

School Committee Ad Hoc Task Force on School Names

Monday, June 11, 2018

5:30 PM – 7:15 PM

School Committee Room, 5th Floor, Town Hall

Ad Hoc Task Force Members Present: Helen Charlupski, Barbara Brown, Malcolm Cawthorne, John Dempsey, Mark Gray, Sari Gubar, Ken Liss, and Pam Roberts.

Ad Hoc Task Force Members Absent: Lloyd Gellineau, Misti Jaynes, and Farah Mamedova.

Staff Present: Robin Coyne.

Others Present: Jennifer and Sophia Monopoli.

1) Approval of Minutes of the May 21, 2018 Meeting

On a motion of Dr. Brown and seconded by Ms. Roberts, the School Committee Ad Hoc Task Force on School Names voted (Mr. Dempsey and Ms. Gubar abstained because they were not at the May 21, 2018 meeting) to approve the May 21, 2018 minutes.

2) Update on Town Meeting Warrant Article 23 and School Renaming Process

Ms. Charlupski reported that on May 29, the Brookline Town Meeting voted 171 to 19 to rename the Edward Devotion School. The school will be known as the Coolidge Corner School for the next year while the School Committee and School Department lead an inclusive, community process to select a new name. This process will include students, staff, families, and community members. Ms. Charlupski will provide an updated report at the next meeting.

3) Presentation of Research on Lawrence School Name

Dr. Brown presented additional research on the Lawrence School name (first report was on April 30, 2018).

June 2018 Research on Amos A. Lawrence

I did a quick search through JSTOR, the online source of scholarly articles. While there was a fascinating article about how Amos A. Lawrence was raised so that he would enter the adult world as a promising young businessman (supported by his father's many contacts and extended family), I only found one pertinent article when I searched under Amos A. Lawrence and education. The quote is from that article.

This is not definitive “proof” regarding his attitude toward girls’ education though it offers evidence toward understanding his attitude and whether he acted on his attitude.

“Lawrence College,” The Wisconsin Magazine of History 1922 (the article was written as a speech [by the then President of the College?] on the 75th anniversary of the founding of the college)

“The Charter and subscription made clear [from the start] that the college would admit both men and women, with equal opportunity.”... “Mr. Lawrence was not especially pleased with this venture, but did not oppose it. It was remarked that some years later when he visited the school and addressed the students, he ignored the girls’ side of the

chapel and spoke directly to the boys. Seventy-five years ago there was little sentiment in [sic] behalf of the higher education of women, and only Oberlin College had attempted it on a strict equality....”

Here is the earlier quote from him that was included in my original Amos Lawrence handout (from a letter to a friend in November 1854, quoted in source #1 above, p. 116).

My own impression is that we have fallen into a great error here in MA of late years, by raising the standard of female education so high that physical development has been checked, and the constitutions weakened. Our girls are good scholars and good school mistresses; but they are unhealthy and weak, and do not have strong children; and while we are refining the intellect, we are injuring the stock.”

Though he had provided both land and money, he didn’t stop a college for both women and men, to go forward.

Here’s a bit more on Amos A. Lawrence’s education: (from my search of JSTOR, the scholarly online archive, under the topic of Lawrence and education: *NE Quarterly*, “Paternal Dilemmas: Prop & Patrician Persis in Jacksonian Boston” publ. 1980, regarding Jacksonian elite boys’ education—with frequent reference to Amos A. Lawrence:

- His father gave him money to invest. By 17, his father gave him sufficient to become financially independent.
- By age 25 and in business one year only, Amos A. Lawrence was already worth \$37,000.
- Took up the woolens portion of family business, using multiple family and other contacts that his father provided; his father also provided credit and customers.
- Boarding school for education and discipline (a tough discipline indeed).
- Good marriage was essential and was ‘worked at’ by the parents.
- Satisfied, his father turned the full business over to him and focused on philanthropy instead.

Ad Hoc Task Force Discussion

Members asked if there is any information available on why the School Committee named the school after Amos A. Lawrence.

4) Presentation of Research on the Baker School Name

Mr. Cawthorne presented research on the Baker School name.

April 2018 Research

Edith Clarke (Demmon) Baker

Born Edith Clarke Demmon on February 6, 1861 on the eve of the Civil War. There is no record of birth but the in 1865 Special Census and the 1870 US Census she was listed as last of four children to Reuben E. and Sarah Demmon of Somerville, Massachusetts.¹

Always living in wealth, Edith would have had the privileges of many of the wealthiest Americans. Her father's estate was valued at \$80,000 in 1870.² In addition, she went to the elite boarding Mary A. Burnham School for Girls in Northampton, Massachusetts³ and travelled to Europe in her early twenties.⁴ She would get married a year after her travels to Charles Morrill Baker⁵. Baker came from a wealthy Boston family. He was a graduate of MIT (Class of 1878) and was a Stock Broker.⁶ They moved to Brookline (111 Ivy Street) and had their only child, a son named Ezra Reuben born on March 26, 1888.⁷ Furthermore, in every US census where she is listed, she had servants in her household; in childhood, marriage and as a widow.⁸

While living in Brookline, there is no record of Edith ever working outside of the home. It is also clear that she would never need to work outside of the home. The estate of Charles Baker was valued at \$48,000 in 1910.⁹ However, the couple was active in Brookline, Boston and Massachusetts civic organizations as well as advisory positions. Charles Baker was a lifetime member of the Brookline Historical Society¹⁰, a Brookline Town Meeting Member representing Precinct One¹¹, and a Trustee of many banks, businesses and boards.¹² Edith Baker was most famously on the School Committee, a lifetime member of the Brookline Historical Society, a member of The Union Club which supported the ideals of the US Constitution and the efforts to preserve the Union from the Civil War, a member of the Brookline Women's Club, a member of the Boston Women's City Club to promote solidarity amongst women in the city, and a Trustee of her alma mater.¹³

Edith Baker's role within the Town seems to lack controversy. There are conflicting issues around her School Committee service. The document from the Town says that she served from 1900-1937.¹⁴ However, there are three conflicting publications that make the other source uncertain. In 1915, it seems that she at least considered stepping down from the School Committee.¹⁵ In addition, her obituary and another article clearly state that she served until her death (1942).¹⁶ She seemed to stay clear of a controversial loss of School Committee Members in relation to the Superintendent in 1931.¹⁷ Another sign of her importance to the School Committee, besides naming a school after her, is that she was asked to travel to Europe to observe methodology, training and systems within schools. She spent the summer of 1920 in England, Scotland, France and Italy in the name of the School Committee.¹⁸ She would travel to Europe multiple summers after this: 1924, 1927, 1928, 1930, 1933, and 1934.¹⁹ It is unclear if this was for the School Committee or for personal travel. She always travelled to Europe without a companion, always returned to the United States from England and it should be known that for much of her travel she is living in Brookline and travelling to Europe after the Stock Market Crash on October 29, 1929 and during the Great Depression.²⁰

In terms of the school, it seems that she was still working on the School Committee when it was proposed, approved, built, and repaired.²¹ There were issues with the funding of the building. The dilemma was if it should be paid exclusively through tax-payer dollars or to petition the Public Works Administration with the first New Deal Programs started by Franklin Roosevelt and Congress. Brookline would actually do both and received funding from the PWA.²² There was a tablet placed in the building in honor of Edith

Baker. There was a ceremony, speakers for teachers and the Town but there is no mention of Baker's presence.²³ There were also a lot of issues with the school structure. There were quite a few necessary repairs for the building soon after it was built. Also, the school was built in parts as it opened to a staggered start by grades before becoming a K-8 school.²⁴

Edith Baker seems to have lived a happy life. She died on October 3, 1942 in the infancy of World War II. She saw the Civil War as a child; the Industrial Revolution that modernized the country and a young woman, wife and mother; witnessed the death of her husband at the conclusion of World War I; witnessed the surge of women's rights with the 19th Amendment and the Flapper Movement of the 1920s; survived the Great Depression through the 1930s; and, lived to read about the bombing of Pearl Harbor ten months before her death. She died leaving behind her son, three grandchildren and the only school in Brookline named after a woman.²⁵

* There are some oddities in the historical records. While she has three siblings, the births are really far apart. I am wondering why that was the case. Also, the fact that she has only one child is odd. I am curious to know why that was. I did find an article about her wedding that showed the writing and protocols of the time and the opulence of the families. I wish I had more time to look into how the Demmons made their money. I only found one picture of her and it was from her 1919 Passport application. In Charles Baker's Obituary, it reads that he died in his summer home in Falmouth [Chapaquoit], Massachusetts. I was not able to find a record of that deed. It also says that he has a son named "Arthur" which I think is simply a mistake but it also says he has a daughter. I never saw a divorce document and, as protocol for the time, the obituary just lists his wife as "Mrs. Charles Baker." I also wanted to explore more of her time on the School Committee. I wrote about it a little bit but there were some weird things being reported; sometimes with her being a part of the article and most of the time not. Especially since there seems to be some discrepancy in her years of service, I'd like more time to explore. Lastly, there was an issue about rezoning in Brookline in her neighborhood [Cottage Farm and the Cotton Estate]. I am especially interested if this was happening and she was still serving on the School Committee [1938].

Ad Hoc Task Force Discussion

Members asked if there is any information available on the following: whether she was the first woman on the School Committee, clarification on the years served on the School Committee, and the extent to which women on the School Committee were able to express their views and participate. Members noted the following: Edith Baker served on the School Committee for many years; teachers recognized her with a plaque; she visited schools in other countries to learn about their methods; and she had a high level of civic engagement, particularly for a woman of that time.

5) Presentation of Research on Pierce School Name

Mr. Liss presented research on the Pierce School name.

June 2018 Research

John Pierce was born in Dorchester in 1773. His father was a shoemaker. The family's ancestors were among the first settlers from England in Dorchester in 1630.¹ He was the oldest of 10 children, six of whom survived to adulthood. As a young man, Pierce was taught in Dorchester by the same woman who taught his mother to read.²⁶

Pierce studied at Harvard College, earning a degree in divinity in 1793. After graduation, he worked for two years as an assistant preceptor, or teacher, at Leicester Academy in Leicester, Massachusetts. Beginning in 1795, he studied theology under Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris of Dorchester. He also tutored at Harvard for four months.³ He preached for the first time as a guest preacher in Dorchester in 1796 and continued to preach in other places until his appointment as minister in Brookline.⁴

Pierce came to Brookline in 1797, succeeding the late Joseph Jackson as minister of the church now known as First Parish. He was ordained as minister of the church on March 15, 1797. He married Abigail Lovel of Medway in 1798, but she died less than two years later, leaving Pierce with an infant son who died two years after his mother. Pierce was married again, to Lucy Tappan of Northampton, in 1802.⁵

The Brookline church that installed Pierce as its leader was the only church in town until 1828, but it could not be said to be thriving at the time he arrived. There were only 52 local communicants out of a total town population of nearly 600. The congregation grew considerably during Pierce's tenure, tripling in size by 1837.⁶ The original church of 1717 was replaced by a new building in 1805, less than a decade after Pierce's arrival.

As pastor of the first – and for three decades the only – church in town, Pierce played a leading role in town affairs. He served on the School Committee for more than 50 years. He was on the committee, along with Samuel Philbrick and Baptist minister William Shailer in 1843 when the committee voted to establish a high school. Charles Knowles Bolton, head of the Brookline Library and later of the Boston Athenaeum, wrote in his 1897 history of the town that the three men were “untiring advocates of public education.”⁷ Harriet Woods in *Historical Sketches of Brookline* (1874) wrote that “the entire management of literary affairs connected with the schools devolved upon Rev. Dr. Pierce, the minister of the First Parish.”⁸

The town's first library, a precursor to the public library established in the 1850s, was established in 1825 by a committee that includes Pierce, who became president of the library. (It was kept in the house of the Town Clerk, Oliver Whyte, the first librarian.)⁹

Pierce has been called the first historian of the Town of Brookline.¹⁰ He was said to have a prodigious memory for the dates of births, deaths, and marriages among his parishioners. He delivered a number of historical discourses including one in 1805 marking the hundredth anniversary of the town's independence and another 40 years later at the official opening of the new Town Hall.

Pierce also remained active in the affairs of his alma mater, Harvard. He served as secretary of the Board of Overseers at the college for 33 years. Other organizations and causes in which he played a significant part were Massachusetts Peace Society (organized in 1815), the temperance movement, and the Congregational and, later, the Unitarian Church.

The period of Pierce's tenure in Brookline was one of ferment in the established Congregational church in New England, including the rise of the "New Lights" movement and eventually the establishment of the Unitarian Church. Pierce attempted, and largely succeeded, in keeping his parish above the controversies.

"His theological opinions, as to disputed points, were not, we suppose, very clearly defined in his own mind," according to a tribute published after his death. "As far as possible, he avoided taking sides in the great controversy between the Liberal and Orthodox parties, disclaimed all party relations and names to the last."¹¹

"When the Congregational standing order split into rival Calvinist and Unitarian denominations in the 1820s," wrote Ronald Dale Karr in his 1981 doctoral dissertation on Brookline history, "Pierce's parish remained intact. Keeping his theology both vague and palatable he slid his church almost imperceptibly into the Unitarian camp, so gracefully that it is not possible to date the transition with any precision. The bitter sectarian quarrels that erupted between the Orthodox Congregationalists and the Unitarians at this time in many other New England communities were avoided in Brookline."¹²

"In the face of secularization, schisms, and rapid social change," added Karr, "Pierce had accomplished the not inconsiderable feat of preserving conservative, elitist religious unity."¹³

"Theologically liberal and a champion of human progress," Karr wrote, "Pierce was in most other respects a cautious conservative who prized order, discipline, deference and moderation."¹⁴

That desire for order and moderation may have played a part in the most controversial event of John Pierce's long tenure in Brookline. (It was controversial at the time and in later decades and remains controversial today.)

In 1837, Samuel Philbrick, whose house on Walnut Street would serve as a station on the Underground Railroad, brought a young African-American girl who was staying with his family to church at First Parish, seating her in the family pew. Several members of the Congregation objected, insisting the young girl should sit in the segregated pews reserved for African-Americans. (This was a common practice in Northern churches in this period.)¹⁵

Pierce sided with the objectors. The Philbrick family left the church, never to return. (Samuel Philbrick did later serve with Pierce on the School Committee and was part of

the committee that in 1853 selected the site for a new school, named for John Pierce in 1855, six years after Pierce's death.)

David A. Johnson, former minister of First Parish, addressed the topic of "John Pierce and the Issues of Slavery and Abolition" in a talk before the Brookline Historical Society in 1993. (His address was published in the Society newsletter.)

Johnson acknowledged 25 years ago that Pierce's decision in 1837 had "come to be seen to represent Dr. Pierce's attitude to African Americans." He noted that Pierce was not a supporter of the abolitionists, although his wife and almost all of his children were.¹⁶ (Lucy Tappan Pierce's brothers, Arthur and Lewis, were prominent abolitionists and among the founders of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.)

Johnson points out that Pierce, after attending his first anti-slavery lecture, by Charles Finney in 1831, "was not pleased by Phinney's screaming and wild gesticulations. He preferred cogent arguments to popular ranting..." Pierce, Johnson suggests, struggled with the question of how to end slavery. He attended a meeting of the American Colonization Society but "was unconvinced that this was a solution to the problem of slavery."¹⁷ Like many, he worried about the effect efforts to end slavery would have on the unity of the nation, let alone on his congregation.

"It would have been impossible," wrote Johnson, "for him to have been an outspoken abolitionist, and a peacemaker in the Congregational order."¹⁸

At the same time, Johnson notes that Pierce was clearly opposed to slavery. He attended Phinney's 1831 lecture, wrote Johnson, at a time when it was clearly not safe to do so. He participated in a service in 1841 celebrating the freedom of several of the *Amistad* slaves and another celebration, three years later, marking the repeal of the "gag rule" that prevented Congress from considering anti-slavery petitions.

There are other examples of Pierce's anti-slavery activities not mentioned by Johnson.

An article in William Lloyd Garrison's newspaper *The Liberator* in May 1837 reported on the second annual meeting of the Dorchester Anti-Slavery Society in Dorchester Town Hall. (Dorchester was then a separate town.) The article mentions an address by "the Rev. Mr. Pierce of Brookline" to "the ladies": "His address was to the point, and well calculated to advance the cause in this place."

Another item in *The Liberator*, in March 1839, lists signers of two petitions presented to the Massachusetts legislature. One calls for "the abolition of Slavery and the Slave trade in the District of Columbia and the Territories." The other argues against "the admission of Florida and Texas, and for prohibiting by law the slave traffic between the States;--and against the admission into the Union of any new state whose constitution tolerates Slavery."

Among the listed signatories on both petitions are “John Pierce and 62 others of Brookline.”

Neither of those petitions were successful, of course. Florida and Texas were both admitted to the Union in 1845, the last two “slave states” to be admitted. The Compromise of 1850 brought about the end of the slave trade, but not of slavery, in the District of Columbia. It also brought about a stricter Fugitive Slave Law. As an attempt at compromise, perhaps of the kind Pierce might have advocated, it was a failure that only served as a prelude to the Civil War.

John Pierce did not live to see the Compromise of 1850, the Civil War, or the end of slavery in the United States. He died on August 24, 1849 at the age of 76.

Ad Hoc Task Force Discussion

In addition, it was noted that Dr. Pierce was not initially accepting of the views of the new Baptist Church in Brookline. Over time he became more accepting and became close to Baptist Minister William Shailer. Dr. Pierce was not an abolitionist, but he did oppose slavery.

6) Presentation of Research on Runkle School Name

Mr. Gray presented research on the Runkle School name. (He thanked Ms. Coyne for her assistance.)

June 2018 Research

John Daniel Runkle
October 11, 1822-July 8, 1902

This material is not an extensive biography of Dr. Runkle; it supplements the interesting and important information compiled in the previous Brookline school summary document.

Education

S.B., A.M., Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard College, 1851
Ph.D., Hamilton, 1867
L.L.D., Wesleyan, 1871

Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Professor of Mathematics, 1865-1902
Acting President, 1868-1870
President, 1870-1878

John Daniel Runkle was born in Root, New York on October 11, 1822 (five years before slavery ended in New York in 1827) to the farming family of Daniel and Sarah Gordon Runkle.

The Proceedings of the New England Historical Society at the Annual Meeting, 9 January 1901 state: “Dr. Runkle married in 1851, Sarah Willard Hodges, who died in 1856,

leaving no children. He married in 1862, Catherine Robbins Bird, who died in 1897. They had six children: Catherine Bird, William Bird, deceased, John Cornelis, Emma Rogers, deceased, Eleanor Winslow and Gordon Taylor. Dr. Runkle died at Southwest Harbor, Maine, July 8, 1902.”

In 1876 President Runkle visited the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia and was impressed with the display of a Russian exhibit of shop instruction. He saw the possibility of applying the Russian methods to the “Institute and to American education in general.” Runkle recommended to the Institute the immediate adoption of the Russian methods, and the Russian government approved the replication of their Philadelphia exhibit.

Later in 1876, Runkle visited Russia to see the educational practice in a school setting. When he returned home, he sent a letter of thanks to his Russian hosts. On October 26, 2011, a Kremlin website reports the visit to Russia by MIT President Susan Hockfield to enter into an agreement between the Skolhovo institute of Science and Technology and MIT. On that occasion the President of Russia, Dimitry Medvedev, presented President Hockfield with the thank-you letter written in 1876 by then President of MIT, John Runkle.

Runkle implemented these methods in the Brookline school system as well as at MIT. In Brookline, Runkle resided at several locations before building a house at 84 High Street. He served on the Brookline School Committee for 17 years, stepping down in 1897. At the January 11, 1897 School Committee meeting, Runkle was present for most of the business, but the minutes indicate that he was not present when the following motion was made and “Voted that the new school on Druce Street be called the John D. Runkle School.” Later that year, Runkle moved from Brookline to Cambridge for the final years of his life.

Sources:

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<http://historyinaction.columbia.edu/field-notes/slavery-and-emancipation-new-york/>

Ad Hoc Task Force Discussion

Members noted Dr. Runkle's role in adopting manual training for both boys and girls. Ms. Charlupski suggested that the final report include pictures of the people for whom the schools are named.

7) Meeting Schedule, Next Steps, and Agenda for Next Meeting

Ad Hoc Task Force members agreed that the Ad Hoc Task Force will wait until all reports are given before deciding on whether to make recommendations.

The next meeting of the Ad Hoc Task Force will take place on Monday, June 18, 2018, 5:30 PM-7:00 PM, in the Walsh School Committee Room, 5th Floor, Town Hall. The agenda will include presentation of Ad Hoc Task Force research on the Lincoln School name and discussion of next steps, including the preparation of a report, and a future meeting date(s).

The meeting adjourned at 7:15 PM.

¹ US Census Bureau, in 1865 the US had a special Census to get an accurate account of the US population after the Civil War. 1870 was considered important and the most complete record of the American population post Civil War.

² Ibid

³ Edith Clarke (Demmon) Baker Obituary 5-Oct-1942, Boston Globe

⁴ Massachusetts Passenger and Crew Lists 1820-1963, arrived in Boston from Liverpool, England 14-Sept-1885

⁵ Massachusetts Marriage Records 1840-1915

⁶ Charles Morrill Baker Obituary 28-Aug-1918

⁷ Massachusetts Vital Records of Birth, Marriage and Death 1763-1910 and the 1900 US Census

⁸ US Census 1865, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1930, 1940

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- ⁹ US Census 1910
- ¹⁰ Proceedings of The Brookline Historical Society 17-Jan-1912
- ¹¹ Town Meeting Records 3-Mar-1912
- ¹² CM Baker Obituary
- ¹³ EC Baker Obituary and the Proceedings of BHS [1912 & 1926], Also, the Burnham School was consolidated with other schools for girls and is now the Stoneleigh Burnham School [for girls] in Greenfield, Massachusetts
- ¹⁴ Brookline Public Schools from the Brookline Preservation Department
- ¹⁵ "To Quit Brookline Board", Boston Daily Globe 14-Jan-1915
- ¹⁶ EC Baker Obituary and "Contest For School Board Added to Election Ballot", Brookline Chronicle 12-Jan-1939
- ¹⁷ "Row Over School Head in Brookline", Boston Globe 5-Mar-1931
- ¹⁸ Letters of Support to the US Passport & US State Department 1919 & 1920
- ¹⁹ MA Passenger and Crew Lists and New York Passenger and Crew Lists 1820-1957
- ²⁰ Ibid
- ²¹ "School Committee Approves Funding for First Edith Baker building", Brookline Chronicle 24-Jan-1936
- ²² "Advisory Board Opposes Acceptance of Grant", Brookline Chronicle 28-Nov-1935
- ²³ "Tablet Honoring Mrs. Edith Baker Unveiled at School Named For Her", Boston Globe 9-Mar-1938
- ²⁴ "Baker School Accepted Despite Many Defects", Brookline Chronicle 17-June-1938
- ²⁵ EC Baker Obituary
- ¹ ¹McGovern, James R. *Yankee Family*. Polyanthos, 1975, p. 14.
- ² Fox, Thomas B. "Memoir of John Pierce" in *American Unitarian Biography: Memoirs of Individuals who Have Been Distinguished by Their Writings, Character, and Efforts in the Cause of Liberal Christianity*, Volume 2. Edited by William Ware. James Munroe, 1851, p. 3.
- ³ Woods, Harriet F. *Historical Sketches of Brookline, Mass.* Robert S. Davis, 1851, p. 251.4
- ⁴ Fox, p. 4.
- ⁵ *ibid.*
- ⁶ Karr, Ronald Dale. *The Evolution of an Elite Suburb: Community Structure and Control in Brookline, Massachusetts, 1770-1900*. Boston University Ph.D. Dissertation, 1981, p. 113.
- ⁷ Bolton, Charles Knowles. *Brookline: The History of a Favored Town*. C.A.W. Spencer, 1897, p. 115.
- ⁸ Woods, p. 95.
- ⁹ Bolton, p. 123
- ¹⁰ Denehy, John William. *A History of Brookline, Massachusetts, from the First Settlement of Muddy River until the Present Time*. The Brookline Press Co., 1906, p. 49.
- ¹¹ "The Rev. John Pierce, D.D.". *The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany*, July, September, November 1849, p. 450.
- ¹² Karr, p. 114.
- ¹³ Karr, p. 118.
- ¹⁴ Karr, p. 112.
- ¹⁵ Boles, Richard J. *Dividing the Faith: The Rise of Racially Segregated Northern Churches, 1730-1850*. George Washington University Ph.D. Dissertation, 2013, p. 109.
- ¹⁶ Johnson, David A. "John Pierce and the Issues of Slavery and Abolition." *Brookline Historical Society Newsletter*, November 1993, p. 4.
- ¹⁷ Johnson, p. 5.
- ¹⁸ Johnson, pp. 8-9.