducing waterpowered textile machinery into the United States. During the 1820s and 1830s, basic differences in manufacturing philosophies and mounting economic hardships in Rhode Island increased the intensity of this rivalry.¹⁹ Proof that Samuel Slater constructed the first operational Arkwright system in America would secure Rhode Island's niche in textile history once and for all.

The stakes were high then when White began to write. Very quickly he determined that spinning machinery had been constructed first in Massachusetts, but decided that this beginning was "incipient and unsuccessful." In a letter to Horatio Nelson Slater, one of Samuel's sons, White wrote: "Your native state (R.I.) is now interested to claim, as the formation of the whole business, the introduction of the Arkwright patents."²⁰ White did his best to make good the claim.

Above all, nothing could be left to doubt. Based on information he obtained from Moses Brown, William and Joseph Anthony, William Almy, and Samuel Slater, White rejected ties between the Massachusetts-built "State's Models" and the machinery placed in operation by Slater.²¹ Their testimonies led White to conclude that before Slater arrived in North Providence, "every attempt to spin cotton or twist, or any other yarn, by waterpower, till 1790, had *totally* failed" (Emphasis mine). He stated further: "Previous to 1790, no such [Arkwright] machinery existed in this country, and that Samuel Slater, without the aid of anyone who had ever seen such machinery, did actually from his personal knowledge and skill, put in motion the whole series of Arkwright patents." White reported Slater to have stated that he "had not a single pattern or memorandum to assist him." White's message was



straightforward and powerful: Samuel Slater built everything alone and from memory.²²

Moses Brown's letter to John Dexter served as a cornerstone for White, who quoted lengthy passages from it, including the part which had been rewritten by Brown.²³ To eliminate any ambiguity, White italicized Brown's phrase "but on viewing the mills [spinning frames] he declined doing anything with them," ignoring the vague but nonetheless explicit reference to the machinery built earlier. White had gone beyond Brown's interpretation by placing emphasis where it had not existed before. Admittedly, the use of italics to stress a point was common in 1836. This practice, however, can be misleading to readers who assume that deviations from the original text will be acknowledged and explained. White provided no explanation and achieved the desired effect: the contributions of the old machinery had been disallowed. Moses Brown's words had helped to set the heroic interpretation in place. Samuel Slater and the state of Rhode Island were established as primary forces in the early American textile industry.

The Brown-Dexter letter and White's study of Slater offered substance, documentation, and credibility for those seeking to understand the early textile industry. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, serious and impressive studies of American manufacturing and the early textile industry accepted White's conclusions.²⁴ Later scholarship simply followed the lead, as neither sufficient insight nor substantial evidence existed to question the heroic interpretation. At

"Pawtucket Bridge and Falls,"
circa 1811, by John Reuben
Smith, an engraver working in
Boston at that time. RIHS
Collection (RHi X3 1357).

22. For quotations see White, *Memoir*, 71. White repeatedly emphasized that Slater worked alone and from memory. See *Memoir*, 9, 26–27, 58, 71, 74, 91–92, 93, 103, 281.

23. *Ibid.*, 67–68, 84–85, 87–88, 89.

24. See, for example, Samuel Batchelder, *Introduction and Early Progress of the Cotton Manufacture in the United States* (Boston, 1863), 39; William Bagnall, *The Textile Industries of the United States* (1893, reprint, New York, 1972), 86, 150, 151, 157; Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States*, 3 vols. (New York, 1929), 1:535; and Caroline F. Ware, *The Early New England Cotton Textile Manufacture; A Study in Industrial Beginnings* (Boston, 1931), 21.

25. Aside from introducing the misleading emphasis, White also deleted at least one sentence from Brown's letter to Dexter. Compare White, *Memoir*, 85, with Cole, ed., *Correspondence of Hamilton*, 74.

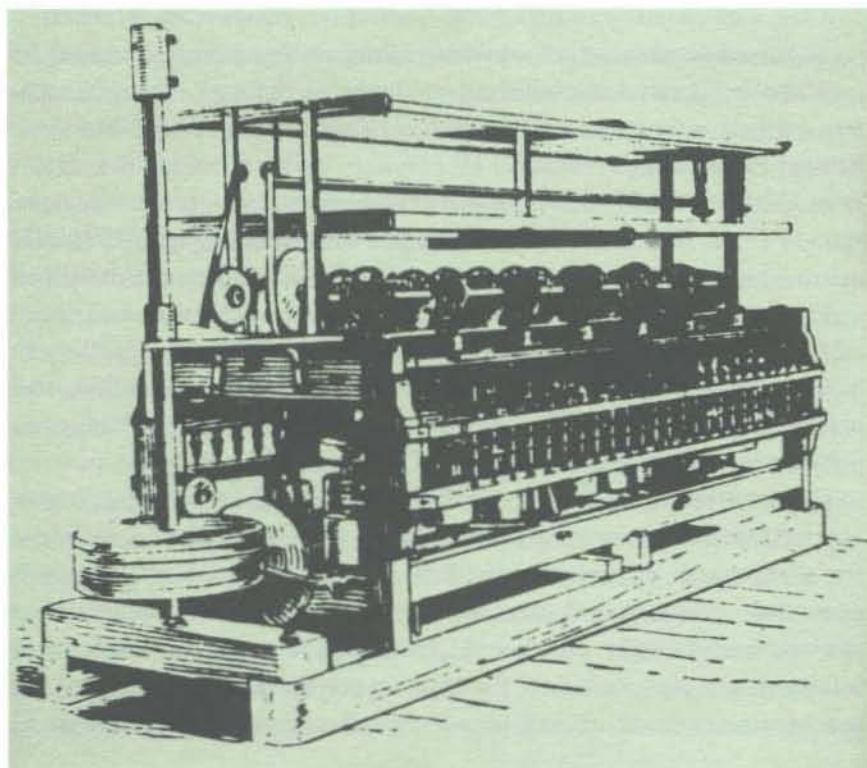
26. See White, *Memoir*, 63; *Manufacturers' and Farmers' Journal*, 11 Oct. 1827; *Columbian Centinel*, 13 Oct. 1827; and *Worcester County Republican*, 11 March 1829.

the same time, this interpretation touched a responsive chord among Americans. White's approach incorporated a number of appealing features and ideals: rugged individualism, the image of the self-made man, the moral justification of a factory-oriented work ethic, the benefits of technology, and an idyllic view of America as a land of opportunity. Then too, Americans anxiously sought heroes and Slater appeared to qualify for such a role.

Quite clearly, White had taken liberties with Moses Brown's letter.²⁵ Did he adjust other evidence as well? Did statements by the Anthony brothers—William, Joseph, and Richard—really support White's conclusions as he claimed? In *Memoir of Samuel Slater*, White reported the Anthonys stated that "all this imperfect machinery [the old frames] was thrown aside" by Slater. Actually this wording is almost identical to what had appeared in an article attributed to William Anthony by the *Manufacturers' and Farmers' Journal* in 1827, nine years before White's book was published. According to the *Journal* account, Anthony stated "the old machinery was thrown aside and that built under the direction of Mr. SLATER substituted in its place." Regrettably, Anthony, like Brown, could have been more specific. The same article later appeared in at least two other newspapers: *The Columbian Centinel* (Boston) and the *Worcester County Republican*.²⁶ Consequently there can be little question that Rhode Islanders were familiar with the Anthony version before White arrived on the scene.

But how much could the Anthonys have known? With little effort we can place at least two Anthonys in Pawtucket working on or around the

Slater's spinning frame as it appeared in the Pawtucket Chronicle & Gazette, 3 Oct. 1890, celebrating the centennial of his initial achievement. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 5292).



spinning frames during Slater's first months. Daniel Anthony had visited East Bridgewater and examined the "State's Models" in 1787 either making or obtaining drawings of the Arkwright frame at that time. In February 1789, "D. Anthony" was constructing a "fraim" in Rhode Island according to a Moses Brown letter. Since Brown later purchased this frame from Providence merchants Peck and Dexter, Daniel Anthony's familiarity with one spinning machine can be established. In fact, he probably built it. Beyond this, Brown's correspondence and Almy and Brown records indicate that Daniel Anthony originally rented the "petuckett" site where the frames were first operated. Daniel Anthony's name also appears as late as 1791 on an Almy and Brown account charging iron work to the "Water Spinning Mashene" account.²⁷

References to Richard Anthony, Daniel's son, also place him in Pawtucket working on the frames between 1789 and 1792. He was boarding with Oziel Wilkinson's family when Slater arrived in Pawtucket and also boarded at the Wilkinson's. Richard Anthony later wrote that he had "worked with Samuel Slater making cotton machinery by hand." Moreover, his name appears on at least three different Almy and Brown accounts dealing with "Spinning, Petuckett." And, according to David Wilkinson who was there also, Richard's brothers, William and Joseph Anthony, assisted on occasion.²⁸

To confirm the Anthonys's story, White turned to Moses Brown and William Almy. Brown, then a remarkable ninety-seven, was quite willing to do so.²⁹ In fact, shortly before White completed *Memoir of Samuel Slater*, the *Providence Journal* published a "Sketch of the Life of Samuel Slater" including a statement attributed to Moses Brown which credited Slater with having "made the requisite machinery, primarily with his own hands; there being no mechanics of adequate knowledge and skill in that sort of work."³⁰ Apparently Brown's appreciation of Slater's efforts had not diminished over the years; if anything, he had become even more supportive.

Surprisingly, when White sought William Almy's corroboration, Slater's former partner was unwilling, at first, to support the Anthony and Brown versions. Fortunately for White, Moses Brown intervened. White wrote to Horatio Nelson Slater that "Moses Brown has softened Wm. Almy to some measur of the facts that your father introduced the Carding, Drawing, Roving, and Spinning of the Arkwright patents, unassisted and solely by his own judgment." Certainly this hesitation could have resulted from the intense hostility between Almy and Slater which had begun to build in 1829 if not before. Possibly Almy understood the danger of oversimplifying the process of technical change. Predictably, White neglected to cite Almy's initial reluctance in *Memoir of Samuel Slater* referring instead to Almy's corroboration.³¹

Clearly the Anthonys's account is important and supportive of White's claim for Slater, possibly to a greater extent than Brown's letter. Yet it is difficult to evaluate its credibility. After all, the Anthonys were speaking out more than thirty years after Slater's work with the frames

27. See Moses Brown to John Baily, Jr., 8 Feb. 1789, MBP; Almy & Brown, Day Book, 10 Feb. 1792, ABP; and Almy & Brown, Account Dr. to Oziel Wilkinson, 8 March 1792, ABP.

28. See Almy & Brown, Account with Oziel Wilkinson, 20 Feb. 1790, ABP; Richard Anthony, deposition 21 Feb. 1824, Tyler et al. v. Wilkinson et al., 24 Fed. Case 472, 474, C.C.D.R.I., 1827, Federal Records Center, Waltham, Mass.; Almy & Brown, Journal, to Spinning, Pawt., 9 Sept. 1791, ABP; Water Spinning Mashene to Almy Brown, Dr., 9 Sept. 1791, ABP; M. Brown Acct against the Company, 26 Dec. 1789, ABP; Almy & Brown, receipt, to Richard Anthony, 20 Jan. 1790, ABP; and "David Wilkinson's Reminiscences," *Transactions of the Rhode Island Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry in the Year 1861* (Providence, 1862), 100-11.

29. White, *Memoir*, 78, and White to H. N. Slater, 26 Nov. 1835, NSP.

30. *Providence Journal*, 8 August 1835.

31. See White to H. N. Slater, 26 Nov. 1835, NSP, and White, *Memoir*, 78.

32. The Anthonys's version as it appeared first in 1827 was challenged by the *Columbian Centinel*, which found it to be incorrect regarding the origin of the "State's Models." See *Columbian Centinel*, 24 Oct. 1827, and *Manufacturers' and Farmers' Journal*, 8 Nov. 1827.

33. White, *Memoir*, 42.

34. Nathan Walker, deposition, 1 July 1823, Tyler et al. v. Wilkinson et al., 24 Fed. Case 472, 474, C.C.D.R.I., 1827, Federal Records Center, Waltham, Mass.; Almy and Brown to Dr. Thayer (Thayer, Bartlett & Co.), 15 March 1790, ABP.

35. S. Greene to Zachariah Allen, 28 Nov. 1861, Zachariah Allen Papers, RIHS.

and Brown's letter to Dexter. Also they undoubtedly were influenced by the events of the 1820s and the Rhode Island-Massachusetts rivalry.³²

Slater's version, several paragraphs written in 1835, contributed surprisingly little to understanding the first months at Pawtucket. According to Slater, the first machinery was made "principally with his own hands."³³ He made no reference to specific machinery or to the possible contributions of others. In all probability he explained in greater detail in his discussions with White. Unfortunately Slater died in April 1835, just prior to the completion of White's book. Since Slater's formal letter clearly supported White's basic argument, it was used accordingly.

Efforts by participants to describe Slater's activity in 1790 seem to reflect their support for Slater's overall contribution rather than to focus on the details involved. Certainly Slater did not work "alone" or entirely "from memory" as the traditional interpretation states. There simply is too much evidence and logic working against the heroic approach as presented by White. Furthermore, Moses Brown did not make these claims although White cited his letter. Revisionists are correct in challenging White's assumptions. Slater did have help from artisans in Rhode Island and Massachusetts and did use "parts of the Old" machinery in place when he arrived.

Nevertheless, to show that Slater had help or that George S. White overstated his case is not to diminish Slater's contribution accordingly. White drew on authoritative testimony from Moses Brown and the Anthonys. Those directly involved were impressed with what Slater had done and said so on more than one occasion—and why not? After all, they had endured months of frustration before he arrived. In Brown's case, this involved a significant investment as well. Consequently they wrote in a spirit of appreciation with full knowledge of the broad range of obstacles and problems that Slater encountered. The Brown and Anthony messages are clear; they wanted Slater to receive full credit for his efforts in 1790—and beyond. Unfortunately, White carried this intent too far by bestowing an indefensible exclusiveness on Slater's work with the Arkwright spinning frame.

In short, White was right to praise Slater, but inaccurate in his perception of Slater's accomplishment. Rather than sheer memory and solitary achievement, Slater offered experience, technical skill, adaptability, and the ability to work with a group of ill-sorted and frequently ill-mannered American artisans and merchant capitalists. He arrived in North Providence in January 1790, moved the spinning frames from the lower level in the rented clothier's shop to an upper level, and had one frame producing good warp yarn in two months.³⁴ This resulted in a new agreement with Almy and Brown which created a second partnership, Almy, Brown and Slater. Utilizing available American artisans, Slater began to construct the waterpowered carding, drawing, and roving machinery necessary for the continuous processing of cotton from fiber to spun yarn, thereby completing the Arkwright system.³⁵ One of America's most experienced card makers, Pliny Earle of Leicester, Mas-

sachusetts, admitted he had never seen anything like Slater's design for the card clothing.³⁶ Finally, Slater determined the critical operating and gearing ratios necessary to power the machinery by water. In December 1790, this project was finished. The children then came to work. By any standard, Slater's achievement was immense.

But why did George S. White, in spite of seemingly extensive efforts to seek out the facts, present a flawed account? Certainly his bias in favor of the Slaters is partly responsible. Equally important, however, White simply lacked the qualifications to evaluate Slater's contributions with the sensitivity and accuracy required. White had no first-hand knowledge of the textile industry and admitted it.³⁷ Although he believed his inexperience posed no problems, others saw things differently. One observer commented in 1835 that the person writing the history of Rhode Island manufacturing did not have enough "authentic knowledge of the subject."³⁸ He probably was referring to George S. White; if so, he was right.

Undoubtedly some questions will always remain as to the exact contribution of Samuel Slater. Moses Brown, for one, would have understood. His first attempt to describe Slater's early days in Pawtucket resulted in a vague description of a major historical event—and he was there.

36. Pliny Earle to Almy & Brown, 8 June 1790, ABP.

37. White, *Memoir*, 11.

38. John Howland, lecture, 18 Nov. 1835, John Howland Papers, RIHS.

Mrs. William Gamwell's House.
Providence, R.I.



The Approach



The Staircase.

One page of E. Eldon Deane's sketches of the John Brown House from American Architect and Building News, 15 January 1887.

A Centennial View of The John Brown House

Robert P. Emlen

It has been two hundred years since John Brown built his splendid brick house on a hillside pasture above the town of Providence. For two centuries visitors have admired its prominent situation, elegant design, and magnificent construction, and recorded their descriptions in letters and diaries. But despite its local renown, the John Brown House was not widely known in the world beyond Providence during the first one hundred years of its existence. It was not until it reached its centennial anniversary that this magnificent mansion was first described in print and illustrations of it were published.

Seven pen-and-ink sketches of scenes in and around the John Brown House appeared in the 15 January 1887 number of the *American Architect and Building News*.¹ They were the work of Edwin Eldon Deane, a Boston architectural illustrator and the magazine's staff delineator. Deane made his sketches from firsthand observation. In the late 1880s and early 1890s he was also employed by the Providence architectural firm of Gould and Angell to make architectural renderings for presentation to their clients, and while he was in Providence Deane took the opportunity to visit several notable Providence houses and to sketch the best examples of "colonial" architecture.² The Colonial Revival was gaining popularity as an architectural style in the United States, and the editors of the *American Architect and Building News* tried to illustrate examples of the finest buildings of colonial and early national America in every issue of the magazine in order to inform the young profession about the native architectural heritage. In addition to the John Brown House Deane sketched several other notable Providence homes for the magazine. On his rambles around College Hill he stopped to draw the Joseph Brown House (1774), the Captain George Benson House (1796), and the Benoni Cooke and Rufus Greene Houses (1832).³

Eldon Deane's sketches of the John Brown House were most likely made in the fall of 1886, some thirty-five years after Elizabeth Ives Gammell had acquired the house from her cousins, the third generation heirs of John Brown. Along with a group of photographs made at about the same time, Deane's drawings are the earliest interior views of the building known today and provide the only detailed visual records of the Power Street mansion known to have been made in the nineteenth century.⁴ Entitled "Sketches in the House of Mrs. William Gammell," Deane's pen-and-ink drawings portray an interior of chaste Geor-

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1. "Sketches in the House of Mrs. William Gammell, Power Street, Providence, R.I.," *The American Architect and Building News* 21 (15 Jan. 1887): 30.

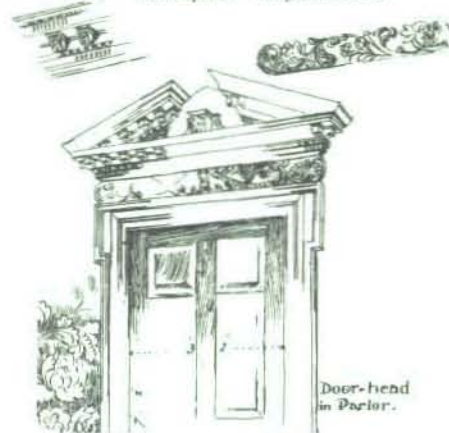
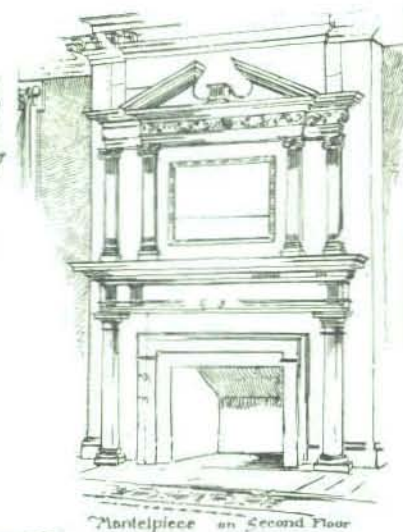
2. William H. Jordy and Christopher Monkhouse, et al., *Buildings on Paper: Rhode Island Architectural Drawings 1825-1945* (Providence, 1982), 65-67.

3. The Benson, Cooke, and Greene houses were illustrated as "Sketches in Providence R.I.," in *American Architect and Building News* 22 (9 July 1887). Deane's sketches of the Greene and Cooke houses are illustrated in Providence City Plan Commission, *College Hill: A Demonstration Study of Historic Area Renewal* (Providence, 1959), 60. The Joseph Brown House was illustrated as "The Old Providence Bank Building," in *American Architect and Building News* 24 (3 Sept. 1887). One of the latter illustrations has been reprinted in Christopher P. Monkhouse, "Evidence and Use of Architectural Drawings in Rhode Island," in *Buildings on Paper*, 6.

4. Throughout the nineteenth century the John Brown House was pictured in virtually every landscape painting and print of Providence, though it appeared only as a small detail on the skyline of College Hill. After the centennial views, the next detailed pictures of the house were a set of interior photographs published with an article entitled "History, Reminiscences, Descriptions of Marsden J. Perry's New Home," in the *Providence Sunday Journal*, 13 Oct. 1901.

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Sketches by E. Eldon Drake.

gian rooms. Only one, "The Staircase," is a finished drawing. The others concentrate on details of architectural carvings, turnings, and mouldings on friezes, cornices, mantels and pediments all carefully delineated. Interestingly, the only hints of Victorian taste in these pictures are a few modest furnishings—the suggestion of a carpet, a little floral wallpaper, and a small classical figural sculpture standing on a sewing table in the morning room. Clearly, the sketches were intended to record the eighteenth-century design of the rooms, and not to refer to their contemporary decoration.

An actual photograph of Mrs. Gammell's parlor accompanied Eldon Deane's drawings of these fine Georgian rooms.⁵ It is one of a set of three interior views of the Gammell home dating from about the same time as the sketches. Like the sketches, all three photographs illustrate the front rooms of the first floor. Unlike the sketches, however, they convey an entirely different story. The camera's eye captured a high Victorian interior, evidence of late nineteenth-century taste that the Colonial Revival illustrator chose to ignore.

Enormous broadloom carpets reach from wall to wall. The walls are covered with boldly patterned papers. Heavy draperies hang from ceiling to floor. The rooms are full of upholstered furniture in an eclectic mix of styles. Paintings line the walls. A potted ficus plant stands in the front hallway. The parlor mantelpiece is awash with bric-a-brac, and an ornate gas chandelier descends into the room so low that its globes block the line of sight to the portrait busts flanking the tympanum above the doorway so delicately sketched by Eldon Deane.

A century later, we are unaccustomed to such contrast in styles of architecture and furnishing. That is a function of changing tastes, however. Seen through nineteenth-century eyes, these photographs depict the home of an old and prominent Providence family, decorated with decorum and restrained good taste.

Of particular historical interest is the photograph of the front staircase, showing the original doorway at the back of the house. Though in 1886 it led into a service wing and not directly out of the house as in John Brown's day, it defines the extent of the house as its builder intended it—a sense that was lost when it was replaced in the twentieth century with an open archway. The photograph also reveals that when this picture was made the basement stairway remained unopened. And, most significant, the passage to the ell at the second floor landing appears to be more of a niche than the passageway it is today.

The similarities between this photograph and Eldon Deane's finished sketch of "The Staircase" are so close that they invite comparison. In fact, the perspective, the shadows and reflections, and the alignment of architectural features with one another are remarkably alike. It is apparent that Deane made his drawing of the stairway by copying this photograph, and thus, by extension, that the photographs must have been taken either before or during his visit to the house late in 1886.

This revelation is news indeed, for Deane's drawing of the staircase shows a rounded window next to the clock on the stair landing. This

5. Called "gelatin prints" in the *American Architect and Building News*, the photographs were reproduced as heliotypes. Unlike the pen-and-ink sketches, they were reproduced in a two-step process and could not be printed with the rest of the pages. They were tipped in separately, but only to the "Imperial Edition" of the magazine.

E. Eldon Deane's sketches of architectural details in the John Brown House from American Architect and Building News, 15 January 1887.



Three photographs of the house's interior circa 1886, including this view of the Gammell parlor decorated in high Victorian style, were included in the "Imperial Edition" of the *American Architect and Building News* featuring Deane's sketches. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 5303).

6. The addition of rear ells to the John Brown House is discussed in Antoinette F. Downing, "The John Brown House," *Antiques* 87 (May 1965): 556-63.

7. A carved keystone removed from this window and presented to the Rhode Island Historical Society by Professor Gammell is illustrated in *Rhode Island History* 23 (July 1964): inside cover.

view has customarily been considered the best evidence of the house's appearance before the ell was added in the nineteenth century.⁶ It now seems that, like the landscape painting he found hanging in the stairwell, Eldon Deane merely omitted the ell. His roundedheaded window must therefore be conjectural.

Deane's architectural improvisation was in keeping with his selective use of interior details. His intention was apparently to record the Georgian architecture as faithfully as possible, as he did when he reconstructed the original entrance to the Joseph Brown House on South Main Street for the *American Architect and Building News* in its 3 September 1887 issue. It is likely that he drew the stair landing in Mrs. Gammell's house in what he imagined to be a semblance of its eighteenth-century appearance, using surviving clues in the existing woodwork and possibly the recollections of the Gammells, who had removed the window a generation earlier.⁷ Although taken after the fact,



his sketch may still be a good indication of the arched window's original appearance.

By 1898 the Colonial Revival style was in full swing. Eldon Deane's sketches were reprinted by the editors of the *American Architect and*

The hallway, American Architect and Building News, 15 January 1887. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 5304).



Building News in a portfolio entitled *The Georgian Period: Being Photographs and Measured Drawings of Colonial Work*.⁸ The influence of the revival was now pervasive, and reaction against the sumptuous decor of the 1880s was ardent. The editors omitted the photograph of Mrs. Gammell's parlor from this new publication.

With the beginning of the twentieth century the architectural and historical significance of John Brown's elegant home became more widely known. In 1901, when the Gammell family placed the house on the market, contemporary accounts described it as "a genuine colonial residence" and "an historic old mansion."⁹ When its new owner, Marsden J. Perry, filled it with his famed collection of Chippendale furniture, Frances Benjamin Johnston photographed the mansion for *Town and Country*.¹⁰ In 1932 Frank Chouteau Brown made measured drawings of interior details for *Great Georgian Houses of America*.¹¹ In 1936 John Nicholas Brown purchased the mansion and opened it to the public for Rhode Island's tercentenary celebration, and Antoinette Downing described it at length in *Early Homes of Rhode Island*.¹² One year later its inclusion in the catalogue of the Historic American Building Survey formally certified what Rhode Islanders had known for a century and a half.

Throughout the years each of the mansion's owners altered the appearance of the house in small ways. The form in which we know the John Brown House today has evolved through successive generations of use, with alterations to the original fabric often difficult for us to detect. Therefore, at the bicentennial of its founding, these centennial views are particularly important to us—the sketches, because they record the original appearance of the eighteenth-century architecture; and the photographs, as documents of its use one hundred years ago.

8. William Rotch Ware, *The Georgian Period: Being Photographs and Measured Drawings of Colonial Work* 21, (Boston, 1898), plates 37 & 38.

9. "Famous Mansion Bought by Marsden J. Perry," *Providence Journal*, 8 Oct. 1901.

10. "A Georgian House in Providence," *Town & Country* 83 (15 Jan. 1929): 40-44.

11. Architect's Emergency Committee, *Great Georgian Houses of America*, 2 vols. (New York, 1937), 2: 241-50.

12. Antoinette Forrester Downing, *Early Homes of Rhode Island*. (Richmond, Va., 1937), 285-310.

John Brown House staircase showing the original doorway at the back of the house. Compare it with Deane's sketch of the staircase and landing as it may have appeared prior to the addition of the service ell. American Architect and Building News, 15 Jan. 1887. RIHS Collection (RHi X3 5305).



Fair housing advocate Irving Fain speaks at the groundbreaking for University Heights, 8 October 1964. Photo courtesy of the Fain family.

Irving Fain and the Fair Housing Movement in Rhode Island, 1958–1970

Joseph Conforti

A popular folk-saying of the post-World War II civil rights movement held that “in the South white people don’t mind how close a Negro gets to them as long as he doesn’t rise too high (economically or socially), while in the North white people don’t mind how high a Negro rises as long as he doesn’t get too close.”¹ During the 1940s and 1950s, the migration of job-seeking black southerners to metropolitan areas intensified the residential segregation of the races in the North. Southerners were quick to seize on what they saw as the hypocrisy of northern civil rights leaders, who attacked racial segregation in the South while seemingly overlooking the racial problem in their own backyard. By the late 1950s, such charges combined with a recognition of the housing needs of a growing black population in the North helped create a national fair housing movement.

By the fall of 1958, more than ten states were at various stages in the process of securing fair-housing legislation. Largely owing to the efforts of Irving J. Fain, Rhode Island was in the forefront of this fair housing movement. Fain brought to the local fair housing movement not only the practical skills and judgment acquired in a successful business career but, more important, deep moral convictions derived from his Jewish faith and experience. By the mid-1960s, Irving Fain and fair housing in the greater Providence area would become virtually synonymous. His efforts comprise an important chapter in the history of the civil rights struggle in Rhode Island.

I

He “had soul long before it was fashionable.” Such was the way Fred W. Friendly, former president of CBS news, summed up the life of his close friend, Irving Fain. Well before he became a “one man urban coalition” in the 1950s and 1960s, Fain displayed flashes of the “soul” that sustained him during the political and personal crises of those tumultuous years.²

The son of immigrants, Fain was born in Providence in 1906. At a young age he learned of the price one paid for being a Jew in early twentieth-century America. He never forgot that his grandparents were attacked by anti-Semitic bullies on the streets of Providence.³ Fain

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1. Quoted in J. Harvie Wilkinson III, *From Brown to Bakke* (New York, 1979), 55.

2. Fred W. Friendly, “A Man Who Had Soul,” Eulogy, Temple Beth-El, Providence, R.I., 24 Aug. 1970, Irving Fain Papers, Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association (hereafter cited as Fain Papers, RIJHA).

3. Irving Jay Fain, “On Not Being Doctrinaire,” Third Annual George Brussel Memorial Lecture, Stephen Wise Free Synagogue, New York, N.Y., 1 May 1964, 13.

4. Members of Fain's family have supplied biographical information. See also the front page obituary-article in the *Providence Sunday Journal*, 23 Aug. 1970.

5. Rabbi William G. Braude, Eulogy, Temple Beth-El, 24 Aug. 1970, Fain Papers, RIJHA. See also Joan Nathan Gerson, "Rhode Island Lost a Great Citizen: Irving Jay Fain," *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes* 8 (Nov. 1981): 374.

graduated *summa cum laude* from Classical High School in 1923, and from Harvard four years later. He attended Harvard when the college was attempting to deal with "the Jewish problem"—the well-publicized and controversial effort to restrict Jewish enrollment and preserve the genteel character of the institution. Fain won an intercollegiate debating contest at Harvard only to be denied his medal for several years because he was a Jew. He never forgot Harvard's anti-Semitism, the genteel face of the crude bigotry that his grandparents had encountered on the streets of Providence.

After graduating from Harvard in 1927, Fain worked briefly in his father's textile business and then joined his brother-in-law, Albert Pilavin, who had started a tire retreading shop in 1924 at Westminster and Dean streets in Providence that eventually grew into Apex Tire and Rubber Company of Pawtucket.⁴ During the depression, however, the family struggled to stay in business; yet, at the end of each year, Fain donated a paycheck to Temple Beth-El, initiating the process of unpublicized giving that he pursued until the end of his life. "Through all the years that followed," Rabbi William Braude of Temple Beth-El recalled, "quiet giving—at times so quiet that the receiver did not know the source of the gift—was to remain the pattern for his beneficence."⁵

Fain volunteered for army service in 1942, served with the quartermaster corp in Britain, North Africa, and Italy, and attained the rank of captain. As a victim of prejudice, he was sensitive to both social and racial discrimination in the army. Displaying the kind of challenge to comfortable social practice that would be the hallmark of his civil rights efforts, Captain Fain invited enlisted men—white and black alike—to the officers club. More important, the racial discrimination he confronted in the army helped fire his passionate commitment to social justice during the postwar decades.

Those years also saw family business interests prosper and expand into plastics, chemicals, clothing, and steel. The various enterprises produced a family fortune and catapulted Fain into a position of leadership in the Rhode Island business community. While he contributed to and shared in the family financial success in the 1950s and 1960s, Fain also achieved a remarkable record of civic involvement and social activism. He served as president of both Temple Beth-El and the Urban League of Rhode Island; he became chairman of the Social Action Committee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which worked among 605 Reformed temples in the United States; he received the 1963 Brotherhood Award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews for his efforts to combat anti-Catholic prejudice during the 1960 presidential election; he helped establish the Brown University-Tougaloo College student exchange program; he provided seed money for George Wiley and the National Welfare Rights Organization; he made countless quiet contributions—particularly toward the college educations of local minority students—for which he left no paper trail. Such an inventory of his philanthropy could fill a charitable catalogue

of several pages and still not exhaust Fain's lifelong personal investment in social justice. "The sum of his personal charity would stagger anybody," a Providence businessman and family friend once remarked.⁶

Yet there was unity underlying the diversity of his philanthropy. A clearheaded, even simple understanding of Judaism informed and inspired his variegated efforts to promote social justice. "When I was a little boy," Fain noted in a lecture delivered at New York's Stephen Wise Free Synagogue in 1964, "my grandmother used to tell me, in Yiddish, that it is '*schwer und bitter zu sein a vid*.' This means it's tough to be a Jew." Fain assumed that his grandmother referred to the anti-Semitism of turn-of-the-century Russia and America. But, as an affluent and accepted business and civic leader in mid-twentieth-century America, Fain saw new meaning in his grandmother's words. It will always be tough to be a Jew, he concluded, because of "the pressure of the moral imperative of Judaism."⁷

Long before affirmative action became a liberal shibboleth, Fain committed himself to the idea that "Judaism teaches the morality of affirmative action to do good, not just negative action to avoid evil."⁸ From the Prophet Micah he drew the inspiration to fulfill the moral imperatives of his Judaism: to speak out and to act against injustice. "The prophets haunted his consciousness," Msgr. Arthur Geoghegan, who worked closely with Fain in the fair housing movement, pointed out. "One always had the impression that he was echoing Isaiah and Hosea in the way he spoke and acted." But it was in the words of Micah that he saw summed the moral imperatives that should make life tough for Jews: "What does the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"⁹ Fain's fair-housing endeavors demonstrate how seriously he took Micah's words and the moral imperatives of Reform Judaism.

The fair-housing campaign began in earnest in 1958, when Citizens United for a Fair Housing Law in Rhode Island was established. The new organization was comprised of 175 business, religious, educational, and community leaders from across the state. Fain, who became the first general chairman of and the chief lobbyist for Citizens United, was the prime mover behind the organization, to the point where he may be considered its founder.¹⁰

Fain's fair-housing initiatives can only be understood in the context of two developments—one national, the other local. First, the civil rights ferment in the South clearly influenced socially conscious northerners like Fain and other members of Citizens United. Indeed, throughout the 1950s and 1960s Fain closely watched the black struggle in the South and kept a file of articles clipped from the *New York Times* and other papers chronicling the turbulent events of those years.¹¹ Fain also made substantial financial contributions to the southern civil rights crusade. On one occasion, for example, he contributed fifty thousand dollars to the Mississippi Bail Fund to win the release of arrested civil rights protesters. On another occasion, he purchased a car for college

6. Quoted in *Providence Sunday Journal*, 23 Aug. 1970, 65.

7. Fain, "On Not Being Doctrinaire," 13.

8. *Ibid.*, 5.

9. Msgr. Arthur Geoghegan, quoted in Gerson, "Irving Jay Fain," 380. See also Rabbi Braude, Eulogy.

10. Citizens United for a Fair Housing Law in Rhode Island, membership lists and miscellaneous documents, Irving Fain Papers, Adams Library, Rhode Island College, Providence, R.I. (hereafter cited as Fain Papers, RIC).

11. See Fain Papers, RIC.

12. Gerson, "Irving Jay Fain," 377.

13. Fain made these and many other comments on the local housing situation in January and February 1959, when he was a guest on WJAR Radio's "World Affairs Program." Tape recordings for these programs are in the Fain Papers, RIC.

14. *Providence Visitor*, 16 April 1959, in *THE PROVIDENCE VISITOR Backs a Fair Housing Bill* (Providence, 1959), 25-26.

15. Rabbi Braude, Eulogy; "Resolution on Discrimination in Housing," approved by the Board of Trustees at Temple Beth-El, 5 Jan. 1959, Fain Papers, RIC.

students who wanted to work on voter registration in Mississippi.¹²

In addition to the civil rights movement in the South a second, local development galvanized Fain and the fair housing movement in Rhode Island: concern over the plight of families residing on Lippitt Hill, a primarily black neighborhood that was designated an urban renewal area whose substandard housing was set for demolition. Where would these displaced black families find adequate housing? Fain and others asked. Providence was a segregated city; Fain pointed out repeatedly that "in six tight little areas of the city of Providence there live 95 percent of the entire nonwhite population of this city." Moreover, the overwhelming majority of Providence's minority citizens lived in substandard housing. Fain feared that urban renewal in the Lippitt Hill area was "just going to clean up one ghetto and create another one, unless the people are accepted throughout the community [and] can be dispersed."¹³

Without fair housing legislation, however, the residents of Lippitt Hill would be unarmed against discrimination, as the case of John Martins demonstrated. Martins, who ran his own rubbish and light trucking business, was one Lippitt Hill resident who could afford to buy a home. Facing displacement, Martins attempted to purchase a home in North Providence and gave the builder a five hundred dollar binder on a house. But the builder received threatening phone calls from neighbors and returned Martins's deposit the next day. Similar difficulties were reported by the Catholic Interracial Council's home-finding committee which was working to relocate families from Lippitt Hill.¹⁴

In the face of disturbing local and national developments, Fain worked diligently in the winter of 1959 to fulfill the mission of Citizens United: to educate legislators and ordinary Rhode Islanders about the importance of fair housing and to drum up support for the organization's bill. In all of his work with the Social Action Committee of Reform Judaism he endeavored to propagate the words and spirit of Micah which would encourage Jews to take the leadership in the quest for social justice. "He loved Jews," Rabbi William Braude observed, "and with all his might he sought to imbue them to do justice, to love mercy and to walk humbly with the Lord their God." Thus Fain was pleased when his own Temple Beth-El endorsed Citizens United's bill. In early January 1959, the Board of Trustees unanimously passed a resolution urging "our congregants to refrain from discriminatory practices in housing, and to help make it possible for non-whites to move into new neighborhoods. We respectfully call upon the legislature to pass by an overwhelming vote legislation for fair housing practices such as is proposed by Citizens United for a Fair Housing Law in Rhode Island."¹⁵

During January and February of 1959 Fain led three discussions of the proposed law on WJAR radio's World Affairs Program. In his comments Fain repeatedly stressed the moral and ethical dimensions of residential segregation. "We want to back up our words with deeds," he pointed

out. "We believe that it is morally wrong to discriminate in housing and we want to say so. We want to put the sanction of law behind our moral positions."¹⁶

Throughout his fair housing efforts Fain saw himself as an educator, dispelling myths about blacks and countering fears about untoward consequences of opening neighborhoods to racial minorities. Thus Citizens United created an education department which supplied information, speakers, and interracial teams to organizations throughout Rhode Island. Fain was confident that these and other efforts would produce a legislative victory, that the legislators would feel "the same moral imperatives" of Citizens United.¹⁷

Fain proved to be overly optimistic; the fair housing bill encountered vigorous opposition both within and outside of the General Assembly. Fain was even subjected to threatening phone calls and hate letters warning of economic retaliation against his businesses and expressing anti-Semitic and anti-black bigotry. An advertisement in the *Providence Journal* went so far as to describe the proposed law as communistic in its implications.¹⁸ Fain's sanguine temperament and abiding confidence in social progress were sorely tested by the collapse of the legislative campaign for fair housing and by the virulent anti-Semitism and racism that it aroused. It was indeed "tough" to be a Jew.

The proposed law was both unique and controversial for the same reason: its comprehensiveness. The bill prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, religion, or country of ancestral origin in the sale or rental of all private and public housing. Of course it would be inaccurate to dismiss all opposition to the bill as racially motivated. Intellectually legitimate questions were raised about private property rights, for instance. Moreover, concern was expressed for the potentially adverse economic impact of the bill on owners who occupied one floor

16. WJAR Radio, "World Affairs Program," 4 Jan. 1959, tape recording, Fain Papers, RIC.

17. Ibid.

18. The Fain Papers, RIC, contain numerous clippings from local newspapers detailing support and opposition to the proposed legislation. This and the following paragraphs are based on an analysis of these clippings. A good summary of the political controversy of 1959 is Rev. Edward Flannery, "Rhode Island Rejects Fair Housing," *St. Joseph Magazine* 60 (Nov. 1959): 4-7.



Irving Fain, far right, at negotiations with representatives of the Department of Housing and Urban Development for construction of University Heights. Among those present is Congressman Fernand J. St. Germain. Photo courtesy of the Fain family.

19. The early legislative history of fair housing is summarized in the editorial "The 'Voluntary' Plan for Fair Housing," *Providence Journal*, 7 April 1961.

20. John R. Kellam to Citizens United for Fair Housing Law in Rhode Island, 7 March 1962, Fain Papers, RIC.

21. Fain, quoted in the *Providence Evening Bulletin*, 12 April 1965, 2.

of two- and three-family houses and who were heavily dependent on rental income from the other apartments.

Supporters and opponents of the bill aired their arguments at three open hearings held by the House Judiciary Committee. In the aftermath of the hearings, the Judiciary Committee began to weaken the bill by amendments, limiting its coverage, for example, to only about 20 percent of housing in Rhode Island. This effort at compromise failed; the amended version proved acceptable neither to Citizens United nor to die-hard opponents of fair housing. The bill died in committee.

But the organization that Fain had played such a critical role in establishing and running during this first fair housing effort remained alive to fight another day. In fact, Fain and Citizens United would have to battle many days to secure fair housing legislation. The General Assembly did not pass a fair housing law until 1965. In the years before Citizens United achieved legislative success, there were sometimes as many as four fair housing bills, providing for various degrees of coverage, in the Assembly.¹⁹ This created both external political difficulties for Citizens United and internal problems as well. In 1962, for example, Citizens United decided to support a bill sponsored by Governor John Notte even though it was estimated that the legislation would cover only 29 percent of all housing units in Rhode Island. Fain, who was no longer serving as general chairman but as a co-chairman, agreed with the strategy of accepting a compromise bill while Citizens United continued to work for more comprehensive legislation. Though a man of deep moral conviction, Fain's idealism was leavened by a practical business sense. His position on the compromise legislation was consistent with the title of a lecture he once delivered, "On Not Being Doctrinaire." Some members of Citizens United, however, viewed the compromise policy as contradictory at best and a triumph of expediency over principle at worst. Fain attempted to mollify the dissenters, urging them to accept half a loaf, rather than no bread at all, while they continued to work to win the whole loaf. In spite of Fain's efforts, a few dissenters resigned from Citizens United in 1962.²⁰

Nor were these individuals content, three years later, when Governor John Chafee signed the approved housing bill into Rhode Island law. The legislation fell short of the comprehensive bill that Citizens United had originally proposed in 1959. Owner-occupied two- and three-family houses, for instance, were exempted from coverage. Still, Fain hailed the legislation. "The moral impact of this bill is tremendously strong," he observed. "It gives us the force of law, the prestige of law. But it is also a demand for the people of this community to work for integration." Thus, Fain saw the new law as "only the beginning" of an ongoing quest for social justice.²¹

Three years later, in the midst of the national grief and anger aroused by the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the General Assembly passed another, stronger fair housing law. Among other changes the legislation repealed the exemptions contained in the 1965 statute.

It had taken nearly ten years from the time Citizens United started its work to achieve the kind of comprehensive legislation that Fain and the organization had sought.²²

In the months before the passage of the 1968 legislation, Fain and other members of Citizens United were already planning the next stage in the fair housing campaign. Fain absorbed most of the costs of a two-day conference held in Providence in early January 1968 to examine ways of addressing housing problems. Consultants from up and down the east coast participated in the conference as did political, business, religious, and community representatives. In the aftermath of the conference, leaders of Citizens United explored the possibility of establishing a nonprofit housing renewal corporation. The formation of CURE—Citizens United Renewal Enterprises—in the spring of 1968 was the result. Fain provided seed money for CURE in the form of a \$112,000 long-term loan.²³ He saw CURE as an extension of still another fair housing initiative which bore the name of his beloved Biblical prophet. Fain furnished some of the financial backing for the Micah Corporation, a nonprofit organization established in 1964 to rehabilitate houses in racially mixed neighborhoods on Providence's East Side. With the Micah Corporation on the verge of bankruptcy by 1968, CURE inherited some of its properties as well as Fain's renewed hope for improving the local housing market for poor whites and blacks.²⁴

II

University Heights and the Hepzibah Realty Company, like the Micah Corporation and CURE, were conceived as complements to the legislative pursuit of open housing. The anti-Semitism that he had experienced personally and the bigotry and misapprehension provoked by the campaign for a fair housing law convinced Fain that community education through practical demonstration was an important element in promoting interracial living. He once summarized the social and educational goals behind his housing experiments.

There is need for affirmative action, especially by volunteers, to prepare white residents to receive new Negro neighbors; for example, to assure the whites that their new Negro neighbors do not have a congenital compulsion to dump garbage on the front lawn; but that neither will they all be as talented as Harry Belafonte, as beautiful as Lena Horne, as important as Ralph Bunche. Conversely, there is need to prepare Negroes who will venture forth from their accustomed ghettos for the first time to live in normal neighborhoods, for example, to assure them that not all of their new white neighbors will fear that their white daughters will fall madly in love with the sons of their new Negro neighbors, nor will they burn crosses on the front lawn; but that also not all of their new white neighbors will invite them in for tea.²⁵

22. See Joel H. Sekeres, "Is the Fair Housing Law Working," *Providence Sunday Journal, Rhode Islander*, 30 March 1969, 7–16.

23. See the report titled "CURE General Information," 12 June 1968, Fain Papers, RIC.

24. John Kenower, "Micah: A Case Study in Housing Rehabilitation through Non-Profit Sponsorship," September 1969, Fain Papers, RIC.

25. Fain, "On Not Being Doctrinaire," 7.

26. See the reprint of a *New York Times* article on Milgram and his work, dated 11 Feb. 1968, in the Fain Papers, RIC.

Moreover, housing experiments like University Heights and Hepzibah answered the Judaic moral injunction to pursue affirmative action to do good, whereas compliance with nondiscrimination laws was simply passive action to avoid evil.

Both University Heights and Hepzibah were inspired by and connected to Planned Communities Incorporated, a national effort to promote interracial housing. Morris Milgram, who grew up on New York's lower East Side and who had started in the construction business after World War II, served as president of Planned Communities. Milgram had long been committed to building and, later, to purchasing apartments, opening them to whites and blacks, and demonstrating that "integration exacts no financial sacrifice from builders and realty investors." Planned Communities was the umbrella organization for Milgram's various interracial housing efforts; and Irving Fain was a member of its board of directors.²⁶ First with University Heights and then with the Hepzibah Realty Company, Fain endeavored to accomplish in Providence what had proved socially and economically successful for Milgram in other parts of the country.

Lippitt Hill offered a natural site for an experiment in interracial housing, especially since the Providence Redevelopment Agency was soliciting development proposals for the area. With financial and planning assistance from Milgram's organization, Fain and other investors prepared a proposal for residential and business development of a thirty-two acre site on Lippitt Hill. The Providence Redevelopment Agency approved the plan for "University Heights" in 1962. In addition to Fain, sixty other individuals from Rhode Island, Planned Communities, Star Market (the major tenant of the complex's shopping center), and several

In 1968, Brown University awarded Irving Fain, far right, an honorary doctorate. Comedian Bob Hope and Phyllis Brown, also recipients of honorary degrees, are photographed here with Fain. Photo courtesy of the Fain family.



educational and civic organizations to whom Fain gave stock were among the founding investors. Ownership was limited to individuals and institutions committed to the social objective behind University Heights: to demonstrate "to Providence and America that people of many backgrounds can live together."²⁷

University Heights represented several "firsts." It was the first housing development in Rhode Island within an urban renewal project area; it was the first new racially integrated private housing development in the state's history; and, according to a report prepared by Planned Communities for the Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development, it was the first private housing complex in the country that "successfully combined racial and economic integration."²⁸ To achieve both racial and economic integration, Fain and the other sponsors of University Heights took advantage of provisions in federal housing law. Buildings with apartments that would charge competitive rent were financed under one Federal Housing Administration (FHA) program that required market interest rates. But other apartments that were intended for low-to-middle income families were financed through another FHA program at well below market interest rates. Each group of buildings was owned by a different corporation headed by Fain.

Work on the six-year project began in October 1964, and the first occupants moved in a little more than a year later. Buildings were laid out in an attractive courtyard manner, and while the market rental apartments were larger than the moderate rental apartments, and also offered "additional amenities," the exteriors were nearly identical. Not only its appearance but its proximity to the Brown University area and to downtown Providence made University Heights an appealing, convenient place to live. It is not surprising, then, that the vacancy rate in the development was low (less than 1 percent in 1967, for example).²⁹

Moreover, from the start University Heights did achieve racial and economic integration, if only on a very modest scale. Tenants represented an occupational spectrum, ranging from doctors and other professionals to blue collar workers and students. Although blacks comprised only 8 percent of Providence's population, they accounted for 13 percent of University Heights occupants by 1967. More extensive economic and racial integration was not achieved by University Heights because even its modest rents were beyond the range of many working class whites and the vast majority of Providence's blacks. In fact, Planned Communities reported that many former black residents of Lippitt Hill had relocated just to the north of University Heights in the Mount Hope neighborhood, and they harbored resentment against the apartment complex because they could not afford its rents.³⁰

Such resentment and the financial inaccessibility of University Heights to most of Providence's blacks undoubtedly helped spur another of Fain's interracial-housing experiments—the Hepzibah Realty Company. Fain launched Hepzibah, a Hebrew word which means "May

27. Morris Milgram and Roger N. Beilenson, "University Heights," in *Racial Integration in Housing*, Report to the Department of Housing and Urban Development, 8 May 1968, 26–27. A copy of this report is in the Fain Papers, RIC.

28. *Ibid.*, 32.

29. *Ibid.*, 30.

30. *Ibid.*, 29–30.

31. "Hepzibah Realty Company," in Milgram and Beilenson, *Racial Integration in Housing*, 40.

32. *Ibid.*, 40-41.

33. *Ibid.*, 41-42.

34. *Ibid.*, 44.

delight in the city be mine," in 1965. The company purchased and rehabilitated two- and three-family homes and some small apartments in stable white neighborhoods in the Providence metropolitan area. In each residence Hepzibah reserved one apartment for a black family.³¹

Hepzibah embodied the goals and ideals that inspired Fain's other fair housing efforts. First, the company sought to make available to blacks good housing in stable neighborhoods at more affordable rents than what University Heights charged. In the process, integration would be introduced to all-white neighborhoods, and, it was hoped, powerful myths about interracial housing would be dispelled. Through Hepzibah Fain strove to show that the arrival of black families in a previously segregated neighborhood did not automatically produce white flight, physical deterioration, and a general lowering of property values. Indeed, Fain wished to prove that whites would become tenants with blacks. Thus Hepzibah was an experiment designed "to encourage homeowners and real estate operators to cease discrimination practices and affirmatively seek to rent and sell to Negro families."³²

Between 1965 and 1966 the company purchased twenty-seven houses; by the spring of 1968 Hepzibah's holdings had risen to fifty dwellings. At first, the company concentrated its efforts on all-white sections of the East Side, in close proximity to Mount Hope where one-fifth of Providence's black population resided. Purchases were then extended into the Broad Street-Elmwood Avenue and the Washington Park-Cranston areas. Some Hepzibah houses were on the fringes of the South Providence black neighborhood, where 40 percent of the city's nonwhite population resided; but many of the company's properties were located at considerable distance from the minority community.³³ Clearly, by upgrading and integrating housing adjacent to South Providence's black community, Fain was attempting to stabilize and reverse neighborhood deterioration and racial segregation in a rapidly emerging ghetto; at the same time the company's purchases in other parts of the city were an effort to introduce integration to middle- and working-class white neighborhoods.

Typically, Hepzibah acquired two- and three-family houses whose purchase and rehabilitation costs were low enough to keep rents attractive. Fain preferred houses where there were vacancies, since integration was the goal. After acquisition, exterior and interior renovations were completed, from replacing roofs, siding and storm windows to wallpaper, plastering, and modernizing kitchens and bathrooms. Alerting nonwhites to the availability of the apartments presented a minor problem. By the time the first Hepzibah houses were ready for rental, the fair housing law for which Fain had labored untiringly prohibited Hepzibah from listing apartments in the newspaper as reserved for members of a particular race. Moreover, as a Planned Communities report noted, "because of a long history of discrimination and segregation, [Providence blacks] do not ordinarily seek apartments through white real estate agents and do not consider white residential areas."³⁴

Understandably, blacks were not quick to take advantage of their rights under the Rhode Island Fair Housing Law of 1965.

In the face of such problems, Fain and the real estate agency that handled Hepzibah's housing transactions worked informally through the black community to apprise people of vacancies in company-owned houses. By mid-1968, ninety-five white families and thirty-five black families lived in the the fifty houses owned by Hepzibah.³⁵ Of course the policy of reserving apartments for members of one race may strike some as both a contradiction of the fair housing movement's ideals as well as a violation of the very law that Fain and Citizens United had worked so hard to achieve. Fain did not see it that way; rather he conceived of Hepzibah's practice of reserving apartments for minorities as an "affirmative integration policy." His company did not evict whites to create vacancies for blacks; as apartments became available it set aside one in each Hepzibah dwelling for a black family. This policy is best understood as the kind of affirmative action to redress past injustices and their present social consequences that has become widely accepted.

As with his other fair housing activities, Fain attempted to ensure that Hepzibah would not be perceived as the work of a paternalistic philanthropist. Both publicly and privately he stressed that Hepzibah was making money, for, as he once stated, he didn't "want to be put in the position of 'do-gooder' or someone that somebody else has to thank." Rather, he was determined to demonstrate that, as a Planned Communities report on Hepzibah stressed, integration in rental housing could be established "*on an economic basis which would be reasonably satisfactory to the ordinary real-estate investor.*"³⁶

Still, Hepzibah—like University Heights and the campaign for a fair housing law—provoked ire and resentment. Opponents dismissed Fain as an egghead, ridiculed him as a "do-gooder" who should have been a social worker, and vilified him as a hypocrite. Why, it was asked, didn't Hepzibah integrate Fain's own Laurel Avenue neighborhood? He silenced some critics but provoked new ones when he purchased a house—at well above market value—on Grotto Avenue to demonstrate his commitment to integrating his own neighborhood. Once again hate mail arrived at his home.³⁷

Fain saw such reactions to his fair housing efforts as an inevitable consequence of challenging long-standing beliefs and social practices. While he strongly supported accepted, "establishment" charities—particularly major Jewish philanthropic efforts—Fain reserved his greatest enthusiasm for endeavors that challenged the establishment and held out the promise of significant social change. Such a perspective united Fain's diverse reform activities, from his fair-housing efforts, through his work creating an exchange between an elite northern white university and a small black Mississippi college, to his financial support of the National Welfare Rights Organization.³⁸ Fain was prepared to accept the emotional "fall out" from neighbors, friends, and even family for his social commitments. After all, it was tough to be a Jew.

35. *Ibid.*, 41.

36. Fain, quoted in the *Providence Sunday Journal*, 23 Aug. 1970, 65; Milgram and Beilenson, *Racial Integration in Housing*, 45.

37. Melvin Zurier to the author, 10 Feb. 1985. Mr. Zurier served as the lawyer for Hepzibah Realty.

38. The Fain Papers, RIC contain detailed information on his numerous civil rights activities.

III

39. Quoted in Gerson, "Irving Jay Fain," 373.
 40. Friendly, "The Man Who Had Soul."
 41. Gerson, "Irving Jay Fain," 379-80.
 42. "Irving Jay Fain," *Providence Journal*, 25 August 1970.
 43. Fain to Robert B. Choate, 24 July 1970, Fain Papers, RIC.

Legislation, University Heights, Micah, and CURE did not exhaust Fain's efforts in support of fair housing in Rhode Island. He had a hand in virtually every attempt in the 1960s to combat residential segregation in the Providence area. Moreover, fair housing constituted only one aspect of his far-ranging, active commitment to equal opportunity in employment and education, both in the urban North and rural South.

He was able to sustain such a broad commitment to social justice by drawing not only on an enormous personal reservoir of good will and determination but on the moral imperatives of his Reform Judaism. "Doing," he once wrote, "is the end toward which believing, praying, learning, teaching and ceremonializing are but the means."³⁹ His faith and determination also sustained him through personal crisis, for while he waged campaigns for a more just society on numerous fronts in the 1960s, he fought a personal battle with Hodgkin's disease. As the malady and medication exacted their toll, he was compelled to reduce his active involvement in the civil rights movement. Confined to his home and barely able to walk, Fain regularly invited fair housing associates to lunch to review progress and discuss strategy. As one who knew Fain well put it, he continued "raising his voice when he could hardly raise his legs."⁴⁰ The illness which announced his mortality only redoubled his interest in promoting change and leaving a legacy of moral achievement.

By the spring of 1970, he realized that his fight against time and social injustice was nearly over. He telephoned all the members of his family and invited them to join him for the Passover seder. Unable to stand or even sit up, he conducted the seder while lying down.⁴¹

Still, Fain's debilitating physical condition did not silence his voice during the last months of his life. Only a few days before his final confinement at Massachusetts General Hospital in the summer of 1970, for example, he held a long telephone conversation on housing for ghetto residents with the editorial staff of the *Providence Journal Bulletin*.⁴² Even confinement in the hospital did not dampen his interest in a new area of concern: malnutrition among Providence school children. In fact, on 24 July he dictated a letter to Robert B. Choate, a nutrition consumer advocate in Washington with whom Fain had been in contact. Choate had just testified before the Senate Sub-committee on Consumer Affairs about the nutritional value of commercial breakfast cereals. In his hospital room, Fain read a *New York Times* account of the testimony and immediately conveyed his excitement as well as a request for copies of the information Choate presented. "[On] behalf of your fellow citizens," Fain told the consumer advocate, "I congratulate you and wish you well."⁴³ Less than a month after dictating these words from his hospital bed, Providence's one-man urban coalition lay dead.

Fain died knowing full well that his fair housing efforts did not change the face of Providence, though they did help erase, improve, and



Fain accepts the 1963 National Conference of Christians and Jews "Man of the Year" award presented by Providence Bishop Russell J. McVinney. Photo courtesy of the Fain family.

prevent some blemishes. If fifteen years after his death racial segregation remains all too common in Rhode Island, it is because its sources have proved so intractable, not because the labors of Fain and others were misguided. Perhaps from the perspective of a far more conservative era, Fain appears too much of a man of the 1960s, who, though often displaying the practicality of a successful businessman, was overly sanguine about his fellow man and about the prospect of interracial progress. A more accurate historical perspective, however, suggests that genuine social progress has been achieved in the last thirty years precisely because of the kind of commitment and vision embodied in individuals like Irving Fain.

ANY GENTLEMAN who may want Private Lodgings, on Application to the Printer hereof, may receive Information where they will be handsomely accommodated.

JOSEPH GARDNER,

OF NEWPORT, RHODE-ISLAND,

ON his Passage from the Island of Jamaica to Rhode-Island, on the 25th Day of October last, took up at Sea, five Bags of Cotton. Whoever claims the same, and proves his Property, may receive them, after paying Salvage.

Just Published,

And to be SOLD by

James Franklin,

At the PRINTING OFFICE,

Poor Richard's Almanack

For the YEAR 1759,

CONTAINING,

BESIDES the usual Calculations, a plain and easy Process for making HARD-SOAP, in which certain unerring Rules are laid down for the Workman to know the Strength of his Lees.—How to make Ashes from green Vegetables far superior to Wood ashes; very advantageous to Soap-makers, who will find one Bushel of Ashes, thus prepared, worth four Bushels of common Wood-ashes, the Dust of the Vegetables being thereby almost formed into Pot-ash.—Some very useful and approved Prescriptions in Farriery; particularly, how to cure a Horse when foundered; of the Polc-Evil, when broke, or not broke; and of the Botts.—How to destroy Moths, Bugs and Fleas, at a very trifling Expence, and without any Inconveniency.—The Advantages of Fortitude.—True Happiness, where to be found.—Man's Dependence on his Creator.—Of Reputation.—The Pride of Science, and Self-sufficiency exposed.—The absurdity of Parsimony and extravagance. How to recover and preserve Health.—A very necessary and interesting Description of Love.—Rules for taking a wife; well worth the Attention of all that would secure Happiness in a married State.—Of Contentment.—Rules for taking a Husband; calculated to promote the Happiness of the Fair Sex.—Of Friendship; shewing the Expediency of Reconciliation with Enemies, and the Danger of despising even the meanest.—A safe and sure Remedy for Convulsions, that so frequently prove fatal to Children in breeding their Teeth.—Of Ridicule.—Of solid Glory; or the Way to become truly Great and Estimable.—An essential Point in Generalship, explained and recommended by one of the greatest Warriors of Antiquity; highly deserving the Perusal of all who are designed for the profession of Arms.—And a Letter of the celebrated Cicero to his Son Marcus, fill'd with noble and just Sentiments.—With wise Sayings, &c. &c. &c.

Where may likewise be had, the

Philadelphia Pocket Almanack,

New-York Pocket Almanack,

AND

Ames' Almanack,

For the Year 1759.

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Boarding School.

ANY Person desirous of sending Children, may be accommodated, and have them instructed in Reading, Writing, Plain Work, Embroidering, Tent Stitch, Samplers, &c. on reasonable Terms.

To be LET by

GEORGE HAZARD

Of NEWPORT, from the 25th Day of March next,

A FARM, with a dwelling House, Outhouses, and Orchard thereon, at Point-Judith, in South Kingstown, Any Person inclining to hire the same, may know the Conditions by applying to said Hazard; who has to sell, at his House, reasonable for Cash or short Credit, Yard-wide Tandems, Irish Holland, 5-4 and 7-8 Garlis, Sheeted Holland Dowlas, Russia Linen, Cotton and Linen Checks, Calicoes, Chints, Cotton Thicksets, superfine Sagathies, Cotton Velvet, Cotton Velvet Shapes, Knit Patterns for Breeches, Ditto Waist coats, Buckrams, Cotton Hollands, Men and Womens Worsted Hosiery, Bollaline sewing Silk, &c.

To be SOLD or LET, by

Col. Job Almy

OF TIVERTON,

A LARGE commodious new dwelling House, well finished, and painted blue; situate at the upper End of Thames Street, near Capt. Joseph Wanton's. A Stable, Garden, and good Well, belonging thereto, with a fine Cellar, and other Conveniences. Whoever inclines to view said House, may apply to Capt. Job Snell, or Mr. Constant Bailey.

To be SOLD by

William Stevens,

At his Store on the Long Wharf, and Shop in Thames Street.

FLOUR of Mustard of three Sorts, equal in Quality, and much Cheaper than by the Bottle. Also Muscovado Sugar, cheap for Cash.

To be SOLD by

Benjamin Willbur,

At the Wharf next Capt. John Brown's on the North Side.

GOOD New-Castle Crown Glass, of all Sizes, by large or small Quantities: Likewise Putty.

To be SOLD by

Mary Tate,

ALL Sorts of Blacksmith's Tools; consisting of Bellows, Sledges, Hammers, Vice, Anvil, &c.

To be SOLD by

Christopher Ellery,

At the Wharf next the Ferry Wharf, on the Point,

BEST LIVERPOOL SALT, at Three Pounds Five Shillings, the single Bushel. Proper Allowance will be made to those who purchase a larger Quantity.

To be SOLD by

Gideon & John Wanton,

CHOICE Saltertuda Salt, at their Store on the Long Wharf. They likewise continue to sell at their Store adjoining the Collector's Office, all Sorts of Dry Goods. As they design for London in the Spring, the Whole will be disposed of very cheap for Cash, or short Credit.

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Rhode Island Miscellany *

Reflections

On Newport in the 1760s **

Elaine Forman Crane

Newport's growth and prosperity were intimately bound up with the expansion and continuation of trade. Some people were connected with the maintenance of the ship itself; others, with the distribution and sale of cargo. Many Rhode Islanders earned their living by supplying produce for export; others became dependent on the importation of raw material which they turned into manufactured goods. In short, commerce created a ripple effect, whereby only a few townspeople were disinterested in the outcome of a voyage.

Seafaring provided employment for 2,200 Rhode Island sailors in 1764 as well as for hundreds of caulkers, carpenters, sailmakers, ropewalk owners, and painters who contributed directly to the operation of the sailing vessels. No less important were the stevedors and team drivers who could be assured of ships to load and unload or merchandise to haul away only if commerce was thriving. Coopers, too, prospered with every hogshead of molasses or rum that needed a barrel. Fishermen and farmers were dependent on the escalating shuttle trade between Newport and the West Indies for their economic well-being. White-collar employees of the merchants such as clerks, scribes, and warehouse overseers had a stake in the success of each ocean-going venture. So did the hundreds of vendors, hucksters, and shopkeepers who advertised in the *Newport Mercury*.

Newport was more than an entrepôt, however, and enterprising townspeople found it lucrative to produce manufactured goods from imported raw materials. Some of these goods were consumed locally; the surplus was exported wherever a demand arose. The rum distillers have been noted in this regard, but the spermaceti candle makers should not be forgotten. If it is true that Newport chandlers made more than one-half the number of candles produced in the English colonies, it is no less true that the vitality of this enterprise was dependent on the sea and the ships carrying the waxy headmatter. At the same time, blacksmiths and ironworkers found merchants eager to buy their wares, as the demand for domestic cast-iron products increased. And by the

* RHODE ISLAND MISCELLANY, premiering this issue, will present brief essays, excerpts, selected quotations, graphics, documents, charts, or graphs that illuminate significant aspects of Rhode Island's history. Contributions and suggestions are welcome.

** Excerpted from *A Dependent People: Newport, Rhode Island in the Revolutionary Era* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985). Reprinted by permission. Elaine Forman Crane is Associate Professor of History and Chairperson of the Department of History at Fordham University.

*Advertisements from the
Newport Mercury or, The Weekly
Advertiser, 19 December 1758.*

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With the freshest ADVICES,

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early 1770s, merchants such as Aaron Lopez were supplying townspeople (primarily women) with thread or fabric which would be returned to the merchant in the form of cloth, garments, and shoes.

Despite its eminence as a port, Newport never became a shipbuilding center because it lacked an immediate source of lumber. Nevertheless, ships from Jamaica brought mahogany, and that elegant wood combined with good New England maple, pine, and cherry allowed the firm of Goddard and Townsend to create desks, chests, and secretaries unparalleled anywhere in the colonies.

Newporters also provided services which were dependent on a flourishing trade. Ships were manned by itinerant sailors whose thirst was quenched by rum in Newport taverns, whose hunger was satisfied at boarding houses, and whose sexual desires were slaked by the prostitutes on Long Wharf.

In a word, the city of Newport depended on the sea. Any interruption of commerce would have sent shock waves throughout the entire community. There would have been no ships to unload, no tea to brew, no rum to distill (or to drink), no wood for the fireplaces, no candles to make, no accounts to copy, no slaves to trade, no broad cloths to tailor, no barrels to build. Even worse, no Rhode Island johnny cakes. By the second third of the eighteenth century, most Newporters relied very heavily on their silent partner—the Atlantic Ocean.

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11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete		
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