

MAP
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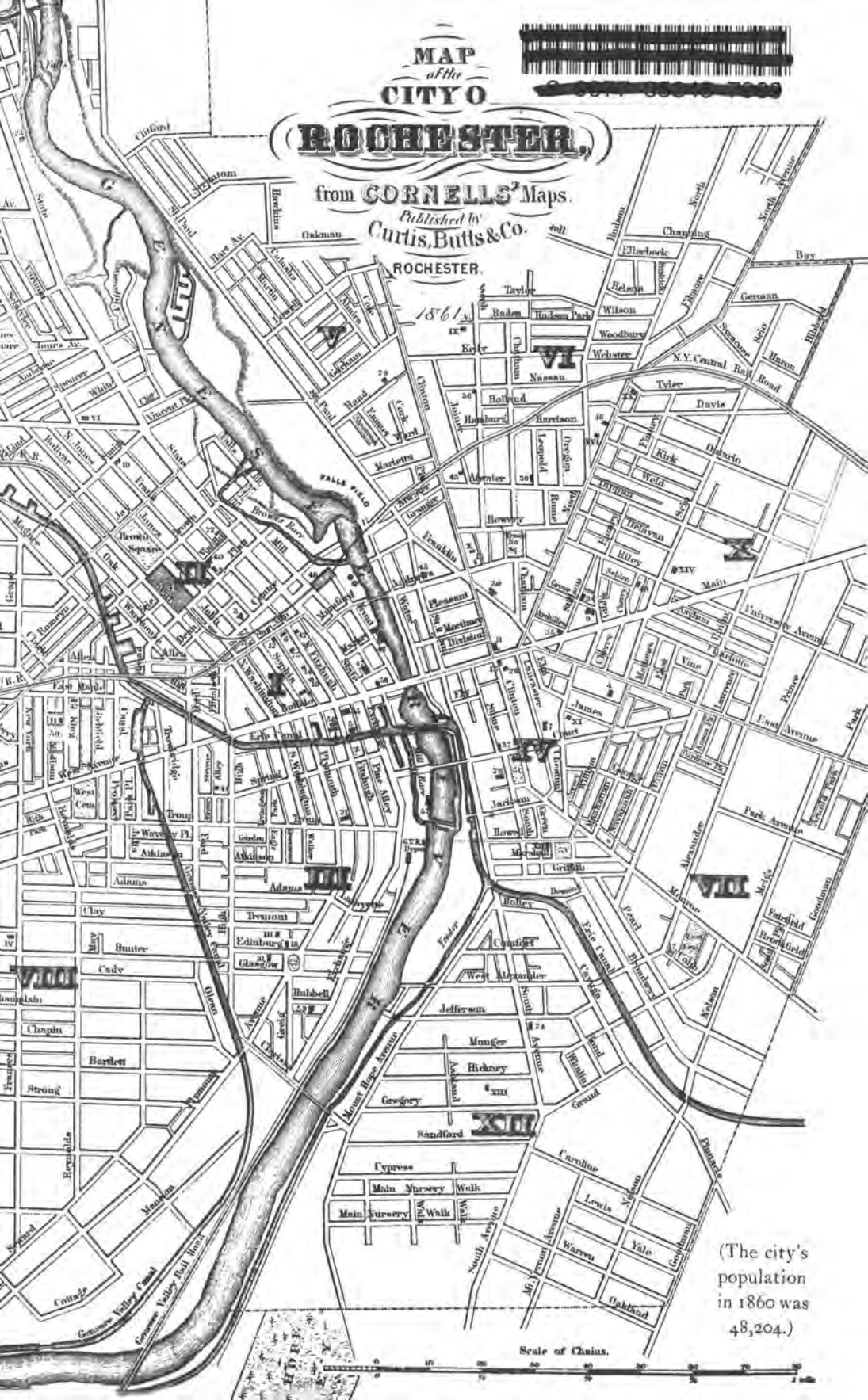
ROCHESTER,

from **CORNELLS' Maps.**

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ROCHESTER.

1861



(The city's
population
in 1860 was
48,204.)

Scale of Chains.

THE
ROCHESTER
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY
PUBLICATION FUND SERIES

Volume XVII



DR. CHESTER DEWEY—OUTSTANDING EDUCATOR
IN ROCHESTER, 1836-1867

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL
SOCIETY • PUBLICATIONS • XVII

Part I—The History of
Education in Rochester

Part II—Selected Articles on
Rochester History

BLAKE MCKELVEY, *Editor*



Compiled under the supervision of DEXTER PERKINS,
City Historian under the authority of the Board of
Trustees of the Rochester Public Library, and *Chair-*
man of the Publication Committee under authority of the
Board of Managers of The Rochester Historical Society

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

Rochester • New York • 1939

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DEDICATED

TO THOSE ASSOCIATED CITIZENS
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WHOSE GRACIOUS GENEROSITY
MADE POSSIBLE THE PUBLICATION
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Preface



ONE of the greatest social movements in the United States in the last hundred and twenty-five years is undoubtedly the development of education. Having its roots in the optimistic philosophy of the eighteenth century and in the faith that man as a rational being needed only to be instructed in order to settle his problems wisely, the American educational system was at the same time inevitably connected with the democratic principle of equality of opportunity and with the natural desire for economic self-betterment. The growth of our educational system has been one of the most far-reaching expressions of the national temper, and to study it is to study a fundamental aspect of American life.

In the history of education in the state of New York Rochester has played an honorable role. It was one of the first cities in the state to enact a general education law. In Chester Dewey, one of those who labored more earnestly in the cause of public education, and whose name ought always to be held up to honor, it possessed a figure of real distinction. Its educational progress in the twentieth century, its willingness to broaden the scope of its educational activities and adjust them to the needs of a new day, will be attested by the narratives which we are here presenting. At the same time the city had an important place in the development of Catholic education.

The background of this history of education has been prepared by Dr. Blake McKelvey, in an article which suggestively ties up the local developments with those in the larger field. Miss A. Laura McGregor, who has already written in the Centennial History on the public schools, contributes a more intensive article, written from the source materials and covering the period from 1813 to 1850. The story of the primary schools, as distinguished from the high schools, is carried forward by Miss Dorothy S. Truesdale, of my office, in what all will agree is a particularly sprightly and interesting account. The Rochester Free Academy,

Rochester's only high school of the period, is ably discussed by Miss Lucile Bowen, teacher of history in Monroe High School. For the great period of educational advance which began with the turn of the century, Rochester's able Superintendent of Schools for a generation, Herbert S. Weet, has contributed his own account. The story of the last twenty-five years has been well discussed by Mr. Stanley V. Levey. Since no history of education in Rochester would be complete without an account of the parochial school system, built up by our Catholic fellow-citizens at so much sacrifice, and so competently administered today, Dr. Aaron Abell of Nazareth College has contributed an article of much interest on this subject. Dr. McKelvey has dealt with the history of the private schools, many of which hold such agreeable and cherished memories for some of our citizens.

The second part of this volume contains a series of articles not related to one another, but all dealing with materials which our readers will value. Miss Jane M. Chappell contributes an article on Some Real Daughters of the American Revolution. Mr. Morley Turpin, of the Rush Rhees Library, and W. De Witt Manning, of the Democrat and Chronicle, throw new light on Orsamus Turner, the early historian of Western New York. Benjamin Quarles has illuminated the relationship of Frederick Douglass, Rochester's most famous negro, to the activities of John Brown of Harper's Ferry. Mr. Isaac Adler, writing from his personal recollection of the City Manager movement and as a friend of the ideal of business government, has set on paper what is undoubtedly the best historical discussion of this important phase of Rochester's development. Leroy E. Snyder, in a vitally significant discussion, places in proper perspective the developments of the last twenty-odd years in Rochester.

We have thus, in this second volume under my direction, a panorama of one important phase of Rochester's history, and a series of important contributions to each of several periods in its history. With the hope that it will prove as interesting to the members of our Society as it has to those who have been concerned in its preparation, it is hereby committed to our readers.

DEXTER PERKINS

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Rochester, New York

1939

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EDITOR'S NOTE: Judge Lansing Angle was elected President April 10, 1891, and died May 4, 1891. Rev. Augustus Hopkins Strong, D.D., was elected to fill the vacancy. Charles H. Wiltsie died May 9, 1935, and Edward R. Foreman was Acting President until January 29, 1936, at which time John Arthur Jennings was elected President. Edward R. Foreman, First Vice-President, died February 22, 1936.

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Part I

THE HISTORY OF
EDUCATION IN ROCHESTER

BLAKE MCKELVEY, *Editor*

On The Educational Frontier

By BLAKE MCKELVEY



THE settlement of the Genesee Country began during the latter part of the Age of Reason, just a century and a half ago. The "rational man" was then sovereign and appeared to require only land and schooling in order to safeguard his natural endowments—liberty and equality. In widely separated corners of Europe and America Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, the Reverend Andrew Bell, Joseph Lancaster, Thomas Jefferson, and other venturesome spirits were struggling to develop suitable educational techniques.¹ Already in 1784 the first New York legislature had created the Board of Regents, thus initiating a policy of state interest in higher education.

A realization of the value of schools was widespread, and the pioneers to the Genesee shared that opinion. At first they saw their needs in this field to be both modest and practical, scarcely exceeding the scope of the three R's, but their prompt erection of log schoolhouses kept them in step with the rank and file in the movement. Later, when some of the more pressing problems of the frontier had been dealt with and the canal had been opened, a few ventures were made at educational pioneering, only to give place quickly to another long period of faithful but indifferent schooling. A determined bid for educational leadership was not to be made until early in the twentieth century.

The scanty records that have come down from the earliest frontier schools reveal institutions that were neither strictly public or private, nor clearly primary or secondary in character. Frequently in the second or third year of a new settlement the neighbors voluntarily gathered to raise the first log school. In some instances the incentive was supplied by the appearance of a wandering teacher; in other cases the official

¹E. P. Cubberley, *The History of Education* (New York, 1920), pp. 525, 539-45, 620-30.

organization of a new township, the gift of a site by some landed proprietor, or the arrival of a large family of children was sufficient to prompt the call for a school raising. Once established, these early log schools received little real supervision from the community, and any achievements they attained may fairly be credited to the frontier pedagogues who kept them. Young men, possibly boasting a year or two at Yale or Union, and an occasional parson's daughter—these school masters and marms followed migratory careers until more attractive possibilities opened in other callings. There was little stability among the schools until their support and supervision was taken over by the public authorities.

By slow stages the state on the one hand and urban communities on the other began to organize both the elementary and the higher schools into more effective systems. At Governor Clinton's suggestion, the legislature, in 1795, authorized the formation of common schools and provided for the distribution among them of £20,000 during each of the five succeeding years. Stimulated by this subsidy, the townships appointed school commissioners and opened some 1,500 schools throughout the state. But, of the total fund, only £300 were apportioned to Ontario County, then comprising the entire western part of the state. Even this paltry assistance was discontinued after 1800.²

The real establishment of the district school system took place under the law of 1812. That act created a state superintendent of common schools and directed each township to appoint three school trustees empowered to divide the town into school districts, each of which was to be responsible for providing, equipping, and heating a schoolroom and employing a teacher. Under this law, state funds, averaging about \$20 a year for each district, were made available to assist in defraying the teachers' salaries, but the chief costs were to be assessed on the parents of the school children—the so-called rate-bill system.³ A more efficient organization of these schools on a free basis was gradually achieved in several urban centers during the forties and throughout the

²T. E. Finegan, *Free Schools* (15th Annual Report of the N. Y. Educational Department, Albany, 1919) 11, 25-27.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 34-51.

state during the next two decades. Meanwhile, facilities for higher education, supplied at first by private initiative, were gradually taken under the supervision of the Regents. The public school systems established high schools after the middle of the century, but did not become generally dominant in this field until near its end.

GENESEE FRONTIER SCHOOLS

The evolution of the district school can be followed in the developments on the Genesee frontier prior to the settlement of Rochester. It is difficult to sift the various claims to priority among the earliest schools,⁴ but whether the honor goes to Mrs. Christopher Dugan, sister of Ebenezer Allan for a shadowy school at Hartford (Avon) in 1789/90,⁵ to Thomas Hunn for a school at Bristol in 1790,⁶ or to the Reverend Mr. Ross for an "academy" at Canandaigua in the spring of 1791,⁷ it is clear that it was the teacher and not the community which organized the first school. Log school buildings were quickly supplied, as when the thirty heads of families at Canandaigua in 1792 gathered to raise a cabin for the school taught by Major Wallis that winter.⁸ This westernmost educational outpost was soon supplemented by log schools erected at Lima⁹ and East Bloomfield¹⁰ between 1792 and 94, and at Northfield (Pittsford) in 1794.¹¹ Other settlements followed this example more or less promptly after their establishment.

⁴Although the several chapels founded by the Jesuits in this region more than a century before cannot be classed as schools in the traditional sense, it is interesting to recall them in this connection. See A. M. Stewart, "An Early House of Worship in Monroe County," Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, xiv, 75-82.

⁵Junior Pioneer Association of Rochester, "Records of the Committee on Historical Collection," MS. (completed by J. M. Hatch on April 1, 1861), p. 119.

⁶W. H. McIntosh, *History of Ontario County* (Philadelphia, 1876), p. 34.

⁷*Documentary History of New York*, II, 562.

⁸McIntosh, *Ontario County*, pp. 34, 109.

⁹Lockwood R. Doty, *History of Genesee County* (Chicago, 1925), pp. 947-50.

¹⁰McIntosh, *Ontario County*, pp. 34, 207.

¹¹W. H. McIntosh, *History of Monroe County* (Philadelphia, 1877), I, 234.

The reminiscences of James Sperry, describing the earliest East Bloomfield school, as recorded by Orsamus Turner some fifty years later, reveal something of the spirit and character of those early schools:¹²

When our family arrived in March, 1794, there was a school in the northeast corner of the town, near the residences of the Adams and Nortons, kept by Laura Adams. Four of the oldest of our family entered the school as soon as we arrived. Heman Norton and Lot Rue, who afterward "went through college," were members of this school. The next spring a seven by ten log school house was built about one and a half miles southwest of the centre, where a school was kept by Lovisa Post, who afterward married William H. Bush, and removed to Batavia. . . . My eldest brother and myself attended this school in the winter, walking two and a half miles through the snow across the openings; not with "old shoes and clouted" on our feet, but with rags tied on them to go and come in, taking them off in school hours. The young men and boys, the young women and girls, for three miles around, attended this school. . . .

In the fall of '97, a young man with a pack on his back, came into the neighborhood of Gunn, Goss, King, Lamberton and the Bronsons, two miles east of the southwest school, and one mile north of my father's, and introduced himself as a school teacher from the land of steady habits; proposing that they form a new district, and (that) he would keep their school. The proposition was accepted, and all turned out late in the season, the young man volunteering his assistance, and built another log school house in which he kept a school in the winter of '97 and '98, and the ensuing winter. The school was as full both winters as the house could hold. . . . That teacher finally settled in Bloomfield, and was afterward many years a Justice of the Peace; for

¹²Orsamus Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase* (Rochester, 1854), pp. 192-93.

one term, member of the legislature; for one term, a member of Congress; now known as General Micah Brooks, of Brook's Grove, Livingston.

Each of these early efforts was locally inspired, but the influence of the state was evident at the second meeting of the town of Northampton. When the townsmen from the scattered forest homes of the entire area west of the Genesee River met in Peter Shaeffer's house near present Scottsville in 1798, they chose Shaeffer "Superintendent of Schooles," entrusting him with the \$97 received from the state for that and the previous year.¹³ How it was expended is not evident, for the reports of these early school commissioners were not recorded by the town clerks. Only in passing do contemporary documents mention these pioneer schools, as when Charles Williamson in 1796 writes to a friend of a survey that revealed in the eight-mile district around Bath a total of 800 souls, two schools, one grist mill, and five saw mills.¹⁴

The first schoolhouse erected within the present Monroe County was a log structure that stood on a hill a mile south of the present village of Pittsford. Israel and Simon Stone had given three acres on the top of that hill to the town of Northfield for public purposes. The townsmen, scattered over all the present county east of the river, marked out a cemetery and raised their first schoolhouse on that land in 1794. Costs of operation were met by the sale of school shares to each family in proportion to the number of scholars it provided. That log house served the town for public and religious meetings as well as for school purposes until 1806, when it was replaced by a frame structure. The site still serves the living and the dead, in keeping with the original arrangement.¹⁵

The Monroe County territory was slow to attract settlers, and most of the pioneer communities round about had already opened schools¹⁶ before the next two were erected here

¹³Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, VII, 328-29.

¹⁴*Documentary History of New York*, II, 660.

¹⁵McIntosh, *Monroe County*, I, 234; Turner, *Phelps and Gorham's Purchase*, p. 528.

¹⁶The policy adopted by the landed proprietors encouraged this speedy

in 1802 by the pioneers at Tryon City and Braddocks Bay. Oliver Culver later recalled the school tended by young Mr. Turner at the former place, near Irondequoit Landing,¹⁷ but the log structure at Braddocks Bay soon burned to the ground.¹⁸ Late that year Welcome Garfield made use of an old log blockhouse at Mendon for school purposes;¹⁹ and the following spring found the Scottish settlers in Wheatland erecting their first school house at McVean Corners on Oatka Creek.²⁰ Before Nathaniel Rochester had divided his hundred-acre plot into town lots in 1811, at least seventeen schoolhouses had been erected and were in more or less active operation in the tiny hamlets that dotted the territory of the present Monroe County.²¹ It was certainly a curious circumstance of the trend of settlement that none of these schools should have stood within the limits of the present city.

A mastery of the three R's was doubtless the main objective of all of these schools, but occasional teachers went beyond these limits. James Sperry later recalled that two of his fellow students under General Micah Brooks studied surveying, while he himself was there astounded to learn that the earth was a sphere, revolved around the sun, and was in other respects not as simple as it had appeared to his youthful eyes.²² The contrasting educational possibilities of these schools were never more sharply illustrated than on the morning of June 16, 1806, when a deep gloom slowly settled over western New York, prompting some of the

development of schools. Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 237, 341; Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, v, 258-59.

¹⁷Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, 1, 123.

¹⁸Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

¹⁹McIntosh, *Monroe County*, 1, 260.

²⁰Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, v, 259; Geo. E. Slocum, *Wheatland* (Scottsville, 1908), p. 54.

²¹McIntosh, *Monroe County*, pp. 210-260. In addition to those mentioned were: Pittsford, No. II, Penfield, Ogden and Parma Center in 1804, Rush, Fort Hill, and Pittsford No. IV in 1805; Chili, Riga, Henrietta, Parma Corners, and Gates by 1811.

²²Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-93. Sperry reports that this theory of the shape of the earth was not generally accepted by his elders, whose fathers' experience in crossing the ocean had not shattered older folk beliefs.

teachers in the forest-bound schoolhouses to send their charges scurrying to their homes for safety, while Elam Crane led his scholars out into the open where they could enjoy a clear view of the eclipse and receive an unforgettable astronomy lesson.²³

Canandaigua, the leading village of the whole Genesee Country, was the natural location for the first attempt to provide facilities for higher education in this region. A select boarding school for misses was opened there by Mrs. Whalley in 1804, offering in addition to the three R's, grammar, geography, and sewing, all for \$2 a quarter. A military academy was opened in the courthouse at about the same time, and in 1810 a brick school was erected in the village by a group of men led by James D. Bemis, the pioneer printer.²⁴ But overshadowing these and all other educational institutions in the Genesee Country was Canandaigua Academy. A site and a landed endowment of 6,000 acres had been set aside by Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham in 1791 for an academy whose purpose was "to promote in the minds of the youth . . . an ardent attachment to the rational liberty and the just rights of man, and also . . . to raise up humble merit, depressed by poverty, to a condition of extensive usefulness to the community."²⁵ In 1799 Charles Williamson wrote to a friend describing the progress made in the academy's building program with the aid of a \$30,000 subscription.²⁶ The first two stories were soon completed and scholars admitted. A grammar school department was organized in 1804, and in spite of scanty records it is evident that the institution prospered, for a third story was added in 1813. Thus the village of Canandaigua had become a cultural center before Rochester's settlement began.²⁷

²³McIntosh, *Ontario County*, p. 34.

²⁴McIntosh, *Ontario County*, pp. 34, 109.

²⁵Deed of January 1, 1799 signed by Oliver Phelps, confirming the earlier grant and defining the purpose of the academy.

²⁶*Documentary History of New York*, II, 661.

²⁷"A History of the Canandaigua Academy," *The Academian* (March, 1916), pp. 12-14.

ROCHESTER'S EDUCATIONAL SPRINGTIME

Educational beginnings at Genesee Falls followed very closely after the pattern of developments already familiar in the Genesee Country. But new influences began to appear shortly after Rochesterville was incorporated in 1817, and before the first city charter was acquired in 1834 some positive steps had been taken towards the provision of educational facilities more suitable to a thriving industrial town. In this development the school interests of many of the people ran far ahead of the civic will to supply them; after two futile attempts to induce the public authorities to assume larger responsibilities, private schools and academies pressed forward to carry the major school load. It was not until the forties and fifties that the civic authorities began to catch up with the popular desire for a more adequate education for all.

Like pioneers elsewhere, the first schools of Rochester did not leave carefully documented records. Years later conflicting claims were to be advanced in behalf of different teachers.²⁸ But the letters of Hamlet Scrantom to his father, written during those early years, establish the fact that, while the first school district was organized in December, 1813, the first schoolhouse was not erected until the summer of 1814.²⁹ However, two of the Scrantom boys had attended a school during the previous winter, thus lending support to the oft-repeated claim that the first school was started in 1813 by Miss Huldah M. Strong, who had settled here early that year. These accounts locate it at one time in Enos Stone's barn on the east side of the river, and again in a room over Jehiel Barnard's tailor shop on the west side, but authorities differ as to which was the earlier location.³⁰ Whether it continued after the schoolhouse was opened in

²⁸*Rochester Democrat*, April 11, 1895; W. F. Peck, *The History of Rochester and Monroe County* (New York, 1908), 1, 237; "The Pioneers of Rochester," MS. p. 91; Edwin Scrantom, "Old Citizens Letters," Scrap Book, p. 144.

²⁹Hamlet Scrantom to his father, December 2, 1813, February 19, 1814, January 24, 1815, Samson's Note Book, MS. Vol. IX, 189, 200, 208.

³⁰See note 28, above.

1814 is likewise uncertain, but at least the Scrantom children transferred to the "public" school. According to most accounts Aaron Skinner was the first teacher at the schoolhouse. Moses King, as a lad one of the few survivors of the unfortunate settlement twenty years before at Hanford's Landing, returned in 1815 or 1816 to teach for a brief period either at this school, or, as is sometimes claimed, in Captain Brown's mill office on Platt Street, the center of Frankfort, northern rival of the One-Hundred-Acre Tract settlement.³¹

Enough of the story of this first district school can be pieced together to provide a summary of its character. A frame building, eighteen by twenty-four feet in size, was erected under the authority of the district school law, and was for a time known as Gates District School No. 2. The legal forms of establishing such schools had not as yet been generally accepted, and Scrantom, one of the trustees, was served with two supreme court writs by persons who feared the invasion of their liberties.³² The validity of the action was sustained, and the building was erected as planned on land donated by Colonel Rochester, the proprietor of the village. The site was later to support the present Education Building, across Fitzhugh Street from the Court House in downtown Rochester, but at that time it was only a newly cleared patch on the edge of the forest, and Silas O. Smith harvested a crop of wheat from between the stumps that summer before the builders arrived.³³ The simple building they erected was provided with a fireplace at one end, a door at the other, and an inclined shelf extending around the walls to serve as a desk for the pupils. The children sat on long benches facing the wall until called upon by the teacher to recite their lessons.³⁴

The support of the school introduced the first real difficulty. The scheme of "boarding around" as a means of

³¹Letter from Moses King, dated June 23, 1876, to the Old Schoolboys of Rochester, *Rochester Democrat*, March 22, 1908.

³²Scrantom to his father, January 24, 1815, *loc. cit.*

³³Turner, *Phelps and Gorham Purchase*, p. 582

³⁴S. A. Ellis, "A Brief History of the Public Schools of the City of Rochester," *Publications of the Rochester Historical Society*, (1892), pp. 71-72.

paying the teacher did not fit readily into village customs, and payments in kind, such as firewood, seemed likewise inappropriate.³⁶ The application of the rate bill placed this burden on the parents with children of school age, and some with large families were unable to bear their proportionate share. The situation was met in part when the eight bachelors then residing in the village subscribed to the school charges of as many needy children.³⁶ Thus the community avoided the check to its growth, which discrimination might have brought, and received an early hint of the fact that a community with urban aspirations would have to provide free education for all.

The growth of the settlement was held within modest bounds until peace with England and Canada brought an influx of settlers. It is interesting to measure this hesitant settlement along the river against the yardstick of the older communities scattered round about. In 1814 the towns of Gates and Brighton, jointly including all the area of the present city and generous additions on both sides, numbered only 638 and 673 "souls" respectively, while the other twelve towns within the limits of present Monroe County averaged 958 persons each. Gates and Brighton received \$101.26 as their combined share of the school fund that year.³⁷ It is probable that Gates District No. 2 got some of this to assist in the education of the children among the 331 residents counted at Genesee Falls in December, 1815.³⁸ The rapid increase in numbers that soon followed, not only prompted the incorporation of Rochesterville in 1817, but led to the erection of a school on Mill and Platt streets, soon known as Gates District No. 10, and another on North Clinton and Mortimer streets, east of the river, as Brighton District No. 4. Moses King was among the teachers of the former, and Lyman Cobb taught for several years in the latter before departing for the east where he gained a large

³⁶J. S. Minard, *Recollections of the Log School House Period* (Cuba, N. Y., 1905), pp. 1-18, 27-32.

³⁶Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, 1x, 236.

³⁷Monroe County Board of Supervisors, *Proceedings* (1821-22), p. 16.

³⁸Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, x, 262.

reputation as the author of popular spellers and other school-books for children.³⁹

The influx of settlers brought with it a varied assortment of venturesome teachers.⁴⁰ The private schools they opened in the home of some patron or in the upper rooms of a shop occasionally matured into influential institutions, but most of them disappeared quietly amidst the bustle of the rapidly growing community. None of those founded during the first ten years of the growth of the village outlived the twenties, but meanwhile they provided much of the elementary and the only secondary education locally available.

Late in 1818 or early the next spring the pioneer Female Academy was opened on then fashionable Mill Street, now Exchange. Miss Maria Allyn was the founder and sole instructor, and the girls under her charge gave such a creditable account of themselves at their quarterly public examinations that she found a ready patronage for several years.⁴¹ Apparently better times had arrived for many of the villagers, enabling them to pay the fees of five dollars each term. Thus in 1820 Hamlet Scrantom, with his boys apprenticed to various local tradesmen, not only decided not to keep boarders that summer, but was able to send Hannah and Jane to the Academy.⁴² No longer was it necessary to send a promising daughter to an eastern academy, as Dr. Levi Ward, Jr. of Bergen had done in the case of Esther Maria a few years before.⁴³

It is doubtful whether Miss Allyn's academy merited such a designation, but facilities for the higher instruction of

³⁹Peck, *Centennial History of Rochester*, pp. 298-300; Lyman Cobb, *Cobb's New Juvenile Reader No. III* (Rochester, 1843).

⁴⁰Mary B. Allen King, *Looking Backward* (New York, 1870). These memoirs relate the experiences of such a pioneer.

⁴¹Peck, *Centennial History of Rochester*, pp. 299-300; *Rochester Telegraph*, March 30, August 10, 1819, August 29, 1820, April 2, 1822.

⁴²H. Scrantom to his father, July 8, 1820, *loc. cit.*; Nathaniel Rochester's receipt for \$5 paid for Cornelia, one term under Maria Allyn, August 4, 1819. MS.

⁴³Esther Maria Ward to her mother, August 3, 1815, E. M. W. Chapin, "Diaries and Letters" MS. p. 8. Her description of Mrs. Lydia Bull Royse's school in Hartford, Conn. is elaborated upon by another person and included in the back of this diary.

young men were offered in the fall of 1820. The editor of the *Telegraph* welcomed the school of Mr. Forman as one offering "the higher branches of education," adding that "the want of a school of this description has long been felt in this neighborhood."⁴⁴ An advertisement announced courses in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, English, philosophy, astronomy, arithmetic, and geography, as well as reading and writing. Terms ranged from two to four dollars a quarter, depending on the subjects chosen.⁴⁵ Two additional teachers, Messers. P. P. Fairchild and Thomas A. Filer, were associated with this school, possibly instructing in the more elementary subjects. Unfortunately there is no evidence that the local demand for classical and foreign languages was sufficient to support this early venture, for nothing further is heard of Mr. Forman. However, Fairchild and Filer continued to offer instruction here for several years, although they soon shifted into the more promising field of select schools for girls.⁴⁶ Apparently the demand of the tradesmen for clerks and apprentices still attracted the older boys of the village into those more practical educational channels.

Many friends of education were beginning to realize that the welfare of the community called for better schools able to offer some advanced instruction and equipped to extend the rudiments to all children. The wide acclaim given to Joseph Lancaster was noted in Rochesterville, and the advantages offered by his monitorial schools were carefully considered. The New York Free School Society was applying this technique for large-scale instruction with success and at considerable economy.⁴⁷ A joint meeting of the trustees of Gates Districts 2 and 10 and Brighton No. 4 called for a public meeting to consider the formation of a Lancasterian School Society in Rochesterville. A bill was drafted to in-

⁴⁴*Rochester Telegraph*, August 8, 1820, p. 2.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, December 5, 1820; April 23, May 21, 1822; December 23, 1823. Filer is listed as a teacher as late as 1827 in the first village Directory. Cornelia and Louisa Rochester attended this school in 1821 and 1822, paying \$3.00 for tuition each quarter and 50c for wood for the season. N. Rochester receipt. MS.

⁴⁷E. P. Cubberley, *The History of Education* (New York, 1920), pp. 624-27, 259-65.

corporate such a Society with full authority vested in its trustees to administer the public school funds of the three districts in the village and to establish such monitorial schools as the needs of the community required. No report has come to light of the discussions in the public gathering at Ensworth's tavern the last of October, 1820, but it is apparent that sentiment was favorable, provided district school funds could be made available for such a project. Nathaniel Rochester endeavored to persuade the state legislature to grant this authority, but as that body was willing to grant nothing more than a charter for a Lancasterian School, the bill was dropped before its third reading.⁴⁸

But the cause of higher education was not to be so easily defeated in a town whose population had increased fivefold in as many years. Solomon Stevens, a graduate of Middlebury College, selected Rochesterville for the location of a grammar school in 1821,⁴⁹ just a year before the settlers dropped the *ville* from the name of their town. John Mulligan arrived two years later and advertised his offer of academical instruction at five dollars for twelve-week periods.⁵⁰ Silas Cornell came during the same year, equipped with a pair of globes and a complete set of maps of the world.⁵¹ In 1825 the Reverend Comfort Williams offered to give young ladies and gentlemen college-preparatory lessons in his home.⁵² Writing academies for adults ran frequent advertisements,⁵³ as did evening schools ready to accommodate busy mechanics and tradesmen with lessons in fencing, the use of the rifle,⁵⁴ surveying,⁵⁵ architecture,⁵⁶ music and dancing.⁵⁷

⁴⁸*Rochester Telegraph*, September 26, October 31, 1820: "Records of School District Number 2—Town of Gates" MS. p. 4. "Draft of a bill to Incorporate a Lancasterian School" MS. no date appears in or on the bill, but internal evidence dates it at this period. N. Rochester to A. Reynolds, January 24, February 7, 1821. Rochester MSS.

⁴⁹*Rochester Telegraph*, August 7, 1821.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, April 22, 1823.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, November 11, 1823.

⁵²*Ibid.*, March 8, 1825.

⁵³*Ibid.*, April 2, 1822, December 23, 1823.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, January 20, 1824.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, December 14, 1819.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, November 23, 1824.

⁵⁷*Monroe Republican*, October 4, 1825.

The failure of most of these private schools to continue beyond a few months was not due to the lack of children of school age, but to the inability of the majority to pay the required fees.⁵⁸ The continued influx of settlers and the arrival of the families of the canal builders had increased the number of children unable to pay even the modest rates demanded at the district schools. To meet this situation several of the young matrons of the village joined early in 1821 to open a charity school in which they proposed to take turn about as instructor.⁵⁹ The success of the school during the first year was so encouraging that the ladies gathered at the home of Mrs. Everard Peck in the following February and organized the Female Charitable Society to carry on the school and to undertake other services for the amelioration of the conditions of the poor of the community. The school was soon placed in charge of regular teachers and moved to North Washington Street where it continued to attract its fifty or sixty indigent children each season until, years later, the free public school system was ready to assume these functions.⁶⁰

Meanwhile several of the religious organizations had reversed their earlier relation to the school buildings by erecting handsome edifices and welcoming small private schools to their rooms.⁶¹ Sabbath schools also appeared in large numbers, and in 1822 the Rochester Sunday School Union was formed to provide an effective organization for the extension of this work. Bibles and tracts were distributed in large numbers, but, especially during the early years before each denomination established its independent schools, much

⁵⁸Peck, *Centennial History of Rochester*, pp. 300-314. George S. Riley, author of the chapter on Rochester Schools, lists many school teachers as active here between 1818 and 1830 but the names of at least a score of them do not appear in any of the *Directories*. Most of them were young ladies whose energies were no doubt soon diverted into the home. Only a few names reappear as school teachers in successive *Directories*; most persistent were Thomas Filer, Zeenas Freeman, Mrs. Darrow and Mrs. Emily Hotchkiss.

⁵⁹Esther Maria Ward Chapin, "Diaries and Letters," MS. pp. 118 ff.

⁶⁰Amy H. Croughton, "The Rochester Female Charitable Society," Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, 1x, 68-69.

⁶¹*Rochester Telegraph*, June 28, 1825.

of the time in the union Sunday schools was devoted to the primary task of teaching poor children how to read.⁶²

THE AGE OF ACADEMIES: 1825-1850

The publication of the first directory marked a turning point in Rochester's history. The quickening influence of the canal had been felt long enough to convince the last doubter that the town's growth was just beginning. Everard Peck's "Rochester in 1827," published in his *Directory of the Village of Rochester*, summarized past accomplishments and pointed the road ahead. In references to education the emphasis was on the road ahead:⁶³

There is yet no institution of learning enjoying a publick and organized patronage. There is no edifice built for science—no retreat for the muses—no academick grove yet planted. The occupation of the citizens hitherto in their secular affairs, accounts for this; but this rather increases than diminishes the necessity.

The time was ripe for action in the interests of higher education. Throughout the state academies were being founded and chartered under the Regents of the University. Rules had already been elaborated to distinguish between the new academies and the older grammar schools, irrespective of the names they assumed. Distinctions were being drawn between the elementary and the advanced students in the academies, and state funds were being distributed by the Regents in proportion to the number in the latter category.⁶⁴ The pioneer academy in Canandaigua received \$161.29 from this source in 1827. Newly founded Monroe

⁶²Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, XII, 262-263; Reynolds Scrap Book, No. 136, pp. 60-61. The Mt. Hor Sunday School, in the school of that name on the southern outskirts of the city from 1823 on, was a typical union Sunday school. O'Reilly, *Rochester*, p. 291, shows that, by 1836, twenty separate church schools had been organized, boasting a total of 593 teachers and 2,978 pupils attending during that year.

⁶³*Directory of the Village of Rochester* (1827), p. 137.

⁶⁴G. F. Miller, *The Academy System in the State of New York* (N. Y. Department of Education, Report for 1918, Albany, 1922), II, 90-95.

Academy in Henrietta, a few miles south of Rochester, received \$403.22 to assist in the instruction of its fifty academic scholars who comprised nearly half of the student body.⁶⁵ Wheatland Academy, founded at Scottsville in 1824 by the Rev. John Mulligan, was still thriving under Joseph A. Eastman.⁶⁶ When plans for a Penfield High School were balked in 1827, a short lived academy was established there. Rochester sent academic students to each of these smaller villages, and it seemed imperative therefore that a fitting academy should be established here.

A second attempt to arouse the public authorities to action brought results. The trustees of Brighton School Districts 4 and 14, representing the portions of the town lying east of the river, determined to establish the first Rochester High School. A special charter⁶⁷ was secured in 1827, authorizing the erection of a union school equipped to give advanced courses and to apply the monitorial system. A lot containing 1¼ acres, situated on the east side and including the present site of the Unitarian Church, was purchased from Enos Stone and a contract was let for a stone building of three stories, 80 by 50 feet in size, to cost \$5,000. That sum was raised by taxes on the two school districts, aided by outside contributions. But when the building was completed and properly furnished with a bell and other accessories, the cost was found to have reached \$7,500. Thus an embarrassing debt was created to plague the trustees of New York State's pioneer attempt to join two school districts behind the support of a high school.⁶⁸

In the face of these difficulties Prof. S. D. Moore opened the school with forty scholars in August, 1828, and attracted an enrollment of 200 by the close of the quarter. Tuition charges ranged between \$1 and \$5 per quarter, and yet the attendance grew to an average of 300 for the second term.⁶⁹

⁶⁵Regents of the University, *Annual Report*, 1827 (Albany, 1828).

⁶⁶Slocum, *Wheatland*, p. 59.

⁶⁷*N. Y. Laws of 1827*, Ch. 70.

⁶⁸*Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, February 2, 1830; W. J. Gifford, *Historical Development of the New York State High School System* (N. Y. Ed. Dept. Report for 1919, Albany, 1922), II, 101-103.

⁶⁹*Rochester Observer*, February 27, 1829, p. 35.

By the close of the first full year the High School was able to report a larger total number of students than any of the 54 other academies reporting to the Regents. But most of the enrollment was in the elementary division, representing a swollen district school conducted on the monitorial system. The 37 academy students placed the school twenty-second among the academies in enrollment and secured it only \$240.89 from the Regents. The advance of the lower pupils increased the number of academy scholars to 64 in 1830, raising the school to a rank of tenth among the academies and earning a subsidy of \$303 from the Regents. However, when the tuition receipts and the funds received from the two districts were added, the total income barely reached \$2,000. This was insufficient to meet the expenses which included the salaries of five teachers; and Professor Moore retired, leaving F. Benedict to continue the school on a restricted budget.⁷⁰ Unfortunately a petition for a loan of \$2,500 was rejected by the Regents, and when the residents of the districts blocked an additional tax of \$3,000 to meet the debt, the trustees were forced to close the school.⁷¹

Educational leaders in Western New York faced several crucial issues in the early 1830's. Would they go forward under public or private auspices? What was to be their attitude towards religion? Would they continue the monitorial system? Were classical or practical subjects the more important? Was a boarding academy or a day school more likely to succeed? And, finally, which of the rival institutions already in operation would prosper? It was impossible to decide these issues singly, for each impinged on the others.

The only decision which was made with finality at this time was the rejection of the monitorial system. That highly regimented device had the advantages of caring for large numbers of students at small expense under few teachers. But of these advantages only the possibility of economy was important on the frontier where the number of pupils was limited and the number of competing teachers at least

⁷⁰Regents, *Reports*, 1829 and 1830, see tables; King, *Looking Backward*, pp. 119-127.

⁷¹*Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, January 11, February 4, 26, 1830; Dr. Levi Ward, Jr., "The Old School House," MS.

seemed large. Monroe Academy began to abandon the monitorial system in 1828-29 when many of its primary scholars advanced into the academic division where that system did not conveniently function. In Rochester, the system went down with the ill-fated High School.

The religious issue before the schools was that of a secular society which was slowly learning to bend the knee at the altar rail. The relatively free-thinking days were passing before the tempestuous revivals which considerably dominated the intellectual atmosphere of Western New York for the next half-century. Pious teachers, such as Mary B. Allen at Monroe Academy in 1828,⁷² could not permit a clause in the academy's charter to restrain their efforts in behalf of the souls of their scholars. Many teachers with a fervent zeal for saving souls, like Miss Allen, did not fit perfectly into academies of a public or semi-public character. However they had little difficulty in finding loyal religious friends ready to support private schools for them, where young ladies could safely be trusted to the care of properly inspired teachers. These schools could hardly be classed as parochial, but strong religious convictions and denominational loyalties helped to foster them.

In the choice between classical languages and practical subjects the decision was pretty generally in favor of the latter. The lists of the subjects offered by the various academies, as recorded in the *Regents' Reports*, grew steadily in length during these years. Thus, to the nine academic subjects offered by the Rochester High School in 1829, five were added the next year, and the reorganized Rochester Seminary in 1833 listed these and nine others, including bookkeeping, teaching, and Evidences of Christianity. Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were not listed.

An even more definite indication of the emphasis on the practical value of education was the succession of special schools that made a particular appeal to the artisans and tradesmen of the growing town. It is noteworthy that Canandaigua Academy and those of other quiet villages offered a much more conservative selection of courses, mak-

⁷²King, *Looking Backward*, pp. 104-115.

ing a single concession to the practical by including surveying among a half dozen other academic courses.⁷³ The functional utility of an agricultural school was urged in the villages, but when General Rawson Harmon opened such a school in Wheatland in 1846 there was little support. An attempt to move it to the Ellwanger and Barry Nurseries in 1847 ended its career.⁷⁴ The academies in Rochester were more successful in providing opportunities for students to round out their educations in a broad way, or to specialize in preparation for varied occupations. The schools drifted from the field of secondary or college preparatory work, and some even ventured to call themselves collegiate institutes.

The choice between public and private initiative in the academic field went by default to the latter. Private boarding academies were the only possibility in sparsely settled village communities. But the financial assistance and guidance proffered by the state under the Regents was of great value to these academies, enabling many of them to continue operations for several decades in the Genesee Country.⁷⁵ Even in Rochester, in spite of the activity there of the Friends of Education,⁷⁶ the taxpayers, after their brief experience between 1828 and 1831, refused to shoulder the burden until the tide of urban democracy finally carried the day in the mid-fifties. Meanwhile, opportunities for an enlarged enrollment made the city academies more characteristically day schools than boarding seminaries.

A sharp struggle for patronage occurred between rival academy teachers in Rochester during the early thirties.

⁷³Regents Report, 1829, p. 8; *ibid.*, 1830, p. 7; *ibid.*, 1833, p. 12.

⁷⁴*Rochester Daily Democrat*, March 20, 1834; Scottsville Literary Society, *Publications*, No. 6, pp. 7-8; Slocum, *Wheatland*, p. 60.

⁷⁵A few of these, with inclusive dates from the first registration with the Regents, were the Canandaigua Academy, 1796-1896; Ontario Female Academy, 1828-1875; Monroe Academy, 1827-1870; East Bloomfield Academy, 1840-1875; Genesee Wesleyan Seminary, 1836-; Brockport Collegiate Institute (later Normal School), 1842-; Le Roy Female Seminary (Ingram Collegiate Institute, etc.), 1841-; Clarkson Academy, 1835-56; Riga Academy, 1846-1857; Avon Academy, 1836-1844; Mendon Academy, 1836-1848; Wheatland Agricultural School, 1846-1847.

⁷⁶*Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, January 1, March 18, 1830; *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, December 23, 1830, January 11, February 18, November 4, 1831.

The Rochester Academical School, started in the fall of 1828 by Zenas Freeman, a former teacher of a select school and locally known as "The Apostle of Sunday Schools," was soon renamed the Rochester Academy and attracted an average of 167 students during 1829. But the popularity of the Rochester High School prompted Freeman and his wife to reorganize as the Rochester Female Seminary, a venture which soon disappeared.⁷⁷ Meanwhile the High School had also drawn away the students of Wheatland Academy in Scottsville and many from Monroe Academy in Henrietta, forcing the closure of the former and a temporary suspension of the latter in 1830. Miss Mary B. Allen moved to Pittsford to open a private school for girls,⁷⁸ while Prof. D. B. Crane came to Rochester and installed a boy's academy in the old Episcopal Church building on Buffalo Street. Declamation days in Crane's "Lecturing School," as in many of the schools of the day, gave the pupils an opportunity to emulate the skill of their master in rehearsing old orations or declaiming new ones.⁷⁹

The Finney revival of 1830 prompted the creation of another and quite novel school, the Rochester Institute of Practical Education.⁸⁰ It was opened by Gilbert Morgan in May, 1831, for poor boys desiring to prepare for the ministry. Fifty young men were soon housed in a building at the east end of Buffalo Bridge, and equipment for the manufacture of flour barrels was installed to enable the boys to pay their expenses. Apparently the theological emphasis did not last, for Professor Oatman, a science teacher, took over the school that fall. The day's schedule was carefully divided into study, recitation, and work periods, each boy devoting ten hours to his subjects and three to labor in the shops. The work was organized into three shifts in order to facilitate a

⁷⁷*Rochester Telegraph*, September 29, 1828; *Rochester Observer*, March 27, 1829; *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, November 25, 1829; *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, November 23, 1830.

⁷⁸King, *Looking Backward*, pp. 116-17.

⁷⁹*Rochester Republican*, November 23, 1830; *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, March 19, November 3, 1831; Letter of Dyer W. Fitch to Charles B. Hill, June 27, 1876. Autograph Letter Folder.

⁸⁰*Rochester Republican*, July 26, 1831.

continuous use of the limited equipment. A bill to incorporate this Institute for "free" education was pushed through the legislature, but a decline in the price of barrels destroyed the margin of profit. Professor Oatman attempted to eke out his own expenses by offering a course of public lectures, but the school was soon forced to close its doors.⁸¹

Early in 1832 the Rev. Gilbert Morgan provided the necessary leadership in establishing a school with broader objectives, the Rochester Seminary of General Education. The old High School building was rented from the district school trustees for operation as a private academy,⁸² apparently undertaking to instruct the young children of the two districts in return for the use of the building, which the district trustees maintained in repair. Professor Oatman joined forces bringing the remainder of his students into the new school, and Miss Mary B. Allen came in from Pittsford to become the head of the female department. Soon a staff of able teachers was assembled, and by September, 138 academy students and 100 district school children were in regular attendance.⁸³

Thus the Rochester Seminary, which for some reason was still listed by the Regents as the Rochester High School, got off to a flying start and continued for two decades to render eminent service. Its pedagogy, revealing the influence of Pestalozzi,⁸⁴ was said to be "founded on the philosophy of the human mind, and should produce a due development in the most natural order of all the mental faculties. Facts are to be observed, collected, analyzed and classed; the relations of the various branches of knowledge should be traced, and conclusions of the most general nature should be made. From this method results [Reverend Morgan asserted] minute discrimination, enlarged views, and facilities of applying

⁸¹*Rochester Republican*, September 6, 1831; *Anti-Masonic Enquirer*, August 30, 1831, April 3, May 8, 1832; *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, November 17, 18, 1831.

⁸²Dr. Levi Ward, Jr., MS.

⁸³*Rochester Daily Advertiser*, May 3, 12, 1832; *Anti-Masonic Enquirer*, September 4, 1832; Rochester Seminary, *Catalogue of Officers & Students* (April, 1833), p. 4.

⁸⁴Cubberley, *History of Education*, p. 541.

knowledge to its practical use."⁸⁵ To this end an elaborate schedule of courses was drawn up. The session was opened every morning in the assembly room with a short Bible reading and prayer, and the academy scholars frequently gathered there again at the close of the day for a general lecture.

Reasonable tuition charges, ranging from \$2 to \$4 per quarter, attracted a large student body. Board and accommodations for out-of-town scholars were made available in the homes of the faculty members at from \$1.25 to \$2.00 per week. In 1833 the enrollment reached 325, and the Regents accredited the Seminary with 185 academy scholars, more than any other academy in the state, and contributed \$466 to aid in their instruction. Tuition fees raised the total income to \$3,226, but the trustees found it impossible to meet all the expenses, including salaries which ranged as high as \$700 a year.⁸⁶ Generous praise greeted the Seminary after the public examination of its scholars each quarter, but appeals for a larger support met with disappointment. The tuition fees had to be raised slightly, thus causing a drop in attendance and income during 1834.⁸⁷

One reason for the Seminary's difficulties was the renewed competition of rival schools. Monroe Academy had been successfully revived by Oliver Baker, a Yale graduate, assisted by William Cracker who later continued the institution in a modest way for many years.⁸⁸ Canandaigua Academy had, in 1828, entered a period of stable growth under Henry Howe's leadership; a new building was erected there in 1833, and for several decades five or more teachers directed the activities of upwards of 60 academy and 100 elementary pupils each year. This achievement was matched by the Ontario Female Seminary in the same village, an institution

⁸⁵*Rochester Daily Advertiser*, May 3, 12, 1832; *Anti-Masonic Enquirer*, September 4, 1832; Rochester Seminary, *Catalogue of Officers & Students* (April, 1833), p. 4.

⁸⁶*Regents Report*, 1833; *Rochester Directory* (1834), pp. 7, 8.

⁸⁷*Rochester Daily Advertiser*, April 2, 10, December 25, 1833; *Anti-Masonic Enquirer*, December 24, 1833; *Regents Report*, 1834.

⁸⁸*Rochester Republican*, November 23, 1830; May 15, 1832; *Rochester Daily Democrat*, August 19, 1839; *Regents Reports* for these years.

which had been chartered in 1825 and had attained leading rank among female academies in the Genesee Country by 1828, enrolling many Rochester girls. Middlebury Academy, Livingston County High School, and Palmyra High School probably attracted fewer pupils from the city, but they at least checked the outflow from their own neighborhoods.⁸⁹

A more serious threat to the Rochester Seminary came from the teachers it was forced to drop in 1834. Daniel Marsh, the Seminary's former mathematics instructor, opened an independent classical and mathematical school,⁹⁰ while Professor Crane, formerly at Monroe Academy, reduced the charges at his school on Buffalo Street.⁹¹ But these and other local rivals were short lived, and proposals for a Manual Labor School⁹² and an Agricultural School⁹³ came to naught. The one effect was to emphasize the growing interest in practical and scientific subjects, prompting a reorganization of the Seminary staff in 1836 and the appointment of Dr. Chester Dewey as the new principal.

The only effective local competition met by the Seminary for some years after the mid-thirties was that of the several female schools which developed a sturdy activity at this time. Realization that the education of women in cultural pursuits had been woefully neglected in Rochester found early expression⁹⁴ after the departure of Miss Allyn. For some reason the female department at the Seminary, although under the able direction of Miss Mary B. Allen, did not provide the atmosphere desired by the young lady of fashion.⁹⁵ One or two select schools had already added such advanced subjects as Natural and Moral Philosophy.⁹⁶ But the first fully qualified teachers to establish a female seminary were the Misses Black, two English Canadians who

⁸⁹*The Academian*, March, 1916, pp. 14-15; *Regents Reports* for these years.

⁹⁰*Rochester Daily Democrat*, January 6, August 31, 1835.

⁹¹*Rochester Daily Advertiser*, January 4, 1830, May 12, 1832, May 9, 1833.

⁹²*Anti-Masonic Enquirer*, May 8, 1832; *Rochester Observer*, May 16, 1832.

⁹³*Genesee Farmer*, December 8, 15, 22, 1832.

⁹⁴*Rochester Daily Advertiser*, June 18, 1828; *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, January 14, 1829.

⁹⁵King, *Looking Backward*, pp. 127-44.

⁹⁶*Rochester Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1829; July 16, 1830.

arrived early in 1832 with recommendations from Miss Emma Willard, head of the Troy Female Seminary. Miss Sarah T. Seward soon followed, also from Troy, and a creditable classical and arts school was developed on the west side, first in the old United States Hotel and later on Spring Street.⁹⁷ The elder Miss Black was shortly called away by marriage, leaving the school in charge of Miss Seward. That able lady and her brother, encouraged by the success of the Seminary, erected a spacious building in a rural setting on Alexander Street on the eastern edge of the city. The plan to accept only boarding students was abandoned and Seward Seminary became the first of a long list of Rochester seminaries that transformed both resident and day girls into polite and refined young ladies.⁹⁸

Before the new building was ready in Alexander Street a second female seminary had been organized, possibly in order to retain the influence of an academy atmosphere for the elite third ward. A building, erected in 1835 on South Fitzhugh Street, was secluded by the canal from the bustle of the city, a status Rochester had attained the year previous. Miss Julia Jones, the first principal, opened the Rochester Female Seminary, as it was at first called, in May, 1836. A year later it was incorporated as a stock company taking the name the Rochester Female Academy. The Misses Araminta and Alice Doolittle joined the staff that year, and in 1839 the former became principal, a position which she filled with dignity and charm for nearly eighteen years.⁹⁹

The two seminaries normally accepted girls between the ages of 12 and 16 but frequently opened classes for younger pupils. They both registered with the Regents at the end of the decade and for several years received state aid in proportion to the number of their academy scholars. Seward Seminary catered more to boarding students, charging \$140

⁹⁷*Rochester Daily Advertiser*, April 11, 1832, February 20, March 19, 1833.

⁹⁸*Rochester Daily Democrat*, March 27, 1834, October 23, 1835, September 26, 1839.

⁹⁹Jane H. Nichols, *Rochester Female Academy, A Historical Sketch, 1837-1912* (Rochester), pp. 6-12; *Rochester Republican*, February 13, 1838.

a year for the regular course, including board and tuition.¹⁰⁰ The Female Academy took but few boarders and asked from \$4 to \$8 for a quarter's tuition in the various divisions. Even these differences began to disappear after several years as both schools drew most of their girls from the homes of the growing city. The schedule of subjects was likewise very similar. Both offered a selection of such leisure arts as music and painting in their varied elements, but charged extra for these special lessons.

The regular course was divided into four grades or classes, but within these limits each individual was to a certain extent given individual instruction. The class records of the Academy listed the names of the books each girl was studying and the number of months she was to devote to one volume or another. The entries included many of the outstanding texts of that and the previous generation. Thus in 1839 Miss Mary Buell, age twelve, studied Blake's *Natural Philosophy* for three months, the first and second volumes of Pierce's *Universal History* for six months, *Watts on the Mind* for nine months, as well as six months of French. The next year she continued her French, gave three months to Smith's *Arithmetic*, and six months to each of Smellies' *Philosophy*, Burritt's *Astronomy*, Newman's *Rhetoric* and the third and fourth volumes of Pierce's *History*. The next year was devoted to Davis' *Algebra*, Arnott's *Physics*, Lincoln's *Botany*, Robbins' *Universal History*, and some more French. This characteristic list was varied in each instance, sometimes including Wayland's *Moral Philosophy*, Paley's *Theology*, Kane's *Elementary Christianity*, Alexander's *Evidences of Christianity*, Bigelow's *Technology*, Goodrich's *United States History*, among others.¹ There is no hint as to whether individual preference or the supply of the different books determined the schedule, but Alice Hopkins, in recalling, years later, that she did not have a regularly prescribed course, added that she believed there was one.² The titles of

¹⁰⁰Rochester Daily Democrat, October 23, 1835.

¹Rochester Female Academy, Class Books, 1837-40, 1841-42, MS.

²Alice L. Hopkins, *A Reminiscence of Miss A. D. Doolittle and the Rochester Female Academy* (Rochester), p. 5.

many of these volumes are misleading. An examination of the volume on *Natural Philosophy* or *Watts on the Mind* reveals a quaint approach to nature and ethical logic respectively, a mental fare then considered appropriate for minds of twelve year's growth.

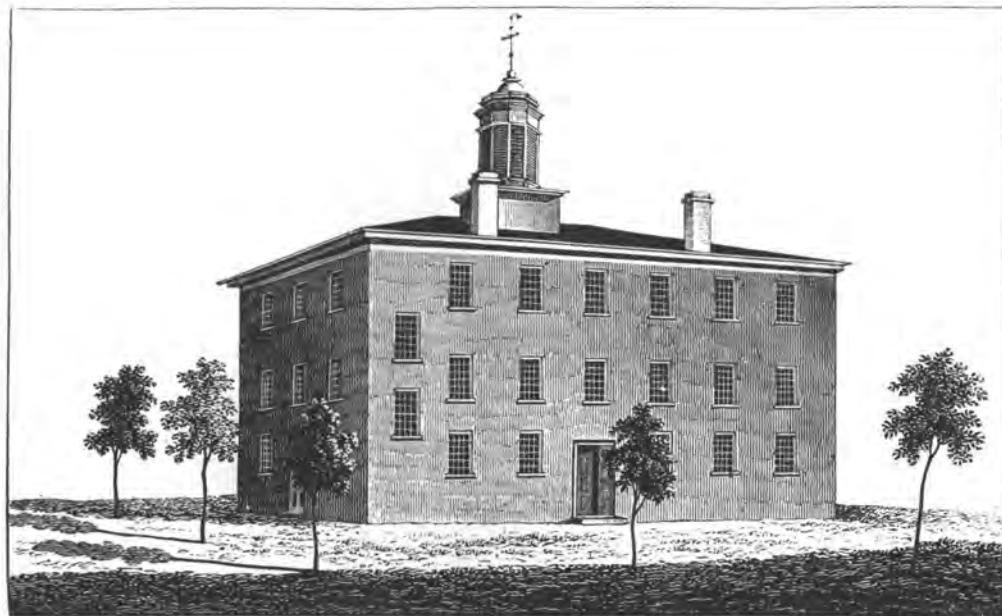
An ethical if not a religious orientation was characteristic of much of the instruction of this period. But another striking feature was the spell which the dominating personality of the leading masters and mistresses cast over their pupils. Possibly this factor was most evident in the seminaries where the girls were bred in the likeness of Miss Doolittle, Miss Seward, or Miss Allen. Thus the diminutive Araminta Doolittle was noted for a charming poise which contributed a becoming grace to the rules of etiquette which she drilled into her girls.³ They emerged with a polished self-restraint, always to be recognizable as Miss Doolittle's girls.

Meanwhile a different tradition was developing at the Rochester Seminary. Professor Dewey's interest in the sciences was injecting a new vitality into the educational program. Equipment for a chemistry laboratory and apparatus for use in the natural philosophy course were installed in 1838 at an expense of \$800.⁴ Experience indicated the desirability of conducting the chemistry demonstrations during the last period of the day so that escaping odors would not disrupt the other classes. New equipment was added from time to time, and in 1848 Dewey was pleased to announce that the biology department's double microscope had been greatly improved by the addition of a specially prepared eyeglass. His own lectures, accompanied by demonstrations and repeated from time to time in the several public halls of the city, were providing stimulation to the entire community. His theory that the best education was to be acquired through analysis and demonstration rather than by dull memory work was in line with the most advanced pedagogy of this day.⁵ The long-cherished memories of the "bright instructive talks of the old Professor," held

³Hopkins, *A Reminiscence of Miss Doolittle*, passim.

⁴*Rochester Daily Democrat*, February 25, 1839.

⁵*Regents Report*, 1848, pp. 168-69; *ibid.*, 1849, pp. 164-67.



THE FIRST ROCHESTER "HIGH SCHOOL," 1827, REORGANIZED AS THE ROCHESTER SEMINARY IN 1832, BECAME THE ROCHESTER COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE, 1839-1851

by his many students, were the best proofs of his great educational influence.⁶

The Rochester Seminary was completely reorganized during these years. The old ties with the school districts had crowded the elementary department in 1837 with 634 such pupils, attending for varied periods, with great inconvenience to the higher classes.⁷ A petition for complete separation from the districts was finally granted, and in 1839 the Seminary was reorganized as a stock company under the Regents, taking as its new name the Rochester Collegiate Institute.⁸ A small juvenile department was still maintained, charging \$2.50 per term as compared with \$6.00 in the academic department.⁹ But Professor Dewey did not wish to lose the advantage of close association with the public schools, and in 1842 he offered to give four months free tuition to one indigent pupil nominated by the trustees from each school district.¹⁰

Dewey was no more interested in competing with the female seminaries than with the district schools. After the departure of Mary B. Allen from the Seminary in 1837, the girls' department had suffered a decline, and after several struggling years Dewey decided in 1841 to close his female department entirely.¹¹ On the other hand, occasional attempts to establish competing boys' academies met with little success,¹² for the Collegiate Institute was fully gratifying its friends. One observer detected a modern spirit in its instruction when the youthful orators at examination time chose to speak portions of speeches by Adams, Clay, Webster, and other contemporary figures, in place of Demosthenes, Cicero, Burke, and those popular in his own youth.¹³ Indeed

⁶Letter of James S. Bush to William Congdon, June 10, 1884, Autographed Letter Folder.

⁷Gifford, *History of N. Y. High Schools*, p. 103.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 101-2; *Rochester Daily Democrat*, May 1, 1839.

⁹*Rochester Daily Democrat*, February 25, 1839.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, April 11, 1842.

¹¹*Ibid.*, May 22, 1841; King, *Looking Backward*, pp. 143, 168-78; St. Paul Street Female Seminary, *Catalogue*. 1841.

¹²*Rochester Daily Democrat*, August 19, 1839. John D. Ford's Academy is not heard of again after this advertisement.

¹³*Rochester Daily Democrat*, April 22, 1845.

the Collegiate Institute maintained its position as the intellectual center of the thriving city until the opening of Rochester University in 1850 called Dewey to a professorship on the new faculty. Shortly thereafter a fire reduced the old High School building to which the Seminary and the Institute had succeeded. The agitation for a public high school was thus considerably strengthened, and, the movement was finally carried to success in 1856.

Most academies reached the height of their popularity and influence during the forties. Ambitious youths of that generation looked forward to a few years at an academy as the necessary prelude to business or professional careers. Thriving communities recognized the propriety of gracing their environs with academic groves. For brief periods Avon, Mendon, Riga, Clarkson, Wheatland, and other small communities around Rochester boasted academies that hoped to rival those more securely established in Henrietta, Brockport, and Rochester within the county, and Canandaigua, Lima, East Bloomfield, and LeRoy on its borders.¹⁴ In 1845 the state census found 432 scholars in the academies of the county as compared with 1,422 in private and select schools and 14,849 in common district schools. Only 30 students from the entire county were reported to be enrolled in colleges. Eight other counties in the state reported more children of school age, and nine had more sons in college, but only five counties had as many academy scholars as Monroe had at that time.¹⁵

Among the minor academies, Clover Street Seminary attracts special attention. It was to become for a time one of the prominent mixed academies of the state, but it had a very modest origin. It was started because Isaac Moore, a farmer on the eastern outskirts of Rochester, desired a better education for his children than the neighboring district school afforded. After his efforts to improve the district school were balked by local desires for economy, Moore turned to his sister-in-law, Miss Celestia A. Bloss, and

¹⁴See above, note 75.

¹⁵New York *Census*, 1845 (Albany, 1846), No. 27-1, and Recapitulation, Nos. 1 and 2.

invited her to put the training she had acquired in other schools to use in his home for the benefit of his children. She arrived in 1838 or 1839, and soon a few neighboring children were added to the class in order to provide a more lively group. Growing numbers called for extra room, and a white frame building was erected back of the garden. Distant friends began to send their sons and daughters, and additional boarding accommodations had to be provided in a new brick building. A Rochester delegation regularly drove up in an omnibus on Monday mornings, returning on Friday afternoons by the same means or by a canal packet. The Auburn Railroad brought scholars from eastern towns each Monday and carried them back every Friday. The week-end family was usually quite small for even the scholars from distant cities made frequent visits to the homes of their new chums.¹⁶

Clover Street Seminary not only grew out of the needs of ambitious farmers and the enthusiasm of their widening circle of friends, but it likewise sprang from native talents. Miss Bloss had been educated, first at Monroe Academy and later at the old Rochester High School; she had gained experience as an instructor in Miss Atkinson's select school and under Mary B. Allen at the Rochester Seminary. She was the author of *Bloss' Ancient History*,¹⁷ and that subject became the school's specialty, attracting a visit from Horace Mann. Chronological charts, geography singing lessons, and games of "date leaves" were characteristic educational devices. Literary efforts that met approval were copied as manuscript numbers of "The Casket," "The Critic," and other student papers. After her marriage to Isaac W. Brewster in 1849, Celestia Brewster continued the school until her early death in 1855, when it was carried on for a short time by other members of the staff.

Meanwhile two late arrivals among the academies of the region around Rochester were rapidly gaining prominence. These were the Methodist supported Genesee Wesleyan

¹⁶Joseph B. Bloss, "A Full History of the School," *The Post-Express*, February 10, 1894; *Rochester Daily Democrat*, April 11, 1840; Isaac W. Brewster, Autograph Letter Folder, MS.

¹⁷(Rochester, 1847).

Seminary at Lima and the Collegiate Institute soon to be renamed the Normal School at Brockport. The former, although located in a neighboring county, attracted many students from Rochester, particularly in the mid-forties and fifties when its student body reached a maximum of slightly over one thousand pupils.¹⁸ Brockport Collegiate Institute was opened in 1842 in a ten-year-old building erected but never used as a college by the Baptists of the area. There were many similarities between this institution and the Collegiate Institute in Rochester, but it was fitting that the latter should give place to a public high school, while that in the village of Brockport should become the leading State Normal School of this area.¹⁹

Canandaigua Academy continued in a thriving condition throughout this period,²⁰ but it was the several female seminaries of the area that enjoyed the largest patronage. Ontario Female Seminary, with over 200 academy girls and 12 teachers in 1850, was rivalled in this respect only by the Le Roy Female Seminary.²¹ The Seward Female Seminary and the Rochester Female Academy each boasted upwards of 100 girls although less than that number qualified as academy scholars.²²

Indeed the distinction between some of these incorporated academies and the more advanced private schools was in some cases one of charter only. Mary B. Allen, whether because of, or in spite of fervent religious interests, certainly maintained schools that ranked with the academies. Her St. Paul Street Seminary, established during 1839 in Dr. Levi Ward's old home, soon attracted so many girls that she was forced to look for a larger building. Finding none in Rochester at the time, she moved scholars and equipment by canal

¹⁸*A Memorial Volume of the Seventy Fifth Anniversary of Genesee Wesleyan Seminary* (Lima, 1908), pp. 5-15.

¹⁹State Normal School, *Semicentennial* (Brockport, 1917), pp. 22-26.

²⁰Canandaigua Academy, *Catalogues* 1846, 1851.

²¹*Regents Report*, 1850; Caroline C. Richards, *Village Life in America* (New York, 1913), pp. 37-104. This delightful diary kept by Caroline from 1852 through the war is especially valuable for its picture of life in the Ontario Female Seminary in Canandaigua for several years after 1855.

²²*Regents, Report*, 1850; *Rochester Daily Democrat*, March 7, 1850.

packet to Syracuse in 1844 where she continued for a brief period. After her departure, J. M. Scribner opened a female academy in the St. Paul Street Seminary home. Probably the mathematical standards of this author of *Scribner's Log Book* were too high, for his name soon disappeared from local records.²³ But when Miss Allen returned in 1847 she found many friends ready to welcome and aid in the reestablishment of her school, this time on Allen Street. The Allen Female Seminary soon had upward of 100 scholars and was to continue in a thriving state until the mid-sixties, long after Miss Allen's blindness had removed her from its active control.²⁴ Meanwhile Mrs. Elizabeth Atkinson's select school had in 1841 grown into the Atkinson Female Seminary on Canal Street. Sickness in the family retarded its early growth so that only 35 girls were enrolled in 1844, but a subsequent removal to Sophia Street brought renewed prosperity during the few years²⁵ remaining before her marriage to the Reverend Charles Finney in the late forties.

By the mid-century the age of the academies was nearing its close. This was notably the case in Rochester where all of the academies soon severed their relations with the Regents, either disappearing entirely or continuing as private select seminaries, independent of outside supervision. Other academies in the area, continued as denominational centers, as teacher-training institutes, or developed into the small colleges of a later period. But many were to give way to advanced public schools, such as the high school or Free Academy in Rochester and the union school in Scottsville.²⁶

THE SMALLER PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Any account of the private schools of Rochester during the middle years which attempted to give their names and dates would be at best incomplete. Scores of such schools were organized from time to time only to disappear after short careers without leaving permanent records. None of

²³(Buffalo, 1846); Rochester *Directory* (1844).

²⁴King, *Looking Backward*, pp. 171-178.

²⁵Rochester *Directories* (1844), (1847).

²⁶Rochester *Daily Democrat*, April 10, 1847.

the maiden school mistresses of whom we know indirectly inserted their names in the early directories, and it is hard to determine whether some of the schools that advertised in the local press ever actually conducted classes. Some of the press notices are announcements of the opening of the district schools, but it is not easy to distinguish these notices from private school advertisements.

The one attempt to prepare such a list, made by George S. Riley in 1888, named twenty-five female and seven male teachers as active in Rochester between 1825 and 1840 and gave a date for each, presumably that of the establishment of the school.²⁷ But only five of these appear in the *Directories* as teachers,²⁸ and few of them inserted advertisements in the papers. On the other hand at least twelve school teachers who did advertise during these years do not appear in Riley's list.²⁹ Henry O'Reilly in his survey of "Rochester at the close of 1836" noted the existence here of eighteen private schools but identified only the three devoted to higher education.³⁰ Three years later the *Rochester Republican* counted "no less than a dozen (perhaps there are more) select schools or seminaries established exclusively for females" and added significantly, "An educated young woman needs only a suitable room and some apparatus, and then begins operation at once."³¹

Most of these undertakings were characterized as select schools for girls, but a few posed as grammar schools and advertised instruction in the higher branches, admitting boys in rare instances.³² Some offered needlework, music,

²⁷Peck, *History of Rochester*, pp. 313-314.

²⁸Mrs. Eunice Darrow, Mrs. Emily Hotchkiss, Mr. T. Wilder, Mr. Smith Dunham, and Mr. Ambrose Miller.

²⁹Miss North, Mrs. Plumb and Miss Pomeroy in 1829; Mr. Brayton, Mr. Metcalf, and Miss West in 1830; Mr. Lafayette McGrillie and Miss Rockwell in 1831; Miss Norton in 1832; Miss Mathies in 1833; Miss L. Carrington and Mr. G. P. Waldo in 1834.

³⁰*Rochester Daily Advertiser*, January 4, 1837.

³¹*Rochester Republican*, November 19, 1839.

³²Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, ix, 319-20. The French and Mathematical School of Philip Roeser, a cousin of Napoleon, conducted in his home on Sophia Street between 1831 and 1840, was an outstanding example.

drawing, and painting; others history, rhetoric, and moral philosophy; but most of them specialized in the three R's. Their tuition charges, when given, ranged between three and six dollars per quarter, and only a few of them kept boarders. They accommodated from ten to twenty pupils, ranging in age from eight to fifteen, and they seldom boasted more than one teacher.³³ They were forced to compete with the increasing number of district schools, thirteen of which had been organized within the city by 1837.³⁴

Meanwhile one significant development involved several of these private schools during the thirties—the "Infant School" movement. Robert Owen's New Lanark experiments in the education of children between the ages of four and eight years had attracted imitators in Boston as early as 1816, and in New York and Philadelphia in 1827.³⁵ In 1830 Mrs. Darrow, after a study of these eastern schools, established an Infant School in Rochester, enrolling the children of some of "our most respectable citizens."³⁶ The school prospered and others of like character were established. In 1834 the Rochester Seminary employed Miss C. M. Stanley to conduct an Infant's department in one of the rooms of the old high school building.³⁷ But these schools had been devised by Owen for the moral improvement of the children of poor families, and it was fitting that the Young Ladies Benevolent Society of St. Luke's Church should establish a charity school of this sort in 1833.³⁸ Possibly the earlier charity school of the Female Charitable Society, dating from 1821, was in some respects a fore-runner,³⁹ but the age limit was now lowered and the influence if not the technique of

³³Peck, *History of Rochester*, pp. 313-14; *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1829; July 16, 1830; April 28, 1831; *Rochester Daily Democrat*, April 28, 1834.

³⁴*Rochester Daily Democrat*, January 4, 1837.

³⁵Cubberley, *History of Education*, pp. 630-32, 664-66.

³⁶*Rochester Observer*, May 14, 1830.

³⁷*Rochester Daily Advertiser*, February 2, November 1, 1831; *Rochester Daily Democrat*, April 22, 28, 1834.

³⁸*Rochester Directory*, (1834), p. 9; H. Anstice, *Annals of St. Luke's Church* (Rochester, 1883), p. 34.

³⁹See above, p. 14.

Pestalozzi was seen as the teachers attempted to guide and encourage the early creative efforts of the infants under their care.⁴⁰

Another group of private schools made their chief appeal to adults. Writing academies frequently advertised a course of fifteen or so evening lessons guaranteed to provide ladies and gentlemen with an elegant handwriting.⁴¹ Evidently these instructors soon set out to proffer their arts in other communities, for their names quickly disappeared from local records. Music and dancing lessons were also advertised as available from time to time. Mr. P. Thomas made more than one visit to the mill town, engaging rooms in the Mansion House where he could instruct the eager swains as well as their elders in the graceful arts of the ballroom. "It matters not," he advised the villagers in 1833, "how well a person can dance a cotillion or contra dance, still they cannot join in the *waltz*, nor yet the more graceful *Spanish dances*."⁴²

The forties were trying years for the smaller private schools. The rapid increase in the enrollment of the district schools after they had been made free to all, in 1841, enabled them to classify their pupils into divisions and make other improvements that considerably raised their educational standards. Many of the children of the select schools were attracted into the public schools. The names of all but one of the former teachers of the select schools soon disappeared from local records, or, as in the case of Mrs. Emily Hotchkiss, joined the enlarged public school staff.⁴³ It was several years before this one surviving teacher reopened her private school.⁴⁴

But the private schools were not all closed immediately. Although no one of the former teachers was mentioned as such in either the 1841 or 1844 *Directories*, the latter publication did list five select schools which claimed a total of

⁴⁰*Anti-Masonic Enquirer*, April 24, 1832.

⁴¹*Rochester Daily Advertiser*, December 5, 1831, December 14, 1838, November 19, 1840; *Rochester Daily Democrat*, April 28, 1834.

⁴²*Rochester Daily Telegraph*, October 2, 1828; *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, March 27, 1832, December 11, 1833.

⁴³*Rochester Directory* (1844).

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, (1853).

148 private pupils.⁴⁵ In the same year Superintendent I. F. Mack of the public schools noted the existence of three incorporated schools and fourteen private schools, crediting them with the instruction of 599 out of the 5,650 children of school age in the city.⁴⁶ Meanwhile the *Regents Reports* gave figures for the three academies that total so close to the 599 private scholars as to leave few to the fourteen smaller schools.⁴⁷ The statistics are confusing, but it is clear that the private schools suffered a sharp reduction in their own number and a loss in the ranks of their students. Superintendent Mack, in his October, 1845, report, concluded that this decline had reduced the 33 private schools of 1840 to 16 in 1845, and the 1,226 select school pupils to 622 select and seminary students during the latter year. However, this drop did not equal the increase in the public school attendance, which was chiefly made up from the large number of non-school-going children of the earlier days. Only 322 were found who attended no school during 1845.⁴⁸

In spite of the growth of the public schools the field for private school activity was still large. For several years the public authorities and tax payers hesitated to assume responsibility for higher education, and the private schools naturally tended to enlarge their efforts in that field. Soon the abler select school teachers began to call their schools, seminaries.⁴⁹ Meanwhile Superintendent Mack protestingly observed that "Many (continued to) withdraw their children from the public schools with the belief that their morals are better protected in private schools."⁵⁰ Many other parents were sure that the social graces were more likely to be developed in the select schools. But the public school authorities considered this evidence of a desire for "aristocratical

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, (1844), p. 19.

⁴⁶*Second Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools* (Rochester, Jan. 1844), p. 10.

⁴⁷*Regents Reports* 1844, and 1847.

⁴⁸*Fourth Annual Report of the Superintendent* (October, 1845), pp. 10-12.

⁴⁹Peck, *History of Rochester*, p. 315. Most of the private "seminaries" listed here for these years are included among the select schools in the *Directories*.

⁵⁰*Report of Superintendent of Schools* (1844), p. 26.

distinctions" to be of a passing nature. Instead of fighting the rival schools with generous expenditures, the authorities practiced a rigid economy. Superintendent McAlpine was able in 1847 to make the dubious boast that, among the eleven largest free-school cities, Rochester ranked fourth in the percentage of children attending, first in the average number of pupils to each teacher, and last in the average salaries and average cost per pupil.⁵¹ This policy of skimping the public schools had prompted a reduction in salaries which helps to explain why the authorities experienced difficulties in attracting and holding good teachers.⁵² Many parents, seeking better instruction for their children, turned again to the private school teachers. Private select schools as a class survived the struggles of the forties, but it had been a transition period for them as well as for the public schools, and the next decade was to see them considerably transformed in character.

⁵¹*Report of Superintendent of Schools* (1847), pp. 9-10.

⁵²*Ibid.*, (1844), pp. 19-22; *ibid.*, (1845), p. 21.

The Early History of the Rochester Public Schools

1813-1850

By A. LAURA MCGREGOR



THE DISTRICT SCHOOL ERA

THE development of public education in Rochester clearly exemplifies the struggles of a community to act as a social unit in the meeting of a common need. In every period of the city's growth the developing ideal of community sponsorship for free public education had its proponents and its opponents, and each increased advantage offered to the youth of the community was won only by patient striving against the highly individualistic tendencies of the early frontier and succeeding urban environment.

The first permanent settlement at Rochester coincided with the establishment of the New York district school system, and its first public schools were a part of that system. Under the state law of 1812 the maintenance of district schools was primarily a town or township function. Three school commissioners in each town determined the boundaries of the districts and exerted small supervisory powers over them. The school trustees elected in each district were, however, responsible for raising the funds to erect and operate the district schools. The school buildings were thus public in character, except in districts where the trustees chose to rent a private house for school use. But the schools were not free schools, and parents were required to pay tuition for each child sent to these schools. Payments were made in money, wood, or services, and varied according to the number of the children among whom the expenses were to be divided—the so-called rate-bill plan.¹

¹Thomas E. Finegan, *Free Schools* (15th Annual Report of the N. Y. State Education Department, Vol. 1, Albany, 1921), pp. 34-37.

Under this system Rochester's first public schools were established by the appropriate school districts of Gates and Brighton, the townships west and east of the river at the falls. Gates District No. 2 was organized for the settlers on the One-Hundred-Acre Tract in December, 1813, and Gates No. 10 was soon after organized for the adjacent Frankfort settlement. These two schools were adequate for the 750 persons who organized Rochesterville in 1817, but new district schools were added from time to time when the boundaries of the rapidly growing village were extended to include nearby settlements, as when Brighton District No. 4 was annexed in 1823. Some of these districts were content at first to rent a room for school use, but several schoolhouses were erected. Eight of the twelve school districts in Gates reported a total enrollment of 514 pupils in 1821, and one half of these were attending Schools 2 and 10 in the village. The school term there had continued for eleven and nine months respectively, and the books most in use were described as "English Reader, Testament, Hulls & Websters Spelling book, Murrays Grammar, Cummings and Willits Geography and Pikes & Roots Arithmetic."² Brighton's ten districts reported a total of 556 enrollments, and of these, Districts 4 and 8, serving the settlement at the bridge and the village of Carthage, claimed 137 and 78 respectively.³

Something of the story of these early district schools may be reconstructed from a record book⁴ kept by the clerk of Gates District No. 2, renamed Rochester District No. 1, in 1835. Although the district had been organized late in 1813 and a schoolhouse erected the following summer,⁵ the first official records on hand are those made by Abelard Reynolds as clerk of the annual meeting held in the schoolhouse on May 6, 1820. A series of practical problems were demanding attention. As soon as the trustees for the year had been

²"Common School Returns from the Town of Gates for the year 1820/21," MS.

³"Common School Returns from the Town of Brighton for the year 1820/21," MS.

⁴"Records of School District Number Two—Town of Gates (1820-1847)," MS.

⁵See above, pp. 8-9.

elected, a motion was introduced that "the sum of twelve dollars be raised by tax for the purpose of building a necessary of [for] the use of the school house and district." This motion and another "that forty dollars be raised by tax to defray the incidental expenses for the coming year, such as wood, repairs, etc." were duly passed before the problem of enlarging the schoolhouse was considered.

This problem of overcrowded schools proved to be as knotty on its first appearance as it has continued to be throughout subsequent years. The problem appeared to these early founders of our school system to involve the whole question of the extent of the community's educational responsibilities. The May meeting failed to find a solution, and an adjourned session was convened in September. Conflicting opinions found expression in divergent resolutions. Some eager advocates of a generous school policy rushed through a resolution directing the trustees to rent an extra room for school purposes and to engage a second teacher "in order that all the children in the district may be accommodated." But some of those present were wary of assuming the obligation of paying taxes for the support of such schools, and a second resolution was adopted, stipulating that no money should be raised by taxes for these purposes. This of course placed the friends of education in a most difficult situation, for only a limited number of scholars would be able to pay their share of the expense of the school's upkeep as well as their share of the teacher's salary. A compromise resolution called for the appointment of a committee to study the feasibility of organizing the school on the Lancasterian plan in order to enable one teacher to manage a large number of pupils. The opposing factions then agreed that the two earlier resolutions should be reconsidered at a later meeting after the committee had made its report.

But the special meeting held on October 9, 1820, succeeded only in dodging the issue. The compromise committee on the Lancasterian system failed to make a report. The resolution directing the trustees to rent an additional room and to hire a second teacher was adopted, but the tax voted for these purposes was limited to twenty dollars, thus effectively de-

feating the measure. There is no record to show that an extra room was rented or a second teacher engaged at this time. But the annual report for the year 1821/22 revealed that while the number of children in the district between the ages of five and fifteen had increased from 126 to 263 during the twelve months prior to January 1, 1822, the number reported to have attended public school had fallen from 190 to "about 70." This startling decline in enrollment was probably due as much to some new method of recording attendance as to a new system of regulating admissions, but in any event the district was failing to respond to the first appeal that it maintain a school adequate for all its children.

Such a public school would have been far ahead of its day in 1822, especially so in a frontier village scarcely ten years old. The district voters considered that they had done their full duty when they had recognized the children of four poor families as district poor and entitled to free schooling. The growing inclination of the more well-to-do families to enroll their children in the newly appearing private schools⁶ was further limiting the resources of the district trustees. But a real crisis was presented in May of 1822 when a question was raised as to the district's title to its school lot. The situation became so critical that at a special meeting, on June 10, a resolution was passed that a tax of \$1,200 should be levied on the taxable property of the district in order to procure a new lot and erect a suitable schoolhouse. The tax collectors had with difficulty raised only \$100 of this sum from the struggling villages when, fourteen months later, the missing articles of indenture were found.

There were many residents of Gates District No. 2 who were not content with the crude schoolhouse on Fitzhugh Street. As early as May, 1826, they began to introduce resolutions in behalf of a new building. For several years these moves were defeated for one reason or another. Some relief for the congested school was received in the late twenties when part of the district was cut off and organized separately as Gates District No. 13. The remaining portion of District 2 raised \$249 to recompense their former associ-

⁶See above, pp. 11-15.

ates for their share of the school property. But the need for a new schoolhouse in District No. 2 could not be dodged. By 1832 this fact was generally recognized, and after some discussion as to the proper cost for the new building a tax of \$2,000 was finally voted at a special meeting held at the schoolhouse on May 15. But this motion was repealed at a second special meeting a few weeks later. Renewed efforts in behalf of a new school failed until the district was placed under the authority of the Common Council of the newly organized City of Rochester in 1834. Temporary rooms were rented on Buffalo Street for school use that fall, and during the next two years a fine two-story stone building was erected on Fitzhugh Street at a cost of slightly over \$3,000. The district had been renamed Rochester District No. 1 in 1835, and the new building thus became Number One School.

The struggle for an improved school had been long and discouraging. A succession of trustees and clerks had given of their time and their energies until public indifference or opposition had prompted their resignations. Here and in other local districts frequent special meetings had been convened to consider pressing problems, only to be forced to adjourn for want of a sufficient attendance to justify a vote. Sometimes this occurred five or six times in succession until the trustees gave up the attempt and let the affairs of the school drift until the next annual meeting. These public gatherings were usually convened at 4:30, and the early approach of the supper hour sharply curtailed the discussion and restricted the volume of business to the necessary reports and a few briefly considered resolutions.⁷

There were many other reasons for dissatisfaction with the district school system. Teaching certificates were required, but these could be secured with little trouble from the town school commissioners, over whom the bustling village had no control. Salaries were seldom recorded, but all evidence indicates that they were usually small and failed to hold experienced teachers when other opportunities presented

⁷Compare the entries in "Records of Gates District Number Two" with those in "Brighton District No. 8, Minute Book" MS. which started almost at the beginning of the settlement of Carthage and continued with some gaps until 1843. This district was not added to the city until 1874.

themselves. Gates No. 2 paid H. Ackley \$365.87 for his able services in 1831/32, but secured Miss Reed's assistance for only \$66. Carthage paid a qualified teacher \$36 for three months in 1832 and employed a young woman to continue the school for another five months in return for her board and one dollar a week.⁸ An attempt of a group of young men to form an association of teachers to agitate for higher salaries passed almost unnoticed in 1831, but two years later the editor of the *Rochester Daily Advertiser* endeavored to arouse parents to press for more qualified teachers. "Any sober young man," he asserted, "who can read in the English Reader—do a sum in the rule of Three—tell whether Cape Cod is land or water—and distinguish between an article and a noun, receives a certificate of 'well qualified' to teach."⁹

The first step to more responsible control came with the acquisition of a city charter in 1834. The Common Council was given the power to act in the capacity of the Commissioners of Common Schools, thus at least bringing responsibility over its common schools within the city limits. Provision was made for the voluntary junction of two or more districts for the support of union or high schools. School inspectors were to be appointed, but no central authority was created and made responsible for the development of the school system. Even the limited powers of the Common Council were but seldom exercised, and the records of the Council, prior to 1840, show but two occasions when a tax was levied on a district for the purpose of erecting a new schoolhouse.¹⁰ The city treasurer did not carry school accounts on his books, but the nature of these expenditures may be deduced from the fact that the amount received from the county treasurer as the city's share of the state fund for teachers' salaries, prior to 1840, seldom exceeded \$2,000 annually.¹¹

The support thus available for the several district schools was quite inadequate. The \$40 raised by tax for contingent

⁸Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, II, 209.

⁹*Rochester Daily Advertiser*, October 18, 1833.

¹⁰Common Council *Proceedings* (1834), p. 21; *ibid.* (1838), p. 243.

¹¹Donald W. Gilbert, "The Government and Finances of Rochester" (MS. in University of Rochester Library, 1930), pp. 95-98.

expenses in Gates District No. 2, in 1820, had increased to \$100 by 1827 and to \$400 by 1839. Other districts likewise faced increased costs, and, as few of them were able to levy the necessary sums, abominable conditions were discovered by the inspectors. As late as 1839, Districts 4, 5, and 12 lacked schoolhouses, one of them renting a room in an old cooper's shop. Each separate school was "kept" only as long as the district's funds permitted, some of them for three or four months a year, and some for eight or more.¹²

In spite of the drawbacks of the system, responsible leaders appeared in a few districts and several interesting attempts were made to raise the educational standards of the district schools. Brighton Districts 4 and 14 had joined in 1827 to erect a monitorial and high school which became a vital factor in the educational life of the growing town. The institution soon became too great a burden for operation by the joint board of the trustees of the two districts, and the building was leased to an independent board of directors in 1832 and reopened as the Rochester Seminary.¹³ Shortly after the new No. 1 schoolhouse was completed on Fitzhugh Street and a motion was carried in the annual meeting on May 14, 1838, recommending a tax of \$2,000 for the purpose of adding a wing to the new schoolhouse in order to provide separate accommodations for female pupils. It was a striking fact that many of the sisters of the boys of the district school were either kept at home or sent to private schools. But the Common Council refused to sanction this additional tax, and the cause of coeducation in the public schools was thus strengthened by the spirit of economy.¹⁴

FIRST STEPS TOWARD CENTRALIZATION

In the first decades of rapid growth following the opening of the canal the need for improved schools was increasingly felt in Rochester. Myron Holley delivered an able "Discourse Upon Education" before the Young Men's Association in June, 1831, citing the example of the schools of Prussia.¹⁵

¹²*Rochester Daily Democrat*, February 25, 1842.

¹³See above, pp. 21-22.

¹⁴"Records of School District Number Two, Town of Gates," MS.

¹⁵This address is preserved as O'Reilly Document No. 2478, MSS.

The number of school districts had increased to thirteen by 1836, two of them being Negro school districts. But the contrasts between the several schools were striking, and a determined campaign was started for the creation of a responsible board of education and a system of free schools. A public meeting was convened in September of that year to discuss the situation, and a committee was there appointed to carry out measures for the improvement of the common schools.¹⁶ This committee was called the "Committee for Elevating the Standards of Common School Education." It provided for the circulation of a sheet called "The Common School Assistant," and engaged A. C. Pratt to arouse citizens in the towns to the needs of public schools. Mr. Pratt went on a lecture tour through the county forming committees of citizens to work for school improvement. The citizens' committee continued its work during 1837 and 1838, and in November recommended an "entirely free common school system, supported by a general tax on real and personal property."¹⁷

A subsequent meeting on December 1, 1838, adopted a resolution looking to the organization of a Board of Education which would appoint a superintendent of schools, and which would have "districts so arranged and schools so regulated as to allow of gradation in public English education." A committee of fifteen, three from each of the five wards was appointed to obtain the concurrence of the Common Council and to procure necessary legislative action.

Consent to the plans of the committee was not immediately forthcoming. The Common Council continued to name inspectors of common schools but a letter to the *Rochester Daily Democrat*¹⁸ speaks of the extreme remissness of inspectors. The Board of School Visitors¹⁹ of Monroe County, headed by the Reverend Henry J. Whitehouse, made itself acquainted with school conditions and reported in a series of public meetings in January and February, 1840, that

¹⁶*Rochester Republican*, November 15, 1836.

¹⁷*Rochester Daily Advertiser*, December 5, 1838.

¹⁸*Rochester Daily Democrat*, January 23, 1840.

¹⁹This body had been organized the previous year, partly in response to agitation in Rochester. H. O'Reilly Documents No. 2289-2290, MSS.

more than 1,600 children out of the 4,064 reported in the 1837 census were totally without instruction, public or private. The detailed findings of the Board of Visitors were published in the *Workingmen's Advocate*, and an effort was made to urge the working class to take a greater interest in the education of their children.

All this agitation bore fruit. A bill to amend the city charter was drafted and sent to Albany, where it passed May 20, 1841. One of the most important aspects of this new school law was the establishment of a truly *free* public school system, supported entirely by general public taxation. Thus Rochester became one of the foremost cities in the growing free school movement and, sixteen years before New York State abolished the rate-bill system, took her place as the fourth city in the state to provide free schools.²⁰ This law also provided for the election of a board of education, composed of two members from each ward, which should exercise all related powers formerly held by the Common Council except the levying of school taxes. The Board was authorized to appoint a superintendent and was charged with the responsibility of advising the Council as to the funds necessary for school maintenance each year. It further exercised the right to fix the site and approve the financial and other plans of the districts for any new schools they desired. Thus some of the features of the old district system were continued, but the number of school trustees was reduced to one for each district and he was rendered helpless except in so far as he was able to cooperate with the Board of Education.²¹

On June 22, 1841, the first Board of Education for the City of Rochester was organized. The following members were elected: George R. Clarke and Carlos Cobb, from the first ward; Silas Cornell and John Williams, from the second; John McConnell and Charles G. Cummings, from the third; Moses Long and Henry O'Reilly, from the fourth; and L. A. Ward and Harry Pratt, from the fifth ward. During the

²⁰Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (Cambridge, 1934), p. 200.

²¹Board of Education, *2nd Annual Report* (1844), pp. 7, 23.

year, George R. Clarke resigned and Abelard Reynolds was appointed to take his place. L. A. Ward was chosen president of the board and Isaac Mack was appointed superintendent of schools.²² Board members served without compensation.

By 1844 the new superintendent had fifteen district schools and one school for colored children under his jurisdiction, with a total registration of 4,246 children out of 5,620. In order to accommodate this greatly expanded school population, nine new schoolhouses had been built during the first three years, and a total of \$28,000 had been expended by the Board in their erection. This building program had provided the city with thirteen stone or brick schools and only two of the older wooden houses were still in use.²³ The following table shows the names of the principals, the number of the teachers, and the location of each of the district schoolhouses:²⁴

<i>Names of Principals</i>	<i>Number Teachers</i>	<i>Location</i>
J. M. Luddon	5	Fitzhugh Street
M. Randall	3	Mechanic's Square
E. S. Treat	4	Clay Street
L. P. Risingh	2	Reynolds Street
A. M. Foster	4	Centre Square
W. D. Allis	5	Smith Street
A. F. Hall	1	Rented
U. Rice	1	Railroad
R. Johnson	2	Parker Street
L. Bixby	3	Andrews Street
J. Brown	3	Chestnut Street
J. W. Adams	3	Wadsworth Square
M. Sornberger	2	Rented
J. N. Sherman	3	Scio Street
F. Vose	2	Alexander Street
S. Boothby (colored)	1	Spring Alley (rented)

²²For Board of Education members for the years 1841 to 1852, see *Annual Reports of Board of Education*, 1843-1862, pp. 3-8, Board of Education files.

²³Board of Education, *4th Annual Report* (1845), p. 5.

²⁴Board of Education, *2nd Annual Report*, p. 31.

In his second report to the Board of Education, dated January 12, 1844, Superintendent Mack mentions the following subjects of instruction: reading, writing, arithmetic, algebra, botany, geometry, grammar, geography, history, natural and moral philosophy, analysis, bookkeeping, human physiology, chemistry and astronomy.²⁵ A list of textbooks was adopted by the Board of Education, but the purchase of these tools was left to the parents.²⁶ The superintendent discussed at length the condition of the various schools under his charge, and the costs, which he defended against charges of extravagance. He considered that on the whole discipline in these schools was satisfactory, although he deplored on the one hand the mistakes of parents and on the other the tendency of some teachers to resort to extreme punishments:²⁷

A common evil in connection with our schools, is the frequent interference of parents in their discipline. "To err, is human," and teachers are liable to mistake in their mode of government. Parents too, *may* err, and they are not always in a situation to judge correctly. They are too apt to believe the garbled statements of their children, and condemn the teacher unheard; and frequently too, *before* the child, and thus disarm the teacher of his influence. Children often are roguish and lawyer-like in their stories; and parents, without in-

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 10-12, 32.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 32:

Cobb's New Spelling Book	Comstock's Natural Philosophy
Cobb's New Series of Reading Books	Colburn's Mental Arithmetic
Village Reader	Davie's School Arithmetic
Sweet's Elocution	Smith's Arithmetic
Porter's Rhetorical Reader	Perkin's Higher Arithmetic
Young's Science of Govern- ment	Davie's Algebra
Town's Analysis	Perkin's Algebra
Brown's Grammar	Harris' Bookkeeping
Smith's Geography	Flint's Surveying
Mitchell's Geography	Griscom's Physiology
Mrs. Willard's Histories	Comstock's Physiology
Wayland's Moral Philosophy	Mrs. Lincoln's Botany
	Burret's Geography of the Heavens

²⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

vestigation, decide upon *ex parte* testimony. In this way the child *lights* a flame, the parent *fans* it, and often great mischief is done. . . .

True it is, that the course pursued by teachers, is not always right; a species of punishment is sometimes resorted to in hot haste, at which the feelings of all should revolt. The habit of knocking children about the head and ears I utterly repudiate as brutal in the extreme, dangerous, and often disastrous in its consequences. I will here take occasion to remark, that the study of human physiology as a general exercise in our schools, I deem of great importance; and I hail its introduction as an efficient means of future improvement in their discipline. No person unacquainted with the laws of life and health, with the beautiful mechanism of the human system, and its relations and dependences, is properly qualified to take charge of a school.

Irregularity of attendance appeared as one of the greatest problems of the public schools, and Superintendent Mack believed that, "Parents, in this particular, are highly culpable; they often allow their children to stay away from school for the most trifling reasons, and in this way, barter 'their birthright for a mess of pottage.' They are neither true to themselves, their children, their country nor their God."²⁸

The selection of qualified teachers he considered a task of the utmost importance since it was their function to "promote the equable development and healthful growth of both body and mind."²⁹

During the years from 1845 to 1850 the selection of proper textbooks occupied much of the attention of the Board of Education. Apparently a variety of books was in use and frequent changes were sought. The Standing Committee on Textbooks was often in disagreement. Controversy raged, for example, over the adoption of the Cobb versus the Sanders readers. A special textbook committee stated:³⁰

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 19.

³⁰Board of Education, *Proceedings*, September 11, 1845.

That the best interests of this city and of our country demand a uniformity, as far as can be, in the use of the primary books in our public schools: That the works of Noah Webster, and especially his Dictionaries, have done, and are doing more to promote this desired uniformity, than any other author or compiler of elementary books: That the wants, as well as the honor of our country, demand conformity to his published rules of the elements of our language in order to produce this uniformity.

But the regular standing committee recommended the use of Reid's dictionary, urging the following reasons:³¹

Take up your old family Bible, or your new one as the case may be—you will not find these Websterisms there; examine any other dictionary within your reach—they are not there; go to any of the private or public libraries in your city, or *in any city of the Union*, and you will not find among the best writers whose works are to be found there, one in a hundred that even professes to follow the innovations of Webster and to adopt him as a standard. Take up the periodicals and newspapers of the day—if there is a single one of the many thousand that are daily and weekly scattered broadcast over our land, and doing more perhaps, than almost all else to give tone to a popular literary taste, and towards fixing a permanent usage in the world of letters—if there is a single one, from Silliman's Journal of science, down to the less pretending, though more widely diffusive penny Daily, that follows Webster strictly as a standard, your committee have never been able to find it.

It was evidently difficult to keep boys and girls in school on Saturday. The Board of Education, November 3, 1845, voted: "That the teachers of the several schools in this city omit Saturday in the records of attendance."³² But it was not until February, 1846, that the half-day sessions on

³¹*Ibid.*, October 6, 1845.

³²*Ibid.*, November 3, 1845.

Saturday were discontinued and the school principal of each district was required to assume the duties of librarian from ten o'clock until twelve o'clock every Saturday morning.

SCHOOL LIFE DURING THE FORTIES

Notwithstanding the agitation in the decade of the 1840's against "fads and frills" in education, it is interesting to discover that vocal music as a part of the public school program received popular consideration. In November, 1846, it was proposed to employ a teacher of vocal music. A Committee on Vocal Music was appointed to consider the matter and on January 5, 1846 its report favorable to the teaching of vocal music in the schools was accepted. No appropriation was made at this time, but the public-spirited William T. Merriman taught vocal music without compensation until a concert given by his pupils convinced the Board that such labor should not go unrewarded. The sum of twenty-five dollars was voted from the contingent fund for his reward.³³ The next year vocal music was reported as a regular part of the school curriculum with a total of 1,785 pupils receiving instruction. Provision was made for the employment of Mr. Sears Belden as instructor. Presently two instructors were employed to give lessons once a week in each of the districts, one teacher to take the east side of the river and one the west.

If the school authorities had to struggle with the problem of irregular attendance, some at least of the prospective students faced a converse problem, that of finding time for school attendance. In 1841, Henry O'Reilly estimated that there were 1,600 children between the ages of five and sixteen who could not attend day schools because of the necessity of earning their living during working hours. A free evening school for every ward was O'Reilly's proposed solution.³⁴ The evening school was not new to Rochester, in fact School District No. 1 had maintained an evening session four nights a week during the winter months of the last several years.³⁵

³³*Ibid.*, August 2, 1847.

³⁴*Rochester Daily Democrat*, July 21, 1841.

³⁵*Ibid.*, January 4, 7, 1837.

No charge had been made for attendance at these evening sessions although occasional private instructors had previously found it possible to collect moderate fees for evening classes.⁸⁶ But the common schools were concerned with a special student body, that of the "young mechanics" who sought the rudiments of schooling in order to assist their climb out of the unskilled labor class. The Board of Education did not adequately provide for this need until the mid-fifties, although on December 3, 1849, approval was given to a plan to open free evening schools in every schoolhouse.⁸⁷ Some evening school facilities had been available during the winter months in the previous decade, but most of this instruction when supplied free of charge had been of an elementary character. Its recognition by the Board in 1849 was apparently not followed by action until 1853.

Schoolhouses offered meeting places for many of the activities of the young city of 1848. Alonzo Frost of the Society of Friends petitioned the Board for permission to use District Number 3 schoolhouse as a place for the Society's Sunday meeting until its new meeting house should be completed. Permission was granted provided that "the consent of the trustee and the insurance agent be obtained, and that they hold themselves responsible for all damages which may be occasioned directly or indirectly by such services."

This request was followed soon after by a letter from the Reverend Henry W. Lee asking permission to hold occasional religious services in the schoolhouse of District Number 2; one from the Reverend George Marquardt desiring the use of the schoolhouse in District Number 4; and one from Reverend Mr. Whitcher for the use of District Number 14. These ministers were given permission to proceed, subject to the consent of the trustee and the insurance agent. The Protestant German Society, the Reverend Alan Ingersoll, the Methodist Episcopal Church for Colored Persons, the Second Advent Worshippers, and other religious groups were also accorded the courtesy of schoolhouse facilities for religious meetings.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, January 13, 1835.

⁸⁷Board of Education, *Proceedings*, December 3, 1849.

By 1850, requests for the use of schoolhouses had grown so numerous that a resolution was passed on October 7, in which it was "deemed inexpedient to permit schoolhouses to be used for any other purpose than contemplated by the school law."

A picture of life in the public schools of the early years is often glimpsed through the expense accounts of the Board of Education. Frequently are to be found such items as: "for wood;" "for sawing wood;" "for putting in new lengths of stovepipe;" "for repairing stove;"—and the reader realizes that city schools like country schools had to offer their pupils in the winter the choice of toasting near the fire or freezing near the windows. The item "for digging a well" or "for installing pump" occurs when new schoolhouses are being built, and one realizes the eagerness of pupils to be assigned the task of bringing in the drinking water, a task which permitted two of them to spend a few released moments out of doors.

The dignity of the teacher was always emphasized by his elevated position on the "rostrum" and payments to local carpenters for constructing rostrums appear as a common item. The school bell was also an important item of expense. Brooms and dustpans were necessary equipment cheerfully provided, although on April 2, 1849 the Board voted a motion to refuse to pay any bills for sweeping schoolhouses or making fires. These duties must be performed by teachers or pupils gratuitously. The fence which surrounded each schoolhouse needed frequent repair, since it was doubtless used by the boys as the standard for the "high jump." Almost every year the schoolhouses were cleaned and a coat of white-wash applied. Locks and keys had to be constantly available so that the teacher could lock his schoolhouse securely at the end of the day.

Securing proper ventilation in the district schoolhouses of the city was always a problem. Superintendent Mack in his first report to the Board of Education of January 12, 1844, writes of the matter as follows:³³

³³Board of Education, *2nd Annual Report*, pp. 7-9.

Nothing is so necessary to life and health as pure air. A child may live for days, even, without food, drink or sleep; but deprive him of air for one moment, and all power of thought is extinct. He becomes as incapable of any *mental* effort as one of the dead; continue thus to deprive him for a few moments longer, and all hope of recovery vanishes.

Who would accept the wealth of the Indies, in exchange for pure air? And yet the practice has heretofore been, in this city, and now prevails all over the country, to crowd from forty to sixty children into small unventilated rooms, or if ventilated at all, by throwing open a door or window to let in a current of cold air from without, and in this way, expose the inmates to the wretched alternative, by sudden and severe changes, of contracting colds, the seeds of consumption and premature death. Confine an individual to a quantity of air sufficient only to fill the lungs, and ere he shall have drawn six breaths, he will be a corpse; he will have so far exhausted the oxygen as to cause death. Can it be supposed then, that fifty or sixty scholars, confined in a small room, can long endure it? The truth is, in nine cases out of ten, in our country, after the school has been for a short time assembled, the children are materially injured by every respiration. The injury at each breath is perhaps small; but who, that has been confined in a crowded schoolroom, has not felt the want of fresh air? Who has not felt the dull headache, the dizzy drowsiness of a schoolroom atmosphere?—Who does not remember the new life and courage he has felt, when he has emerged from these prisons, to breathe the pure air of heaven? It is estimated that the human system contains about twenty-eight lbs., or three and a half gallons of blood; a child ten years of age, about one half that quantity. When we reflect that this entire quantity of blood is, by a wonderful process, spread out upon the lungs for contact with pure external air, once in every four or five minutes, and that without this process, it is rendered unfit to sustain life, we are astonished at the redeeming power, the Creator has given to

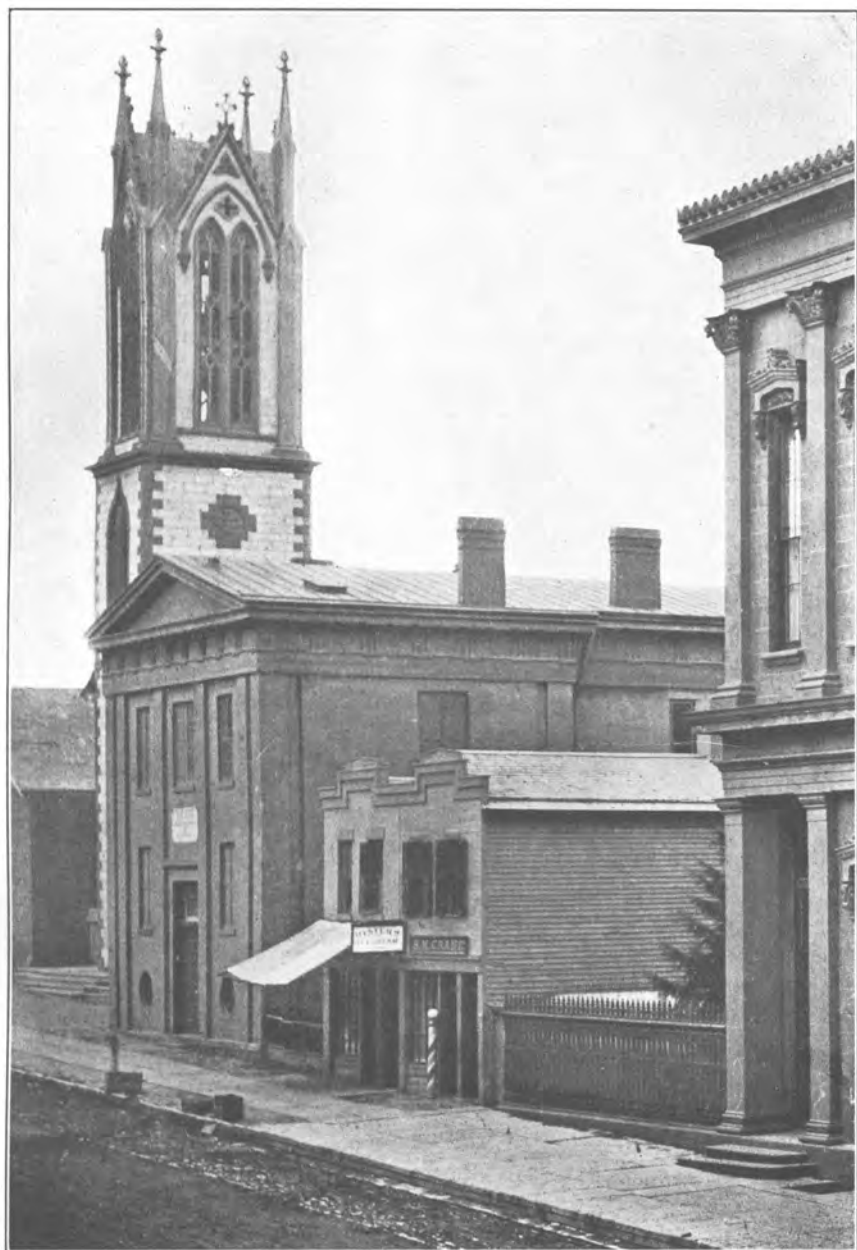
the system, over these untoward circumstances, in which it is made to suffer. No possible apology can be offered for the guilt of those who are the means of inflicting this wanton cruelty upon the children and youth of our country. The sons and daughters of our land, confined within these dens of impure air, and exposed to sudden changes, while they exhibit little more than a gain on the bill of the physician, will lay the foundation of permanent diseases, which no exercise by sea or by land, in our own or in foreign climates, can ever cure. If permitted to live and become parents, they will be the progenitors of a feeble ignorant race. Such treatment to children is little better than manslaughter; and it is indeed a wonder that every child attending school in *ordinary* country schoolhouses, does not die before he is ten years of age.

Do not the fathers and guardians of our children and youth then, generally exhibit very little wisdom or humanity in providing the means for their education. The fact is, much more beneficent and kind, have been the provisions for the convicts of our land. In one of our state prisons, 172 cubic feet are allowed for each cell, in addition to an aperture, in the form of a flue, to give free circulation of air. In another, 1,300 cubic feet are allowed to each permanent prisoner; and in another 1,600, while in very many of the schoolrooms of our country, each scholar's share is less than forty-five feet.

Superintendent Mack though it necessary to defend the Board of Education against charges that the school buildings which had been recently erected were too palatial in character. He wrote upon this subject as follows:³⁹

Our schoolhouses should not only be healthy and comfortable, but attractive in their appearance, internally and externally. As "the mind takes its character from the objects with which it is familiar," great importance is to be attached to the *appearance* of the schoolroom, as a means of education. It should be such, as to present to the scholar, a motive to neatness,

³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.



ROCHESTER SCHOOL NO. 1, 1835-1857; CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL, 1857-1874.
THIS STONE BUILDING FOLLOWED THE WOODEN GATES NO. 2, AND WAS REPLACED BY THE BRICK FREE ACADEMY, NOW THE EDUCATION BUILDING, IN 1875

taste, and order. Education should be associated in the mind, with that which is pleasant and agreeable. It does not consist in the mere acquisition of knowledge, but in the cultivation of the *habits* and *deportment*. Give to children a motive to cultivate, not only in the room, but in *themselves*, a neatness, order and decorum, while at the same time, the acquisition of knowledge, becomes associated in their minds with all that is pure, lovely and agreeable.

Instead of this, the associations are too often within low, ragged and discolored walls, amidst nauseous vapor, exhaled from a hundred lungs, surrounded with dirty and mutilated benches and tattered books, with scraps of paper and things *unnameable* strewed about the floor. Who would expect, in *such* a place, the proper cultivation of those habits of neatness and decorum, which *all* should cherish in their children as a chief ornament, and without which, the highest attainments in intellectual knowledge, will become as "a jewel in a swine's snout." If, then, any department on earth, ought to be *spacious, airy* and *tasteful*, it is the schoolroom.

Of the standing committees of the Board of Education during the 1840's, one of the most important was the grievance committee. It was to this committee that all complaints of parents were referred. Between the lines of its records one can read something of the causes of friction upon which the Board of Education was called upon to act. A certain Mr. Adams, for example, failed to pass the qualifying examination which would give him a certificate to teach. Notwithstanding this, the trustee in his district appointed him the teacher of the school. He was summoned by the Board to take a second examination and again failed, but the obstinate trustee retained his favorite—whether because of political influence or relationship, the record does not show—so that Mr. Adams continued to teach for the year. The Board of Education, however, declined to pay his salary and thus retained the upper hand in the long run.

Corporal punishment sent many cases to the grievance committee. An indignant parent brought a charge of brutal-

ity against a teacher, alleging that the man had beaten beyond reasonable limit the son of the family. The grievance committee reviewed all the evidence, published it in full, censured the teacher, while not condoning the misbehavior of the boy, and issued a statement against the excessive use of corporal punishment.

A ten year old child died suddenly on Saturday. The mother had been told by other children that the teacher—this time a woman—had struck the child over the head. Again the grievance committee held court. Teacher and pupils were interviewed. Various little boys and girls stated that the child had been playing with a string and that the teacher had finally tied her hands behind her back with the string; but solemnly they one and all bore witness that the teacher did not strike the child. Even those who had previously given the mother information to that effect, retracted when brought before the committee. Doctor and coroner stated that the child died of a sudden illness. The grief-stricken mother then said if the teacher would lay her hand upon the open Bible and swear that she had not struck the little girl, her word would be believed.

Occasionally the grievance committee disagreed in its findings and then the matter had to be discussed in Board meeting. On June 5, 1848, for example, the Board had to devote its time to the case of a parent's complaint of undue severity on the part of the teacher of District Number 1. The report of a majority of the grievance committee stated "that although the punishment was severe, yet, as there was probably considerable aggravation on the part of the pupil, the teacher should not be censured therefor."

Two members of the grievance committee dissented saying that they regarded the punishment which the boy had received as brutal, that the teacher had not been justified, and "that it was high time to put a stop to such treatment. Even if the boy were in the wrong, the teacher should not have punished him, when it was evident he was so much excited as not to know to what extent he was chastising him. Again, the boy had uniformly given the same account of what had happened, while the teacher had not related the same story twice alike."⁴⁰

The testimony in all such cases was published in the newspapers with full names and occasions; and the resultant publicity in itself must have acted to curb drastic punishment. Faith in the use of the rod existed both at home and in school; but when a full tide of testimony rushed into print, doubtless more than one principal or teacher found other ways of governing children. In general, however, the spirit of the schools seems to have been harmonious, and the men and women employed "persons of virtuous disposition."

The annual jubilee of the schools seems to have been a pleasant occasion. First notice is taken of it in the Board meeting of July 21, 1845 when the superintendent informed the Board of the jubilee to be held on Washington Square at the close of the school year. The annual "celebration" as it was called later was held in a church in May, 1846, and a total of \$39.12 was expended by the Board on this occasion to defray expenses for music books and leaders for that occasion. In May of 1847 the celebration took the form of a picnic, but for some reason the refreshments planned for this occasion were not made available and the Board later voted to distribute to the various schools the \$50 provided for that purpose. Occasionally a single school invited the Board of Education to visit it for certain exercises.⁴¹ But as the pupil population of the city grew, it became impracticable to continue combined school celebrations, and so on June 5, 1848, the Board of Education suspended the ordinance "which requires that there shall be an annual celebration of the schools."

PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

The temperance movement, as a community betterment plan, presently demanded the attention of the Board. Every American community of the 1840's had its "temperance society." The New York Temperance Society in its report of 1840 records that "in forty-five counties of the State of New York there have been formed in the past year 191

⁴⁰Board of Education, *Proceedings*, June 5, 1848.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, June 14, 1847.

temperance societies, which added to the 1,178 previously reported make the number of societies auxiliary to this 1,369. . . . The present strength of our auxiliaries is 191,258 members. These have all signed the abstinence pledge."⁴² The new "Washingtonian Movement," so named because it had had its beginning on Washington's Birthday, was seeking to reclaim drunkards and pledge such unfortunates to temperance. It was the theory of this society that for every drunkard reclaimed, the saloons reached out for a young person. The solemn signing of pledges had become a much favored method of advancing the temperance cause, and the signatures of boys and girls were sought.⁴³ Accordingly the Reverend Anson P. Brooks requested the Board of Education to print pledges of total abstinence and to have these circulated for signature among the pupils of the public schools. The matter was referred to the Finance Committee which decided that the Board of Education had no warrant for appropriating the necessary ten dollars for this purpose. The signing of pledges then tended to become a Sabbath School activity.

During the years between 1830 and the outbreak of the Civil War, there was naturally much controversy concerning the education of Negro children. In 1799, New York State had declared the gradual abolition of slavery. By the provisions of this act, those who were slaves at the time were to continue so for life, but their children born after the following fourth of July were to be free. Such children were to remain as apprentices with the owner of the mother until they were twenty-eight years of age in the case of men, and twenty-five years of age in the case of women.⁴⁴

By 1830 a generation of free-born Negro children, sons and daughters of the free apprenticed generation, were ready for schooling, and Rochester had a number of Negro families. The Rochester Board of Education struggled long and valiantly with a problem fraught with prejudice and bitter

⁴²Conrad H. Moehlman, *When All Drank and Thereafter* (New York, 1930).

⁴³See David L. Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States* (New York, 1926), pp. 23-25.

⁴⁴See Benjamin G. Brawley, *A Short History of the American Negro* (New York, 1913).

feeling. As events moved nearer to the great crisis, the whole matter became more and more involved and controversial. Petitions and counter-petitions from both white folks and colored folks alternately asked for the continuance or the abolition of separate schools for Negroes. At last in despair of arriving at a solution pleasing to everybody, the Board of Education appointed a "special committee to report a brief history of the colored school since its first organization in Rochester, and suggest any alterations that may be expedient to make in the present system, and report thereon at the next meeting of the board."⁴⁵ Mr. Long, Mr. Durand, and Mr. Amsden were appointed to act as a special committee of investigation. Piecing together the various reports of this committee, the following facts become apparent:⁴⁶

The first movement towards the establishment of a separate school for colored children in this place, was in accordance with a petition signed by the colored population, in which they set forth their reasons as follows, viz:

"The fact is too notorious, that their children are despised, called Negroes, and completely discouraged by the white children."

"We do humbly believe that if the prayer of our petitions be granted, our children might be encouraged to learn: and although they are black, they may be made comely members of society—there they could enjoy Sunday-school privileges, and many other blessings might flow from such an institution, and we, their parents, would forever feel ourselves under the most solemn obligations."

This petition to the Legislature was signed by thirty-two of the colored people of Rochester, to which was appended a schedule of the census of 1830 within the limits of Rochester, in so far as to give the number of the colored population, together with a paper signifying the approval of the petition signed by the Commissioners of Common Schools and other inhabitants

⁴⁵Board of Education, *Proceedings*, February 4, 1850.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, March 4, 1850.

of the county of Monroe, residing in Gates and Brighton; "believing the petitioners and their children to stand in special need of the relief sought for."

On the original petition (now in the hands of your committee) there is an endorsement, bearing date Jan. 23, 1832, with a reference to the Committee on Colleges, Academies, and Common Schools, who

Reported that the petition is signed, not only by the people of color, but by a very respectable portion of the other inhabitants of the place, including the Commissioners of Common Schools of the two towns in which Rochester is situated.

[This report of 1832 concludes:]

Under the present organization our schools are open to all, and yet it is obvious that in them the literary and moral interests of the colored scholar can scarcely prosper. He is reproached with his color; he is taunted with his origin; and if permitted to mingle with others in the joyous pastimes of youth, it is of favor, not of right. Thus the law which may declare him free, now or in prospect, may be a dead letter. His energies are confined; his hopes are crushed; his mind is in chains, and he is still a slave.

The situation of our colored population generally, not only interests our sympathies, but demands our exertions for its melioration; and your committee are unanimous in the opinion, that the interests of this unhappy class would be most promoted by granting the prayer of the petitioners, and constituting them a separate school.

To this end leave is asked to introduce a bill.

The appropriate legislation was passed and with the assistance of a few friends of the colored people, a house was purchased and a school opened. They were thus aided by the "munificence of their friends" until the Law of May 20, 1841, established the Board of Education, "with power to act in the matter of schools for colored children." Such power provided that the Board could divide the city into suitable districts for colored children and proceed either to

secure building funds from the Common Council or to rent suitable quarters.

Nothing was done immediately, whereupon in January, 1841, a colored man (name not recorded) petitioned the Common Council to be relieved of paying taxes for school purposes on the ground that colored children were not admitted to public schools. The proper committee of the Common Council took the matter under advisement and reported back "that no legal provision existed for the education of colored children, and that they have a right to attend common schools in the Districts where they live."

In reviewing this incident the report of the Committee on Colored Schools of the Board of Education reads:⁴⁷

Such was the law as it then existed. Colored children then had the same right to demand and receive the blessings of the public instruction equally with white children. No inspector of color had then been placed at the door of our "Free Schools," with power to exclude those whose only sin was the color of their skin, though more cleanly and better behaved than scores of their more fortunate white neighbors.

The Board of Education then proceeded to establish one school for colored children. This school was duly opened.⁴⁸

The committee were able to procure a suitable room, but as yet had not been able to engage a colored teacher properly qualified. A short time after this period Mr. Risingh was employed as teacher, who continued in the school for several months. The school went on, for aught the committee can discover, quietly and successfully, till after the amendment of the law passed April 11th, 1845, [in] which in addition to the former law in relation to colored schools, the following section has been incorporated, viz:

Sec. 18. The Board of Education shall possess all the powers and be subject to all the duties and responsibilities of trustees of common schools in the towns, in

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, August 6, 1849.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, March 4, 1850.

respect to the schools mentioned in the last preceding section, (colored schools), so far as the same are applicable; and shall pay the compensation of the teachers of said schools, and all the other expenses thereof, out of the moneys raised by tax under this act, for the support of common schools; and until such schools for the instruction of colored children shall be so provided, it shall not be lawful to impose any tax upon the property of any colored person in the said city, for the support of common schools.

At the time that Superintendent Mack made his first report there were sixteen schools for white children and one school for colored. This was the school located in rented property on Spring Alley, and, at the time of the report (1844) taught by Mr. Boothby. By virtue of its powers the Board of Education, on August 13, 1845, passed an ordinance prohibiting the attendance of any colored child at any of the public schools other than those organized for colored children, except with the consent of the Board.

A second school for colored children was opened April 14, 1846, in rooms on North Washington Street rented from the Rochester Female Charitable Society. Miss Mary Cuning was employed to teach "at three dollars per week while funds last," and then to continue "by subscription till another appropriation." This school did not flourish, and on August 17, 1846, the Board moved to have only one colored school in the ensuing year with "one male teacher as principal and one female teacher as assistant." This one school was moved to the North Washington Street rooms which continued to be rented for the colored school through a stretch of years. As the city grew, the colored population requested a second school and the negotiations for suitable rented room space caused the whole matter of separate schools for colored children to receive a thorough airing in the press, the Common Council, and the Board of Education.

On August 6, 1849, the Committee on Colored Schools presented a long report tending to show that it was uneconomical and unjust to have separate schools for colored

children. The members of the committee concurred in the following opinions:⁴⁹

If then, as we trust we have shown that the system of exclusive schools for colored children cannot be maintained upon the ground of economy nor *utility*, upon what ground, then, was the system first established, and why has it been maintained? We, answer, it was first conceived and has been maintained solely in consequence of the "prejudice against color." The system was established in order to gratify a morbid public sentiment against the colored race, a species, yea, a relic of the organic remains of that public opinion which a few years ago could stone and mob those who dared to assemble in a peaceable and lawful manner and speak the truth in relation to the bondage, degradation, and sufferings of the colored race.

But we trust that the enlightened, generous, and philanthropic portion of the citizens of Rochester are as willing to open the doors of their "Free Schools" to those whose only impediment is their color, as they are and ever have been to the poor destitute and degraded of other nations and climes.

[The committee concluded with the resolution:] That the colored school on North Washington Street be discontinued, and that it is inexpedient to establish another colored school in this city, and that the ordinance forbidding the attendance of colored children in our "Free Schools" be repealed.

But the recommendations of the committee were not adopted, and October 1, 1849, the Board authorized a second colored school on the west side of the river. Again, on January 14, 1850, a "memorial" from five citizens was read in special board meeting. The five citizens—George W. Clark, H. E. Peck, William C. Bloss, Ralph Francis, and J. P. Morris, constituted a committee appointed at a public meeting "to consider the subject of establishing colored schools, and especially, the exclusion of colored children from district

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, August 6, 1849.

schools." The "memorial" protested separate schools for colored children for the following reasons:⁵⁰

First—It involves the waste, and worse than waste, of one thousand dollars of the peoples' money set apart for the purpose of education.

Second—The waste of one thousand dollars results in the loss of one month's instruction of every scholar who desires to avail himself of the privilege of our Common Schools; and thus works a great injustice to all those who are opposed to *anti-republican distinctions*, or who desire that their children should have all the benefit of the money, which as taxpayers, they have contributed for common school purposes. It is not to be presumed that to gratify the prejudice of *the few* who would establish the odious principal of CASTE in our community, that the MANY will consent to be deprived of the benefits which a month's extra tuition would afford.

Third—They believe, that the provision to be found in the By Laws of your Honorable Body; requiring Teachers to refuse admittance to colored children into the District Schools without your consent, to be alike impolitic, unjust, and illegal, as it clearly deprives a certain portion of the community of the benefit of a *common right*; where there is no provision of our common school law to authorize such exclusion and *until* a common right, can be shown to be witnessed, *by the letter of the law*, in language *precise* and *unequivocal*, we do, and shall contend, that the Board have transcended their power, and mistaken the law, in prescribing the regulation in question.

Fourth—That the practical working of this system may be understood by your Honorable Body, it may be proper to say, that upon frequent visitations to the two colored schools in the city, we venture the assertion that the whole number of average attendants, in the two schools combined, will not exceed thirty pupils at

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, January 14, 1850.

the most, which of itself, is an emphatic commentary upon the opinions and wishes of the Colored Citizens.

It will be seen that while our common school system as conducted upon *approved republican principles*, (embracing the children indiscriminately of every class,) costs about five dollars each, per annum, this aristocratic attempt to educate the colored population solitary and alone, will not fall much short of \$35 each per annum.

In view, therefore, of the foregoing facts and opinions, we request in behalf of the public meeting aforesaid; of economy, of equality, and of humanity, that the By Laws referred to, as illegal; be reconsidered by your Honorable Body; and that the two colored schools, which are a dead weight upon the treasury, and useless to the colored children, be discontinued, and that the views hinted at here, may be more thoroughly canvassed before you, we request to be heard by counsel at your Bar.

In response to this "memorial," a committee of the Board of Education, especially appointed to investigate all the data, visited the two colored schools. They reported the one on the west side of the river in "prosperous condition." The one in the second colored district, they said, had a good teacher and satisfactory rooms, but an attendance too slight to warrant its continuance. The total number of children of school age in both districts was 73. In conclusion, the committee recommended that "they are fully of the opinion, that, as heretofore suggested, one school at least should be kept up, if for no other special purpose, for the comfort and benefit as a place of refuge, for colored children who would not be kindly received in other schools."⁵¹ In this more or less unsatisfactory state the matter was left until 1857, when the schools for colored children were discontinued and such children registered in the schools of the districts in which they lived.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, March 4, 1850.

THE MOVEMENT TOWARD GREATER CENTRALIZATION

Organization and consolidation seemed to be the keynotes of reform in 1846. As early as February of that year, Superintendent Mack hoped to secure better instruction and to effect economies by establishing union districts for more advanced pupils. His letter to the Board of Education under date of February 2, 1846, makes the following recommendations:⁵²

Let departments suited to the wants of the most advanced children in the schools, (both male and female) be organized on the plan of Union Schools in a sufficient number of the present houses on the East and West sides of the River, and competent male teachers be continued in them.

Let territorial limits be assigned to each of these Union Districts, embracing in all the entire city. Allow the present district lines to remain unchanged for the children belonging to the primary departments. Prescribe the course of studies to be pursued in the several departments, and permit no child to enter the union department except on a certificate from the Visiting Committee.

Let all the primary and intermediate departments be placed under the conduct of well qualified females, thereby reducing the number of male teachers at least one half. This will result in an annual saving of more than \$1,500, while it will secure the employment of an equally high order of talent and superior fitness.

The superintendent's recommendations were not carried out, however, due in part to the general uncertainty as to the extent to which free public education should be offered. Another important obstacle to reform was the provision of the law of 1841 that the costs of school buildings should be assessed upon the districts which they served, and the union schools for the advanced pupils would mean additional taxes.

Many persons in the growing community, resistant to taxes, considered public instruction in more than the three

⁵²*Ibid.*, February 2, 1846.

R's to be an unwarranted expense. The Board of Education appointed a "select committee" to investigate the complaints, and on September 7, 1846, Chairman Thomas H. Hyatt presented its report.⁵³

It is not to be denied, [the committee reported] that while there is a vast amount of prejudice, there is also to some extent an honest difference of opinion in the public mind, as to what constitutes the proper, legitimate and necessary studies to be pursued in our public schools. One class of community seem inclined to hold on, with dogged tenacity, to the notions and opinions which they formed, perhaps half a century ago; and contend that studies which were proper for common schools then, are sufficient now; they seem to look upon all march of mind, upon all the progressive improvements of the times, as innovations which ought not to be tolerated. Another class, naturally indignant at these musty, superannuated notions, lose their balance, and rush to the opposite extreme, and claim that not only the abstruse sciences, but also the dead languages ought to be taught in the common schools of the present day. While another, and as your committee think, the more reasonable and sensible class, (and they would fain hope far the most numerous class,) maintain a medium ground, between these two extremes; they believe that while too much care and attention cannot be bestowed upon the primary branches of an English education, such as reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, etc., yet, that when the pupils have become sufficiently familiar with these, their time may be scarcely less profitably employed in gaining a knowledge of the simpler *elements* of the various common sciences which they may have occasion to use in the ordinary, every-day business of life. Such is the opinion of your committee. They believe that the great and permanent good of the entire commonwealth, will be vastly better advanced by imparting these important branches of knowledge to the sons and daughters of the toiling

⁵³*Ibid.*, September 7, 1846.

millions, even although it be done at the public expense, than by having them confined exclusively to the more highly favored and opulent pupils of the academy and the high school.

The committee proceeded to summarize the programs of studies⁵⁴ and the schedule of classes⁵⁵ and earnestly protested against the proposal that any part of this should be abandoned. In concluding it remarked:⁵⁶

Is there anything alarming in this?—anything calculated to startle from their propriety any but the most inveterate opposers of the progress of the mind?—anything to justify the passage of the resolution, cutting off all but the lowest branches? Your committee think not. They believe that the occasional exercise of the advanced pupils in these higher studies, is calculated to expand their minds, to brighten their intellects, and to

54		55	
<i>Studies</i>	<i>No. Pupils</i>	<i>Studies</i>	<i>No. Pupils</i>
Alphabet	241	Elts. of Nat. Phil.	468
Read. & Spelling alone	378	Elts. of Algebra	91
Writing	1367	Human Physiology	122
Arithmetic	2117	Elts. of Astronomy	54
Geography	1211	Elts. of Chemistry	38
English Grammar	718	Elts. of Botany	34
U. S. History	163	Bookkeeping	28
		Town's Analysis	128

⁵⁶Course of Study in the Public Schools of Rochester as Illustrated in District No. 5:

Forenoon

Class in Primary Geography, 20 min., Class in Larger Geography, 25 min.
Class in Mental Arithmetic, 30 min.

(Recess)

First class in Arithmetic, 30 min. Second class in Arithmetic, 30 min.
Four classes in Reading, 30 min.

Afternoon

Class of 6 in Algebra, 15 min. First class in Grammar, 30 min.
Class of 7 in Philosophy, 15 min. Second class in Grammar, 30 min.

(Recess)

Class of 20 in Ag., Chemistry, 2 classes in Reading & Spell., 45 min.
and Geology, 15 min. Closing Exercises, 15 min.
30 minutes during the day are devoted to writing.

⁵⁶Board of Education, *Proceedings*, September 7, 1846.

facilitate their progress in the commoner studies, as well as to make them more useful members of society.

The recommendation to organize union schools for the more advanced pupils was made a second time by Superintendent B. R. McAlpine in his report of December 7, 1846, and a third time by Superintendent Daniel Holbrook on August 28, 1848. It was not until 1850, however, that this type of organization was actually accomplished.

Superintendent Holbrook also made a guarded suggestion that the Board of Education begin to abandon the separate grouping of boys and girls as wasteful and inefficient. He urged the measure on practical grounds of saving time and labor, but maintained that the change could be made with even stronger support from "a moral point of view." This matter was referred to a select committee which reported favorably on August 6, 1849, the members expressing their opinions as follows:⁶⁷

The principle of isolation, the separating the sexes, in the innocent and delightful pursuit of knowledge, is, we doubt not, fraught with more inconveniences and evils than it prevents, is an imputation upon the moral character and social standing of our community, which is unjust and unauthorized by the facts in the case; and its effects like many other examples in the world's history, of want of confidence in humanity, tends to undermine the very virtue which it would fain guard. . . .

Resolved, That a system of classification be adopted in the common schools of this city, based upon capacity and scholarship alone, without distinction of sex; and that the Superintendent be directed to cooperate with the principals of the several schools in the adoption of this plan at the commencement of the coming term.

The report of the committee was not acted upon, however, and no change was made until the complete reorganization of the system in 1850.

The reorganization of 1850 was preceded by New York State legislation (1849) providing for a system of free schools for the entire state; and legislative action amending the city

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, August 6, 1849.

charter (April, 1850) to constitute the several wards of the city as one school district with free schooling for all children between the ages of five and sixteen. The titles to school-houses, furniture, and all school property were transferred from the trustees of the districts to the City of Rochester. The school taxes and other funds were made available for use by the Board for the different schoolhouses in proportion to their needs, and new building costs were levied on the entire city. This school law was the actual beginning of a city system of public schools. It tended almost at once to equalize educational advantages in the various districts. Full reorganization of the city schools was now possible. On July 22, 1850, a lengthy report was submitted to the Board of Education by its Select Committee on the Reorganization of the Public Schools. This report, which was accepted by the Board, contained the following important paragraphs:⁵⁸

In each of the sixteen districts of this city, there are what may properly be denominated senior classes; these have varied in size and have probably ranged from three to ten scholars each, thus rendering it necessary, as has been supposed, to employ a male teacher as principal of each school, and as has been before stated, these several classes have required the same amount of time and labor in order to accomplish a given result, as would have been found necessary had they averaged twenty-five or thirty scholars each.

The benefits which will accrue to these senior scholars individually, as well as the vast amount of labor saved by concentrating them into a less number of schools, and their consequent organization into five or six instead of sixteen distinct and separate classes, must be apparent to every reflecting mind. In addition to this, the system of concentration, so far as it relates to the older and more advanced scholars, supersedes the necessity of employing so large a number of male teachers without impairing in the least the character or efficiency of the primary and intermediate departments, as it is a fact long since established, not only by ob-

⁵⁸Board of Education, *Proceedings*, July 22, 1850.

ervation and experience, but by common sense, that educated females are better adapted to the purposes of governing and instructing children under ten or twelve years of age than males; and the intermediate departments must experience a direct and positive benefit by the removal of the senior scholars, comparatively few in number, but who have heretofore monopolized a large portion of the time and attention of teachers.

By the amended city charter, the power to establish such schools and to institute in them such a system of organization and classification as shall serve to remedy the evils complained of, and as shall tend to their elevation and efficiency, is vested in the Board of Education, and in the judgment of your Committee, this power should be exercised at the earliest period practicable.

By the ordinance of the Board, the different departments of our free schools are designated as Primary, Intermediate and Senior, and in the opinion of your Committee, these several departments should be kept as separate and distinct as possible, and that in no case should the three be convened in the same school house, as heretofore; and the Committee recommend that six schools be organized in the city, three on each side of the river, to be denominated the senior schools, and that the principal departments of these schools embrace all of the children of the city who wish to attend the public schools, and who shall have attained the age of 11 years and whose requirements will enable them to enter immediately upon the study of the branches taught in these departments, and that these several schools be under the supervision and control of well qualified male teachers, who shall be styled principals, and that they be furnished with such a number of female assistants as may be found necessary; and the Committee also recommends that the scholars composing these several schools or departments be convened wherever it can be made practicable in one room, furnished with such a number of recitation rooms as the order and efficiency of the schools may require.

It will doubtless be found necessary, arranged as our school houses now are, to have two departments meet in each house; and the Committee recommend, that in each of the houses selected for the use of the senior schools, an intermediate department be also organized, composed of all the children residing in those districts, respectively between the ages of eight and eleven years, and whose acquirements will enable them to immediately upon the studies pursued in those departments, and that in each of the other school houses there be organized and classified a primary and an intermediate school; that no child under five years of age be admitted into any primary school, and that no person over twenty-one years of age be admitted as a scholar in any senior school. And the committee further recommend that each of the several departments in the respective districts be convened and classified in the same room without regard to sex, whenever the condition and arrangement of the house will render it practicable.

In adopting any new and important measure for the regulation of our free schools, or in attempting to carry out the plan for the reorganization of the Schools now proposed, the Board will need the confidence and cooperation of all interested in the cause of Education.

The community are aware that important changes have recently been made in our School Law; their manifest concurrence evinces not only a willingness, but a desire, that corresponding changes be made in the organization and management of our Public Schools. This they have a right to expect, and many are now looking with no little interest to the action of the Board on this subject.

CONCLUSIONS

The City of Rochester seems ever to have been proud of its schools, although not always with equal justification. Over and over in the old records, faith in education is asserted, and despite some tax grumbling, that faith finds outlet in good works. The remarks of the successive superintendents in noting the "rapidity and success" of the ad-

vance of the public school movement in Rochester sound somewhat fulsome when repeated year after year. Yet during the forties the city was building the foundations for solid educational developments of later years. By the close of the decade in 1850 notes of courage and triumph were sounded, and spirit of optimism prevailed. The new system had been proved effective, accomplishment had brought its gratifying satisfactions, and the future of the public schools was faced, not merely with a realization of struggles to come, but also with the fore-knowledge based upon past successes, that the future would be lighted with progressive achievement. President Samuel A. Andrews' report, dated March 3, 1851, is marked with the pride and the hope of the city in its free public schools:

Our experience of the working of the new school law thus far, has realized the expectations of its sanguine friends, and warrants the belief that it only requires the fostering care and liberal feeling of our citizens to be made as nearly perfect as any human contrivance can well be to accomplish the objects for which it was designed, namely: to educate and prepare, morally and mentally, for the ordinary duties and business of life, *all* the children of our city who shall avail themselves of its advantages, and at a less cost than is afforded by the school systems of perhaps any city in our State or country.

The body of teachers engaged in their useful and honorable duties, are gentlemen and ladies whose moral, religious and intellectual worth entitle them to more cordial consideration and confidence than they have heretofore received.

Our recent examination of the schools has been highly satisfactory. They have exhibited evidence of improvement and thorough teaching, and the appeal is confidently made to such of our citizens as have attended them, for the truth of the remark, that at no former period have we had schools of any description of a superior character.

The Rochester Free Academy

By M. LUCILE BOWEN



THE concept of a free public high school had become familiar in Rochester long before it gained expression in institutional form. The earliest practical moves in this direction had involved the extension of the program of studies of various district schools up into the academy level. Such advanced instruction was provided in at least two of these schools by 1840,¹ and under the direction of the Board of Education, elected during the following year, academical subjects were gradually introduced in the form of senior school departments into Districts 1, 13, 16, and 17. But the traditionally small size of the school districts and their one- or two-teacher schools were poor units in which to organize high school departments. The state legislature had recognized this situation as early as 1821, and its school law of that year had authorized the trustees of two or more school districts to join forces for the purpose of erecting union schools equipped for monitorial instruction and able to offer work in the higher branches.² Rochester was one of the leaders in this movement, and in 1827 its Brighton Districts 4 and 14 had secured a special charter to establish a monitorial and high school. This original Rochester High School was soon found to require more revenue than the two districts were willing to raise. The building was leased in 1831 and operated as an incorporated academy for two more decades, but close ties were maintained with the districts until 1839. In spite of its semi-private character, the Rochester Seminary, or Rochester Collegiate Institute—as the academy was successively called—served the purpose of a community high school in many respects. Its low tuition rates compared reasonably with the district school charges under the rate bill prior to the adoption of the free school

¹W. J. Gifford, *Historical Development of the New York State High School System* (Albany, 1920), p. 168.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

amendment in 1841. Indeed, it was not until after the destruction of this old academy building by fire in 1851 that any urgent demands for a free public high school found voice in Rochester.³

THE CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL

The first city charter, granted to Rochester in 1834, gave the Common Council authority to act as town commissioners of common schools under the state school laws. This authority included, among other powers, that of organizing union districts for the support of high schools, and this same power passed to the Board of Education upon its creation in 1841. By this date enough of the children who had been attending the district schools were returning for successive school terms to present a real challenge to provide advanced instruction. Superintendent Mack made an eloquent plea in his report of 1844 for a school where the "talented and ambitious youth of our city ought to have all the facilities necessary for a thorough education."⁴ Interest in this proposal found expression in several public meetings during June of 1845. In the face of opposition, Henry Rochester and Isaac Hills initiated a movement which secured enactment by the legislature of a law empowering the Board of Education to establish high schools.⁵ The cost of construction was not to exceed \$8,000. But the final power to raise this fund and to provide the annual maintenance of the proposed schools was placed in the hands of the Common Council which refused to increase the tax burden. Thus the campaign for a free high school was blocked at this time, and instead the Board encouraged the organization of senior school departments in several of the newly erected district school houses.

But the demand for a central high school was only postponed. Within five years, ten other communities in the state, most of them smaller than Rochester, had secured authority from the state to establish free central schools equipped for

³See above, pp. 28, 154.

⁴Board of Education, *2nd Annual Report* (1844), p. 23.

⁵*Rochester Daily Advertiser*, June 4, 13, 14, 16, 1845; *Rochester Daily Democrat*, June 6, 11, 13, 1845; N. Y., *Laws of 1845*, Ch. 118, p. 98.

the higher branches. Certainly Rochester should not lag behind.⁶ In 1853 the Board's committee on organization recommended that a free academy be established immediately. Its report urged that provision be made for a course of instruction in all the branches of an English education which should be equal in extent and value to that given in any academy or higher seminary. The committee argued that such an institution would tend to elevate public sentiment to proper appreciation of the common schools; it would unite the hearts and strengthen the hands of those friendly to education; it would infuse life and vigor into every department by presenting a new and powerful motive for increased energy and fidelity of pupils, and would bring out the skill and energy of teachers by making them want to excel in the number and qualifications of the pupils presented annually for examination and promotion. Furthermore the committee reported that, wherever public and high schools had been established, the results had been beneficial. Philadelphia and more than fifty towns of New England had such high schools, but the Empire State could boast of only one institution open to all children of the rich and poor—The Free Academy of New York City. Even though the citizens of New York City were taxed beyond all precedent for this school, they felt that the benefits overbalanced the cost.

The committee reported that accommodations for such a school in Rochester could be found in Schoolhouse No. 1. The second floor of this building would be sufficient for one or two years with the expenditure of two hundred dollars. The report of this committee was adopted by the Board of Education on July 3, 1854. The annual report of the Board that year reminded the citizens of Rochester they should take pride in the fact that a system of free schools had been in operation in this city for twelve years—long before it had come to be regarded as a settled policy of the state at large—and that the establishment of a high school would place the public school system of Rochester upon a par at least with the educational system of any city in the union.

On January 3, 1855, another committee on school organization reported to the Board that the public school could

⁶Gifford, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-34.

no longer be considered a charitable institution because the children of the most wealthy citizens were being withdrawn from even the better class of private schools and placed in the public schools—but in order to draw from these wealthy citizens, it was necessary to provide suitable facilities. It was only just to those who contributed so largely to the expenses of education in the common branches that they should not be forced to incur an additional expense of a private or foreign institution for their sons and daughters. Again the committee bemoaned the fact that private institutions should have “many of their brightest ornaments” just because the public school was not prepared to give further education. This committee recommended that a free academy be organized at the commencement of the next school year, and that Schoolhouse No. 1, be devoted to the use of such an academy. This building was considered suitable because of its central location while the rapid appropriation of that portion of the city for business purposes made it less desirable for ordinary school purposes.

The superintendent of schools urged the Board of Education in his report of March 24, 1856, to take the subject of a high school in hand. His arguments were that neighboring cities were better off in that respect than Rochester; that the city was paying \$38,088 for support of private and select schools and that a large portion of that would be saved if they had a high school. In 1857 he reported again that a central high school was needed particularly because the senior department could be relieved of languages and higher mathematics and the Board could avail themselves of the offer of the University of Rochester to receive gratuitously three scholars from the Rochester public schools.

The Board of Education decided on July 6, 1857, to discontinue the senior schools in Districts 1, 13, 16, and 17 and to alter the building of School No. 1 for a central high school. They estimated the cost of alterations to be \$1,500, and estimated that by allowing eleven feet of room space to each scholar, they could accommodate 400 pupils. In other cities about five per cent of the average attendance of the common schools attended the high schools. If that rule applied here, only 160 would need to be accommodated.

In September, 1857, the Rochester Central High School was opened in some of the rooms of Number 1 on the Fitzhugh Street site now occupied by the Education Building. C. R. Pomeroy, A.M., was the Principal, and the members of the faculty were Edward Webster, A.M., Frederick G. Surbridge, A.M., Mrs. Mary G. Pomeroy, Preceptress, Miss Emma M. Morse, and Miss Susan E. Butts.

There were three courses given—the academic which required three years and was comparable to that of any private seminary; the college preparatory, consisting of the study of ancient languages and mathematics; and the eclectic course designed for those not desiring to graduate from the High School nor to enter college. All pupils were required to present compositions every two weeks, the gentlemen alternating with declamations every other week. Two papers, *The Student's Miscellany* edited by the gentlemen, and *The Repository* edited by the ladies, consisted of original contributions from the best talent of the school. The rules and regulations stated specifically that there was no code with penalties, but each student was made to feel that in assuming the high position of the *scholar* certain rights and duties were required and imposed. The prompt recognition of these rights was made imperative. Any student who by unworthy conduct forfeited the confidence of his fellow students and teachers could not remain a member of the High School. An examining committee appointed by the Board of Education was present for examinations at the close of each term's work. They designated, together with teacher's reports, the candidates for graduation and advancement. Excellence of scholarship and not length of time spent in the academy was the criterion for advancement.

The addresses given at the dedication of the High School building consisted of justifications of the Central High School and arguments to meet threatened opposition. The friends of the High School were warned that they might expect greater hostility from the large group of citizens who thought the Board had no right to tax the public except for the teaching of the first principles of arithmetic, geography, reading, and writing. Therefore the sponsors of the school must be resigned to the fact that the better the school be-

came, the greater would be the hostility. Mr. Samuel D. Porter said the school had been opposed as being an unjustifiable exercise of power, bad economy, and injurious to the cause of popular education as a whole. He asked for the justice of a liberal, candid, and impartial experiment. He recommended the high school as a "labor saving machine." Its chief virtue was that it would educate the largest number of scholars to the highest attainable point by the use of the least number of teachers and the least possible money. Frederick Starr gave a stirring defense for education, saying that a right education for all was second in value only to true religion. He reasoned that parents deserved to be arrested if they refused to secure the benefits of education for their children—girls as well as boys. Mr. Starr saw great danger in the doctrine that the lazy, idle, vicious multitude should be fed or clothed at the expense of the industrious and the prudent; nevertheless, the children of these must be saved. He predicted the dawn of a new day because of the education of a "universal mind" at the expense of "universal property" in the "universal free common school of the world."

There was considerable agitation regarding the method by which the candidates should be examined both for admittance and for graduation. It was arranged in the beginning that the pupil write his name, age, and residence, and the school from which he came on a card. These cards were to be numbered, put in an envelope and sealed. Then the pupil wrote only the number of his card on his answer paper. This system allowed the papers to be marked on their merits without knowing to whom they belonged. The first examinations had questions in orthography, English, grammar, arithmetic, reading, and definition of words. One hundred and sixty-two received marks of fifty per cent or more, and so were eligible for admission to the High School. It is no wonder that there were signs of dissatisfaction regarding the examinations. In 1859 some of the questions were: Define orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody. What is the first source of knowledge in general? State some of the proofs. What are the nature and characteristics of simple mental states? The passing mark was changed from fifty to seventy-

five per cent in that year. Charge was brought that the students who were admitted from private and parochial schools did not pass because those in charge of the High School did not intend they should pass. In 1877 there was such a struggle over entrance that it was made the issue of the charter election in that year. Those who wanted to make the entrance requirements easier were defeated.

When the Central High School was established at the beginning of the school year in 1857, the conditions of entrance were that "pupils must be at least twelve years of age and be able to present to the examining committee certificates from their teachers showing that their deportment and scholarship had been uniformly good, and [they must] pass satisfactory examinations in all the studies pursued in the grammar schools." At first pupils who were not residents of Rochester were refused admission. Later it was decided to admit them if they paid a tuition fee of ten dollars a term, a reasonable amount since the cost of instruction in 1858 was eight dollars and eighty-seven cents per pupil. In 1884 the attendance fee for non-residents was raised to twenty dollars per term.

In the year 1862, the High School received a charter from the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York and became subject to their visitations, and the name Rochester Free Academy was substituted for that of the Central High School. In the year 1865, the Board of Regents, in order to secure a uniform standard for the distribution of the income from the "Literature Fund," ordered an examination of pupils in the common school branches of all academies in the state. For several years the Regents accepted the examination instituted by the Board and wrote to the principal of the Academy, "the system in operation for admission to the Rochester Free Academy seems, in what is required and in its thoroughness, fully equal to what is required by the Regents, and may probably, without objection, be substituted for it." But in June, 1869, a communication was received from the Regents saying that they had decided that thereafter the distribution of the income from the "Literature Fund" would be made only upon scholars who held their certificates, and that the Regents' ex-

aminations would be used to determine the amount to be given to each school. This examination was never intended to be an entrance examination for the academies but simply a basis for distributing state funds, and there was persistent criticism of using the Regents' examinations as entrance examinations.

In 1883 the Regents' examination was abolished as an entrance examination. At the same time pupils who did not hold Regents' certificates were required to submit to the Regents' examination in order that the school might participate in the income from the "Literature Fund." Although the Regents' certificate was no longer necessary for admission to the Academy, pupils were urged to acquire this certificate as soon as possible after they had passed the entrance examination prescribed by the Academy. In 1884 arrangements were made for pupils to be examined in their several schools by direction of their principals rather than at the Academy as had previously been done. The age requirement was changed from twelve to fourteen years. There remained during the entire life of the Academy a feeling of honor at being accepted and a distinct sense of rivalry on the part of the elementary principals in preparing their candidates. The principals recommended them personally and placed them in different classes and groupings. The first year was Group D and the fourth year Group A. These classes were put into groups in as highly a selective process as we have today. Any pupil not securing a passing grade could be sent back to the grammar school. Since there was no compulsory school law, this meant that the pupils left school, and that practice accounted for the zeal in preparing the candidates and the reluctance to recommend any but worthy pupils.

The reports of the first years of the Academy bear witness to public aversion to taxes and to strong opposition to the Academy which made it necessary to defend every expenditure. Comparative costs of private schools and academies in other cities were made yearly, always with the conclusion that the cost per pupil was about half that of the private school and the cost of instruction per scholar about eight dollars below that of other academies. The first money appropriated by the Board of Regents to the Academy was

\$295.14. This was in 1863, and in that year the Principal asked for a raise in salary for the teachers. He wanted no raise for himself since "with rigid economy, aided by previous accumulations I can live respectably." The reports said that the pupils were impressed with becoming the custodians of general property. Walls and furniture bore evidence of this protection, for not even in the out buildings was there a scratch of a pencil or the mark of a knife.

Other impressions gained from the early reports are the tendency to measure the worth of the Academy by its ability to attract the children of wealthy and influential citizens, and the slow but gradual growth in civic pride and social consciousness which the Academy fostered. The principal asked a yearly pardon for believing and saying as he believed that the Academy was one of the best of its kind in the country. All of the visitors who praised the Academy were quoted in the yearly reports, and great pride was felt in the number of scholarships the students earned and the number who entered colleges. Proofs of the success of the Academy were that it was receiving the third largest amount of money of any academy in the state from the Regents as well as commendation from the Secretary of the Board of Regents. Applications had increased so much that it was thought best to discontinue the notices in the public press that it was open to all who had passed the prescribed examinations.

THE FREE ACADEMY BUILDING

In 1868 Principal Benedict reported that since the Academy was so crowded, the curators of public instruction should ask for an extra appropriation of \$10,000 to \$12,000 annually for five or six years to purchase suitable grounds and erect a building; otherwise, it would be simple justice for the Academy to close its doors and dismiss its officers at once. The next year President Hovey of the Board proposed that the Board erect a suitable building that would be an ornament instead of a disgrace to the city. Principal Benedict closed his report that year with the plea, "How long before we may look for removal to some 'Grove of Academus,' whose charming scenery and health-inspiring breezes will invigorate

student and teacher, and where a building will receive us which will be an ornament to the city of Rochester, and fit to stand at the head of her public schools? How long?" By 1870 some classes could not get standing room, and whenever a teacher had a smaller class than another taught at the same hour, a transfer of chairs and settees had to be made. It had been found necessary because of lack of space to suspend classes involving laboratory work in natural science.

In 1872 a committee of the Board of Education, consisting of Commissioners Copeland, Crittendon, and Edgerton, was appointed to secure the passage of an act by the legislature to authorize the city to raise by public tax \$75,000 for the purpose of the erection of a Free Academy Building. The act provided that the work of construction should be under the supervision of a commission consisting of three members each from the Board and the Common Council, appointments to be made from the Council by the Mayor and from the Board by its president. Accordingly Aldermen Kelley, Craig, and Griffin from the Council, and Commissioners Parsons, Jones, and Fredenberg from the Board were selected and, with Mayor A. Carter Wilder as chairman, constituted the commission. The plans of A. J. Warner were adopted, and the contract was let to W. H. Gorsline. During the construction of the building, rooms in the Masonic Hall which occupied the site now occupied by the Wilder Building, were rented for \$2,500 yearly rental. To save the pupils from too frequently climbing the stairs, there was one session beginning at 8:30 and continuing without interruption until 1:30. The new Academy Building was occupied March 23, 1874, with 300 pupils in attendance.

The new Free Academy Building, which is the present Education Building, 13 Fitzhugh Street, was considered not only handsome and substantial from an architectural viewpoint but admirably adapted for its use. The only criticism was the stairs which continued to be a source of difficulty in the years to come. The original lot had been enlarged by a thirty-three foot frontage purchased from D. T. Moore for \$16,500. The total cost of the building unfurnished was \$125,000, the legislature having voted an increased allow-

ance of \$50,000 the year following the authorization of the first tax. The building had four floors and a basement, and seven entrances, three in front and two on each side. The rooms on the first floor were the Central Library, a room for the meetings of the Board of Education, the offices of the superintendent of schools, and a laboratory. Separated from the laboratory by sliding doors was a classroom whose arrangement was such that the pupils could watch the instructor perform the experiments. The second floor had two large rooms and was for the male pupils; the third floor was the female department. On the fourth floor was a hall 90 by 61 feet which would seat nearly 1,000 people.

Considerable interest and pride were shown in the apparatus for heat and ventilation, and the authorities knew of no other building in the state which had both direct and indirect radiators connected with ventilating shafts. Heated air as well as fresh air was sent into every room, and even the water closets were connected with the ventilating shaft. The forward shaft of the ventilating system marred the effect of the fine assembly room, but the committee wisely decided that ventilation was more important than the interference in a hall which was used once a week or even less.

The building was first used for school purposes March 23, 1874. The week before, dedication services were held in the assembly hall. Early in the evening the entire building was illuminated by gas, and many citizens inspected the fine lighting, heating, and ventilating systems. Acting Mayor Aldridge presided at the dedicatory services in which members of the Board of Education, the Common Council, the Superintendent of Schools, representatives of the clergy and distinguished citizens took part. The superintendent of schools and the principal of the Buffalo High School were the guests of Rochester that evening. A chorus from the Academy sang "Fling Wide." The building committee traced with great detail the necessary steps taken to overcome the financial and legal difficulties as well as the difficulties in the construction of the building. Then the Mayor presented the keys to the Board of Education.

Superintendent S. A. Ellis made the main address in which he repeated with great enthusiasm the arguments which had

been used again and again to justify the existence of the Academy. Before the Academy existed, there was no goal—no laurel wreath to be won in order that the runner should summon all his powers in the race; the work done in the lower schools was of a better grade because the teachers were relieved of the more advanced pupils who took their time and attention; methods of instruction and discipline could be used with more advanced pupils which could not be introduced into the lower schools; the Academy exerted a happy social influence throughout the entire community, for it brought together children from families of the most diverse circumstances as to wealth and social standing; admission to the Academy operated as a powerful stimulant to all the lower grades because that was the top round of the ladder—except the three free scholarships to the university which in Rochester were the very top round; while such a school increased the cost, it diminished the aggregate cost of education, for private schools must diminish; the poor would rejoice in the opportunity for their children and the rich would cheerfully bear the additional tax, assured that it would return to them four fold—in the spirit of enterprise it fostered, the increased value given their property, the attraction to an increased number of families to this locality and because of the facilities it offered for education. The value of the Academy in training teachers, he said, could not be estimated. As Mr. Ellis thought of the array of pure and noble young women graduates whose intellectual culture, purified tastes and scholarly attainments had made them the center of all maidenly, wifely, and motherly influences, and of the male graduates who were the most enterprising and successful business men of the city, he was prepared to say with all his heart that next to the power of the Christian Church there was no such beneficent and mighty influence in the community as the Rochester Free Academy.

Opposition by tax payers to the Academy did not die down with the erection of the new building. There had been in 1868 a complaint from tax-payers concerning expenditures, and a committee of the Common Council had made an investigation and had reported that there was no just cause for complaint. It was in 1878, however, that the opposition

burst into full flame. Those opposed to the Academy demanded its abandonment. The press was filled with heated arguments on both sides of the question. Even the president of the Board of Education arraigned the Academy as a satire and travesty on the public school system. The chief objections to the Academy were that it opened its doors only to those who passed examinations, thereby bringing a very few together and furnishing them gratis a means of making them more remote from the common people who supported the school. It cost at least three times as much per capita as the common school education and was furnished to those old enough to engage in productive industry. As for needing the Academy to train teachers, the opposition said that before academic instruction was even heard of there had been no dearth of competent teachers. The Academy stood as a monument to the liberality of public servants in spending other people's money. The president of the Board proposed that the city furnish the building and charge tuition, but not attempt the instruction of all who had the taste and leisure to study the subjects taught. He was very emphatic against teaching German since, if German were taught, French, Irish, and Italian should be taught, and that would be antagonistic to our form of government, for the introduction of any foreign language endangered the cohesiveness of our population.

The opponents of academic instruction secured a vote in the Common Council to abolish the Academy. Since it was necessary to determine whether or not the Council could abolish a common school, a committee of the Council was appointed to investigate the affairs of the Academy. Very much to the surprise of the chairman, the committee reported the Academy should receive its full share of money raised for school purposes. The question of abolishing the Free Academy was carried to the polls in 1878, and the opponents of public instruction were defeated. The committee on the Free Academy refused also to recommend that a tuition of twenty dollars be charged every student as the opponents were demanding. No organized effort on the part of tax-payers to free themselves from the burden of paying for the Academy was ever made again. It was necessary in

1879, however, to present some statistics to the disgruntled. They were told that the cost of maintaining the Academy was two tenths of a mill on each dollar of assessment. Those who paid tax on an assessment of \$300 were giving \$.06 to its support and those who paid on an assessment of \$3000 were giving \$.60 to its support. Thus it would seem that they were not being unreasonably taxed for the Academy.

Certainly there was no waste of the taxpayer's money for equipment. The need for a piano was so keenly felt that in 1860, the principal donated the use of one for the fall term. Then the teachers and pupils decided to buy one for three hundred dollars and pay one third of the purchase money annually. The first installment was met by having an evening of poetry presented by a gentleman from Buffalo in Corinthian Hall, and a concert arranged by the pupils. The second installment was made by the principal "at some personal inconvenience." The final cost of \$145 was met by the Board, and it was felt that the city had received a piano at a very small cost.

When the Academy was established, no provision was made for apparatus to illustrate the principles of chemistry and natural philosophy. The trustees of the "Old High School" donated five hundred dollars for the purchase of philosophical and chemical apparatus. The intermediate school was moved to other quarters in 1858, and a room was provided for this apparatus. Later the state offered two hundred and fifty dollars for equipment if the Board would appropriate the same amount. Small appropriations were made yearly which, with the ingenuity of Dr. Forbes, enabled the Academy to have a laboratory of which they were very proud. In 1890 the mechanics employed by the Board of Education made apparatus for the physics laboratory under the direction of Dr. Forbes. This cost fifty per cent less than it would have, had they bought it from manufacturers. These are the only references made to expenditures for equipment except for the occasion when the principal did suggest that a few historic pictures and maps would facilitate instruction in history and language.

There is no record that any changes were made in the old high school building except those necessitated by a fire in

1860. The damage of this fire was estimated to be \$1,704, but since the insurance agent refused to accept this estimate, he superintended the repairs himself. The settlement with the Board was for \$1,625 with \$35 to replace equipment.

At first the ventilation in the new building was considered remarkable. However, there were complaints in the report of 1883, and as a result, a galvanized iron pipe was connected with the smoke stack of the boiler to ventilate the sewers. In this same year drinking fountains were placed in each of the session rooms. Fire drills were established in 1886, and in 1890 a fire escape was placed on the south side of the building. The latter structure was built on the design patented by William S. Coon of this city, and since it was the first he had ever erected, he gave it to the Board for a reduced figure. That must have animated the Board to a spurt of generosity, for in that same year, electric lights were installed in just those rooms used late afternoons and evenings; new Bundy radiators were substituted for the old leaky ones, and the old blackboards were replaced by slate. Lockers were placed in the girls' wardrobe the next fall because there were so many complaints over lost articles. A flagstaff was placed in front of the building from which a flag was to float on holidays.

There was considerable apprehension because of the difficulties the young ladies had in using the stairways. In 1883 an elevator was installed to enable them to go from the first to the third floor, and in 1887 inexpensive iron handrails were put on the stairways to enable the young ladies to take part in the fire drills. In that year electric bells were substituted for the old gongs, and thereafter the movement to classes was as regular as clockwork unless, as occasionally happened, some students diverted the teacher so that he was unable to ring the bells.

NATURE OF INSTRUCTION

The course of study as published in the first catalogue of 1857 demanded algebra, geometry, analysis and parsing, physiology, rhetoric, Latin, and ancient history for the first year. The course for the second year included geometry, chemistry, mental philosophy, astronomy, trigonometry,

botany, Latin, and French. The third year included geology, moral science, zoology, logic, criticism, English literature, and French. Ornamentals or modern language (at that time French and later German) could be substituted for Latin or trigonometry. The eclectic course, designed for those not intending to graduate or to go to college, allowed a choice of subjects which must be made by consulting the principal. The college preparatory course differed from the academic course only in the extent and variety of the mathematics, Latin, and Greek that were required for a particular college. This always included Latin each year and two years of Greek.

The academic course was changed from three to four years in 1860 because it was found to be impossible to teach chemistry, natural philosophy, and geometry with the Latin, Greek, and algebra which were required. Criticism, zoology and surveying were dropped and natural theology, analogy, and science of government were added to take their places. However in 1865, elementary algebra and natural theology were dropped from among the subjects required for the academic course, and modern history and physical geography were added. Mental philosophy and logic were combined into one subject called laws of thought.

There were at this time demands from parents that their children should spend more time on natural sciences and less time on languages. In 1871 an English and Scientific Course was added. This was a course of one year and was designed to offer young men an opportunity for mental discipline and a practical knowledge of bookkeeping, penmanship, and commercial law. This course became popular immediately, and forty-seven were enrolled in it the year following its establishment. There had evidently been considerable resistance to the demand for such a course. The principal had reported to the Board in 1866 that education was not the learning of a trade, but rather the discipline of intellectual powers so students could learn a trade. He had protested against putting subjects into the course of study which parental caprice or childish ignorance might consider productive of immediate pecuniary returns. A committee of the Board was sent to visit schools in both eastern and

western cities in 1871. Those visiting western cities had in mind the introduction of German, and they reported in favor of it. Instruction in German was begun that year.

The requirements of the academic course were slowly liberalized. One language was required in 1873, but the student could have his choice of French, German, or Greek. Outlines of history was changed to general history and physical geography to comparative geography. Analysis and parsing, criticism, moral philosophy, and English literature were dropped. Elocution and the writing of essays were required for two years and composition for one year. Such changes occurred yearly, indicating that curriculum making has long been the peculiar joy of educators.

The so-called Revised Course of Study of 1891 had three courses: the college preparatory made up of Latin, Greek, mathematics, and history; the scientific which demanded three sciences, mathematics and either Latin or German; the English and Business Course which offered English, bookkeeping, history, and science, but demanded no languages.

Two attempts to enlarge the curriculum, namely the demands for physical training and manual training, need special attention. In 1884 the students at their own expense had furnished and equipped a gymnasium for which they were given the use of the upper rooms in the Academy. They secured William Blakey of New York to give a lecture on "How to Get Strong and Stay Strong." It was the period when strong muscular development was the ideal, and the boys sold tickets for this lecture with great zest. The Board allowed the pupils to be formed into classes and have instruction three times a week. They engaged Mr. James Mellon who offered to give his time and attention to these classes for the privilege of using the room for instructing his own classes. He guaranteed against any loss or expense, and the experiment was regarded with favor because absences due to illness were reduced 25%. This course was continued, Professor Arey introducing the use of Indian clubs, and Miss Effie La Trace, the elocution teacher, giving the girls instruction in dancing. But the floor of the assembly hall had not been built for such exercises, and as building was

overcrowded, these classes were soon suspended. When East High School was being planned, Mr. Wilcox, the new principal, asked for a gymnasium. At first the Board was astonished at the idea of being asked to build a gymnasium with taxpayer's money. Finally they gave Mr. Wilcox a choice of one large gymnasium for the two high schools (West High School was being planned at that time) or two small ones. Mr. Wilcox asked for two, and regular classes in physical training began with the opening of East High School. Dr. Pollard of the University of Rochester, aided by college boys, supervised the boys' work, and the girls had a regular teacher.

In 1893 the principal of the Academy proposed to the Board of Education that a course in manual training be introduced into the Academy. The reasons given for the establishing such a course were the increasing numbers of pupils who did not finish the regular courses in the Academy, and the success which industrial training was having in other cities. Rochester was not a leader in this respect, and public sentiment in favor of manual training was slow in developing. The course had a very piecemeal growth. Drawing was introduced into the English course under the direction of the city supervisor of drawing. The next advance was to offer cooking and home-nursing as an optional choice for ethics. This was made possible in 1894 when Captain Henry Lomb contributed the cost of these lessons which were given by the lady managers of Mechanics Institute. Twenty-four girls took the lessons that year, but most of them did not discontinue the study of ethics. In 1897 Major Henry Lomb gave \$3,800 by means of which two courses at Mechanics Institute were offered pupils attending the Free Academy. One hundred and twenty girls took the domestic science course and ninety-six boys the manual training course. Application was made to the Common Council to have an appropriation for carrying on this work. It was denied, and the proposed manual training course was abandoned. In the fall of 1905 each high school was equipped for instruction in the elements of architectural and mechanical drawing, furniture design and construction, brass and copper work. One teacher was appointed for the work in both schools.

There are a few other interesting things to note in connection with the changes in the course of study. There were few changes in text books. It did not matter what text book a teacher recommended since that question was settled by members of a politically controlled board and local booksellers. In June, 1870, the Board of Education directed the faculty to give the Regents' examinations on the dates specified by the state. These were the first state examinations given in the schools. The time for the completion of the academic course was changed twice. When in 1884, the time was changed from three to four years, the older boys jeered the incoming class for having to take four years. Four boys, George Engert, Sterling Dean, Charles Van Voorhis and Albert Wilcox, decided to put an end to these taunts. They made a compact to make up the work—Latin, Greek, and mathematics, during the summer. They did not see each other from that time until they took their university entrance examinations. Professor Glen had warned the University of Rochester officials that these boys would be appearing, and that they were not prepared for college. All of them passed the entrance examination. It is interesting to note too, that semi-annual promotions were begun the first year Albert Wilcox was principal of the high school, and after thirty-eight years, they are being discontinued in the year that he retires as principal.

Since a large number of the graduates of the Academy were teaching in the elementary schools, the Board of Education decided that a Teachers Training Course would be helpful. This course was organized in May, 1865, and Miss Flora T. Parsons of Oswego was placed in charge of it. Mrs. S. A. Ellis and Miss Anne Booth were later leaders of it. Such subjects as *How to Teach Intelligently and Successfully*, *How May a Teacher Develop Traits Which Make Manhood and Womanhood* were discussed. Visitations to schools where students could observe experienced teachers were required. In 1891 this course became a post-graduate course for the Academy, and most of the graduates were placed in the elementary schools. When the Academy building became crowded, the training course was moved to rooms in the Durand Building, and in 1901 it was discontinued.

Evening school was organized in 1886 with two teachers. It increased so rapidly that year that six more teachers had to be hired. The principal reported at that time to the Board that the evening schools were being abused by parents who wanted to keep their children at work and in school at the same time. So many of the pupils were under 14 years of age that the Board ruled that no pupils under 14 years could come without special permission. Soon after, the evening school was removed from the Academy to other schools, and employers were asked to urge their employees to attend. It remained so crowded that it was quite a problem.

For two years after the opening of the new Free Academy Building in 1874, commencement exercises were held in its assembly room. For eleven years thereafter, they were held in the City Hall. In the years following various places were tried: Washington Rink, Central Presbyterian Church and the Lyceum Theatre. The custom of having every member of the graduating class take part on the program must have developed great powers of endurance in the audiences. One program had forty features—essays and musical numbers, as well as an address to the class. As the number of graduates increased, two evenings were required for the exercises, and even so, the programs would have twenty essays or orations. The subjects of some of these essays have a modern ring: *Work and Wages, Governmental Changes, Capital Punishment, Republicanism a Finality, Political Corruption, Non-Partisan Judiciary, Trade Unions, Elements of Liberty, Moneyed Aristocracy, The Passing of Spain*. Many of the subjects have a philosophical turn which the high school boy or girl of today would not think of discussing publicly: *Earnestness, Uses and Abuses of Wordly Advantage, Market Price of Brains, Pictures of Golden Deeds, The Discipline of Difficulties, Life at High Pressure, Cremation, The Moral Influence of Soap*. The only desire for relief from these long programs seemed to be because the rent of the Lyceum Theatre was one hundred dollars a day. In 1902 the program was shortened, and there were no essays or orations.

At the graduation exercises in June, 1882, those students who had not been asked to take part in the program prepared a mock scheme which was intended to ridicule the

teachers and the members of the class who were to deliver orations. Some of the take-offs on the teachers were "Free Lunch Eating Glen," "Many Unnecessary Examples Gilman," "All the Boys Like Crennell." According to the principal the allusions of these bits of literature were unfit for modest eyes. The Board of Education found out the promoters, and future classes were urged to bear this incident in mind and to encourage those who had to endure the trying ordeal of facing an audience rather than to embarrass them with abusive attempts at wit.

THE FACULTY AND STUDENTS

The first principal of the Academy, C. R. Pomeroy, resigned after two years of service, and Edward Webster took his place. He served for five years until 1864 when N. W. Benedict became the principal. Dr. Benedict retired after sixteen years of service, and Zachery P. Taylor was principal for three years. John G. Allen, who had been principal of No. 14 school for fourteen years, succeeded Mr. Taylor. Mr. Allen's retirement brought in Albert H. Wilcox in 1900.

It is very remarkable that there was such good teaching when one considers that appointments to the faculty were made by each board member's being given a turn to name a favored candidate. Certainly teaching ability was not the basis on which they were selected, yet the influence of many of the faculty is vividly remembered by the few of the 2,938 alumni who could be interviewed.

Dr. Forbes' influence as a real scientist was felt beyond the classroom. He made several important patents, one being an adjustable camera which was sold to the Eastman Kodak Company. Dr. Forbes, a sincere scholar whose presence commanded attention and respect, served in later years on several college faculties and held the post of Curator of the Physics Laboratory at Columbia University for seven years.

John G. Allen was a gentleman whose sincerity and honesty impressed students, and he was a real teacher. Albert Arey, instructor in science, was one of those rare souls who is occasionally found in the teaching field. As a geologist and civil engineer, he had had practical experience. He was so intensely interested in his subject that his classroom was an

inspiration. Professor Arey conducted a project in practical chemistry in his classes in which each boy and girl made a loaf of bread. There was considerable competition for the prizes given for the best loaf made. His chemistry class made etchings on the windows in which they portrayed the history of their class. Professor Arey was the city astronomer, and the telescope at his home attracted not only students but residents of the city who enjoyed hearing him describe whatever was of interest in the heavens. The geology excursions which Professor Arey conducted were long remembered by his many devoted students.

There were 21 members of the faculty in 1891, and the 15 ladies on the faculty were all products of the Rochester schools. This fact, according to the principal, was proof of the efficiency of the school system of which the Academy stood at the head. Miss Marion S. Lowry and Miss Minne R. Van Zandt were very exceptional mathematics teachers, and Miss Mary A. Clackner had the ability to make Latin and Greek not only interesting but alive.

The one indispensable quality in a teacher in those days was discipline. There was real studying, and a serious attitude toward work. Professor Frank E. Glen, instructor in classics demanded real mental discipline, and his students knew that they could not stay in his classes long without work. Each pupil in the Academy carried a card during the day on which was a written record of misdemeanors and failures.

In 1898 the teachers of the Free Academy undertook a study in adolescence, attempting to get an insight into the character and disposition of the prospective students. Blanks were sent to the parents and former teachers of applicants. Students were provided with other blanks, and the high school teachers were provided with blanks to note their observations of these same students. This was begun with only first year students and later extended to all. The information secured was on general health, temperament, character, greatest strength, greatest weakness, outside interests and home conditions. Many of the questions on these blanks point to the consciousness of the need for the work now done by our child study, guidance and health

departments. A great majority of the replies from students complained of the overcrowding and lack of ventilation in the high school building and of requests for high schools in different parts of the city. The conclusions from the study were that under the present conditions the teachers and pupils did not have a fair opportunity because overcrowding had destroyed the growth of the school. The principal demanded that there be well ventilated schoolrooms and smaller classes, that teachers have time to meet their pupils in different relations beside the recitation room, that each teacher have but one subject and that the principal not be overburdened with clerical work and teaching so that he had no time for supervision and parental consultation. Furthermore he added that a palatial courthouse, a fine jail and magnificent police station were the pride and boast of Rochester's citizens. Now that the city had "palaces" for her criminals, would it not be well to provide suitable accommodations for her high school pupils?

In 1890 Professor Arey suggested to some of his students that a camp be established for some field work in the natural sciences combined with an out-of-door vacation. Nineteen boys accompanied Professor Arey to Canandaigua Lake, and in two days enough boys had arrived to swell the number to forty. This group lived on a cooperative basis. The idea proved so popular that Professor Arey leased Tichenor's Point on the lake. Mrs. Arey made the tents as well as the large canvas which was the mess tent. A faculty was gathered from the leading universities for classes, and instructors for swimming, boxing, riding, fencing, and field sports.

A group of University of Rochester boys formed the "Chain Gang," who went ten days ahead of the campers to set up camp. The tents were arranged in company streets, and the camp was organized on military rule. There was a dress parade and drill after the evening meal, the boys wearing black and white striped blazers with caps to match, and carrying heavy guns. A fife and drum corps furnished the music. J. S. Gorsline, Colonel S. P. Moulthrop, and "Pop" Waldon of old No. 10 School served as Commandants.

A rising sun at 6:15 began the busy day. At eight o'clock the classes started, the geology class to get rocks, the ento-

mology class to get insects to mount, the botany class for specimens to classify and the taxidermy class for animals for stuffing and mounting. There were also classes in photography, sketching, and engineering. Three tents were fitted up as laboratories and a dark room for photography. After the morning excursions, there was a period of sports, ending with a swim. The afternoon was spent in the school tents working on the material gathered in the morning, and in more sports. Saturdays were given over to excursions to interesting places in the lake country and to meets and tournaments. In 1895 a camp baseball team was organized to play outside teams. These games became important events. In fact many of the parents became so interested that arrangements were made for some of them to stay at camp.

The plan was originally to limit the membership of the camp to students in the Rochester schools, but it grew rapidly to include students from several states. The camp was limited to one hundred which limit was often stretched by thirty to accommodate boys who returned ten or twelve seasons. A group of parents urged Professor Arey to take their daughters, and so he planned to keep the boys for four weeks and then take girls for the second four weeks. So many of the boys found it impossible to go home that soon Professor Arey had a coeducational camp on his hands. This had too many complications, and after five seasons Professor Arey discontinued the girls' camp. The girls had a program similar to that of the boys except that their physical culture was according to Delsarte. They, too, had a dress parade wearing long skirts and caps. A few girls, friends of Professor Arey's daughters, continued to go and lived by themselves on a street well-known as "Luxury Row."

The camp needed larger quarters, and in 1904 Professor Arey purchased a site on Keuka Lake. After six years Professor Arey, who had become head of the Department of Science in the Brooklyn Girls' High School, found it impossible to continue the camp. At that time his daughter and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. Andre Fontaine, converted the camp into a girls' camp known as Camp Arey. The Natural Science Camp is a fond memory to many Rochester men and women, and Professor Arey receives the honor of

having developed the first private summer camp for instruction and recreation in New York State.⁷

The number of student activities in the Academy was limited. There was an Athletic Association, and yearly a Field Day was held at Driving Park. The events consisted of various races and hurdles, putting the shot, a three legged race and a bicycle race. Occasionally the victors put on a celebration, such as taking their lady friends on a tour of the city in two six horse drags. The Academy had a bicycle club, a canoe club, and a baseball team.

Professor Arey organized Chemistry Suppers which were continued for a long time. The chemistry students used chemistry apparatus for setting the tables, and arranged such elaborate programs that the suppers came to be known as banquets.

There were several student fraternities: Pi Phi which was founded in Rochester in 1878; a chapter of Alpha Zeta, established in 1886; Gamma Sigma in 1890. The girls had two sororities, Arethusia which was established in 1892 and Kappa Epsilon a few years later.

The Gnothi Sophian Literary Society worked on debating, training future orators and statesmen. The senior class published a yearbook known as the *Aegis*.

DEMAND FOR A NEW HIGH SCHOOL

Applications for admission to the Academy had increased to such an extent that in 1887, the principal proposed that they raise the standard from 60 to 75% for a passing grade and admit only those who passed the Regent's examination. No changes in requirements were made, and the number of pupils increased to 681 in that year. The building which had been built for 500 students was inadequate. Portions of the assembly room had to have seats and be separated by curtains. The course in physical training was discontinued. The main hall of the assembly was used for recitations with two classes meeting at the same time. In 1888 there was such an increase in enrollment that the school day was divided into two sessions. Second, third, and fourth year

⁷*Sargent's Handbook* (1931 series), pp. 434-435.

students came at 9 o'clock and remained until 12:25 for a session of four divisions of 50 minutes each. First year students attended during the afternoon from 1 to 4:25. The rooms were crowded and so poorly lighted and ventilated that they were unfit for school purposes. Each year the principal asked for relief from these conditions, suggesting that if they could not erect a new school building, they should put all the first year students in schools No. 5 or No. 11 or that they secure the State Armory on South Clinton Street. Various plans to meet the overcrowding of the building were suggested: to build an East High School to be on an equal footing with the school on the west-side, to remodel the State Armory for the use of first and second year students; to erect separate high schools for boys and girls; or to build one large central high school.

The difficulties in the Free Academy Building were further complicated by the presence there of the old Central Library. That important and yet singular institution dated from 1863, when the seventeen school district libraries had been consolidated and placed under the supervision of the Superintendent of Schools. When the Free Academy Building was opened a part of the first floor had been assigned to the Central Library. Its books had circulated freely among adults as well as school children over ten years of age, and during the early years the Central Library had helped to make the Academy Building a vital intellectual center for the city. But during the same years that the Academy's student body grew from 247 to nearly a thousand pupils, the book resources had increased from around 5,000 to upwards of 7,000. The eager use of these books by the public was a serious burden on the meager staff supplied by the school authorities and further crowded the already congested Academy Building. Early proposals of the school authorities that the library should be removed to another building and its support assumed by the city, were replaced in the late nineties by the suggestion that the old Academy Building should be turned over to the library and one or more new high schools should be provided for the students.⁸

⁸Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, xvi, 45-50.

Indeed the activities in the Academy Building had become so congested by the mid-nineties that everybody seemed to desire to move out. The bustling commercial activity in the center of the city had made the site less desirable for school purposes, while the expansion of the city was making it difficult for even the older children to walk to school. Even the name of the old institution was beginning to appear anomalous, after a half century of free public school growth and the resultant decline of private academies. Indeed, the name was the first to be abandoned, when in June, 1899, it was officially changed to the Rochester High School. This was the beginning of the end, and the old building soon lost both its library and its student body. In fact, some of the books were redistributed to the grade schools in 1899, and the Central Library was finally closed in 1904, when the State Superintendent of Schools determined that state school funds should no longer be used for the support of libraries for adult circulation.

The old Board of Education with its ward representation and political entanglements had long been unable to determine upon a plan for the solution of the Academy's difficulties, and the problem was inherited by the revised small Board of Education organized in 1900. The decision to erect two high schools, one for the eastern, and one for the western part of the city, was one of the early decisions of the new Board. When East High School was opened early in 1903, and West High in the fall of 1905, the use of the old Academy building for class room purposes was brought to an end. But the old structure was destined for further educational services as the administrative center for the public school system of the growing metropolis.

The Three R's in Rochester

1850-1900

By DOROTHY S. TRUESDALE



I. CONFUSION

IN THE second half of the 19th century, Rochester was still the "Young Lion of the West," a busy, hustling town, somewhat less boisterous than of old, but unmistakably stamped with the mark of the frontier. Like all America, the city's interests were largely absorbed in an exciting material development, and the clatter of the mill wheels and the thrilling spectacle of urbanization tended to distract attention from such minor matters as education. Yet the schools were affected by the very changes which thus diverted attention from their needs. The result was a period of confusion in which the schools struggled to meet the educational demands of the growing population amid an atmosphere of general neglect and lack of understanding on the part of the community.

Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the school law of 1850 made little impression upon the habits and customs of the community. The district system, by which each district regulated its own schools as independent units, was the traditional form of American public school organization, and it took more than a law upon the statute books to successfully abolish it. The old terminology which designated schools as District No. 1, or District No. 5, still persisted, and with it the old district spirit. Under the new law the schools were divided into three divisions—senior, intermediate, and primary. But as was natural in a day when the responsibilities of life were assumed at an early age, few senior divisions were required. Consequently, while there were sixteen city schools in 1852, only eight of them were equipped with all three departments and headed by a male teacher.¹ This immediately brought forth cries of discrim-

¹Board of Education, *9th Annual Report* (1852), p. 8.

ation from the district-conscious public. Citizens from neighborhoods without senior schools charged that they were receiving an inferior school while some other section of the city benefitted at their expense. It was in vain that the school authorities explained that under the one district system such children automatically entered the senior department in another building and had as much right there as those who had completed the preliminary work within its walls. The practice of limiting male teachers to the senior schools also came in for its share of criticism. While women might be able to meet the limited needs of younger children, parents complained that they could not keep as good order as men. In a wave of indignation many parents withdrew their children from the public schools, and the old, unfavorable comparisons with the private schools took on a new lease of life.

Even the actions of the Board of Education were colored by the habits of thought of the old district system. The two representatives from each ward² were responsible for the management of the schools in their respective wards. These representatives regularly presented petitions from the residents of a district for the appointment of individuals as teachers, and these requests were usually the basis of filling such positions. As late as 1870, local autonomy was reflected in the rule that the ward commissioner must approve any change in teachers in the schools of his ward.³

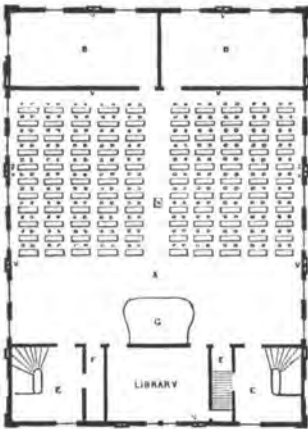
In the schools themselves, there was little change from the methods of an earlier generation. The ungraded school, based on the individualism of a small, rural society struggled unsuccessfully to serve the needs of a rapidly growing urban population. The recitation room method held sway. Each department usually had one large room in which pupils of considerably different ages and attainments studied their lessons together. Periodically small groups retired to recite to one of the teachers, sometimes in an adjoining recitation room, sometimes, if the school were crowded, in a corner of

²From 1850 to 1860, the Board was composed of two representatives from each ward. In 1860, the growing number of wards made necessary a reduction to one representative from each ward.

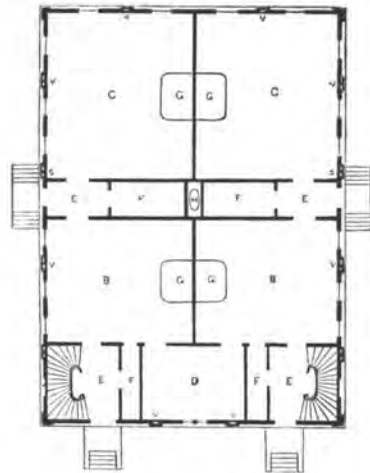
³Board of Education, *Proceedings*, May 2, 1870.



ROCHESTER DISTRICT SCHOOL No. 3—BUILT ON CLAY STREET IN 1854 TO ACCOMMODATE 500 PUPILS IN THREE DEPARTMENTS WITH THE SEXES SEPARATED IN THE YOUNGER DEPARTMENTS. A STAFF OF SEVEN TEACHERS AND A PRINCIPAL SERVED THIS SCHOOL WHICH BOASTED THE LARGEST FLOOR SPACE AMONG ROCHESTER SCHOOLS OF THAT DAY



SECOND FLOOR PLAN
A—Senior Department
D—Recitation Rooms



FIRST FLOOR PLAN
B—Intermediate Rooms
C—Primary Rooms

the main schoolroom. Each child practically pursued his own course of study and "individual attention" reached a high stage of development. But with the growing size of the schools, this individualism resulted only in chaos. Even the text-book—that mainstay of harrassed teachers—offered no approach to uniformity, for the unsympathetic parents who supplied these texts often considered a speller a speller, no matter what its vintage or author. There was no accepted regulation for passing from one department to another and the attainments of pupils in the same department varied from school to school.

The situation was further complicated by the varying enrollment of the schools. In those "good old days" before any compulsory education law, free schools meant freedom to attend, or not to attend, as pupils—or their parents—wished. This happy state of affairs then prevailed in every state of the Union, save Massachusetts, which, in 1852, had gone on record requiring children between the ages of eight and fourteen to attend school at least *twelve weeks* a year!⁴ Even the attempts of the school authorities to require reasons for a child's absence was resented by the good people of Rochester as an usurpation of parental authority. In 1856, a school policeman was appointed to check up on absentees, but his function was limited to ascertaining whether Johnny's absence was known to his parents. In that case, he was helpless, for he had no authority to compel the parents to send their children to school. Principals complained that any trivial errand or employment was sufficient to keep a child from school. The Board attempted to mitigate this evil by providing that any child absent a certain number of days without an excuse should be suspended until his parents had interviewed the superintendent. This brought forth a storm of public wrath and the superintendent reported that meeting irate parents took most of his time.⁵

⁴Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (Cambridge, 1934), p. 562.

⁵Board of Education, *22nd Annual Report* (1865), pp. 13-14. There was at this period a "House for Idle and Truant Children," but, like the truant law of 1853, it dealt only with children guilty of lawlessness and delinquency.

Tardiness was a chronic ailment. The superintendent reported that "during the first hour in the morning and the first half hour in the afternoon, the school was constantly interrupted by the arrival of scholars."⁶ To remedy this, the Board passed a rule denying admittance to children not in school on time.⁷ This raised a great popular outcry, and in spite of the Board's constant recommendation of it, the rule was evidently very slackly enforced. Instead, we find principals resorting to other means of correction. One tried the experiment of keeping laggards after school to sweep the rooms. But he was forced to admit that it was not very successful; parents complained, and, for some mysterious reason, it was "not adapted to young ladies who are dilatory."⁸ A colleague of sterner stuff, however, reported the practice (minus room sweeping) highly successful and recommended it as an efficient innovation in school discipline.

The need for many boys and girls to go to work at an early age, was, of course, reflected in this irregular attendance. School was something to be squeezed in between occasional jobs and at eleven or twelve years probably to be left for good. Yet the appreciation of these working boys and girls for an education was shown in the early demand for an evening school. Even in village days, private "writing schools" had advertised evening sessions for the benefit of those employed during the day. In the winter of 1852-53 a petition for a public evening school failed in its object because of lack of funds. The next winter, however, saw such a school opened for four months in No. 1 schoolhouse, and achieve an almost immediate success.⁹ A second evening school was established the following year in No. 11, and together the two boasted a combined registration of 817.¹⁰ In spite of difficulties with the gas lights, which at times gave a very uncertain illumination and occasionally caused the adjournment of the school in total darkness, the evening

⁶Board of Education, *9th Annual Report*, p. 16.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁸Board of Education, *12th Annual Report* (1855), p. 24.

⁹Board of Education, *11th Annual Report* (1854), pp. 9-10.

¹⁰Board of Education, *12th Annual Report*, pp. 9-10.

school maintained its sessions until 1860. With the exception of the years from 1873 to 1876, when two night schools were opened in No. 5 and No. 14 schools, financial stringency prevented further sessions until 1886. Then the evening school again became part of the public school system.¹¹

II. THE GRADED SCHOOL

Meanwhile, the most practical of considerations were bringing about a new development in school organization. As the trend in American life toward concentration in urban centers set in, city after city found its schools utterly unadapted to meet the increasing numbers who sought admission. The result, in spite of irregular and brief attendance, was an overwhelming crowding of the schools. In Rochester, by 1854, nearly every school had children seated on window sills, on boxes along the sides of the room, or in entry ways.¹² (No wonder children skipped school so often!) And yet, even under these conditions, less than 30% of the potential school population was being educated in the public schools of New York State, and less than 40% in those of Rochester.¹³ The ungraded school was incapable of educating these growing numbers. Under its individualistic system, large school-houses and large classrooms were an impracticality. The only resort was to increase the number of schools out of all proportion to the willingness of the public to supply the school exchequer. The lamentable fact was soon only too apparent that the ungraded school cost too much under the new conditions, and the wails of taxpayers all over the country made it clear that some cheaper solution of the problem must be found. This proved to be the graded school, which first evolved in the city of Quincy, Massachusetts in 1848, and which spread rapidly to other cities, including nearby Oswego, within the next decade.

Although Rochester was slow in following suit, there were indications of a coming change as early as 1857. In that year

¹¹For later evening schools, see pp. 202-203.

¹²Board of Education, *11th Annual Report*, p. 24.

¹³Thomas E. Finegan, *Free Schools* (15th Annual Report of the N. Y. State Education Dept., Vol. I, Albany, 1921), p. 534; Board of Education, *15th Annual Report* (1858), p. 33.

the first reform in the city's school system—the abolition of the separate school for colored children—was effected by the sudden realization that it cost nearly \$8 more to educate a Negro child than a white child.¹⁴ At the same time, demand for the reorganization of the schools was increased by the newly founded high school. The need for uniform work in the lower schools now became imperative. No two schools in the city were preparing pupils alike, yet all demanded that their graduates be admitted on a common basis.

In the fall of 1859, therefore, an effort was made to provide a uniform course of study and to bring some order into the chaotic school arrangement. The principals of Schools Nos. 2, 5, and 6 were authorized by Superintendent Philip H. Curtis¹⁵ to try the experiment of subdividing the three existing departments into divisions, each of which should cover a stated amount of work. This preliminary step worked so well that the following spring it was introduced into other schools in the city. By 1862, all senior departments contained the first, second, and third divisions; the junior (or intermediate), the fourth and fifth; and the primary, the first and second.¹⁶ Studies were classified according to each division—a classification which usually meant that a division was assigned so many pages of a stipulated text. Upon the successful completion of this material, pupils passed into the next division. The only disadvantage in this system reported by the principals was that the large number of pupils who attended school only part of the time were seldom qualified to fit into any division.

Even before this division plan had been completed, however, another very important step had been taken toward the establishment of the graded school. In the summer of 1860, the Board of Education authorized a committee to observe the construction and functioning of separate grade rooms in the schools of Brooklyn, and to investigate, as well,

¹⁴Board of Education, *13th Annual Report* (1856), p. 18.

¹⁵It has sometimes been asserted that this was done by Superintendent Daniel Holbrook in 1857, but a careful review of the contemporary reports and proceedings shows that, while Holbrook advocated classification of studies, actual subdivision of departments did not occur until 1859.

¹⁶Board of Education, *19th Annual Report* (1862), p. 20.

similar arrangements in St. Louis and Chicago.¹⁷ The result was a radical departure in Rochester's school architecture. With the building of No. 9, hailed as the model school of the day, the city saw for the first time individual classrooms opening off long hallways. No. 9 was built after the plan of Brooklyn's No. 14, in the shape of an L, two stories high. Its grade rooms were divided from one another by glass partitions, which were considered the height of ingenuity, as they not only enabled the principal, in his classroom at the corner of the L, to see at a glance the conduct of an entire floor, but could also be rolled back to make a large room for assembly purposes. The dedication of this building on September 13, 1861, was graced by the presence of the Mayor, the Board of Education and most of the Common Council, to say nothing of the throngs of citizens who wandered through the rooms and marvelled at (or criticized) the remarkable new plan of construction. The dedicatory address was delivered by the President of the young University of Rochester, Martin B. Anderson, and was made notable by the radical assertion (which probably few of his listeners believed) that teaching should be considered a profession.¹⁸

The building of No. 9 started a wave of remodelling in Rochester schools. As quickly as possible glass partitions were installed to make separate grade rooms in the older schools and the old fashioned long, straight benches were replaced by stationary desks, seating two pupils. With the architectural change, the term "grade" was substituted for "division" in 1863. Although the establishment of the graded school was thus very nearly complete, lack of funds for remodelling caused many schools to continue without separate classrooms for nearly a decade longer. What had been called the senior division was now the "grammar school," containing the first, second, and third grades; the intermediate department, or school, contained the fourth and fifth grades; and the primary was composed of the sixth and seventh grades—thus making a system numbered in reverse of today's arrangement. The school year was generally forty-

¹⁷Board of Education, *Proceedings*, July 12, 1860.

¹⁸*Rochester Evening Express*, September 14, 1861.

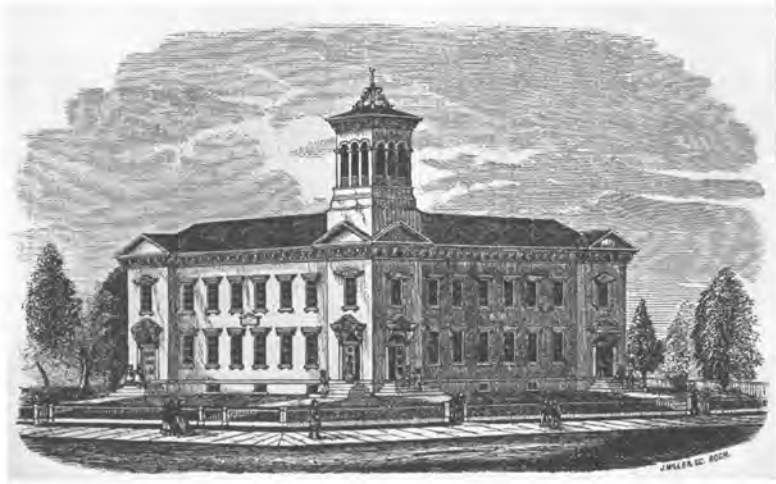
four weeks long, and was divided into three terms, as under the ungraded system.¹⁹

The subject matter taught in these new schools consisted basically of reading, spelling, and arithmetic. Writing hardly held a place in this trinity, for while it was stressed at times, it was more often neglected, and the schools were frequently criticized for the poor writers they turned out. Perhaps squeaky slates and slate pencils were partly responsible for this state of affairs, for only in the upper grades was the dignity of pen and ink attained. In the upper grades, grammar was a favorite subject, but geography and even United States history were innovations which maintained a precarious existence. A general lack of trained teachers made reliance upon the textbook the inevitable if not the prescribed practice. While there were many teachers such as John W. Adams, the beloved principal of No. 12, who gave their scholars a fundamental appreciation of the broad background of true learning, there were many more whose knowledge was confined to the same texts they taught their classes.

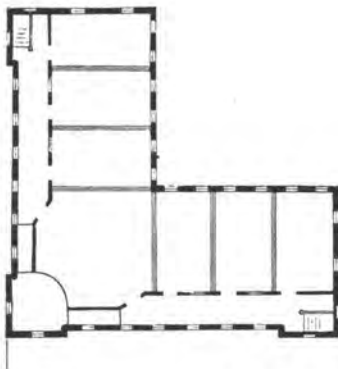
Of these textbooks, some were good and some were poor. Perhaps it is to be regretted that the famous McGuffey readers never gained entrance to Rochester classrooms. Nevertheless in a surprising number of instances the local texts met the responsibility devolved upon them. Spellers not only contained lists of words to be learned, but prose selections illustrating their use. Readers often contained a wide range of good, literary excerpts and devoted pages to the art of oral delivery which must have proved invaluable in preparing for the frequent oratorical contests.

School examinations must have been very trying occasions indeed in those days. They were conducted orally and were open to the general public, who were thus enabled to judge of the attainments of the school. Usually the class was questioned by the teacher or principal, but there were times when a "select committee" of the school patrons was invited to conduct the examination. Any spectator, too, was privileged to propound questions of his own. Perhaps to ward off too conscientious spectators, or to offer a more attractive

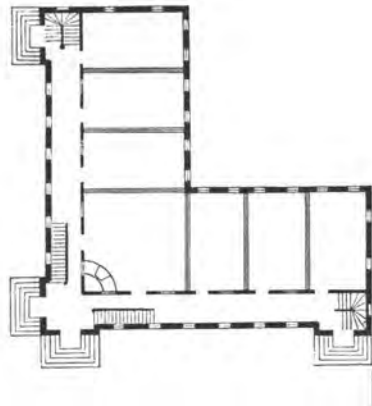
¹⁹Board of Education, *20th Annual Report* (1863), p. 83.



ROCHESTER DISTRICT SCHOOL No. 9—BUILT IN 1861 ON JOSEPH AVE., IT WAS THE FIRST SCHOOL IN ROCHESTER TO HAVE SEPARATE GRADE ROOMS. REMOVABLE GLASS PARTITIONS BETWEEN THE ROOMS, AND LONG L-SHAPED HALLS SET A NEW STYLE FOR ROCHESTER SCHOOLS



SECOND FLOOR PLAN



FIRST FLOOR PLAN

program to the assembled parents, recitations and declamations began to take the place of the somewhat dull routine of questions and answers. In time, such a program entirely supplanted the earlier procedure, and the school examination became, as in the private schools, an exhibition of the arts of memorization and oratory. Indeed, "exhibition" and "examination" became synonymous terms and were frequently used interchangeably in newspaper accounts.

In 1858, No. 14 inaugurated the practice of conducting public exhibitions in Corinthian Hall. The program on this occasion contained such stirring renditions as "Ethan Allen's Speech to the Green Mountain Boys," "The Destiny of the Empress Josephine," and the thrilling dialogue, "The Quarrel Between Roderick Dhu and FitzJames, King of Scotland." Frequently a committee was appointed to judge the merits of the youthful orators. What with parental feeling running high, it was a wise committee which followed the example of the diplomatic group who drew up three classes of three competitors each, "leaving it to the teacher and parties interested to determine upon the mode by which one in each class shall be awarded the prize."²⁰

We may today smile at these declamations and recitations which formed the great moments of a schoolboy's career, but the care taken to learn and present these selections in proper "declamatory" style had the merit of familiarizing the students with good literature and with a certain type of self-expression. It was a day of oratory, and though the oratorical style has gone out of fashion, it at least recognized what has so often been overlooked, that good oral expression is something to be learned.

School life in the 50's and 60's did not lack its lighter moments. One of the village characteristics which the thriving commercial city had not yet outgrown was the whole-hearted and spontaneous way in which the whole neighborhood entered into the school's festive occasions. Newspaper editorials might complain that parents betrayed a distressing lack of interest in the school sessions, but such could not be said of the school festivals. In No. 12 at least, the last day

²⁰*Reunions of Old 14*, p. 68.

of school was a great social occasion for parents and neighbors as well as pupils and teachers. This usually took the form of a picnic excursion to Irondequoit Bay or Charlotte, and it was a poor committee which merely set up tables in the school yard. Frequent invitations to the Board of Education to join other schools in similar outings is evidence that even then the shores of lake and bay were favorite spots with Rochester youth. Strawberry festivals—usually to raise money for the piano which was never supplied from public funds—were other occasions of school and neighborhood festivity.

III. THE OSWEGO INFLUENCE

The establishment of the graded school stimulated a new interest in educational theory in Rochester. It turned attention to other cities, and especially to neighboring Oswego, where the influence of English Pestolozzianism was bringing about an exciting and novel development. In 1864 a committee from the Rochester Board of Education visited the Oswego schools to observe the grading system in force in that city. They returned so enthusiastic over the new method of instruction employed there that grade arrangement filled only a minor part of their report.²¹

This new method was "object teaching," an English interpretation of the theories of the Swiss schoolmaster, Johann Heinrich Pestolozzi, which had been introduced into the Oswego schools in 1859 by the superintendent, Edward A. Sheldon. Essentially it was based on Pestolozzi's assertion that the child, not the subject matter, is paramount, and that observation and discussion of the natural objects of the child's environment should be substituted for textbook memorization. In England, this somewhat vague injunction had acquired a specific and highly formalized procedure, and it was this English system that became known in the United States as the Oswego Method.

Essentially it was this: The teacher showed an object, such as an apple or a stick of wood to the class; it was passed around among the group and each child examined it carefully; then the teacher led the class in an oral discussion of

²¹Board of Education, *22nd Annual Report*, p. 17.

what they had learned by this process. Although in the formalized object lesson, this discussion often followed a fixed and artificial routine, nevertheless its use of oral discussion and its emphasis upon the active part played by the child in the learning process stamped it as an important advance in American education. A training school was established at Oswego to give instruction to would-be teachers of the new method, and its graduates were widely sought by progressive school systems everywhere. Visitors flocked from all parts of the country to observe "object teaching" in operation, and it was widely discussed (and criticized) throughout the United States.²²

The enthusiastic Rochester committee lost no time in pressing the cause of the new education. In spite of some misgivings on the part of a few obdurate conservatives, a graduate of Oswego Training School, Miss Flora T. Parsons, was brought from her teaching in New York City to introduce the Oswego Method in Rochester. Miss Parsons was installed as an extra teacher in School No. 14 to give object lessons in the primary grades, and to teach the new technique to the teachers.²³ Oral methods were soon extended to the primary grades of other schools and four more teachers were imported from Oswego to assist the cause.

But this enthusiasm for the object lesson was short-lived. From the first, the general public—parents of the children involved—seem to have received it coolly. Certainly the teachers themselves disliked it—many of them because the new method required too much time in lesson preparation. However, the weaknesses involved in the excessive formalism of the object lesson were so apparent that even so able and interested an educator as Superintendent Sylvannus A. Ellis was lukewarm in his attitude toward it.²⁴ The method found its sole support among certain members of the Board and as time went on that declined. Moreover, it was introduced at a bad time. The Civil War was upon the land, and the sound of drums and marching feet drowned out the voice of edu-

²²Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, pp. 353, 385-390.

²³Board of Education, *22nd Annual Report*, pp. 19-21.

²⁴Board of Education, *29th Annual Report* (1872), p. 61.

cational reform. By 1869 object teaching had virtually died out in all but name, and although there was a revival of what was now called "oral instruction" about 1870, it was considered secondary to the textbook. Required oral instruction was limited to two lessons daily in the ninth grade and one daily up to the fourth grade.²⁵

But though the Oswego Movement soon died out in Rochester, its brief career had certain very important effects. The first of these was the new emphasis upon the primary grades. Heretofore, the lower grades had been considered inferior to the rest of the school and scant attention had been paid to them. There was a constant tendency to consider that primary teaching required less ability and involved less prestige than teaching in the grammar or intermediate grades. The salary scale reflected this attitude. The benefits of the graded school upon the course of study, too, had been more or less confined to the upper grades. Now, object teaching asserted the importance of the child's first years, and, as a corollary, exalted the position of the primary teacher.

Before the appearance of the object lesson, teaching in general tended to be regarded as an occupation without honor. It was the practice of the Board of Education, from motives of economy, to fill the schools with young, inexperienced, and often incapable teachers. Principals and even superintendents came from various walks of life to serve a brief time and then enter some other occupation. Although the state issued a teaching certificate as early as 1843, it was not required and seldom sought. Teaching standards were regulated by local authorities, and varied almost from year to year. Rochester supposedly issued certificates based on examinations, but the examination was often overlooked.²⁶ In 1863, the superintendent complained that "of the multitude always seeking appointments, very few indeed are prepared by education to render useful and acceptable service."²⁷

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 59-60. It should be noted, however, that oral instruction never actually disappeared from the formal course of study.

²⁶Board of Education, *Proceedings*, Feb. 1, 1875.

²⁷Board of Education, *20th Annual Report*, p. 27.

"Comparatively few of our best educated young ladies desire to teach at all," wrote the same superintendent.²⁸ And no wonder! Educated young ladies in those days usually came from affluent homes and had little need for earning their living by a menial occupation that required them to sweep the schools and make the fires! Or if they had, they preferred the more refined and congenial atmosphere of the private school. In 1853, salaries ranged from \$130 to \$650 a year, and had advanced little by 1865. True, by 1867, men principals received \$1,000 a year. But one of their female colleagues, Mary S. Anthony, sister of the famous Susan and herself no mean advocate of women's rights, militantly pointed out that women in the same position received only \$400 per year!²⁹ She demanded "equal pay for equal work." The Board recognized some justice in her complaint, and magnanimously raised the salaries of lady teachers \$25 a year. By 1871, women principals had advanced to \$700 a year. In that same year, Rochester read with astonishment that Chicago was paying two women principals the same salary as men.

No wonder many a young woman in this period shared the feelings expressed by Libbie Bailey, who in 1865 sent the following lively resignation to the Board.³⁰

"Dear Sir," wrote she, "I am happy this morning to be able to donate . . . that most acceptable of all things—a resignation! . . . Please deliver to my fortunate successor heart felt sympathy. Also to the other members of this fraternity this parting injunction—'Go ye and do likewise' viz. follow the illustrious example we have set them."

The effect of the Oswego Method was to improve the situation by asserting the importance of teaching and emphasizing the need for teacher training. While it is true that some attempt at teacher training had existed since 1855 through the medium of a teachers' institute which assembled the teachers of the city at stated intervals for lectures by

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹Board of Education, *24th Annual Report* (1867), pp. 71-72.

³⁰Board of Education, *Proceedings*, June 5, 1865.

the superintendent, it was at best a makeshift which actually accomplished very little. In 1863, it was proposed that a normal class should be incorporated as part of the fourth year in the Free Academy,³¹ but the suggestion failed to gain much favor. The first approach to a real training class came in 1865, following the introduction of the Oswego Method, and was primarily designed to give instruction in the new technique to teachers already engaged in the public schools. The class met in the Free Academy every fourth Friday evening until 1867, when the evening sessions were abandoned as being too hard for teachers who were working all day. Observation sessions at various schools were substituted for the evening sessions,³² but even this soon petered out with the lagging interest in object teaching. After 1868, the entire burden of teacher training was again placed upon the institutes, which were now subdivided into grade institutes for increased efficiency. In spite of the fact that this was the great period of the establishment of state normal schools, it seems to have had little effect upon the level of teacher training in Rochester.³³

IV. AN APATHETIC DECADE

In the decade after the Civil War, the growing lack of interest in the schools thrust the task of maintaining organization in the school curriculum upon the Regents' examinations. These examinations had been introduced into the upper grades of the common schools shortly after their establishment in 1865 as an attempt to secure a uniform basis for distributing the state Literature Fund among academies. Since it was thus to the interest of the high school to have as many as possible of its entering students possessing this certificate, the Regents' examination soon became equivalent to an entrance examination to that institution. By this means the Regents' soon attained a respected place in the grammar school curriculum. Under their influence, the written examination became for the first time

³¹Board of Education, *20th Annual Report*, p. 28.

³²Board of Education, *24th Annual Report*, pp. 6-7.

³³Finegan, *op. cit.*, p. 535.

the standard of measurement in the schools, and the emphasis in the school system again returned to the upper grades. In spite of their weaknesses, which were even then loudly cited by their critics, the Regents' possessed certain overwhelming attractions. They offered a positive, if arbitrary, means of classification of attainment, and above all, set up welcome and precise requirements of what should or should not be taught. In 1876, the superintendent, Charles N. Simmons, voiced the general approbation when he attributed the great improvement in the scholastic standards of the grammar schools to the Regents' examination "which has come to be considered by patrons, teachers and pupils, a sure and exact test of a teacher's success."³⁴

This attitude soon engendered a highly competitive atmosphere. Schools, to say nothing of individual teachers, tried to outdo one another in the excellence of their Regents' ratings. In 1871, an anonymous gentleman gave the superintendent \$25 to stimulate the cause of "higher scholarship." Two gold medals, "The Regents Grammar School Medals," were accordingly made, and offered as a prize to the two students attaining the highest Regents' rating in the upper grade of the grammar school. The first year the feminine competitors swept the field, and Miss Hattie Merrell of No. 12 and Miss Mary Perry of No. 5 were the proud winners. The next year former school commissioner DeLancy Crittenden offered a prize "worth \$30" to the pupil in No. 5 who stood the highest on the annual Regents'. Again, this prize, an "elegant royal opera necklace," went to a young lady, Miss Gertrude Dewey, who further distinguished herself by the capture of the first prize Regents Grammar School Medal.³⁵

Another development in the school curriculum worthy of note during this period was the temporary establishment of German instruction in the schools. The influence of this new group in the city's population was shown by the response to petitions from the German speaking inhabitants for such instruction, and in 1872 optional lessons in German were

³⁴Board of Education, *33rd Annual Report* (1876), p. 11.

³⁵Board of Education, *29th Annual Report*, p. 64; *30th Annual Report* (1873), p. 58.

offered in Nos. 17 and 18. Following the example of such cities as Cincinnati and Chicago, this was subsequently extended until by 1876 it had become quite a fad, with over 1,000 pupils in the elementary schools enrolled, only about half of whom were of German parentage.³⁶ Financial difficulties finally caused the end of German instruction in 1877, but the protests of the German inhabitants secured the use of several school buildings for private after-school teaching of their native tongue.³⁷

One of the chief reasons for the declining interest in school method in the 70's was the ever present problem of housing the growing numbers of school children. As early as 1868, this was recognized by at least one school superintendent as the paramount problem of the coming years.³⁸ Now the influx of German immigration, plus the surrender of many of the private schools to the "hard times" swelled the numbers in the public schools. In spite of constant building, school accommodations showed no sign of overtaking the school enrollment in the desperate race which had begun in mid-century. With the exception of the years 1872 and 1873, when the parochial school movement was first felt, the school registration steadily increased. In the ten year period from 1877 to 1887 the daily attendance soared from 8,227 to 11,147, or an increase of 35%.³⁹ Not only were new and larger school buildings needed to replace the old, but new school districts had to be created as the city's population spread outwards to new areas. By 1877, there were twenty-five school districts in the city, and during the next seven years five more were formed.⁴⁰ With the building of new schools there was a brief attempt to get away from the old number designations, and every school was given a name, such as Madison Park, Genesee, Monroe, and so forth.⁴¹ This new system never won a place in popular usage, however,

³⁶Board of Education, *33rd Annual Report*, p. 115.

³⁷Board of Education, *Proceedings*, January 6, February 17, 1879.

³⁸Board of Education, *25th Annual Report* (1868), p. 28.

³⁹Board of Education, *40th Annual Report* (1887), p. 63.

⁴⁰Board of Education, *35th Annual Report* (1878), pp. 160-180; *37th Annual Report* (1884), pp. 128-150.

⁴¹Board of Education, *31st Annual Report* (1874), pp. 96-97.

and in a few years numbers had crept back to form a dual system of name and number which has persisted to this day.

The new "suburban" schools, and those in the immigrant centers naturally suffered the most from overcrowding, but it was a common affliction throughout the city. In spite of the fact that in 1882 seven buildings were rented for schools and annexes, No. 17 reported one hundred children in a room intended for forty-five, and conditions were quite as bad in Nos. 18, 20, and 26.⁴² The only recourse was to rent more rooms, and the following year nearly 500 pupils were accommodated in stores or dwellings entirely unsuited to their new purpose.⁴³

Even in the regular school buildings conditions were frequently poor. Children were taught in halls, and in one case 120 children found the attic their only accommodation.⁴⁴ Ventilation and heating seem to have been constant problems, even in the best of schoolrooms. Many of the schools still had stoves, and were often envied by those with furnaces when that innovation all too frequently failed to function. In winter the stale atmosphere of the crowded classrooms could only be relieved by freezing the children near the windows, and in many of the rooms of the older buildings the only light came through glass partitions from an adjoining classroom. One schoolboy, many years later, said of No. 3, built in 1854, "In the autumn of 1877 when I began there it preserved intact, owing to the negligible ventilation of that time, the authentic '54 atmosphere somewhat enhanced with the passing of years."⁴⁵ Parents complained of the epidemics of sickness spread by these conditions, and many withdrew their children from school altogether. In 1883, a "new-fangled" ventilating system connected with a steam heating plant was installed in No. 4 at a cost of \$5,000. By this means, the air in a classroom could be changed in eight minutes without drafts, and its triumph seemed complete when an "eminent teacher and educator of Boston" could

⁴²Board of Education, *Proceedings*, October 2, 1882.

⁴³Board of Education, *36th Annual Report* (1883), p. 94.

⁴⁴*Rochester Times*, February 20, 1904.

⁴⁵Frank W. Goler, "Rochester in the 70's," MS. in City Historian's office.

not detect any disagreeable odors.⁴⁶ Because of the great expense, however, the spread of this new system through the schools was slow and parents in less favored districts continued their criticisms.

Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that tardiness and truancy still persisted, in spite of the enactment of a compulsory education law by the state in 1874. By this law children between eight and fourteen years of age were required to attend school for at least fourteen weeks each year.⁴⁷ The law remained largely a dead letter, however, as far as Rochester was concerned. In the first place, the school authorities had no funds to enforce it, and second, they had no room for any additional pupils.⁴⁸

The needs of the schools demanded increased appropriations out of all proportion to the public understanding or appreciation of the problem. Since 1850, school expenditures had mounted in what seemed an appalling manner to the average citizen. From less than \$23,000 at the half-century, the sum devoted to school purposes had increased ten years later to nearly \$58,000; in 1870 this amount had risen to \$135,000; in 1880 it reached \$186,000; and ten years later was to amount to more than twice that stupendous item.⁴⁹ School expenditures rivalled public improvements as the greatest drain on the local taxpayer, in spite of the fact that the state contribution to the schools was a leading item in the city's receipts.⁵⁰ Under these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that the public was determined to resist further inroads, and laid the blame for the poor school conditions on the all too evident corruption and inefficiency of the school commissioners.

The history of the school fund is a tale of slow and tardy yielding to the pressure of school requirements. According to the law of 1850, the school fund was divided into three parts, "building," "repairs," and "teachers and contingent."

⁴⁶Board of Education, *36th Annual Report*, p. 95.

⁴⁷Board of Education, *45th Annual Report* (1893), p. 198.

⁴⁸Board of Education, *Proceedings*, July 15, 1878, October 2, 1882.

⁴⁹Donald W. Gilbert, "Government and Finances of Rochester, N. Y.," MS. in University of Rochester Library, Appendix, Table II.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, Table VIII.

Originally, the first had been limited to \$3,500 a year, the second to \$3,000 a year, and the last to "not less than four nor more than five times the amount appropriated from the common school fund of the state."⁵¹ The common school fund was soon found too limited a basis for "teachers and contingency" and was changed to an allotment of \$1 to \$1.75 for each child of school age in the city.⁵² The population of school age remained the basis for an increasing per capita allowance until 1879, when the average daily attendance became the means of limiting the schools' operating expenses.⁵³ Three years later this was changed to the average number of pupils enrolled in the schools, with a per capita allowance of \$6 to \$14.⁵⁴ The "building" and "repair" funds also underwent similar increases, but until 1888, the maximum building allowance was only \$15,000. As it frequently cost nearly that amount to build a single school, the result was a constant recourse to special taxes, varying from \$15,000 in 1883 to \$55,000 in 1888.⁵⁵ In that year the law was finally amended to increase the fund to \$50,000,⁵⁶ but even this was insufficient to meet the building needs of the schools.

The strained financial situation thus created was further aggravated by what was, to say the least, a remarkable display of incompetent accounting and handling of the school funds. The office of school commissioner had always loomed large in ward politics, and in the period following the Civil War it further suffered from the general atmosphere of political unscrupulousness that characterized the municipal as well as national government. The school board during this period has been termed the "haven of politicians." Few of its members had any comprehension of the problems confronting them, or an ability to deal with such problems.⁵⁷ Faced

⁵¹*Revised Charter of the City of Rochester* (1850), vi, Sec. 167, 6.

⁵²*Ibid.* (1856), vi, Sec. 167, 6.

⁵³Board of Education, *Proceedings*, February 3, 1879, April 21, 1879.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, May 15, 1882.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, May 7, 1883; *41st Annual Report*, p. 64.

⁵⁶Board of Education, *42nd Annual Report* (1889), p. 27.

⁵⁷For an account of the irresponsible extravagance and speculation in the city government during this period, see Gilbert, *op. cit.*, Chaps. IV and V.

with the disparity between school costs and school appropriations, they simply supplemented the deficiencies of one division of the school fund with money from another and spent on blithely until the entire fund was exhausted. The combination of "teachers and contingent" often resulted at the end of the year in the discovery that all the money had gone for "contingent" and nothing was left for "teachers." In fact, it came to be the accepted practice that the Board taking office in April would pay the March salaries contracted for by the retiring Board.⁵⁸ Even more serious, were the accusations of bills twice paid, and school commissioners participating under assumed names in school contracts.

As a result of these various factors, the Board, from 1874 on, was in a more or less constant state of acute financial embarrassment. In that year the funds were exhausted as early as November, and the closing of the schools was threatened. However, through the kindness of an anonymous gentleman the schools were kept open until a special act of the legislature authorized the raising of an extra \$83,000 to meet the deficiency.⁵⁹ In succeeding years, the Board pursued a policy of overdrawing its funds in expectation of the next year's appropriation to such an extent that the Board of 1878-79 found itself faced with the accumulated deficits of the past three years. The Common Council was reluctant to levy an extra appropriation of \$20,000 as authorized by a special legislative act, and once again the closing of the schools was threatened.⁶⁰ Still another crisis came in 1882. The Board of 1881-82 found that its predecessor had spent in advance the state appropriation which should have been part of the funds of 1881-82.⁶¹ Consequently after paying the December salaries, the educational exchequer was as empty as Mother Hubbard's cupboard and the Board appealed to the Common Council to advance the January salaries pending an application to the legislature for a special act to meet the deficit.⁶² An extra \$28,000 was raised, but even this left

⁵⁸Board of Education, *Proceedings*, February 5, 1883.

⁵⁹Board of Education, *32nd Annual Report* (1875), pp. 10-11.

⁶⁰Board of Education, *Proceedings*, February 3, March 8, 31, 1879.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, November 21, 1881.

⁶²*Ibid.*, December 19, 1881.

unpaid bills of over \$22,000 which were only partly covered by another legislative bill allowing \$18,000 to be added to the coming year's appropriation.⁶³

The main sufferers from this state of affairs were, of course, the teachers whose salaries were thus jeopardized. To attempt to remedy this injustice, the teachers and contingent fund was separated, with the stipulation that the teachers' salaries were to be used for nothing else. Operating under this plan, the Board of 1882-83 not only paid the remaining deficit from the previous year, but came through with enough money to pay part of the March salaries—an unheard of thing!⁶⁴ (The commissioners felt pretty cocky, and who can blame them?) Nevertheless, although never reaching previous extremities, the tale of financial trouble continued and was largely responsible for the reform in administrative organization effected in 1900.⁶⁵

Such experiences did nothing to raise public opinion of the school authorities. In fact, they only served to aggravate the feeling that the Board was spending too much money and running the schools inefficiently. Criticism extended to every phase of the school administration. The abolition of the daily reading of the Bible in 1875 was denounced as evidence of atheism and immorality. The Board was accused of favoritism in the appointment of teachers, and neglect of the Free Academy graduates. There was some truth in this, for an investigating committee found that out of twenty-four appointments in 1875 only seven were Free Academy graduates, and at the same time Superintendent Ellis reported that there were at least thirty to thirty-five teachers who should never have been appointed.⁶⁶ And of course it was held that teachers were getting too much money. It was in vain that the Board pointed out that Rochester paid lower salaries than any other city of its size. There was a depression in the 70's and the Board had to comply with the petitions from at least three wards, demanding the reduction

⁶³*Ibid.*, May 1, 1882.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, February 5, 1883.

⁶⁵See pp. 183-189.

⁶⁶Board of Education, *Proceedings*, February 1, 1875.

of teachers' wages as a relief from taxation that "amounts almost to confiscation."⁶⁷

V. THE WIDENING CURRICULUM

As early as 1873, there were signs in parts of the United States that the checks applied to American educational development by the Civil War were being overcome. In that year the first lasting public school kindergarten was opened in St. Louis.⁶⁸ This was followed in 1875 by the Quincy New Departure—a complete reform of the methods and organization of the schools of Quincy, Massachusetts—which made as great a sensation as the Oswego Method in the preceding decade. With the 1880's the so-called "industrial education" swept the land—not as one might suppose a movement toward vocational training, but one centered about the theory of "training the brain through training the hand." All of these movements were either direct outgrowths, or strongly influenced by the ideas of the originator of the kindergarten, Friedrich Froebel, concerning the importance of motor activity in the learning process and development of the child. One and all—the kindergarten with its play activity, the Quincy Method with its encouragement of the investigative spirit, industrial education with its handwork—insisted that learning comes through *doing* things. They dealt a tremendous blow at the passive method of the textbook and demanded a teacher of full mind and broad interests. These new developments went beyond the Pestolozzian principles of observation and discussion. Once again, educational theory brought a stimulating influence to bear upon American school systems.

But it was nearly a decade before Rochester, preoccupied with financial troubles, felt the reviving influence of these new forces. The first signs of renewed interest in the internal affairs of the schools came with the election of Sylvanus A. Ellis, in 1882, to the office of school superintendent under a

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, August 6, 20, 1877.

⁶⁸Susan E. Blow, *Kindergarten Education*, (Monographs on Education in the United States, Department of Education, 1900), p. 6. This kindergarten had been preceded by brief attempts in Boston and Brighton, Mass.

new law providing for a two year term instead of the previous one year tenure of office.⁶⁹ This marked Mr. Ellis' return to an office which he had held from 1869 to 1876, and in which he was to continue until ill health forced his resignation in 1892. With the exception of the term of Herbert S. Weet (1911-1933), it was the longest period of service on the part of any Rochester superintendent. Vitally interested in the new developments going on around him, Ellis set himself to the task of revising the curriculum, and the succeeding ten years are a period of steady development under his leadership.

Since 1869, the course of study had consisted of nine years of work in the elementary schools. However, of late, it had shown an alarming tendency to lengthen still more, through the practice of attempting to raise Regents' ratings by taking two years for the final grade. The superintendent considered this virtual ten year course wholly unnecessary and even detrimental to both school and pupil. After considerable revision therefore, a course of study was finally adopted in 1885 which limited subject matter to an amount that could be covered in nine years.⁷⁰ Ellis considered even this modification too long, but with the exception of the years from 1887 to 1894 when the increasing number of new subjects again lengthened the course to ten years, nine years remained the accepted length of the elementary school course until 1901. About the same time, the school year was divided into two semesters of five months each,⁷¹ instead of the traditional three terms, and the school day was shortened one hour by the abolition of the equally traditional recess.⁷² In 1885 the numbering of the grades, too, was changed to conform with the number of years in school, and the first grade now became literally the child's *first* grade.⁷³

⁶⁹Board of Education, *Proceedings*, June 19, 1882. Ellis was really elected twice in one year; in April he came into office under the old one year provision, and in June, under the provisions of the amended city charter, he was again elected—this time for two years.

⁷⁰Board of Education, *38th Annual Report* (1885), pp. 83, 97.

⁷¹Board of Education, *37th Annual Report*, p. 86.

⁷²Board of Education, *36th Annual Report*, pp. 97-98.

⁷³Board of Education, *38th Annual Report*, p. 97.

The superintendent was also active in arousing the interest of the school commissioners in the new educational developments in other cities. In 1883, he reported enthusiastically on his visit to Quincy, Boston, Woburn and Springfield where he had observed the Quincy Methods in operation. He was especially impressed by the high quality of the Quincy teachers, and it is interesting to note that a revival of the training class dates from this year. The next year, Ellis and members of the Organization Committee of the Board observed the methods of industrial education in the Workingman's School in New York City and in the public schools of Boston. The members of the committee were quite won over to the new method by the assertion of a Boston school teacher that the mastery of such academic subjects as arithmetic and geography was improved by instruction in manual training. On their return the committee voiced the hope that a beginning in this subject might soon be made in Rochester.⁷⁴ Financial considerations, however, stood in the way, and it was not until two years later that industrial drawing—a part of manual training—was introduced under the supervision of Professor Colby of Mechanics' Institute. As we shall see, this was the beginning of a strong influence on the part of this private institution upon progressive education in the public schools.

Up to this point interest had been centered almost exclusively upon educational developments within the existing school system. The kindergarten, as a new division of the schools, was slow in gaining a foothold, and in fact, in its inception, it was a private enterprise throughout most of the United States. Although agitation for a public kindergarten began in Rochester as early as 1883,⁷⁵ it long came to naught against the firm rock of the school law which limited the school fund to the education of those between the ages of five and twenty-one. The kindergarten, however, was especially designed for children from three to six years of age, and the majority of these children could not be educated by public funds. At this juncture, Mechanics' Institute offered

⁷⁴Board of Education, *Proceedings*, June 30, 1884.

⁷⁵Board of Education, *40th Annual Report*, p. 75.

to sponsor a kindergarten if the Board would furnish accommodations, and in accordance with this arrangement, a free kindergarten was opened in October, 1887, at School No. 20. Over fifty children were enrolled under the direction of Miss Mary Tooke and six young ladies from the newly established Teacher Training Class.⁷⁶ These young ladies were graduated that June as the first kindergarten teachers trained in Rochester.

The success of this first kindergarten caused a marked change in the attitude of the school authorities toward the kindergarten. The legal difficulty still remained, but a way around it was found by limiting attendance to children over five years of age. Later, children were admitted at the age of four, but were enrolled separately and could not be counted in the distribution of the public money.⁷⁷ In 1888, six kindergartens were opened in various sections of the city as definite parts of the public school system. As with most new things, enthusiasm declined with time, and in 1890 the proposal was made to abolish the kindergarten altogether. The radical difference in the teaching methods between the kindergarten and the first grade caused many to claim that the kindergarten utterly unfitted children for later school years and resulted in demoralized discipline in the primary grades. However, a majority opinion of the Organization Committee of the Board was returned in favor of the new development and the kindergarten continued in the public schools.⁷⁸ By 1893, when the state law finally authorized free kindergartens for children over four years of age, there were nine kindergartens in the city with a total enrollment of 1,078 and employing 37 teachers.⁷⁹

Meanwhile, progress in widening the curriculum was going on in the upper grades. In 1890, music, after a varied career since 1841, was made a part of the course of study. This subject had been under professional supervision in the early years of the mid-century and again for brief periods beginning in 1861 and 1874, but the general attitude of indiffer-

⁷⁶*Ibid.*

⁷⁷Board of Education, *45th Annual Report*, p. 213.

⁷⁸Board of Education, *Proceedings*, August 4, 1890.

⁷⁹Board of Education, *45th Annual Report*, p. 10.

ence had more often resulted in its practical, if not theoretical, suspension. Nor was all clear sailing yet, for although music remained in the curriculum after 1890, it was again deprived of its special supervisor in 1892 and made the responsibility of the individual grade teachers.⁸⁰

The addition of subjects however continued. In 1892, the principal of No. 26 School, Colonel Samuel Moulthrop, extended manual training from mechanical drawing to simple woodworking.⁸¹ A variation of this, "Sloyd whittling," was offered in several other schools by 1897 and required the services of a supervising teacher.⁸² In 1894, the generosity of Henry Lomb enabled Mechanics' Institute to extend its cooking school privileges to public school pupils,⁸³ and in 1897 to offer instruction in domestic science at several schools to girls in the upper grades.⁸⁴ Two years later No. 10 was made an experimental school in which to test out new methods, and sewing and manual training were soon part of its course of study.⁸⁵ At the same time departmental work was tried in the grammar division of several schools,⁸⁶ thus anticipating the development of the junior high school. Since 1888, Arbor Day had been set aside by the state to encourage interest in natural resources and had become an occasion for the planting of trees by the school children and essays concerning their beauty and value. This was the beginning of an interest in nature study which finally found a place in the school curriculum and formed the beginning of the teaching of natural science. In 1890, a summer camp was organized among the public school children for the study of natural science, and in 1894 we find grades making excursions to the country for a similar purpose.⁸⁷

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p. 225.

⁸¹Address by Col. Moulthrop, July 28, 1906, reported in unnamed Batavia paper. In scrapbook of Miss Mary Moulthrop.

⁸²Board of Education, *51st Annual Report* (1899), p. 64.

⁸³Board of Education, *46th Annual Report* (1894), p. 6; *The Athenaeum*, March, 1895, p. 52.

⁸⁴Board of Education, *50th Annual Report* (1898), p. 22; Rochester Mechanics' Institute and Athenaeum, *Circular of Information*, 1898-99, p. 46.

⁸⁵Board of Education, *51st Annual Report*, pp. 6, 28.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁸⁷Board of Education, *46th Annual Report*, p. 6.

This era of renewed interest in teaching methods and subject matter was likewise one of renewed recognition of the need of teacher training. In 1883, a normal class much like that of the 60's was established. All inexperienced teachers and applicants were required to attend its sessions, which were held every Friday evening for a period of forty weeks. At the end of this period, the members who successfully passed an examination were awarded a "second class" certificate, which was exchanged for a "first class" one, after a year's successful teaching. In 1887, as we have seen, instruction in kindergarten methods was begun. Praiseworthy though this class might be, however, it was not greatly different from the teachers' institutes which also continued during this period.

It was not until 1891 that the class became a full course of post-graduate work in the Free Academy. Then it was made a state training class, under the control and supervision of the state department of education, and supported by state funds. The class met five days a week for thirty-six weeks and was limited to those who were both high school graduates and holders of a Regents' Preliminary Certificate.⁸⁸ In 1898, it moved from the Free Academy to quarters in No. 14 School and pursued a lengthened course of fifteen months. In 1902, the training class reached the dignity of a school giving a two year course in kindergarten and normal work.⁸⁹

This state training class marked the extension of state teaching regulations into the hitherto independent city schools. For one of the conditions upon which the state took over the class was the establishment of the state uniform teaching examination as the minimum teaching qualification. However, Rochester was now willing to go even further than this. In 1894 we find the Board explaining to an incredulous public that appointments were no longer political, but hinged upon the following qualifications: (a) graduation from college or a state normal school; (b) possession of a New York State teaching certificate; (c) graduation from the Rochester Train-

⁸⁸Board of Education, *44th Annual Report* (1891), p. 73.

⁸⁹Board of Education, *51st Annual Report*, p. 33; *52nd Annual Report* (1903), pp. 56, 69.

ing Class.⁹⁰ Hence Rochester found herself little concerned when the state in 1897 put into effect a law virtually limiting teachers to those having both high school and professional training.

Yet this increase in teacher training requirements did not at once cause any material rise in salaries. True, in 1886 Mary S. Anthony's plea for "equal pay for equal work" for men and women principals seemed on the way to realization; one woman received \$1,250 and two others \$1,000. Nevertheless, while this last figure remained the minimum for men, most women principals had to be content with salaries ranging from \$550 to \$750.⁹¹ Remuneration was correspondingly lower for grade teachers. After several years of agitation, such salaries reached a high of \$55 a month maximum in 1896, but were shortly again reduced, largely because of the excess numbers of teachers in the schools and the fact that an undue proportion of these were entitled to maximum salary rates.⁹² These considerations, however, together with the rising requirements for teaching had the merit of discouraging new applicants, and this indirectly militated for rising salaries. Then too, the general use of the typewriter had come to open a wide, new field to women and offer an often welcome alternative to the classroom as a means of earning a living. Consequently, the new century was soon to find the schools faced with a real shortage of teachers, and the necessity of offering higher salaries.⁹³

School bells in the 90's continued to summon an ever increasing number of children to their desks and books. In that single decade, the school enrollment surged upward from a total of 17,024 in 1890⁹⁴ to 24,280 in 1899, over 21,000 of whom were in the elementary schools.⁹⁵ These figures reflected to a large extent the influence of the second state compulsory education law which went into effect in 1895.

⁹⁰Board of Education, *46th Annual Report*, p. 8.

⁹¹Board of Education, *39th Annual Report* (1886), pp. 122-144.

⁹²Board of Education, *52nd Annual Report*, pp. 38-39, 56.

⁹³Board of Education, *53rd Annual Report* (1904), p. 27; See also Mr. Weet's article.

⁹⁴Board of Education, *48th Annual Report* (1896), p. 10.

⁹⁵Board of Education, *51st Annual Report*, p. 10.

Now, for the first time, all children under twelve had to attend school for the entire school year, and those between twelve and fourteen were obliged to be in class for at least eighty consecutive days. Enforcement was strictly enjoined upon the local community by the threatened loss of state school money, and Rochester immediately appropriated the sum of \$2,000 and appointed five attendance officers. Naturally, the chief effect of this increased enrollment was to further intensify the old problem of school buildings. Although the number of city schools rose to thirty-six by the end of the century, the actual number of school buildings was much larger. There was hardly a school, especially in the outlying districts, that did not, at some period, have its rented annexes scattered about the neighborhood, and in spite of all efforts, there were twenty of these in use in 1899.

A by-product of the compulsory education law was the old truant school, long a veritable nightmare to the Board of Education. The new statute was resolved above all to avoid the lack of enforcement which had met the law of 1874. It consequently authorized the local authorities to instill the fear of the Lord in the school population by the establishment of separate schools for the "confinement, maintenance and instruction" of habitual truants. Accordingly, the abandoned building of No. 16 School on North Street was fitted out as a sort of juvenile Bastille and many a schoolboy, hurrying fearfully past its gloomy portals, was suddenly oppressed by the remembrance of a stolen afternoon's fishing excursion. From time to time, vague and sinister rumors concerning the school floated about the city and necessitated its vigorous defense by the Board. Years of criticism of the principle of correction upon which the school was based finally resulted in its abandonment in 1903, and the substitution of a special truant class in No. 26 School under the firm and kindly supervision of the principal, Colonel Samuel Moulthrop. The success of this class soon made it an outstanding example of its type, and a welcome solution of a vexing problem.

Although it was constantly emphasized throughout this half century that moral, rather than physical persuasion, should maintain discipline in the schools, a visit to the

principal's office was still a source of great anxiety to the erring schoolboy. For the school authorities strongly upheld the right to inflict corporal punishment in extreme cases. Since 1884, however, this action required the consent of the principal, and his office tended to become the court of justice and retribution. Under this arrangement, instances of the use of this method of control steadily diminished, and parents' complaints of the undue sufferings of their offspring no longer filled pages of the official proceedings. Indeed, on one occasion, the superintendent felt obliged to condemn the practice of some parents, who, lacking the stamina to take strong measures themselves, dispatched young sinners to school with the request that the teacher deal out the needed punishment.⁹⁶

On the more pleasant side of school life were the school celebrations. These tended during the 90's to reflect a lessening individualism and a growing communal spirit. While probably the real "good times" of the school children remained the product of the small, intimate friendship group, the official social occasions show a marked change in character from those of the earlier period. With the coming of the written examination, the old school exhibition died out, or survived only in the attenuated form of Friday afternoon classroom exercises. Even graduation exercises were apparently non-existent.⁹⁷ Instead, individual school exercises were overshadowed by the growing number of large scale celebrations in which the whole school system joined.

One of the most lasting and famous of these was the Washington's Birthday transfer of flags, inaugurated in 1889 by George H. Thomas Post of the G. A. R. to stimulate youthful patriotism. In a colorful ceremony in the City Hall, these Civil War veterans presented American flags to representatives of each of the public schools; since that day it has been the annual custom for the school standard bearers to pass on this charge to their successors on Washington's Birthday. The participation of school children in the Memorial Day parade is another practice which dates from 1889.

⁹⁶Board of Education, *49th Annual Report* (1897), pp. 93-94.

⁹⁷Board of Education, *50th Annual Report*, p. 22.

It resulted in a temporary military zeal that kept many a boy—and his sister, too—after school to practice the manual of arms. Still another instance of the vogue for en masse school celebrations was the Arbor Day Festival in 1891, which assembled pupils and teachers in Genesee Valley Park.

But the event which brought the growth of the schools squarely before the public occurred in 1895, with the state wide observance of the centennial of the establishment of the first public school fund in New York State. Every town and city in the state had some sort of celebration, great or small, and Rochester was not to be outdone. As there was not a large enough hall in town to hold the 20,000 school children, to say nothing of all the taxpayers and school dignitaries who surely had a right to attend, the main exercises were held in the Free Academy and each grade school held its separate celebration. An attempt had been made to secure the attendance of all past superintendents, but unfortunately death or distance had removed all but four—Reuben D. Jones, Philip H. Curtis, Alonzo L. Mabbett, and Sylvanus A. Ellis. These four, however, graced the platform, and indeed, almost personified the history of the last half century. Reuben D. Jones had supervised the old, ungraded schools, Philip H. Curtis had authorized the first step toward the graded school, Alonzo L. Mabbett had held office in the midst of the financial struggles of the 70's, and Sylvanus A. Ellis had seen the vitalizing effects of new theories and new ways in education.

To the thoughtful observer, this event must have stimulated reflection upon nearly fifty years' development. In general, until near the end, the period had been one of failure to recognize the increasingly complex nature of education. There was a constant tendency to consider the problem of the schools as a simple one which had been settled once and for all by the legal enactments of 1841 and 1850. Any elaboration in the traditional elementary subjects of the common school was stubbornly opposed as exceeding the obligations, and even the rights of the state. Not until the last years of the century did this attitude begin to yield to a growing realization that education was a highly specialized science requiring professional training and wholehearted community

support. But Rochester had not been alone in that attitude. With a few outstanding exceptions, the nation too had been so preoccupied with the serious business of earning a living and realizing its vast economic resources, that expediency rather than any program of thoughtful development had largely dictated the growth of American education.

But the same observer would have seen another side to the picture. Largely unnoticed by society in general, new educational ideas were germinating and had already effected far-reaching changes. The graded school, the new educational attitude toward the child, and the recognition of the need for teacher training were national developments which were reflected in the Rochester elementary school system. True, the city's schools had not displayed the same leadership in this new education that they had manifested in the free school movement of the 40's. Still Rochester had not followed far behind other communities, and in one field—that of the kindergarten—ranked among the first cities to make that institution a part of the public school system. With the new century and a more sympathetic public opinion, Rochester was soon to win a place of renewed leadership in the world of education.

Elementary and Secondary Catholic Education in Rochester

By DR. AARON ABELL



CATHOLICS of Rochester, in building a school system, have contributed in a twofold manner to the educational effort of their Church in America.¹ In the main, they have simply performed their local task, in this way doing their bit to realize a national mission. That mission has been, in general terms, to bring the unchanging spiritual ideals of Catholicism into harmonious union with the democratic and humanitarian impulses of American society. A new problem beset with difficulties for even an old and experienced body, it was, nevertheless, within the compass of a church whose traditions were redolent with humanism and Christian social sympathies. De Tocqueville, the great French student of American life, was not lacking in his usual insight when he observed that Catholics were deeply attached to the popular institutions of America.

In education, no less than in all other types of cultural endeavor, Catholics have stood ready to help actuate the democratic principle; that is, to extend opportunities for

¹This article, a survey rather than a "contribution," owes most to Prof. Frederick J. Zwierlein's exhaustive researches, used in his monumental *Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid* and summarized in his "One Hundred Years of Catholicism in Rochester," *Centennial History of Rochester*, iv, pp. 189-276. Indispensable assistance has been given the writer by the Rev. John M. Duffy, Diocesan Superintendent of Catholic schools, his assistant, the Rev. Edward E. Dempsey, and their able corps of helpers. The Religious Orders have been no less helpful, each of which appointed one or more representatives, whose names the writer is not at liberty to mention, to search through papers, reports and archives. Essays based on this information have been placed at the writer's disposal. To these anonymous workers, as well as to those mentioned above, the writer extends his deepest appreciation.

intellectual developments to all as a natural right and not merely as a form of poor relief. Thus, the American Hierarchy in its First Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852 accepted the ideals of the common school revival, by exhorting bishops "to see that schools be established in connection with all the churches of their diocese, and, if it be necessary and circumstances permit, to provide from the revenue of the church to which the school is attached, for the support of competent teachers."² This authoritative statement, read in the light of educational issues which then prevailed, can only mean that the Church, aided financially by the State along customary lines, was ready to extend adequate secular education to all children within her jurisdiction, in such a manner, that the stigma of "charity," traditionally associated with religious education, could be removed. When the majority of citizens decided that the State could not harmonize religious instruction with the public school system, Catholics, matching conviction with sacrifice, determined to do so. In this movement, Rochester Catholics, as this essay hopes to show, have worthily participated.

But they have more than shared in the national undertaking; they have influenced it appreciably. The Catholic school system, in its historical development, spread from the Middle West to the urban districts of the industrial East. The former section, with great spokesmen in Archbishop John B. Purcell of Cincinnati and Bishop John Lancaster Spalding of Peoria, espoused Catholic education on the new lines more readily than most parts of the East where interest languished till near the end of the century. The brilliant record of Rochester Catholics shortly after the Civil War encouraged other Catholics in the East, especially those in New England, to introduce comprehensive programs.

THE PRE-DIOCESAN PERIOD

The educational activity of Catholics in Rochester falls into three distinct periods—the pre-diocesan era, from 1835 to 1868; the McQuaid era, from 1868 to the World War and after; and the recent years of reorientation. In the first

²J. H. Burns and Bernard J. Kohlbrenner, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States* (New York, 1937), p. 138.

period, during which pioneer Catholics, mainly Irish and German immigrants, found their way to the growing city and established churches and charitable institutions, foundations were laid for an educational system, but, since these proved insecure, they had, in the following period, to be virtually rebuilt. Nevertheless, the early structure was not entirely demolished, and, from its very imperfections, the succeeding era was to profit.

The first efforts in the pre-diocesan period were promising enough, however. The first two parishes, St. Patrick's and St. Joseph's, both organized in the thirties, established parochial schools, the latter in 1836 and the other in 1839. In the absence of religious orders, wandering lay teachers were employed to instruct boys and girls in religion and the three R's in odd rooms or basements. Although these schools, which were imitated by other early parishes, were primitive enough, they embodied, at the price of considerable pecuniary sacrifice, the democratic principle of support and maintenance by the whole congregation. Sunday schools helped not only in preparing the way for new parishes but also in instructing those not reached by the schools. The Christian Doctrine Society in St. Patrick's Parish, with its three hundred students, sixty teachers and large library, may be taken as a forerunner of present-day catechetical work which, under the auspices of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, has assumed large proportions in Rochester and elsewhere.

Had these hopeful beginnings of popular education been encouraged in the forties and fifties, Rochester Catholics might have realized the ideal formulated in the First Plenary Council. Unfortunately, they and their spiritual leader, the Most Rev. John Timon of Buffalo, were unable to resist the educational plans of the several religious orders which established themselves in the city during the two decades following 1844. These orders, especially the sisterhoods, "were partial," as a Sister of Mercy well says, "to select schools distinct from the parish schools."³ In keeping with the common practice, most of the religious orders in Roch-

³Sister M. F. Sullivan, "Memoirs of the Rochester Sisters of Mercy" (unpublished Master's Thesis, Canisius College), p. 12.

ester set up academies for the elementary and secondary education of the well-to-do few, and taught the poor in "free schools."

The activities of the esteemed Sisters of Charity, the first to come to Rochester, reflected the prevailing tendency. Interested primarily in relieving dire poverty and distress, the Sisters developed model institutions in St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum, in their hands after 1845, and in St. Mary's Hospital, opened in 1857. In a period when such education was considered a "charity," the nuns gladly supplied it.⁴ Besides offering the rudiments of instruction to the orphans, they opened in St. Patrick's parish a free school for girls. More emphasis, however, was placed on their St. Patrick's Academy for Young Ladies, whose students, reported an enthusiast, could repeat a thousand years of history as easily "as the multiplication table." Whatever its efficiency, Bishop Timon disapproved its exclusive patronage and suggested that the academy and the free school be consolidated into one parochial school, supported by the parish at large. His plea was coldly received and politely ignored.

The Sisters of Mercy, pledged to "the service of the poor, sick, and ignorant," followed in the footsteps of the Sisters of Charity. An Irish order, the Sisters of Mercy had endeared themselves to scores of Irish-American parishes following their entrance into America in 1843. From Providence, R. I., a colony came to St. Mary's Parish, Rochester, in 1857, in which they immediately started a free school for poor girls and a "female" academy for those able to pay for education. The latter stressed the English classical course and fine arts, such as music, painting, and embroidery. Since the order was not confined to teaching, the Sisters soon realized their ambition for a House of Mercy, a mission agency devoted to preventive and rescue service for women.⁵

Select education was the only educational interest of the Society of the Sacred Heart, which opened a convent-academy in Rochester in 1855. By this date, this remarkable order, organized by the Frenchwoman, Madeleine Sophie

⁴*Rochester Daily Democrat*, July 31, 1848; *Union and Advertiser*, May 21, 1859.

⁵Sullivan, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-29.

Barat, for the Catholic education of upper-class girls, had dotted the world with well-regulated institutions whose plan of studies showed the Jesuit touch. Particularly in America the Ladies of the Sacred Heart proved themselves heroic women, following the Church into pioneer Catholic communities where hardships and privation were the common lot. Such was their early experience in founding their convent in Western New York. At the request of Bishop Timon, they opened in 1849 a school in Buffalo, where, however, it failed to take root, largely on account of repeated cholera epidemics. They accordingly transferred their institution to Rochester. Located at first on St. Paul Street, they secured in 1863 their present site on Prince Street, where, pursuing serenely the ideal of their sainted foundress, they have enjoyed success and steady growth.⁶

Before alluding to the remaining two of the five religious orders for women in early Rochester, mention should be made of the religious orders of men. The lingering prejudice against the intermingling of the sexes in elementary schools suggested the desirability of male teachers for boys. In response to this demand, a community of five, representing the world-famous Brothers of the Christian Schools, established in March, 1857, a free school and an academy for boys within the confines of St. Patrick's Parish, soon to be the "Cathedral" parish of the city.⁷ Though the efforts of the Brothers in parochial training were not highly successful, their academy was largely attended and gave "very great satisfaction to its patrons." The Christian Brothers also assumed charge of the boys at St. Mary's School, the girls of which were taught, as already noticed, by the Sisters of Mercy. To boys in a few of the German-American parishes, the Brothers of Mary imparted instruction.

The main reliance, however, for both boys and girls, in the German Catholic schools was upon the Poor School Sisters of Notre Dame, recently brought into America from Germany. Combining with their religious zeal a true under-

⁶Louise Callan, *The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America* (New York, 1937), pp. 434-452; "Report on the Convent of the Sacred Heart, Rochester."

⁷*Union and Advertiser*, August 20, 1857, p. 3.

standing of progressive pedagogy, these Sisters were a marked success in Rochester after 1854, the year of their arrival. By 1868 they had five truly parochial schools in the rapidly growing congregations—St. Joseph's, St. Peter and Paul's, St. Boniface's, Holy Family's, and Holy Redeemer's.⁸ Though tuition was charged, these schools were for all social grades—a truth evidenced by their large attendance. In fact, over four-fifths of all children attending Catholic elementary schools in 1868 were to be found in the German ones. Only in the next period, the McQuaid era, was their record in popular education to be outdistanced by the Sisters of St. Joseph who first came to Rochester in 1864 to open an asylum for the orphans of Rochester soldiers.⁹

THE MCQUAID ERA

With the beginning, in 1868, of the long episcopate of the Most Rev. Bernard J. McQuaid, pioneer Catholicity in this region emerged into maturity, the earlier paralysis of frustration quickened into the energy of power and victory. An unconventional personality, Bishop McQuaid lashed out against precedent and prejudice which so often obstruct a desirable goal. And the goal to him was an effective system of Catholic schools, in the establishment of which he had already made in Newark, New Jersey, a brilliant record. In Catholic education, he saw not only the preservation of the Church in America, but also, as an urban realist, the best solution of social problems. "Our country," he later remarked, "is with unparalleled quickness becoming one of populous cities. These centres of population, notwithstanding extraordinary efforts to counteract the danger, are nurturing street Arabs, wild youths, bands of trained depredators on others property, hosts of corrupt, demoralizing inhabitants." Useless would be those remedies which ignored "the elevation and strengthening of the heart."¹⁰

⁸"Report on the School Sisters of Notre Dame in the Diocese of Rochester."

⁹"The Annals of the Sisters of St. Joseph." [MS. in the Sisters' Library], Vol. I, pp. 21-22.

¹⁰*Christian Free Schools* (Rochester, 1892), p. 128.

The specific program, urged by him in numerous speeches and published works, was *Christian Free Schools*, which in his opinion were elementary schools free from all traces of class discrimination and teaching religion along with secular subjects. With deep conviction he insisted that a Catholic school must give "the same advantage to a poor boy or girl that the son or daughter of a rich man enjoyed."¹¹ Institutions on this democratic pattern would thus conform to the public common schools and predispose Catholics to support them for their additional religious advantages. Bishop McQuaid also tried to divert Catholics from stressing, for a time, higher education which was not their chief need. Academies and colleges, he said, were for the rich, but the elementary Catholic school, *the child's church*,¹² was of special service to the poor.

Amid a storm of angry protest, Bishop McQuaid defended the justice of granting all Christian free schools, whatever their sectarian complexion, a portion of the school fund raised by public taxation. In all his writings he made clear what most people preferred to ignore, namely, the nominal rather than real guarantee of parental rights under the existing arrangement. On the surface, all religious groups, left free to establish private schools, enjoyed equality under a system of "Christian secularism"—public schools debarring religious teaching. Actually, however, this result was not attained, since the rich, mainly Protestants, could support religious schools with less sacrifice than the poor, among whom were most of the Catholics. With biting sarcasm Bishop McQuaid wrote that young men of the well-to-do class "need direct Christian teaching in order to make them good men; but the poor—let them go to their [public] schools and be infidels if they have a mind to."¹³ State monopoly and its inevitable secularism should give way to "free trade" in education, he asserted.

Realizing, however, that the community would refuse or delay acceptance of his viewpoint, Bishop McQuaid like all wise social reformers fell back on voluntary action which

¹¹*The Catholic Journal* (Rochester), October 5, 1889, p. 1.

¹²*Christian Free Schools*, p. 24.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 17.

after all was fundamental in his plan. Early in his episcopate, he established several Christian free schools which, as model institutions, were copied in later years by most of the city parishes. He began in 1871 with the strategic Cathedral Parish. "Taking the Cathedral School as an example," reported a city paper, "the design of the system is to give all the children of Catholic parents in the city as good a secular education as can be obtained in the public schools, and a Christian education besides. The children of all, rich and poor, will be supported by voluntary contributions made at the ordinary collection in the churches at Sunday service, each person giving what he thinks he can afford, and no person knowing what another gives."¹⁴ The Academy of the Christian Brothers was abolished, the Sisters of Charity were withdrawn from teaching, their places being taken by the Sisters of St. Joseph. The Immaculate Conception School, opened the following year, was a duplicate of the Cathedral School. The Sisters of Mercy in 1873 agreed to consolidate the free and pay departments of their school in St. Mary's parish into a parochial school supported by the congregation.

Scarcely less drastic was Bishop McQuaid's attitude toward the various religious orders. Convinced that educational expansion demanded an adequate supply of teachers, he decided to form a Diocesan Sisterhood with rules permitting episcopal direction. When in 1868 the Sisters of St. Joseph agreed to these terms, he gave them official status. The order, which grew rapidly in numbers and influence, assumed charge of the parochial schools which followed the first ones in rapid succession—St. Bridget's in 1875, Our Lady of Victory in 1885, Holy Apostles' in 1885, Holy Cross in 1887, Corpus Christi in 1887, St. Francis Xavier in the same year, and several others after 1890.¹⁵ Excepting only Nazareth Hall, started in 1884 as a grammar school for boys, and St. Agnes' Institute, opened in 1921 as a "private school" for girls, all institutions founded by the Sisters of St. Joseph have embodied the democratic, truly parochial principle.

¹⁴*Union and Advertiser*, September 4, 1871, quoted in Zwierlein, *Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid*, II, 91.

¹⁵"Annals of the Sisters of St. Joseph," II, 35, and passim.

The favored position enjoyed by the Sisters of St. Joseph, naturally hindered the growth of the other sisterhoods which were scarcely more than tolerated. The Sisters of Mercy, anxious for teaching responsibilities, had the most ground for resenting Bishop McQuaid's policy. During the whole of his episcopate, he entrusted them with only one parochial school in addition to their original one in St. Mary's Parish, a fact justifying a Sister of Mercy's thrust that "the old bishop for reasons which 'he preferred to keep to himself' never looked with favor upon their endeavors in the diocese."¹⁶ They found consolation, however, in social service of an educational type, establishing in 1872 an industrial school for needy girls and in 1883 a kindergarten for the children of mothers employed in industrial occupations.¹⁷ During the several years of their existence, these institutions supplemented the work of similar schools established years before by local Protestant groups.¹⁸ The elevation in 1909 to full episcopal authority of the Most Rev. Thomas F. Hickey, once their pupil, gave the Sisters of Mercy access to the parochial field. The success of the several schools assigned them in Rochester and its environs—Mt. Carmel in 1909, St. Andrew's in 1915, St. John the Evangelist in 1917, St. Salome's in 1921, St. Thomas' in 1926 and St. Charles' in the same year—more than justify the ecclesiastical confidence which they now enjoy.

The School Sisters of Notre Dame were not directly affected by the ascendancy of the Sisters of St. Joseph. Qualified to give instruction in both English and German, they were necessary to win the confidence of German parents who could not at once become thoroughly American. Besides remaining in and perfecting their five original schools they were entrusted by Bishop McQuaid and his first successor with two additional ones, St. Michael's in 1874 and the lay institution at Cold Water in 1918. Unexcelled in the city as elementary schools, two of the seven institutions have added other features—St. Joseph's a commercial class in 1904, and Holy Family's a social center in 1932. Growth in educational

¹⁶Sullivan, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 11-12, 34-35, 38-40.

¹⁸*See above*, pp. 14, 33, 167-168.

activities of these Sisters has, however, been little more than nominal largely because Bishop McQuaid, like Cardinal Gibbons and other prelates, opposed the perpetuation of foreign languages among immigrants. Accepting this trend in the Church, the School Sisters of Notre Dame in 1913 discontinued the use of German in their Rochester schools.¹⁹

The radical reforms of Bishop McQuaid placed Rochester in the list of cities distinguished for their elementary school systems. By 1890 only Philadelphia and Newark among Eastern cities surpassed Rochester in the proportion of Catholics attending parochial schools.²⁰ This policy, besides winning international acclaim for Bishop McQuaid and his flock, bequeathed to his successors, Bishops Hickey, O'Hern, Mooney, and Kearney, a happy precedent, with the result that today Rochester Catholics have thirty-six schools in which some three hundred and sixty teachers instruct over fourteen thousand pupils.

This success could not have been attained had steady improvement in educational standards failed to accompany the founding of schools. The poor quality of instruction in the early parochial schools had tempted Catholic parents to ignore them, though they were eager to have their children trained in the Catholic religion. The sensible solution, earlier adopted in Rochester than in most places, was insistence upon a grade of teaching equivalent to that of the public schools. This was gradually attained, so far as pupils were concerned, though the practice, begun by Bishop McQuaid in 1874, of subjecting examinations and curricula to the control of the New York Board of Regents. Terrified when first confronted with the ordeal of "Regents'," Catholic students soon showed apt facility in passing them—a proof of the need for, as well as the success of, this outside stimulus. In reconciling teachers and pupils to the Regents', the Cathedral School was again the pioneer.

Normal training, no less popular in the McQuaid era than in our own, was provided for Catholic teachers, especially

¹⁹"Report on the School Sisters of Notre Dame in the Diocese of Rochester."

²⁰"Catholic Population and Parochial Schools," *Catholic Journal*, February 8, 1890, p. 2.

for the official sisterhood. For the religious teacher, "no defective education," said Bishop McQuaid, "will suffice. She must be thoroughly prepared for her work by proper training in order that she may do her best to protect the young confided to her care from the dangers that beset them on all sides."²¹ In partial realization of this objective, several nuns were sent to excellent Catholic normal schools abroad, notably to L'Ecole Normale de St. André, in Bruges, to the Collegio Marcellino in Genoa, and Kloster Bonlanden in Wurtemberg. Nor were the opportunities offered by normal schools and colleges in America neglected. After 1906 the Sisters of St. Joseph made consistent use of St. Elizabeth's College in New Jersey.

Every effort was made to provide satisfactory facilities for normal education within the Diocese of Rochester itself. During the first years, Bishop McQuaid, who added pedagogy to his numerous qualifications for the episcopal office, gave lectures on the principles of teaching to the Sisters of St. Joseph at their Summer Home on Hemlock Lake. This was supplemented by institutes and other gatherings which as a rule were largely attended. In the summer of 1896, the Reverend James P. Kiernan of the Cathedral school organized a diocesan institute for religious teachers on the plan of the Paulist Fathers' experiment in New York of the previous year. A two-weeks' course of study was pursued by some three hundred and fifty teachers under the direction of the Rev. P. H. Halpin, famed popularizer of ethics, Mrs. B. Ellen Burke, of the State Department of Public Instruction and of others prominent in the Catholic Summer School movement. This institute furnished the inspiration, no doubt, for the Annual Conference of the Parochial School Teachers of the Diocese of Rochester which since 1904 has striven to inculcate the highest ideals of professional competency.

Nor did Rochester Catholics delay long in providing regular, systematic normal training. The formation in 1885 at Nazareth Convent of a teacher training department was the prelude to the fully constituted normal school, authorized by the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore and magistrally adumbrated by Bishop Spalding. In 1898, Nazareth Normal

²¹Quoted in Zwierlein, *Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid*, II, 113.

School, housed in a spacious structure on Augustine Street, was formally opened, and soon recognized as one of the best institutions of this kind in America. "We are establishing," said Bishop McQuaid in his dedicatory speech, "a normal religious school, first for the training of the Sister teacher only, but in time to give to the young lay teacher also the advantages they now look for elsewhere."²² His prophecy has been fulfilled, since Nazareth College, opened in 1924, offers courses in education to young women who desire them. The success of Nazareth Normal School was but another testimonial to Bishop McQuaid's freedom from conventional opinion, in this case the hoary superstition that advanced education was inconsistent with the vocation of cloistered women.

The Bishop was also favorable to secondary Catholic education, despite his realization that Catholics lacked the financial ability to provide it for all. Thus, the Academy of the Sisters of Mercy, which continued to 1898, and the Academy of the Sacred Heart enjoyed his support, even though in their appeal only to the few well-to-do Catholics they were far from Church duplicates of the public high school. To the similar venture, Nazareth Academy, Bishop McQuaid was even more tolerant. This institution, opened in 1871 by the Sisters of St. Joseph and recognized by the State Board of Regents in 1891, gave a "thorough English education together with French, music and painting." In its program of studies, in its primary as well as secondary departments and in its "day" and "boarding" students, Nazareth Academy was in the old tradition.

But it was also serious in aim, more than a mere "finishing" school for girls. It was in the best sense a pedagogical reservoir, since many of its graduates became lay teachers in Catholic schools or entered the various sisterhoods. In keeping with this purpose, the Academy designed its course of study to comply with the state requirements for elementary teachers and in 1896 won approval from the New York Department of Public Instruction. In the main, however, the Academy won distinction as an excellent high school for girls whose broad and varied demands it equipped itself to

²²Quoted in Zwierlein, *Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid*, II, 113.

supply. Directed since 1882 by Sister M. Marcella, Nazareth Academy has grown amazingly in students and teachers, in plant and equipment and in range of curricula. Although academic and fine arts courses come in for chief attention, commercial training has found due place in the academic commercial department which commenced as early as 1890. The emphasis of its strictly academic department upon religion, languages and science acquaints us with an institution courageously modern. The proverbial ability of its students to win more than their proportional share of the New York State college scholarships assigned to Monroe County is in this utilitarian age a convincing demonstration of success.

Like Nazareth Academy, St. Andrew's Seminary is a secondary school which dates from the beginning of Bishop McQuaid's episcopate. Known as St. Patrick's Preparatory Seminary for a time after its opening in 1870, St. Andrew's Seminary was planned to actuate in part the decrees of the Council of Trent respecting the education of candidates for the priesthood. Originally intended as the preparatory department of a future men's college and seminary, St. Andrew's took its place shortly as an institution for the intermediate education of seminarians only, for whom St. Bernard's Seminary was opened in 1893 to provide college and professional training. To fit into this complete scheme of theological discipline, St. Andrew's stressed the classics, though modern languages, mathematics and science were by no means neglected. Since the turn of the century, the school has lengthened as well as amplified its course of study. Thus, in order to relieve St. Bernard's Seminary of some of its strictly college work, St. Andrew's equipped itself to offer the first two years of college instruction, the freshman year in 1904 and the sophomore year in 1931. Since 1933 the Board of Regents has extended separate recognition to both the high school and college departments. Financial support for this small but efficient institution came largely from the Rev. H. De Regge, its first rector, and from priests of the diocese. St. Andrew's Seminary has rendered useful service: in weeding out students who mistake their pious feelings for the priestly vocation and in teaching Latin which regular high schools, Catholic as well as public, cannot supply.

Moreover, the institution, in keeping with Bishop McQuaid's educational philosophy, has made access to the priesthood open to all who deserve it regardless of social background and financial standing.

This exhibition at St. Andrew's of secondary education on strictly democratic lines has found exemplification in at least one school for the laity—the Aquinas Institute of Rochester, a central Catholic high school for boys. Like St. Andrew's, it evolved from a humble origin—from a business course opened by the Reverend Thomas F. Hickey in 1902 at the Cathedral parish for graduates of its parochial school. With the addition of the academic course in 1904, the institution became the Cathedral High School, open without charge to all graduates of the Cathedral School and to others throughout the city on the payment of a nominal tuition. Growth was steady, reaching by 1914 a registration of over four hundred and a faculty of twenty-one—four priests, fourteen Sisters of St. Joseph and three lay teachers.

The foundation had thus outgrown its parish boundaries and had become a central Catholic high school, one of the early institutions of its type in America. The change in name in 1914 from the Cathedral High School to the Rochester Catholic High School was symbolic of its new status. The removal of the girls in 1916 to Nazareth Academy, which now had enlarged facilities on Lake Avenue, permitted specialization thereafter with adolescent boys, the fulfillment of whose peculiar needs, religious and social, will always exhaust the ingenuity of educators. Despite the increasing difficulty of the task, the rather cramped quarters on Frank Street sufficed until after the World War, but then a new site and better equipment became imperative. In the autumn of 1923 the Aquinas Institute Campaign was launched; and the "children who gave their pennies . . . , the wage-earning fathers of large families, the widowed mother, the humble clerk, the sacrificing clergy—all played their part in contributing to the success of the noble work."²⁸ Opened and dedicated in 1925 by the late Cardinal Hayes, Aquinas Institute has today over 1,100 students, whose tuition is paid largely by the city parishes and whose teachers, until

²⁸"Report on the Aquinas Institute of Rochester."

last year drawn from the Rochester area, are now mostly supplied by the Basilian Fathers of Toronto. Its superb plant, its varied curricula and its excellent teachers have made Aquinas Institute one of the really outstanding secondary schools in Western New York.

Though nothing so pretentious as Aquinas Institute has been provided for Catholic girls, they have recently secured enlarged opportunities for more advanced education. Realizing that Nazareth Academy and the Academy of the Sacred Heart cannot bear the whole burden of secondary training, the Sisters of Mercy have bestirred themselves. As early as 1913 they began cautiously to enter the high school field, with academic and commercial courses for graduates of St. Mary's Parochial School only. Discontinued in 1916, the program was resumed in 1917 as a two year commercial course for all students able to pay a small tuition. Out of this small venture emerged in 1928 the full-fledged, splendidly-equipped Our Lady of Mercy High School located at the corner of Blossom and Clover Roads in the Browncroft section. With a registration at present of 350, Our Lady of Mercy High School grants diplomas to those who complete the prescribed subjects in the college entrance, academic, music and commercial departments.

Realizing, however, that standardized curricula are too inflexible to supply all the education needed by the modern girl, Our Lady of Mercy High School lays special stress on educational adjuncts. Much time and energy has been spent, for example, in developing the cultural sense of the students by a careful study of liturgical music. An appreciation of the Gregorian chant has become a part of each Mercian's aesthetic training. Groups of the students have furnished the musical programs for the Reception and Profession ceremony at the Carmelite monastery each year. They have, of course, joined with the other Catholic high schools of the city in Vesper services conducted at selected times in the year. The dramatic abilities of the students have also been brought out and developed. A well organized dramatic club functions during the school year supplying bi-weekly programs directed by various members of the club. Weekly classes in diction are conducted so that each student will have proper training

in enunciation and voice control, thus fitting her for public speaking. Each year a selected group present at Christmas a pageant of the nativity of the Christ child; while the senior members present two one-act plays during the winter months. No less important has been the encouragement of creative writing through the journalism course. This class is responsible for the publishing of a bi-weekly newspaper, *The Quill*, the official organ of the class; a semi-annual magazine, *Mercedes*, written by the student body but edited by the class; and an anthology of verse, *The Cold Frame*, a senior publication. *Mercedes* has for several successive years been awarded high honors by both national and international scholastic press associations.

The Academy of the Sacred Heart, though unadapted to mass education, has succeeded admirably with its few students, to each of whom it gives practically individual attention. Its program of studies, without departing from its essential spirit, had been modified during the last forty years to bring it into harmony with the high school movement. Expansion and adaptation have marked the whole process. During its "academic" period, the Academy made eight or nine years work suffice for both elementary and advanced students—a restricted program which reflected "more perhaps of the aristocratic influence which emanated from the Mother House in Paris than of the American spirit that was growing strongly democratic as the nation expanded westward."²⁴ By a gradual change culminating in the "Plan of Studies of 1899," the Academy increased its offerings to eleven classes of instruction—a reform which more than provided the usual twelve years' work in American elementary and high school education. In 1915, with the adoption of the high school plan of organization, complete adaptation was secured. The two upper classes, judged by accrediting agencies as equivalent to the freshman and sophomore years of college, were discontinued, the next four classes corresponded to the high school level and were called academic, and the elementary classes, found deficient, were given an additional year.

²⁴Callan, *op. cit.*, p. 759.

Despite these changes, the Academy of the Sacred Heart remains true to its traditional purpose—providing education rather than instruction. Religion, ranging from simple Bible stories in the first grades to apologetics and natural theology in the Fourth Academic class, buttressed by as much philosophy as the student can assimilate, supplies the core of education as understood by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart. Next in emphasis comes English and literature, studies vitalized through the constant use of the written résumé in every part of the curriculum. The Academy also stresses the study of history for both its cultural and utilitarian value. The “exterior” works of the Academy include a summer school in Church music and a very influential Alumnae Association whose purpose is to develop in the minds of graduates “an understanding of their social responsibilities in the light of changing world conditions and in accordance with the Papal Encyclicals on Education, on Marriage and on Social Justice.”²⁵

RECENT TRENDS

Catholics in Rochester have thus elaborated a splendid system of education. But any assumption that it provides for the educational needs of all Catholic children is wide of the truth in respect to elementary as well as the secondary schooling. At the end of Bishop McQuaid’s episcopate, nearly all Catholic pupils were in the parochial schools, and even today the proportion of them is far above the average percentage of attendance for the Church in the nation as a whole—just under fifty per cent. Nevertheless, the local Catholic school system, which served so admirably the older population of Irish and German extraction, cannot, for lack of financial resources, be extended to the newer immigration—Italian, Polish, Lithuanian, etc.—which has come to Rochester in the last generation. Though sufficient churches have been erected, parochial schools have not been provided in adequate numbers. Thousands of children, therefore, have recourse to the public schools in which Catholic teaching can have no place.

²⁵“Report on the Convent of the Sacred Heart, Rochester.”

Alarmed by this condition, which in a sense repeats the mid-nineteenth century inability of the church to educate her children, clergy and laymen have for several years displayed enormous energy in instructing Catholic attendants of public schools during after-school hours and vacation periods. As an aid to their work, they have revived the age-old Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, with units in many parishes, a national center in Washington, and yearly catechetical congresses, the first of which was held in 1935 in Rochester under the patronage of Archbishop Edward Mooney, then bishop of this diocese. Here Catholics from all parts of the country were informed of the "Rochester Plan" of catechetical instruction, in operation since the year 1920.

In that year the Board of Education ruled that children whose parents consent may be excused one period a week for religious instruction under teachers of their choice. Given in this manner convenient access to the pupils, Catholics bestirred themselves: taking censuses of Catholic children in the public schools, gathering them into nearby churches and parochial schools and assigning volunteer teachers—priests, seminarians, nuns, and lay men and women. The establishment of four Catholic social settlements, beginning with Charles House in 1924, was motivated more by the imperative need of adequate catechetical equipment than by social service, much as that was stressed even before the depression years. Several parish churches have made notable records in providing religious instruction, through study clubs and recreation hours, for boys and girls attending the public high schools.

The new needs, religious instruction and social service, have been supplied in part by additional religious orders. Of these the most important, perhaps, is the Missionary Servants of the Most Blessed Trinity, popularly known as Trinitarians, who are interested especially in home visitation, catechetical instructions, missionary nursing, and the establishing of recreational centers. They have two foundations in Rochester, the Blessed Trinity Missionary Cenacle opened in 1926 at 30 Lorenzo Street, and Christ the King Missionary Cenacle started three years later on Woodward

Street and in 1935 transferred to 82 Prince Street.²⁶ None will deny that these nuns, with limited resources, have labored effectively in this most difficult field. Franciscan nuns have come to Rochester in the last decade to direct schools in foreign languages—the Lithuanian St. George's School and the Polish St. Theresa's School.²⁷ A home stressing advanced character building is Holy Angel's School, opened in 1931 by the Sisters of Good Shepherd.²⁸ These recently established schools, more perhaps than others, need social service, some of which is provided by public authority. The tendency in recent years for the state to grant welfare aid to all school children without discrimination will, if continued, relieve Catholic schools of much financial burden.

More impressive than parochial school extension has been the improvement in educational administration, curricula adjustment and teacher preparation. Since 1882 Rochester bishops have had assistance in school supervision from various committees, called School Boards and Diocesan Committees. While the men and women composing these early committees were earnest and often experienced in school management, they were never privileged to give their undivided attention to educational direction. They made a beginning, however, when in 1917 they selected one of their number, the Rev. Joseph Cameron, to act as superintendent, with authority to initiate and unify movements in the parochial school field. For over a decade Father Cameron worked with no little success to supplant parochial inertia and individualism with cooperative efforts toward a common goal. The appointment, as successor to Father Cameron, of the Rev. John M. Duffy, a man having professional training as well as interest and aptitude, was the signal for systematic organization. A permanent school board, with the bishop as chairman, to determine policies, and a well-equipped office to execute them, were established in 1929. With this support, Father Duffy and his assistant superintendents, Fathers

²⁶"Report on the Missionary Servants of the Blessed Trinity;" "Missionary Report of the Blessed Trinity Missionary Cenacle for 1936."

²⁷"Reports on the Franciscans in Rochester."

²⁸"Report on the Holy Angels' School."

Charles Mahoney and Edward E. Dempsey, have admirably coordinated the whole Catholic school system.

The new administration has given much attention to adjustments in the course of study, made necessary by changes in the state and city syllabi and by the urgent demand for the proper teaching of the additional subjects required in Catholic schools. Thus the superintendent's office, in keeping with the renewed stress on the social studies, has revised practically all instruction in history, civics, and geography, to secure through correlation and emphasis a better understanding of the duties of present-day citizenship.²⁹ The main burden of the revision fell upon committees of the various sisterhoods working under the direction of Assistant Superintendent Father Charles Mahoney.

Besides conforming social studies to true pedagogical principles, the office has determined to make religion the core subject in the curriculum—a status too often denied it in actual practice even in Catholic schools. Since 1930, Rochester parochial schools have given a greater amount of religious instruction, especially in the seventh and eighth grades; and for the past four years have had at their disposal an excellent syllabus for the guidance of character education.³⁰ Even more important has been the effort to make religious education penetrate all the work of the school as suggested by the Holy Father in his masterful encyclical *On the Christian Education of Youth*. Although all subjects can be correlated with religion, some are associated more directly with Christian ideals. Thus, music is a part of the liturgical prayer of the Church and since 1933 has been taught in all grades with the express object of preparing pupils to participate decently in solemn worship. The large number of teachers assiduously studying music, the preparation of a syllabus on the plan of the Pius X School of Liturgical Music, and the appointment of music supervisors in the religious orders have contributed to this end—the art and

²⁹John M. Duffy, "Superintendent's Reports," *Catholic Courier*, November 2, 1936, p. 9; John M. Duffy, *Annual Report of the Diocesan Superintendent of Schools, 1936-1937*, p. 9.

³⁰*Ibid.*, *Catholic Courier*, October 21, 1932, p. 4; November 2, 1933, p. 4.

science of music mastered by pupils for a religious purpose.³¹

The professional equipment of Catholic school teachers has steadily improved since the war. So marked had been the advance that in 1934 Archbishop Mooney was able to promulgate and enforce the ruling that thereafter all teachers in parish schools must possess the full qualification, that is, a high school education and the three-year normal training. By this act, viewed by many Catholics as the finest accomplishment of Archbishop Mooney's episcopate, the standards for Catholic and for public school teachers became identical. The motive for professional competency among Catholic teachers has also changed appreciably, since the authorities encourage prospective teachers to raise the level of their general education, as well as to require efficiency in pedagogy. "The universal cry," writes Sister Sullivan, has been college education "with the hope of winning a degree."³² Expressive of this trend has been the changes recently instituted at Nazareth Normal. To the three-year professional course was added in 1935 a year of content study leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science in Education.

From this review many will realize something of the devotion and self-sacrifice of Rochester Catholics in launching their school system. However uneven or imperfect the development, the fundamental aim has always been in evidence—to provide Catholic youth with education at once adequate to supernatural and natural objectives. In this way, they have done their part to adjust Catholic social ideals to American civilization. To the solution of this basic problem Catholics have brought other instruments as well—colonization of urban Catholics in rural areas, steady antagonism to the intemperance plague, vast systems of charity, social service, and social reform. But their educational system is their greatest contribution.

³¹*Ibid.*

³²*Op. cit.*, p. 69.

Private Educational Enterprise Since the Mid-Century

By BLAKE MCKELVEY



THE establishment of free public schools during the forties and the gradual extension of their program of studies into the upper branches threatened the private schools with extinction. The latter had performed a useful service in the growing community, but now that most of their functions were being taken over by the public authorities, the private schools were crowded out of the line of march of urban democracy and gradually evolved into small and exclusive institutions that catered to the tastes of a limited class. But the growth of the city was at the same time calling for educational initiative in fields not approached by the public schools. It was not long before private enterprise responded and began to foster educational activities in the commercial and industrial field, and these have since grown to considerable importance. As before, the public school authorities later took over some of these broader functions—in as far, at least, as they could be applied to the education of the city's youth. Meanwhile, private educational enterprise was opening up a fertile field in adult education that assured it ample opportunity for continued growth. Likewise, in late years, some of the traditional private schools have shaken off their lethargy and ventured to experiment with new educational techniques in order to win a more vital place in the city's life.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL, 1850-1890

The private schools of Rochester entered a new and less friendly era in the early fifties. The career of the old Collegiate Institute was terminated by a fire in February, 1851, and when in 1857 separate academy instruction was again offered for boys, it was forced to compete with the newly organized Central High School. Each of the female academies



LIVINGSTON PARK SEMINARY, 1860-1934



SEWARD SEMINARY BUILDING, 45 NORTH ALEXANDER
STREET, 1834-1851, USED BY THE SHORT-LIVED
BARLEYWOOD FEMALE UNIVERSITY IN THE
FALL OF 1852

suffered at least one change in principals and in the course of the decade withdrew from the supervision of the Regents. The private select school movement recovered from the first effects of the free school law, especially after the frugal policy of the public authorities drove several of the better teachers back into the private field. But these schools and academies tended to become more distinctly private and exclusive in character. A specialization in function gave rise to several practical educational institutions as well as to various parochial schools, although the major development in these fields did not begin until the mid-eighties. Meanwhile, the private schools more than held their own numerically for several decades, though they failed to keep step with the expansion of the city.

The chief merit of the early academies had been the vitality of the personalities in charge. The passing of these leading principals was such a serious matter for their schools that few were able to make the adaptations necessary for survival. The female seminaries had at least two advantages over the boys' schools. A fashionable education was more ardently desired for the daughters of the upper middle class than for its sons, and the exclusion of girls from the University strengthened their claim to a few academy years.

The Seward Female Seminary was the first to face the ordeal of a shift in leadership. The marriage of Sarah T. Seward to Jacob Gould in 1841 had left the school in the hands of her brother, Jason W. Seward. By 1846, if not before, Miss Lucilia Tracy had become the chief teacher, and five years later she moved the school to a new home at 118 Alexander Street, changing the name to the Tracy Female Institute. A new charter was secured in 1857, but no reports were ever made to the Regents. The average of seventy girls attending the three terms of 1847 was bettered as the decade advanced, and the staff was increased from five to seven, but the numbers enrolled in the "ornamental branches" increased more rapidly. Even the introduction of new sciences, such as botany, was made to conform to fashionable as against academic objectives, for the laboratory was a greenhouse where the girls studied the arts of growing and arranging flowers. Thus a second strong teacher carried

the institution along through two active decades until 1873, when its career apparently ceased.¹

Two of the earlier seminaries failed to make a successful transition. The Allen Female Seminary continued in the tradition of Mary B. Allen long after blindness forced her withdrawal from its active control. Miss J. A. Schofield assumed full charge as principal in 1863, but failed to move the school from its old site, which had long since been surrounded by the expanding business district, and the institution disappeared from local records before the close of the Civil War.² A similar fate overtook the old Clover Street Seminary. The Rev. E. S. Gilbert reorganized this school in the late fifties, naming it the Genesee Model School, and Miss Amy Moore continued it for a time as a boarding school for boys and girls. But the institution failed to attract the support enjoyed by Miss Bloss in earlier years, and the doors were soon closed,³ to open again a decade later as a short-lived boys' academy.

The future of the other leading female seminary likewise hung in the balance in the late fifties. When Miss Doolittle left the city in 1856, the trustees of the Rochester Female Academy rented the building to Mrs. Cathro M. Curtis for private school use until, in 1858, the Rev. James Nichols and his wife, Sarah, came from the Temple Hill Academy in Genesee to take charge. New vitality was thus injected into the old Academy, and although the Rev. Nichols was soon weakened by an illness contracted as a Civil War chaplain, Mrs. Nichols carried on with ability for more than three decades. Under her management, the former affiliation with the Regents was revived in 1865, and for two decades a half-dozen or more girls took the prescribed examinations each year to gain academic standing and earn for the academy the small sums provided by the state for each such scholar. Among the other Rochester schools only the Free Academy shared in this state patronage and supervision. Thus the

¹Rochester *Directories*, 1844 to 1873; *Catalogue of the Teachers and Pupils of the Seward Female Seminary* (Rochester, 1847).

²Rochester *Directories*, 1853 to 1863.

³*Ibid.*, 1857 to 1861.

Female Academy came to be known as the more academic, if somewhat less fashionable, of the local girls' seminaries. In 1889 Mrs. Nichols acquired all the outstanding stock in the corporation and transformed the school into a strictly private institution. After the death of Sarah J. Nichols in 1892, her daughters carried the school along for a time in the established tradition.⁴

Several other able teachers made more or less successful attempts to establish private academies during these years. The first was Miss Janet P. Phelps, whose Clinton Street Seminary, facing Johnson Park, attracted some favor for a few years after 1853 until Miss Phelps joined the staff of the Female Academy.⁵ Another short-lived institution was the Rochester Seminary for Young Ladies, established at No. 9 South Washington Street by the Rev. Dwight W. Marsh in 1861. By 1864-5 it boasted an enrollment of over a hundred, possibly benefitting from the closure of the seminaries on Allen and Clinton streets. But two years later it likewise dropped from the records.⁶ In 1870 Mrs. H. G. Nott opened the Riverside Seminary at 60 South St. Paul Street, but failed to attract sufficient boarding and day scholars to justify its continuation beyond the second year.⁷ The Misses Jane and Fannie Rochester, granddaughters of the founder of the city, opened a School for Young Ladies on Caledonia Avenue in 1874, but after three struggling years the project was abandoned.⁸ In 1875 Miss Mary I. Bliss rented the fine brick house of John H. Rochester overlooking the site of the old Indian spring at the corner of Spring and Washington streets and opened there a school for girls and young ladies which continued until 1886 when Miss Bliss removed to Yonkers. Possibly the most successful teacher of this group was Miss Martha Cruttenden, who started a classical school

⁴*Catalogues of the Rochester Female Academy, 1858-59; Rochester Female Academy "Minutes of the Trustees," 1836-1888, MS. p. 55; Hopkins, Reminiscences of Miss Doolittle, pp. 11-18; Nichols, Historical Sketch, pp. 10-19.*

⁵*Rochester Directories, 1853-1857; Nichols, Historical Sketch, p. 12.*

⁶*Rochester Directories, 1863-1868; Rochester Seminary for Young Ladies, Catalogue, 1861-1865.*

⁷*Rochester Directories, 1870-1872.*

⁸*Ibid., 1874-1878; "Miss Rochester's School for Young Ladies," circular.*

for girls on North St. Paul Street in 1880. After a few years Miss Cruttenden moved into a larger home on Gibbs Street where she continued for another decade, enrolling among others young Lillian D. Wald and imparting a liberal and humane spirit to more than one of her charges.

Meanwhile a school that was destined to enjoy the longest private school career in Rochester had been opened by Mrs. Cathro M. Curtis on Livingston Park in 1860. Four years before, Mrs. Curtis had rented the old Rochester Female Academy building for a short period and had then conducted a school nearby on South Fitzhugh Street for two years. The Third Ward environment was ideal for the purpose, and in 1860 the fine old homestead of Frederick Backus was acquired and enlarged into a spacious home for the Curtis Seminary, as it was at first known. It was soon renamed the Livingston Park Seminary and attracted boarders from distant states as well as day pupils from Rochester. Semi-official relations were maintained with St. Luke's Episcopal Church, and in the nineties the graduation services became an attractive annual affair in that fine old edifice. After Mrs. Curtis had completed three decades of active control, failing health prompted her to call upon Miss Georgia C. Stone, a former teacher, to serve as assistant principal. With the death of Mrs. Curtis in 1892, full responsibility fell to Miss Stone.⁹

Many interesting changes occurred in the general academy pattern during these years. The three-term and the more usual four-quarter systems gave place during the sixties to the school year starting in September and ending in June. The earlier arrangement had made possible small quarter and term fees. Thus the change tended to increase the stability of the schools, while at the same time it indicated the greater substance of their clients. On the other hand the men of substance who had at first sponsored these schools gave place on the boards of trustees to men of learning. Certainly the distinctions are not clear in every case, but Nathaniel Rochester, Jonathan Child, Dr. Levi Ward, Jr., and Frederick Whittlesey, in the early days, and Moses Chapin, Thomas C. Montgomery, and Isaac Hills in the

⁹Livingston Park Seminary, *The Story of Sixty Years* (Rochester, [1918]), pp. 1-50.



MRS. CATHRO M. CURTIS—FOUNDER AND PRINCIPAL
OF THE LIVINGSTON PARK SEMINARY
1860-1892

middle period, contrast with Lewis H. Morgan, Levi A. Ward, and Chester Dewey as the patrons in the later period. These men and a score or more of associated trustees gave generously of their time and means to foster the various seminaries; but as more of the schools became exclusively private in character, the boards of trustees disappeared, and individual patrons retained only a friendly, inspirational relationship with them.

By this time Dr. Chester Dewey had become the grand old schoolman of Rochester, the favorite counsellor of most of the academy heads, and the beloved mentor of all local scholars. It was something for the city to have such a man embody and ennoble the scientific approach in a period when doubts concerning the new learning were troubling many religious folk. His generous devotion of time and energy to special scientific lectures in the several seminaries helped to guard them from the dangers of intellectual stagnation which their emphasis on the social graces and their close affiliation with various churches involved. The schools did not turn out great scholars, but at least in the field of the natural sciences the graduates had acquired some broad views.

These seminaries continued throughout this period to supply most of the educational facilities available to the young ladies of Rochester. However, an attempt was made in 1852 to establish a local college, known as the Barleywood Female University. Subscriptions of some \$15,000 were pledged, and an organization was effected with General Jacob Gould as President, and with Chester Dewey, L. H. Morgan, and L. A. Ward active among the trustees. But a temporary opening in the old Seward Female Seminary building during the fall of 1852 failed to attract sufficient attendance, perhaps because the fashionable young lady did not seek higher education in those days.¹⁰ A few girls did attend occasional courses at the University of Rochester between the years 1875 and 1893, but their sex was not to be officially welcomed to higher education in Rochester until

¹⁰Barleywood Female University, "Minutes of the Trustees" MS. in the University of Rochester Library; *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, October 3, 1852, January 5, 1853.

the end of the century.¹¹ Meanwhile a census of college students in 1866 revealed that seventy-two Rochester and Monroe County boys were attending colleges, chiefly those in New York State.¹²

The boys' schools and academies were less successful in maintaining their identity, but they deserve attention because of the special features they developed in competition with the public schools. A minor instance was the gymnastic equipment installed in the school for boys opened by Mr. Miles on Ann Street in 1848. This is the earliest local mention of a feature that was later to receive considerable emphasis, but at the time it failed to maintain Miles' venture.¹³ The Rochester Boys' Training School opened in 1859 by the Rev. James Nichols near the Female Academy sent three of its boys to college and many more into the army of the North; but the institution itself was soon disbanded.¹⁴

Meanwhile the destruction of the old Collegiate Institute prompted the establishment of several rival successors. Myron G. Peck opened an academy on State Street in 1855, admitting girls as well as boys. Two years later he moved into a fine new home near Stillson Street and renamed his school the East Avenue Collegiate Institute. Myron Peck was a tall and gracious young man and attracted more than a hundred older boys into his academy each term until it closed during the first year of the Civil War. Peck introduced a new idea into Rochester's educational technique by conducting tutorial European trips during the next several years. Sometime later he returned to Rochester to open a home on Gibbs Street where he lived for many years as a patron of letters and the arts, collecting rare and beautiful articles—a model of the cultured and fashionable gentleman.¹⁵

¹¹Dexter Perkins, "The University of Rochester," Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, XII, 148-50.

¹²Regents, *Report*, 1866, p. 176.

¹³*Rochester Daily Democrat*, August 29, 1848.

¹⁴Nichols, *Historical Sketch*, p. 13; Rochester Boys' Training School, *Programme*, December 23, 1859; "The School" MS. describes this school during 1860-61.

¹⁵Rochester *Directories*, 1855 to 1866; East Avenue Collegiate Institute, *Catalogue*, 1856-57; *Rochester Daily Democrat*, December 28, 1893.

Another and more academic Collegiate Institute was opened on Atwater Street by N. W. Benedict and L. R. Satterlee in 1857. Professor Benedict had long been associated with Dewey in the old Collegiate Institute, and when the University was opened he was given charge of its grammar school. Possibly it was disappointment over his failure to receive a more dignified post that prompted the new venture. The Institute was advertised as a "Commercial and Classical School, embracing all the departments of instruction necessary to qualify students for the business of teaching, or for commercial, scientific, or professional pursuits without graduating at college." In 1863, after the University had moved from its first home in the old United States Hotel on Buffalo Street, Benedict moved his portion of the Collegiate Institute into that building, separating at that time from L. R. Satterlee who continued his own Collegiate Institute on Atwater Street until the end of the decade. Benedict had scarcely established his new Institute when an appointment as principal of the Free Academy in 1864 called him to a position of leadership in public school work which he held for nineteen years. Satterlee, in his turn, rounded out his educational services to the community as a trustee of the Rochester Female Academy and as librarian of the Court of Appeals Law Library.¹⁶

A revival of interest in boarding academies for young men seemed for a time to offer a solution for the difficulties facing these schools. When Satterlee retired, two Wilson brothers, recently graduated from Yale College, took over the Atwater Street Collegiate Institute and converted it into a boarding academy. Their success was apparently limited, for a year later they opened the Wilson Grammar School in Reynolds Arcade where they struggled for two more years to find a foothold in Rochester's crowded scholastic maelstrom.¹⁷ Before the Wilsons disappeared, Judson Barrett reopened the Collegiate Institute on Atwater Street and continued it from

¹⁶Rochester *Directories*, 1856 to 1865; *Collegiate Institute Calendar*, 1863-64; *Obituaries Scrapbook*, T. 1, 10; *Biographical Record of the City of Rochester and Monroe County* (New York, 1902), pp. 257-259.

¹⁷Rochester Collegiate Institute, *Catalogue*, 1870; Wilson's Grammar School, *Programs*, 1871, 1872.

1871 until 1874, when it was finally closed. E. V. De Graff's Military and Collegiate Institute was established on Court Street late in 1868. But in 1870 the building burned to the ground, and De Graff found more profitable employment as a salesman.¹⁸

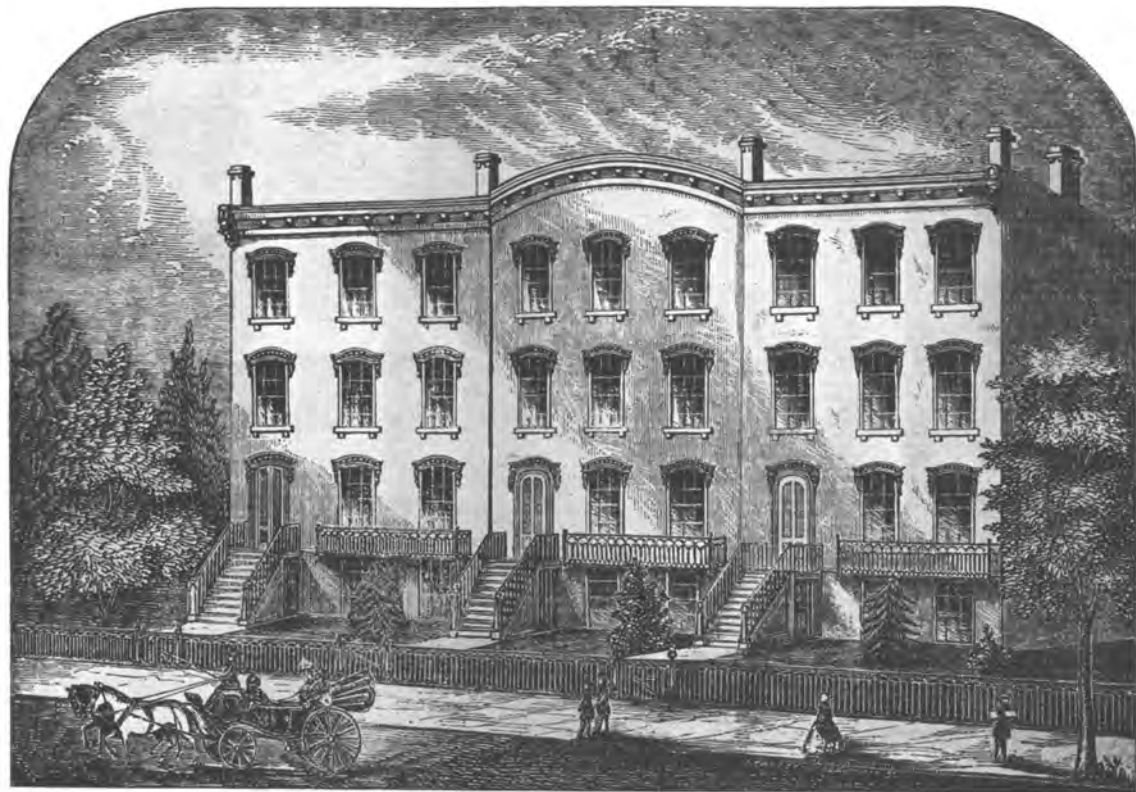
A more advantageous location enabled the Rev. Thomas Drumm to continue his St. Mark's School for boys from 1870 to 1876. The old Seminary buildings on Clover Street served as a convenient home for a boarding school, and the martial spirit aroused by the war prompted this Episcopal clergyman to introduce regular drill periods and to require the use of light grey uniforms by the boys. A list of other articles to be supplied by the boys' parents suggests the character of many of the schools of the day: "Bible, Prayer Book, India rubber overshoes and boots, slippers without heels (two pairs), toilet and table napkins ($\frac{1}{2}$ doz. each), napkin ring, fork, large and small spoon . . . three single sheets and pillow cases." Some forty boys, chiefly from Rochester, drilled and recited at old St. Mark's for several years, but the charge of \$350 for board and tuition was beyond the means of most parents after the panics of 1873 and '75 settled into a protracted depression. Thus the last regular boarding school for boys disappeared in Rochester over sixty years ago.¹⁹

Other local day academies occasionally appeared but few of them enjoyed extended careers. D. S. Benjamin opened a classical school on Exchange Street in 1870, and John R. Vosburg opened his day school on East Main Street at about the same time, both of them continuing for nearly fifteen years. A more successful representative of these minor seminaries was the classical and scientific school opened by George D. Hale in 1871. Hale charged \$200 a year for tuition and personally conducted the studies of his pupils, whose number was limited to twenty boys. The success of his college-preparatory instruction was sufficient to keep him busily employed for three decades, and his school was not discontinued until 1897.²⁰

¹⁸Rochester *Directories*, 1870 to 1875.

¹⁹*Ibid.*; St. Mark's School for Boys, *Catalogues*, 1870-71, 1873-74.

²⁰Rochester *Directories*, 1870 to 1898.



EAST AVENUE COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE—STOOD ON THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF EAST AVENUE
AND STILLSON STREET: 1857-1861

Thus, out of the many private schools offering academic instruction in Rochester, only four survived the trials of the seventies and eighties. And the schools of Mrs. Nichols, Mrs. Curtis, Miss Cruttenden, and Mr. Hale were overshadowed by the Free Academy which the public school authorities now maintained; indeed the combined enrollment of the private schools never equalled that of the Free Academy after the late seventies.

In the county at large, only the Brockport Collegiate Institute, reorganized in 1867 as the Brockport State Normal School, continued in a thriving state.²¹ The growth of this institution had snuffed out the hopes of nearby Parma Institute, organized at Parma Corners late in 1858 and continued with indifferent success until 1870. Riga Academy, first opened in 1846, survived two suspensions but closed finally in 1863. The pioneer Monroe Academy was able to maintain itself until 1871, when the public school authorities in Henrietta bought the building for operation as a union school under the provisions of the law of 1853. The Penfield Seminary building, closed in 1869, was likewise acquired by the town for union school purposes in 1891. Webster Academy, opened in 1860, survived the destruction of its building in 1872 by occupying a private boarding house until the town, in 1877, erected its own Free Academy, a union school equipped to provide instruction in the higher branches.²² Even the more securely established academies in the surrounding area—in Canandaigua, East Bloomfield, Lima, and LeRoy—were passing through a transition period which was to close the first two and convert the others into collegiate seminaries.

While the traditional private academies were thus giving place to the public school advance, several new types of private training schools were making their appearance. The thriving commercial life of the city was calling for men and women trained for its activities, and both commercial and industrial training courses were devised by venturesome private institutes of a new sort. Population growth had

²¹Brockport State Normal School, *Semicentennial* (Brockport, 1917), pp. 22-26.

²²McIntosh, *History of Monroe County*, pp. 175, 186-187, 213-218.

brought many different nationalities and religious sects into the city, and several of these sought to preserve their traditions by fostering sectarian or parochial seminaries. Still a third group of schools were those maintained by eleemosynary institutions, struggling with the ever growing social problems of the urban environment. Thus, private educational activities were reaching out into new fields, blazing the way for later city or state institutions.

Most of the charitable and correctional institutions were, at the time of their first appearance in Rochester, already under the supervision of state agencies. Some state or local support was assured them, but private initiative was essential to their establishment and development and to the elaboration of their educational activities. Thus the several homes for orphans, started as denominational or group charities, usually organized separate schools at first, although arrangements were soon made to admit their children to the regular public schools. The Western House of Refuge, opened here in 1849, provided elementary instruction from the start and expanded these activities until eight classes were organized in 1856 to take care of the nearly 300 boys confined within its walls. Possibly no great educational achievements can be claimed for this institution during the decades prior to its removal to Industry in 1907, but at least in the early years of Superintendent S. S. Wood's administration many of the boys after their discharge wrote back appreciative letters recalling the lessons they had learned at the Refuge.²⁸

Another special school, the Rochester School for the Deaf, was likewise established during this period. Again it was a case of private initiative culminating in a very useful quasi-public institution. When in 1876 Gilman H. Perkins sought a teacher for his deaf little girl, a survey of the city revealed the existence here of over one hundred children of school age who were held back by this handicap. Realization of the situation prompted the incorporation of the Western New York Institution for Deaf Mutes. The school, opened that fall on Court Street and (present) South Avenue, soon enrolled so many children that new quarters had to be found,

²⁸Western House of Refuge, *Reports*, 1850-1859.

and in 1878 it was moved to its present site on St. Paul Street. Dr. Zenas Freeman Westervelt, who served as superintendent until his death in 1918, was a pioneer among teachers of the deaf in discarding the use of signs and substituting finger-spelling as the major form of communication. His technique gained wide recognition as the Rochester Method and greatly influenced educational developments in this field. Dr. Westervelt was likewise the first to maintain sufficiently high academic standards and to carry his instruction far enough to enable his pupils to pass the Regents examinations for the full four years of the high school course. These high attainments are still maintained today by Superintendent Thomas C. Forrester, thus enabling the greatly enlarged institution to achieve an "educational success [that] stands out beyond any school on the list" of forty-one schools for the deaf visited by the National Research Council in 1924.²⁴

The commercial and industrial school movement made its first appearance in Rochester during the early forties. George W. Eastman first organized a commercial class here in 1842. The demand for trained bookkeepers supported the venture although the Kodak inventor's father did not move his family from Waterville to the city until 1860. Meanwhile the commercial school was growing in reputation and in 1854 Eastman moved it into more spacious quarters in the Reynolds Arcade, and named it the Eastman Commercial College. His brother, Almon R., moved to Rochester in 1859 to assist in the school's management, and after George W.'s death in 1862 continued the college until 1871.²⁵

The most successful of these schools was established here in 1863 by Bryant and Stratton as the fourteenth school in their chain. J. V. R. Chapman was the local principal for several years before 1869, when Louis L. Williams succeeded him. The name Business University was assumed next year, and in 1872 Williams acquired full control as proprietor.²⁶

²⁴Letter to Mr. Forrester from a member of the Council.

²⁵C. W. Ackerman, *George Eastman*, pp. 4-7; *Moore's Rural New Yorker*, October, 1863; C. G. Houston, *Eastman's Commercial College Scrapbook*, MS.

²⁶Rochester Business Institute, *A History and a Prophecy* (1933), pp. 3-5.

F. E. Rogers soon joined the enterprise, which continued in a thriving state through several changes in residence. In 1889 it rented the upper part of the newly erected Y. M. C. A. building, corner of Court Street and South Avenue, and seven years later the name was changed to the Rochester Business Institute. A commercial school founded by A. J. Taylor, joined this group in 1877, eight years before Mechanics Institute began a career that was destined to overshadow all other schools of this sort in Western New York. By 1890 these last three practical schools were enjoying such generous support from the growing city that several additional business schools entered the field and the commercial and mechanical school movement was ready to enter its thriving period.²⁷

Sectarian or parochial schools began to assume an important role in Rochester after the mid-century. Although the Catholic schools soon predominated in this field, both in numbers and enrollments, several of the others deserve mention. Such was the school on Grove Place opened by the German Lutheran Church in 1855. A decade later the Hebrew, German, and English Institute started a brief career with a program of advanced instruction in these three tongues. The Holland Reformed Parochial School, 1866-1879, and the Trinity Church School, 1863-1877, were minor sectarian schools; but the Rochester Real Schule on Mortimer Street, 1870-1884, and the German Concordia School, 1880-1907, offered some advanced instruction. The last of these persisted for several decades, attempting to foster the harmonious adjustment of a strong nationality group to its new homeland without the complete loss of native cultural inheritances.²⁸

This period saw the establishment of several denominational seminaries in Rochester and vicinity. The Rochester Theological School, first opened in 1851, rapidly developed into a graduate seminary of national significance, not only for the Baptist Church but for Protestantism as a whole. Very soon after its establishment, the Theological Seminary organized an independent German Department for the train-

²⁷Rochester *Directories*, 1856 to 1890.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 1855 to 1890.

ing of German Baptists. After a few years a native German instructor was employed, and in 1874 the old building of the Tracy Female Institute was acquired as a separate home for the German Department. In 1890 a new building was erected on this site which became known as the German Students' Home.²⁹ Meanwhile the Wagner Memorial Lutheran College was opened in Rochester during 1886 by the German Lutherans,³⁰ while the Free Methodists renamed their Chili Seminary, first opened in 1866, the A. M. Chesbrough Seminary.³¹ But only the Rochester Theological Seminary compared in importance with the Catholic seminaries that were growing up during these years.³²

Among the host of private school teachers who maintained small select schools for the younger children, few persisted for any great length of time. Mrs. Emily Hotchkiss and Mrs. Eliza C. Ward, and the Misses Ruth P. Harnden, Almira Porter, C. J. Pratt, and Emily E. Laing were exceptions during the early years. Others replaced them in the eighties, notably Mary Bliss and Margaret Marshall. Of them all Mrs. Hotchkiss, 1834-1843, 1850-1879, and Miss Marshall, 1875-1910, rendered the longest service. The first private school to assume the name Kinder-Garten was opened by Miss Julia C. Taylor in 1863. Although that school soon disappeared, the name was used frequently during the eighties, and many other schools enrolled children as young as five years, carrying them along until their eighth or tenth year and still further in some instances. Except for the very young children, most of the pupils were daughters of upper middle class families that still hoped to provide their girls with a properly sheltered introduction to society.

While most of these private schools represented the efforts of individual teachers to satisfy the interests of the more favorably situated families, one important charity school appeared to fill the needs of poor children whose parents

²⁹The Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, *Bulletin*, January, 1932, pp. 247-261; May, 1936, pp. 308-309.

³⁰Wagner College, *Bulletin*, 1933-34, p. 15.

³¹W. T. Hogue, *History of the Free Methodist Church of North America* (Chicago, 1915).

³²Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, XIII, 165-69.

could not properly feed and clothe them for public school attendance. In 1856 a determined group of women representing more than a score of Protestant churches organized under the leadership of Mrs. David C. Alling and established a school in the fire-scarred Rochester Home on Exchange Street. The Industrial School, as it was named, opened there the next spring but moved within a year to a new home at 76 Exchange Street. Here, year after year for nearly six decades, an average of over fifty destitute and sometimes vagrant children were assembled every weekday morning at nine o'clock for a scripture lesson, after which they were given instruction in the three R's, sewing, cooking, and other essential occupations in poor families, provided with a noon meal and clothing in season, and dismissed at three. An attempt was made to encourage regular attendance among the younger children and to persuade the older ones to enter their district schools, but the necessities of each child made it difficult to introduce any regular gradation.³³ Indeed, the needs of the poor were so great at times that one and another church opened its own industrial school for short periods, notably the Free Kindergarten established by Dr. A. S. Crapsey in St. Andrew's Parish Church in 1890.³⁴

PRIVATE EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY DURING THE
LAST HALF-CENTURY

Throughout the country, at least west of the Hudson, private schools appeared to be on their last legs during the late eighties. Nevertheless, many succeeded in maintaining themselves for several decades, and in spite of the uncongenial industrial environment they never wholly disappeared in Rochester. Thus a choice between at least two girls' schools has been continuously available for more than a century, while successive boys' schools have made valiant if less successful efforts to maintain their services. But this continued activity has been possible only because the schools have made successful adaptations to the changing urban environment, finally, when transportation facilities per-

³³Industrial School, *Reports*, 1858, 1859; *Directories*, 1858 to 1910.

³⁴*S. Andrew's Record* (1890) II, I, 105, 136.

mitted, moving to the outskirts of the city as country day schools. Various religious and nationality groups maintained special schools for a time, but except for a few seminaries, only the Catholic parochial schools have enjoyed a growth proportionate to the strength of their parishes. The major private educational activity has shifted into the field of practical training institutes, scores of which have been fostered by the expanding commercial and industrial life of Rochester.

Three of the four private seminaries active in Rochester during the late eighties soon disappeared. George Hale's classical school for boys closed in 1897, after twenty-six years of modest service. The daughters of Mrs. Nichols maintained a school in the old Female Academy building for eleven years after their mother's death in 1892, but a declining patronage finally forced its discontinuation. Miss Lelle H. Hakes took over Miss Cruttenden's school on Gibbs Street in 1895 and moved it to 86 East Avenue during the following year. There for fourteen years it flourished as a fashionable day school that maintained good scholastic standards. Diplomas were granted to some half-dozen young ladies "clad all in white" each year until 1909, when Lelle and Mary Hakes retired. Miss Edna A. Richmond, one of the teachers at the Hakes' school, opened a school at her home on Calumet Street in 1910 and continued until 1914 when she removed to Illinois.³⁶

Only the Livingston Park Seminary survived the trials of these years. Miss Georgia C. Stone carried it along during the nineties until her marriage in 1900, when Mrs. Eurith T. Rebasz, a graduate and former instructor of the school, took charge. Fond traditions grew up about the fine old building and its leading personalities, and the daughters and nieces of former graduates renewed the ties of their elders to this old institution, maintaining it through many prosperous years. Changing times brought minor changes in the school activities, such as the substitution during the early years of

³⁶Rochester *Directories*, 1890 to 1914; Lois Badger's Scrapbook of Class 1907, Miss Hakes' School; Reynold's Library Scrapbook, No. 65, pp. 69-70, several items, dated May and June, 1903; *Miss Richmond's School* (1912-1913), pamphlet.

the century of automobile picnics for the tally-ho coach rides and canal packet excursions of earlier class days. The boarding students gradually gave place to day pupils gathered from the homes of the growing city. Mrs. Curtis had conducted a few brief European tours for the benefit of some of her more fortunately situated pupils, and now Mrs. Rebasz initiated the custom of taking her seniors to Washington for an Easter sight-seeing trip, making the visit to the White House a memorable climax each year. But during post-war days it became increasingly difficult to maintain the traditions of a fashionable school amidst the deterioration of the old third ward. Finally in 1934, in the wake of the great depression, Mrs. Rebasz closed the school at the end of its seventy-sixth year.³⁸

Although the industrial city did not provide the most attractive location for a boarding school, the increasing respectability of a college education for the fashionable young lady created a demand for select preparatory schools for girls. Since neither Mrs. Rebasz nor Miss Hakes considered this to be one of their main responsibilities, there was room for a new school which would specialize in this function. Accordingly, in 1897, the Columbia School for girls was opened near the University Campus on North Goodman Street. Miss Caroline Milliman and Miss Alida Lattimore were the principals in charge, and the latter, a daughter of Professor Lattimore at the University of Rochester, brought to the new project the pupils of a select school she had conducted on Rowley Street since 1892. In 1900 Mrs. Mary Woodbury joined the staff and organized a kindergarten. After Miss Lattimore's retirement in 1906, Mrs. Woodbury became co-principal with her sister, Miss Milliman. A large frame building was erected for the school at 39 North Goodman, and soon between two and three hundred girls, ranging in age from five to seventeen years, were enrolled in its classes. Amidst an atmosphere of scholastic activity the years rolled by, speeding hundreds of girls on their way to college or distant boarding schools. Indeed the custom of

³⁸Livingston Park Seminary, *Story of Sixty Years*, pp. 54-55, 60-62; *Times-Union*, September 7, 1934.

transferring to out-of-town boarding schools after the completion of the lower classes became fairly general and finally reduced the number of graduates to a minimum of three girls in 1937. Then, after forty years of service, Mrs. Woodbury and Miss Milliman decided to retire, and the school, consisting chiefly of an intermediate department, was joined with the children's department of Allendale School in the latter's newly acquired house at No. 22 South Goodman Street. The next year Mrs. Della Simpson was called to the city to become the new head of the Allendale-Columbia School.

Meanwhile a succession of boys' schools had spanned these same years. The Fort Hill School, opened by James Hattract Lee in 1889, closed after two years, possibly because Hale's small classical school satisfied the needs of the day. But before the latter was also closed in 1897, J. Howard Bradstreet had successfully opened a college preparatory school for boys which enjoyed several years of active growth. So prosperous were his classes in successive locations in the central business district, that in 1904 Bradstreet acquired a large building on Park Avenue for a day and boarding school. The new location fostered congenial relations with the girls in Miss Hakes' School, not many blocks away. But apparently the expansion was ill-advised, for at the end of the second year the venture was abandoned, and Bradstreet removed to New York. A brief interval of three years followed before Joseph P. Kalbfus took up the struggle in 1909 and opened a boys' school on East Avenue in the building recently occupied by Miss Hakes' School. The school was later moved to Clover Road, and after nearly two decades of modest success Kalbfus assisted in the move to establish the present Allendale School.

One interesting feature of the shifting private school scene was its relation to the shift in the city's fashionable residential areas. A hundred years ago rural Clover and Alexander streets had attracted boarding schools that rivalled the fashionable day school on dignified Fitzhugh Street, in the third ward. But as that ward became the choice social center of the city its girls' seminaries prospered, and some of the boys' academies, the University, and the Free Academy

were first located in its general vicinity. Later the growth of East Avenue as a choice residential street and the migration of the University to its Goodman Street campus drew the private schools in that direction. Myron G. Peck was followed by Miss Cruttenden and Miss Hakes in selecting locations on or near lower East Avenue. The building occupied by Miss Hakes was taken over by Joseph Kalbfus the year after her retirement. Thus the University and these private schools, as well as the Theological Seminary, Bradstreet's School, and Columbia in their turn, lent the atmosphere of an academic grove to the southeastern section of the city with its stately elms and spacious mansions. But in time the migration of the business district down East Main to East Avenue and the arrival of the automobile pushed the exclusive residential area further to the southeast, forced the Seminary and University to seek new campuses to the south, and finally prompted the private schools to move in the same direction and reorganize as country day schools.

The modern country day school had its inspiration in Baltimore nearly three decades before a group of interested citizens in Rochester banded together in 1926 to establish Allendale School for boys. A twenty-four-acre tract on Allen's Creek Road southeast of the city was selected, and Barclay H. Farr was brought from Groton Preparatory School in Massachusetts to serve as headmaster. Joseph Kalbfus merged his school with the new project which was designed to provide boys with the scholastic and environmental advantages of an academy without removing them from the influences of their homes. A bus picked up the boys in the morning and returned them at five in the afternoon. Tuition charges, ranging from \$225 for the first grade to \$450 for all above the second grade, offered a considerable economy as against the total charges of eastern boys' schools. In spite of slight tuition advances in later years, over one hundred boys were soon enrolled in Allendale. A special demand for admission to the lower school and kindergarten has prompted the extension of the work of those departments. In 1936 a special summer session was organized to provide supervised recreational activities for boys and girls.

The gift of a spacious mansion on Goodman Street has recently provided a new home for the lower school and made possible the merging of that department with Columbia School. A change in leadership occurred in 1937 when John R. Webster was called from Colbert School in Baltimore to succeed Headmaster Farr at Allendale.

Meanwhile a rival country day school for both boys and girls, the Harley School, has developed from a progressive children's school into a thriving institution boasting many unusual educational features. It was in 1924 that the Children's University School, a co-operative project started by several mothers some nine years before, grew into the Harley School. The original inspiration, supplied by Mrs. Harriet B. Bentley, had envisaged a school where the youngsters would follow the lead of their individual interests in learning to master the problems and tasks of their environment. Both the children and the school had grown during the years, and the addition of higher classes made necessary a home where an adequate separation of the grades could be provided. Accordingly, in 1924, a house at 240 Oxford Street was acquired, and the next year Miss Louise M. Sumner was invited to take charge of the school, which at this date assumed the task of guiding its pupils from the kindergarten through the full college preparatory course. Growth was so rapid that a new building, opened on Clover Road in October, 1926, was soon outgrown, and another and larger building was erected in 1930 on the school's spacious thirty-three-acre site. Since 1932 this school has maintained an active educational program that has served an average of 170 students, graduating nine or ten boys and girls each year from its college preparatory division.

Private school enrollments, when contrasted with those of either the public or parochial schools, are insignificant indeed. As far as the records show, this situation dates from the late eighties when the private seminaries failed to enjoy the growth that enlivened most of the other institutions in the city. The boys in particular were forced to look elsewhere for suitable private schools, and an increasing number of girls sought the privileges of a boarding school. There is no satisfactory data for the early years, but a careful check of

recent class lists of eight schools for boys popular in this area totalled just under 100 Rochester boys in all classes. The school census reveals that the number of transfers from public to private schools has dropped from 96 to 19 during the last seven years. Part of this decline is accounted for by the improvement in the lower and kindergarten grades of the private schools, attracting many children who thus continue under private auspices throughout their school years. Nevertheless, several out-of-town private school catalogues show decreasing Rochester enrollments during recent years. It is doubtful whether the number of local boys and girls of all ages enrolled in the traditional private schools between the kindergarten and college ranks has averaged 500 in recent years.

Several of the older sectarian and nationality schools continued far into the modern era, and a few additional institutions of this character were established. But again, aside from the Catholic schools, only the advanced seminaries enjoyed a steady growth. The Rochester Theological Seminary developed into a school of graduate standing during its long residence on Alexander Street. In the early thirties this institution was merged with the Colgate Theological Seminary; and the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, as it was now called, was moved into a fine modern plant constructed on the southern border of the city.³⁷ The German Department of this school had gradually increased its independence until, in 1937, it was renamed the German Baptist Seminary. But a campaign at the time to move the Seminary to a more central German Baptist neighborhood in the Northwest was defeated, and the institution continues its modest functions in the German Students' Home on Alexander Street. The city did lose one institution of this type when, in 1918, the Evangelical Lutheran Church decided to move the Wagner Memorial Lutheran College to Staten Island.

The changing demographic character of Rochester is reflected in the activity of these special schools. The early importance of the German element had prompted the establishment here of the two denominational seminaries men-

³⁷Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, XIII, 165-169.

tioned above and had supported the several minor German schools of the seventies. The last of the smaller institutions, the German Concordia School, was closed in 1908, because the second generation of this immigrant people took quickly to the customs of their new home and enrolled in the public schools.

In the early nineties another ethnic group, the Jews of northeastern Europe, began to reach Rochester in large numbers. The local *Directory* for 1895 mentions three special Hebrew schools—the first to gain mention in this source. Of these, only the school opened by Nathan Kaufman at 99 Kelly Street continued beyond the first year. However, another such school, the Rochester Hebrew School, was opened at 169 Chatham Street in 1897, and in 1905 Kaufman combined his school with this institution and assumed full control during the next half-dozen years. Meanwhile, at least two other Hebrew teachers, Harri Bernhardt and Abram Fain, opened schools here, and the latter continued his instruction until 1914. After several years of apparent inactivity the Rochester Hebrew School was reestablished in 1922 at 144 Baden Street, and soon upwards of one hundred pupils were enrolled in its afternoon classes in Hebrew, a program which the children carried in addition to their regular public school work.

Another special school was that opened by Lewis J. Bolt in 1922. It was known as the Rochester Christian School and soon attracted annual enrollments of around ninety pupils from families that wished to have their children's education carefully related at all possible points to scriptural teachings. The school was later chartered under the auspices of the Society for Christian Instruction, and the aid received from several church offerings each year has made possible the extension of this educational service to families able to pay only moderate tuition fees. The School of Christian Instruction, as it is now called, is the only Protestant parochial school in the city today.

Private and select schools and kindergartens were opened in Rochester from time to time, but most of them continued for even shorter periods than their predecessors of former years. The public schools greatly improved their facilities for

this work after the turn of the century, thus causing many private school teachers to discontinue their select schools. Some of the teachers sought to specialize with still younger children, but when the incorporated private schools as well as the public schools invaded this field the individual teacher found herself at a disadvantage. Nevertheless, the private nursery school and kindergarten survived the competition, and during the last half-dozen years six or eight nursery schools have maintained themselves for several years, each accommodating a dozen or so children throughout the winter months. Several have conducted sunshine camps during the hot months, a service which the public schools have not as yet undertaken. Most of these schools might more properly be classified as play groups, but in all instances the object is to encourage the healthful development of the aptitudes of the children. The interest shown by Dr. Hazel M. Cushing and the members of the Parent Education and Child Development Committee in these pre-school groups has helped to improve the equipment, training, and technique maintained by these schools during the last few years.

Recently the Board of Education has sponsored the Lake View Nursery School as a public demonstration school, and four nursery schools have been opened by the Works Progress Administration in different school buildings. But the most important day-nursery and primary schools have been supported by various charitable organizations. Thus the Industrial School continued to carry on from former years. Kindergarten and manual training departments were organized under competent instructors in 1891. The next year the Board of Education arranged to conduct regular school classes at the Industrial School during the mornings, and in 1897 the Board took over the kindergarten classes as well. This direct public support was discontinued in 1899, but the school maintained most of its activities until 1919, when all classes but those of kindergarten rank were terminated. In 1922 the old name was dropped and the institution became known as the Rochester Children's Nursery.

A second school of similar character was started in 1904 by the joint action of the Social Service Committee of the Women's City Club and the Baden Street Settlement. The

Social Settlement School, as it was at first called, secured a cottage back of the Settlement House in 1909. In 1923 a modern three-story building was erected on this site, 13 Vienna Street, and the name was changed to the Belle J. Michaels' Day Nursery. The active educational and charitable programs of these two children's schools are continued today with the support of the Community Chest. A third school, known as the Friendship Nursery, was started by Miss Harriet B. Jones in 1928 in the basement of the Memorial Presbyterian Church. During the struggling years that have followed it has moved into many different temporary quarters, but the determination of Miss Jones and the support of her friends have maintained the school. The activities of these three day nurseries reached a high point in 1931, from which they have declined slightly in more recent years, partly due to the increased activity of other relief agencies.³⁸

It was during the last half-century that private educational enterprise shifted more and more into the commercial and industrial fields. Ten schools of this character were listed in the 1890 *Directory*, as against three a few years before. Most of these teachers soon disappeared, but others succeeded them, and for many years the number of local commercial schools ranged around ten each year. Meanwhile a new competitor entered the field, the correspondence school, and by 1910 the number of such institutions maintaining local offices equalled the number of commercial schools offering classes in the city. After the war the popularity of the correspondence school began to decline, while new trade schools made their appearance. Today the city is equipped with a total of twenty trade and commercial schools and three additional institutions offering correspondence courses in those subjects.

The oldest of these schools, the Rochester Business University, changed its name in 1896 to the Rochester Business Institute. Samuel C. Williams carried on the school for his brother who was now engaged in writing commercial texts.

³⁸R. P. Van Zandt, *A Handbook of Social Agencies of Rochester* (Rochester, 1928), pp. 26-27, 30-34; Rochester Council of Social Agencies, *Cost and Volume of Social Work in Rochester* (Rochester, 1936), pp. C.C. 12-13.

For two decades the school was located in the old Y. M. C. A. building on Court Street, but in 1915 a new building was erected for it at 172 Clinton Avenue. To the earlier classes in typewriting, shorthand, and accounting, many additional subjects were added. Thus an elaborate curriculum has been developed, which, under the leadership of Dr. Meyer Jacobstein, has brought the standing of the school to a high point, attracting an enrollment of more than one thousand students in its various day and evening school classes.

Most of the early commercial schools disappeared shortly after their chief leaders found attractive jobs in other local concerns. But in 1917 a school in shorthand was started by Robert J. McKechnie which was destined to grow into a stable school of commerce. In 1926 the Rev. Henry J. Lunger joined forces with McKechnie, soon taking over the active direction of the school's affairs. Today this school occupies quarters in East Avenue where it accommodates around two hundred day students and nearly the same number in evening courses. Like the Business Institute the major portion of the student body is enrolled from the graduates of local high schools, but around twenty per cent are attracted from distant villages and towns, chiefly those of Western New York. Several smaller schools of this sort have secured a fairly sure foothold in this city during the last decade or so. The action of Niagara University in locating a branch of its School of Business in Rochester in 1933 has established a strong rival in this educational field.

Meanwhile a group of competing institutions, the correspondence schools, have invaded the field of commercial education. The first of these to establish an office in Rochester was the New York Institute of Science which located a branch here in 1900. Ten years later the number of correspondence schools maintaining local offices had increased to nine, offering a varied assortment of courses, as a few of their names suggest: American Poultry Institute, Empire Automobile Institute, Franklin Institute. The last of these was organized in 1904 and soon advertised courses for candidates for civil service examinations. Most of these institutes disappeared during the post-war years, possibly because the home training they offered did not prove to be as useful in

practice as training derived from the class room or practical experience. Criticisms have been leveled at the misleading implications of the advertisement programs of some of these institutes, and today only three of such "schools" maintain offices in Rochester. Of the local organizations, Franklin Institute and the Patterson School have enjoyed the longest careers.³⁹

The many special trade schools that have appeared in Rochester from time to time reveal the character of its varied business activities. Schools for dressmakers, for telegraph operators, for cutters in the clothing industry, are typical of the small trade schools that opened for brief periods. Several of the leading industrial establishments, such as Bausch and Lomb, have operated special training schools for a time in order to train operatives for highly skilled posts in their factories. Of a similar character was the U. S. A. School of Aerial Photography opened at Kodak Park in March, 1918, to train army pilots for technical work of this character.⁴⁰

Recently the prominence of Rochester as the original home of the Harper Method of hairdressing has made the city a center for training schools in this craft. Martha M. Harper opened her first hairdressing establishment here in 1888, and hundreds of girls, trained in her shop, have gone forth to establish Harper Method shops on both sides of the Atlantic. By June, 1913, Miss Harper organized an independent laboratory for the training of beauty culture experts, and today the Harper Method Training Center enrolls twenty-five girls in its regular course twice each year. At least a half dozen other such schools have been opened in Rochester. Recently the State Education Department has been given authority to license such schools, and the several applications submitted from Rochester will shortly be acted upon.

³⁹Franklin Institute, *How to get a U. S. Government Job*; Paul Teco, "Correspondence Schools and their Contribution to Quackery in Education," Consumers' Research, *General Bulletin*, October, 1932; Rochester Directories, 1900 to 1938.

⁴⁰*World War Service Record of Rochester and Monroe County* (Rochester, 1930), pp. 336-357.

Another Rochester school that has opened a new craft for young women is the School of Dental Hygienists. This school was started in the Rochester Dental Dispensary a year after the latter's establishment by George Eastman in 1915. Young women who have passed the Regents' examinations for high school students enroll in its nine-months' course where they learn to do prophylactic work in dental offices, industrial establishments, and public institutions. Over fifty girls have graduated annually during the last few years.⁴¹

But the most important of all local institutes in the field of practical education is the Rochester Athenaeum and Mechanics Institute. Its growth since the establishment of Mechanics Institute in 1885 has been too extensive and complex for brief description. Fortunately its story has been fully told elsewhere,⁴² and it is here necessary only to note the ascendancy the Institute soon gained over the other private educational activities in Rochester. Starting with four day and three night school classes in 1885, the Institute, generously supported by Captain Henry Lomb, added mechanical, commercial, and home economic courses as the demand for them was felt. During the post-war years it has grown into a diversified trade and industrial school that enrolls 500 day pupils and three times that number of night school students. Its extensive plant is located chiefly on Plymouth Avenue South in the third ward, thus bringing back to that old neighborhood some of the school-day atmosphere it lost when the female seminaries and the Free Academy closed their doors.

Adult education is becoming the major concern of these private institutes. Ninety per cent of the class registrations at Mechanics Institute are vocational in purpose, and the majority of these are adults enrolled in the evening school program. The work of the Extension Division of the University likewise appeals chiefly to adults, and while it is academic in subject matter the fact that more than half of the registered students are teachers seeking a better grasp

⁴¹Rochester Dental Dispensary, *School for Dental Hygienists* (1938).

⁴²George W. Hoke, *Blazing New Trails* (Rochester, 1937), pp. 49-164; Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, xiv, 213-216.

of their own and related subjects gives the work of the Extension Division a vocational character. During the decade of the twenties the number of adults enrolled in the extension classes averaged around 2,000 a year. The heaviest registration was in the educational department, while economics and English vied for second choice.

Still another phase of adult education has developed under various social agencies. A survey⁴⁸ of the situation made for the Council of Social Agencies in 1932 revealed that twelve organizations receiving aid from the Community Chest were engaged in various forms of adult education of a formal character. The total number enrolled in their various classes in 1931 was found to exceed 1,600, including student nurses in the several hospitals, vocational students in the different "Y" classes, and adult foreigners in the social settlement study groups.

The total number of adults studying in these several educational enterprises greatly exceeds the number of Rochester children in all existing private schools. By taking 1,500 as a rough total of the adults enrolled in Mechanics Institute, another 1,500 in the remaining commercial and trade schools, the 1,600 in the Social Agency schools, and the 2,000 in extension classes, a total of around 6,500 adult registrations results. The doubling up of registration represented in this figure makes it difficult to estimate the real number of persons enrolled in classes. But the number of private school pupils, through the high school years, does not begin to compare with this total, unless the Catholic parochial school children are included.

A picture of the private educational activities in Rochester would be incomplete without recognition of the increasing amount of informal instruction that has been provided for adults. The educational work of local libraries, museums, galleries, and art schools, as well as that of the churches, clubs, manufacturers' associations, and trade unions needs only a mention in this connection. Of a similar character is much of the work of various county and farm bureaus and

⁴⁸Council of Social Agencies, "Report of the Committee on Adult Education," *Some Facts, Policies and Recommendations Pertaining to Social Agencies* (Rochester, 1932), pp. 184-212.

the three local radio stations. Indeed the ramification of this informal educational activity has been growing increasingly complex during the past few decades, and any attempt to describe this phase of private educational activity would require a lengthy paper in itself.

Thus private educational enterprise has performed a vital function throughout the growth of the city. The early dominance enjoyed by private schools in the elementary grades was lost to the public district schools during the forties, but their preeminence in the secondary school field continued well into the sixties. The select schools and higher academies that persisted after that time became increasingly exclusive in character. They depended for their success upon the strong personalities of their principals and upon the possibility of employing assistant teachers at salaries that have been, notably since 1903, generally far below the salaries of public school teachers. The peculiar educational advantages of private schools resulted at first from the limited size of their classes; recently they have seized the opportunity to withdraw to spacious country estates where they have been able to develop an educational technique adapted to the interests and activities of the children. But these features combine to restrict the size of their student bodies, and the numerical extent of their services must necessarily remain relatively insignificant.

Meanwhile the major contribution of private educational enterprise during the past half-century has been the development of facilities for the vocational training of younger and older adults. Even this field is now being invaded by public school activities and other public supported institutions. Yet the complex character of our urban industrial society promises to continue to hold out attractive fields for private educational enterprise for many future decades.

The Development of Public Education in Rochester

1900-1910

By HERBERT S. WEET



THE opening day of the present century proved to be auspicious for the public schools of Rochester. Around it clustered hopes and aspirations that have since been realized in large part. For several years these schools had been administered by a board of education consisting of twenty members, one elected by each ward. On the first day of January, 1900, the number of board members was reduced to five, each elected by the city at large.

A more striking change in the manner of viewing and meeting public school needs could scarcely be found. Under the old plan it was but natural that each member should think and act largely in accordance with the desires of his own ward constituents. Under the changed order, the city was to be seen as a whole and its school needs determined and met in something like their relative order of importance. Then followed ten years of struggle under the new plan to establish the stability which the school system has since enjoyed. The purpose of this article is to record the chief accomplishments of this ten year period.

THE PERIOD OF PREPARATION

For some years prior to 1900, there had been growing dissatisfaction with city government and school government in Rochester. Organized efforts for reform were making themselves felt, and chief among them was the Good Government Club. Its president, Joseph T. Alling, and its vice-president, Dr. Clarence A. Barbour, then pastor of the Lake Avenue Baptist Church, attacked inefficiency and dishonesty

in all branches of city government and demanded a new deal in school board policies.

Equally potent efforts were being made to improve conditions in some of the other cities of the state, notably Syracuse, Albany, and Troy. These cities, together with Rochester, were designated at that time as cities of the "second class." So wide spread became the demand for improved government in these four cities that on May 9, 1895, Governor Levi P. Morton appointed a Charter Revision Commission to draft a uniform charter for them all. The Rochester member of this commission was James G. Cutler.

Within a week after the appointment of Mr. Cutler to this commission there appeared in the *Rochester Herald*, under the caption of "A Suggestion to Mr. Cutler," an editorial on the school situation in Rochester. As to the system under which the schools were managed, the writer declared:

Were an evil minded person to start out to invent some plan whereby the public schools could be most effectively mismanaged, we do not think that he could hit upon anything better adapted to the purpose than a large school board, subordinate to the Common Council, uniting in itself legislative and executive duties, and having a superintendent with no authority and responsibility.

This editorial demand for a change in the system of management was quite generally approved by the people of Rochester.

The Charter Revision Commission submitted its first report in 1896, recommending a uniform charter for all "second class" cities. One part of the draft of the charter called for a school board of nine members, each member to be appointed by the mayor of the city. The Commission in its second report in 1897 reduced this number to five, but the method of selection was left the same. Neither report resulted in legislative action.

The report of the Commission for 1898 and for 1899 made no reference to the schools. The fact is that while the Commission was at work on a uniform charter for city govern-

ment in these cities, each of the four had gone its own way in securing charter revisions for the management of its schools. When, therefore, the report of the Commission for 1899 resulted in the adoption of a uniform charter for city government, THE WHITE CHARTER, the only reference to the public schools was that they should continue to be governed under the legislation then existing.

THE DOW LAW—The revised school charter for Rochester, known as the Dow Law, was passed by the legislature in 1898 and became effective on December 1, of that year. Under this law and its two important amendments, later to be discussed, the schools of Rochester were administered until 1917, when all such local school charters were incorporated into the state education law and other far reaching changes were made affecting the powers of city boards of education.

On January 3, 1898, the president of the Board of Education appointed six of its twenty members "to consider what, if any, legislation is needed to improve the management of the schools." This committee consisted of Dr. Frank F. Dow, chairman; Francis S. Macomber, Willis K. Gillette, John J. Nell, Philetus Chamberlain, and B. G. Saunders. Only a little more than a month after its appointment, the committee submitted its report. This report, practically unchanged in form and content, was submitted to the legislature then in session, passed and approved, and became the original Dow Law.

Because no agreement could be reached as to the changes in the size of the Board of Education, the method of selection and the question of compensation, the original Dow Law left these matters untouched. Nearly a year after the new law became effective, a committee of citizens petitioned for a reduction in the size of the Board. It was pointed out that the three other "second class" cities in the state had already adopted the small board of education in principle. Each of them had a board of seven members. In Syracuse, the board was elected by the city at large, while in Albany and Troy the members were appointed by the mayor. The petitioners called for a board of five members, each to be elected by the

city at large, to serve for a term of four years and to receive compensation. This resulted in the amendment of 1899, reducing the Board to five members to be elected by the city at large. Compensation for Board members, however, was not provided. Thus the system of ward representation in the Rochester Board of Education, which had existed since June, 1841, was ended.

THE SALARIED BOARD OF EDUCATION—The agitation for compensation was continued and, in 1901, the legislature again amended the law to provide that each school commissioner should receive an annual salary of \$1,200. This change, which became effective January 1, 1902, applied to Rochester only, and has continued in force ever since. Incidentally it may be of interest to know that Rochester is not alone, as is often supposed, in this matter of compensation for school board members. A study made by Dr. George S. Counts in 1927, on *The Social Composition of Boards of Education*, showed some rather surprising returns in this regard. Out of five hundred twenty-six cities that replied, seventy-five granted some form of financial compensation to school board members. Among these cities were Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Francisco, in California, Memphis, Tennessee, and Salt Lake City, to name only the largest in the group, outside of Rochester. In some cases the compensation takes the form of an annual salary, but for the most part it is an allowance for each meeting attended, with an aggregate limit for the year. On the whole, however, salaried boards of education in cities are exceptional.

THE PERSONNEL AND ORGANIZATION—It was an outstanding group of citizens that made up this first new Board of five members. In the first election, that of November, 1899, J. Herbert Grant, Dr. George G. Carroll, and Mrs. William A. Montgomery were each elected for a term of four years. Mr. Grant concluded not to serve and Mayor George Carnahan appointed to the vacancy Andrew J. Townson. Professor George M. Forbes and Philetus Chamberlain were each elected for a term of two years. This alternate selection of two members in one election year and three members in the second election year following, each to serve for four years, began in 1901 and has since continued.

It is no exaggeration to say that in the entire history of Rochester no business man has ever commanded greater respect than did Andrew J. Townson. He held a leading place with the Sibley, Lindsay & Curr Company; was a member of the Board of Trustees of the University of Rochester, and was the treasurer of the University. Professor George M. Forbes, of the University, was equally outstanding in his field. The former Board of Education had appointed him a member of a citizens' advisory committee on school building plans, and, also, a member of the examining board to certify to the qualification of teachers. His department in the University was philosophy and education. He had been active in the reform movement earlier discussed and in many other ways had identified himself with the best civic interests of the city. Dr. George G. Carroll was one of the best recognized physicians in the city. He was respected by all both for his fine character and his ability. Philetus Chamberlain, for years one of the best known lawyers in Rochester, was the only member of the former Board who was carried over into the new. He was, accordingly, a valuable link between the old and the new. And, finally, no member of the new Board exceeded in ability, accomplishments, and public confidence its first woman representative—Mrs. William A. Montgomery. Her great talents and her high order of devotion in civic, religious, and philanthropic endeavors had already won for her the respect and admiration of Rochester. They were later to win for her both national and international recognition.

The new Board of Education held its first meeting on January 1, 1900, in what is now the Education Building on Fitzhugh Street. Today, this entire building is required for the central offices of the Board of Education; then, in addition to being the headquarters of the Board, the building housed the nine hundred twenty-five students and the thirty-five teachers that constituted the only public high school in Rochester. After forming a temporary organization, of which Mrs. Montgomery was made president, the Board adjourned until January 3, when it effected its permanent organization, with Andrew J. Townson as its first president.

It may be well at this point to record the changes in board

personnel that took place during this first decade. In the election of 1903, William Bausch was chosen to succeed Mr. Chamberlain. In September, 1905, occurred the death of Dr. George G. Carroll, and as his successor the mayor appointed James P. B. Duffy. After five years on the Board, during all of which he was the Board's president, Mr. Townson felt obliged to retire because of business demands. As a member of the Board, Isaac Adler was elected to succeed Mr. Townson. No further change came until 1908. Then, Mr. Bausch was likewise obliged to retire because of business demands. His successor was J. Warrant Castleman, a well known attorney of the city. Professor Forbes was chosen to succeed Mr. Townson as president, and in this position he remained until his retirement from the Board on January 1, 1911. In the election of 1909, Miss Helen E. Gregory was elected to succeed Mrs. Montgomery.

POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE BOARD—In a word, any legal power which the city authorities formerly had over the schools was done away with under the Dow Law. By the laws of 1880, the mayor's veto power extended "to all acts, resolutions or orders of the Board of Education . . ." This practice of submitting acts of the Board of Education to the mayor for his approval was continued, though apparently no longer legally required, during the first year that the Dow Law was in operation. All traces of the practice disappeared when the new Board of five members took office on January 1, 1900. Under the interpretation given to the Dow Law, full power and responsibility for the management of the public schools of Rochester were vested in the Board of Education.

The whole history of public school development throughout the country has been in the direction of the course taken by Rochester under the Dow Law forty years ago. That course is to place directly upon boards of education the full responsibility for administering the schools. Wherever a question has arisen as to this course, it has arisen because of the illogical system of holding the city responsible for financing the schools and yet granting to the city no control over the expenditures. Under this plan, the responsibility of the city is to grant a lump sum appropriation for the schools.

There its responsibility ends, except for its appropriate auditing power which has always existed. Under this plan, also, every detail involved in expending this appropriation and administering the schools has been the responsibility of the Board of Education.

THE SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS—The chief executive officer of the Board of Education is the superintendent of schools, and his is the responsibility for carrying out the Board's policies. Quite obviously, then, the soundness of the School Board's administrative procedure is to be measured by the extent to which the Board (1) selects a trained and experienced executive, and (2) delegates to this executive administrative powers.

Under the Dow Law, definite professional qualifications for the superintendent of schools were established. He must, for example, be "a graduate of a college or university recognized by the Regents of the State of New York, together with at least ten years of successful experience as a practical educator." The superintendent of schools at the time the new Board took office was Milton Noyes. Mr. Noyes was a lawyer, a graduate of Starkey Seminary and of the Albany Law School. He did not, therefore, meet the new qualifications set for the position. Under the plan of ward representation, Mr. Noyes had been elected to a place on the Board of Education. He had later on been made secretary of the Board, and, in 1891, superintendent of schools. Mr. Noyes resigned from the position on December 3, 1900, after nearly a year of heated and unfortunate controversy.

The first duly qualified superintendent of schools under the Dow Law was Dr. Charles B. Gilbert, who was elected on December 28, 1900. He took office the following February. In the meantime, Professor Forbes was the acting superintendent. At the time of his election, Dr. Gilbert was the superintendent of schools of Newark, N. J.; was regarded as one of the outstanding school men of the country; and was the author of several school texts. He held the position in Rochester for two years, resigning in February, 1903, to become an editor in one of the school book publishing houses.

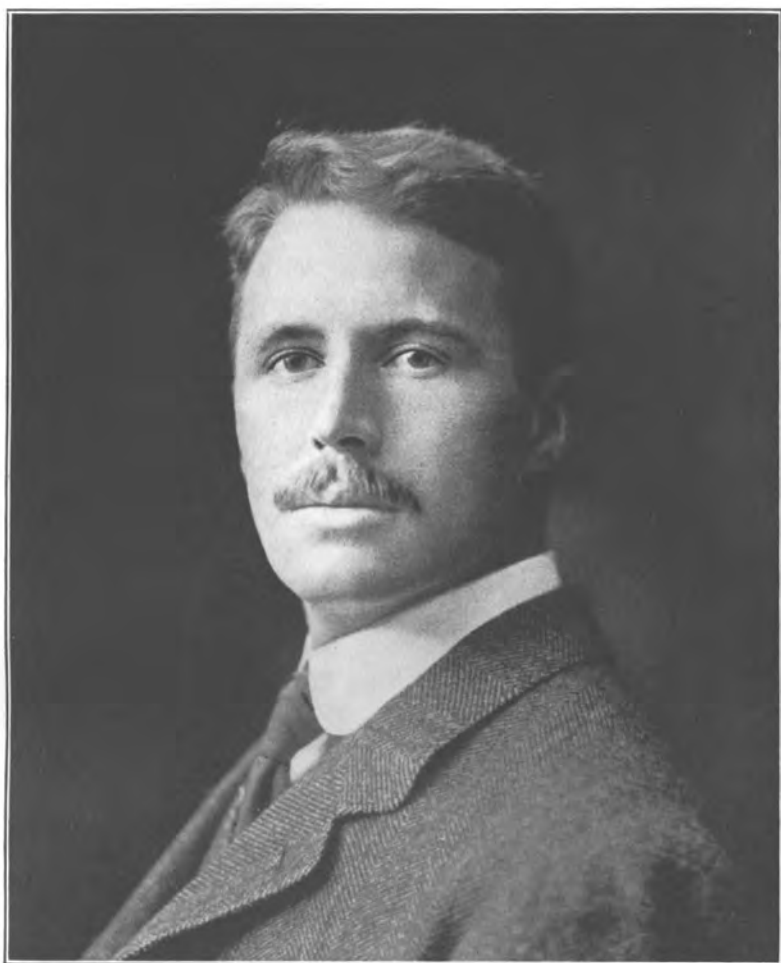
As the successor to Dr. Gilbert, the Board elected Dr. Edward R. Shaw, then an associate superintendent of schools

in the city of New York. Dr. Shaw died before taking up the work in Rochester. Again, the Board selected Professor Forbes as its acting superintendent, to serve without compensation, until a successor to Dr. Shaw could be found. On this occasion he served from January 30th until the following May, when Clarence F. Carroll was brought from the superintendency in Worcester, Massachusetts. Mr. Carroll finished out the decade under review and retired from further active school work on July 15, 1911.

In reality, then, the two superintendents during this critically important transition period were Dr. Gilbert and Mr. Carroll. We shall take occasion later on to comment upon the rather unique contribution made by each of these two men. They were extremely fortunate selections for the sort of aggressive, pioneering work that had to be done. One marvels today at the sweeping reforms in the course of study that were made during the two short years of Dr. Gilbert's administration. And one must have equal admiration for the tenacity and perseverance shown by Mr. Carroll in making those reforms effective.

DELEGATION OF POWERS TO THE SUPERINTENDENT—It cannot in fairness be claimed that during this first decade administrative and executive responsibility was placed upon the superintendent of schools to anything like the extent that it was in the years that immediately followed. That this was true was due to a combination of reasons. Among them is not to be found any failure to recognize both the wisdom and the necessity of such a procedure. Those who were in any way associated with Andrew J. Townson, who, it will be recalled, was president of the Board during the first half of this decade, will vouch for his insistence upon the principle and his uncanny ability to delegate wisely.

The board of five did away with all sub-committees and transacted its business as a committee of the whole. It was continuously under fire, which dictated the necessity of a detailed knowledge of what was going on as a means of self protection. Changes in the superintendency were too frequent to admit of the mutual confidence which is so essential to the orderly division of responsibilities. Add to these conditions the fact that Professor Forbes was a professional edu-



JAMES P. B. DUFFY—MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION: 1905-1932

cator and had been the acting superintendent of schools on two occasions, and one has an ample explanation of the relatively meager progress made during this first decade of delegating executive responsibility to the superintendent of schools. Through it all, however, the principle had been increasingly recognized, and it came to its full fruition under the presidency of James P. B. Duffy, shortly after the close of the decade.

THE PROGRAM OF STUDIES

Looked back upon from this distance, the decade under discussion was one of the most important transition periods in the entire history of American education. In reviewing the program of studies the reader will be impressed by the marked increase in the range of school activities, that was made during these ten years. Some were innovations to Rochester, and, with but few exceptions, to the city school systems of the country. Here, for example, belong vocational education, health education, the social center, and others. Manual training, music, the evening schools, the kindergarten, on the other hand, are examples of activities that had already found a place in the system. So limited, however, had been the scope of these activities that their benefits had been confined to the few. Under the new order they were extended to all. No other period in the history of the Rochester schools has made a comparable extension in the range of public school activities.

One must look beyond the school system to the larger community outside to find the explanation of most of these additions and extensions. To the decline of the apprenticeship system in industry is to be traced largely the rise of vocational education. The move from the country to the city, with its resulting congestion, was undoubtedly an important factor in the demand for school participation in health education, physical training and recreation. In like manner it is not difficult to see how immigration, bringing, as it did, large numbers of foreign born adults who knew neither the language nor the patterns of our citizenship, could well illustrate a factor in the demand for adult education. These and other changes of which they are merely

illustrative, had been creeping upon us for some years. What they implied as regards public school procedure seemed to break in upon the country with special force during this decade.

THE MANUAL ARTS—On the 17th day of June, 1901, the superintendent of schools, Dr. Charles B. Gilbert, recommended to the Board of Education that work in the manual arts be introduced into the Rochester schools. The recommendation was adopted, and in September a carefully organized program was put into effect, thus considerably extending the experimental activities begun a few years before in isolated schools.¹

For the younger pupils of the primary grades this hand work consisted of such simple exercises as could be taught by the regular teacher. The activities clustered pretty much around the subject of drawing, although the tools used were not confined to pencil and brush. Scissors, the sand table, and modeling in clay are illustrative of the other means used for the development of motor activities and the graphic expression of the elementary facts taught in geography, history, and the like.

The recommendation of Superintendent Gilbert carried with it the provision that there should be appointed at once a supervisor of manual training and eight special teachers of this subject. These teachers were for the boys alone, who, beginning with the sixth grade and continuing through the eighth, went to manual training centers one half day each week. Thus each center served a group of surrounding schools. These centers were equipped with work benches and tools. Wood was the material used almost entirely, and there is probably more than one Rochester home today that has in it the brush broom holder and the tabouret that were made in these early shops. At the close of the decade, or in June, 1910, this special department of manual training had fifteen full time teachers and six supply teachers located in the various centers.

DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES FOR GIRLS—At the same time, the Board provided for the girls of these upper grades what was

¹See above, pp. 124, 126.

then referred to as domestic arts. The domestic arts for girls were limited to sewing and textiles. It was taught by the regular grade teacher and in the grade room. These facts alone suggests the elementary nature of the work done. It was not until 1907 that the Board gave full public support to domestic science centers for the girls of the upper grades, corresponding to the manual training centers for the boys. In the domestic science centers, cooking and its closely allied activities were taught by special subject teachers. Through the generosity of Captain Henry Lomb, the Mechanics Institute had organized and maintained such centers in public school buildings every year since 1894, and the Board was now merely assuming the full burden of their maintenance.

Such were the beginnings of hand work in the schools of Rochester. The relation of such activities to specific trades and vocations was then so remote as to be negligible. The manual arts were thought of rather as an added means of general education, with special reference to those pupils who were not of an academic turn of mind. This same principle held when manual training, with the opening of the West High School in 1905, was introduced into both high schools. The elements of mechanical drawing had naturally been a part of the manual training work in the grammar schools, and this was continued in a more advanced form in the high schools. The only additional feature of the manual arts work that made its appearance in the high schools was architectural drawing. While this suggests a vocational trend, yet the relation was implied rather than consciously recognized.

As for the girls in the high schools there were no practical arts facilities whatever. Occasionally one strayed into the manual training department and took the courses offered. It was not until the Washington Junior High School was opened in 1915, that comparable practical arts facilities for both boys and girls were provided. In the meantime vocational education had become an established fact in the Rochester schools.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION—Important questions were being raised with reference to the social implications of the public

schools. Traditionally the socially accepted purpose was general education. The means to this end had been the academic subjects. The nearest approach to any specific educational purpose had been high school preparation for college. This, however, was for those who were interested in the professional vocations. Those who desired or were obliged to enter trade and business life had, for the most part, gone directly from the elementary school into these vocations and received their training under the apprenticeship system that so generally prevailed. But the apprenticeship system was on the wane; the youth who had used it was now remaining in school in ever increasing numbers; and neither he nor the community was securing through the strictly academic subjects of the high school returns commensurate with the time and energy spent. Other cities had made substantial headway in vocational education before Rochester ventured upon this road. Rochester's initial attempt came with the Factory School.

The manual arts went through various revisions and extensions for the next few years, holding to the general objectives stated in the recommendation that led to its introduction. It evidently met with favor, for the annual report of the president of the Board each year thereafter commented upon its progress and accomplishments. The first reference to the more specialized phases of these manual arts appears in the report of the president, then Professor George M. Forbes, for the year 1907. Under the caption "Industrial Education" appears the following:

There is a serious gap in public education as at present organized. There is no preparation for industrial pursuits corresponding to that for commerce and the professions. The existing high schools give an indispensable preparation for higher professional study, and a still more immediate preparation for business pursuits, but they do next to nothing to fit their pupils for the fundamental industries. This defect is emphasized by the fact that the industrial training formerly furnished by the apprentice system has largely disappeared, and hence the time between the ages of 14 and 16 years

is largely wasted so far as any definite and progressive industrial education is concerned. In our own city, with its vast and varied industrial interests, the question demands prompt attention and a serious effort to extend our educational system so as to make the preparation for industrial pursuits correspond to that for commerce and the professions.

A year later, what was called the Factory School was opened. It was a start in the way of realizing the aims or meeting the needs so well formulated above. It was a most modest beginning. The building used was an old and abandoned elementary school building on Lexington Avenue, approximately where the present No. 34 elementary school now stands. The school was opened with twenty-two pupils and two teachers. All this was but twenty-nine years ago. That vocational education was then in infancy is well illustrated by the fact that this little school was described in a special bulletin issued by the State Department of Education in 1908.

Within a month after the opening of this school, the demands for admission had been such as to require some extension of these facilities. It was accordingly decided to offer the first year of this work in certain grammar school centers and to reserve the Factory School facilities for the second year. This plan went into effect the following September with No. 26 School, which later became Rochester's pioneer junior high school, as the first center. At the close of the decade with which we are concerned in this sketch, or in June, 1910, the Factory School was employing seven teachers and the grammar school center, two teachers. The grammar school centers were never extended, for in October, 1911, all this work was transferred to one of the buildings in what is now Edgerton Park. At the same time the name of the school was changed to the Rochester Shop School. In April, 1926, the school was moved to the quarters which it still occupies in the Bausch and Lomb building, and in September, 1934, the name was changed to the Edison Technical High School. In June, 1935, the name was again changed to the Edison Technical and Industrial High School.

In September, 1909, somewhat less than a year after the Factory School was opened for the boys, corresponding work was begun for the girls. This work was started in a grammar school center at the present No. 6 elementary school, on Lorimer Street. A year later the use of the building on Madison Street, then No. 2, was discontinued for elementary school purposes and here was established the first "industrial school for girls" in Rochester. The work in No. 6 was discontinued. In this first school, "household management, domestic arts, and the arts involved in various manufactures" were taught, "with a view to prepare the girls for efficient home-making and wage earning." By the close of 1910, the school registered 58 girls and employed four teachers.

If the worth of these early steps is to be measured by the distance made along the journey toward vocational education, no special comment would be needed. All told, there were only 13 teachers and 209 pupils engaged in this work in the three centers in operation at the close of this first decade. But it is the direction and not the accomplishments of a day or a year that counts. It is from this angle that these early accomplishments become significant.

HEALTH EDUCATION—When the new Board took office in 1900, there was neither physical training nor health education in the public schools of Rochester. To be sure, the high school had its football team and other forms of athletics. These, however, were entirely supported by the students themselves through admission charges to games and in other ways. Nor had the medical inspector, the school nurse, and the dental clinic yet made their appearance.

The real beginning of the work in physical training came with the reorganization of the city training school in 1901. On June 17, Dr. Gilbert recommended that the course be extended from one year to two and that the name of the institution be changed from Teachers' Training School to Rochester Normal and Training School. Among the other recommendations was one providing that there should be appointed to the school "one teacher of physical culture." To this position Miss H. A. Davis was appointed, and thus the teachers in training for the elementary schools of Roch-

ester were for the first time to receive far more than textbook instruction in bodily care and health as a part of their professional education. School authorities were already looking forward to the development of physical training and health education as a vital part of the entire public school program.

This development occurred at the time the new East High School building was being constructed on Alexander Street. In this building gymnasiums, shower baths, and lockers were provided. In April, 1903, all high school students were transferred from the Fitzhugh Street building to the new East High School. The physical training facilities were not put to use, however, until the opening of school in September following. Then Dr. J. W. H. Pollard became the first teacher of physical training for boys in the Rochester high schools. Miss Davis was transferred from the Normal School to East High to take the corresponding work for the girls. The immediate successor to Miss Davis in the Normal School was Miss Marion B. Newton.

From this time on the development is easily traced. It was not long before Miss Newton became the central leader of the entire program. She continued in charge of the work at the Normal School, was assigned for part time work in East High, and in addition to all this, began the training of teachers already in service in the elementary schools to prepare them to teach "physical culture" to the pupils in their grades.

In September, 1906, Miss Newton became the first supervisor of physical training in the Rochester schools. In the first report of her department, covering the years from 1905 to 1907, Miss Newton set forth her objectives:

To provide an opportunity for rational physical exercise for all school children, whereby their growth and development may be enhanced, their moral natures aroused, their social interests guided, their usefulness to the community increased through their own health and power, their love and respect for their own bodies stimulated, their resources for healthful occupation during leisure hours made greater, and whereby the

harmful effects of an indoor more or less sedentary life, under conditions not always to be desired, may be lessened.

A more succinct statement of the ideals and objectives of the whole health education program as it has been developed throughout the country in these later years, it would be difficult to find. One would neither add to it nor subtract from it in reviewing any comprehensive and well ordered health education program today. These objectives were to be realized through four lines of endeavor: plays and games; gymnastics; rhythmic exercises; and athletic and outdoor sports. Much to our regret, the limits of this review force an omission of any reference to the significant developments that were made in each of these fields.

In reporting to the superintendent of schools on the subject of posture, Miss Newton pointed out that "the proper seating of school children should demand serious attention. I have upon many occasions found small children unable to rest their feet upon the floor because of the height of the seat, and the desk so high that the use of it caused the worst possible position of shoulders. In other cases large children were seated at such small desks that their knees could not be placed underneath as they should be, and the children were forced to assume postures in which they were uncomfortable, and which, if they were maintained constantly, would have harmful effects upon their spines." It was to correct this situation that the Moulthrop Adjustable Desk was invented by Samuel P. Moulthrop, then principal of elementary school No. 26. The Moulthrop desk soon became nationally known and was popular among the first of those that displaced the "stationary" desk that had so long held sway in the schools of the country.

By the close of the decade under review, all the basic elements of the present day health education program had been firmly established.

MEDICAL INSPECTION AND THE SCHOOL NURSE—In March, 1901, began the movement for medical inspection in the public schools of Rochester. The initial move came from the Rochester Academy of Medicine. Over the signatures of

William S. Ely, Edward B. Angell, and W. M. Brown, a resolution from the Section of Public Health of the Academy was presented to the Board of Education urging medical inspection in the schools. The resolution declared that such inspection, when efficiently done, had "been a potent factor in limiting contagious diseases, and thereby decreasing the number of deaths in a community."

The Rochester Public Health Association, whose president was the eminent and revered Dr. Edward Mott Moore, promptly endorsed the petition of the Academy for medical inspection. This Association offered to pay the salaries of two inspectors to get the work started. The Association furthermore proposed that the Academy of Medicine be requested by the Board of Education "to appoint a committee, of which the city health officer shall be one, who shall select the two inspectors and have charge of the arrangements and work of this inspection."

To these petitions, the Board of Education replied that to initiate and supervise the medical inspection of school children did not seem to be its legitimate function. The Board expressed the belief that such inspection, if necessary, should be undertaken by the Department of Public Safety. This judgment was respected, and in the process of time the medical inspection of the school children of Rochester was begun by the Department of Public Safety through its Health Bureau, under the direction of Dr. George W. Goler.

The reader has probably observed that no reference has been made in all this to the school nurse. The petitions had to do solely with medical inspection. With his characteristic vision and thoroughness, Dr. Goler realized that to detect faulty conditions and take no remedial action would be an indefensible course. By the close of the decade under review, this work had become well established, with the school nurse a vital factor in its success.

THE DENTAL DISPENSARY—In September, 1909, the Dental Society of Rochester petitioned the Board "to provide a room to be used as an office, properly heated, lighted, and cared for." The Board responded by setting aside such a room in No. 14 School, on University Avenue and Scio

Street. Wholly at its own expense, the Dental Society equipped this room and supplied the necessary professional service. It was opened for use on February 23, 1910. Shortly after this a second room was set aside under the same conditions in former No. 26 School, on Clifford Avenue, now the Washington High School. The children to be treated in both of these centers were recommended by the school principals. These centers were continued under this general plan for several years. Then Mr. George Eastman became interested in the work, and not only established and endowed the Eastman Dental Dispensary for Rochester, but did the same for several foreign countries as well.

THE OPEN AIR SCHOOL—This same September, 1909, saw the beginning of the present *Open Air School* movement in Rochester. The Rochester Public Health Association requested the Board of Education to assign a teacher for this work, and the first teacher thus assigned was Katherine E. Fichtner. All other requirements were met by the Association. From September to December of that year the eighteen children of the school were housed in a tent at the open air camp of the Association. Then the school, still housed in the tent, was moved to the site of No. 14 School. The tent was wide open when the weather permitted, and at all times one side of it was left open. The Association provided heavy clothing for the protection of the children, and when the weather was severe heated stones were used. Three nourishing meals each day were also provided by the Association, as were reclining chairs and blankets for the rest period that came each day from 12:45 until 2:00 o'clock. The health of the child was, of course, given first consideration. The instruction was almost wholly individual. Anaemic children only were admitted, and the first official report showed that "nine such children have been discharged as cured and returned to their respective schools." It is to the accomplishments of this decade, therefore, that we trace the present Edward Mott Moore Open Air School, near Cobb's Hill Reservoir.

MUSIC—The work of the new Board of Education as regards the subject of vocal music must be treated as an

extension of the program of studies rather than as an addition to the program. Since the resignation of the special teacher or supervisor of music in 1892, the grade teachers had been free to give musical instruction as they saw fit, and their general lack of training in the field had relegated this subject to a minor position.² Now, in September, 1901, the name of Miss Marie Ruef Hofer appears as the supervisor of music. In the elementary schools the subject was to be taught by the regular grade teacher. Even as late as June, 1910, there were but two such special music teachers in all the elementary schools of the city. These were simply to substitute for those grade teachers who were tone deaf or who, for other reasons, were incapable of teaching vocal music. In the high schools, of course, music has at all times been taught by specially prepared teachers.

Instrumental music in the Rochester schools also had its beginning during this period. Principal Wilcox, of East High School, traces it back to his first year in Rochester as principal of the high school, then housed in the old Free Academy building on Fitzhugh Street. Ludwig Schenck was then engaged to organize and conduct an orchestra in the high school. He was paid by the school itself and not by the Board of Education. This arrangement continued, and was extended to West High School when it opened in September, 1905, until November 18, 1908. Then the Board of Education formally appointed Mr. Schenck for this work and paid him a regular salary.

THE HIGH SCHOOL—The first record of any change in the high school program of studies for this decade appears in the official proceedings of the Board under the date of September 4, 1900. The change then made was rather a rearrangement of the existing program than an extension of the program itself. Principal Albert H. Wilcox, who had just assumed the principalship of the high school, recommended the adoption of three courses of study, the Classical, the Latin Scientific, and the German Scientific; and the recommendation was adopted. The subjects for each course were prescribed, and, with the exception of music and drawing, they were all

²See *above*, pp. 125-126.

strictly academic. Neither the elective subject nor the work in the practical arts had yet appeared. The nearest approach to health education was the study of physiology. Greek, which had long since disappeared from the high school program, was required in the Classical Course.

The additions to the high school program of studies have already been presented under the subjects involved. They were physical education, in 1903; the manual arts, in 1905; the commercial subjects, in 1905; and instrumental music, in 1908.

THE EVENING SCHOOLS—Evening schools had been in operation in the system for some years before the new Board took office. They were restricted to two centers, however; one in No. 5 School, then located at the corner of Jones and Dean Streets, and the other in No. 9 School, on Joseph Avenue. These centers were open during the winter months and only elementary subjects were taught.

In 1901, a significant step forward was taken. The superintendent of schools was directed by the Board to visit some cities of the country that had well developed evening schools, for the purpose of enlarging and improving this work in Rochester. As a result, a new center was opened in No. 26 School, on Clifford Avenue, of which Samuel P. Moulthrop was then principal. Here were introduced for the first time in the Rochester evening schools such subjects as mechanical drawing, electricity, vocal music, manual training, sewing, and cooking. From the beginning, this new line of work appealed to the adults of the community, and during the first year more than five hundred persons took advantage of this particular evening school. A move was made also during this year to grade the subjects more carefully to the needs and capacities of those who attended, to raise the standard of the work done and to grant a certificate on the successful completion of any given subject.

The arrangement continued until October 6, 1902, the date that marks the opening of the first evening high school in Rochester, with O. A. Page as the first principal. This date, with which the evening schools for that year began, thereby extending the length of the evening school year, saw the opening of a new elementary school center, that of



ALBERT H. WILCOX—PRINCIPAL OF THE FREE ACADEMY, 1900-1903,
AND OF EAST HIGH SCHOOL, 1903-1938

No. 4 School, on Jefferson Avenue; and the close of the center at No. 9 School.

From this time on the development was rapid, owing to two causes. The first of these was the new state-wide compulsory law. This required boys and girls under sixteen years of age who were working in factories and who had not completed the work of the grammar school, to attend the evening school. Here was the forerunner of the Continuation School that came in about two decades later under state law. The other important cause, was immigration and the requirements for the naturalization of the adult immigrant. In brief, these requirements were the ability to read, write, and speak the English language and to know something about the elements of citizenship through the study of civics. This step by the Board of Education in 1904 eventually led, through the cooperation of the Board and the naturalization court, to the present arrangement by which the certificate of the evening school to the satisfactory completion of this work is accepted in lieu of an examination. By the close of the decade, the Evening High School registered 954 students, pursuing a wide range of subjects; while the nine evening elementary schools then in operation were accommodating approximately twenty-two hundred.

THE SOCIAL CENTER—No review of the additions to the subjects and activities of the school program during this period would be complete without a discussion of the Social Center movement that for some years held a conspicuous place in Rochester and was hailed at the time as a Rochester idea.

In 1906, a committee representing eleven different organizations of citizens petitioned the city authorities to make a special appropriation of \$5,000 for a public vacation school, a social center, and one or more playgrounds to be administered by the Board of Education in addition to those already being conducted by the Park Board. The Normal Training School building, on Scio Street and University Avenue, was selected for the first social center. The activities included gymnastics and athletic games, table games, books and magazines, music, lectures, and entertainments. While no age limits were specified for those who might attend the

social center, it was understood from the beginning that those in attendance upon the day schools were not eligible. Viewed from almost any angle, however, the heart of the movement was in the Adult Civic Clubs. These clubs were the unique contribution of Rochester to the movement, they were the organizations that at their height attracted to the city some of the ablest speakers and lecturers of the period; and they were in the end the chief cause of the overthrow of social center experiment in Rochester. For this reason, the space available here will be devoted largely to a discussion of these clubs.

On June 20, 1907, Edward J. Ward was engaged by the Board of Education to come to Rochester to direct these school playgrounds and to develop the social center. Under his direction, the city soon became keenly aware of the appealing possibilities of the whole social center movement and, particularly, of these adult civic clubs. These clubs were made up of groups of adults who were given the utmost freedom in preparing their own programs and conducting their own meetings. In short, they were self-directing organizations. The only restriction placed upon them was that they could not be partisan or exclusive either in meetings or discussion. Any adult, therefore, was eligible to attend and to participate in the discussions, subject only to such rules as the club itself might see fit to make.

In February, 1908, delegates from the various adult civic clubs met and organized the League of Civic Clubs. The League was to serve as a clearing house, and its work was done by three committees. One of these was to provide a list of speakers for separate clubs; another had referred to it the recommendations of any civic club that was seeking action by city authorities to improve whatever conditions were under consideration by the club; and the third committee had to do with publicity. At the close of its first year, the League held a mass meeting in Convention Hall. The speaker on this occasion was Governor Charles E. Hughes. At least one quotation from that address merits a place in this brief record: "It is to the Social Centers of Rochester that I should look for an answer to the question whether in a great democratic community you are realizing the purposes of society."

Unfortunately the last year of our period clearly revealed the beginning of the end. From within the clubs themselves there was lack of the kind of leadership required for success. This statement reflects discredit upon no one. The growth of these clubs was so rapid that there was little opportunity to develop such leaders. Furthermore, due to the wholly experimental and pioneering nature of the movement, the necessity of competent and even brilliant leadership could scarcely be sensed in advance. As was natural and proper, these self-directing clubs had in them a full quota of extremists for one cause or another. It does not require much imagination or experience to understand how these extremists would tend to monopolize the time, find the source of every social maladjustment in failure to endorse their cause, and give expression to extravagant and poorly timed views on public questions. These things are, of course, inherent in the open forum. Rare, indeed, are the leaders who can keep an even keel and maintain the interest of all under such conditions. Just in proportion as this was not done, the interest and enthusiasm of what we think of, at least, as the saner minds began to wane and the end was in sight. Outside the clubs, the soil was fertile, as always, for the lodging and growth of these seeds of discord. Indiscreet as many of the comments on political conditions and leaders may have been, these comments lost nothing in the reports that went out concerning them. This combination of waning interest from within and waning confidence from without was more than the movement could stand.

COURSE OF STUDY REVISION—This addition of subjects to the program of studies at once raised a serious question—how was the school to find time for the fuller program? In the high school the problem was relatively simple, once the principle of elective subjects was adopted. Not so, however, in the elementary schools where all the pupils of any given grade were required to take the same subjects. Here but two courses were open: lengthening the school day or reducing the time spent on the already established subjects. It was to the latter that attention was primarily turned. Much of the material formerly taught in the traditional subjects was eliminated. From spelling, for example, words were dropped

that had no place in the child's vocabulary. Cube root, surveyor's square measure, and other similar items of information were eliminated from the course of study in arithmetic. These two references are but illustrative. The movement was under way even before Superintendent Gilbert took office, but his administration of two years was marked by little short of revolutionary changes along these lines.

ADAPTION OF THE PROGRAM TO PUPIL NEEDS

However, wisely the program of studies may be extended and however intelligently the courses of study may be revised, there yet remains the all important problem of adapting these offerings to the varying educational needs of pupils. Such an adaption requires a reliable diagnosis of pupil needs, and a sufficient flexibility in school organization to make possible the segregation of pupils according to type needs. These necessities were recognized and substantial provisions for their development made before the close of this decade. The present child study department of the school system can be traced to these early attempts to ascertain the varying needs of pupils that grow out of their varying abilities and interests; and the present widespread provisions for special classes can be traced back to the one special class for "backward" children that was organized in 1905.

At the time, the leading authority, at least in the east, on this subject of atypical children was Dr. H. H. Goddard, of Vineland, N. J. Dr. Goddard was accordingly brought to Rochester. He pointed out in his lectures the danger of classifying as mentally defective children, those who were backward in school work primarily because of physical rather than mental defects. Thus all the evidence was increasingly pointing to the need of expert assistance to classify these backward children intelligently.

The result was that in 1909 the Board of Education requested the Health Bureau to assign a special medical examiner to this work. The need was at once recognized by Dr. George W. Goler, and he assigned Dr. Lucius L. Button. A more intelligent and helpful selection could not have been made. Dr. Button continued in this work, eventually giving

all his time to it, until his unfortunate death in 1930. During this same year, 1909, the Board engaged as a teacher for one of these special classes, Miss Grace M. Boehne, who had been specially trained on the mental testing end of the work. A year later Miss Boehne was appointed to supervise this work throughout the city. Here again the Board was eminently fortunate, for Miss Boehne in addition to her special training had also the devotion and the qualities of leadership that were so important during these early days when confidences were being established.

With the technical aspects of this subject we shall not presume to deal. Some of us can still remember that no discussion of school affairs within the craft was quite complete that did not include the Simon-Binet intelligence tests. Their purpose was to test such functions of general intelligence as memory, power of attention, judgment or reasoning ability. Thus they became an important factor in helping to classify for special attention those children who were sadly failing in the regular work of the grades.

Between the beginning of this work in Rochester in September, 1909, and the close of the decade with which we are concerned, approximately three hundred children were examined and thirteen special classes for the mentally-lacking had been organized. These were, of course, in addition to the special classes that were formed for the backward pupils, whose failure to succeed in the regular work of the grades could be traced to some cause or causes other than mental limitation. Furthermore, the teachers of these special classes for the mentally defective were now receiving additional special training for the work. For the most part, this training was secured through summer courses in the institution in Vineland, N. J., with which Dr. Goddard was connected. For such training, when accompanied by successful teaching in this field, an additional salary was provided. The classes were limited to fifteen pupils and hand work for such pupils was an essential part of the instruction. Later on, in 1918, the state legislature made the formation of such classes mandatory, limited the class size to fifteen pupils and required special training and additional salary for the teacher.

INDIVIDUAL INSTRUCTION—Significant also was the movement to improve the adaptation of curriculum material to the needs of the so-called normal child. My first out of town assignment in the Rochester schools came in 1904. Superintendent Carroll then requested me to visit the neighboring city of Batavia to study and report upon a plan of individual instruction that had been put into operation by Dr. John B. Kennedy, the superintendent of schools. The "Batavia Plan" of individual instruction was then as prominently before the country as the Winnetka plan has since become. As the movement was under way to provide for each pupil the curriculum best adapted to his needs; so the search was being made for improved organization and methods of procedure within the class room to make this curriculum effective.

The compromise between class and individual instruction that was instituted in Rochester at this time still continues, with certain changes and refinements, to have a place in the school system. It was known as the group method. Under this device, the pupils of a grade were divided into three groups according to their ability to progress. The recitation in each of the fundamental subjects dealt with one group at a time. Thus the teacher would conduct a recitation in arithmetic for one group only, while the other groups were engaged at their seats in whatever activities the teacher might assign. The small number of pupils in the group reciting gave to the teacher an opportunity to get at individual needs in a way that was not otherwise possible. In a very real sense, each group had its own curriculum. That is to say, by the close of the semester, the first group in ability to progress would have covered more of the subject matter in any given subject than would either of the other groups. Whatever changes and refinements have come in the years that have followed, the fact remains that the pioneers in the movement, so far as Rochester is concerned, were those who guided the system during this first decade.

A fresh attack was made by the new Board upon the old problem of school examinations. For nearly two decades the Free Academy had administered its own entrance examinations, but students who successfully passed the Regents'

examinations were in demand since their number determined the portion of the state funds to be received by the Academy. The state examinations had thus become, in practice, the basis of promotion and graduation. In 1900 the new Board ruled that these examinations should no longer be used as a criterion for promotion and graduation. The action was probably taken at the suggestion of Professor George M. Forbes whose whole educational philosophy revolted against the standard type of fact-finding examination.

But, whatever the explanation, the action itself was a good deal of a bombshell in state educational circles. The voices that had hitherto been raised in protest against these examinations had come, for the most part, from backward schools, for the program of examinations had been slowly evolved over a long period of years as a scheme for raising educational standards. Now a progressive local system was revolting against the restraining effects of the state standard. Lest the revolt spread and threaten the whole state system of examinations, the Board of Regents ruled, in 1906, that no school should be entitled to state funds that did not require the Regents' examinations at least during the last two years of the high school. Whether the passing of these examinations should be necessary for graduation was for the local community to decide.

THE TEACHING STAFF

It is doubtful if any of us today can fully comprehend the implications which the changes just discussed had for the teachers then in service and for the supervisory staff. No accomplishment of the decade reflects more credit upon teachers and supervisors alike than does the effectiveness with which this adaptation from the old to the new was made. Even the mastery of the additional and the revised subject matter just discussed required of the teacher much time and study. This mastery, however, presented far fewer difficulties than did the use of new materials for instruction and the changed methods of teaching.

As to the use of new materials for instruction, the following paragraph taken from the course of study in manual training is illuminating:

The children of the first, second, third, and fourth grades will work in clay, paper, cardboard, wood, and materials used in weaving fabric and cane weaving. The children of the primary grades will be provided with wood cut into a variety of widths, which will enable them to construct toys and useful objects of an interesting nature. This work will involve the use of the measuring rule, try-square, saw, saw boxes, hammer and nails.

Imagine, then, a body of elementary school teachers, educated in the traditional subject matter, whose use of instructional material has been confined almost entirely to the textbook, pencil, pen, and crayon, called upon to assimilate a new body of subject matter and to use such new materials as those referred to in the preceding paragraph.

Difficult as was this re-education in the mastery of subject matter and the use of instructional materials, it is to the changed methods of teaching that we must turn to find the most difficult problem of all. While even the few hints on this subject that are here given will have but little interest for the lay reader, to omit these references would be to ignore one of the most significant trends of the period and unquestionably the most difficult phase of this re-education process. It was a period when discipline was giving way to interest in the educational process; and when "correlation" and "self-expression" were elements to be reckoned with by the teacher.

DISCIPLINE VERSUS INTEREST—Those of us who were professional adolescents during this first decade, well remember the ferment that was caused as the advocates of interest clashed with those of discipline. The latter believed that the elimination of difficult and unused words in spelling and of cube root in arithmetic, for example, meant a softening of all the educational tissues in the life of the pupil. The harder the task the more power and satisfaction to be derived from the full performance of it. Since when had education concerned itself with that knowledge only which was immediately useful? The great end of education was the development of intellectual power and the direction of its use

to the worthy purposes of individual and social living. Anything short of this was a hand-to-mouth educational existence, a catering to the whims and caprice of the hour. To these comments the advocates of interest replied in terms that were equally convincing to those of us who were too young in teaching experience to have our educational patterns set. How about the youngster poring over his Latin text, with neither ability for nor interest in the subject? Could he possibly secure educational returns commensurate with the time and energy spent? To assume that he could was stupidly to ignore these factors of interest and special aptitudes and all that experience should have taught us concerning them. Granted that intellectual power came through hard work, interest in the work at hand but increased the intensity of the application and even where interest was at its height there were sufficient obstacles to be overcome and drudgery to be carried through to provide all needed discipline.

Here was an added adjustment, the burden of which fell most heavily upon the teachers of the elementary school. It will be readily seen that the whole subject of classroom management was a part of this adjustment. Some of the former standards had to go. No longer would it be possible to compliment a teacher for her disciplinary control by the comment that "the room was so quiet that you could hear a pin drop." Quite the contrary. A group of interested pupils was a group of busy pupils; and they were busy not only in preparing a lesson from the printed page but in the use of such materials as those referred to. Even where former standards continued, as they did in such essential matters as promptness, orderliness, and the like, these standards were to be maintained, less by external restraint and compulsion, than by interest and self direction on the part of the pupil. Corporal punishment was soon to become practically a thing of the past.

CORRELATION—During this decade and for several years thereafter, no discussion of public education was considered complete that ignored Correlation. The schoolmaster thought of it as an essential in educational terminology; the layman, not infrequently as a part of the "pedagogical lingo." Like

most other movements of its kind it became a fetish to some and was often used with but little comprehension. The word was used to represent a process, however, that has been significant in the development of public education. Dr. Mason D. Gray, of the East High School, gained a national reputation in the teaching of Latin. His untimely death removed from the scene an outstanding leader in this field. And yet, reduced to its lowest terms, his contribution can be traced largely to this process of correlation. Instead of teaching Latin in a "separate compartment," as Dr. Gray himself used to put it, he set out to correlate it with the subject of English and with other subjects wherever possible. That is to say, he was after the common elements that linked Latin with every other field of human knowledge with which the high school pupil concerned himself.

The subject of "creative education" has permeated educational literature now for the past quarter of a century. It was during this first decade that the subject began to command widespread attention, under the emphasis then given to "self-expression." Thus the Board's report for 1900 declared: "Within the year the Prang System of Drawing has been adopted for the schools and Miss Helen E. Lucas has been appointed to supervise the teaching of this subject. The aim is not to develop artists, but to give the average child a new means of self-expression."

This phase of the adjustment from the "old" to the "new" reached its climax in the use of the tools and materials for manual training. Here at certain periods of the day it was to take the form of *Free Construction*. As the expression implies, the pupils were to use these manual training materials in making anything that their imaginations prompted them to make. Hands off for the teacher. Self direction, creative work on the part of the pupil, was the goal. It requires no special insight to imagine the noise and confusion which resulted from this free construction period. This alone outraged the professional sense of the teacher, to say nothing of the continued conviction that the fundamentals of the elementary school were being sacrificed by such inroads. But the advocates of the new order quoted such authorities as Professor William James, of Harvard: "No reception

without reaction; no impression without correlative expression." "An impression that simply flows in at the pupil's eyes and ears and in no way modifies his active life, is an impression gone to waste. It is physiologically incomplete. Its motor consequences are what clinch it."

Sketchy as are the foregoing comments they are sufficient to indicate the magnitude of the task of re-education that confronted the schools. Out of a lifetime experience in public education, we have known of nothing comparable. No less impressive than the challenge presented was the success with which that challenge was met. What conditions, leadership, and methods made such an accomplishment possible?

The conditions were those which always exist in the early days of a reform movement. Revolutionary as many of these measures seemed to be, the public was disposed to accept them as a necessary part of the needed reform. To be sure, stout protests appeared from time to time in the press and elsewhere. Most vigorous and constant in opposition to the whole movement, so far as the press was concerned, was Joseph O'Connor. His editorials in the *Post Express* were models of forceful English and incisive criticism. Such protests as were made, however, did not destroy public confidence in the new order. In the election of 1903, after four years of reform, this confidence was shown by the election of all three candidates who favored the reform under way.

There was likewise a rare combination of leadership for this task. Brilliant, resourceful, and determined was Miss Ada Van Stone Harris, who had been brought to Rochester as supervisor of kindergartens and primary grades in 1901 and made assistant superintendent of schools in 1906. While Superintendent Gilbert was an important factor in charting the course, he withdrew from the system just as the actual work of reconstruction had been well begun. It was Superintendent Carroll, therefore, who carried the process forward. The ultimate responsibility for the movement rested, of course, with the Board of Education. On this Board was Professor Forbes, whose sanction on matters of education merited and received a support from his colleagues equal to that given Mr. Townson in policies of business and finance. It was all one of those exceptional combinations that made

for leadership of the highest order. And now for the process itself.

THE GRADE INSTITUTES—The most important single means for the re-education of the teaching staff was the grade institute. Under the law, each teacher in the state was allowed five days each year for what was known as Teacher Institutes. These institutes were so distributed that each teacher had five half-day institutes each semester, or ten for the year. In the beginning, the supervisors themselves taught a class of pupils in the presence of teachers. Both the technical procedure in the given subject and the correlation of the subject with the other subjects of the grade were demonstrated. After a time the supervisors withdrew from the actual teaching of this work and the teaching was done by those teachers who had successfully made the adaptation. These teachers brought their grades to these institutes and there in the presence of the others demonstrated their ability to meet all requirements. No principal was exempt from these gatherings, not even the principals of the high schools. As a necessarily frequent observer in these meetings, first as an elementary school principal and later on as a high school principal, I can heartily testify to the splendid way in which they served their purpose. These institutes were the heart of the teacher re-education program. They were supplemented by detailed written instructions to principals, by meetings of the principals with the supervisors where the entire time was given over to professional matters, and by the visits of supervisors to the class room.

These regular institutes which were held during school hours were supplemented by other gatherings with teachers, held at the close of the school day and in the evening school centers. Attendance at these sessions was voluntary on the part of teachers. Only the so-called special subjects, such as music, drawing, and the like, were taught on these occasions. Here the supervisor of the subject concerned met those teachers who felt the need of more help than could otherwise be secured. So valuable were these gatherings that they were continued for some years after the close of the decade.

EXHIBITS—The newer activities of the system lent themselves to exhibit purposes far more effectively than did

reading, writing, and arithmetic. These exhibits became an important means of demonstrating methods of procedure, quality of product, and correlation with other subjects. Supervisors were alert, on their visits to the grades, to detect the best products in these manual arts and to use them in the grade institutes. In addition, each grade and each school had local exhibits that were likewise used to stimulate improvement. The same type of interest was manifest throughout the country, with the result that in state and national gatherings of teachers the exhibit soon became an important factor. To use a current expression, the public schools were exhibit-minded.

While the three measures just outlined played a vital part in this re-education process, they were at best but a reinforcement of the regular work in the school. It is safe to declare that at no period in the history of the Rochester schools have principals devoted so large a portion of their time to the actual work of the classroom as they did during this decade. And what was true of principals was equally true of supervisors. Regular visiting days, at least two each year, were allowed the elementary teacher to observe within the system. These visits were subject to the approval of the principal and the central office, and so were made to those particular grades only where outstanding work was being done. Thus it was through the impetus of the reform movement, outstanding leadership, and such constructive processes as those to which reference has been made, that the re-education of teachers already in service was so successfully carried on.

THE PREPARATION OF INCOMING TEACHERS—On June 17, 1901, Superintendent Gilbert made some far-reaching recommendations on this subject and the recommendations were adopted by the Board to become effective in the following September. By this action, the name of the teacher training school was changed to the Rochester Normal and Training School; the course was lengthened to two years; and the subjects of sociology, art, literature, and manual training were added to the program of studies. Provisions were made by which at least one half of the second year must be devoted to actual teaching under the supervision

of critic-teachers; and no student was to be graduated "who has not manifested ability to control and teach a class reasonably well." Here, then, was created an entirely new department in the local institution—that of observation, practice, and criticism. Rochester had taken a first step towards bringing its teacher-education standards up to the best level of the state supported normal schools.

By September, 1903, the first class of graduates from the Rochester Normal School was ready for assignment to the elementary grades of the city. By formal action of the Board, the minimum period of preparation thereafter was to be two years, thereby ruling out all applicants from the training classes and all holders of teacher licenses gained through examinations alone. While the requirements of both the Dow Law and the State Department of Education still left training class graduates eligible to appointment, the local Board had exercised its legal right to go beyond these minimum requirements. Early in its administration the new Board had required graduation from an approved college for appointment as a high school teacher.

SABBATICAL LEAVE OF ABSENCE—On November 22, 1907, the Board of Education took an advanced step in the additional preparation of teachers who had already been appointed. Provisions were then made by which any teacher, principal, or supervisor who had taught at least seven years in the system might, under certain approved conditions, be granted leave of absence on half salary for study or travel. The conditions, briefly stated, were that the applicant must agree to remain in the service of the Board for at least three years following this leave of absence; and must submit to the superintendent of schools during such leave whatever reports the superintendent might require. While the general rule allowed one-half salary, the maximum allowance was five hundred dollars. In reality this meant that the half salary provision applied to grade teachers only, since the salary of any high school teacher with seven or more years of experience in the system was then in excess of one thousand dollars.

SUPERVISION—It is doubtful whether in any way the new order showed its grasp of the essentials to a public school

system more fully than it did in its attitude toward supervision. Without an adequate and intelligent central supervisory staff, any city school system simply lacks the professional leadership without which neither stability nor progress is possible. If any major element in the program of studies is worth doing at all it must have as its directing head a competent leader, who can bring unity and order out of the chaos that results from having upwards of forty schools a law unto themselves, and at the same time avoid the dead uniformity where the only check is an over-worked examination system.

At the close of our decade, the supervisory staff at the central office was reasonably adequate and highly competent. The special classes and the child study department were under a pioneer leader who was in full command of all that research and experience had to offer in this relatively new field. No less outstanding were the leaders in the so-called special subjects, such as music, drawing, manual training, the domestic arts, physical training, and penmanship. Reference has already been made to the outstanding leadership of Miss Harris, who had been advanced to the position of an assistant superintendent of schools. Hers was the responsibility of leading in all the book subjects of the elementary school, and of seeing to it that no one of these special subjects received undue time and attention. All in all, the heritage which the Board of Education left at the close of this period, both in the sanction and in the personnel of supervision, was one of which subsequent administrations were increasingly proud.

In connection with these matters affecting personnel may well be presented the steps taken by the Board to provide better security for all members of the professional staff. Other things being equal, stability in staff personnel is an important asset to a school system. The age-old problem, of course, is to devise measures that will protect and encourage the competent and at the same time make practicable the release of the incompetent.

The case for tenure is not very convincing in its legal provisions as established by the Dow Law. The provision was that "Any principal or teacher who has been appointed

to the same school for three successive years, may, upon the recommendation of the superintendent, be promoted by the Board to permanent service in such school during good behaviour, and thereafter they may be suspended or removed as herein provided only for cause and after a hearing." The loopholes in this provision are readily seen. There was no such thing as a legal right to tenure. The whole provision was permissive, required three years of successful teaching in one school, and was dependent upon the recommendation of the superintendent of schools. But this was not all. Under the "herein provided only for cause and after a hearing," it was expressly stated that the Board was not limited in its "power of removal of any person holding office during the pleasure of the Board" and did not require a "hearing to be had upon any failure to reappoint after the expiration of a term." As a tenure provision, therefore, it was useless, since school authorities had all the freedom that could possibly be desired in removing members of the teaching force.

After an unsatisfactory experience with these provisions of the Dow Law, the Board adopted a policy that was rigidly adhered to until the state-wide permanent tenure law was passed by the state legislature in 1917. That policy was to grant annual appointments to all except those who were temporarily employed in the case of illness on the part of the regular teachers, or in other similar emergencies. This policy was so applied that no regular teacher failed to secure reappointment whose work was satisfactorily done, and no teacher was dropped from the service for failure until all resources in the way of help and opportunity to succeed had been exhausted.

REACTION AND THE COMMITTEE OF NINE

It is not to be supposed that any such transformation could be accomplished without strenuous opposition. Large numbers of teachers in the elementary schools quite naturally and honestly believed that many of these innovations had little to do with education. To be sure the sand table, the use of tools, the modeling in clay, and, in short, the whole theory and practice of self-expression activities were of intense interest to pupils; but this was not regarded as evidence

of educational value. This whole theory of interest seemed to be undermining the requisite and traditional discipline, both as regards conduct and intellectual accomplishments. The diffusion of the pupil's energies, also, came in for criticism. Wholly apart from whatever educational value many of these new activities might have, it was held that the growing child could not scatter his time and energy over such a wide range of activities and really learn anything about any of them. The essential of thoroughness in the fundamental subjects was being sacrificed, it was believed, for a superficial smattering.

The exhibits became the source of the most damaging criticisms of all. Such questions as those sketched thus far, could be traced to honest differences of opinion as to what constituted sound educational procedure in the elementary school. With the exhibit, however, both honesty and sincerity were challenged. Suspicion and the withholding of confidence, not simply affecting the relations between teachers and the supervisory force but among teachers themselves, became all too widespread. All this clustered chiefly around the charge that much of the exhibit work claimed to have been done by pupils represented far more the work of teachers than of pupils. The criticism came to the surface when Rochester prepared an exhibit for one of the national conventions of teachers and school executives. If the desire to make a showing had grown to dangerous proportions in local procedure, then the fatal stimulus given by the national exhibit is easily understood. The exhibit itself attracted unusual attention in this convention. But it proved to be pretty much of a death blow to the exhibit practice in Rochester.

The discontent finally focused in a mass meeting of citizens held in the East High School building in October, 1908. The meeting was called at the request of a committee of citizens headed by Professor Walter Rauschenbusch, of the then Rochester Theological Seminary. Both the president of the Board of Education and the superintendent of schools were on the platform to answer questions and to meet the charges made. In the end it was voted that Professor Rauschenbusch appoint a committee of nine to review the whole subject and to make a public report. Appointed to this committee were

Rev. Henry H. Stebbins, chairman; Henry F. Burton, then acting president of the University; John R. Slater, of the University; Principal Albert H. Wilcox and Vice-Principal William Betz, of the East High School; Principal Herbert S. Weet, and William M. Bennett of the West High School; Darwin E. Carey, M.D., and Mabel I. Kennon. This committee made its report to the Board of Education and to the public on December 7, 1908. The gist of that report was that sound work in the fundamental subjects was being neglected. The evidence for this conclusion was the lack of reasonable and desirable uniformity of excellence in the preparation of the elementary school pupils, as shown by the results secured in the city-wide examinations in the fundamental subjects. This was traced to the over-emphasis being placed upon the innovations to the system.

The recommendations of the committee of nine were met by school authorities with sincerity and despatch. In general, the procedure was for the superintendent of schools to get from the schools themselves a judgment as to the merit of each recommendation. A referendum of the teachers of the first four grades was taken on the forms of expression work then in use. A majority expressed a desire to dispense with the sand table, clay modeling, and free construction work in wood for the children of these grades; and to retain black board illustration, color illustration, ink illustration, and paper-cutting. The vote of the teachers was respected. In accordance with the same procedure, in principle, the amount of exhibit work to be sent to the central office at the close of each semester was reduced; the time given to spelling was increased; the time devoted to grammar in the seventh and eighth grades was left the same, but "with the understanding that teachers will give more uniform attention to the quality and intensity of instruction in the fundamentals of this subject," and in arithmetic it was decided that "we should carefully investigate the kinds and value of drill now in use in that study with a view to increasing thoroughness and accuracy." In music, where many of the regular grade teachers were unprepared and ill-adapted to the teaching of this subject and consequently found it burdensome and of but little, if any, value to the pupils, the practice of ex-

changing work with teachers who were prepared to teach the subject had been in operation from the beginning. At the time of the report of the committee of nine, which called attention to the very unsatisfactory nature of this attempted solution. There were seventy such combinations in the schools. The Superintendent recommended that additional special teachers of music should be appointed for the system and the recommendation was adopted by the Board. Doubtless in this action can be traced the stimulus to the present plan by which substantially all music in the elementary schools is taught by specially prepared teachers on the subject.

That there was a wholesome tempering through the inventory that this reaction made possible came to be generally recognized. A better balance was effected between the innovations and the so-called fundamental subjects. Whatever practices and methods of value went out at the time, were restored later and restored at the request of the teachers themselves. The basic philosophy of education which the new order had brought, remained. Thus, the extended program of studies, as represented by the industrial arts, health education, music, and the like, was not abridged; and the established policy of determining pupil needs and providing to the utmost extent practicable a curriculum to meet each type need had come to stay.

SALARIES—On the 22nd day of November, 1901, the grade teachers petitioned the Board of Education to increase their salaries. In this petition, the salary schedules were quoted for seventeen cities of the country, including cities of the size of Rochester and larger, to show that Rochester was sadly out of line in the salaries paid to elementary school teachers. The lowest initial salary in these seventeen cities was in the city of Detroit, where the minimum was \$350. This petition was ordered "received, filed, and published," but apparently nothing came of it, since no further reference to the subject appears in the official proceedings of the Board, either for that year or for the year following.

On February 5, 1903, however, a noteworthy communication was sent to the Board of Education by the Rochester Chamber of Commerce, over the signature of its secretary,

John M. Ives. This communication reviewed the merits of the case in three well phrased and convincing paragraphs, and closed with a strong endorsement of the petition of the grade teachers, which had evidently been kept alive before the Board. Out of it all came the action of February 6, 1903, increasing the salary schedule for grade and kindergarten teachers. This action took the form of a rather lengthy salary schedule which raised the initial salary from \$250 to \$300, but not to \$400 as requested. The increment was fixed at \$50 and was to be paid annually for four successive years. For two and a half years no further increment was to be granted. Then came one more increment which held until the completion of ten years of service, after which a maximum salary of \$600 was fixed.

By the close of 1910, the minimum salary of the grade and kindergarten teachers had been increased on six different occasions, and then stood at \$500, or double the initial salary at the beginning of the administration. In the meantime the maximum salary had been raised to \$800 for the regular grade teacher. The teacher of special classes for the handicapped children received an additional salary of \$50, as did also the teachers of manual training. The maximum salary of the teachers in the Normal School, and of manual training teachers with grade experience, had been set at \$900.

In the school world, the above schedule for grade teachers is known as the "flat," or "uniform" salary schedule. The same increment and the same maximum salary apply to all. For the high schools, Rochester had adopted the so-called "merit" schedule. While the latter schedule has a regular increment and a regular maximum that apply to all, yet an additional increment and a higher maximum salary is available for teachers of exceptional merit. Special action is taken on these cases by the Board of Education upon the joint recommendation of the high school principal and the superintendent of schools.

For high school women teachers in 1900, the minimum salary was \$750 and the maximum, \$900. The corresponding salaries for 1910, were \$700 and \$1,050. For high school men teachers, no accurate comparison is possible. In 1900, there were but six men teachers in the high school and no one of

these was strictly a classroom teacher. Each was a departmental head. The lowest salary among these men in 1900 was \$1,000 and the highest, \$2,200. The percentage of men to women was about one and one half per cent. The total number of men and women was thirty-nine, not including the high school principal. By the close of the school year in June, 1910, the number of high school teachers had increased to ninety-one. The lowest salary among the men in 1910 was \$900 and the highest, \$2,100. This lowest salary was paid to one man only. Aside from this one case, all men teachers at the time received salaries of \$1,000 or more, while the vice-principal of the East High School received a salary of \$2,250; and the principal, \$3,000. Perhaps about all that can be said as regards the high school salaries, is that no marked change was made in them beyond that of diminishing the spread between the highest and the lowest. The actual increase was negligible.

In the case of elementary school principals, the salaries of women in 1900 ranged from a high of \$1,500, paid to the woman principal of No. 18 School, then the third largest elementary school in the city; to a low of \$750, the annual salary of the woman principal in charge of the smallest school. The prevailing salary for women principals was \$1,100. Of the thirty-five elementary schools then operating, twenty-one were in charge of women principals. As evidence that the male was master of the situation, each and every one of the fourteen men principals received an annual salary of \$1,650. While the size of the school in the case of men principals was not a factor in determining salaries, there is evidence that size alone accounted for the variation in the salaries paid women principals.

By the close of 1910, the differentiation between men and women elementary school principals persisted. The size of the school, however, had become a factor with both men and women. Women principals having supervision of from five to ten teachers were to receive a maximum salary of \$1,000; of from eleven to fifteen teachers, \$1,200; and of more than fifteen teachers, \$1,400. Men were evidently not to be assigned to the smaller schools, for the schedule provided that men principals with from sixteen to thirty teachers

were to receive a maximum salary of \$1,900; while those with more than thirty teachers were to receive a maximum of \$2,000. Here again, therefore, the changes made were not particularly significant, either as regards the amount of increase or the principles involved.

TEACHER'S RETIREMENT FUND—It was the Rochester Teachers' Club that initiated the formation of this fund. The president of the club at the time was Mrs. Anna M. Nicholson, an eighth grade teacher in No. 10 School, who later became the principal's assistant and still later the acting principal of that school. The principal of No. 10 School at that time was George H. Walden. Had a vote of the principals been taken to select the outstanding elementary school principal of his day, the only dissenting vote in the selection of George H. Walden would have been that of Mr. Walden himself. To these two persons well nigh unlimited credit is due for the establishment of the fund.

The retirement provisions were drafted in the form of a bill ready for introduction into the State Legislature. The bill was formally presented to the Board of Education on the 24th day of February, 1905, by Mr. Walden in behalf of the Teachers' Club. This was largely a matter of form, for the Board had worked in the closest cooperation with the teachers from the very beginning. The bill was passed and became effective on the first day of the following September.

Under the provisions of the act, the five members of the Board of Education, the superintendent of schools, one principal and one teacher of the public schools constituted a board of trustees to administer the fund. Participation in the fund was compulsory except in the case of the superintendent of schools and the members of the supervisory staff. With these, membership was optional. All participants were to contribute two per cent of their annual salaries; and the Board of Education was to contribute one-half the amount contributed by the teachers, this amount to be provided through the annual appropriations of the city for the public schools. The fund was open to receive gifts, legacies, and the like, but the assured sources of income were the joint contributions of teachers and city.

Voluntary retirement was possible after thirty years of

service, if a woman, and thirty-five if a man. The corresponding terms for those who were retired against their will were twenty years and twenty-five years. Not less than fifteen years of all required service had to be in the Rochester system; and no person was eligible to retirement under the fund who had not contributed to it at least forty per cent of his annual salary at the time of retirement. The retirement annuity amounted to one-half the salary at the time of retirement, but in no case could the annuity exceed \$800. The trustees of the fund had full legal power to reduce the annuity, if experience showed such action necessary to solvency. The first retirements were made on June 15, 1906, when three principals and four teachers became beneficiaries.

At the time this fund was established, there had been but little experience in this field. The only city in the state to have such a fund was New York. When the State Teachers' Retirement Fund was created, Rochester had the option of merging with the state fund or continuing under the local plan. After detailed review of the local fund by an actuary, who by this time had the experience of nearly fifteen years to draw upon, it was conclusively shown that the local fund could not remain solvent. The resources of the fund were, accordingly, turned over to the state fund and the local system abandoned.

SCHOOL POPULATION AND THE HOUSING PROBLEM

The official records on school population for January 5, 1900, show that the total number of pupils in the regular day elementary and grammar schools of the city was 20,970. By the close of the decade the corresponding number was 23,357—a gain of 2,387. When it is considered that the Board, between these dates, had added nine kindergartens to the system, there is nothing about the increase in the number of elementary school pupils during the decade to require comment.

With the high schools, however, the case is different. Starting with 925 high school students at the beginning of the century, this number had been increased to 2,353 by the close of school in June, 1910. Looked at from this distance this increase was not at all out of line with what was happen-

ing throughout the country. But such an increase for Rochester in these early years of the century was a subject of serious concern. The Board had built the new East High School building and moved into it in April, 1903. The fact that it filled so rapidly was not surprising, for so limited and unsatisfactory had the Free Academy building become that a substantial increase in high school students was expected with the opening of the new school. But when West High, completed two years later, filled up about as rapidly as had East High, then it was that the problem of high school facilities took on serious proportions. At the time of my entrance into the system in the autumn of 1903, Professor Forbes told me of the plans for the new West High building. His comment at that time was that all the evidence pointed to an initial attendance in the new school of four or possibly five hundred students. The fact is that by the close of the first year in the West High, both high school buildings were filled to their designed capacity. Ten years were to elapse, however, before any additional high school buildings were to be constructed. In the meantime it was necessary to resort to that unfortunate measure of half-day sessions.

So far as mere numbers were concerned, the gain in the number of persons attending the evening schools during this decade far surpassed that of the high schools. They had risen from 816 to 11,351—or a gain of 10,535 persons. There is an interesting and significant link between this increase and the financing of the schools at that time, as will later be pointed out. The increase in the evening schools had come through extending the number of evening school centers from two to ten. Obviously no building problems were presented, since all these centers were in existing buildings.

In addition to the pupils attending the schools just discussed, the Board had jurisdiction over the Truant School, the Rochester Orphan Asylum, the children of the Church Home on Mount Hope Avenue, and the three Catholic orphan asylums. There were approximately 700 pupils attending these various institutions. For the asylums the Board of Education practically provided instruction only.

SCHOOL BUILDING CONSTRUCTION—School housing facilities were far below current needs when the new order began



EAST HIGH SCHOOL—FIRST MODERN HIGH SCHOOL BUILDING IN ROCHESTER, ERECTED ON ALEXANDER STREET
IN 1902

in 1900. The former administration, let it be said to their credit, had fully realized this fact. The official proceedings for 1899 are illuminating on this point. On February 20, 1899, the building committee of the large Board submitted a lengthy report on the subject. The report closed with the recommendation that the president of the Board appoint a committee of citizens to advise with the Board on this important subject of building needs. The recommendation is pertinent here, because one of the five men appointed to this advisory committee was Professor George M. Forbes. This committee was highly representative, for in addition to Professor Forbes it consisted of such well and favorably known citizens as Rufus Sibley, Henry Lomb, Lyman M. Otis, Charles M. Williams, and Max Brickner. The committee was referred to as the Citizens' and Chamber of Commerce Committee.

In May following, a joint report of the regular building committee of the Board and this special committee was submitted. In this report the school building needs were scheduled in the order of their importance. While this joint report was not adopted, because of dissenting minority reports, nevertheless, all this is convincing evidence that the subject of building needs had been well canvassed when the reform Board took office. Thoroughly familiar with these needs were two of the five members of the new Board, Commissioners Forbes and Chamberlain. It is here, therefore, that we find largely an explanation of the otherwise inexplicable dispatch with which the new Board moved to meet these needs. Within a week from the time the new Board organized, the office of supervising architect had been abolished; within the first year, one entirely new elementary school building had been erected; substantial additions had been made to three existing buildings; contracts under way for additions to two other buildings had been completed; and the gymnasium at the teacher training school had been fully equipped.

Up to this time the school building projects had been distributed among the architects of the city. One architect, known as the supervising architect, had been employed at a regular monthly salary to coordinate and to be responsible

to the Board for all construction. For this plan the new Board substituted the plan of employing but one architect. The person selected for the position was J. Foster Warner, who had been among the architects formerly employed. All the construction of the period was done with Mr. Warner as the school architect. This plan of a single architect, who thus became familiar with all the problems of designing and constructing school buildings, was continued by succeeding administrations until comparatively recent years.

Typical of the elementary school architecture of the period is No. 23 School building on Barrington Street. Other easily identified elementary school buildings of the period are No. 6 on Montrose Street; No. 7 on Pierpont Street; No. 9 on Joseph Avenue; No. 13 on Hickory Street, and several others. A mere glance at any one of these buildings is sufficient to date its construction between 1900 and 1910. The distinguishing characteristics of the internal arrangement of the building is the central auditorium with its portable seats. It will be recalled that physical training was added to the program of studies early in the decade. The new type of auditorium served the double purpose of an assembly hall and, with the seats removed, of a place for the physical training exercises. This made for substantial economy in building space and met the needs of the Swedish system of physical training that had been adopted.

The high school building architecture of the period is represented by East High School as it now stands, and West High School before the present addition was erected. When the two buildings were built they were practically identical in architecture, size, and internal appointments. These buildings were pretty much nationally recognized models of their day. In the annual report of the president of the Board for 1903, the year when the new East High was opened for use, some interesting references are made on this point. To quote but one: "The Engineering World has devoted space in two issues to leading articles describing its heating and ventilating systems. Educators have praised it for its adaptation to the uses of the school room, and architects and builders, for its technical excellencies."

In 1910 the president of the Board made this summary:

Today marks the close of ten years of work under the present administration of schools. During this time the material equipment of the schools has been improved by the construction of eleven buildings and eleven additions equipped with the best known provisions for light, heat, ventilation, sanitation, and instruction. Two of these buildings are high schools, costing in round figures \$700,000; and two of them are extra large grammar schools, costing about \$350,000.

The dispatch with which the new Board moved in providing new buildings and sites has already been commented upon. By far the larger part of the expenditures for these purposes had been made during the first half of the decade. This proved to be most fortunate from the point of view of the budget. Elementary school buildings that had cost but \$2,508 per room in 1901, had risen to \$3,545 per room in 1910. This increase of 40% in school building costs was due in part to better and safer school building construction. The report of the president of the Board for 1910, for example, has this significant comment: "For the first time fire-proof construction has been adopted for the new school on Post Street, and the plans for new Number 20 involve similar construction." This, however, was to be but the beginning of safer and more durable school buildings. The later burning of No. 3 building while school was in full session greatly stimulated the erection of buildings as free as possible from fire hazards. The immediate effect of this fire can be seen in the one-story buildings, such as No. 24, on Meigs Street, and others. Joined to this cause of increased building costs were the extensions of the school program, the larger sites, and the heavily increased expenditures for labor and materials. The full effect of these and other factors, however, was not to be felt until some years after the close of the decade under discussion.

FINANCING OF SCHOOL BUILDING CONSTRUCTION—This story is interesting and significant. Under the policy that prevailed all buildings and sites had to be financed from current appropriations. As a result of rigid economies, the Board of Education had a balance of somewhat more than

\$80,000 at the close of its first year in office. This balance had been accumulated with a special view to the erection of the new East High building. All this was in accordance with the practice of years. No one, apparently, had quite sensed the fact that the Dow Law had ruled out a continuance of the practice and had provided that henceforth such unexpended balances must be turned back to the city. Under a ruling of the corporation counsel the Board found itself with the plans of East High under way and no nucleus of a building fund that could be applied to it.

The effect was to hasten the day of bond issues. This was done in 1901 after the required legislation had been secured. At the same time it was provided that all surplus funds remaining at the end of the year should be applied to the sinking fund for the retirement of bonds. The first bond issue under this authorization was in the amount of \$300,000. The bonds were to run for a period of ten years, with the provision that they might be redeemed in five. The legislation stipulated that the proceeds from the issue of these bonds were to be placed to the credit of the building fund of the Board of Education, and that they were to be in addition to the amounts otherwise required by law to be raised for school maintenance. The legislation also provided that until these bonds were redeemed, any surplus from current appropriations should go into a sinking fund, and that in case the sinking fund should be sufficient to redeem the bonds when due, the city itself was to meet the obligation. In the end the bonds were all redeemed and all interest charges met by the Board itself through its own sinking fund. By the close of the fiscal year, December 31, 1910, the president of the Board reported that: "By devoting \$30,000 per year from current appropriations to a sinking fund, the payment of the high school bond is provided for with the close of this year, and then the whole cost of both high schools, amounting in round numbers to \$700,000, will have been out of the current appropriations."

FINANCES—The Dow Law provided that the Board of Education might demand of the city for school financing each year an amount that did not in the aggregate exceed twenty-five dollars for each person registered in the schools

for the year preceding. This principle of financing the schools had existed in the former charter. The Dow Law raised the per capita limit from seventeen dollars. Reference was made earlier to the relation between the growth in evening school enrollment and the financing of the schools during this period. Those in the evening schools were counted in arriving at the amount of money which the board could legally demand of the city. For this purpose, registration only was required and the matter of subsequent attendance had no bearing. Because of the number who dropped out shortly after registration, the irregularity in attendance of those who remained and the relatively low per capita cost of the evening schools, even though all had attended who registered, these schools became an important factor in determining the adequacy of the funds appropriated by the city. By 1912, however, the per capita plan of financing was no longer adequate.

During these years and for many years thereafter the financial contribution of the state to the support of local school systems was small as compared with what it has been in recent years. In 1901 but 12.42 per cent of all school revenues came from the state. By 1936 this per cent had risen to 29.89.

ECONOMIES—During the first year in office the new Board dropped 116 teachers from the system. No comment is needed on the excitement and hostility aroused in some quarters by such action. But the Board had an unassailable defense for its course. After a study of the facts it was found that the average number of pupils for each teacher in the elementary schools was but thirty-one, by far the lowest of any city in the country of the size of Rochester, or larger. Syracuse, Albany, and Troy, the other "second class" cities of the state, had averages of thirty-nine or more pupils for each such teacher. Even after the Board had dropped the one hundred and sixteen teachers, the average number of pupils was but thirty-five. This number was fixed as the normal standard and all buildings later erected were adapted to and equipped for this number. Not only has the standard continued in Rochester, but it remains among the most favorable standards in the country today. The half-day sessions decreed for the kindergartens and the first grades must also be listed

among the major economies of the decade. While the thirty-five pupil standard was not applied to each morning and afternoon session, yet the aggregate number for the two sessions was far in excess of this thirty-five average. While these two illustrations are especially impressive, the principle of true economy was no less rigorously applied to all transactions.

The total school budget for 1900 was \$735,473; and for 1910, \$1,099,308—an increase of but \$363,835. It requires but little reflection to see that the financial accomplishments of the decade were quite as remarkable as were the accomplishments in educational practice. The substantial growth in school population had been provided for; six salary increases had been made and the retirement fund established; two new high schools, nine new elementary schools and eleven additions to elementary schools, together with the sites and equipment had been paid for; and numerous other less imposing improvements had been effected.

It was my privilege to become the assistant superintendent of schools immediately at the close of this decade and the superintendent a year later. In a very real sense, therefore, mine was the lot of a special beneficiary of these accomplishments. Perhaps the highest tribute that can be paid to those who carried the burden during this first decade and to the worth of the work which they did, is to declare that whatever of merit there is in the public school system of Rochester today is largely the development and refinement of policies then established.

The Last Twenty-five Years In The Public Schools

By STANLEY V. LEVEY



IN THE last twenty-five years the Rochester public school system has been subject to a succession of major influences. Generally speaking these factors have been of sufficient importance to differentiate various stages in the history of public education during the period. Thus the war years, the prosperous decade of the twenties, the depression, and the recovery had each its own peculiar problems for the public schools. At the same time the twenty-five year span under investigation contained certain long-run tendencies and characteristics which are not peculiar to any one of these time classifications. Possibly, of these, the growth of the school population has been most outstanding, especially the rapid increase in the number of secondary school pupils. In addition, an expansion of plant, and a more extensive application of the new techniques and subject matter explored during the previous decade have been characteristic of the years under review.

Probably the most significant factor that has given unity to the developments that have taken place in the Rochester school system during the past quarter century has been the continuity of Herbert S. Weet's leadership as superintendent. Refusing to be drawn away by calls to service in other communities, he gave twenty-four years of devoted and intelligent effort to Rochester and in doing it gained a nation-wide reputation for himself and his city. The only other comparable personal contributions were those of Professor Forbes as president of the Board in the days of reorganization and James P. B. Duffy's twenty-six years as a Board member. The contributions of Weet, Forbes, and Duffy symbolized, exemplified, and conjoined three important factors in educational enterprise: the forward look, stability of policy, and absolute integrity of purpose.

The Rochester school system has, during this period, been especially fortunate in the high quality of its professional leadership in instructional fields. One should mention here the nationally recognized contributions which came with the pioneer work of Mason D. Gray in the revision of Latin teaching, of Charles H. Holzwarth in modern languages, of Henry A. Carpenter in science, of William Betz in mathematics, and of Charles E. Finch in citizenship. These people at the time of the establishment of the junior high school in Rochester were commissioned as specialists with the widest possible freedom to develop new approaches and techniques. The list of others who have made nationally recognized contributions is far from exhausted when one mentions the names of Alice N. Gibbons in social studies, Charles H. Miller in music, Mabel E. Simpson in elementary school practice, James M. Glass in junior high school organization, A. Leila Martin in child study, Edith A. Scott in child adjustment, and A. Laura McGregor in every phase of elementary and secondary education from research and publication to administrative co-ordination of services. Some of these educators are no longer in the local school system, giving place to newer personalities, but their high professional standards have been maintained for the most part, and their traditions have helped to give unity and distinction to the school developments of the period.

THE WAR YEARS

By 1914 Rochester's educational system had been organized on a workman-like basis. New developments between 1912 and the end of the first year of the European war had been the adoption of a functional budget system and the establishment of an efficiency bureau for the physical management of the schools. The administration of the educational program had previously been placed in the hands of the Superintendent of Schools, Herbert S. Weet.¹ To meet the needs of the school population, there were already provided for Rochester's 44,020 school children thirty-seven elementary schools, two high schools, two special schools—

¹Board of Education, *Proceedings*, 1914, p. 5.

Iola Sanitarium and the Open Air School—five orphan-asylum schools, seven shop and vocational schools, and fourteen evening schools; and for the year 1915 two new buildings were proposed.² The operation of this enterprise necessitated a grand total expenditure of \$1,879,019.23, and finances were such that the budget could show a balance of \$36,380.97.³ We need not be surprised to discover that growing costs in subsequent years both increased the budget figures and lowered the balances.

One of the first important developments of the period was a direct outgrowth of the population problem. It was in 1914 that the decision was made to establish the first local junior high school. This type of school had been started some years earlier in the Midwest and its progress and programs had been watched with considerable interest by local school authorities who saw in it an answer to many of the problems which beset Rochester schooling. The plan, presented by Education Board President J. Warrant Castleman and considered by him "the major decision of the last year,"⁴ looked to a reorganization of the grade scale so that education would be administered on the following basis: The elementary system would consist of all the grades from kindergarten through the 6A; the junior high schools would contain the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades; and the senior high schools the last three years of high school.

In order to pursue this plan it was proposed that about \$20,000 be set aside to be spent on shop additions for No. 26 which would become Washington Junior High School. By this plan over 1,000 pupils could be drawn from the six already overcrowded schools in that area, and in time the new school might house a maximum of 1,800.

Here, then, we find the beginning of a plan which was to create three more junior high schools in the next six years, and which was to have a profound effect on the educational philosophy of the city. In 1923 a report prepared by the Junior High School Council, composed of principals and directing heads, presented a detailed analysis of the aims

²*Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 76, 77.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 80.

and history of local junior high schools. This report indicated that the junior high . . . "is designed to provide varied facilities and groupings primarily for purposes of general education as opposed to training for specific trade or occupation."⁶

The investigating experts saw many advantages in the junior high school: The junior high school provided a range of curricula sufficiently broad and varied to meet the needs of boys and girls of early adolescent years. It insured an adequate number of pupils so classes could be organized according to ability and progress. It promoted by subject or subject-group rather than by grades. It developed better insight into social needs and insured better training for those needs.⁶

To this list might have been added the fact that the junior high school was adopted in order to relieve overcrowding of both elementary and high schools. It not only guaranteed a better education for the elementary pupil but also smaller classes and consequently better instruction for the students of the higher and lower classifications. The region in which Washington Junior High was built in 1915 was largely inhabited by persons of foreign birth and their descendants. Their high birth rate had overcrowded the seven elementary schools in that area, and a junior high school appeared as a convenient solution. Beginning in September, 1914, instruction was begun for upper grade teachers in a series of Saturday morning institutes held at East High School. In these classes teachers were prepared for the task of specialized or departmentalized instruction.⁷ This work was later taken over by the University of Rochester Extension Division and is now a regular part of its program.

The curriculum⁸ of the new type of school was designed so that the last half of the seventh grade served as a kind of

⁶*The Junior High Schools of Rochester* (Department of Public Instruction, 1923), introduction.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁸The curriculum was made up of the following sections: Foreign language, technical, commercial, industrial, and household arts courses. For a detailed curriculum analysis, see *Ibid.*, pp. 31-38.

transition period between grammar and high school. The departmental system was stressed, and more specific training in a number of subjects could thus be given. Teachers were required to have a Bachelor of Arts degree or its equivalent. Nor were added requirements made without adequate rewards. The minimum salary for junior high school teachers was set at \$1,600, the same as that in effect in the senior high schools, and annual increments for eight years of no less than \$100 each were decided upon. Maximum salaries of department heads ranged from \$2,900 to \$3,600.⁹

In an effort to stress citizenship, in response to the enthusiasm engendered by the war, the junior high school was organized on a community plan, with a student government and a home-room system. Likewise clubs and special activity groups of many types were encouraged. A directed-study plan, linked with a guidance scheme including a study-coach for slower pupils, helped make the new integrated educational experiment a success in Rochester. With the student entering his major interest field in the eighth grade and working under a "constant-with-variables" type of curriculum, it was not long before the advantages of this system were revealed in the improved work and decreased number of failures among junior high school pupils. Statistical studies of failures and withdrawals, made by the Junior High Council, revealed the fact that the intermediate schools enjoyed a slight advantage in this respect over the old high schools.¹⁰

The educational, social, and vocational results of this first experiment were so successful that Rochester was not long in building new junior high schools. Jefferson Junior was the second such institution, although it was at first only a departmentalized school for seventh and eighth grades. It began operations in 1920 after having been built on land provided by the city at a cost of \$736,999.30. Madison Junior High School was the first fully equipped building. Begun in 1919, it was finished in September, 1922, at a cost of \$1,497,120 and provided maximum facilities for 2,000 pupils. Monroe Junior opened its doors in 1923 and cost \$1,390,555.¹¹ By

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁰For these charts, see *ibid.*, pp. 114-117.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 20.

1923, after an unprecedented building program, the city of Rochester had four junior high schools and two seniorschools. These buildings were to be of great significance later, when the city's school population further crowded the upper grades.

But the program of the Rochester Board of Education in 1914 included other elements. Among these was the inauguration of formal vocational training in special classes and schools, thus giving practical expression to programs advocated more than a decade before and to experiments undertaken in 1907.¹² Local employers, who had stressed the advisability of such a move, assured trained graduates of positions in their factories and laboratories. At the same time night schools boasted larger enrollments and greater attendance as Rochester's foreign population took up the task of learning English and a little civics to help them obtain their citizenship papers. The schools also provided education for adults in a series of afternoon lectures and gave medical attention to physically unfit students.¹³

Rochester had been among the first to institute special classes for the care of mentally defective and retarded children in 1905.¹⁴ President Castleman's annual report read as follows on this matter: "According to reports given us by the State Charities Aid Association there is no other school system in the state that is, through special class instruction, caring for so large a percentage of pupils in need of this special treatment."¹⁵ Other pioneering ventures were now made in the direction of speech correction and thrift education. The schools likewise emphasized play for the children. Boys' and girls' clubs were begun in most of the schools, and outside directors were brought in to manage these new recreational enterprises. It was neither all work and no play nor vice versa for the children in the Rochester public schools. A well-rounded program served their social and educational wants. The story, for the most part, has been that of the effort to add to these benefits and to increase the service of the schools to the community and to the nation. Despite

¹²See above, pp. 193-196.

¹³Board of Education, *Proceedings*, 1914, p. 81.

¹⁴See above, pp. 206-207.

¹⁵Board of Education, *Proceedings*, 1914, p. 82.

later developments in curriculum and policy in respect to certain features of the educational system, it can be said with some assurance that the objectives of 1914, enlarged and broadened, do not suffer in comparison with those of 1938. Techniques and tactics have changed, however.

As has been said one of the chief problems in the years just before America entered the war was the pressure of a growing population on social and cultural institutions. Rochester as an expanding industrial center with a large number of workers felt this pressure keenly on its school facilities. Population here grew from 180,000 in 1905 to 250,000 in 1915.¹⁶ There were several aspects to the problem: The two high schools were overcrowded, the East High School, built for 1,200, was already housing 1,600. The annexation of Charlotte had imposed upon Rochester new responsibilities. Registration was mounting steadily throughout the system, as it continued to do for some years. The new junior high system was encouraging more pupils to continue into the high school years where the inadequacies of the school facilities were most striking. Furthermore, the clamor for technical education was growing, and neither East nor West High Schools gave such instruction. The elementary schools also were overcrowded and poorly equipped. Portables were used in many places; many buildings were poorly heated and lighted; and the sanitation facilities were quite inadequate. The report of the President of the Board in 1915 stressed these conditions and asked for a large number of new buildings. It urged the building of several elementary schools and additions, a North High School (on the site where now is located Benjamin Franklin), a technical high, and three junior high schools—Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. But, with an expanding budget and increased costs, it was thought that the Board could not rightly ask the city for the million dollars necessary to begin this projected building.

Congestion was, however, somewhat relieved in 1916 by the building of several elementary schools and improvements in existing buildings. Some of the recommendations of 1915 were carried out when purchase of a site for a north side

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 1915, p. 75.

high school was made. The site for Jefferson Junior High had been selected and plans were being studied. Madison and Monroe were still vague hopes.¹⁷ One of the major achievements of the year was the completion of the City Normal School. The Normal School at that time represented Rochester's effort to provide teachers of a standard suited to the city's educational needs and to meet the rising tide of enrollments. In those years teachers were at a premium, and the yearly proceedings of the Board of Education were filled with columns of new appointments, partly due to the difficulty of retaining experienced teachers.¹⁸ Within twenty years, however, the life of the City Normal School was to come to an end, for supply-teacher lists mounted steadily as the state normal schools poured out a yearly stream of graduates to face the falling public school enrollments and the depression.

The war presented problems of many kinds to the school system. One question was how far the curriculum should be made to coincide with the war aims of the Allies. Should there be any fundamental change in the school program now that the United States was at battle? No doubt there could not help but creep into class room instruction some of the general American feeling toward Germany, right or wrong. No doubt the fight to make the world safe for democracy was waged unceasingly in verbal fashion in many a high school class. No doubt small boys named Schmidt, and Rauber, and Straus silently cursed their Teutonic origins as they were subject to the taunts and attacks of vigorous young Americans whose newly-found patriotism sanctified their inherent bent toward bullyism. This is the story that ought to be told about Rochester education in war time. But there are no reliable records to tell it from. On the other hand Rochester very largely refused to let its public schools become officially embroiled in the struggle over seas. Said Education Board President Castleman on this point:

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 1916, p. 79.

¹⁸Board of Education, "Should salaries of public schools teachers be increased?" (Rochester, 1919).

No demand has been more insistent since we entered the war than the one made by sincere individuals and organizations that the schools should turn their attention to the meeting of present needs connected with the war. The fundamental policy of the Board of Education in matters of this kind has been to respond to no one of these calls, however worthy it might be, that did not reinforce the regular work which the schools are attempting to do. The result of this policy has been that the schools have settled into certain lines of activity of decided value to the present needs of the country and of equal value to the citizenship of the future.¹⁹

Some rearrangement of the subjects taught would have been inevitable in those years. Logically this came in the field of history. America—not least in Rochester, despite a large German population—was feeling its new power among nations. It is not strange that there was a new emphasis on the social sciences in an effort to make known to more boys and girls the history and machinery of this government. The local Board of Education cooperated with the United States Bureau of Education in the drive to make history and civics important parts of the curriculum.

In no single respect will the present international position of the United States tend to influence more strongly than the teaching of history. We have now lost the provincialism which formerly characterized us in so many ways, and the history of this country can no longer be considered as an isolated portion of the world's history.²⁰

Just how did the schools participate in war activities which were going on? In the first place the Junior Red Cross was associated with the system by the purchase in 1917 of \$10,000 worth of liberty bonds. These bonds were given to the Red Cross at the annual Washington's Birthday exercises. Thus each pupil in the city was automatically enrolled as a member of the Junior Red Cross. In connection with this

¹⁹Board of Education, *Proceedings*, 1917, p. 79.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 81.

activity girls did sewing, boys made packing boxes in manual training classes, and teachers served in the various Red Cross Auxiliaries. The school thrift program, established some years earlier under the leadership of Commissioner Barrows, was pressed into service. In 1917 some 12,800 pupils had banked \$82,407.64 and many of them used their savings to make purchases of Liberty Bonds. School gardens were laid out on the site of the proposed new North High School, in other vacant areas, and on home plots during the fall of 1917. In many respects the war was thus made an educational experience to the children who attended Rochester's schools.

One of the most significant developments of this period was the series of steps taken to raise the salary level of the teaching profession in order to check the inroads on that vocation by agencies and industries able to offer more money. An investigation in 1917 revealed that the median salary of the elementary school teaching force was less than \$1,000, while in high schools there was no teaching salary over \$1,800; department heads might get as much as \$2,400, which was also the maximum wage for grammar school principals, and but a few directors received slightly larger rewards.²¹

This unsatisfactory financial situation was attracting attention in Rochester and throughout the state. The first action was taken by vote of the Board in June, 1918, and effected an advance of almost twenty per cent in salary schedules, especially in the lower brackets. A system of annual increments was provided for, to operate wherever funds permitted. Men teachers were accorded an advantage over their female colleagues, both as to minimum and maximum, and annual increment.²² This schedule had scarcely been put into effect when, in 1919, the State Education Department established a state-wide salary schedule which advanced local standards another twenty per cent. The salaries actually paid during that year barely equalled the state minimums,²³ but when the authorities at Albany again amended their schedules upwards, in 1920, drastic action

²¹*Ibid.*

²²*Ibid.*, 1918, pp. 36-37.

²³*Ibid.*, 1919, pp. 78-79.

was required in order to raise local schedules to the state standard, here as in most other communities in the state.

Consequently, a special meeting of the Board of Education on June 28, 1920, attacked this salary-tenure matter in a forthright manner. Many former rules were thrown out as the following program was put into effect: A retirement fund, first instituted in 1905, continued to impound two per cent of the salary of each regular teacher in a fund that was supposed to assure teachers a regular pension at the end of their active service. That goal was however not reached until the State Teachers' Retirement System was set up in 1921. At the same time a more definite classification of teachers was made. The temporary supply teacher, not eligible for regular work was to be paid a minimum day-rate for his or her services; the regular supply was to be eligible to take regular position should there be a vacancy; and the regular appointed teacher was to achieve permanent tenure after three years of service. Educational requirements were raised so that two years of teaching experience were held necessary for qualification here. A financial schedule fixed the minimum salary for high school and junior high school teachers at \$1,600, and that for all other teachers at \$1,200. A sliding scale was arranged for principals according to the size of their schools. For the most part this schedule, with a few changes in the next eighteen years has served as the salary plan in Rochester.²⁴

THE POST-WAR YEARS

The years of plenty, as they later proved to have been, started off very inauspiciously for the public schools. Financial problems were the order of the day in the early twenties, and members of the Board could not have guessed that after the economic crisis of that period the schools would enter a period of progress unrivaled in local educational history. It appears that, aside from the condition of city finances as a whole, the schools were faced with problems resulting from an expanded program, the responsibility for the education of an enlarged school population, and increased costs.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 1920, pp. 27-30.

During the prosperous twenties such activities as instrumental music, compulsory extension work, health education, and vocational training assumed a more important place in the school programs. The city was still growing and so was the school population. Thus in 1919 the city, because of the annexation of additional areas, incorporated a new district on the west side. Three new grade schools and one combined elementary school and high school were brought into the system. The expense load was likewise increased in 1918 through the new emphasis placed on child study work by research and guidance departments, psychologists, and visiting teachers or social case workers.²⁶ A provision by George Eastman for the loan of 600 musical instruments from the Eastman School of Music necessitated the employment of teachers specially trained in instrumental music to take advantage of the gift. These innovations, plus the current increase in the cost of heating, lighting, and operating the school buildings, and the mounting salary schedules, combined to present an acute financial problem to the Board of Education in 1920.

The budget makers for the Board estimated that the amount needed to operate the schools in 1920 would be \$2,837,183, as compared with \$2,378,243 required in 1919. Since the city had indicated that it could grant no sum above the 1919 figure, a deficit of \$400,000 loomed. With teaching alone costing \$2,433,064, of which only \$309,141 was supplied by the state, the situation looked dangerous. The Board disliked retrenchment in educational activities and was averse to cutting down teacher strength by enlarging the elementary school classes, which then averaged about thirty-three pupils.

The members of the Board saw two possible solutions for their financial problems. A clause in the state Constitution limited taxation for municipal expenditure during any one year to two per cent of the assessed valuation of the property, within the municipality. It was urged that the legislature should take action to release the school tax from this general limitation by placing it in a separate category, or that a

²⁶*School Life Magazine*, May, 1931, pp. 173-74.

special school district should be created that would include the city and surrounding townships that received free tuition benefits without the obligation of contributing to the city's school funds.²⁶ Neither of these measures was adopted, but a part of the difficulty has been obviated by the fact that the amount of state aid to municipalities has steadily increased in recent years.

In 1920 Rochester's 43,647 pupils faced conditions in the crowded schools which prompted President Wray of the Board of Education to suggest a building program to be spread over a three year period that would serve to catch up with existing needs although disregarding those of the future. The housing situation was now more critical than in 1915: There were 1,500 children, aside from kindergartners and first graders, attending school on a half day basis; 860 were housed in portables; 700 attended classes in rented quarters; 240 children were reciting in corridors; and 300 were using rooms not designated for study purposes. This tangle was further complicated by the addition of 1,600 new pupils each year, a rate of increase which demanded two new schools annually.²⁷ The new continuation school law, requiring extension schooling for all boys and girls, fourteen to eighteen years of age, promised an added burden.

In spite of the involved financial problem the Board decided to push forward with a three year building program, 1921-1923, to cost about \$10,000,000. It was hoped to finish several elementary schools, Monroe and Madison junior high schools, and a high school for the northwest part of the city. The whole plan, financed by bond issues,²⁸ was carried out at least to the extent of establishing the junior high system in Rochester. But it has never really been possible to provide for the future, and only the leveling off and subsequent decline in school enrollments in recent years has enabled the city to house its educational activities in its present facilities.

The post-war period in the history of the public schools coincided with the great boom in college attendance. The necessity for a complete high school preparation was obvious,

²⁶Board of Education, *Proceedings*, 1919, p. 80.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 1920, p. 77.

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 81, 82.

and the Rochester Board of Education soon became cognizant of the problems involved. It was seen that some kind of selective elimination must be applied to the many new students who were crowding the high schools, taxing the teaching facilities, and requiring enlarged equipment. The greatest burden was placed on the classes and teachers of academic subjects, and it was in respect of these that the Board decided to take action. At a special meeting on January 13, 1922, Commissioner Zimmer recommended that several steps be taken: High school admission must be restricted according to fitness and preparation of the applicant; students should be placed in courses for which they were best suited; pupils were to be warned that either their work must be well done, or the privilege of going to high school after they had passed the compulsory attendance age would be forfeited. The mechanism of these regulations would involve consultation with the parents who were to be informed concerning the abilities and progress of their children. In addition there was to be a trial period system in which the pupil was to attempt to prove himself—a probation system which offered the backward and irresponsible student only two chances to make good.²⁹

In Rochester, from 1903 to 1923, the population had doubled, property values had trebled, and the cost of government had quadrupled. And the largest single factor in the last case had been the rapidly mounting cost of education. Current expenses, plus interest on debt, bond redemption, and the sinking fund promised to cost Rochester \$6,400,000 for 1924.³⁰ Compare this figure with the \$1,879,019.23 listed as the total of all school costs for 1915, and it will be seen how education had grown in less than a decade.

It should be stressed that in the face of this financial situation, the Board had not seen fit to reduce the services of the schools. As a matter of fact, while no new extension of the school program was made for some years, the salary level of the teaching profession here was raised in conjunction with advances in teaching standards. For instance, in 1924,

²⁹*Ibid.*, 1922, p. 3.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 1923, pp. 66, 67.



LAKE VIEW SCHOOL—BUILT ON PIERPONT STREET IN 1902, AS THE NEW NO. 7, DISPLACING THE OLD NO. 7
ON LAKE AVENUE NEAR THE DEEP HOLLOW

the City Normal School training course was lengthened to three years, and principals were required to have a B.A. degree or its equivalent.³¹ Again in 1926 Superintendent Weet urged that the old maximum of \$2,000 for elementary teachers, set by the state law of 1919, be raised \$100 for each year of training beyond the two-year normal course. He requested that a similar ruling be applied to all teachers who had served here twenty years or more, and he suggested a \$50 increment for each five year period beyond twenty years; there was to be no further reward for service beyond thirty years.³² These recommendations were accepted by the Board, as were proposals for increases for special teachers and assistant principals.

The report of the Board for the year 1926 is a very interesting one and deserves to be examined carefully. As we have seen the budget was still going up, but for the first time there seemed to be something encouraging to say even about that process. It had been discovered that the rate of increase was leveling off:³³ "The period of abnormally rapid increase in school cost lies in the past, and . . . we have reached a degree of stability." This stability was accounted for in several ways: (1) The new state salary standards had all come in the two year period, 1919-1920, thus placing a great strain on local finances in the years immediately following. (2) Now for the first time in the period of this study the school population increase was slowing up; from 1920 to 1923 the annual average pupil increase amounted to 2,009; from 1923 to 1926 this figure was 1,177; neither of these quotations included the continuation school enrollment. (3) There had been no further extensions required in the local program by state law, for Rochester had provided health and physical education, and continuation schooling for children beyond a certain age before these things had been required by state Regents. (4) There had been no extension in the past six years of the type of service offered in the school

³¹*Ibid.*, 1924, p. 36.

³²*Ibid.*, 1926, pp. 49, 50.

³³The budgets of the Board of Education for recent years are available in specially printed forms. They contain helpful graphs and scales which the reports of the Board lack.

programs.³⁴ This concise and official resumé of the factors favoring stability and economy sounded hopeful from the taxpayers' point of view, but the Board could not ignore the fact that the educational system still had many needs.

In particular a new building shortage existed. The construction program had simply not kept pace with the population, and in 1926 the situation was even worse than it had been in 1922. A lack of funds had cut off earlier hopes for a building program, and now the work on the subway was taking such a slice out of city assets that it looked as if the city would have to make the best of the present conditions. Nevertheless, several elementary schools had been erected since 1922, and bonds had just been authorized for three new buildings: Numbers 5, 34, and 42. Meanwhile a committee, appointed in 1923 to advise the Common Council on the building program, had indicated that \$6,345,000 would be a required to meet all school needs. But President Danforth asked for only \$3,000,000, of which a major share was to go for the erection of a high school on the north side of the city. This was called the one real building necessity, inasmuch as it had been discovered that the high school annexes which had recently been put in use were more expensive than regular structures. Furthermore, additions were required for Washington Junior, and improvements had to be made on several other schools.³⁵

In the period of the middle twenties members of the Board of Education and of the school administration awoke to the fact that there had never been a systematic analysis made of the nature and programs of the Rochester public schools. The lack of this record became all the more evident in face of the demands which were being made on the school by students who wanted some kind of vocational training, by some who were interested in joining the grand march to

³⁴Board of Education, *Proceedings*, 1926, p. 84.

³⁵The year 1928 saw Rochester begin to operate under a city manager type of government, and after 1927 the yearly reports of proceedings of the Board of Education carry no descriptive work of the school system by the president of the Board. Since that date, consequently, in this study it has been necessary to refer largely to the newspapers and yearly budget publications of the Board. They are necessarily less complete and revealing.

colleges and universities, and by parents and business people who wanted to know just what the schools were doing for the money and time they took. In 1925 such a study was authorized, and it appeared in 1928. It is a careful investigation into the courses offered by the schools, and it compares the local school achievements with accepted tests and norms.³⁶ Its publication is significant of the widespread interest which the program of the schools was arousing in all quarters, and it is indicative, too, of the effort which was being made to foster and educate that interest.

In the late twenties, the school system was broadening considerably. Schools were generally well staffed, and the type of education offered to the boys and girls differed materially from that which their parents, and perhaps even their older brothers and sisters, had received. The schools were organized along the 6-3-3 plan for the most part, although both the junior and senior high school might be housed in the same building, and many grammar schools ran through to the eighth grade in order to accommodate pupils for whom there was no room in the junior high schools. Monroe now became a junior-senior high school in order to take care of the population on the eastern edge of the city which could not find accommodations in the already congested East High. Let us look at a school such as Monroe to see what the educational program was like.³⁷

Very likely the children who entered Monroe in the years we are discussing came from the grammar schools which were either run on a semi-departmentalized plan or took advantage of the specialized type of instruction which was now available. These children in the late years of the 1920's were usually transferred to Monroe at the end of the first half of the seventh grade. This unusual break was evidently made in order to maintain for the pupil the advantages of the junior high system without overcrowding the new school which by now was a senior high school as well. In a sense this new arrangement of grades was a portent of the 7-5 type of schooling which was to come a few years later.

³⁶*The Work of the Public Schools* (Rochester, 1928).

³⁷The following account, for four paragraphs, is based in large part upon the writer's experience as a Rochester schoolboy.

In the junior high school of the period we are discussing, the last half of the seventh year served as a kind of transition period wherein the child adjusted himself to the less personal atmosphere of the high school, to the rigors of specialized study as found in the definitely departmentalized curriculum, and to the opportunities for responsibility in choosing and electing subjects which appealed to his scholarly, vocational, or recreational interests. Guidance, study aids, and curriculum advice were offered to the older boys and girls. Shops were provided for those who looked to the industrial world for their futures and also for the academic students who could thus enjoy a chance, possibly a last chance for many of them, to use their hands. Physical education, swimming, competitive athletics satisfied the animal spirits of the pupils. In the eighth grade the boys and girls began preliminary study of a language. In this year also homework became a regular part of the program. For those not disposed to go on to college there was a commercial program, an industrial course, and a technical course. It is in these latter fields that specialization was encouraged. Boys were taught to print, build cabinets, wire a house, repair a car, paint signs, make tools, and fix radios. Girls could learn to sew, design, and cook; in later years they were even offered instruction in beauty treatment. Undoubtedly these services cost considerable money for equipment, trained men, and the space required in which to administer them. We shall see how in the depression years these advantages plus the other so-called "fads and frills" of education, such as musical training, diction work, some forms of physical education, and many other things were the first to go.

In the ninth grade, the junior high program was carried on a step further as the student now began to work for those mystical credit points requisite for graduation. In a sense the ninth grade was also a transition period. Here the students learned what was in store for them in the high school departments, and they looked about to make definite decisions on such problems as the choice of a second language, the question of whether to take American history or ancient history, and similar matters. The high school grades continued thenceforward, emphasizing a broad education for

those in the academic subjects and giving a careful vocational training for the young men and women destined to enter directly into the economic system.

For the most part it can be said that the guiding principle of Rochester educators since those years has been the instruction of the young mind through directed activity as well as reading. This philosophy was carried out very effectively by the club system. Each high school had its newspaper, yearbook, magazine, writing club, French club, Latin club, engineers' club, international relations club, and science club. Monroe High School alone had a camera club, a fencing club, a stamp club, an art club, a book club, and a chess club. The learning-by-doing technique was carried a step further by the student government, annual student elections, pep weeks, student management of plays and dances, and by student interest in a thousand and one activities which cannot be included here.

From the above it can be seen that the school program was broad, its study program elastic and varied, and its appeal to the student mind based upon a scheme of active participation of the individual in the programs and policies of organizations and activities of interest to him. One type of social activity was frowned on by local school authorities, and that was the fraternity and sorority. The Greek letter organizations had been prohibited in 1910 but they had been existing secretly and with some success for a number of years despite this restriction. In 1928 Superintendent Weet recommended that the 1910 prohibition be rescinded, and that *ad hoc* steps be taken to combat the societies and their objectionable practices. To this end Mr. Weet asked the cooperation of the schools and the parents in his successful campaign against the downtown clubroom and its attendant evils.⁸⁸ One way of meeting this situation was by the encouragement of school clubs open to the individual as shown above on the basis of interest, ability, and participation. Nevertheless the fraternities still flourished in a social sense, and where they were weak, school organizations such as the Hi-Y and the M-Y assumed their function, electing members

⁸⁸Board of Education, *Proceedings*, 1929, p. 44.

in the exclusive fashion known to secret associations, having a private hand clasp, and adopting a distinctive pin or emblem.

The reputation of Rochester schools among the nation's educational institutions in musical training and in music appreciation is high. We have seen how instrumental music gained a foothold here in 1919 with the loan by Mr. Eastman of a large number of instruments. In 1929 Mr. Eastman again aided this program by giving twenty-nine radios to the schools for the reception of the concerts of the newly established Civic Orchestra. According to the agreement if the Board of Education discontinued the active operation of these sets within five years, they were to buy the sets at a cost of \$350 for those installed in grammar schools and \$1,000 for those in high schools.³⁹ In 1930 this agreement was enlarged by the inauguration of a concert series by the Orchestra. There were to be twenty Sunday afternoon concerts from January 1, to May 27, and nineteen school day concerts in the same period. The latter were to be broadcast to the schools. In return for this service the schools were to grant \$40,000 annually to the Rochester Civic Music Association. A few years later this program was extended even further when the orchestra began to give concerts in the various school auditoriums. Thus a method of practical and at the same time enjoyable musical instruction was begun and carried on until a reduced budget compelled its contraction and final abandonment.

THE DEPRESSION YEARS

The next epoch in Rochester's school history was that of the depression years. Rochester industries warded off the early ravages of the economic crisis, and the local school system did not immediately suffer from the national calamity. Throughout 1929 and 1930 the program of the schools was not impaired to any great extent. Some building went on, and the biggest project of all—Benjamin Franklin High—was begun in those generally gloomy years. But retrenchment set in with a vengeance when its necessity was finally evidenced. The local press headlined the proposed economy

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 57.

moves in their issues of December 17, 1931. The school budget, after reaching an all time high of almost \$10,000,000 in 1931, was cut radically by the amount of \$1,080,000 in 1932, and the Board found it necessary to lop off \$218,000 from the maintenance costs.⁴⁰

The first blow naturally was directed at the things which educators and Board members thought could be most easily spared in the school program. These things were the subjects and activities which Rochester schools had been adding and acquiring throughout the period covered by this paper, and they were hard to relinquish, hard because the act meant a backward step, hard because giving them up meant discharging teachers, restricting opportunity for pupils, abandoning special care and specialized methods. In his speech before the teachers of the city on September 10, 1932, Superintendent Weet explained the actions which had been taken to curtail expenses and to keep within the new restricted budget of the Board. He listed the following moves:⁴¹

1—Class sizes were increased. This meant that the average class size was increased to 36 with a consequent reduction in the amount of individual attention received by the pupils from their teachers and an increased dependence upon fellow students for stimulus and guidance.

2—All summer schools were eliminated except summer high schools, where students sustained the cost of instruction by paying tuition.

3—Evening schools were abandoned except the one in No. 9 and the Regents Evening School in East High.⁴²

⁴⁰*Times-Union*, December 17, 1931; also the *Democrat & Chronicle*, and *Rochester Journal* of that date.

⁴¹See Weet's article in *School and Society*, October 8, 1932.

⁴²The closing of the latter institution in 1931 had awakened an indignant response from all quarters in the city. A petition had been circulated which gathered many thousands of names protesting the move; anxious evening high school students had organized a tie-selling campaign in which solicitors went from house to house asking for old neckties, which were then sold to pay the costs of keeping the schools open. The campaign was a success, for when East High School opened in the evenings of February, 1932, about 1,100 pupils gathered for instruction of some form. In later years night school education was taken over by WPA teachers, and courses of many kinds not previously available in the schools were or-

4—All instrumental music instruction was eliminated where the teachers were employed on an hourly wage basis—a severe blow to Rochester's extensive program of musical education.

5—Accompanists in the health education departments were dropped, as programs there were cut to a bare minimum.

6—Speech correction work in the elementary schools was abandoned, and the curriculum and program for the hard of hearing were greatly restricted.

7—After school recreation work, which had been carried on by the boys' and girls' clubs, was done away with, and the men and women who had directed this activity were released.

8—There was to be no more instruction for convalescent children in local hospitals.

9—Experimental psychiatric work at Strong Memorial Hospital, carried on in conjunction with the University of Rochester and the Spelman Fund, was discontinued. This was a blow to the guidance program which, through its investigation of individual failure, incorrigibility, and the like, had been of great service.

10—Employment of primary supervisors and assistant principals was confined to schools with a population of 1,000 or more, thus leaving teachers of smaller schools dependent upon the general supervision of their principal, and the direction of the department of elementary grades and kindergartens.

11—The number of special classes for the handicapped was reduced, and the fine work begun in School No. 5 some years earlier was contracted. The special attention and instruction as well as transportation provided for crippled and physically deficient children of all kinds had to be sharply reduced.

12—Thirteen members of the departments of educational direction and supervision were released or transferred to teaching.

ganized. The contraction of this activity began in 1937 when the Board again made its own provision for evening schools. It has been possible throughout this period to qualify for a college entrance diploma in the regular Regents Evening School here.

13—Many physical economies were effected. The so-called luxuries were cut out: The swimming pools, the expensive shops, and costly equipment. Telephone service was taken away from the classrooms; certain transportation services were abolished; free use of the schools after 5:30 was denied, and similar retrenchments were made.

14—The biggest item of all was the scheme whereby the teachers returned to the Board of Education ten per cent of their annual salaries. In 1932 this sum amounted to approximately \$450,000. Those teachers who were entitled to regular salary increments likewise suffered losses which have never been made up.

The depression meant sacrifices of all kinds to the system and the individuals connected with it. And as the economic crisis continued the means used to combat it became more drastic. In February of 1933 new moves were made to cut down expenses. A new slash of \$990,000 that year brought protests when it affected the curriculum, especially health and music. Again the teachers returned part of their salary, amounting this time to \$530,000. Two evening schools were kept open when \$11,000 was raised for that purpose.⁴³ It was thought that these moves would take care of the situation, but others of a more serious nature became necessary. Practical art teachers in all secondary schools were put on a six-period teaching day instead of five. Special subject teachers of health education, music, home economics, and manual training were reduced in number wherever possible to meet the reduced time schedules provided for those subjects. Larger classes were arranged in the elementary schools, and no children were admitted to the kindergartens for the semesters beginning January 30, 1933, unless they were five years old or over.⁴⁴

In a letter to the Board a short time later Superintendent Weet announced that the retrenchment program had begun in earnest. On February 23, seventy-two teachers who did not have permanent appointments in the schools were released. But it was found necessary, Weet continued, to make

⁴³*New York Times*, January 27, 1933.

⁴⁴Board of Education, *Proceedings*, 1933, p. 10.

further staff reductions. It was necessary, however, that further staff slashing take place among teachers of specialized subjects (music, home economics, manual training, and health education) who had permanent tenure. In such cases only the Board was empowered to act, and Weet asked them to take such action. On the basis of the Superintendent's request, thirteen such teachers were dismissed.⁴⁵ Another action for which the depression may be held partly responsible is the closing of the City Normal School. This had been proposed in 1929 when it became apparent that the city system could not begin to absorb the yearly turnout of that institution. In any case the expansion of the state normal schools made the case for a special local school a poor one. The recommendation made in 1931 on this question suggested that the school close not later than the end of the 1933 school year, and that classes continue up to that point but no new students be admitted in the future. The people engaged in teaching at the school were somehow to be absorbed into the system.⁴⁶

ON THE ROAD TO RECOVERY

As far as the schools were concerned the year 1933 represents the low point in the depression. After that date, the system began to take back to itself the things it had been forced to give up. As a matter of fact the depression created one agency which was to facilitate the lagging building program of Rochester schools. It will be remembered that the program had lagged even in what were called "good times." The PWA grants to this community aided in building John Marshall High School and various other projects.

One additional economic problem ought to be considered before we go on to the story of recent years. That is the question of the so-called "parasite school districts." This matter has little connection with the depression and the retrenchment in our school policies, yet it is indirectly bound up with the whole story of rising costs and increased expenses which aggravated the reductions required by the depression.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 10-12.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 1931, p. 77.

In January of 1931 the Bureau of Municipal Research investigated the effect of the outside school districts on the total school budget. These districts taken over by the city from time to time now represented a real financial problem. Since 1924 the cost of education in seven of these "parasite" districts had risen from \$40,000 to \$113,000. Unfortunately, by Section 381 of the city charter, Rochester was constrained to furnish education in these districts without payment of tuition by students residing therein and without the power to levy a school tax on these areas. The Bureau of Municipal Research discovered that the cost of education in the districts was equivalent to 41 per cent of the budget cut undergone for economy purposes. In the face of these findings the Bureau offered two alternative solutions: First the creation of an enlarged Rochester school district to include the "parasite" districts. But this was opposed by the districts and by the Rochester Chamber of Commerce. The second possible solution was repeal by the state legislature of the obnoxious Section 381.⁴⁷ Both the Board of Education and the city council approved the latter alternative, and legislation leading to such ends was sent to Albany by Corporation Counsel Clarence M. Platt in 1933 but no action was taken.⁴⁸

The Rochester schools have undergone important curriculum changes from time to time. The direction of these changes has been towards what many observers consider the educational "left." This means that instruction and promotion plans have deviated ever further from the readin', ritin', rithmetic, pass-fail type common in years past. The modern curriculum of course is a result not of one idea, nor is it the product of one sweeping change. On the contrary, it is the logical outcome of an evolutionary process which has in part been recounted above. It remains only to bring that story up to date.

The plan of instruction and promotion developed for the elementary grades of Rochester public schools is often called

⁴⁷*Democrat & Chronicle*, January 10, 1931.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, March 1, 1933. Although similar union districts have been created elsewhere in the state by special act the influence these "parasite" districts have over representatives of the Fourth Assembly District is sufficient to block the desired legislation.

the continuous-progress plan. This scheme had its origin in a series of investigations of the curriculum begun in 1928 under the direction of Mr. Weet and Assistant Superintendent O'Hern, and carried on by over 600 teachers, directors, and officials.⁴⁰ It was planned to inaugurate the new system in September of 1929, but delays forced postponement until 1931 when it was applied on a partial basis. A similar move occurred in the curriculum of the high school with the development of two and three parallel track courses adjusted to the abilities of those enrolled.

Four promotional units for the entire school system were organized. The first unit included the kindergarten through grade three. The normal time decided upon for successful negotiation of this group was set for four years. The slow pupils would have five years to master the work, and the fast students could do it in three and a half years. The second unit comprised the grades four through six. Here progress speed was set at three years for normal, four for slow, and two and a half for rapid pupils. The next unit was the junior high section, from grade seven through nine; and the last section was made up of the three remaining years of high school. No child over ten years of age was to be allowed in the first unit, and in any case no child of fourteen or over was to be kept in the elementary schools.

The continuous-progress plan had a number of interesting objectives. It was the hope of the framers to eliminate repetition and failure, and to do away with the stigma derived from them. It was thought that the plan would provide the possibility of continuous intellectual growth for the individual, inasmuch as he might go as rapidly or as slowly as he desired. It would undoubtedly allow for greater unity in the organization of the school system, and it would eliminate a good part of the bookkeeping—of records and schedules—which had previously wasted so much time. The basic objective of the scheme was to stimulate learning by allowing the child to develop his own interests at a speed suitable to his ability. Furthermore this system permitted the teacher to see the child's growth in terms of months not years and

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, August 28, 1929.

qualitatively in terms of accomplishment rather than quantitatively.⁶⁰ For the elementary school pupil two centers of interest were set up each term (the faster pupils might have three), and the work centered about these topics. In order to give a greater flow to the material, there were to be no half-year promotions.⁶¹ This last aided in the decision to do away with mid-term graduations for the high schools which came in 1937. Another aspect of the continuous-progress plan has been the development of the progress report-card which went into effect in 1937, and which placed the emphasis on achievement rather than grades, indicating where a child was weak, where he needed to improve, and what reasons were responsible for his lack of success.⁶²

Of late years the radio technique has been brought directly into the schools. Now instruction is given over the Rochester School of the Air, whose programs in 1936 reached over one-fifth of all Rochester school children as well as the pupils of sixty schools from Welland, Ontario, to Utica and Elmira.⁶³ As early as 1930 School 52 was equipped with a central radio panel and a loud speaker in each room. Since then many other schools have been similar outfitted. The scope of these two programs has been gradually enlarged so that in the 1936-37 series the following subjects were offered: High school science and English, guidance for seventh grades, a "Let's Sing" program for the second grades, and current events for elementary schools and libraries.

Visual educational methods also became a part of the school curriculum in Rochester at about this time. By September of 1931 every public school had movie equipment of some sort, and there was a central office for the distribution of pictures. There was also a film library service where pictures of many sorts were available. The advantages of the movie were obvious, and for several years now geography, history, civics, and science have been taught through the medium of pictures. In the year 1935 alone Rochester pupils saw 8,000 educational films, 1,700 sets of lantern slides, and

⁶⁰*School and Society*, November 25, 1933.

⁶¹*Democrat & Chronicle*, September 6, 1933.

⁶²*Rochester Times-Union*, September 1, 1937.

⁶³*Rochester Times-Union*, October 15, 1936.

500 exhibits designed by the Rochester Museum. The equipment of the Board of Education consisted in that year also of 150 Balopticons, 75 Kodascopes for 15mm films, and 980 reels of film comprising 182 titles. These advantages have not been received passively. There is a good chance for expression in radio, and local students have taken advantage of the opportunities offered them in the "Know Your School" campaign conducted in 1938. Radio stations have co-operated with the schools by giving them time to explain activities and give evidence of the training received. Programs have been written and conducted by boys and girls, and, from time to time throughout the year, local stations have given interested students a chance to air their talents and abilities in special programs. The use of film and radio is of great importance in education, and Rochester has not been backward in appreciating that fact.

Several factors have been responsible for bringing about the recent reorganization which has taken place in Rochester's school system. This reorganization has mainly taken place in the junior high schools and high schools throughout the city, and it has resulted in a recasting of the periods encompassed by those schools. Consequently the school order is based on a 7-5 plan today, and the junior high school is no longer strictly an intermediate school, and the high school no longer a senior high school. Why has this change come about? One reason may be placed on the vast enrollment increases in all schools from 1920 to 1930 and especially in the high schools.⁶⁴ This pressure forced the initial move to extend the study program of the junior high schools up into the senior high school field, thus providing the junior-senior high school. Soon about half the school population was on a 7-5 basis, and the situation was more confused than ever. In May of 1934 the Board of Education decided to make the 7-5 set up a city wide plan. It was announced that the move was not a rejection of the junior high school but merely recognition of the status quo.

Thus by 1934 Washington Junior was the only real junior high school left in the city. It was also the last, for it became

⁶⁴See Appendix No. 1.

a five year school in 1936. At the present time, Charlotte, housed in a new building completed in 1933, is the only six year school. Mr. Spinning warned that a decline in high school enrollment similar to that which has taken place in the grammar schools is inevitable, and for that reason the present policy, which is the result of building conditions, can be changed when the time comes. Concerning the causes of increased high school enrollment Mr. Spinning said:⁶⁶

Such conditions reflect . . . a fundamental and far-reaching social change. Our secondary schools are full not because the general population has increased, but because the high school populaion has increased.

And why has high school enrollment increased? The answer lies partly in the depression. Inability to find jobs in the 1929-1935 period brought 4,000 back into the schools. Then, too, Rochester's population curve, like other such curves all over the country, is leveling off. That means that the bulk of our population centers in the age groups of the high school level and above. It is stated that the benefits of the junior high school plan (guidance, course differentiation, vocational, and avocational interests) are not lost by the 7-5 plan. Too little time has passed to prove or disprove that contention, but if the present demands on the school system continue, we shall have ample time to come to some conclusion with regard to the five-year high school.

It may very well be that school building congestion will in time be eliminated, not by spacious new buildings, and not by enlarging classes, but because of a purely natural decline. For the past few years total enrollment has fallen off gradually. What this will mean only time can tell, but with a little peering into the future we can see that the building crisis may be replaced by an unemployment crisis among the teachers. What is to be done with the thousands of certified teachers with normal school and college preparation who are annually graduated into the supply-teacher lists? Furthermore to what uses will buildings be put where falling enrollment has half emptied the corridors and classes

⁶⁶*Nation's Schools*, February, 1935, p. 20.

of their normal capacity? One such case has already arisen, and its repercussions have had an unfortunate effect on the children whom it directly concerns. This is the current issue over the closing of School 26. This decision was reached by the Board when it was discovered that the school was only half filled, and when the need for a junior vocational school in that region became pressing. Parents of children attending School 26 have protested, but the Board has adhered to its decision.

Concurrently with a fall in registration figures, there has been a gradual decline in the budget of the Board in recent years. The budget for 1931 reached an all-time high of \$9,989,000, while that for 1937 was \$8,619,000, and for 1938 \$8,538,000. These figures were cited by Mr. Spinning in 1937 when a survey of school costs, with a view toward eliminating the frills of education, was proposed.⁵⁶ Apparently costs are now within manageable limits. Some of the credit for this favorable condition must go to the Federal government, the newest source of aid to civic education, especially in the extension division. A great contribution has come through PWA's school construction activities and through WPA's aid in various remodeling undertakings.

The history of public school education in Rochester in recent years has been notable for the thorough, detailed, and continuous revision of all courses of study, with special emphasis at the high school level on the production *de novo* of courses for non-Regents and non-college preparatory groups; a continuous survey of new texts and the reviving of old ones; the expansion of vocational offerings, both in day and evening schools as well as in apprentice courses; improved accounting procedures, particularly in the handling of supplies; better functioning of administration and supervision through the establishment of the 7-5 plan; greater consistency in school district lines and a uniform transfer policy; the absorption into and consolidation of the school census bureau with the attendance department; and the co-ordination of child services under one directing head. This remarkable record is in large measure the result of the

⁵⁶*Times-Union*, December 30, 1937.

leadership of James M. Spinning, who succeeded Mr. Weet as Superintendent in December of 1933, but the record was made possible because the necessity for financial retrenchment had at last been overcome. Such facilities as swimming pools have been reopened, courses in practical arts, instrumental music, and other subjects have been reinstated, and night schools have been reopened.

The interest in adult evening education which we noted at the time of the depression has continued to the present. In 1937-1938 there were 14,884 individuals attending the schools, and there were 313 teachers. Compare these figures with 59 teachers and 2,342 pupils in 1933. At the present writing over sixty-nine subjects are taught at a cost (for texts and materials) of 50 cents per semester to each pupil. The cost of this nocturnal educational effort is about equally divided between the city and the Federal government, with the former contributing \$94,030.80, and the latter \$109,745.-21 in the school year 1937-38.

One of the most interesting school questions to arise in the most recent past is the matter of high school football. Started as a campaign among a few high school pupil and report writers, the move reached serious proportions when a number of parents indicated that they favored the return of the game which had been outlawed here many years before. Despite the opposition of a special committee of fifteen appointed by the Superintendent and a similar negative decision by six of nine high school principals, members of the Board of Education voted to return the game to good standing among competitive sports. Recently WPA funds have been made available for the building of bleachers at several of the high schools, notably Marshall and Franklin as a part of the long established program of extending the recreational facilities of those schools. It may be several years before the game is completely organized, but it is possible that football may become a definite part of the school athletic programs.

Other questions which have been faced by local educators include the matter of free text books. This is an issue which has been raised from time to time throughout the years. In the city elections of 1937 it played an important part in the program of Monroe County Progressive League, whose

agitation was termed "political" by several Board members.⁵⁷ Another problem confronting the Board has been the demand for the free transportation in city school buses of children attending parochial schools. The dispute has been long and involved, and it is further complicated by the interjection of charges of religious discrimination. Superintendent Spinning fairly and skillfully presented the problem to the Board in the spring of 1937, and the Board, while denying the validity of the legal demand for the bus service, voted to provide partial service to parochial schools in certain areas. This action was later reversed when the Appellate Division in 1938 ruled such action violated Article IX of the State Constitution.

In an effort to secure employment for more of the graduates of technical and industrial courses, training in those fields has been considerably broadened and directed into the practical arts. This decision resulted in part from the report of the Advisory Board for Vocational Extension Education which showed that in face of an average of 1,267 openings yearly in the skilled trades, only 44 boys were sufficiently trained to fill them. In line with these findings the number of vocational courses was enlarged and the instruction given in them vastly broadened. Among the subjects now offered, but not recommended for the first time, are the following, taken at random from reports of their activity in the daily press: Cosmetology or beauty culture, creative and commercial art, horticulture, radio, sales courses, industry, craft, homemaking, aerial science, architecture, sheet-metal work, and printing.

The special classes offered by the schools are in many respects broader in scope than in the regular program. They include classes for the deaf, diction, orthopedic work, lip reading, partial vision classes, shop school, WPA classes, civic forums, adult classes, open air school, "live a little longer" classes and so on. Indeed the service of education to this community is both generous and varied. It provides cultural and social opportunities for all ages, types, and classes; and it attempts to extend equality of treatment to all.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, October 29, 1937; *Democrat & Chronicle*, October 10, 18, 21, 1937.

The school is undoubtedly the great medium through which the values of democracy may be taught to both old and young. The Rochester schools have recognized the opportunity to offer this service, and the story of education in this city could not be complete without a mention of that fact. The growth and development of the educational system here forced our educators and school administrators to face many problems—financial, social, and political; and for the most part they have been met wisely and in an enlightened fashion. Now and in the future new and weighty problems, different as the world about us is different, human as the individuals who create and argue them are human, will be encountered. It is to be hoped that solutions will be at hand to meet them.

APPENDIX NO. I

TABLE OF ENROLLMENTS IN THE PUBLIC DAY SCHOOLS⁵⁸

<i>September</i>	<i>Elementary Schools</i>		<i>Secondary Schools</i>		<i>Other Schools</i>		<i>Totals</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	
1920	30969	80.79	6530	17.04	831	2.17	38330
1923	32936	68.60	10176	21.20	4898	10.20	48010
1926	34900	66.92	11706	22.44	5549	10.64	52155
1929	34343	64.80	14342	27.06	4313	8.14	52998
1932	31205	58.48	20106	37.69	2046	3.83	53357
1935	28714	57.04	20544	40.81	1081	2.15	50339
1938	26323	54.57	20646	42.80	1270	2.63	48239

⁵⁸Rochester Public Schools, *Budget and Superintendent's Foreword*, 1938, p. 23.

Part II

SELECTED ARTICLES
ON ROCHESTER HISTORY

BLAKE MCKELVEY, *Editor*

Some Real Daughters of The American Revolution

By JANE M. CHAPPELL



EDITOR'S NOTE: On June 14, 1930, Miss Jane M. Chappell, then Historian of the Irondequoit Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, delivered a memorial address in honor of the "Real Daughters" of the American Revolution who had lived in this community within recent years. Miss Chappell had devoted considerable effort towards collecting pictures of the "Real Daughters" and was fortunately able to locate at least one of each of the eight who were known to be identified with this region. We are glad to reproduce the likenesses found by Miss Chappell.

THERE are thousands of women today who can claim to be great-granddaughters, or even granddaughters, of the men who fought and worked to establish American independence, but few indeed are those who can point to a father who took part in the Revolutionary War. Yet as late as 1927, there were seventeen women living in the United States who could claim that honor. And since the organization in 1894 of the local division of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Irondequoit Chapter, there have been eight women among its members who were literally real daughters of the Revolution. Naturally enough, they were venerable ladies when they took their place upon the chapter's roster, and yet without exception, they lived to see the twentieth century, and two even beheld the coming of a far more terrible war than that in which their fathers had struggled.

The explanation for the astonishing fact that two generations thus bridge the years between the American Revolution and the World War lies in the remarkable longevity of these daughters and their sires. Though modern medical science may enable more people to reach a ripe old age, it is highly doubtful whether future generations will ever better

their records. Take for example, Margaret Judd Hovey and her father, Freeman Judd, who each attained the age of 95, and whose lifetimes spanned 154 years! Or the startling individual record of Alexander Milliner, father of Mary Milliner Horton, whose was born during the Seven Years' War in the captured city of Quebec and died at the close of the Civil War at the age of 105! American history seems short indeed when expressed in such terms.

Most of these real daughters sprang from the sturdy New England yeomanry who left their fields to shoulder arms. Their heroism is largely unwritten and expressed only in the general exploits of the Continental Army. Yet the fragments of knowledge which we have of them often bring us close to the great events of history. Freeman Judd, the father of Margaret Judd Hovey, followed Arnold on the long and unsuccessful march to Quebec in 1775, and capped his military misfortunes by falling a prisoner of war in the surrender of Fort Washington the following year. Four years later, when an embittered Arnold lay encamped at West Point, William Markham, father of Matilda Markham Smith, was on guard duty at headquarters, and it is said that it was he who handed Arnold the fateful letter with the news of Andre's capture. Charles Keyes, father of Sarah Keyes Goler, stationed at Tappan, witnessed the execution of that unfortunate English officer. Nathaniel Rochester, founder of the city and father of Louise Lucinda Rochester Pitkin, was a member of one of those provincial committees of safety which played so important a part in the Revolution, and later a member of the Provincial Convention of North Carolina and a colonel in that colony's militia. The drummer boy, Alexander Milliner, pounded staunchly on his drums, not a whit dismayed that he was sounding the long retreat of Washington's army from the Hudson down into the Jerseys. Seemingly undiscouraged by the hardships of that campaign, the youthful Alexander enlisted in the navy after the war, and is reputed to have served aboard the U. S. frigate, *Constitution*.

The eight women with whom we are concerned were born many years after the war, and in most cases were the youngest children of large families, or the offspring of second



MATILDA MARKHAM SMITH
 Born Rush, N. Y., July 17, 1805
 Married Socrates Smith, M.D.
 Died Rush, N. Y., Sept. 21, 1903
 daughter of

WILLIAM MARKHAM
 Born East Haddam, Conn., Aug. 19
 1762
 Served with New Hampshire Militia
 At defense of West Point, 1780
 Died Rush, N. Y., Jan. 3, 1826(7)



LOUISE ROCHESTER PITKIN
 Born Dansville, N. Y., Sept. 22, 1810
 Married William Pitkin, June 20, 1848
 Died Rochester, N. Y., July 2, 1903
 daughter of

NATHANIEL ROCHESTER
 Born Westmoreland Co., Va., Feb. 21,
 1752. Member of first Provincial Con-
 vention of North Carolina, of Commit-
 tee of Safety, Orange Co., N. C. Major
 of militia, paymaster to minute men
 and militia. Commissary general with
 rank of colonel
 Died Rochester, N. Y., May 17, 1831



MARGARET JUDD HOVEY
 Born Norwalk, Conn., Mar. 19, 1814
 Married John L. Hovey
 Died Lockport, N. Y., 1909
 daughter of

FREEMAN JUDD
 Born Waterbury, Conn., Aug. 10, 1755
 Served at siege of Boston, 1775; on
 Quebec Expedition, 1775; at Ft.
 Washington, 1776; sergeant 1777
 Died Lockport, N. Y., 1840



CYNTHIA ANN CAMPBELL
 Born Lebanon, N. Y., July 4, 1816(7)
 Died Rochester, N. Y., May 5, 1908
 daughter of

ISAAC CAMPBELL
 Born Voluntown, Conn., 1763
 Served as private in Continental
 Connecticut, Capt. Joshua Dunlap's
 Co. 1779; Major Clark's Co., Col.
 Wylly's Regiment, 1781
 Died Rush, N. Y., 1841

marriages. The oldest of these real daughters, Matilda Markham Smith, was not born until 1805, over twenty years after the Treaty of Paris, and the youngest, Sarah Keyes Goler did not come into the world until 1831. Life had changed considerably for their fathers since the war years. Those problems seemed far away and long ago, and the call of the West was now the dominant motive in their lives. Of those eight daughters, only two were born back in the settled East; the others were the children of the new frontier. Matilda Markham's father began his progress westward as a lad of ten, when his family moved from their home in Connecticut to the less restricted regions of New Hampshire. In 1789, he was one of the first to stake out a home in the Genesee wilderness. Here he put down roots, became a substantial citizen of Rush, and here his daughter was born. Louise Lucinda Rochester, later the wife of William Pitkin, an early mayor of Rochester, was born in Dansville, New York, where the Rochester family resided for five years in the course of their slow trek toward the falls of the Genesee. The birthplace of Almira Monroe Dusenbury was Bloomfield, New York, but this was not far enough west for her restless Massachusetts father, and when the Genesee Country filled with settlers, he set out once more, this time to the newer lands of Michigan.

Corinthia Carpenter spent her childhood in Erie County among the Indians of the declining Seneca tribe. Ever since his arrival in Western New York in 1809, her father, Joseph Carpenter, had been a firm friend of the Senecas and a staunch champion of their rights against thieving and cheating white men. His home was frequented by the leaders of the Senecas, and here the young Corinthia often met Red Jacket, the mighty orator of the Iroquois. In this environment she early learned to speak the Seneca language, and no doubt thrilled her youthful companions at LeRoy Female Seminary with her tales of these red friends.

Like their fathers, most of these women lived simple lives. Household tasks, church duties, perhaps a few years' teaching, marriage and children filled out the story of their days. But they illustrate for us, perhaps more vividly than any other means, a fact that should not be forgotten—that the

services of the Revolutionary soldiers to the new nation were not alone those of war, but those of peace as well. They and their daughters were part and parcel of that great westward movement which thrust outward the boundaries of the United States, and which incidentally populated the Genesee Country and the marshy waste at the Genesee Falls.



ALMIRA MONROE DUSENBURY
 Born West Bloomfield, N. Y., 1817
 Married Henry Dusenbury
 Died East Bloomfield, Jan. 16, 1903
 daughter of

LEMUEL MONROE
 Born Lexington, Mass., 1759
 Enlisted 1776 and 1777. Served in
 Sullivan's campaign in Rhode Island
 under Capt. Thomas Baker
 Died Michigan, 1855



MARY MILLINER HORTON
 Born Cortland, N. Y., June 20, 1820
 Married Charles T. Horton
 Died Spencerport, N. Y., Ap. 14, 1904
 daughter of

ALEXANDER MILLINER
 Born Quebec, Mar. 14, 1760
 Served as drummer boy in Capt.
 Cornelius Johnson's Co., VanSchaick's
 Regt.
 Died Rochester, N. Y., 1865



CORINTHIA CARPENTER
 Born Clarence, N. Y., Mar. 27, 1822(?)
 Died Rochester, N. Y., Nov. 13, 1914
 daughter of

JOSEPH CARPENTER
 Born Stafford, Conn., 1764
 Enlisted at 17 in Capt. Solomon Wales'
 Co., Col. Chapman's Regt., 1781. In
 Lt. Moses Hall's Co., 1782
 Died Lancaster, N. Y., 1834



SARAH KEYES GOLER
 Born New York City, Nov. 13, 1831
 Married Louis Eli Goler
 Died Rochester, N. Y., Dec. 11, 1914
 daughter of

CHARLES KEYES
 Born Westford, Mass. (?), 1764
 Served at West Point under Capt.
 Japheth Daniels & Col. Ben. Tupper
 Died New York City (?), 1841

Orsamus Turner

Research by MORLEY B. TURPIN

Story by W. DE WITT MANNING



FATE has played strange tricks with history and biography. Perhaps no personality among the pioneer journalists of Western New York has been more unceremoniously neglected than has Orsamus Turner, historian, author, and Rochester and Lockport editor. His writings reveal him as a man of immense industry, keen observation, painstaking habits of thought, and generous impulses. He was an outstanding member of the Masonic Fraternity, a collector of tolls on the canal, a postmaster of Lockport. His correspondence and personal contacts covered a great part of Western New York. He was acquainted not only with his neighbors and their family histories, but with the leading men of the state and nation. His *Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase*, published in Buffalo in 1849, and his *History of Pioneer Settlements of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase and Morris Reserve*, published by William Alling of Rochester in 1851, have earned him a high reputation among historians. Yet an extended examination of biographical encyclopedias and bibliographies has failed to bring to light any complete account of his life and work. Only after years of diligent search has the hitherto shadowy figure of Orsamus Turner begun to take on substance and life. Even now there are gaps in the record, and not a few questions remain to be answered.

Orsamus Turner came into the world of Western New York at a period of kaleidoscopic change. Settlement of the lands acquired by Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham from the State of Massachusetts, as a result of the Hartford agreement of 1786, was retarded by threats of border troubles. Although the Six Nations of the Iroquois ceded their title to lands between the Genesee River and Seneca Lake at the

Treaty of Buffalo Creek, in 1788, the British garrisons at Oswego and Niagara remained as a menace. Not until British troops left the American shore in 1796, did the progress of settlement become rapid.

In the *History of Ontario County*, published in 1876, it is recorded that Roswell Turner bought land on Hemlock Lake outlet in 1796. There he built a cabin, made a clearing, and in the winter was joined by his parents and family. It is further stated that about 1798 the Turners removed to Allen's Hill, whence, in 1804, they moved again to the Holland Purchase, although the forest lands there were as yet only partly surveyed.

Records of land transactions in Ontario County show that on January 13, 1801, Lemuel Chipman transferred to Roswell Turner one hundred acres from the westerly end of Lot No. 8, Township 9, Range 5, for a consideration of \$700. Roswell Turner sold the land to Oliver Phelps, in 1805, for \$1,200, thus making a profit of \$500. Old maps of Ontario County indicate that the land lies on the east side of the road which leads southward from Allen's Hill. It seems to be at the bottom of a long hill, where the road makes a slight turn as it proceeds southward along the east side of the flats in Honeoye Valley.

Family records show that Roswell Turner was the father of nine children, the sixth of whom was Orsamus, born July 23, 1801, in the town of Richmond, then called Pittstown. Roswell Turner was a native of Massachusetts, born March 17, 1769. He was married May 22, 1783, to Catherine Allen, a sister of General Peter Allen and of the Honorable Nathaniel Allen, who gave the family name to Allen's Hill, north of the Honeoye Valley. There is a family tradition that the Allens were related to Ethan Allen of Vermont, hero of Ticonderoga, and in an old scrapbook kept by Orsamus Turner and now in possession of a grandson, Orsamus Turner Harris of New York, portions of letters from Ethan Allen are still preserved.

Orsamus was only three years old when his father decided to remove to the wilderness of the Holland Purchase. The land west of the Genesee, except for the Millyard at the Falls, had been held by the Seneca Nation of Iroquois until

the Treaty of Big Tree in 1797. When Roswell Turner struck westward from Leicester in 1804, there was no road from the Genesee to the site of his future home. Following the route blazed by the surveyors in running their line due westward, the Turners passed through Warsaw, where settlement was beginning, and went over the hills and valleys to a point west of the present village of Varysburg.

It appears from the records that Roswell Turner had entered into an agreement with Oliver Phelps and Lemuel Chipman, purchasers of a township tract in the new development, to act as their agent. It is also recorded that the tract, afterward known as Sheldon township, was surveyed by Elijah Warner, assisted by Roswell Turner. The town of Sheldon was taken from Batavia on March 19, 1808.

Having felled forest trees to erect the first cabin in the township, Roswell Turner immediately established his family in their new home. In 1806, when the road was hacked through the forest, Turner opened the first tavern in that locality. By the side of the paved highway now known as Route 20, west of Varysburg, is a metal marker erected by the State Historian, directing attention to the fact that on the opposite corner the Turner family established an outpost of civilization in 1804. The spot, now known as the North Sheldon Corners, was for years known as Turner's Corners, but no vestiges of the Turner buildings remain, except the heaped stones of old foundation walls.

There are records to show that the first religious services in the township were conducted in the Turner home. The first school was taught at the corners in a building erected by Roswell Turner. The teacher was Polly Rolph, who became the bride of Justin Loomis in the first marriage in the township, the same year, 1807, in which she became the teacher at the corners. The first birth at the corners was that of Chipman Phelps Turner, younger brother of Orsamus, and named in honor of his father's friends Oliver Phelps and Lemuel Chipman. It is interesting to note that at Richmond Center, near the old home of the Turners at the time Orsamus was born, the village blacksmith was Orsamus Riden, which may explain the origin of the editor's unusual name.

Roswell Turner died suddenly in Leicester, September 29,

1809. He had been east on some errand, possibly in connection with his land business, and was taken ill when passing through Leicester on the way home. He was unable to proceed further and passed away in the Genesee Valley village.

Left fatherless at the age of eight years, Orsamus Turner experienced all the hardships of frontier life in the tiny community his father had founded. Later, in his book on the Holland Purchase, he recalls the scanty comforts, the constant menace of prowling wolves and bears, the lack of social and cultural opportunities. In the midst of his boyhood years, Orsamus witnessed the stirring scenes of the War of 1812, when the whole frontier, even as far as Turner's Corners, was threatened by raiding parties from Canada. Lewiston and Buffalo were burned; hundreds of settlers along the Niagara Frontier were killed and scalped, or saw the results of their labors go up in flames, as they fled eastward in an effort to escape.

Mrs. Catherine Allen Turner seems to have made a heroic battle against odds to keep her children together and to give them such opportunities as the frontier afforded. It is clear that Orsamus made good use of such facilities for education as could be given him. Notwithstanding all the handicaps of his early years, he was listed in 1818 as one of the apprentice printers of the *Palmyra Register*, first newspaper to be established at Palmyra.¹ Timothy C. Strong was editor and publisher, and, beside Orsamus Turner, Luther and Pomeroy Tucker were apprentices. But Orsamus had not found his calling and made his start any too soon, for his mother died May 16, 1819. Fortunately he secured an opportunity to complete his apprenticeship in the office of the *Ontario County Repository* at Canandaigua where the kindly tutelage of James D. Bemis, "father of the press of Western New York," well fitted him for the struggles ahead.

In 1822, at the age of 21 years, the young printer, who had been looking about for a suitable place in which to establish a publication of his own, decided that the tiny hamlet of Lockport, where the projected Erie Canal was to climb the Niagara Escarpment to reach the level of Lake

¹O. Turner, *Phelps and Gorham's Purchase*, p. 400 n.

Erie, offered promise of growth and advantages such as he was seeking. Benjamin Ferguson had established the *Niagara Democrat* at Lewiston in 1821, and the following year moved it to Lockport, where the paper's name was changed to the *Lockport Observatory*. In August of that year Orsamus Turner acquired the paper.

Events moved swiftly in Western New York. The Erie Canal was completed in 1825, and although at that time only four feet deep, its effect as a means of transporting heavy cargoes was prodigious. Canal towns from Albany to Buffalo experienced an unprecedented boom. Lockport shared in the prosperity, and as the community advanced Editor Turner prospered. Identifying himself with the progressive residents, and the Democratic party, he took an active part in public affairs. In 1824 he joined the Masonic Fraternity, and the same year he was made inspector of common schools in the Lockport area. It is recorded that the *Lockport Observatory* was conducted with enterprise and spirit and that it prospered accordingly. In 1827, Turner combined it with the *Niagara Sentinel*, which had been conducted at Lewiston by Oliver Grace, and issued the paper under the name of the *Niagara Sentinel and Lockport Observatory*.

At that period DeWitt Clinton, whose leadership of the Canal advocates had finally triumphed, was governor of New York State. Politics was passing through a period of intense partisanship. There were many cross-currents of passion and prejudice. One of the strangest manifestations of the latent ill-feeling was the Morgan affair in 1826 and ensuing years.

William Morgan, a member of the Masonic Fraternity and a printer in Batavia, planned to publish a book revealing secrets of the order. Arrested in Batavia on a charge said to be fictitious, he was taken to Canandaigua for a hearing, released at night from jail and taken by carriage to old Fort Niagara, where he is supposed to have been confined in an underground dungeon. Later he disappeared, and when a body was found on the shore of the Lake it was alleged to be Morgan's, although the description tallied closely with that of a man who had been living in Niagara-on-the-Lake,

just across the river from the fort, and who also had disappeared. By that time the affair had become a political issue eagerly seized on by the opponents of the Masonic order. When doubt was expressed regarding the identity of the body on the shore, Thurlow Weed, then a young Rochester editor ambitious for political power, was reported by a rival editor, Henry O'Reilly, to have expressed the opinion that "it is a good enough Morgan until after election." Notwithstanding reports that Morgan had been paid to disappear, that he had been seen in Canada, and that he had finally taken ship for a distant port, persecution of the Masons continued and was intensified to so great an extent that many lodges surrendered their charters.

Orsamus Turner, a member of Lockport Lodge 73, F. & A. M., organized with twenty-one members in 1824, had become an outstanding leader of the fraternity in Niagara County, and he was quickly made a target of abuse and placed under arrest. Eli Bruce, sheriff of the county and a Mason, was removed by Governor Clinton and likewise arrested. When the men were brought to trial, Turner, for refusal to answer questions, was fined \$250 and sentenced to thirty days in jail. Bruce also was sentenced to jail.²

Mr. Turner's difficulties arising from the antimasonic agitation did not appear to interfere seriously with his journalistic career, or with his private life. In 1834 he was married to Miss Juliza Bush, daughter of William T. Bush, founder of Bushville, just west of Batavia on the Buffalo Road.³ William Bush came from New Malberry, Massa-

²In a letter of June 11, 1935, Orsamus Turner Harris, grandson of Orsamus Turner writes: "In the accounts of the disappearance of Morgan, I know that he, with other prominent Masons, was arrested and locked up in the jail at Lockport, and I remember that my mother told of the triumphant march of the Masons when they were released, and how they carpeted and furnished the cells for these Masons."

³Mr. Bush, a pioneer industrialist of the Holland Purchase, has left an intimate description of that settlement in one of his letters quoted by his son-in-law. "I moved my family from Bloomfield in May, 1806. The settlers on the Buffalo Road between my location and Buffalo village were Isaac Sutherland, Levi Davis, Timothy Washburn, Rufus McCracken, Daniel McCracken, Thomas Godfrey, Linus Gunn, Henry Starks, Alanson Gunn, David Bowen, John Lamberton, living on the road west. There was [sic] less than one hundred acres cleared on the Buffalo Road in the

chusetts, where he was born in 1773. His wife was Lovisa Post Bush, born in New Malberry in 1780. Juliza Bush, the daughter who married Turner, was born in Batavia in 1806.⁴

Editor Turner returned to Lockport with his bride and established her in their new home on Chestnut Ridge in the eastern outskirts. Their first child, a son, named William Bush in honor of his maternal grandfather, was born on Christmas Day, 1834, and died in Buffalo, February 22, 1917. The second child, Margaret Sexton, was born August 5, 1839, and died in Lockport, March 12, 1842. Juliza Bush was born in 1841 at Lockport and died in Bloomington, Illinois, December 23, 1904.

distance of six miles from Batavia. I built a log house, covered it with elm bark—could not spare the time to build a chimney, laid a better floor in my house, plastered the cracks and hired an acre of land cleared—just enough to prevent the trees falling upon my house. . . . In 1808, I built a machine shop, a carding and cloth dressing establishment. These were the first upon the Holland Purchase. On the 10th of June, that year, I carded a sack of wool, first ever carded by a machine on the Purchase. It belonged to George Lathrop of Bethany." Turner, *Holland Purchase*, pp. 471-472.

⁴In the notice of the death of William Bush, printed in 1832, it is stated: "He was one of the pioneers of what is now East Bloomfield, previous to 1800. In 1806 when operations upon the Holland Purchase were but just fairly under way—while Batavia village was but a small cluster of buildings in the shadow of a dense forest—he pushed beyond it, upon the Buffalo Road, purchased land and water power upon the Tonawanda—erected a rude log cabin, commenced the erection of machinery—thus becoming the founder of a small village that bears his name. He carded the first pound of wool in a machine, dressed the first piece of cloth, and made the first ream of paper, in all of what is now the eight western counties of the state."

Speaking of his early advent in the wilderness, the old gentleman a few years since observed: "The first summer my wife did the cooking for the family and hired men, by an outdoor fire, built against stumps. The first winter I attended my own sawmill, working it from daylight to dark, cutting my firewood and foddering my stock by the light of a lantern. Before winter set in, I had built a stick chimney, laid a better floor in my house, plastered the cracks and hired an acre of land cleared. When I built my cloth dressing works in 1808, I bought my hand shears of the Shakers at New Lebanon, my press plate at a furnace in Onondaga, my screw and box at Canaan, Conn., my dye kettle, etc., at Albany; the transportation costing two hundred dollars."

Previous to the war he removed to the farm upon which he has since resided near the village of Batavia.

Family cares did not prevent the editor from taking an active and influential part in civic affairs. He was conspicuous in the vigorous campaigns waged by advocates of the plan to enlarge the Erie Canal, already so congested with traffic that its value was seriously impaired. The railroads had not yet been completed across the state; they were largely of an experimental nature, and each of the short lines was under separate management. In any event they were not regarded as comparable with the canal as a means of moving bulky freight.

In advocacy of canal improvements, Orsamus Turner came to Rochester and addressed a convention, January 18, 1837. It was in the heart of this young city that one of the points of the greatest congestion was located. The old sandstone aqueduct, built in 1824, had developed serious structural weaknesses and was leaking badly. At the eastern end there was a sharp turn of scarcely more than a right angle where boats often became stuck, blocking the channel. Rochester desired state funds for a new aqueduct of limestone, of capacity sufficient to carry all the traffic that might arrive. Naturally, advocates of an improved canal were welcome in the largest canal port, excepting Albany, of that day.

Among the new friends Orsamus Turner made in Rochester on this visit was Henry O'Reilly. Fortunately the correspondence between these two friends during the years from 1839 to 1844 has been preserved⁶ and considerable light is shed upon Turner's personality and the growth of his interests. There were many ties to draw the two men together. Both were advocates of enlarging the canal; both had suffered persecution during the antimasonic furor; and both championed the cause of the Democratic Party in face of the strong opposition of the dominant sentiment in their respective localities. O'Reilly, the younger by a few years, was shortly to establish a new bond of friendship which was to prove of primary importance to Turner.

Henry O'Reilly's *Sketches of Rochester and Western New York*, published early in 1838, quickly attracted such favorable attention that its author was encouraged to undertake a more extensive study of the history of the settlement and

⁶Henry O'Reilly Documents, MSS. No. 1804.

growth of Western New York. Among the several friends whose assistance in that enterprise was volunteered or invited, was Orsamus Turner who undertook to transcribe the recollections of pioneer settlers still living in his neighborhood.

But the pressing necessity of earning a living for his growing family forced Turner to devote most of his time to his paper. His major sideline was an interest in the fortunes of the Democrats, and his letters to O'Reilly are full of the hopes and disappointments of that cause. When the depression wiped out the small sum Turner had invested in western lands, he secured O'Reilly's support for his appointment as collector of canal tolls at Lockport in 1842 and the years immediately following.

The appointment evidently supplied Turner with a measure of leisure, and his interest in local history revived. He became especially interested in the history of Joseph Ellicott's long career as land agent for the Holland Purchase. But, as he did not wish to intrude upon the field marked out by O'Reilly, Turner wrote in 1843 to enquire whether a study of the life of Ellicott would interfere with his friend's long anticipated volume on the settlement of Western New York. O'Reilly's reply, dated June 17, is well worth quoting on this point:

You ask if a book about J. Ellicott would interfere with my pursuits. Don't let me prevent your efforts; but I will only reply that I have spent much time on the subject and have all his letters, and the papers of the Holland Company, for that purpose, to interweave in a general work about Western New York which I am preparing having all Jesse Hawley's, and Mrs. Myron Holley promises me her husband's, General Chapin John Greig's ———, etc. papers to aid me, and the use of newspaper files for 40 years.

This letter, which could scarcely be considered encouraging by the aspiring author who received it, was penned during one of the periods when O'Reilly himself was unattached, and when his thoughts were turning again to the frequently postponed historical project. A few months later O'Reilly was again absorbed by business affairs—this time with his

various telegraph projects. When Turner again raised the question of his independent researches he received the hearty cooperation of his friend, and permission to use the papers and documents the latter had collected.

Unlike his friend O'Reilly, whose political views were constantly involving him in violent controversies, Turner was able to restrain his expressions when prudence dictated a mild attitude towards factional rivals in the party. As a result, when the party gained control of the state again in 1847, he was able to return to his post as collector of canal tolls at Lockport, and in the following year he was appointed postmaster of that town.

The newspaper with which Turner had been identified in 1822, the *Lockport Observatory*, had passed through a series of changes, but he continued to write for it, to edit it, and at times to manage its business affairs. According to French's *Gazetteer*⁶ the year in which the *Observatory* and *Niagara Sentinel* were merged, 1828, control of the paper passed to Peter Besançon, Jr., who renamed it the *Lockport Journal*. The following year it was purchased by Asa Story, who changed the name to *Lockport Balance*. Other publishers of the paper were successively Isaac C. Colton and T. H. Hyatt, until 1837 when it was sold to Turner and Lyon and merged with the *Niagara Democrat*, which had been started by Turner and Lyon in 1835. The name of the combined publication was the *Niagara Democrat and Lockport Balance*, but the latter part of the title soon was dropped. The paper was acquired by T. P. Scoville in 1839, but in 1846 was taken over by Turner and McCullom.

Frederick Follett of Batavia, in his *History of the Press of Western New York*,⁷ is duly appreciative of Turner's work:

Orsamus Turner may be regarded as the father of the Press of this County (Niagara). It is true, he was not

⁶J. H. French, ed., *Historical and Statistical Gazetteer of New York State* (Syracuse, 1860), p. 451.

⁷This extremely rare book, printed in Rochester in 1847 by Jerome and Brother, at the *Daily American* office, contains a story of the "Proceedings of the Printers' Festival, held on the 141st anniversary of the birth-day of Franklin, in the City of Rochester, on Monday, Jan. 18, 1847." The above quotation appears on page 65.

the *first* to lift the curtain through which the intellectual light of the Press was to be let in upon the denizens of Niagara—but soon after the experiment was made, he was found at the helm, and either as publisher, Editor or assistant Editor, has continued at his post from 1822, to the present time (1847). Mr. Turner is a strong and vigorous writer—quick to perceive, and prompt to execute his purposes. For one or two years he was Collector of Canal Tolls at Lockport—a post of great responsibility, the duties of which he discharged with entire satisfaction to the public, and with credit to himself.

Sometime in 1847 Turner's scholarly researches were resumed, and the scope of the study was broadened to include all phases of the early history of the Holland Purchase, the area with which the land office of Joseph Ellicott was identified. To the materials culled from the papers of the Holland Land Company in Batavia he joined the information he was able to collect by numerous visits to aged pioneers. How much assistance he secured from O'Reilly's earlier labors in the field and from documents collected through the latter's efforts is not fully apparent.⁸ Turner did acknowledge his indebtedness briefly in his preface to the *Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase of Western New York*, adding an allusion "to an historical enterprise that it is hoped he [O'Reilly] will yet find leisure to consummate."

It is interesting to reconstruct something of the struggles of this self-trained scholar as he labors to produce his two ponderous volumes. Lockport was not far distant from Buffalo where O. H. Marshall had assembled a library rich in historical literature. There Orsamus Turner gained access to H. H. Bancroft's early volumes of the *History of the United States*, upon which he quite frankly leaned heavily for information concerning the early French period. He made similar use of Lewis H. Morgan's studies of the Indians, for his object was not to produce a scholarly monograph but to

⁸O'Reilly to Norman Seymour, Dec. 1, 1876: "I freely loaned my papers by the *box full* to Mr. Turner; whose books are largely made up from the materials I furnished." O'Reilly Documents, MSS. No. 1358.

turn out a volume which would gather together from various detached places the story of the Indians, French and Jesuits, military struggles, and pioneer settlements that related to the area of the Holland Purchase.

The reception accorded the 666-page volume on the Holland Purchase was sufficient to justify a second edition in 1850. Apparently it was at this time that O'Reilly extended his blessing upon Turner's plan to produce a similar volume dealing with the Phelps and Gorham Purchase. For this undertaking Turner moved to Rochester where he could more readily examine the papers which O'Reilly's letters opened to him and interview the pioneers still available. Some notion of the character of his assistance is conveyed in a passage in the preface to the *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase and Morris' Reserve*:⁹

The thanks of the author are especially due to HENRY O'REILLY, for the use of valuable papers collected with reference to continuing some historical researches, he had so well commenced; to JAMES H. WOODS, for the use of papers of CHARLES WILLIAMSON; to OLIVER PHELPS and JAMES S. WADSWORTH, for the use of papers in their possession as the representatives of OLIVER PHELPS and JAMES WADSWORTH; to JOHN GREIG and JOSEPH FELLOWS for access to papers in their respective land offices; and especially to the former, for the essential materials in his possession as the representative of ISRAEL CHAPIN, and his son and successor, ISRAEL CHAPIN; to the managers of the Rochester Athenaeum, for free access to their valuable library; to C. C. CLARKE, of Albany, and S. B. BUCKLEY, of Yates, for valuable contributions; to numerous other individuals, most of whom are indicated in the body of the work. And to LEE, MANN & Co., the Printers, and WM. ALLING, the Publisher, for their liberal terms, and the business accommodation with which they have aided the enterprise.

⁹*Phelps and Gorham's Purchase*, p. viii.

Rochester directories from 1851 to 1854 report Orsamus Turner's residence as 10 Elm Street, and give his occupation as author and editor. At the time of the publication of the first edition of *Phelps and Gorham's Purchase* by William Alling of Rochester, it was discovered that the volume of detail available in the settlement of the various portions of the Genesee Country was so great that it would be impossible to include it all in one volume of reasonable size. The result was a plan to write up the early and more general history of the area and to incorporate the detailed account of the settlement of separate areas in supplements. The supplement on Monroe County was thus printed together with the general text in the edition of 1851. But slow sales discouraged the plan of bringing out separate editions with each of four supplements, and only one additional venture was attempted, as a small edition appeared in 1852, presenting the 492 pages of the general text together with a supplement dealing with the local pioneer history of Ontario, Wayne, Livingston, Yates and Allegany counties.

These books failed to find the market that had been anticipated. A large stock was still in the hands of William Alling, the publisher, when years later a fire broke out in his establishment on Exchange Street. Some were rescued and sold in spite of their damaged condition by Erastus Darrow who still had a few on hand a half-century after their publication. However, it was not long before they began to command a respectable price among collectors, for students of the history of the Genesee Country soon came to appreciate the volume of historic lore they contained.

The defects of these books are many and obvious, but they have failed to keep them on the shelf. Later historians have complained of Turner's inaccuracies and have lamented his inability or failure either to weave his material into a chronological story or to present it according to a geographical or some other consistent pattern. The lack of an index and the careless method of citing, or failing to cite, the sources of his quotations discourage the scholarly use of these volumes, and yet later historians have thumbed their pages looking for the anecdote that will give life to a colorless

incident in the early history of this region, or a hint as to a document which may reward further study.

Meanwhile Orsamus Turner failed to reap a just reward for his labors and was forced to seek some more lucrative employment. In the sharply contested national election of 1852, Democratic leaders in the Rochester area sought to insure an adequate hearing for their candidate, Franklin Pierce, by forming a joint stock company to issue a new Democratic daily newspaper. "On the 16th of August, 1852" says Peck's History, "the first number of the Rochester *Daily Union* was issued, with J. M. Hatch and Orsamus Turner as editors of the political department and George G. Cooper in charge of the local columns." After the election of Pierce as President, owners of the *Daily Union* sold the paper to Isaac Butts and Joseph Curtis, who in 1857 acquired control of the old *Daily Advertiser* and combined the two under the name of *Union and Advertiser*. This paper in 1918 was merged with the *Evening Times* to form the present *Times-Union* under the leadership of Frank E. Gannett.

One of the features of Turner's books that has excited some discussion is his choice of spelling of the name of Rochester's first miller, Ebenezer (Indian) Allan, or Allen. Turner adheres invariably to the former. Original signatures of the old Indian trader which recently have come to light show that the pioneer miller himself used either spelling, apparently as suited his fancy, as was a common practice of that period. His son, Seneca, used the spelling "Allen." The signature on the agreement transferring title of the Hundred-Acre Tract which is the foundation of land titles in the heart of Rochester, is "Allan." Allen's Hill,¹⁰ near the northern end of Honeoye Valley, was the home of Turner's mother's family. Her brother, Honorable Nathaniel Allen, established the first industry, a blacksmith's shop, at Allen's Hill and gave the family name to the village. He was an officer of the American forces in the War of 1812 and afterward a member of Congress. He also served as sheriff of Ontario County. Thus the name meant something more than a geographical appellation

¹⁰An intimate view of Allen's Hill in other days may be found in the book *Allerton Parish*, by the Rev. John N. Norton, D.D. It is fiction thinly veiling the fact, with personal names altered.



ORSAMUS TURNER—HISTORIAN OF THE
NEW YORK FRONTIER

to Turner. But there was another Allen's Hill, afterward renamed Mount Morris. The earlier name had been applied to the place above the Genesee flats when Ebenezer Allan established his trading post there at the close of the Revolutionary War. There is at least room for speculation as to whether Turner, in his natural desire to separate the reputation of his mother's family from that of the Indian trader of unsavory memory among the pioneers, deliberately chose the occasional spelling of Ebenezer's patronymic, in all references to Allan except quotations from other sources.

Evidence of the industrious research conducted by Turner in preparation for the publication of his *Pioneer History of the Phelps and Gorham's Purchase* is his letter, dated "Rochester, June 26, 1849," in which he writes to President George Arnold of the Rochester Athenaeum and Mechanics Association as follows:¹¹

Sir:—

In the course of the preparation of my Pioneer History, I obtained possession of the original conveyance of the Allan's Mill property, or the hundred acre tract, from Indian Allan to Samuel Ogden, together with an original receipt, having reference to the purchase money. Deeming them relics which appropriately belong to the archives of your city, and wishing to encourage the laudable enterprise of your Association, in its endeavors to preserve local history, I place them at your disposal, in the hope they may be deemed worthy of careful preservation, in such form as shall best subserve the purposes of the gift.

I am sir, with respect, yours, &c,

O. Turner

To Geo. Arnold, Esq., Prest, &c.

It will be recalled that on Page 300 of the *History of the Holland Purchase* is a footnote saying:

The author has in his possession a quit claim deed, or rather an assignment of his right to this 100 acre tract,

¹¹The letter is included in the appendix to a printed report of a discourse delivered before the Rochester Athenaeum and Mechanics Association by J. H. McIlvaine, June 28, 1849. Mr. McIlvaine was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Rochester.

to Benjamin Barton,¹² the father of Benjamin Barton, Jr. It would seem he had at the date of it, no written title to the land, but he authorizes Messrs. Phelps and Gorham to deed to Mr. Barton. The consideration was "Two hundred pounds, N. York currency." It is in the hand writing of Samuel Ogden, and witnessed by "Gertrude Ogden" by which it would seem that it was executed in the city of New York. The signature is well executed. It is written "E. Allan"—not Allen. The land is described as being on the "west side of the Genesee river in Ontario County:—bounded east by the river, so as to take in the mills recently erected by the said Allan." The instrument is dated March, 1792.

Orsamus Turner continued to reside in Rochester until the spring of 1854 when he returned to his home in Lockport, where he became purchaser and editor of the *Lockport Democrat*, his old paper. With his usual energy, he applied his talents immediately to the production of a first-class newspaper. It seemed at the time that he was destined for many years of usefulness in his chosen field and profession.

¹²The Bartons, father and son, appear to have been exceedingly active in the settlement of Western New York. Benjamin Barton, Jr., born March 2, 1771, became the husband of Agnes Latta, daughter of James Latta, an itinerant peddler. She was a sister of Samuel Latta, who became first collector of the Port of Genesee, established in 1805 at the mouth of the river. It was Benjamin Barton who erected a famous house at Kashong on the west shore of Seneca Lake south of Geneva. It is said that at the housewarming, he presented rolls of hemp to the young women, who were expected to make various articles of the material and bring them back. The place where the house was erected was called Ben Barton's Landing. Benjamin Barton also is credited with suggesting the name Penn Yan, a combination of "Pennsylvania" and "Yankee," descriptive of the origin of a majority of the population. Later, Benjamin Barton built a house at Lewiston, which was destroyed by the British and Indian forces which raided the American frontier in the War of 1812. The house, afterward rebuilt, is still standing. Barton was postmaster at Lewiston for a time. He died June 15, 1842.

There is evidence that Barton's father-in-law, James Latta, may have been the first settler of Charlotte. A deed filed September 16, 1790, records him as owner of one-eighth of Township 2, Short Range, bounded by the Genesee River on the east and Lake Ontario on the north. That was two years before the Hinchey family arrived at the mouth of the river. Members of both the Latta and Hinchey families still reside in this area.

But just as swift change had been characteristic of his busy life, so came the end. Lockport newspapers of March, 1855, carried the announcement that Orsamus Turner, after an illness of only a week, had passed to his final reward. The *Lockport Democrat* said in part:

Mr. Turner was among the earliest of the settlers of the village of Lockport. He came here in his youth,—identified his interests, his hopes and sympathies with the interests and prosperity of the village and county. He has been an efficient actor in the progress of the village, from its infant state, when he came here, to its present populous and prosperous condition. He has been a laborious and efficient actor, too, in developing the scenes and history of the pioneer settlements of Western New York. But he has gone from among us—and his death is a severe affliction to his surviving widow, son and daughter—a source of much sorrow to a large circle of relatives, and personal friends and a loss to a numerous public, whom he has so long and so faithfully served as editor and author.

From another Lockport newspaper, apparently the *Lockport Daily Advertiser*, the following was taken:

Mr. Turner was in the 54th year of his age, and was in active business at the time of his death, as editor and proprietor of the *Niagara Democrat* of this village. Few men have seen more of the vicissitudes of life; have made themselves more useful and left a more honorable name behind than the deceased. Possessed of warm feelings and sympathies and connected prominently with political events of the past, he has given and received marks which will long remain, but no one will fail, now that he has gone to his last account, to acknowledge the ability which distinguished his advocacy; nor the keen sense of honor by which all of his acts were squared. As a printer, editor and historian, he is known and respected by an extended circle of acquaintances; and in these capacities he has left mementoes behind

which will long remain as monuments of his industry, talents and usefulness.

The Reverend Harry F. Zwicker, D.D., rector of Grace Episcopal Church, Lockport, on July 26, 1935, furnished the following certified copy of a notice in the Parish Register of the Church: "Orsamus Turner died at his home on Chestnut Ridge near Lockport, N. Y., March 21, 1855. Cause of death, pleurisy. Aged 54 years, 7 months, 26 days. Buried by Rev. Charles H. Platt, rector of Grace Episcopal Church, Lockport, N. Y., March 23rd, 1855, in Cold Springs Cemetery."

It has been suggested by persons aware of the great services he performed for all Western New York that the grave of the author-historian should be marked suitably, possibly through the combined efforts of historical societies and individuals who may be interested in the territory of which he wrote.



"1801—ORSAMUS TURNER—1855"

MODEST TOMBSTONE OF ORSAMUS TURNER, FOUND
BY MORLEY TURPIN IN COLD SPRINGS CEMETERY
ON THE OLD NIAGARA ROAD EAST OF LOCKPORT

Frederick Douglass and John Brown

By BENJAMIN QUARLES



EMPHASIS on the sensational exploits of John Brown plus a preoccupation with the last few months of his life have led biographers and historians to reward with brief mention his relations with Frederick Douglass. The first meeting between these foes of slavery took place more than ten years prior to the incident at Harper's Ferry. In the late eighteen forties, at the time when Brown was a merchant at Springfield, Massachusetts, Douglass received an invitation to visit him.¹ Douglass had already gained prominence as an abolitionist and Brown wished to confer confidentially with one whom he had come to regard as a kindred spirit. After receiving a cordial welcome, followed by a hearty meal, Douglass had leisure to observe the physical characteristics of his host and to form an audience for him. The graying zealot revealed the plan which had been revolving in his mind. This procedure was to take form in the establishment of squads of five in the Alleghanies from which slaves could be run off to freedom in large numbers. Brave ex-slaves were to remain in the mountains to harry their former masters. Brown argued that the money value of slave property would be endangered and

¹Douglass is the only informant that this meeting took place. In his autobiography (*Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, Park Publishing Company, Hartford, 1884, p. 338 *et. seq.*) he places 1847 as the year of his short stay at Brown's house. More likely (and more susceptible to proof) the visit occurred late the following year. Douglass lectured in the Town Hall at Springfield on October 29, 1848 (*The North Star*, Rochester, N. Y., Nov. 17, 1848), and on November 18 of the same year (*North Star*, Nov. 24, 1848). Douglass left Springfield shortly after his November discourse there. Within ten days after his return to Rochester he "alluded prominently to his recent interview with Mr. John Brown of Springfield," during the course of some casual remarks to a group of colored men. *North Star*, Dec. 8, 1848.

gradually destroyed by the adoption of this project.² Douglass, skeptical, indicated the difficulties: masters would sell their slaves further South, bloodhounds would track Brown and his band, provisions would be denied the insurgents. To all these questions Brown had a ready reply. He asserted finally that even if he were to die in the attempt to free the slaves there was no better use for his life.³

Douglass was half convinced. The Calvinistic Puritan might undermine slavery in some areas and possibly his efforts would revitalize the conscience of the nation. As a result of this visit the black abolitionist found it necessary to refashion his thinking. Brown's insistence that there was no possibility of converting the slavocracy weakened Douglass' faith in the Garrisonian principle of non-resistance and led him to insert the note of truculency that was to characterize the tone of all his public utterances.

From the time of their first meeting the relations between the two men were cordial. They reciprocated visits whenever fortune took either to Springfield or Rochester. On his periodic journeys to obtain supplies for the Kansas struggle Brown would arrange to exchange experiences with the Negro editor. The latter raised funds for Brown.⁴

After his sanguinary work in Kansas was finished, Brown came east. On the first or second day of February, 1858,⁵ the aging zealot presented himself at Douglass' suburban home in Rochester. He asked for lodgings, and he insisted on pay-

²*Life and Times*, p. 339.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 340, 341; Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, xiv, 140.

⁴*Life and Times*, p. 370. However it is unlikely that these men saw much of each other during the early fifties. A search of *The North Star*, December 3, 1847, to December 21, 1849; of *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, Rochester, January 8, 1852 to June 17, 1853; of the same also from December 23, 1853 to December 15, 1854, with six scattered issues from December 22, 1854 to February 23, 1855, does not reveal a single reference to Brown other than the sentence cited in footnote no. 1 (*supra*). Doubtless they met at rare intervals—both were in Worcester, Massachusetts during the same days in the spring of 1857. Franklin B. Sanborn, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Richard G. Badger, Boston, 1909), p. 138.

⁵Brown sent a letter to Theodore Parker addressed from Rochester, and dated February 2, 1858. F. B. Sanborn, ed., *The Life and Letters of John Brown* (Roberts Bros., Boston, 1885), p. 434.

ing for accommodation. He sat in his room, writing most of the day. He addressed soliciting letters to sympathizers on whom he counted to underwrite a venture, the nature of which he did not disclose. The recipients of these letters from "Nelson Hawkins" sensed something unusual in the wind.

When he was not writing to obtain funds Brown was drafting and revising a constitution which he proposed to put into operation once he came into power. This singular document provided a framework of government which Brown believed would insure happiness to all save slaveholders and other sinners.⁶ Brown was so full of plans that he made listeners of the Douglass children after he had tried the patience of their parents.⁷ Before these fruitful days in Rochester came to an end⁸ Brown became acquainted with a fugitive slave, variously styled "Shields Green," "Green Shields," and "Emperor." He proved to be one of Brown's most devoted followers; twenty months later he was to be numbered among those who startled the country by the daring attack on a government arsenal.

There is a hiatus in the relations between Douglass and Brown from the time of the Rochester visit until the eve of

⁶In Colonel Robert E. Lee's report to the Adjutant-General on the disturbances at Harper's Ferry there is included a copy of Brown's "Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," containing a preamble and forty-eight articles. *36 Cong. 1 sess. (1859-1860), Executive Documents*, vol. 11, No. 2 (Report of the Secretary of War, 1st part), p. 19 *et. seq.* Douglass possessed a copy prepared at his home by his unusual boarder; see *Life and Times*, p. 387.

⁷Jane Marsh Parker, "Reminiscences of Frederick Douglass," *The Outlook*, 11: 553 (April 6, 1895). However Brown's volubleness apparently did not lead him to unfold his desperate plan prematurely.

⁸The exact number of days Brown spent at the Douglass home cannot be determined. He was there "until February 15." Hill Peebles Wilson, *John Brown: Soldier of Fortune* (Published by the author, Lawrence, Kansas, 1914), 193. He was at "Douglass' house for three weeks." Richard J. Hinton, *John Brown and His Men* (New York, 1894), 165. He "desired to stop with me for several weeks." *Life and Times*, 385. Brown "remained for about a month . . ." John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1890), 11: 196. A letter to Sanborn from Brown, dated Feb. 19, reveals that the latter was then at Gerrit Smith's House in Peterboro, N. Y. Sanborn, *Recollections*, p. 144. Brown was at the Douglass home from fourteen to eighteen days.

Harper's Ferry.⁹ During this period Brown was moving as cautiously as his fiery nature would permit.¹⁰ Possibly he returned to Rochester early in 1859 to confer with Douglass.¹¹ Brown resolved to strike during the fall of the year. His attempt to win last minute converts impelled him to attempt to enlist the aid of such a friend as Douglass, one who was anxious to be of assistance but who was congenitally unsuited to accompany Brown on the desperate enterprise he had planned.

On August 9, Brown's son, John, junior, came to Rochester and learned that Douglass had gone to Niagara Falls. Douglass, on his return the following day, conversed at length with the son of his old friend.¹² Young Brown returned to Rochester six days later and was informed by Douglass' son, Lewis, that the Negro editor had left the city to meet Brown's lieutenant, Kagi.¹³ Douglass was already en route to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania to fulfill an invitation from Brown requesting his presence at an old stone quarry.¹⁴ Douglass reached the rendezvous on August 19 escorted by Green and

⁹Brown had not left Rochester without arranging to see Douglass within a fortnight. They had planned to meet in Philadelphia on March 5 (1858), but Douglass found it necessary to postpone his arrival for five days. Letter from Douglass to Brown. Sanborn, *Life and Letters of John Brown*, p. 443.

¹⁰"Old Brown will have to keep out of sight for a little while. The Governor of Missouri has a reward of \$3,000 offered for his capture." Rosetta Douglass to her father, Rochester, February 2, 1859. *Douglass MS*. Anacostia Heights, Washington, D. C.

¹¹One of the employees in Douglass' printing office relates that "a tall, white man, with shaggy whiskers," called at the office one morning "several months prior to October 16, 1859," and asked for Douglass. On the return of the latter, the two men (Douglass and the visitor, Brown) "talked freely," and "in most earnest terms." Horace McGuire, "Two Episodes of Anti-Slavery Days," *Publications of The Rochester Historical Society*, IV, 219, 220.

It is probable that Douglass and Brown met on March 15, 1859 at Philadelphia (Wilson, *John Brown*, p. 248), and also at Detroit in March or April of the same year (Hinton, *John Brown and His Men*, p. 227).

¹²Letter from John Brown, Jr. to Kagi, August 11, 1859. Sanborn, *Life and Letters of John Brown*, p. 536.

¹³John Brown, Jr. to Kagi, August 16, 1859. *Ibid.*, p. 538.

¹⁴*Life and Times*, p. 387. Octavius B. Frothingham, *Life of Gerrit Smith* (New York, 1878), p. 255.

bringing with him a letter to Brown containing twenty-five dollars and "best wishes for your welfare and prosperity," from a Mrs. Gloucester.¹⁵ Four were present at this secret meeting—Brown, Kagi, Green, and Douglass.¹⁶

Brown asked Douglass' opinion on the feasibility of the plan to seize Harper's Ferry and to lay hold of leading citizens and use them as hostages.¹⁷ The black abolitionist was emphatic in his objections. He was more than willing to run slaves off by the underground method¹⁸ but such an invasion as Brown now presented was an attack on the national government and would prove fatal to its perpetrators. Brown was adamant. He contended that a dramatic seizure would capture the attention of the country and move people to action.

Douglass was not persuaded. He was moved by Brown's plea to accompany him but discretion had formed his decision. By himself he left the hideout. Brown did not give up. With the singlemindedness and undespairing hope of the zealot, he still hoped to prevail on the Negro orator.

Sometime in September Douglass received a letter signed by a number of colored men inviting him to represent them at a convention to be held "right away" at Chambersburg. If Douglass would come, the writers would pledge themselves to see "your family well provided for during your absence, or until your safe return to them." They offered also to "make you a remittance."¹⁹ Douglass never learned the identity of the individual who prompted the Negroes to get in touch with him. He suspected that it may have been Kagi.

¹⁵Letter from Mrs. E. A. Gloucester to Brown, August 18, 1859. *Life and Letters of John Brown*, p. 538.

¹⁶This meeting apparently lasted three days. See letter from Douglass to Sanborn, April 15, 1885. *Ibid.*, p. 540.

¹⁷There is a bare possibility that Douglass was the first outside of Brown's immediate family to learn of the proposed scheme. See Douglass' letter to Gerrit Smith in Frothingham, *Life of Gerrit Smith*, p. 255. See also letter to editor from John Cochrane in *New York Daily Tribune*, Feb. 3, 1878.

¹⁸Rochester Historical Society, *Publications*, xiv: 125-126, 132.

¹⁹*Life and Letters of John Brown*, footnote, p. 541. Sanborn, *Recollections*, p. 153.

It is certain that Brown knew of the communication.²⁰ He believed that with sufficient urging Douglass would reconsider his decision. But the old Puritan had not judged his man correctly. Douglass, who had Brown's ardor without his daring, failed to attend the convention; doubtless he had surmised its nature. Brown was disappointed.

These two foes of slavery never saw each other again after their conversations at the old stone quarry. Douglass was in the National Hall at Philadelphia, on October 17, when he was informed of Brown's arrest. This startling news alarmed Douglass; he knew it was likely that some letters implicating him might be found by Brown's captors.²¹ Douglass hastened to New York City on the advice of well-wishers who had urged him to leave Philadelphia posthaste.²² Douglass felt unsafe in New York; the hue and cry had been taken up and the morning papers screamed that the government would spare no pains in bringing to justice all those connected with the attempt on Harper's Ferry.

Douglass left the metropolis, and avoiding main-travelled roads made his way to his home in Rochester to secure or destroy any papers that might be used to implicate him. Friends informed him that the Federal government would surrender him to the state of Virginia on the receipt of a proper requisition. Douglass did not believe that his supporters at home would permit pursuers to take him South. He did not doubt, however, that President Buchanan would

²⁰Among Brown's papers captured at the Kennedy farm was a copy of this letter. Brown's daughter Anna, in 1885, called attention to the "missing link" in her father's movements late in September and early in October, 1859. Sanborn (*Recollections*, p. 153) implies that during this period Brown was at Chambersburg at the convention of colored men, vainly waiting for Douglass.

²¹Douglass was informed that numerous letters of his had been found in John Brown's travelling bag. *The Freeman*, Indianapolis, Ind., March 2, 1885. Actually a short innocuous letter from Douglass to Brown was all the data concerning Douglass that was found by Brown's captors. *Douglass' Monthly*, II, 164 (November, 1859).

²²John W. Hurn, a telegraph operator, and an admirer of Douglass, suppressed for three hours the delivery of a dispatch to the sheriff of Philadelphia instructing him to arrest Douglass. *The Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., February 21, 1895.

use the agencies of the national government to aid Governor Wise of Virginia. After hurried consideration the black abolitionist fled to Canada.

Douglass' unceremonious departure, if unheroic, was good common sense. Wise was in touch with Buchanan and if Douglass had been summoned by Federal authority to attend anywhere in the United States he would have had no choice other than to appear.²³ Once within the legal confines of a hostile state and subjected to its legal processes a charge could be preferred against him on specious grounds. The country's nerves were on edge; feelings ran high.²⁴ The presence of a Negro abolitionist in the courts of Virginia in November, 1859, would have placed a strain on Southern justice. It is to be emphasized also that Douglass' decision to depart was not made independently of previously laid plans. Prior to the Brown raid Douglass had announced his intention to go abroad in November.²⁵

Safe in his retreat in Canada Douglass realized his flight might appear ignoble. He was given an opportunity for an exposition by the charges of John E. Cook, one of the men

²³Wise sent communications to Buchanan and the Postmaster General of the United States asking that two agents from Virginia be given nominal authority and legal power to act as detectives for the post office department for the purpose of effecting the "delivery up" of Douglass, who was charged with "murder, robbery, and inciting servile insurrection in the State of Virginia." *Life and Times*, p. 379. United States marshals were in Rochester in search of Douglass within six hours of his departure. *Douglass' Monthly*, II, 162 (November, 1859).

For an account of the rough way in which Sanborn was handled by Federal agents see the *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society* (New York, 1861), pp. 150-152.

²⁴A reader of a Richmond paper stated that he, and ninety-nine other gentlemen would give twenty-five dollars each for the delivery of a specified list (numbering 75) of traitors. The names of Henry Wilson and Charles Sumner led the roster. The communication continued, "And I will also be one of one hundred to pay \$500 each (\$50,000) for the head of William H. Seward, and would add a similar reward for Fred Douglass, but regarding him head and shoulders above these traitors I will permit him to remain where he now is." Quoted from a Richmond paper (name not given) in *The Liberator*, December 23, 1859.

²⁵"I am about leaving for Europe," runs a letter from Douglass to Robert Kinnicut, dated from Rochester, October 9, 1859. *New York Public Library*, 135 Street branch.

taken with Brown. Cook informed his captors that if Brown had followed his advice and retired to the mountains immediately, with his prisoners and whatever arms could be gathered, their venture would have been successful. The sequel to Harper's Ferry was disastrous, according to Cook, solely because of the pusillanimity of Douglass. He had been scheduled to bring a large band of men to the schoolhouse on an agreed date. Despite the fact, ran the charges, that Cook conveyed the necessary arms to his co-conspirator and waited several hours for him, the black abolitionist did not come.²⁶

Douglass answered this accusation in his best epistolary vein. He notices, he writes in a letter to the editor of the *Rochester Democrat*, that Mr. Cook, "now a prisoner in the hands of the thing which calls itself the Government of Virginia, but which in fact is but an organized conspiracy by one part of the people against another and weaker," asserted that Douglass promised to be present at Harper's Ferry. The Negro fugitive denied any acquaintanceship with Cook. The charge was false, ran Douglass' declaration, that he had pledged conditionally or otherwise that he would be at the scene of action.²⁷

As was usual in his remarks he did not spare the slaveholders. This denial of his, he alleged, was motivated by a respectful consideration of the opinion of his fellow abolitionists rather than the fear of being made an accomplice in the Brown movement. Any effort, no matter how misguided was basically moral if it aimed at the overthrow of the slave system. The letter continues with a statement of his reason for not joining Brown. To an apposite quotation, "The tools to those who can use them," Douglass added that every man should work for the abolition of slavery in his own way. His particular field of activity for the cause did not extend to an armed attack on a government arsenal. No shame attached to him, he wrote, for keeping out of the way of United States marshals. Would a government that recog-

²⁶*The Liberator*, November 4, 1859.

²⁷Quoted from *Rochester Democrat*, in *Anglo-African Magazine*, vi, No. 12, p. 382 (December, 1859).

nized the validity of the Dred Scott decision be likely to deal equitably with him?²⁸ With this letter Douglass rested his case concerning his connection with Harper's Ferry.

Five months later he returned from the British Isles. In July of the same year the Senate abolished the inquiry relating to the insurrection. But Brown's fate became a rallying cry and with Northern success on the battlefield his memory took stature. Poets and public speakers eulogized Ossawatimie John. The tribute from Douglass demanded not less than all the gifts requisite to an orator of the first water:

. . . . Not Carolina, but Virginia, not Fort Sumter, but Harper's Ferry, not Major Anderson, but John Brown began the war that ended slavery. . . . Until this blow was struck, the prospect for Freedom was dim . . . When John Brown stretched forth his arm the sky was cleared—the time for compromise was gone—the armed hosts stood face to face over the chasm of a broken Union and the clash of arms was at hand.²⁹

²⁸*Anglo-African Magazine*, vi, 382.

²⁹Speech at Harper's Ferry, May 30, 1882. *Douglass MS*.

The City Manager Movement in Rochester

By ISAAC ADLER



ORIGIN AND EARLY BEGINNINGS

THE city manager movement in Rochester, which culminated in November, 1925, in the adoption of a city manager charter, may be said to have had its roots in the organization in 1911 or 1912 of the Commission Government Association. At that time little had been heard of a city manager, but numerous cities had adopted a commission form of government, the only elected officials being five commissioners, or a mayor and four commissioners, who composed the legislative and executive heads of the city. Influenced by the success of a number of these cities, notably Galveston and Des Moines, Dr. Herman L. Fairchild, professor of geology at the University of Rochester, organized the Commission Government Association for the purpose of educating the citizens of Rochester in the commission form of government. Similar organizations were formed in other New York cities, and at a conference held in Rochester in 1912, the Commission Government Association of New York State was organized with Professor Fairchild as president and Ralph Bowman of Buffalo as secretary.

This association, lacking financial support, was reorganized under the name of the Municipal Government Association, among whose main purposes were: (1) An amendment to the state constitution, granting self government to the cities and villages of the state; and (2) a general municipal empowering act, to give to all cities of the state the right to draft, amend, and adopt their own charters.

Partly at least as a result of the activity of this group, the Home Rule Act, giving to the cities of the state power to manage and control their property and local affairs, was passed by the legislature in 1913. The Optional City Government Law for cities of the second and third class, which gave

to such cities the option of adopting one of the seven types of charter prescribed in the law, was passed by the legislature in 1914.

Then came the World War and all further activity of the local association ceased. The one link connecting this activity with the later movement is the legislation above described which may be said to be the forerunner of the City Home Rule Law, the basic foundation of the city manager charter.

While the connection of the Commission Government Association with the city manager movement is somewhat tenuous, there can be no doubt that the activity which began in the Women's City Club of Rochester in 1920 led directly to the adoption of the city manager charter five years later.

By 1920 the city manager movement had made considerable progress in American cities. It first started in the little town of Staunton, Va., birthplace of Woodrow Wilson, in 1908. The commission form of government had developed defects in administration which caused its popularity to dwindle after 1914 and the city manager form was gradually adopted in its stead. By 1920 over two hundred cities were trying the experiment—all of them cities of much smaller population than Rochester and principally cities which had previously had the commission form.

It was at about this time that George Eastman, whose activities, as will be seen, were a prime element in the adoption of a city manager charter for Rochester, became convinced of two things: first, that the city of Rochester would make little or no permanent improvement in its administration until its political control gave way to some form modeled on that of business corporations; and second, that the city manager plan had passed the experimental stage and should be adopted by the city. He endeavored to enlist other civic leaders and the newspapers in a campaign of education, discussed the change with George W. Aldridge, the dominant political boss of that day, and believed that he had convinced Mr. Aldridge of the desirability of the change, when the death of the latter in 1922 stopped progress for the time.

WOMEN'S CITY CLUB ACTIVITIES

In 1920 the Women's City Club, a then very live organization under the dynamic leadership of Mrs. Helen Probst Abbott, appointed a city manager committee and started an educational campaign.

Among other things a joint meeting was arranged between the Men's and Women's City Clubs which took place on January 14, 1922, at which Dr. Augustus R. Hatton, then of Western Reserve University and a distinguished authority on the subject, discussed the question: "Is City Manager Government applicable to our larger cities?"

The result of this educational activity was a resolution passed by the Women's City Club in July, 1922, endorsing a city manager form of government for Rochester and authorizing the formation of a committee to co-operate with other organizations to that end. This may fairly be regarded as the first important step in the city manager movement in Rochester. During the following months the committee conducted courses of study and sponsored lectures for the education of its members and the public.

Early in March, 1923, a luncheon conference was held at the Women's City Club in pursuance of the foregoing resolution. Those present included Mrs. Helen Probst Abbott, Leroy E. Snyder, George Herbert Smith, Rabbi Horace J. Wolf, George S. Van Schaick, Albert E. Copeland and Isaac Adler. It was agreed that Rochester needed a change—an awakening from a dormant condition due to long continued, almost absolute boss rule under the dominant and masterful Republican leader, George W. Aldridge. Some of those present were familiar with the city manager experiment as worked out notably in Dayton and Grand Rapids and favored its adoption in Rochester. Others thought a study should be made and the plan to be adopted left to be determined by the study. All agreed that a larger group should be called together and an effort made to arouse a wider interest among the citizens of Rochester.

Accordingly a second meeting was called to be held on March 22, 1923, at the Women's City Club. About eighty persons responded. Isaac Adler was made chairman and Judson A. Parsons secretary. A general discussion took place

which disclosed that the sentiment for a city manager form of government was by no means unanimous. Among those taking part were Dr. Franklin W. Bock, a valiant fighter, always in the forefront of progressive movements; Lester Fisher, James S. Havens, who had defeated George W. Aldridge for Congress in a stirring campaign in 1910; George Herbert Smith, Leroy E. Snyder, later candidate for mayor; George S. Van Schaick, who was to become distinguished as an outstanding State Superintendent of Insurance in the trying depression years of 1931 to 1935; Rabbi Horace J. Wolf, notable civic leader, and Clinton Wunder, then prominent as pastor of the Baptist Temple.

CITY GOVERNMENT PLAN COMMITTEE

The result of the meeting was the adoption of a resolution, proposed by Leroy E. Snyder, "that the chairman appoint a committee to enter upon a thorough study of the city manager plan and to interest a larger and more representative group of people to make use of the Committee's study and investigation as to a suitable form of government for the City of Rochester."

The Committee, which was carefully chosen and became popularly known as "The City Government Plan Committee," consisted of the following persons: Clarence M. Platt, then deputy corporation counsel and for many years thereafter corporation counsel, was selected by Mayor Van Zandt as a representative of the administration and the Republican organization; Harold H. Simms, prominent patent attorney, was treasurer of and represented the Democratic organization; James P. B. Duffy, then a member of the Board of Education, later Congressman and Supreme Court Judge; Mrs. Helen Probst Abbott, president of the Women's City Club, became secretary of the Committee; Leroy E. Snyder, president of the Men's City Club; Eugene Raines, prominent attorney, later president of the Rochester Bar Association, at that time president of the Rotary Club; William E. Reid, president of the Central Trades and Labor Council, later replaced by his successor in that office, John D. O'Flynn; John J. McMahon, chairman of the joint board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and Isaac Adler who

was made chairman of the committee. The appointment of this Committee was the second important step in the city manager movement.

The Committee decided at its first meeting that the ideal method of approach would be to study so far as possible the actual operation of city governments of various types and compare results. As the members of the committee had neither the expert knowledge nor the leisure required for this study, it was determined to ask for the assistance of the Bureau of Municipal Research.

BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH

The Bureau of Municipal Research was organized in 1915 by George Eastman for the improvement of city government in Rochester. The business of its staff had been to study the operation of the various departments of the city and suggest such changes as seemed desirable. Many careful studies had been made and valuable reports published. The Bureau had worked in harmony and cooperation with city officials and its relations with the city administration were so cordial that at the very time its assistance was asked, the head of the department of public works, Harold W. Baker, who was later to become city manager, had been selected from the staff of the Bureau.

Here we had then in the Bureau of Municipal Research a body of experts whose business for years had been the study of city government. Its director was Stephen B. Story, who was later to become city manager; and on its staff were two exceptionally competent men, W. Earl Weller, who succeeded Mr. Story as director of the Bureau, and Clarence E. Higgins who later became city comptroller.

The trustees of the Bureau consisted for the most part of elderly, conservative, outstanding citizens who had little taste or inclination for the new-fangled type of city government known as the city manager plan, but through the active interest of George Eastman and his forceful personality, the trustees were readily induced to lend the services of the staff for the study which the Committee decided should be made.

Thus with the introduction of the Bureau through the cooperation of Mr. Eastman we reach the third important step in the City Manager Movement.

It was hoped that the study might prove of real value, not only to Rochester, but to other cities as well. In all twenty-four cities were visited by Messrs. Story and Weller and other members of the staff, either in groups of two or separately. They included twelve cities having the same type of government as Rochester, the so-called mayor-council or federal plan, including at that time Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Kansas City, Providence, and Richmond, but Cincinnati had already adopted a council manager charter and Kansas City was soon to follow. Two of the cities were under a commission form of government, Newark and St. Paul, which was likewise true of Buffalo at that time. Ten of the cities visited had a council manager or city manager type and included Cleveland, Norfolk, and Portland, Maine.

The cities visited were selected with care. Some, like Akron and Nashville of the city manager type, were studied because they had been classed as failures; others, like Auburn, Newburgh, and Watertown, because they were New York State cities of the manager type; Cleveland, because it was the largest city which had experimented with the plan; and Dayton because it had had the longest experience among the larger cities; Richmond and Springfield, Mass., were regarded as examples of the mayor-council type at its best.

While this study was going on, public sentiment was crystallizing rapidly in favor of the city manager plan. In December, 1924, Mr. Eastman, on the occasion of a large gift of Eastman Kodak stock to the University of Rochester, was quoted as saying: "Rochester is well started on its way toward being the finest city in the world to live in and bring up families. . . . Its chief need now is a civic center and a modern system of municipal government." Later in the month the twenty-two Republicans in the Council, and the Monroe County members of the Republican State Committee, moved by the obvious drift of public sentiment, announced that the people of Rochester would be given an opportunity to vote on the city manager plan. On January 14, 1925, a resolution was introduced into the Council to

investigate various forms of city governments, including the city manager form, and determine whether the citizens of Rochester desired that form. A week later, Leroy E. Snyder delivered an address in favor of the plan and this was soon followed by other addresses. February 3rd the *Times-Union* in a leading editorial declared: "The Times-Union is for the city manager plan for Rochester." The editorial further stated that there were then 231 city manager cities in this country and seven in Canada.

The studies made by the staff of the Bureau were presented to the Committee at various meetings beginning February 18th and given prominent space in the Rochester papers. Each city was analyzed and discussed in detail. After all the reports had been made, a general summary was made public on March 9, 1925, in which the staff came out squarely and unequivocally for a city manager form of government. In this summary the Bureau said:

No analysis drawing sharp distinctions between the three types of municipal government as illustrated in these twenty-four cities is possible. Only general statements and broad classifications are justified. It might be said that the manager form of charter attracts a higher type of executive to the city service if it were possible to forget such men as Mayor Nelson of St. Paul, a commission city, Comptroller Cook of Springfield, and others. It might be said that the public services are better administered in manager cities if conditions in Milwaukee and Richmond were ignored. Three things, however, do seem to stand out in the manager cities—first, better financial procedure and control; second, a more general and more intelligent public interest in municipal affairs; and third, a centralization and combination of power and responsibility that has reacted most favorably on the efficiency of departmental work.

A very striking spirit of dissatisfaction with and distrust of the older forms of municipal government was apparent in all but two of the fourteen cities that are now operating under the commission or the mayor-

council charters. This has been partially indicated in a preceding paragraph but deserves some elaboration. Springfield and Providence were the only cities in which public discontent with the rather complicated and unresponsive types of charters was not very manifest. In all the others there were strong groups, more or less active and more or less vocal, studying municipal government and demanding changes—almost universally to manager government. . . .

In writing the reports concerning the individual cities, [the closing paragraph concludes] an effort was made merely to state facts and to maintain strict impartiality between the various types of municipal government. The members of the staff who were engaged in the study of these twenty-four cities feel that they owe to the committee a brief statement of their composite personal opinion. This opinion, based as much on the many almost intangible and relatively unimportant points that are acquired by intuition rather than by study as on any great, outstanding advantages, is advanced in no dogmatic spirit. It is to be considered an opinion only and not as a statement of fact. The five members of the staff who visited the cities covered in the previously issued reports are unanimous in the feeling that the manager type of government as they saw it in actual operation is far superior to either of the other types studied. In making this statement the staff members have not blinded themselves to the faults of the manager cities nor have they been oblivious of the virtues of cities and administrations working under the other plans.

Simultaneously with this report the Bureau made public a "Memorandum on a Model Charter for Rochester," prepared for the City Government Plan Committee, in which non-partisan elections, proportional representation, a small council of nine or eleven, a mayor and city manager chosen by the council, a limited number of administrative departments, improved financial procedure, a personnel department, and as complete separation as possible of legislative

and administrative functions were recommended. This report and memorandum may be designated as the fourth step in the city manager movement in Rochester.

Things were beginning to look serious, and the dominant Republican organization showed some alarm. "If there is anything wrong with the way the city administration is handling the affairs of our municipality" said Mr. Hotchkiss, who had succeeded Mr. Aldridge as leader, "I would like to be shown what they are. . . . Up to the present nothing has been revealed that would show that the present method of administering the affairs of the city is wrong." Mayor Van Zandt expressed himself to the same effect and so did Comptroller Wilson. Following this mild opposition came rumors that if the Republicans opposed the plan, non-partisan aldermanic candidates favorable to the plan would be nominated in the fall campaign.

Meanwhile Clinton Wunder and the Bureau of Municipal Research endeavored to enlighten Mr. Hotchkiss on what was wrong with Rochester.

The report and memorandum of the Bureau were followed by several meetings of the Committee at which they were fully discussed. Finally, on March 27, 1925, the Committee decided by a vote of five to two to recommend the adoption of a city manager form of government.

Four questions were submitted to the Committee as follows:

1. Is the present charter of the City of Rochester adequate and satisfactory? Mr. Platt voted yes; five voted no.

2. If not, should the present charter be amended? Mr. Platt did not vote, Mr. Raines voted yes; five, no.

3. Shall a new charter be adopted rather than amend the present charter? Five voted yes; Mr. Raines voted no.

4. If a new charter is to be adopted, of what type should the new charter be? On motion of Mr. Snyder, seconded by Mr. Simms, it was resolved that it is the sense of this Committee that a new charter should be adopted of the council-manager type. Adler, Snyder, Duffy and Mrs. Abbott voted yes; Mr. Simms voted yes with reservations; Messrs. Platt and Raines voted no. Mr. McMahon was not present at this

meeting, and Mr. O'Flynn because of his short term of service on the Committee preferred not to express an opinion.

The final meeting of the City Government Plan Committee was held on April 10, 1925. At that meeting a majority report was adopted which closed with the following paragraph: "The Committee is of the opinion that a model charter of the council-manager type should be prepared in the first instance by the Bureau of Municipal Research, in consultation with experts and representative citizens, embodying the features herein discussed; and that such charter, if approved by the council and mayor, be submitted to the people of Rochester for their adoption at the election to be held in the fall of 1925." Mr. McMahan joined in the vote for the adoption of this report.

Minority reports were presented by Messrs. Platt, Simms, and Raines.

Thus we reach the fifth step in the movement, preparation of a city manager charter by the Bureau of Municipal Research and experts employed by it.

PREPARATION OF THE CHARTER

The trustees of the Bureau under the leadership and influence of Mr. Eastman cordially welcomed the invitation to its staff to prepare the charter.

Under the City Home Rule Law of the state, which was adopted by the legislature in 1924, two methods were provided for the preparation and adoption of a new charter: first, a local law might be passed by the council providing for the election of a commission to prepare the charter. In that event a referendum would have to be submitted to the people upon the question, "Shall there be a commission to draft a new city charter?" Such election was required to be held not less than ninety nor more than one hundred and twenty days after the adoption of the law. The law so passed was required to fix the number of members of the commission and to determine whether the members should be elected or appointed. If a commission was approved, the commission then had to prepare a new charter which again was required to be submitted to the people for adoption at an election held not less than sixty days after the charter had been filed

in the office of the city clerk. Second, instead of providing for a commission to prepare a charter, the council might adopt a local law amending the charter on its own initiative, and if approved by the mayor, such local law was required to be submitted to the electors at a general or special election held not less than sixty days after its adoption.

Both methods required affirmative action by the council. The first method, however, called for the preparation of a charter by a commission selected by the council and required two separate elections, one to determine whether a commission should be appointed; a second to determine whether the charter prepared by the commission and approved by the council and mayor should be adopted. While the second method also required the approval of the council and mayor, it involved only one referendum to the people. Furthermore under the second plan the law might be prepared by anybody. For these reasons the City Government Plan Committee, feeling greater confidence in the Bureau than in any commission which might be selected by the council, and believing one submission to the people rather than two would save time, effort and money, recommended the second plan and it was under this plan that the Bureau proceeded with its work.

The first step of the Bureau was to select "experts" to assist in the preparation and the following were chosen: Dr. Howard Lee McBain, professor of municipal science and administration and later dean of the graduate faculties of Columbia University, author of an important work on *The Law and Practice of Municipal Home Rule*; Dr. Augustus R. Hatton, professor of political science at Western Reserve University, author of Cleveland's City manager charter and charter consultant for the National Municipal League; Charles L. Pierce, former corporation counsel of the City of Rochester; and Isaac Adler, attorney and member of the Board of Trustees of the Bureau. An invitation was extended to the mayor to lend the services of Clarence M. Platt, who was then corporation counsel and whose aid and advice it was felt would be of great value in framing the charter, but Mr. Platt declined on the ground that such aid would be inconsistent with his duty to his client, the City of Rochester.

At the outset the Bureau and its "experts," who will be referred to hereafter as "the staff," were faced with an important problem. The City Government Plan Committee had recommended that a brand new charter be prepared rather than attempt to patch up the old charter with amendments. But under the Home Rule Amendment to the Constitution, which became effective in 1923, and the Home Rule Law passed in 1924, the power of the local authorities was limited in its scope. Thus the city could not by local legislation change any provisions relating to the maintenance, support or administration of the public school system or any provisions relating to the city courts or the collection of delinquent taxes.¹ Furthermore, the existing charter gave to the city council some special powers and privileges which it was believed would be sacrificed if the old charter was abandoned. These included some valuable privileges in connection with street transportation.

Therefore, after careful deliberation, the staff decided to proceed by way of a local law amending the existing charter, rather than to adopt a brand new instrument. Nothing could be lost by this procedure and it was believed that much would be gained. The staff was limited in the time at its disposal. It was deemed important that the new local law be ready for adoption by the people at the election November 3, 1925; in order to be submitted at that election under the law as it then stood, it had to be passed by the council and approved by the mayor at least ninety days before November 3rd, or by the fifth of August. As the council met only once a month during the summer, namely on the last Tuesday of the month, the law, in order to be adopted by the people at the election in November, had to be adopted by the council not later than June 30th, and therefore to be introduced into the council at a meeting held in May. This was unfortunate as it hastened unduly the work of the staff and especially the last finishing touches.

In the preparation of the law, the staff sought, not only to provide a city manager plan, but also to correct all the defects in the existing charter which ten years of study by

¹This law was changed by Chapter 139 of the Laws of 1938 so that action by the council is no longer necessary.

the Bureau had brought to light. The council under the existing charter was composed of twenty-four aldermen, elected one from each ward; but the wards varied in population from 2,113 in ward one to 29,635 in ward eighteen. In assessed value and area, the discrepancies were even wider. Obviously, therefore, the people of Rochester did not have equal representation in its legislative body. The officers elected by the electors of the city comprised a mayor, president of the common council, comptroller, treasurer, four assessors, five commissioners of schools, and four judges of the city court; and in each ward an alderman, supervisor and constable—making altogether a long, cumbersome, and puzzling ballot. Pavement procedure was defective; the financial provisions of the charter were unscientific and unbusiness-like; the purchasing system lacked coordination and centralization and was full of outgrown methods and red tape; and numerous other defects which called for correction occupied much of the time and attention of the staff.

The work was completed on May 15, 1925. Credit for the speed and ability with which this was accomplished belongs principally to W. Earl Weller of the Bureau staff who prepared most of the law; Clarence E. Higgins and Charles R. Dalton of the Bureau staff who prepared the provisions relating to financial procedure and public safety; and Dr. McBain whose keen analysis, sound judgment and meticulous accuracy could always be relied upon. Dr. Hatton was able to attend but few of the sessions of the staff which were held almost daily during the period of preparation.

CHARTER AMENDMENTS

The principal changes made in the local law were the following: The councilmen were reduced from twenty-four to nine. By this reduction the old wards of the city were abolished as units of representation; five of the councilmen were to be elected by the city at large and four new districts of the city were created of approximately equal population by combining wards, the new districts being designated as the northeast, east, south, and northwest. Each district was to elect one councilman. Thus each voter of the city was entitled to vote for six of the nine councilmen in place of one

out of twenty-four. The term of office of councilmen was fixed at four years in place of two, the councilmen at large to be elected simultaneously and in the alternate second year the four district councilmen. Thus it was planned to secure in the council the larger point of view of city representatives without wholly sacrificing the principle of local representation. With the concentration of attention on the office of the councilmen, who were the only local officials to be elected, aside from school commissioners and city court judges, and with the large geographical divisions represented by the councilmen, it was hoped and expected that a type of citizen would be selected superior to those who previously had represented the wards.

The new law also provided for a non-partisan system of election, no emblems being permitted on the ballot to indicate to which party a candidate belonged. Great stress was laid upon these non-partisan provisions, and it was expected they would rid the city of boss rule; the framers of the law had serious doubts, however, about their validity. The City Home Rule Law provided that a city could adopt a local law relating to the mode of selection of its officers, but that such law should not supersede any provision of an act of the legislature which "in terms and in effect applies alike to all cities." There was serious question whether the election law of the state was not such a general law of universal application to the cities of the state.² In spite of these doubts, it seemed to the staff that there was at least a fair chance that the election provisions of the local law would be held legal. To avoid the possibility that the entire law might be held void in the event that the election provisions were thrown out, a section was inserted which provided that if any part of the local law was declared invalid, such judgment should not invalidate the remainder thereof, but should be confined to the particular part or parts invalidated.

Several of the staff were eager to provide in the law that the councilmen at large should be elected by a system of proportional representation, but at that time the courts of

²*Browne vs. City of New York*, 241 N. Y. 96; *County Securities, Inc. vs. Seacord*, 278 N. Y. 34.

Michigan³ and California⁴ had declared proportional representation unconstitutional under provisions similar to those in the Constitution of the State of New York, and it seemed to a majority of the staff that in all likelihood the courts of New York would take a similar view. In any event it was believed that the local law contained so many provisions which were novel and radical that the chance of passing the law and having it successfully pass the scrutiny of the courts would be much improved if proportional representation were omitted.

Under the new law the entire legislative power of the city was vested in the council, except that through an initiative, referendum and recall, the people retained the right to introduce new ordinances, review and repeal ordinances adopted by the council and compel a councilman to stand for reelection at the end of two years; thus the veto power of the mayor under the charter was passed on to the people direct. While it was not anticipated or considered desirable that these agencies should be frequently used, it was believed that they made for a more democratic form of government and provided an efficient instrument for use whenever the council or manager attempted to abuse their power or disregard what the people considered to be in their best interest. In actual practice these powers have never been employed.⁵

The executive power under the new law was vested in the city manager, selected by the council to serve at its pleasure. The law provided that he should be selected "upon the basis of his executive and administrative qualifications without regard to his political affiliations." His duties and responsibilities were clearly defined, the most important being that he was to see that all laws and ordinances were enforced and was to appoint and remove "the heads of all departments, the members of all boards, and all subordinate officers and employees except as otherwise provided." He was directed to attend all meetings of the council and to recommend to them such measures as he deemed necessary or expedient

³Wattles *ex rel* Johnson vs. Upjohn, 211 Mich. 514 (1920).

⁴People vs. Elkus, 59 Cal. App. 396 (1922).

⁵The sections of the Charter providing for "initiative" by petition were repealed April 12, 1928.

and was permitted to take part in the discussions, but was given no right to vote. He was also directed to prepare and submit to the council the annual budget.

While the provisions relating to the council and the city manager represent the most striking changes provided for in the new law, what was described by an adverse critic as its "splendid administrative mechanism" calls for special mention. Departmental organization was greatly simplified by the creation of four departments, known as a department of finance, department of public works, department of public safety and department of law. The comptroller, auditor, city treasurer, assessor, and purchasing agent were all combined in the department of finance under the comptroller as head. He was given power to appoint, subject to the approval of the city manager, the auditor, city treasurer, assessor, and purchasing agent. Previously the comptroller, treasurer, and four assessors had been elected; under the new law but one assessor was appointed as head of the bureau of assessment. The department of public works combined the earlier department of engineering which had to do with design and construction with the earlier department of public works which was responsible for maintenance and operation, the new head being known as commissioner of public works. The department of public safety combined the earlier bureaus of fire and police, department of charities, that of parks, and playgrounds, and some smaller departments. The head was known as the commissioner of public safety and he was given power to appoint, with the approval of the city manager, a director of police, a director of charities, health officer, chief and members of the fire force, and other administrative officers. The department of law continued practically unchanged, except that the corporation counsel was appointed by the city manager, not by the mayor.

Procedure for local improvements was completely revised, a scientific assessment system was provided for, a complete annual budget was for the first time specifically prescribed, tax collection procedure was simplified and payment made easier by collections in two installments in January and July. A uniform, competitive, centralized purchasing procedure without red tape under a purchasing agent was made

mandatory whenever practicable, and city planning and civil service commissions were designated to be appointed by the city manager.

Thus a local law amending the charter was on May 15, 1925, presented to the people of Rochester for their approval, more far reaching in its effects and more drastically changing the form of our local government than any charter previously adopted for the city. This was technically speaking a "local law," amending the charter of the city; it became popularly known, however, as the "city manager charter" and will be so referred to hereafter.

ADOPTION OF THE CHARTER

While the City Government Plan Committee was still deliberating over its report, other developments were taking place of far reaching importance. In 1923 Mrs. Alice Peck Curtis, an ardent supporter of the city manager plan, after a short interval succeeded Mrs. Abbott as president of the Women's City Club. On February 16, 1925, it was announced to the club that a plan had been made possible by a group of interested citizens co-operating with the club "to employ Miss Emily Kneubuhl of Cincinnati to come to Rochester, make the club her headquarters, and conduct classes in political education, particularly emphasizing city management." Miss Kneubuhl had been recommended by Dr. Hatton and had been director of the city charter campaign in Cincinnati. She had spoken in Rochester early in February on the Cincinnati plan and had made a favorable impression. The announcement stated that Miss Kneubuhl's employment was made possible by "a group of interested citizens"; it later developed, however, that the entire expense was paid by Mr. Eastman, who by this time had become deeply interested in the movement.

Miss Kneubuhl arrived in Rochester on March 15th, full of ideas, enthusiasm and energy. Her extraordinary executive ability at once became manifest. The Women's City Club, now a large and flourishing organization, became an army of workers in the city manager cause. With her arrival the City Manager League began to take definite shape and thus came about the sixth important step in the movement.

First a joint meeting was arranged for the Men's and Women's City Clubs to take place at the Powers Hotel, March 28th. A capacity audience was present, including Mayor Van Zandt, Harlan W. Rippey, then head of the Democratic organization, later Federal District Judge and Judge of the Court of Appeals, George Eastman and a large number of other representative citizens. The meeting was described in the *Rochester Journal and Post Express* as "by far the most important move to date in the city manager campaign." The speakers were Thomas Reid, professor of political science at the University of Michigan and former city manager of San Jose, California; Peter Witt, prominent member of the city council of Cleveland, and Miss Kneubuhl. The meeting was given prominent headlines and columns of space in the daily press and the movement gained headway.

It was followed a week later by a dinner meeting at the Powers Hotel, presided over by Louis S. Foulkes, at which the principal address was made by Professor Hatton. At this meeting the City Manager League was formally organized with Louis S. Foulkes as chairman, Helen Probst Abbott and James E. Gleason first and second vice chairmen, Mrs. Walter S. Meyers secretary, and Clarence Wheeler treasurer. Miss Kneubuhl was made director and George Dietrich general chairman of the Charter Campaign Committee, which committee included also Joseph E. Silverstein and Milton E. Gibbs. Democrats, Republicans, Independents, Socialists, and Labor were all represented on the executive committee. Among the prominent sponsors of this meeting were James G. Cutler and George A. Carnahan, former mayors, Harvey F. Remington, former City Court Judge, Simon N. Stein, F. Harper Sibley, Milton E. Gibbs, Meyer Jacobstein, James S. Havens, Dr. Rush Rhees, president of the University, Dr. Clarence A. Barbour, president of the Rochester Theological Seminary, Julius Hoesterey, Jr., Mrs. William C. Gannett, and a host of others. This imposing list was further evidence of the organizing skill of Miss Kneubuhl.

Important communications began to appear in the daily press. On the very day of the meeting, George Eastman was quoted in the *Times Union* as follows:

With my experience in industrial management and the opportunity I have had to compare its results with the management of city business under the present system, of course I am for it. I do not see how I could be otherwise. I have been watching the development of the city manager plan for the last seven or eight years. I was attracted to it from the first because the system employed is the one almost universally used in the management of business.

For some years I watched it thinking that some hidden defect might develop, when the plan was applied to city government. No such defect has manifested itself and in time it has spread from a few, all small cities, to several hundred, some much larger than Rochester. I feel that the time has come when the most conservative persons can approve it with safety.

I do not think anyone should look on the plan as a panacea, but as a plan, that undoubtedly can be used as an instrument to obtain better results than are possible to obtain under the old plan.

I am satisfied it will enable the city to get better service in every direction. The time was, 10 years ago, when we probably had the best government in the country. In other words, Rochester was first. It now stands about 200th on the list. I don't mean that Rochester has gone backward, but about 200 cities have gone ahead of us. Why not bring it up to the front again?

The Republican and Democratic organizations, however, were not yet ready to act. James L. Hotchkiss, chairman of the Republican County Committee, was in favor of submitting to the voters the question whether or not there should be a new charter, but was opposed to the presentation of a charter in the first instance. Mayor Van Zandt and the Democratic County Committee refused to commit themselves. On June 16 the local law prepared by the Bureau and its consultants was released for publication and on June 23 it was introduced into the council and referred to its law and charter amendments committees. No one knew what action the council would take. Thus the fight was on.

Then began perhaps the most intensive campaign ever conducted in the city of Rochester. It was launched at a dinner meeting of the City Manager League held July 20th at which some 250 persons were present. The principal speaker was Mr. Eastman who, after disavowing any personal or selfish interest in the campaign, said:⁶ "The only opposition to the plan is purely political. Formerly we had a political Republican leader who was not afraid of progress. . . . We now have a political leader who appears to be afraid of progress. He seeks the advice of the group of politicians that I have referred to. They are concerned chiefly with their own selfish political interests rather than the true interests of the city in which they live. I fully believe that the result of your efforts in this campaign will be effective in showing our present leader that the coming of the model charter is inevitable and that he should now listen to the expressed wishes of the people." With this clarion call the "Right to Vote Campaign" opened.

In every ward and district committees were organized and meetings were held. The Bureau of Municipal Research prepared telling pamphlets, setting forth the defects of the existing charter and the advantages of the new, and a campaign textbook for speakers, which proved to be a veritable training school, both for the speakers themselves and the audiences they addressed. An excellent series of articles appeared in the daily papers. Enthusiasm and excitement rose to fever heat; a door to door campaign was planned to obtain signatures to a petition asking for the right to vote on the charter, which in effect meant asking the council to pass the local law.

The first to yield to this overwhelming drive was Alderman Nelson A. Milne of the Tenth Ward, who, on July 22nd, announced himself in favor of having the charter amendments passed by the council so that they could be submitted to the people at the November election. He was supported by his ward leader, Charles E. Bostwick; and on July 27th Mr. Hotchkiss announced that the council would adopt the amendments at its meeting the following night. On July 28th the amendments were adopted and in due time they were

⁶*Rochester Democrat & Chronicle*, July 21, 1925.

approved by Mayor Van Zandt, thereby completing the seventh step in the movement.

Thus the Republican organization sought to take the wind out of the sails of the city manager campaign for a "Right to Vote;" but encouraged by this action and eager and ready for the fight, the City Manager League promptly changed its tactics. The petition for a "Right to Vote" was changed to a pledge to support "any legitimate action necessary to secure for Rochester the City Manager Charter adopted by the common council on July 28, 1925." The campaign for signatures opened on August 6th at a dinner meeting at Convention Hall, attended by more than 1,000 ward and district workers and several hundred others. The campaign set out to secure originally 45,000, then 60,000 signers to the pledge. George Dietrich, chairman of the campaign committee, presided; stirring speeches were made by Louis S. Foulkes, chairman of the League, Congressman Meyer Jacobstein, and William R. Hopkins, city manager of Cleveland. The campaign lasted ten days from August 7th to August 17th; daily meetings were held at Convention Hall. Enthusiasm rose to the highest pitch; and by the end of the campaign 69,356 voters had signed the pledge.

Meantime what looked for a while like a knock-out blow had fallen on July 6th, when the Appellate Division of the First Department in a unanimous decision held that the Home Rule Amendment to the Constitution, which was the basic foundation of the local law amending the charter, was invalid.⁷ But nothing could daunt the enthusiastic optimism of the City Manager League and the campaign went merrily on, much encouraged by the prediction of Dr. McBain that the decision would be reversed by the highest court. A few of the less sanguine supporters, however, were seriously disturbed by the decision and correspondingly relieved when the Court of Appeals reversed the Appellate Division on this point on October 6th and declared the Home Rule Amendment valid.⁸

⁷Browne vs. City of New York, 125 Misc. 1, 210 N. Y. Supp. 786 (May 11, 1925); reversed by App. Div. July 6, 1925, 213 App. Div. 206; 211 N. Y. Supp. 306.

⁸241 N. Y. 96.

Everything was now set for an election campaign to induce the voters to adopt the Charter on November 3rd. During the registration days as well as on election day, the telephone and auto volunteer squads were kept busy getting the voters to the polls. The intensity and excitement of the summer campaign were renewed. Both candidates for mayor, Mayor Van Zandt on the Republican ticket and Leroy E. Snyder on the Democratic, declared themselves for the plan. Mr. Snyder had from the beginning been an enthusiastic supporter and the Mayor had slowly fallen into line. But considerable opposition developed. An organization under the specious title of "The Non-Partisan League for the Preservation of Popular Government" was created by the anti-manager forces under the leadership of Harry J. Barcham and Eugene J. Dwyer, and a vigorous fight ensued. But the City Manager League had made such headway that its progress could no longer be stopped. 104,377 voters registered, by far the largest number in any municipal contest in Rochester. 1,200 workers of the City Manager League combed every ward and election district and repeated the house to house campaign. The result on November 3rd was a decisive victory for the City Manager forces, 38,573 voting for the new charter, 27,008 against. Thus was completed the last step in the movement for a city manager charter for Rochester, and the voters were eager to give the experiment a fair trial.

To review briefly these successive steps, we have noted: first, the action of the Women's City Club in July, 1922, endorsing a city manager form of government for Rochester and authorizing the formation of a committee to co-operate with other organizations to that end; second, formation of the City Government Plan Committee in March, 1923; third, employment of the Bureau of Municipal Research to make a study of the government of various cities with particular reference to the needs of Rochester; fourth, the report and memorandum of the Bureau, recommending a city manager plan for Rochester with suggestions for a model charter; fifth, preparation of a city manager charter by the Bureau and its assistants; sixth, organization and campaign of the City Manager League; seventh, adoption of the Charter by the common council and its approval by the

mayor; and finally its adoption by the people of Rochester in November, 1925.

LITIGATION OVER THE CHARTER

Hardly had the Charter been adopted when its foes announced their intention to contest its constitutionality. This move was warmly welcomed by the advocates of the Charter. As has already been stated, the lawyers who had part in its preparation felt some doubt about the legality of the provisions for a non-partisan ballot and contemplated a friendly suit to test the validity of these provisions. It was with some relief, therefore, that they learned that Harry J. Bareham, formerly commissioner of public safety under the Republican administration and later to succeed James L. Hotchkiss as Republican county leader, would bring an action against the City. He attacked, however, not only the election provisions, but practically the entire Charter, both in its details and as a whole.

The action was brought in February, 1926, through Eugene J. Dwyer as attorney. The City Manager League voted to defend the charter and selected Howard Lee McBain and Isaac Adler as its counsel; the City of Rochester defended through Clarence M. Platt, corporation counsel, and also retained Howard Lee McBain as consultant.

The case was tried at a Special Term of the Supreme Court before Justice Robert F. Thompson, who decided on February 3, 1927 that the law as a whole was valid, but that the election provisions were invalid because the legislature had the exclusive right under the Constitution to pass an election law.⁹ The Appellate Division on appeal reversed the lower court and held that the election provisions were constitutional and in accord with the election law and the City Home Rule Law.¹⁰ The Appellate Division confined its decision, however, to those parts of the law which had become effective and thus moderated to some extent the joy of the city manager advocates. But the decision of the Court of Appeals, rendered July 20, 1927, straightened out everything. In an opinion, written by Judge O'Brien, it was held that a

⁹128 Misc. Rep. 642; 220 N. Y. Supp. 66.

¹⁰221 App. Div. 36; 222 N. Y. Supp. 141.

city had the right under the Home Rule Law to pass a local law providing for the election of councilmen, but that in doing so it must comply with the provisions of Section 12, subdivision 1, of the City Home Rule Law which, it was held, required a local law to specify the provisions of the act of the legislature which are superseded and that such specifications must be by reference to chapter number, year of enactment, title of statute, section or subdivision which it was intended to supersede.¹¹

The City Home Rule Law provided that any local law adopted pursuant to the statute "may" specify any provision of an act of the legislature by reference to chapter number, etc. The Court of Appeals interpreted the word "may" to mean "must." It is interesting to note that in 1928 the legislature amended Section 12 of the City Home Rule so as to provide that the failure of a local law to specify the chapter number, etc., of the superseded law should not affect the validity of such local law. The decision was a surprise to both sides as this particular point had not been raised by the contestants or discussed before the court.

While it seemed to the advocates of the Charter a needlessly technical decision and was a disappointment in that it threw out temporarily the non-partisan provisions of the charter and necessitated a first election of councilmen under party standards, nevertheless great satisfaction was taken in the fact that the charter as a whole was sustained and that the right to enact a local law, providing for a non-partisan method of electing councilmen, was established. The defects pointed out by the Court could easily be corrected by a friendly council. Thus the advocates of the Charter looked forward eagerly to the election of the first council.

THE FIRST ELECTION UNDER THE CITY MANAGER CHARTER

The Charter was adopted in November, 1925. As the Constitution provided, however, that the terms of office of city officials must terminate in odd numbered years, the officials elected in 1925, when the Charter was adopted, necessarily held office until December 31, 1927. The first

¹¹246 N. Y. 140.

election under the new charter therefore took place in 1927, or two years after the adoption of the Charter.

This delay proved to be unfortunate for the City Manager League. After the great victory in 1925, there was no specific work for it to do during the next two years; Miss Kneubuhl left Rochester, interest waned, and when the election of 1927 approached, the City Manager League was without funds, its organization outside of the executive committee itself had collapsed, it lacked political experience except in the one great campaign for the Charter, and therefore decided that it was in no position to conduct a successful campaign for the election of independent councilmen.

Meantime another important development has taken place. A schism arose in the Republican organization in 1925. Mr. Hotchkiss refused to designate Mayor Van Zandt, Comptroller Wilson, and District Attorney Love for re-election at the Republican primary, but chose instead Judge William C. Kohlmetz for mayor, H. Bradley Carroll for Comptroller, and Ray F. Fowler for district attorney. The result was a bitter primary fight in which the Mayor was joined by Comptroller Wilson, Republican leader of the second largest ward in the city, the nineteenth, District Attorney William F. Love, later Justice of the Supreme Court, and Charles E. (Clip) Bostwick, Republican leader of the third largest ward, the tenth. These insurgents aided by Leo A. MacSweeney, a practical and influential politician and hard fighter, Mortimer R. Miller, a skillful campaigner, and T. Carl Nixon, a prominent attorney, set out to defeat the regular Republican organization under Hotchkiss. They gained a complete victory at the primary and followed it by the re-election of Mayor Van Zandt in 1925.

The intense bitterness which this campaign developed was still keenly felt in 1927. Mr. Eastman, who was the guiding influence and most generous supporter of the city manager advocates, thought it expedient to unite with these practical politicians who formed the insurgent Republican forces and thus at one blow unseat the Republican leader, Mr. Hotchkiss, and elect a council favorable to the city manager plan.

At the time this looked like a shrewd, perhaps a necessary political move. The City Manager League had become a

mere shell so far as its organization was concerned; it had, as has been stated, an executive committee, but no district or ward leaders and no funds. Unless in some way resuscitated, it was in no position to take on a political campaign.

Mr. Eastman was a realist. He had become interested in the city manager movement, not because he thought it was an ideal form of city government, but because he saw himself balked in every effort to improve the administration of the city by political forces which were based upon personal favoritism and private ambition rather than upon public efficiency and the common weal.

In the corporate organization of the Eastman Kodak Company he saw a plan of efficient control which he believed was applicable to the city. Now the all important hour had arrived for electing the board of directors known as the council, and he did not propose to let the control of this body pass to the organization which had from the outset opposed the plan, and would as he believed direct it to political purposes if such control was obtained.

But to elect the councilmen at a popular election required, as he thought, practical politicians, particularly in view of the Court of Appeals decision which had swept away the non-partisan provisions of the Charter and restored the party primary, and it was with great eagerness, therefore, and high hopes that he joined forces with the insurgent Republicans.

This move of Mr. Eastman was bitterly opposed at the time by many idealists of the city manager movement and in the light of history must be regarded as a serious blunder, perhaps a fatal mistake. Mr. Eastman was using the political acumen of these Republican insurgents to elect a council favorable to the city manager plan; the insurgents were using the strength of the city manager group and the city manager idea and the influence and support of Mr. Eastman to gain control of the Republican organization. Both attained their immediate objective, but in the long run the ultimate objective of the city manager group was sacrificed.

The insurgent group became known as the Citizens Republican Committee. A series of conferences took place between the executive committee of the City Manager League, now under the chairmanship of George Dietrich,

and the Citizens Republican Committee, composed principally of Messrs. Miller, MacSweeney, Wilson, Bostwick, and Nixon. Messrs. Eastman, Foulkes, Adler, and Dr. Burkhardt, who were closely allied with both groups, acted as arbitrators. After many names had been bandied to and fro, it was agreed that the City Manager League should endorse eighteen candidates for the Council and the Citizens Republican Committee agreed to select its candidates from this list.

Eighteen persons were accordingly named, including three or four who were suggested and practically insisted upon by the Citizens Republican Committee. The City Manager League, unaware of its real strength, yielded to this insistence, with the result that the ticket endorsed by the City Manager League and chosen by the Citizens Republican Committee included Messrs. Guzzetta and Milne, whose adherence to the city manager principles proved to be short lived. The candidates finally chosen by the Citizens Republican Committee for the first council were Wilson, Adler, Flynn, Goodwin, and Guzzetta as councilmen at large, Foulkes, Milne, and Peake for the east, northwest, and south districts respectively. No candidate was selected for the northeast district and William F. Durnan was designated as its candidate by the regular Republican organization. Not one of the candidates designated by the regular Republican organization was chosen from the list endorsed by the League.

Owing to the Court of Appeals decision the nominations had to be made at party primaries. An exciting primary campaign ensued between the forces of the regular and the insurgent Republican groups. During this campaign a slogan was adopted which proved to be highly effective. James L. Hotchkiss, the Republican boss, was a candidate for the office of County Clerk which he had held for many years. The Citizens Republican Committee designated John H. Law as their candidate. The intense, even bitter feeling which had arisen against Hotchkiss, developed the slogan "Beat Hotchkiss" which took strong hold on the citizens of Rochester and resulted not only in the defeat of Mr. Hotchkiss,⁶ but in greatly aiding the councilmanic candidates on

the Citizens Republican ticket. Another slogan which proved highly advantageous to the Citizens Republican group was "Give the Charter a Chance" as the Republican organization leaders had been known to be hostile to the charter.

George B. Snell acted as campaign manager for the League, but during the primary campaign the League took no active part. The burden of the campaign rested on Leo A. MacSweeney, campaign manager of the Citizens Republican Committee, ably assisted by Mortimer R. Miller, chairman of the Committee, T. Carl Nixon, Stephen B. Story and others. The opposition to the insurgent group sought to arouse prejudice against the movement by picturing George Eastman as ambitious to get control of the city administration and undoubtedly this influenced many votes. Nevertheless the Citizens Republican Committee won a decisive victory over the regular Republican organization at the primary. All its candidates for the Council were nominated, and Law defeated Hotchkiss by nearly 50,000 votes, said to be the largest majority ever given a candidate for county office in Monroe County.

The result of the primaries was that nearly all of the successful councilmanic candidates of the two major parties had received the endorsement of the League. In the campaign that followed, the League contented itself with advising voters to elect representatives of both parties to the council in an effort to make the council non-partisan. The regular Republican organization and the insurgents became reunited under the leadership of Harry J. Bareham and vigorously supported the candidates who now represented the Republican party. The result was an overwhelming victory at the polls for the entire Republican group.

THE CITY MANAGER GOVERNMENT IN OPERATION

The new councilmen took office January 1, 1928. Their first and most important duty was to select a city manager. Numerous conferences were held prior to January first and many candidates were considered, but the outstanding qualifications of Stephen B. Story, director of the Bureau of Municipal Research, and the prominent part he had had in the development of the city manager movement, the pre-

paration of the charter, and primary and election campaigns, pointed unmistakably to him as the unanimous choice of the councilmen for city manager. His salary was fixed at \$20,000.

The council organized by the election of Joseph C. Wilson, who had received the largest number of votes for councilman, as mayor, and Isaac Adler, who had received the second largest vote, as vice-mayor. It was decided to meet once a week in place of twice a month. The council was divided at its first meeting into nine committees of three members each for detailed study of all matters which came before it; each member became a chairman of one committee and a member of two others.

It became at once apparent, by way of contrast to previous councils, that the new council was a deliberative body, with differences of opinion freely expressed by the members, and that the public took an active interest in its deliberations. The proceedings of the council became front page news and public attendance at its meetings grew at times to large proportions.

During the campaign all of the eight successful candidates who had been endorsed by the City Manager League had signed a pledge that if elected they would do all in their power to restore to the charter the provisions of the non-partisan election law. One of the first questions taken up by the council therefore was the re-enactment of these provisions and the corporation counsel was on January 9, 1928, directed to prepare a local law to that end. The law was introduced on February 20th and came before the council for adoption on February 27 and 28, 1928. The council chamber was packed to capacity. Following the plan introduced at the first meeting of the council, the discussion was thrown open to the floor.

The Republican organization, now under the leadership of Harry J. Bareham, bitterly opposed the new law. After the election and after the split within the ranks of the organization was healed, Messrs. Milne and Guzzetta became important members of the organization and were thus joined with Mr. Durnan in opposition to the city manager forces in the council. When the vote was taken after an exciting discussion, there were six in favor of the non-partisan pro-

visions, two, Messrs. Milne and Durnan opposed, and one, Dr. Guzzetta, declined to vote. Thus two months after the new council came into office, a non-partisan election law went into effect.

February 14th the city manager presented his budget estimate for all departments other than the Board of Education which prepared a separate budget. The city manager's budget showed a financial operating plan for the entire year and was the first complete budget since 1919. Including the estimate of the Board of Education, it called for an expenditure of something over \$24,900,000. This was about \$2,200,000 in excess of the appropriations for 1927 and came as something of a shock to the public which had been led to expect economy and reduction in expenditure, not an increase by the new government. Ample explanations were offered, but they made little impression. The budget, substantially as presented by the city manager, was adopted by the council, except that \$300,000 was cut from the Board of Education estimate for capital expenditures.

The salary of the city manager which as compared with that of the previous mayor represented an increase of \$12,500, the additional salary of the new mayor which was fixed at \$4,500, the salary of the commissioner of public works which was raised from \$8,000 to \$12,000 and those of the other heads of departments which were all increased to \$10,000, also gave an impression of extravagance and dealt a serious blow to the popularity of the new government, which was not overcome even when it developed, as it did at the end of the year, that through various economies and unexpected revenues, current expense borrowing was reduced during 1928 by over \$900,000.

As Mayor Wilson was not accustomed to public speaking and there were frequent calls for addresses to various civic clubs and on many public and semi-public occasions, the city manager was frequently called upon and readily responded. At first this seemed a popular move, but soon people began to ask whether he was a business head or a talking head of the government, and the reaction became unfavorable. Another unfortunate circumstance arose when the city manager in a public speech sharply criticized, at least by

inference, the administration of the previous commissioner of public safety, Mr. Bareham. The commissioner was charged with having purchased a large amount of unnecessary material which had been allowed to rot and was thrown away as useless. The charges were indignantly denied; whether justified or not, the public was not convinced of their justification, and the charge proved to be a boomerang.

Few changes were made in personnel. Mr. Baker continued as head of the department of public works and Mr. Platt as corporation counsel; when Mr. Wilson resigned as comptroller to become a member of the council and mayor, he was succeeded by Clarence E. Higgins, deputy comptroller and former member of the Bureau staff; George J. Nier, an able lawyer who had won distinction as assistant district attorney, became commissioner of public safety. The new department heads made few changes in their staffs and employees and the test of efficiency was rigidly observed. No Republican office holders were removed by reason of their political affiliations. While the policy of adherence to the principles of good government was warmly praised by the leaders of the city manager movement, it had two ill effects: many of the rank and file, particularly among the insurgents, who had supported the new movement, were disappointed in their expectation of jobs; the Republican organization on the other hand was considerably strengthened and encouraged by the retention in office of its adherents.

One of the appointees of the new administration was Charles R. Raitt as Director of Parks. Mr. Raitt was a man of outstanding ability and reputation but had the misfortune to reside in Los Angeles and not in Rochester at the time of his appointment. The result was sharp criticism of the administration for selecting an outside man. Then, most unfortunately, a boy was drowned at the lake and the blame was unjustly laid at the door of Mr. Raitt. Prolonged hearings took place before the City Manager and there was great delay in exculpating the innocent commissioner. This delay and the unfounded charge aroused a storm of protests against the administration on the part of its friends and the hostility

of its opponents was by no means allayed, even when, shortly thereafter, Mr. Raitt, broken hearted, was dismissed from office.

The Central Trades and Labor Council, which had supported the City Manager League and was represented on its executive committee, took offense soon after the new government came in at the employment of "experts" from out of the city, charged the administration with extravagance, and complained that the prevailing rate of wages was not adhered to in connection with some municipal work.

Much was accomplished during the Story administration. Virtually all roads leading into the city were widened and improved. The Bausch Bridge and Veterans' Memorial Bridge were constructed, the latter a monumental work, and the approaches made much more imposing and spacious; a new bath house was built at Ontario Beach Park and a beautiful beach laid out; a new zoo was erected at Seneca Park; the river at the mouth of the Genesee was dredged and a custom house built; a police radio station and fire prevention bureau were installed; a city plan prepared by Bartholomew and Associates was adopted; an airport was completed; two branch library buildings were built; an unemployment relief program was put into effect which gave employment to nearly 8,000 persons in 1931; an efficient purchasing department was installed; and a newly provided municipal storehouse effected large savings. All these improvements were made without any marked increase in the tax rate.

And yet there were disappointments in the new administration. It lacked a definite financial program. The city plan was not provided for until the second year, and little was done except to adopt it after it was completed, although the city paid \$50,000 for it. Nothing was done in the way of standardizing the positions and salaries of city employees. While the city manager was most affable and courteous in his personal relations, there was a slowness of tempo in getting things done and the new government failed to capture the imagination or win the approval of the mass of the people.

The council was a source of unfailing popular interest which was intensified by a sharp conflict which soon developed between the six city manager advocates and the

three Republicans. The latter now began to co-operate in the most intimate manner with the Republican organization.

THE SECOND ELECTION

At the election which occurred two years after the first council was chosen, an exciting contest took place. The City Manager League designated as its candidates Messrs. Wilson, Adler, Goodwin, Flynn, and Stanton; the Republican organization designated Messrs. Wilson, Guzzetta, Hamilton, Whitbeck, and Hogan. The Democrats named among others Mr. Stanton. At the non-partisan primary all the candidates of the Republican organization and of the City Manager League were nominated and thus became candidates for election. In spite of the so-called non-partisan provisions of the Charter which prevented any emblem on the ballot to indicate to which party a candidate belonged or by whom he was nominated, neither side had any difficulty in making clear to the voters who its candidates were and a sharp partisan battle followed. The City Manager campaign was conducted by Col. Thomas H. Remington as campaign manager; the Republican campaign by Harry J. Bareham. The administration of City Manager Story and his continuance as city manager were the issues of the campaign. All the nominees of the City Manager League except Mr. Stanton were councilmen-at-large who had been supported by the League at the previous election; Dr. Joseph L. Guzzetta, the fifth councilman-at-large, was on the Republican ticket, Mr. Wilson was on both.

Over 70,000 votes were cast. Mr. Wilson naturally received the largest number, about 44,000; Mr. Hamilton received over 40,000; Dr. Guzzetta nearly 38,000; Mr. Stanton 36,646; and Mr. Adler 36,579; next came Mr. Goodwin who received the highest vote of the defeated candidates, 36,462; thus the difference between election and defeat was only 117 votes. As a result of this election, the council stood five in favor of the City Manager party, including in this group the sole Democrat, Mr. Stanton, against four organization Republicans.

In March, 1930, Mr. Wilson died, thus creating a deadlock in the council which lasted until November, 1931.

Neither group would accept as councilman any candidate named by the other, although such men as F. Harper Sibley, later president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and Percival D. Oviatt, who subsequently became mayor, were nominated by the respective sides. The suggestion of the Republican group that a ninth councilman be elected at the regular election in 1930 was turned down by the city manager group. The council therefore merely marked time until on November 10, 1931, Charles S. Owen, Republican candidate, was elected to fill the vacancy created by Mr. Wilson's death. He was immediately made a member of the council by unanimous vote of the councilmen. At this election three Republican district councilmen were elected, so that the council became a Republican body by a vote of six to three.

The new council promptly abolished the non-partisan system of voting and established a strongly partisan government; but financial difficulties compelled a reorganization the following year and at the election in 1933 the Republican councilmen-at-large were defeated by the Democratic candidates. Meantime the city manager group had completely dissolved and the organized city manager movement came to an inglorious end.

REASONS FOR COLLAPSE

The question is often asked, why did this movement collapse in Rochester while at the same time it has met with such striking success in Cincinnati? Perhaps the following reasons will explain: In the first place, the government of Cincinnati, under the Hynicka regime preceding the city manager movement, had been so glaringly bad that the citizens felt a great relief when that regime ended. No such condition preceded the movement in Rochester. Even when the city government was completely controlled by the Republican organization, unusually able men were frequently selected as mayors, the city affairs were usually conducted with honesty and skill, and the citizens of Rochester were on the whole reasonably contented with what they had. Secondly, after the adoption of its charter, Cincinnati had the extraordinary good fortune to select Col. Clarence O.

Sherrill as city manager and Murray Seasongood as mayor, two rare men and a combination unmatched in American municipalities. The example set in the beginning has been almost uniformly followed since, with the result that the city manager movement in Cincinnati or as they prefer to call it, the Council-Manager plan, gained a popular support which has not been equaled elsewhere.

In the third place, the Charter Committee in Cincinnati has been "on the job" at all times, a result due it is believed in no small measure to the fact that it has constantly had a paid secretary. Without someone in that capacity to keep the supporters of good government in touch with what is going on and to keep the ward and district organizations active and interested, reform movements such as this quickly lose their public appeal and support. Fourthly, attention has been called to the mistake made in uniting the city manager forces with the insurgent Republican group. The charter group in Cincinnati has kept itself free from such alliances. Finally, Cincinnati has retained its non-partisan method of electing councilmen combined with proportional representation. To many this will doubtless seem of the utmost importance in the history of the movement in the two cities. It is believed that these causes adequately account for success in the one case and seeming failure in the other.

APPRAISAL OF THE CITY MANAGER MOVEMENT

And yet, it would be a mistake to regard the movement in Rochester as a failure. While many amendments have been made to the charter, both by its friends and by those not in sympathy with it, it still stands substantially unchanged, except as to the non-partisan provisions which have already been discussed, and the recent organization of a commerce department which bids fair to prove of real value.

The charter has been in operation for ten years and an appraisal of its results is now possible. In some respects these results are keenly disappointing. The power of the political bosses remains untouched; appointment to office from political considerations rather than fitness for service has not been eliminated; except for the building of a central library

on the river site, no progress has been made with a civic center or the city plan; a scientific assessment system has not been installed; positions and salaries of city employees have not been standardized.

On the other hand there has been some manifest improvement. The concentration of all executive power in the hands of the city manager has been of great advantage in unifying the work of the departments and eliminating friction. Thus far Rochester has been very fortunate in the personnel of its city managers and undoubtedly, as Dr. William Bennett Munro points out, the biggest factor in the success or failure of the plan is the city manager itself. Mr. Story continued as city manager for the first four years; he was succeeded by C. Arthur Poole who served during a brief and difficult period of extremely partisan Republican government and was replaced in May, 1933, by Theodore C. Briggs who proved a capable, efficient administrator. When in November, 1933 the Democrats carried the city on top of the Roosevelt wave, Harold W. Baker was recalled from Washington. He took office January 1, 1934 and is now (April, 1939) in his sixth year as city manager. His previous experience as a member of the staff of the Bureau of Municipal Research and for eight years as commissioner of public works of the city admirably qualified him for the position. He has won the confidence of the people to such an extent that he was retained even when the Republican organization carried the council in 1937.

The council has been something of a disappointment so far as non-partisanship is concerned. The initial mistake in the selection of candidates for the first council has already been pointed out. Ever since the deadlock was broken by the election in 1931, the council has been strongly partisan, Republican for two years, then Democratic for four years, and now again Republican.

The caliber of the men elected to the council has not met the expectations of the city manager advocates. They have been selected by the party leaders, in some instances without much regard to the large and important constituencies they represent; and yet they have been decidedly superior on the whole to the councilmen chosen before 1927.

While the interest of the public has waned, it is still active and far more so than in the olden days. The council is still a deliberative body, responsive to public opinion, and not a mere rubber stamp; the election in alternate years of a portion of the members has resulted thus far in keeping the council divided, so that at least two parties have at all times been represented; and it is interesting to note that among the Democratic candidates chosen in 1933 were two of the original executive committee of the City Manager League, Julius Hoesterey, Jr., and Joseph B. Silverstein, as well as Mayor Stanton who was originally elected a member of the council because of his endorsement by the City Manager League. Of these three, Mr. Silverstein alone now remains a member of the council.

One of the weaknesses of the plan is the power of the council to dismiss the city manager at will. The result is that he cannot help being influenced to some extent in his selection of department heads and employees by the wishes of the dominant political boss. Many changes in personnel have accordingly been made with nearly every change in administration. But no one has been able thus far to find an escape from this difficulty. To remove from the council the power to dismiss the manager would be destructive of the plan. It might be helpful if the manager were given a contract for a definite term.

Another danger lies in the tendency to make the city manager the main issue of the election. That was true at the elections of 1929 and 1931 when the Story administration came in for sharp criticism, and was to some extent true in 1937 when the Baker administration became an important, though not the main issue. Here again, however, it is difficult to find a remedy as the city manager is the choice of the council and naturally becomes the target of all attacks.

On the administrative side marked improvement has taken place. The government has been simplified and definite responsibility fixed. Modern and improved methods of operation have been introduced in every department, resulting in a high degree of efficiency. The Department of Finance in particular has functioned effectively, and a centralized purchasing bureau has undoubtedly saved the city many

thousands of dollars. This is not reflected, however, either in the bonded indebtedness or in the tax rate. The net bond and note debt of the city on December 31, 1927 was roughly \$55,500,000 and its tax rate for that year \$27.63; on March 1, 1938, the net bond and note debt was about one million dollars more and the tax rate for 1938 is only twenty-nine cents less than for 1927. Current expense deficiency borrowing for 1938, which represents the difference between actual expense and the amount provided for in the budget, was \$2,965,000 as compared with \$2,918,000 in 1927 and is estimated at \$3,215,900 for 1939.

However, as the Bureau of Municipal Research pointed out in the July, 1938 issue of "Municipal Research," the upward movement in city expense has been checked far more than would appear from the above figures:

The total expense of city government, says the Bureau, exclusive of schools and welfare increased from \$3,834,862.66 in 1917 to \$10,259,467.06 in 1927. The average annual increase during the last ten years of mayor-council government was therefore \$642,460.44. Since 1927 the total expense has increased to \$10,775,977.69 in 1937. The average annual increase during the first ten years of council-manager government, therefore, was \$51,651.06. Since this is less than one-twelfth of the average increase under the mayor, it really seems that there is ground for the statement that the manager plan has checked the increasing cost of government in Rochester. On the basis of per capita costs the difference is even more marked. In 1917 the per capita cost of city government exclusive of schools and welfare was \$14.21. By 1927 this had increased to \$31.89, an increase of about 125 per cent. In 1937 the cost was \$31.68 per capita, actually a slight reduction.

Furthermore, serious students recognize as the public rarely does that bonded indebtedness and current tax rate are no adequate criteria of good government; the real test of financial efficiency is not the amount expended, which necessarily varies with the varying requirements from year to year, but the value received for each dollar expended. It

is a safe assertion that there has been improvement in this respect due to improved methods provided in the city manager charter. In general it may be said that while the city manager plan is far from perfect, it is, as Dr. A. Lawrence Lowell has stated, "the best that has yet been proposed for American cities" and on the whole has worked well and given satisfaction to the people of Rochester.

Rochester Since 1915

By LEROY E. SNYDER



EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Leroy Snyder first delivered the following paper before the Rochester City Club on March 27, 1937. It was repeated that fall before The Rochester Historical Society and before other interested groups in this city. It will be well to bear in mind that two years have elapsed since the preparation of the paper and that the statistics given are for the conditions of 1937 rather than for 1939.

A GOOD many things have happened in Rochester since I came here in 1915. A child born that year voted for the first time last November [1936]. A new generation has come on the civic scene in the two score years that have elapsed. What kind of city was this generation born into? What kind of city does it face now? Is it a city to inspire or frustrate the hopes and ideals of eager young men and women? Perhaps you see what I have had the temerity to attempt under this topic of "Since 1915." It is an experiment in appraisal, and especially in self-appraisal, to the extent we ourselves have been and are participants in the events to which we turn our attention.

Perhaps you have the notion that for a generation Rochester has jogged along in the same old way, nothing much happening, people being born and dying just as always before, because that is the way of life. But folks in Rochester are not even being born or dying in just the same old ways. In 1915, of 100 children born in Rochester, 75 or more came through the labor of childbirth in the homes of their parents; 25 or less in hospitals. And the estimate of hospital deliveries in that year is said to be liberal. In 1936, the figures are more than reversed, for last year 85 per cent of Rochester births were in hospitals; 15 per cent in homes. As for our dying in Rochester, in 1915 the average duration of life was 43.9 years; in 1935, 56.9 years. In this generation of which we are talking, the average life has been prolonged by 13 years.

Perhaps you felt that Rochester has plodded steadily along an uneventful way, because you believed—as so many do—that Rochester is essentially conservative. It may be you

felt here the kind of conservatism which holds the earnest conviction that things—although, on the whole, they might be a little better—had best be left alone; since perfection is not to be expected in this life, and change would almost certainly be for the worse. That is the conservatism of age, for age hallows experience; exalts the established, the accustomed; fears change. But youth suspects the value of experience, instinctively challenges custom, welcomes change. And youth does have its way, now and then, even in Rochester.

So here we stand to consider Rochester, the Rochester of 1915 as compared with the Rochester of 1937.

* * * *

First, the city in its purely physical aspects. In 1915 Rochester had an area of 24.8 square miles. When Mrs. Snyder and I came to the city in July of 1915, Charlotte was still a separate village. Rochester was not on Lake Ontario. The next year Charlotte was annexed, and its port became the Port of Rochester. But Kodak Park was still outside the city, with all that large area in the towns of Gates and Greece which was annexed in 1919. The older among you will remember the widespread resentment because Kodak Park was not in the city, and its taxable values unavailable to swell city revenues. That 1919 annexation was the last large addition to the area of corporate Rochester. Today its area is 34.7 square miles. In 1915, 24.8 square miles; in 1937, 34.7. It is 39.9 per cent larger in area.

But that tells only part of the story. We face a situation, in many respects detrimental to our political, civic, and community welfare: nearly one-fifth the population of the *real* city of Rochester lives outside the limits of the *corporate* city. The city outside the city has grown 76 per cent in population, during our period, largely as the result of Rochesterians fleeing to the periphery from evils that they suffered to taxes that they knew not of. In the early days of this migration, the emigrants thumbed their noses at the city. Today, I suspect, the city returns the compliment with almost malicious glee.

Since we have this city divided against itself, hereafter, when I say Rochester, understand me as referring to the city proper, the corporate city. The corporate city and the outer city together comprise the metropolitan area, as it has been recognized by the Bureau of Census within the last few years, and this includes the towns of Irondequoit, Webster, Penfield, Perinton, Pittsford, Brighton, Chili, Gates, and Greece.

The population growth of this area has not been unusual, and is now, of course, slowing down, as is that of practically every other American city, because of reduced immigration and a rapidly dropping birth rate. Nevertheless, the population has grown, and in such ways as vitally to affect the quality and character of our city and its environs, and to accentuate the many problems of county and town versus city government that now plague us. The population of the city proper in 1915 was 249,000; in 1937, 340,000—a growth of 91,000, or 36.5 per cent. The population of the metropolitan area outside the city in 1915 was 45,000; in 1937, 80,000—a growth of 35,000, or 78 per cent. The whole metropolitan area had a population in 1915 of near 295,000; in 1937, 420,000—a growth of 125,000, or 42.5 per cent. That is fairly substantial growth for the real city in 22 years.

The growth of population in the rural towns of Monroe County, outside the metropolitan area, has been wholly negligible, 204 in the 22 years. Indeed in the hundred years from 1830 to 1930 the rural towns of Monroe County grew in population only a little more than one-tenth, by 2437, from 22,853 to 25,290.

The increased population has had its inevitable effect on street layout, and we have moved rapidly into the motor age in these last two decades. In 1915 Rochester had 254 miles of paved streets; in 1937, 447 miles. We have no records of the number of automobiles in 1915. The first records are for 1922, when 51,925 automobiles were registered. In 1936, automobile registrations numbered 119,254, and this year will see a considerable increase. Many new things have come to pass in our city streets, and much is changed—except the trolley cars. They will change in Rochester only as they vanish, giving place to speedier busses.

What of the general physical aspect of the city in that ancient time as compared with today? You of the older generation surely have not forgotten the preponderance of red Medina sandstone paving blocks that had little to commend them but the pleasant color they showed when the sun came out after a hard summer shower. Now they are almost gone.

There are, of course, new and greatly altered streets. Some of the most striking changes have been Broad Street, the River Boulevard, running past the River Campus, Plymouth Avenue South, and Elmwood Avenue, most of it in Brighton. New sections of the suburban city sprawl over many square miles, and they have been responsible for many new or transformed important thoroughfares. Remember the dugways that have all but disappeared? That name was one of the most intriguing things about Rochester when we first came here. What savor of origins and local history has "Float Bridge Dugway." If it should ever be called "Empire Boulevard," I should want to do murder.

And, served by the new streets of the suburbs and the outer fringes of the city proper are, of course, many new and attractive residential sections; charming and inviting houses, lawns and gardens. Here we have changed—vastly, and for the better.

But what shall we say of down-town Rochester? I can almost hear you reply—with one voice—"the less the better." Except for the fact that there is a deal of the picturesque about some of the really old little streets—North and South Water, for instance—we are, in large part, shabby and unattractive. One could almost count on the fingers of one hand the really important new buildings that have been built in Main Street since 1915. Casually, it has almost the same aspect today that it had then, which, to say the least, was not such as to lend distinction to the city.

Of course there are many things about a city more important and significant than the modern types and architectural attractiveness of its down-town buildings. But "quaint" and "old-fashioned" may become terms used to cover shabbiness and complete obsolescence. Particularly if the quaintness persists, and becomes apparently confirmed and characteristic.



THE UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS IN THE FOREGROUND, THE GENESSEE RIVER TERMINAL OF THE BARGE CANAL, AND MOST OF THE LARGE BUILDINGS TO BE SEEN IN THE CITY IN THE BACKGROUND MADE THEIR APPEARANCE IN ROCHESTER DURING THE PERIOD SURVEYED BY MR. SNYDER.

In 1915 the old Erie Canal still ran through the center of the city, and lumber barges could occasionally be seen tied up at the docks in the Eastern Widewaters. The Barge Canal and its empty harbor in the river have replaced the Erie and its plodding mules. Now Broad Street discreetly covers the subway, and runs bravely east for a few impressive blocks to an inglorious end in South Avenue. So far, so good.

The strikingly beautiful Veterans' Memorial Bridge crosses the river at Ridge Road, where no bridge stood in 1915. The new Bausch and Lomb Bridge replaces the old Smith Street Bridge. Recently has come the badly needed new Elmwood Avenue Bridge. The Rundel Memorial Building stands as a dignified and beautiful refutation of the almost hysterical objections of those who said it just wouldn't do to build such a structure over a raceway and a railroad. East Avenue was transmogrified for a few blocks, flourished like the green bay tree, then hesitated, yielded with some dignity to the blighting effects of the depression, and now constitutes one of the largest question marks in the problem of down-town Rochester. In 1915 East Avenue had nothing but shabby genteel residences between Elm and Alexander. The building housing the Eastman Theatre and the Music School stands in a class by itself, of course new since 1915. Other important new structures have been built, including that beautiful group, set upon a hill, the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, and a number of impressive additions to the educational plant of the Catholic parochial system.

Industrially Rochester was an important city in 1915; it is correspondingly important today. Industrial statistics are notoriously difficult to obtain, and data that can be obtained are hard to compare. Furthermore, the industrial figures for recent years are for depression years. Yet such figures as are available show substantial growth in the period we are discussing. In 1910 the total number of employed in Rochester was 102,737; in 1930, 144,868. Of course today we still have some thousands of unemployed. The value of the city's manufactured products in 1915 was \$141,000,000 (\$140,696,682); in 1935, \$222,000,000 (\$222,334,427).

There have been striking changes in the city's industries. The women's shoe industry has been seriously hit. The men's

clothing industry has about held its own as to total volume of output, but the number of plants has greatly shrunk, by elimination and consolidation, into units of large size. Several important factories of other types have been lost, although the net condition of Rochester industry in general certainly is good when the increase in value of manufactured products from 1915 to 1935 (a depression year) was 58 per cent on a population growth of 36.5 per cent. Except for the shoe industry, the great back-bone industries of the city have thrived and grown, some of them prodigiously. And Rochester had no bank failures during the depression! In 1915, Rochester's postal receipts were \$1,293,846; in 1936, \$2,672,856, an increase of 106 per cent. And last year's receipts were nearly \$400,000 under the peak of the late twenties.

The most interesting thing from a social point of view that happened to industrial Rochester is the "Rochester plan" of unemployment reserves, which some eighteen or nineteen Rochester industries united to set up a few years ago. Rochester had established a wide reputation for varied and high quality production of commodities. It was now hailed as having taken its place in the front line of adjustment to new social forces and ideals.

It may be interesting now to take a statistical look at the city government. In 1915, the total expenditures of the city government, for all purposes, were \$5,697,864.29. In 1935 (the last figures available), the city government's total expenditures, again for all purposes, were more than five times as much, \$29,906,160.86. In round figures let us say \$5,700,000 for 1915; \$30,000,000 for 1935. In 1915 the per capita expenditures were \$22.98; in 1935, \$87.92.

In 1915 the assessed valuation of real estate in the city was \$215,484,040; in 1937, \$628,674,290. Were it not for substantial reductions in assessed valuation in the last few years, the total today would be three times that of 1915. As it stands, the increase is only slightly under that. In 1915 the net debt of the city was \$18,405,299; in 1937 it is \$59,836,174. In 1915 the per capita debt was \$37.92; in 1937, \$175.92.

In 1915 the city's books showed that it had spent for capital plant, without depreciation, \$25,367,307. By capital

plant I mean all physical properties and structures, such as water system, schools, parks, bridges, sewage plant, and all buildings. Mark the 1915 figure—\$25,367,307, total investment, not depreciated. In 1935 (the last figure available) the city's corresponding figures for capital plant stood at \$77,654,933. That is to say, in twenty years, from 1915 to 1935, the city expended on new plant the fairly impressive sum of \$52,287,626, or an average of more than \$2,600,000 for each year of the twenty. The expenditure for capital purposes in the last twenty years was more than twice as much as the total spent in all the city's life before that.

In 1915 the city consumed an average of near 22,000,000 gallons of water a day, all Hemlock. In 1936, the average consumption, Hemlock and Ontario, was near 32,100,000 gallons. This was an increase of 10,100,000 gallons a day, or about one-half.

If by this time you feel yourself lost in a wilderness of figures, let me characterize the changes that have taken place in the last twenty years in another way. Between 1915 and the present, the city's population has increased a little more than a third. The total annual expenditures of its government, for all purposes, have increased five-fold; its per capita expenditures, nearly four-fold, by 3.8 times. The city's assessed valuation for taxation purposes has increased nearly three-fold. Its net debt has increased 3.2 times and its per capita debt $2\frac{1}{8}$ times. The total amount which the city has invested in capital plant has grown three-fold, and its average daily consumption of water has increased about one-half.

Here are the figures. If we cannot go far in their analysis, we can at least ask: "What did the city get for them?" Let us see if we can come to a view that will partially answer that question.

Obviously we have not time to consider all activities of the city government, even if we were so inclined. But it may be interesting to make inquiries especially in those fields most closely related to the individual's well-being or his social interest.

Let us take a look at the Rochester public school system. What has happened to it during the generation it has helped

to mould these young men and women, now in their majorities, who were born in Rochester in 1915?

In the school year 1915-16, there were in the city's public schools pupils to the total number of 28,565, the figures in all cases being for the pupils belonging in February of the school year. Against that figure of 28,565 for February, 1916, set the total number of pupils for last month—47,051. The increase is 18,486, or 64.7 per cent, a substantial gain in itself, approaching twice the population gain of 36.5 per cent. But, considering the long years of unemployment and the decreasing number of young children in industry, the increase, one might feel, is not inordinate.

Yet if one separates the figures as between elementary, or grade, pupils, as the term was formerly employed, and secondary, or high school students, an astonishing fact emerges. There are today in the Rochester public schools only 2,570, or 10 per cent more elementary pupils than there were in 1916. But there are 509 per cent more, or six times as many secondary pupils as there were in 1916. And the school cost of secondary education is 58 per cent more per pupil than the elementary cost. The total current expenses of the public school system in 1916 were \$1,761,850. Carry the figure in your mind as about \$1,800,000, and then balance against that the school budget for 1937, \$8,591,609, call it \$8,600,000. Here is an increase of 387 per cent. Stated another way, total school costs for 1937 will be almost five times as much as for 1916.

In 1916 there were 45 public school buildings in use; today, 56. But that comparison does not give the whole picture. Twenty years ago there were a great many old and inadequate school buildings, and in the intervening years fourteen new elementary and six new high schools have been built, at a total cost of \$12,722,000. On top of that, major additions, some of them costing more than new buildings, were made to nineteen elementary and to five High Schools, at an additional cost of just under \$5,000,000. All of the new construction totals \$17,686,000.

Of course interest and amortization of this debt for plant is a substantial part of the present cost of public education. But that doesn't account for as much as the increase in

teachers' salaries. I shall try to make clear what these increases have involved, at least as to minimum and maximum salaries.

Before I do this, however, it seems well to call attention to the fact that salaries increased after the war primarily because of the increase in cost of living and all other costs. In comparing figures from decade to decade, it is necessary to remember the change in the purchasing power of the dollar, to keep in mind—as a point of reference—total purchasing power. Based on the indexes, it is perhaps fair to say that, merely to meet the change in the purchasing power of the dollar, salaries of 1916 would have to be at least 50 per cent greater in order to go as far today as they did then. Now let us consider the actual figures.

In 1916 an elementary school teacher received an initial salary of \$500 a year, a maximum salary of \$1,000. Today an elementary school teacher's minimum salary is \$1200—\$200 higher than the old maximum. The new maximum is \$2,500. It must be stated, however, that only 1.2 per cent of the teachers have reached this maximum. The average salary today is \$2,051. There are today only ninety more elementary teachers than there were in 1916; 920 as against 830. But in the secondary schools, we find, at the outset, a tremendous growth in the number of teachers; four times as many, in fact, as in 1916. The increase is from 223 to 876. On top of that, consider the following facts as to the increases in salaries of secondary teachers. In 1916, a secondary school teacher, if a woman, began at \$600 and could reach a maximum of \$1,700. A male secondary teacher began at \$900 and might reach a maximum of \$2,400. Today there is no discrimination in secondary teachers' salaries between the sexes. The beginning salary is \$1,600 (just \$100 under the old maximum for women), and the possible maximum \$3,400, which, however, has not yet been reached by any teacher. The normal maximum for 70 per cent of high school teachers, is \$3,000; the average salary is \$2,589.

There are other considerations that enter into the cost of public education in a city which is under as enlightened superintendency and direction as is Rochester. Mr. Spinning gave a glimpse of these in his remarkable address before the

City Club a few weeks ago. I cannot enter this field, not only for lack of time but for lack of knowledge. What I have tried to do, is to give a statement of the growth in magnitude and cost of the problem of public education in Rochester in the last twenty years, because that is the aspect of education which is usually attacked.

Rochester, for years known as the Flower City, has won not only national, but international fame for its parks. This fame is based not on their natural beauty or their special recreational facilities, but on the skill with which they have been developed by the landscape architect and the horticulturist. As one looks back on the parks of 1915, the impression is gained that the system as it then stood was substantially what it is today, and yet it is interesting to know that the development which went on during the twenty years from 1915 to 1935 was responsible for an increase in the city's capital investment in parks of more than \$3,600,000, on top of \$6,436,000. The new investments included the acquisition and development of Ontario Beach Park, with its imposing bath house; but the item probably responsible for the greatest addition to the city's capital investment in parks has been the establishment of sixteen playgrounds in various sections, and their equipment with necessary facilities. The new zoo in Seneca Park was another large capital cost.

If a word of warning as to present trends should be spoken with regard to any municipal activity closely touching the interest of our citizens, such a word is perhaps due with regard to the park system. These parks and arboretums, at one time famous throughout the country, are largely the result of the horticultural genius and enthusiasm of the late John Dunbar and of Bernard Slavin, both lovers of plants and skilled in their culture. But no arboretum or horticultural collection of any kind can expect to retain its superiority without constant development and the introduction of new materials. Old plantings die out and must be replaced. The wear and tear of time is probably most noticeable now in Highland Park, where the lilac collection just below the pavilion is unmistakably past its prime. The new plantings along Highland Avenue and in Cobb's Hill Park are im-

pressive, but many replacements in the older section will soon be necessary. The rhododendrons suffered badly in the severe winter of three years ago and have not yet come back, if indeed they can be expected to. This major attraction of Highland Park should probably be entirely replaced.

It is the strong impression of many in Rochester that for some years the horticultural side of the parks has been neglected. Present plantings have been kept up as well as was possible on limited appropriations, for the relatively small amount of money necessary to make new acquisitions and to care for them has not been available. Even much valuable material which could have been obtained from outside sources, free of cost, had to be rejected. Under such a policy, it is stated by those who know more about the matter than I do, the parks have lost ground in their reputation as horticultural collections comparable to those of the Arnold Arboretum and the Brooklyn and New York Botanical Gardens. While other cities have been recognizing the importance of study of plant material suitable to their climatic and geographical conditions, and have been building arboretums, Rochester has rested upon its reputation. Not even a park system can run on momentum for long. These observations are not by way of criticism of any one in authority. They relate largely to financial policies and to a certain attitude which apparently discourages the employment of technical men without political rating. It is felt that the entire situation needs to be reviewed and corrected before irreparable damage is done to the park system.

Now what of the city's health in the years since 1915? When I came to Rochester as the first director of the Bureau of Municipal Research, I had been told by the physician on the staff of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research who made the 1915 study by that bureau of Rochester's health service, that Rochester had the best health officer in the United States. I am happy that I have been able to number Dr. George W. Goler as a personal friend since the earliest days of my residence in the city. One cannot speak of Rochester's health service in the years since 1915 without speaking of Dr. Goler. He is one of the most provocative men I have ever known. True, he has doubtless provoked

more irritation and even profanity, on the part of good men as well as bad, than any other man in the city. Quick tempered, impatient of opposition, master of bitter satire, he was a gad-fly, a scourge, a sleepless enemy of the bad, often a tactless and too hasty friend of the good, through all the long years of his service to the city as health officer. Dr. Goler is spending the winter in a milder climate, but I would say these things if he were here. I should like to pay him this tribute of frank appraisal, for he has done more for Rochester than will ever be realized by his own generation.

In 1915 the total expenditures for the City Health Bureau were \$92,020.28; including \$17,485.12 for the Municipal Hospital, \$4,000 for the Infants' Summer Hospital, and \$4,000 for the Rochester Dental Society. In 1936 the Health Bureau expenditures were \$782,825, including \$469,521 for the Municipal Hospital. Rochester is today spending eight times as much for public health as it spent in 1915. On top of this—apart from direct appropriation to the Health Bureau—the city last year paid \$30,000 to the Dental Dispensary and \$4,000 to the Infants' Summer Hospital.

In 1915 the personnel of the Health Bureau numbered 42; in 1936, 128, although, to the latter figure should be added about 22 persons employed in the three laboratories operated under contract by the Medical School of the University of Rochester. These laboratories are chemical, bacteriological, and serological, and they cost the city in 1936, \$32,700, more than one-third the total Health Bureau expenditure for 1915. In 1915, there were 13 physicians and 7 health nurses; in 1936, 20 physicians and 72 nurses, including the supervisory staff.

In 1915, the Municipal Hospital, the old wooden structure near what is now the junction of Culver Road and Waring Road, was an infectious disease hospital only, with a limited bed capacity. That year it admitted 434 patients, for 8,236 bed days. In 1936, the new Municipal Hospital admitted 6,987 patients, for 92,636 bed days. There were last year 16 times as many patients, and about $11\frac{1}{3}$ times as many bed days, as in 1915. This Municipal Hospital, built by the city but in conjunction with Strong Memorial Hospital of the University Medical School, was opened July 30, 1926, about

midway in the period we are considering. It is a general hospital with medical, surgical, obstetrical and pediatric services, besides divisions for communicable disease and psychiatric cases. Medical and nursing service is provided by Strong and the Medical School, with other personnel numbering 52.

Now this is the skeleton of financial and other data concerning the Rochester Health Bureau's growth in twenty-one years. What has it done for the new generation and for the community in general? Let us consider some facts that bear on the answer. As I have said before, in 1915 the average duration of life in Rochester was 43.9 years. In 1935, the average duration of life in Rochester was 56.9 years, an increase of 13 years. Rochester's birth rate, like that of most cities of the country, is falling rapidly. That isn't the fault of the Health Bureau, but one may inquire what the health service of the city does for those babies that are born. In 1915 the birth rate was 27.06 per thousand of population; in 1936, 14.61 per thousand, a decrease of 12.45 per thousand. The 1915 death rate was 13.94 per thousand; in 1936, 11.04 per thousand, a drop of 2.9 per thousand. The natural increase of births over deaths in 1915 was 13.1 per thousand; in 1936, 3.5 per thousand. The increase of births over deaths has therefore dropped 9.6 per thousand in twenty-one years. In 1915, 289 persons died in Rochester of tuberculosis; in 1936, 69. In 1915, typhoid fever caused 15 deaths; in 1936, one. In 1915, deaths of infants under one year of age numbered 567; in 1936, 199, a drop in infant mortality rate from 84 to 40 per thousand.

These figures are almost startling. Yet the most enthusiastic partisan of the Health Bureau's work would not claim that the Bureau has been solely responsible for the good results attained. The general progress of medical and bacteriological science throughout the country, which has had its effect in Rochester, cannot be ignored. And local private agencies, like the Tuberculosis and Health Association and the Public Health Nursing Association have made their effective contributions to the cause of community health. But the Rochester Health Bureau was in the front line of health work, adopting new methods and devices as they appeared, as in the fight for clean raw milk and in the treat-

ment of diphtheria and pneumonia. Rochester was one of the earliest and most active centers for the use of serum in the treatment of pneumonia, and it was largely due to Dr. Goler's energy and tireless persistence that one of the first public clinics for the treatment of venereal disease was opened in this city, way back in 1913. Dr. Joseph Roby, deputy health officer, was also a most important factor, both in the establishment and the successful prosecution, of the Bureau's work with pneumonia and venereal disease.

No longer is it necessary to educate public and parents and to dramatize the need for inoculations against diphtheria, smallpox, and other disease, which was a large part of Dr. Goler's early work. There has come tremendous increase in the use of laboratories for protection of the public health, and by doctors as an aid to diagnosis. In 1936, the Health Bureau's laboratories made 240,403 examinations.

There are other significant aspects of Rochester's progress in health not directly related to the work of the Health Bureau. One important thing, difficult of statistical demonstration and yet of great importance to every individual in the city, is the fact that the general progress of medical science has given Rochester much more adequate service from private physicians than was available in 1915. No doubt the presence of the Medical School has had an important bearing on the situation. Private hospitals have had a great expansion of facilities and services, perhaps especially the General and Genesee hospitals. Strong Memorial Hospital, which might have been expected to overshadow the hospitals already here when it was established, has seemed rather to stimulate the older institutions to larger and more effective work.

A recent development of outstanding importance in the field of public health has been the organization of hospital insurance. There is obviously not time to do more than refer to this, but I should not like to pass it by without at least some intimation of the fundamental contribution it has made to the betterment of community health. It will go far toward assuring thousands of persons much more adequate care in illness than was financially possible before the organization of this service.

It is rather interesting that significant events in Rochester during the last two decades have been largely in the fields of health, education and general cultural activities. Among the latter, four deserve our close attention: the Public Library system; the Municipal Museum; the Memorial Art Gallery; and the University of Rochester.

In 1915 the Public Library system had but recently been established. There was then no central library, but four branch libraries, and three sub-branches. In lieu of other branches there were 71 deposit stations, 453 grade libraries in the schools, and 10 playground libraries. The Reynolds Library, which for years had given the city the only approach to adequate library service which it possessed, was in its building in Spring Street, where it remained until its recent union with the Public Library. Today, as the hub of the Rochester Public Library system, stands the beautiful new Rundel Memorial Building, housing the Main Library, the Reynolds Reference Library, and the library of the Rochester Historical Society. Twelve branches, seven of them in buildings owned by the city, nine sub-branches, 63 deposit stations, and 371 grade libraries comprise the remainder of the Public Library system today. Here is remarkable and significant growth in plant alone, including the addition of several fine structures to the city's public buildings.

But the service record of the library's growth is even more striking. The book collection of the library has grown from 52,706 to 391,422; registration, from 25,633 to 76,127; circulation from 633,811 to 1,805,453; plant, including buildings and equipment, from \$52,824 to \$1,642,000; annual operation cost, from \$47,349 to \$313,935. The book collection has been multiplied by $7\frac{1}{2}$; registration, by three; circulation, by nearly three; plant, by 31; operating cost, by $6\frac{1}{2}$. In 1915, Rochester's Public Library system was never mentioned when one enumerated the city's advantages. Today, after many long, lean years, we take pride in it, although much remains to be done to fill out the book collections adequately.

The story of the Municipal Museum is, in some respects, even more remarkable, considering the material and the funds with which it has had to work. In 1915 the museum existed only as an idea in the mind of Mayor Hiram Edgerton. He

determined that the old House of Refuge building in the park that now bears his name should be remodeled for museum purposes. This was done, and for ten years this museum struggled to establish itself on the meagre appropriations taken from the Mayor's budget. In 1925 the city administration was prevailed upon to institute a new policy. The first curator, Edward D. Putnam, had died, leaving behind him a heroic, though scant beginning. After consultation with authorities, the city administration showed the excellent judgment to offer the vacant position to Arthur C. Parker, then state archeologist, who eventually was appointed director of the Municipal Museum.

The history of the Municipal Museum from that date to this is the history of Arthur C. Parker. Immediately after his arrival in Rochester he started to create a modern museum. Without adequate appropriations, without proper space or sufficient staff, the idea grew along the line of accepted practice, and the local institution even assumed national leadership in its field, bringing scores of experts to Rochester to study the Rochester Museum plan. The plan is actively in existence, even if the means to carry it on are not. Elsewhere this plan is widely accepted and enthusiastically supported.

If the Museum were liquidated tomorrow, if all its materials and exhibits were to be sold in the market that exists for such stuff, the city would realize from the sale more than the total of its annual appropriations since 1925. Today the Museum counts as assets \$400,000 in treasures awaiting the means of display. Much of this material is stored in buildings by no means fireproof, though the museum building now occupied is fairly safe. Yet the Rochester Museum does not count its values in material alone. Discriminating citizens and the educational world are interested in what is done with this material.

In briefest possible statement the museum today operates an extension system, the aim of which is to illustrate the curricula of the elementary and secondary schools. It assembles as rapidly as possible objects from all over the world for the use of teachers and pupils, and now has the greatest distribution of any American city in the museum division

alone, reaching a total of 35,000 pupils a month! The museum has developed children's theatre programs, dramatizing the folk-ways of all the nations of the earth; it has an annual hobby show greater in extent than any other in America; it conducts archeological expeditions and anthropological research basic in character and recognized by every scientific body in its field in the United States and Europe. Rochester Museum staff members have been elected to the highest offices in numerous scientific societies. The museum's literature and publications are circulated around the world, and its leadership in museum theory and practice is just as extensive. Here indeed is a record of growth, and of twelve years, rather than twenty-one. In twelve years the Rochester Museum has grown up, and today faces the Rochester public with a reasonable demand for a new building and modern equipment. Who shall say this demand should not be met at the earliest possible moment?

Still another story of almost magic growth is to be told of the Memorial Art Gallery. In the twenty-two years since 1915, which comprise all but one year of its active life, the Memorial Art Gallery has developed from the four-room original unit, presented by Mrs. James Sibley Watson to the people of Rochester in 1913, to the expanded ten-room plan of today, which was enlarged by the joint gift of Mr. and Mrs. Watson in 1926. This addition of 8,500 square feet, which more than doubled the Gallery of 1915, brought more than an extension of cubic dimensions. For, by the expansion of such facilities as a completely equipped auditorium, public art library, class and studio rooms, it instituted a new, active policy of educational service which has made the Gallery an important agent for cultural advancement, now embracing a wide radius of outlying communities.

The "gazing gallery" of 22 years ago, with a staff of four, too limited to undertake any but a sporadic instructional program, has now become a great civic educational institution, with a staff multiplied six-fold and a regular weekly enrollment of 500 students, ranging in age from 6 to 60, in 28 free classes in painting, drawing and modeling. The 41,000 people who came to "gaze" in 1915 have now become nearly 100,000 active participants, and the Gallery has so far out-

grown its physical plant that it has incorporated into its exhibition program wall-space at the Eastman School of Music, the J. Y. M. A., Strong Memorial Hospital, Todd Union, and the Men's Faculty Club. High schools and public libraries in Webster, LeRoy, Avon, East Rochester, Geneseo, Sodus, and Geneva have been brought into its educational extension service. 50,000 persons have participated in this year's educational program.

In 1915, 290 public spirited citizens of Rochester, enrolled as members, supported the Art Gallery with the \$12,000 which they annually subscribed. In 1936, this membership had grown to 1,555, and the total subscribed for the maintenance of the Gallery and its public educational work to \$22,900. The 24 objects—16 oil paintings, 7 water colors, and 1 sculpture—all of contemporary date, which formed the permanent collection of 1915, have grown to 1,340, in 9 departments, covering 7,000 years of art history, from pre-historic Egypt to American futurism, and their valuation has increased ten-fold to more than a half-million dollars.

The Gallery has become literally a visual laboratory for various curricular studies in history and the social sciences in the public schools, through its collections, lending material, and illustrated lectures, which are offered in regular weekly schedules either at the Gallery or in the schools themselves. Even in the problem of the maladjusted and problem child, the Gallery has found much recent usefulness, offering the opportunity of new and creative interests to large numbers of the city's underprivileged children.

We come now to the consideration of what from some points of view is the most dramatic, and perhaps the most important, development in the city of Rochester within the last twenty years. I refer to the development of the University of Rochester. In 1915 the University consisted entirely of the coordinate Colleges of Arts and Science for men and women, all classes held on the Prince Street campus. The enrollment at that time totaled 538—312 men and 226 women.

In 1915 the total invested assets of the University amounted to \$1,666,178. The physical plant, including equipment, was valued at \$1,576,066, making total assets of \$3,242,244.

So much has been said about the growth of the University's resources that the officers are sensitive lest the institution be judged by size rather than quality of service. Yet the contrast to the University of 1915 is so striking that no statement concerning the University would be adequate without such figures. Today the invested endowment assets of the University, including reserve funds, have a book value in excess of \$54,000,000, while the physical plant, at cost, represents an additional investment of \$29,500,000. The total resources of the University today represent a sum in excess of \$83,500,000. Compare that with the total assets of the University in 1915, which, as I stated a moment ago, approached \$3,350,000.

The comparison of the student body is no less striking. The enrollment of the various schools during the current year, including students in the summer session, is, for the Colleges of Arts and Science, regular, graduate, university extension, 2,870; for the Eastman School of Music, regular, preparatory, special and summer session, 1,504; for the School of Medicine and Dentistry, 168; and candidates for the degree Bachelor of Science in the School of Nursing, 12—a total of 4,554 in the four schools, apart from 67 candidates for the diploma in nursing. A moment ago we noted that in 1915 there were 312 men enrolled at the College of Arts and Science. The combined faculties of the several schools of the University today number 311, just one less than the number of men students in 1915, and the University has 1,074 other employees, a total of 1,384 on the payroll of the University.

The annual budgets of the University approximate three and one-half million dollars, more than its total assets in 1915. Payrolls alone are nearly two and one-half million a year. The University is the third largest corporation in Rochester. During the last ten years the University has constructed more than \$17,000,000 worth of buildings and has purchased many hundred thousand dollars worth of equipment.

The vast funds of the University incline some to believe that it should be able to undertake anything that might be suggested. Yet the endowment income is closely allocated to the work being carried on in the various colleges. The cost

of operating the combined college for men and college for women approximates \$920 per student per year, of which amount each student pays \$340 net or 36 per cent of the actual cost of operation. The balance, \$580, is derived from endowment income. It is stated by one in authority at the University that he does not know of any privately owned institution where the percentage of income from student fees is lower, and the proportion of income derived from endowment higher, than that of the University of Rochester.

In 1915 the buildings on the Prince Street campus were approximately as at present, with the exception of the old alumni gymnasium that was demolished in 1932. All of the remaining buildings have been entirely renovated and, in two or three cases, completely reconstructed. The impressive Cutler Union is the only completely new structure. The buildings on the River Campus stand there for all to see. If there be those enamoured of College Gothic who criticize the simplicity of the River Campus architecture, it may be said that the management of the University seems definitely convinced that an institution of learning is made up not of buildings, but of teachers and students.

The question is frequently asked as to what the University of Rochester does for the city. I spoke a moment ago of the fact that the University payrolls alone put nearly two and one-half million dollars into circulation in this city. In addition to that, it should be noted that, aside from the substantial contribution which the University makes to the management of the Municipal Hospital by furnishing medical care for patients free of charge, the out-patient department of Strong Memorial Hospital, operated at the expense of the University, without participation in the Community Chest, does approximately one-half the total out-patient work in the city. The University's direct cost of this service for the citizens of Rochester and vicinity is approximately \$100,000 a year. Add to all these things affecting the economic welfare and the health of the city, the contributions, financial and other, made by the Eastman School of Music to the city's musical program, and some idea can be gained of the scope of the total influence which the University of Rochester has had upon the city's life.

These figures relate to things that may be measured in dollars and cents, but I believe an equally valuable service is performed by the University in its stimulation of the educational, cultural, and esthetic life of the city, both as an institution and through the participation of those attached to the University, especially its faculty. I need not remind you that the Medical School has already taken its place as one of the outstanding institutions of its kind in the country, with a dean whose contribution to medical research was recognized by a Nobel prize. The Eastman School of Music is recognized throughout the nation for its significant contributions to musical education and its stimulation of contemporary composition, with a director having not only a national, but an international reputation. The story of the several important research projects now in process in the various departments of the Arts Colleges and in the Medical School would in itself constitute the topic for an extended address. This work is supported entirely by University funds, with the exception of certain grants from several foundations, each made for a specific purpose. The future of the University of Rochester seems to be one of brilliant promise, not merely by reason of its financial resources and the soundness of its traditions, but because of the aggressive leadership of its young, but remarkably mature, new president.

My comments today on the Rochester of the last twenty years have seemed to range through a fairly wide field, and yet I do not wish to conclude this quasi-historical summary without a reference that may amuse you, but nevertheless is decidedly interesting. A city becomes known widely in part, at least, through the variety and number of its visitors. Conventions are a great American industry, although it may be known to few of you that the development of this activity to its present proportions is comparatively recent. Ten years ago there were held in the United States 1,237 conventions. Today there are over 9,000. Rochester's experience reflects more growth in this field than that of the country as a whole. No accurate records of conventions in Rochester are available until 1928, but it is estimated that in 1915 seven conventions were held in Rochester, with a total attendance of 3,100. Last year there met in this city 213 conventions, with

an attendance of 83,000; and the Convention and Publicity Bureau estimates that this year Rochester will greet 230 conventions, with a total attendance of 91,000.

Apparently a great many thousand Americans are able to say to their friends, "Oh, yes, I saw you in Rochester." That does not do us any harm if we see to it that our visitors carry away good impressions of the city. Furthermore, the convention industry has developed substantial proportions in the amount of money it brings to the city, since it is estimated that the 83,000 persons who attended conventions in Rochester last year spent in this city approximately \$3,500,000. Ten years ago Rochester did not rank as a convention city. Today it holds tenth place among 23 recognized convention cities. If next summer you see on our streets a great many strange gentlemen and ladies wearing sundry badges and ribbons, give them a kind thought and a kindly greeting if the opportunity affords. They may become our best friends abroad.

Thus far I have given you, I fear, a somewhat confusing picture of the things that have gone on and the progress that has been made in Rochester in the twenty-one years since 1915. It is a mosaic without pattern or design. Is it possible to make any concrete observations or deductions from this recital of statistics and financial figures? The question that is of most importance cannot, of course, be answered by columns of figures. What has happened to the lives of our people, to their social habits and their political intelligence?

Various cities can boast of material progress and growth quite as impressive as some of the things to which I have drawn your attention. That tells one little, after all. One always wishes to get behind the scenes, to find out whether people enjoy living in a city, whether their lives are productive and happy, whether their children are given adequate educational and cultural advantages, whether, on the whole, the civic life of the community can be spoken of with the same enthusiasm as its material advantages. Concerning these aspects of Rochester, I must put myself down as, I hope, a restrained, yet nevertheless convinced, enthusiast. One can approach this more abstract question from different points of view. But I am inclined to attack it first with a

question as to the extent to which the people of a city are regimented and controlled by political, economic, and social forces, and I believe Rochester is there in a most favorable position.

In 1915 the city was certainly regimented politically. I shall never forget the shock with which I realized that if one was not an open, and even enthusiastic, supporter of the Aldridge machine, he was immediately suspected of being an eccentric, if not a dangerous, person. This control of the city's political life had repercussions in many ways. It seemed to me, immediately I felt the pulse of Rochester, a vicious and corrosive influence, although, when I expressed such an opinion to some of my new friends, my comments were received with amazement.

One might speak here—if there were time—of the failure of the City Manager movement to achieve the hopes of its sponsors. Perhaps it was because it was superimposed, largely as a result of Mr. Eastman's interest and enthusiasm. The City Manager League, which was designed to promote non-partisanship in government, never achieved political self-consciousness. It was betrayed at the hands of its friends, and was left without powerful issues because of the failure of those whom it put in office to realize its hopes.¹ Now we have in the city government the same clash of ill-defined and uncertain political principles which is characteristic of the national situation. But at any rate, we have broken away from political regimentation, and I, for one, prefer even the confused and disappointing situation in which we find ourselves, to that comfortable but sterilizing control of the individual which gripped the city in 1915.

I have often thought that the City Club, in which I have been so much interested since the fall of 1915, has been perhaps the principal force in the political and intellectual salvation of the city. When I spoke of the City Club in 1915, 1916, or 1917, many of those with whom I talked raised their eyebrows, figuratively if not actually. Those interested in the City Club were considered a queer, self-willed, and, on the whole, perhaps slightly dangerous lot. What did the City Club do? It raised and kept flying the flag of free discussion,

¹See above, pp. 323-338.

of tolerant hearing of diverse opinions, and it kept that flag nailed to the mast even during the intolerance of the war and the post-war hysteria. To me it is one of the most significant things in Rochester that the City Club has gone on through the years, attracting to its membership and to active participation in its work, young men who believe in the principles for which it stands.

With regard to the general spirit of Rochester, I was immensely impressed in my early years here with the fact, so often brought to my attention, that Rochesterians did not "knock" their city, that they had learned how to work together for various civic and community enterprises. I am perfectly well aware that this spirit is the favorite theme of cynical commentators on the American scene. I suppose I have shared in that kind of superficial comment now and then. Yet it is an impressive fact that, whenever Rochester has really believed in a cause, it has found out how to perfect the mechanism to get something done about it.

The Civic Music Association seems an excellent case in point. You will remember that the first musical program built up in connection with the Eastman Theater, the concert series and the opera, was supported by a relatively small number of wealthy and well-to-do contributors. When it was proposed to broaden the scope of the city's musical program by the establishment of a Civic Orchestra, in addition to preserving the Philharmonic, by widening the base of support, there were many who thought the project impractical. Yet it was accomplished. Through all the difficult years of the depression, the several thousand members of the Civic Music Association stuck to it, the association survived, and the musical program was carried on, even with greatly reduced funds. Rochester has raised by popular subscription over \$75,000 a year for music, when Buffalo could not raise one quarter of that sum for an extremely restricted musical program.

You may think of other activities which have perhaps escaped me. The Community Theater is one in another field which perhaps points the same moral. And if one seeks for community cooperation in an activity illustrative of the finest type of sympathetic and tolerant understanding be-

tween different religious groups, I need only remind you of the campaign undertaken a year and a half ago in which Catholics and Protestants united with Jews to raise the funds to equip the JY building of the Jewish community. Will you find me many other cities (or indeed one) where a similar enterprise could be undertaken and carried through in the spirit that animated Rochester on that occasion?

Perhaps the answer to much of this is that of leadership. Of course in 1915 and for many years afterward, the outstanding community leader in Rochester was George Eastman. When I came here to the Bureau of Municipal Research, Mr. Eastman was not only the contributor of all the funds for the support of the Bureau, but he was the chairman of its Board. On that Board sat leaders of the industrial, commercial, and banking life of the city. Their names spelled leadership in Rochester. They belonged to a generation now passed or passing, and while, on the whole, they represented wealth and place and power in industry and trade and finance, there were many directions in which these men and others of their class exercised leadership in religious, philanthropic, and civic life.

Hundreds of other humbler men and women have labored as earnestly and as effectively in various fields of the city's work. A new generation has now come into leadership, with new men and women of ability, imagination, and understanding.

Rochester is, on the whole, a more liberal city than it was in 1915. It is more tolerant. It is more open-minded. It is less willing to accept an idea or a program just because it is wrapped in a neat package with the label "Approved by so-and-so or such-and-such." Perhaps the same kind of statement can be made about other American cities, but I am inclined to believe Rochester has made a more marked advance toward this new spirit than many cities. This is all to the good. In 1915 the person with unconventional political or economic views had a hard row to hoe in Rochester. I am not naive enough to say that today he would be welcomed with open arms in every home or office in Rochester, but I am convinced he is more numerous, more influential, and more often heard than he was then.

I am sure you would put me down as utterly unrealistic if I were to conclude my statement in this vein of optimism without some recognition of what seem to me to be important directions in which we should be self-critical. I spoke a moment ago about the leadership which Rochester had enjoyed in its civic and community life. Perhaps the reason for the relative failure of the movement to recreate our local political life is to be found in the lack of leadership in that field. Can we hope for a renaissance of that fine frenzy of enthusiasm that brought the City Manager Charter to us in 1925? That is a question to which we might properly address ourselves. Our local political scene is confused, not only because of the passing of figures that were formerly dominant, but because it reflects the confused state of mind in which the voter finds himself nationally. So long as the local situation is made to revolve around the senseless repetition of national slogans, having no meaning whatever in relation to our local problems, we shall get nowhere.

Interminable discussion and perennial postponement of the parallel streets; the lack of any definite plan as to what the city shall do or how it shall do it, to carry out its agreement with the University to erect another structure within the Civic Center area; our failure to follow through on the excellent start made toward city planning—all of this is symptomatic of the inadequacy and lack of imaginative attack which has followed our failure to achieve a real City Manager government. Again I say, this cannot be blamed upon individuals, it is the fault of a political system which we failed to uproot when we had the opportunity.

The generation of those born in 1915, which is now participating in our political life, has come into much to which it can give its devotion in Rochester, much in which it can take pride. But we shall not afford it full opportunity for zealous service until we have realized our earlier hopes for the forms and spirit of city government itself. If the older generations must confess failure in that, perhaps the new generation may help us to find the way.

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STATE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

1/4 Miles

1/2 Mile

GENESEE

MOUNT HOPE GEMETERY

HIGHLAND PARK

HIGHLAND PARK

PENITENTIARY

STATE HOSPITAL

SEE SURVEY

20

15

9

5

8

11

13

13

19

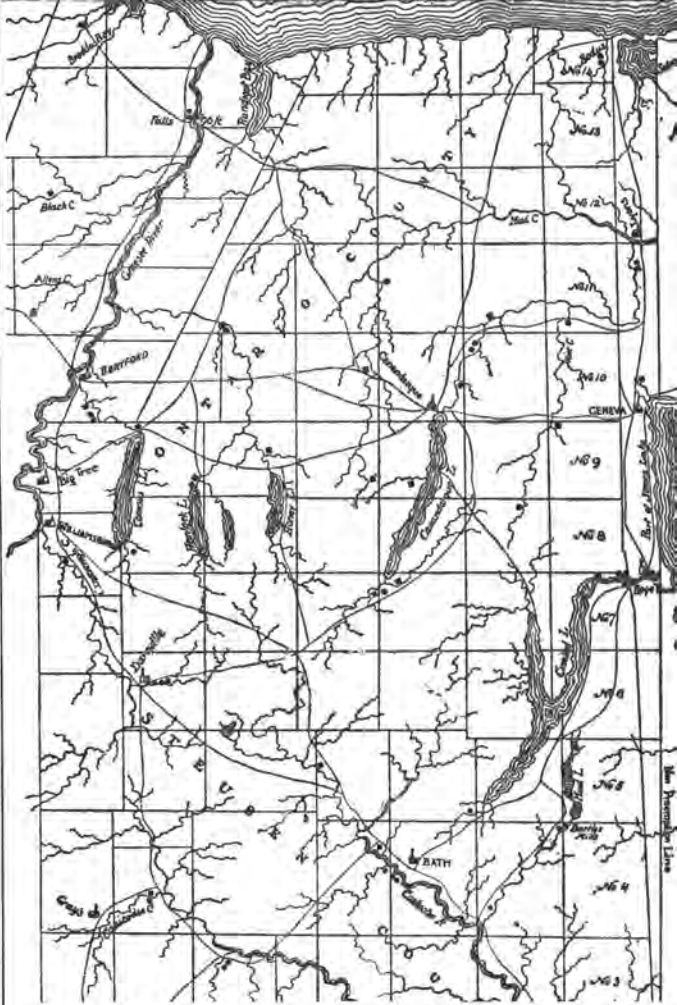
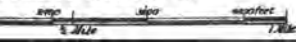
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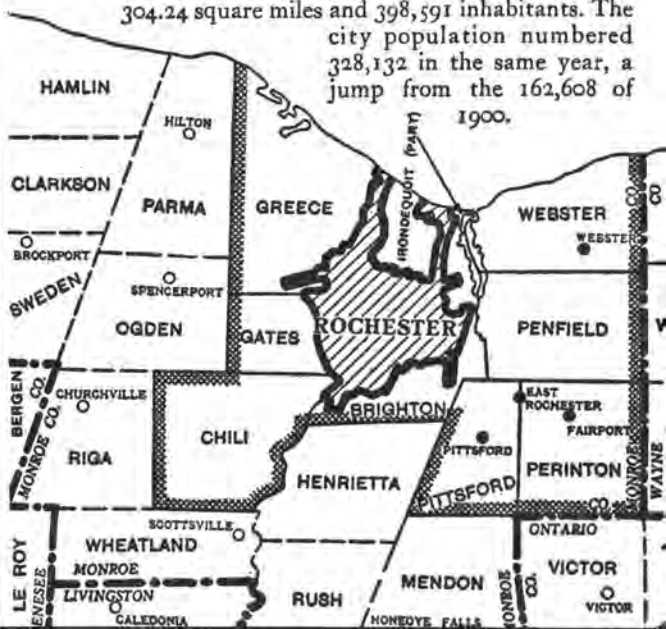
MAP
OF
CITY OF
CHESTER
1900.

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ROCHESTER N. Y.



Genesee Country in 1798

Rochester's Metropolitan District as established by the U. S. Census Bureau in 1930 included 304.24 square miles and 398,591 inhabitants. The city population numbered 328,132 in the same year, a jump from the 162,608 of 1900.





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