This dialogue is based on the life and success of George Peabody and the Peabody Institute Library, Danvers, Massachusetts. The dialogue is between two researchers who have spent years studying the life of George Peabody. The script recounts the difficulties faced by the poorly educated youngster who grew to become one of the wealthiest men in the United States. Peabody's educational philanthropy is recounted, along with many personal details of the man's life. A chronology of George Peabody's life is included at the end of the document. (EH)
FP: We are pleased to be here in historic Danvers, Massachusetts, near where George Peabody was born and grew up. George Peabody's branch of the family was poor. His father died in debt at age 41. From poverty, George Peabody rose to become a merchant; a broker-banker in London selling U.S. state bonds to promote roads, canals, and railroads; a financier of the Mexican War and the Atlantic Cable Co.; and an educational philanthropist, greatest of his time. Who were his parents?

BJP: His father, Thomas Peabody (1762-1811), was born in Andover and moved to Haverhill, where he met and married (July 16, 1789) Judith Dodge of Rowley (near Georgetown). He was tall and dark complexioned. She was medium sized, delicate, and fair. Their first two children were born in Haverhill: son David, April 23, 1790; and daughter Achsah Spofford, November 14, 1791. How did Thomas make a living?

FP: Thomas Peabody worked in leather. For a better living, he moved from Haverhill to Danvers, 1794, a leather center since the 1740s because of its fresh water and oak trees. George Peabody was born February 18, 1795, third child and second son of eight children, in a two story frame house, 205 Washington Street, Peabody, Massachusetts, now the George Peabody House Civic Center. His homemade cradle is on display at the Peabody Historical Society in Peabody. Describe George's schooling.

BJP: Five other children followed: Judith Dodge (April 5, 1799), Thomas (April 17, 1801), Jeremiah Dodge (January 23, 1805), Mary Gaines (September 7, 1807), and Sophronia Phelps (November 4, 1809)—eight children, four sons, four daughters. George had four scant years in a district school, ages 8 to 11 (1803-07). Why so little schooling?

FP: Not a successful breadwinner, Thomas had to sell his land, mortgage his home, remove George from school, and apprentice him in Sylvester Proctor's general store for four years (1807 to 11). Living above and working in that store was George's commercial beginning. He swept, cleaned, kept accounts, displayed and sold clothing and other goods, learned the value of money and credit, heard of countries where products were grown or made, and found how goods were shipped by land and water. What did he do after his apprenticeship years?
BJP: At age 15 he went alone to stay for a year with his maternal grandparents, the Dodges, Post Mills village, Thetford, Vermont. At age 16 he worked in older brother David's Newburyport, Massachusetts, drygoods store. Tragedy struck May 1811: his father died, the family home was lost, and the "Great Newburyport Fire" ruined business prospects. His father's younger brother, Uncle John, wanted to open a drygoods store in Georgetown, District of Columbia, with George. They had no stock. Uncle John had no credit. George, at 17, asked help from Newburyport merchant Prescott Spaulding, who offered letters of credit. With letters of credit George got from Boston merchant John Reed merchandise worth $2,000. With goods to sell, George and his uncle moved south to open their Georgetown, D.C. store. What happened in the District of Columbia?

FP: Young Peabody tended store. He also sold goods by backpack and horse and buggy to nearby homes and plantations. In the War of 1812 he met fellow soldier and experienced merchant Elisha Riggs, Sr. (1779-1853), became junior partner (1814) of Riggs, Peabody & Co., which moved (1815) from Georgetown, D.C., to Baltimore, with Philadelphia and New York branches. Riggs left the firm for banking. His nephew and later his son joined the renamed Peabody, Riggs & Co. The firm bought clothing and other manufactured goods abroad to sell to U.S. retailers and sold abroad American cotton and other raw products. Peabody made five buying trips to Europe in 10 years, 1827 to 1837, then moved permanently to London, 1837, just before young Victoria was crowned queen. Why the permanent move to London?

BJP: The United States needed European capital for internal improvements. In 1837, a year of financial panic, Maryland named three commissioners to sell its $8 million bond issue to finance internal improvements: roads, canals, and railroads. Peabody replaced one commissioner who resigned. Selling those bonds took years. Peabody found London, the world's financial capital, congenial for business. By 1843 George Peabody & Co., London, was a small, respected competitor of older, larger international banking firms like Baring and Rothschild. At 59, sometimes ill, and wanting time for his philanthropies, he took as partner Boston merchant Junius Spencer Morgan (1813-90). Morgan's son, John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913), began as New York agent for George Peabody & Co. When Peabody retired without an heir, 1864, the firm became J. S. Morgan & Co. George Peabody was the founding root of the banking house of Morgan. Peabody worked 25 years in Georgetown and Baltimore and 32 years in London. What about return visits to the U.S.?

FP: On three visits home, 1856, 1866, and summer 1869, to visit family, look after his philanthropies, and observe business conditions, he was increasingly greeted as a new-found hero. To show why, I digress to mention his growing reputation in London. He rendered services for visiting Americans (services the American Express now routinely does): gave dinners bringing together Americans and British notables; and began his first Peabody Institute Library (1852). What brought him to public attention in London in 1851?
Prince Albert, Queen Victoria's husband, began the first world's fair, London, 1851, the Great Crystal Palace Exhibition. Congress endorsed U.S. participation but did not appropriate money. U.S. products piled up in a large unadorned display area. Other countries but not the U.S. subsidized the artistic display of their national products. British satirical magazine Punch wrote: "We could not help...being struck by the glaring contrast between large pretensions and little performance [of] America." New York Evening Post correspondent in London wrote: "It is a national disgrace that American wares, which are good, are so barely displayed, so...ambitiously spread out in so large a space." U.S. Ambassador Abbott Lawrence had no funds. George Peabody's offer to lend the exhibitors $15,000 to adorn the American pavilion was gratefully received. *What did visitors see?*

Some six million visitors saw attractively displayed Alfred C. Hobbs's unpickable locks, Samuel Colt's revolvers, Hiram Powers' statue, the Greek Slave, Cyrus McCormick's reaper, Robert Hoe's printing press, and Bond's spring governor. Peabody was praised for the loan, later repaid by Congress, and for helping restore American pride. Praise also came for his early Anglo-American dinner, July 4, 1851. *What about that dinner?*

London was full of Americans. Peabody, busy with social calls and getting tickets for Americans to visit Parliament, the Botanical Gardens, plays, and operas, also planned an Anglo-American dinner. His friends were wary. English society still looked down on brash Americans. After Ambassador Abbott Lawrence inquired discreetly, he told Peabody that English society would not attend. *What happened?*

Peabody invited the Duke of Wellington, revered Englishman who had defeated Napoleon at Waterloo. When the 84-year-old Duke said yes, London society came. Peabody's July 4, 1851, dinner, the first of many he paid for, succeeded enormously. The press echoed public approval. Peabody's nephew wrote from Cambridge, Massachusetts: "Your parting entertainment to the American Exhibitors has caused your name to be known and appreciated on this side of the Atlantic." Washington, D.C., business associate William W. Corcoran wrote: "You are winning golden opinions from all sorts of men." Peabody replied to Corcoran, who had donated the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington, D.C.: "However liberal I may be here, I cannot keep pace with your noble acts of charity at home; but one of these days...I shall become a strong competitor of yours in benevolence." This hint was about the first Peabody Institute Library (1852) and later gifts. *What about his first gift?*

Danvers celebrated its 100th year of separation from Salem, June 16, 1852. Speeches were made and letters read from dignitaries including George Peabody. Busy in London, unable to attend, he recalled to the anniversary committee: "...It was in a humble house in the South Parish that I was born and in the common schools there obtained the limited education my parents could afford...." "Plant," he urged, "the New England Common School among the emigrants filling up the Mississippi Valley." With a sentiment, "Education- a debt due from present to future generations," he enclosed $20,000, first installment
for his first Peabody Institute in old South Danvers, renamed Peabody, 1868, to which he gave a total of $217,600 for building, lecture fund, and library. He later gave a total of $100,000 for his second Peabody Institute Library in present Danvers. What was his role in the search for lost English hero-explorer Sir John Franklin?

FP: Arctic explorer Sir John Franklin (1786-1847) and crew were lost (1847) searching for the Northwest Passage. Lady Franklin asked (1854) the U.S. government’s help in searching for her missing husband. New York merchant Henry Grinnell gave two ships. The U.S Navy authorized a search expedition under Elisha Kent Kane. George Peabody wrote to Kane: "...Aware of the uncertainty of [Congressional] votes on appropriations of money....I [offer] $10,000" to equip the expedition. This 1854 expedition under Kane, with equipment paid for by Peabody, did not find Sir John Franklin. But it did begin U.S. Arctic exploration. Kane named Peabody Bay, off Greenland, to honor Peabody’s financial contribution. Peabody won praise for his connection with this early instance of Anglo-American cooperation. What is the connection with a White House desk?

BJP: H.M.S. Resolute, a British ship, was lost in the search for Franklin. A U.S. whaler found it abandoned in the Arctic ice and removed it. The U.S. government bought the ship, fitted it for sea, and returned it to Britain as a gift. In gratitude, when the Resolute was broken up, Queen Victoria had a massive desk made from it and gave the desk to the President of the United States. First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy found that desk in storage and moved it to the Oval Office. Famous photos show little John John Kennedy playing under that desk. Tell more about Peabody’s 1856 U.S. visit.

FP: News spread fast about Peabody’s planned visit. Invitations poured in. Knowing that South Danvers had voted expenses for a formal welcome, his sister Judith wrote. “The people...will be extremely disappointed if they do not do much more than anybody else and do it first. They are tenacious of their right to you.” Young J.P. Morgan, helping old Peabody pack, wrote to his cousin: "He is a very agreeable gentleman and very full of wit but a regular old bachelor. If you could have seen the quantity of nic-nacs...[he] stored...with the greatest precision, you would...have thought he was going to...some unexplored region.” What happened on his arrival in New York?

BJP: Business friends wanted to wine and dine him. His letter to the New York Daily Times explained why he declined all public dinners except at Danvers. In Newburyport on his way to Danvers, he recognized Prescott Spaulding, who, 44 years earlier (1812), helped get his first consignment of goods. To visitors in Danvers, George Peabody at age 61 seemed the perfect hero. Born poor, he became rich. A patriot, he stood against states’ repudiation of their debts and won respect when states resumed their bond interest payments. People admired his hospitality to Americans in London, his international dinners, his 1851 aid to American exhibitors, his help in the search for Sir John Franklin, and his first Peabody Institute Library. What happened in Danvers?
FP: Peabody was welcomed October 9, 1856, by flags, banners, bands, 1,500 marching Danvers school children, and a crowd of 5,000. Seventeen-year-old schoolgirl Alice L. Putnam, who rode a horse-drawn bus to Danvers from Salem, wrote: "Mr. Peabody is a fine looking man.... Quite tall and stout: he looked warm and dusty...but had a fine open countenance....[He] appeared very much affected and his hand trembled very much." What did Peabody say?

BJP: He said he felt, after 20 years' absence, like Rip Van Winkle. About his business firm, he said: "Heaven has been pleased to reward my efforts with success, and has permitted me to establish...a house in [the] great metropolis of England.... I have endeavored...to make it an American house, to give it an American atmosphere, to furnish it with American journals; to make it a center for American news, and an agreeable place for my American friends visiting England." What did the press say about the Danvers reception?

FP: Boston Courier: "The reception of George Peabody...was an honor of which the foremost man in the Republic might be proud." London Times: "...Danvers [was] the scene of a grand festival..." Again, young J. P. Morgan wrote to his cousin: "The report [of Mr. Peabody's reception at Danvers] has been copied into several of the European journals, and very well spoken of." If Danvers was divided the previous year, 1855, and South Danvers had the first Peabody Institute Library, what about North Danvers?

BJP: Peabody started a second Peabody Institute Library in present-day Danvers with $10,000, December 22, 1856, and ultimately gave a total of $100,000. He gave Best Scholar Medals to high school students in both present-day Danvers and present-day Peabody. After Danvers, he established the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, February 12, 1857, whose striking building opened ten years later with a lecture hall, lecture fund, reference library, art gallery, and what is now the Peabody Conservatory of Music. He gave the Peabody Institute of Baltimore a total of $1.4 million. Before returning to London, he gave $15,000 each to public libraries in Georgetown, D. C., and Newburyport, Massachusetts. Mention his U.S. visit 10 years later, in 1866.

FP: He was 71 in 1866, retired, and often ill. Having paid for the education of his younger brothers and sisters, he later paid for their children's schooling, including nephew Othniel Charles Marsh. Marsh at Yale became the first U.S. professor of paleontology, the second such professor in the world, and a famous discoverer of dinosaur remains. Through Marsh's science interest, Peabody gave $150,000 each to found the Peabody Museum of Anthropology, Harvard University, and the Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University. He also gave funds to what is now the Peabody Essex Museum. Describe the Peabody Essex Museum background.

BJP: The Peabody Essex Museum of Salem is the oldest continuously operating museum in the United States. It began as the East India Marine Society (1799), a charity for Salem shipmasters' widows and orphans. By 1867 its collection of navigational instruments and ethnological treasures, donated by
acquisitive New England shipmasters, desperately needed a museum building. George Peabody's $140,000 gift established the Peabody Academy of Science (1867), renamed the Peabody Museum of Salem (1915), which existed side by side with the Essex Institute (1848). These two merged in 1992 as the Peabody Essex Museum.

What did Peabody contribute to Massachusetts and New England?

FP: Five libraries in what are now Peabody, Danvers, Newburyport, and Georgetown, Massachusetts, and in Thetford, Vermont; plus a math and science professorship at Phillips Academy, Andover. His library gifts promoted tax-supported public libraries. His three museums of science at Harvard, Yale, and in Salem had national and world influence. These science gifts were important because science still fought for a place alongside the liberal arts. As a respected merchant, banker, internationalist, and leading philanthropist, he added pride to Massachusetts and New England.

Back to 1867: why did he found the Peabody Education Fund (PEF) for the South?

BJP: From 1859 he planned a large gift for New York City's poor. But shocked at the devastation he saw in the post-Civil War South in 1866, he changed his mind and established a $1 million education fund, February 1867, to revive public education and prepare teachers in the 11 former Confederate states. West Virginia was added because of its poverty. He doubled the fund to $2 million, June 29, 1869. It should have been $3.5 million, but two southern states never honored their $1.5 million bonds he owned and gave to the Fund.

Tell about his August 1869 meeting with Robert E. Lee?

FP: In August 1869, Peabody was 74, feeble, arthritic, hardly able to walk. Sensing that this might be his last summer of life, he braved the London-to-New York crossing, doubled his southern education fund, and joined business friend W.W. Corcoran at White Sulphur Springs, W.Va., popular warm springs health spa. Who else was at the springs that August 1869?

BJP: Present that August 1869 were eight former Confederate generals, southern officials, northern educator Barnas Sears, and southern educator J.L.M. Curry. The last two were college presidents and in turn first and second chief administrators of the PEF. The accidental presence of Lee, Peabody, northern and southern educators, and southern military and other leaders led to spontaneous informal talks about rebuilding the South through public education.

What have historians written about the educational consequences of those August 1869 White Sulphur Springs talks?

FP: Because of vast publicity on doubling his education fund for the South, the elite group at White Sulphur Springs knew who Peabody was, passed and published in local newspapers resolutions of praise to him, and merrymakers held a Great Peabody Ball in his honor. You ask what historians wrote about the White Sulphur Springs gathering. Historian Perceval Reniers wrote, "The affair that did most to revive [the Southerners'] esteem was the Peabody ball." Historian E. Merton Coulter added that Southern society was reborn at the Virginia springs, that "the greatest gesture of friendship the South ever made toward the
North...was the Peabody ball in 1869 to honor George Peabody's southern education...foundation. What followed from the White Sulphur Springs education talks?

BJP: They led to Four Conferences on Education in the South, 1898-1901, involving Curry and other PEF trustees. These led to formation of the Southern Education Board (1901-14). John F. Slater credited George Peabody's example in founding the Slater Fund for Negro Education in the South. PEF trustees Paul Tulane and Anthony Drexel founded Tulane University, New Orleans, and the Drexel Institute, Philadelphia. John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board (1902-62) included Curry and other PEF trustees. These funds and conferences, plus the Rosenwald Fund and the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, with overlapping trustees, worked together to uplift the South through public education. Why did this wealth and power care about public education in the South?

FP: Enlightened self-interest made business leaders see that a better educated South would advance the national economy. The pioneering PEF helped create educational leaders, was the first U.S. multi-million dollar foundation to try to solve social ills, the first U.S. education foundation without religious conditions, the first whose influence was national, the first to provide for modifications as conditions changed, and the first to select trustees from the professions and business. PEF precedents were adopted by later foundations in the South and the nation. George Peabody founded modern American educational philanthropy, the main finding of our research. Why did we choose George Peabody as a research topic?

FP: In discussions with Peabody College Graduate Dean, later President Felix C. Robb, he mentioned that at Harvard Graduate School of Education, which he attended, historian Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., had suggested that he write on George Peabody's educational influence, about which there was no definitive study. Robb chose, instead, to write on school administration. Perhaps regretting a good topic not pursued, he suggested it to me. This put us on the trail of George Peabody. How did Peabody make his fortune?

BJP: By close attention to detail. For shipping goods, he had to know timetables of coaches, railroads, and ships. He had vision and a keen sense of all that affected business: political events, social trends, and technological developments. Convinced that Maryland and other states must resume interest payment on their bonds for internal improvement, he bought them himself at low cost and later profited: profited again from selling Mexican war bonds: profited again as a director and financier of the Atlantic Cable Co. (the last as exciting then as today's computer and information superhighway). Was there any romance in his life?
FP: He had a broken engagement to a Providence, Rhode Island, beauty, Esther Elizabeth Hoppin (1819-1905). She was in London for Queen Victoria's coronation (June 28, 1838). He was 43, she 19. Returning to Providence she met an earlier love, Alexander Lardner, asked Peabody to release her from their engagement, and married Lardner. Three other ladies were romantically linked to Peabody: Miss Wilcocks, niece of a U.S. Ambassador in London; Elise Tiffany and Elizabeth Knox, both of Baltimore, but he never married. What was the focus of our research?

BJP: Our focus was the history and influence of Peabody's education institutions. I list them: Peabody music conservatory and art gallery; seven Peabody libraries in cities where he had lived, worked, or had family ties: three Peabody science museums at Harvard, Yale, and in Salem, Massachusetts; three science and mathematics professorships at Washington and Lee University, Kenyon College, and Phillips Academy; the $2 million Peabody Education Fund (present descendant, Peabody College of Vanderbilt University); and the $2.5 million Peabody homes for low-income working people in London (1862).

Where did the search take us?

FP: On manuscript reading trips to Washington, D.C., Baltimore, New York City, Boston, Cambridge, New Haven; and with a small grant, to England, to the Peabody Trust, which administers the Peabody Homes of London: Morgan, Grenfell & Co., descendant of George Peabody & Co.; the British Library, Athenaeum Club; Windsor Castle Royal Archives; the Admiralty; and Foreign Office. What happened on our return to Nashville?

BJP: You gave the Peabody College Founders Day Address, February 18, 1955. Then came a year and a half of documenting the George Peabody dissertation, defending it, and graduating. Teaching years followed at the Universities of Texas (Austin), Oklahoma (Norman), and West Virginia (Morgantown). Publishers returned the Peabody book manuscripts. How did our luck change?

FP: I spoke at the Peabody College May 1970 commencement. Noting my presence, Vanderbilt University Press director asked to see the George Peabody manuscript. The result was the 1971 George Peabody, A Biography. After it was out of print, I urged the press to consider reprint or revision. On April 5, 1992, the press director, looking toward George Peabody’s 200th birthday (February 18, 1995), agreed to publish a revised edition. Why does George Peabody merit special attention?

BJP: His gifts, made before tax laws favored charitable giving, had few precedents. Wealthier philanthropists John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Henry Ford, and others, were more publicized, are better known. Peabody's philanthropies, which seem small and minor now, were considerable for their time and when adjusted for inflation. They set precedents and were imitated by later foundations. George Peabody founded modern American educational philanthropy. But times change, costs mount, institutions decline, some die. How have Peabody institutions survived?
FP: His seven libraries became tax-supported public libraries. His PEF trustees, who were allowed to end the trust in 1914, gave $468,000 to 14 Southern university departments of education (the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's education building is still called Peabody Hall); $346,000 went to the Slater Fund, still used by the Southern Education Foundation for African-American education; and $1.5 million went to George Peabody College for Teachers, whose 210-year academic lineage under six names includes Davidson Academy (1785-1806, chartered by North Carolina before Tennessee statehood); renamed Cumberland College (1806-26); renamed University of Nashville (1826-75); renamed Peabody Normal College (1875-1909); then George Peabody College for Teachers (1909-79); and since 1979 Peabody College of Vanderbilt University. ¶What happened to the Peabody Institute of Baltimore?

BJP: Budget problems forced the Peabody Library of Baltimore, a special research collection, to become part of the Enoch Pratt Free Library for 16 years (1966-82). (You know: the Peabody Library of Baltimore's rich collection early allowed Peabody librarians proudly to fill interlibrary loan requests from the great Library of Congress). For the last 13 years (since 1982), the Peabody Library and its sister institution, the Peabody Conservatory of Music, have been departments of the Johns Hopkins University. ¶How were Enoch Pratt and Johns Hopkins connected with Peabody?

FP: Peabody influenced both these fellow Baltimore merchants. Enoch Pratt, trustee and treasurer of the Peabody Library of Baltimore, endowed the Enoch Pratt Free Library as Baltimore's public library. Johns Hopkins specifically asked Peabody's advice on what to do with his fortune. Twenty-four hours after their meeting, Hopkins wrote his will creating the Johns Hopkins University, Hospital, and Medical School. Thus, institutions founded by Enoch Pratt and Johns Hopkins, both influenced by George Peabody, helped his Peabody Institute of Baltimore survive and flourish. The Peabody museums have had to raise additional funds for their worldwide activities. The Peabody Homes of London, a real success story, now house 26,000 people. Peabody's legacy remains significant in teacher education, music education, science education, public libraries, and low-cost housing. ¶Did anyone dislike Peabody?

BJP: Yes, William Lloyd Garrison (1805-79), strict abolitionist, before Peabody's death, made his first criticism: "...Mr. Peabody was with the South in feeling and sentiment.... His first...donation. was...to...Maryland...when that state was rotten with treason.... [Now ill and] true to his Southern sympathies...he hastens to White Sulphur Springs in Virginia...favorite resort of the elite of rebeldom...." Garrison's second criticism: "Mr. Peabody has given two millions of dollars for the education of the ignorant classes of the South [but]...the Peabody Education Fund...[administrator Sears] says...'We must look particularly after...white children.'" Garrison's third criticism: that George Peabody denounced the Massachusetts Personal Liberty Bill prohibiting slave hunters from removing fugitive slaves from Massachusetts. ¶Who answered these harsh charges?

FP: Henry Adams (1838-1918), son of the U.S. ambassador to England during the Civil War, affirmed Peabody's Union loyalty, as did Thurlow Weed (1797-1882), New York State politician and
newspaper editor. Weed was in London, 1861, as President Lincoln's emissary to keep England and France from aiding the Confederacy. Peabody helped Weed contact British leaders. A New York Times reporter quoted Peabody as saying, "The war might have been, should have been prevented, but the Union is cheap even at this great sacrifice of blood and treasure." ¥Was Peabody's Baltimore gift political?

**BJP:** The Baltimore Institute's (PIB, founded 1857; opened 1867) chief planner was John Pendleton Kennedy. Peabody's friend since the War of 1812, former Secretary of the U.S. Navy, and staunch Unionist. This educational gift to a city where Peabody lived and worked for 22 years had no political connotation. Nor did Peabody's August 1869 White Sulphur Springs visit. The Peabody Ball, resolutions of praise for Peabody and Peabody's warm response were spontaneous, and did not have a sinister intent--as Garrison put it--"[aid and abet] the criminals of the South." ¥Did Peabody oppose Massachusetts' bill prohibiting slave hunters from removing fugitive slaves?

**FP:** Garrison confused George Peabody, philanthropist, with another George Peabody (1804-92), Eastern Railroad president, Boston, who did sign a petition against Massachusetts' Personal Liberty Bill. Garrison made a mistake. Angry and bitter, he looked on the South as the enemy long after the Civil War. He raged at Peabody because the PEF aimed to revive the South. ¥Did the PEF favor Whites over Blacks as charged?

**BJP:** Peabody wanted both races to benefit from his Fund. First PEF administrator (for 13 years, 1867-80) Barnas Sears's dilemma was how best to use the PEF's small resources, the interest on $2 million, to meet the South's enormous educational needs. ¥What was Sears's PEF policy?

**FP:** Aided schools had to be in larger towns where many children could be gathered, had to meet at least nine months a year, had to have at least one teacher per fifty students, and had to be permanently supported by local and state taxes. This aid rose with enrollment and required community matching funds (sometimes double and treble). Sears made local school leaders who favored tax-supported public schools sub-agents, authorized to spend PEF money as needed locally. ¥What unique problems faced Sears?

**BJP:** Surprisingly, Sears first (1867) found Black schools better off than White schools because, for nine years (1865-74), the federal Freedmen's Bureau, northern missionaries, and northern teachers massivly aided Black not White schools. Right or wrong, PEF policy gave Black schools two-thirds the amount of aid given White schools. Sears warned. "Some will find fault with our making any distinction between the two races." ¥Another problem Sears faced?

**FP:** Most southern states required separate White-Black schools. Sears knew that if he fought segregation, he would lose and wreck the PEF. To carry out the PEF's mission, he felt he had to comply. Also, the public was slow to pay taxes for public schools. Education in the South, then, was a private family responsibility. Free or tax-supported public schools were looked down upon as charity schools. Rather than
be stigmatized as poor, low income White families kept their children home. \( \)Were any Southern schools racially integrated?

**BJP:** Louisiana law required racially integrated public schools. But these were in practice Black schools to which White parents would not send their children. In Louisiana, Sears felt he had no option but to aid private schools for White children who would otherwise grow up in ignorance. \( \)Was Sears a racist?

**FP:** He was criticized for the two-thirds Black school discriminatory rate and for not resisting school segregation. Revisionist historians, now that school integration is largely won, judge Sears more harshly than did contemporary critics. But 120 years ago, to carry out the PEF's mission, he felt he had to comply with state laws. For balance, remember that in 1914 the PEF gave $346,000 to the Slater Fund for Black education, still used for that purpose by the Southern Education Foundation. There we must leave Sears and the PEF. \( \)Anyone else critical of Peabody?

**BJP:** Benjamin Moran (1820-86), aspiring American writer in London and long-time Embassy secretary, kept a secret diary. Peabody, he wrote, "generally bags the new American Minister for his own purposes and shows him...around...as his puppet to...fourth rate English aristocrats and American[s]...who eat his dinners and laugh at him for his pains." In the Panic of 1857, to keep solvent, Peabody needed a large loan from the Bank of England. Moran's entry: "This loan has been secured and once more the Great American money swaggerer is able to hold up his head." Moran was connected with a new (1858) American Association in London, wanting to sponsor Anglo-American dinners. Moran's journal entry: "Old Peabody goes with [American Joshua Bates] against [the American Association]... Bates and Peabody are heartless... They have led people...& hate this scheme because it will destroy their rule." \( \)Any other Benjamin Moran criticism?

**FP:** When Peabody died in London, November 4, 1869, letters to newspapers urged public honors for him. Friends explained that his will requested burial in Harmony Grove Cemetery, near Salem, Massachusetts. Consternation filled the embassy when Westminster Abbey was offered for temporary burial, when the warship H.M.S. *Monarch* was offered to transfer his remains, when an American escort ship was ordered from Marseilles, France, when decisions had to be made and protocol followed. Moran's diary entry for November 15, 1869: "Old Peabody has given us much trouble and it seems as if he never would be quiet." November 16: "Mr. Peabody haunts the Legation from all parts of the world like a ghost." December 6: "Will that old man ever be buried?...He gives trouble to all classes of officials, royal, republican, state, diplomatic, naval, consulate, ecclesiastical, and civil, and has stirred up commotion all over the world." \( \)What about Peabody's motives: Why did he give?

**BJP:** One clue is the sentiment sent with his 1852 gift for his first institute library: "Education, a debt due from present to future generations." \( \)Do you know the source of that sentiment?
FP: The motto, Peabody's own, had Puritan roots. Jonathan Edwards said: We are like a city set on a hill, a model unto the world. There were Calvinistic origins: the elect who are saved must lead good lives and do good works. Colonial New England required schools and learning for salvation, to read the Bible and to understand sermons. Remember the *New England Primer*'s "In Adam's fall, we sinned all." and Massachusetts' 'Old Deluder Satan Act, 1647': to confound that old deluder, Satan. schools and learning shall forever be promoted. You ask about "Education, a debt due from present to future generations"? It was uniquely Peabody's motto, uniquely New England Puritan. §Any other motives for Peabody's giving?

BJP: A nephew asked Peabody's financial help to attend Yale College. Peabody replied, May 18, 1831: "Deprived as I was of the opportunity of obtaining anything more than the most common education, I am well qualified to estimate its value by the disadvantages I labor under in the society which my business and situation in life frequently throws me, and willingly would I now give twenty times the expense attending a good education could I possess it, but it is now too late for me.... I can only do to those that come under my care, as I could have wished circumstances had permitted others to have done by me." §Any other clue to why he gave?

FP: When Peabody laid out his plans and his philanthropic adviser, Robert C. Winthrop, marveled at their scope, Peabody replied. "Why, Mr. Winthrop, this is no new idea to me. From the earliest of my manhood, I have contemplated some such disposition of my property: ...I have prayed my Heavenly Father day by day that I might be enabled before I died, to show my gratitude by doing some great good to my fellowmen." (the last words are engraved on his Westminster Abbey marker). §What was said of George Peabody at his death?

BJP: Novelist Victor Hugo, offering a French perspective, wrote at Peabody's death: "America has reason to be proud of this great citizen of the world and great brother of all men.... Having a place near Rothschild, [he] found means to change it for one near Vincent de Paul." French political writer Louis Blanc wrote: "I mourn for the illustrious American whose life was of such value to the most needy of his fellowmen.... Mourners at Westminster Abbey, their silent sorrow.... the readiness of shopkeepers in closing their shops and lowering their blinds,--these were the homages due one whose title in history will be--the friend of the poor." §Let us list George Peabody's honors in life.

FP: He was the first American to receive the Freedom of the City of London, July 10, 1862. The only other American to receive this honor was General Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1945.

BJP: He received honorary membership in two ancient guilds: the Clothworkers' Company of London, July 2, 1862; and the Fishmongers' Company of London, April 19, 1866.
FP: He declined a knighthood, unwilling to give up his American citizenship, accepting instead a letter of thanks and a specially made miniature portrait from Queen Victoria, March 1867, inscribed "Presented by the Queen to G. Peabody, Esq., benefactor of the poor of London."

BJP: He had private audiences with Pope Pius IX, French Emperor Napoleon III, and Empress Eugenie, in 1868.

FP: His statue by American sculptor William W. Story was erected near the Royal Exchange, Threadneedle Street, London, paid for by popular subscription, unveiled by the Prince of Wales, July 23, 1869, with a replica in front of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, 1890. It amazed Britons in 1862 that an American, a foreigner, gave to a city and country not his own $2.5 million for low-cost housing for the working poor. London has statues of four Americans: Abraham Lincoln, erected 1920; George Washington, 1921; Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1948; and--before them--George Peabody, 1869.

BJP: Congress passed a resolution of praise and had a gold medal struck for him, March 1867, inscribed, "The people of the United States to George Peabody, in acknowledgment of his Beneficial Promotion of Universal Education."

FP: South Danvers' citizens voted to change the name of his hometown to Peabody, Massachusetts, April 13, 1868.

BJP: On June 26, 1867, Oxford University gave him an honorary Doctor of Civil Law degree at the Sheldonian Theatre, while students wildly stamped their feet in approval. On duty that day, mathematician Charles L. Dodgson (Lewis Carroll of Alice in Wonderland fame), met Peabody that evening. Harvard University gave Peabody an honorary Doctor of Law degree in absentia three weeks later, July 17, 1867.

FP: He was considered as Secretary of the Treasury in President Andrew Johnson's Cabinet, February 1867, but declined because of age and illness. Let us list George Peabody's honors after death.

BJP: The Dean of Westminster Abbey, in Italy when he read of Peabody's death, recalling Peabody's London housing gift, telegraphed his offer of the Abbey. A funeral service was held and temporary burial took place for 30 days (November 12-December 11, 1869) on Britain's most hallowed ground. Benjamin Moran was there, a somber, subdued Benjamin Moran. His secret diary entry, November 12, 1869: "The scene was sacred.... I thought of Peabody as I stood by his coffin... and...mentally remarked that I could now forget that I had...warred with the dust before me.... I reflected on [his] marvelous career, his early life, his penurious habits, his vast fortune, his magnificent charity; and the honor...then being paid to his memory by the Queen of England in the place of sepulchre of twenty English Kings.... 'Ashes to ashes, dust to dust...' an anthem was sung, and the service [ended]--George Peabody having received burial in Westminster Abbey, an honor coveted by nobles and not always granted kings."
Prime Minister W. E. Gladstone's cabinet decided, November 10, 1869, to return Peabody's remains to the United States on H. M. S. Monarch, Britain's newest warship, a decision made while near-war hysteria flared over reparations demanded by the United States for damages to its northern ports by the British-built Confederate ship, Alabama. Gladstone said publicly the next day: with Mr. Peabody's country, we will not quarrel.

President Grant ordered the U.S. naval commander in Marseilles, France, to send U.S.S. Plymouth to accompany the Monarch across the Atlantic.

Admiral David Farragut commanded the U.S. naval reception, Portland harbor, Maine. Lying-in-state ceremonies were held, Portland, Maine, and Peabody, Massachusetts; final burial was in Harmony Grove Cemetery, near Salem, February 8, 1870, attended by Queen Victoria's third son, Prince Arthur.

Peabody's name is on a tablet inside the shaft of the Washington Monument, Washington, D.C., for his $1,000 gift made July 4, 1854 when construction halted because of lack of funds. Peabody was one of 29 most famous Americans elected to the New York University Hall of Fame rotunda, 1900; with a bust (by sculptor Hans Schuler) unveiled, May 12, 1926.

Two Southern state legislatures, Virginia and South Carolina, proposed (unsuccessfully) a George Peabody statue in Statuary Hall, U.S. Capitol Building, 1896.

Early in this century (1904-08) artist Louis Amateis designed two bronze doors for the west entrance to the U.S. Capitol Building, with a transom panel tableau called "Apotheosis of America," symbolizing U.S. intellectual development. Images on that panel are of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Johns Hopkins, Horace Mann, and George Peabody.

There were two unsuccessful proposals for a commemorative George Peabody United States postage stamp, by Tennesseans, 1941; and by Massachusetts citizens, 1993.

Finally, a traveling exhibit for the bicentennial of his birth organized by the Peabody Institute of Baltimore began at the Peabody Trust, London, February 18, 1995, and is moving to U.S. Peabody institutions through 1996.

What was George Peabody's lasting contribution?

Not alone, with others, he saved Maryland's credit abroad, reinstated Europe's confidence in American state securities, financed the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, pushed American railroad west through the sale of European iron and steel, marketed the Mexican War loan, financed the Atlantic cable, and as root of the J.S. Morgan Co., London, and the J.P. Morgan Co., New York, marshalled investment capital that made ours the world's greatest nation. Financial success made possible his educational philanthropy. Writer Elbert Hubbard said: "George Peabody's...life was not in what he gave, but in what [his philanthropic example] taught." The Christian Science Monitor, on the PEF's 60th
anniversary (February 9, 1927), wrote: "George Peabody was...the originator of that system of endowed foundations for public purposes which has reached its highest development in the United States." His education gifts were a heaven, a yeast, a model solution to social problems. The results, if good, adopted by other civic agencies. This is the heartbeat of modern educational philanthropy. George Peabody was its founder. Was he a hero?

BJP: He was a hero to many in the 1860s but has since then been largely forgotten. He ought to be better known, deserves commendation, and needs to be remembered.

FP: Here at the Peabody Institute Library, Danvers, near his birthplace, and at other Peabody institutions in the United States and in London, we remember George Peabody gratefully on his 200th birthday (February 18, 1995).

(END)

George Peabody Chronology

1795  Born Feb. 18, Danvers (now Peabody), Mass., third born, second son of 8 children (4 sons, 4 daughters).
1803-06  Attended district school, Danvers, 4 years, ages 8 to 11.
1807-11  Apprenticed May 4; as "shop boy" in Sylvester Proctor's general store.
1811  Travelled alone to Post Mills village, Thetford, Vt., to visit maternal grandparents, Jeremiah Dodge (1744-1824) and Judith Spofford Dodge (1749-1828).
1812  (May): sailed with uncle John Peabody on brig Fame for Georgetown, D.C. May 15: Assisted uncle John Peabody in opening a store on Bridge Street.
1813  (July 15-26): served 12 days in George Peter's company, military district of D.C.; then drilled with artillery corps, probably at Fort Warburton, Md.
1814  (Oct. 5-9): visited Newburyport, Mass.; served as a private in local militia.
1815-29  Junior partner, Riggs, Peabody & Co., Georgetown, D.C.; moved to Baltimore, 1815.
1817  Purchased former family home in Danvers (now Peabody); moved his mother there.
1820  (July): estimated estate between $40,000 to $60,000.
1827  (Nov. 1): left on Florida for Liverpool, first business trip to England. His will listed an estate of $85,000. Returned to New York Sept. 2, 1828.
1830-31  Second trip to England, France, and Italy (15 months).

1832-34  Third trip to Europe. April 24, 1832: his will listed estate of $135,000, of which $27,000 was designated for an orphan asylum, hospital, Danvers [later Peabody] Mass., schools, and education in Baltimore.

1835-36  Fourth trip to Europe. April 24, 1832: his will listed estate of $135,000, of which $27,000 was designated for an orphan asylum, hospital, Danvers [later Peabody] Mass., schools, and education in Baltimore.

1837  (Jan.): estate estimated at $322,000. Feb.: replaced Samuel Jones, Jr. (resigned to become state senator), as one of three commissioners to sell Maryland bonds abroad. Left on Mediator, fifth trip to Europe (landed Portsmouth Feb. 19, 1837) to save his creditor, William and James Brown Co. of Liverpool, and his own firm, in the Panic of 1837. Remained in London until death in 1869 except for 3 U.S. visits.

1838-39  Broken engagement to Esther Elizabeth Hoppin (1819-1905) from Providence, R.I., who married Alexander Lardner. She was in London during Queen Victoria's coronation, June 28, 1838.


1844  Blackballed when nominated to exclusive Reform Club, London, when American states defaulted on bond interest payment.

1848  (March 7): Maryland's legislature and Governor J.J. Speed, by letter in November, publicly thanked Peabody for selling Maryland bonds abroad and for declining $60,000 commission during state's financial troubles.

1849  Was trustee of London Hospital. As agent, helped U.S. sculptor Hiram Powers, working in Florence, Italy, sell The Greek Slave. Met writer Herman Melville (in London to see publisher), whose brother, Gansvoort Melville (1815-46), former American legation secretary, London, Peabody had known.

1850  Accepted into Parthenon Club without opposition. Gave first little-publicized July 4 dinner, London. July 10: made honorary member, Maryland Historical Society. Was asked in November for funds to aid the escape of imprisoned Lajos Kossuth (1802-94), Hungarian revolutionary leader.

1851  $15,000 loan to American exhibitors, Great Exhibition, London (opened May 1). Second much publicized July 4 dinner and ball, London, attended by the Duke of Wellington and over 1,000 guests. (Hosted July 4 dinners, 1850-58, when an American Association continued the tradition). Gave much publicized Oct. 2nd parting dinner for American exhibitors with speeches published in 1852 Proceedings. Oct. 31: gave $1,000 for chemical school and laboratory, Maryland Institute for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts, Baltimore. Later gave $500 annually in prizes to best graduates, Maryland Institute of Design.
1852
(May 26): letter and sentiment, "Education, a debt due from present to future generations," with $20,000 enclosed for first Peabody Institute Library. South Danvers (now Peabody), Mass. 

Gave 7 volumes of Maryland colonial history extracted from English manuscripts to Maryland Historical Society (cost unknown). 

Nov.: first met Thurlow Weed, later philanthropic adviser. 

Paid bail for explorer John Charles Fremont, arrested and jailed in London, April 7, on U.S. debt charges (Fremont attended July 4 banquet). 

1853
$10,000 gift to equip the search for lost British Arctic explorer Sir John Franklin. 

Met in London future partner, Bostonian Junius Spencer Morgan and family, including son, John Pierpont Morgan. 

Aug. 20: Abbott Lawrence laid cornerstone of Peabody Institute, Danvers (now Peabody), Mass. 

1854
(Jan. 6): began $200 annual gifts to best high school scholars in both parts of Danvers, Mass. 

Henry Barnard, in London to attend an international education meeting, was guest at July 4 dinner when American Legation secretary Daniel Edgar Sickles (under Ambassador James Buchanan, later U.S. President) objected to first toast to the Queen before one to the U.S. President. Remaining seated during the toast. Sickles walked out, precipitating press attacks impugning Peabody's patriotism. 

July 4: contributed $1,000 to complete the Washington Monument, Washington, D.C. 

Asked visiting Baltimorean Reverdy Johnson to consult with John Pendleton Kennedy and others on plans and trustees for the later Peabody Institute of Baltimore. 

Oct. 1: began partnership with J.S. Morgan, continuing George Peabody & Co. firm name. 

1856-57
(Sept. 3): left Liverpool on Atlantic for a year's U.S. visit. 

Arrived New York Sept. 15. 


Feb. 12, 1857: letter founding the Peabody Institute of Baltimore. 

Jan. 24-Feb. 14 in Baltimore with receptions at the Maryland Historical Society (Jan. 30) and Maryland Institute (Feb. 2). 

In Washington, D.C., Feb. 14-23 where he applied for land bounty as War of 1812 veteran. 

March-April visited Charleston, S.C., Augusta, Ga., Mobile, Ala., Cairo, Ill., St. Louis, Mo., Indianapolis, Ind., Cincinnati, Oh., Pittsburgh, Pa., and Oswego, N.Y. 


1859
In London, through Episcopal Bishop Charles P. Melvaine, Peabody offered to endow Lord Shaftesbury's Ragged Schools Union but Shaftesbury said that the greater need was to endow model homes for London's working poor. 

April 16: Peabody Institute of Baltimore cornerstone laid. 

1861
Considered contributing an observatory to Harvard University. 

1862

July 2: made honorary member

1863 (Feb.): admitted to the exclusive Athenaeum Club (distinguished persons admitted each year under club’s Rule 2). May: decided to endow the later Peabody Museum of Natural History at Yale: 5 trustees named. Aug.: gave nephew O.C. Marsh funds to purchase in Germany books and specimens for the later Peabody Museum of Natural History at Yale.

1864 (Oct. 1): Peabody retired; requested his name removed. George Peabody & Co. continued as J.S. Morgan & Co. (1864-90), Morgan, Grenfell Co. (1890-1913), and Morgan, Grenfell Ltd. (1913-present). May: gave $8,000 (had previously given $2,000) to the U.S. Sanitary Commission to aid wounded Union soldiers and their families.

1865 (May 24): with Cyrus Field and other Atlantic Telegraph Co. directors Peabody visited the Great Eastern, which had laid the Atlantic cable.

1866 (March 28): Queen Victoria’s letter of thanks to Peabody for the London homes also offered him a miniature portrait of herself, the customary gift to foreign ambassadors signing treaties with Great Britain. His April 3 reply thanked the Queen and accepted the miniature portrait. April 17: presented prizes at the Workingmen’s Industrial Exhibition, London. April 18: made honorary member, ancient Fishmongers’ Livery Co. Left Liverpool. Scotia, April 21, arrived New York on May 1, went to Georgetown, Mass., on May 3 where ground was broken June 19 and cornerstone laid Sept. 19 for Memorial Church (Congregational) built to honor his mother’s memory. Peabody’s May 8 letter to Maryland Historical Society trustees (some of whom wanted to take legal action) asked as a personal favor that the Society withdraw from the Peabody Institute of Baltimore (he gave the Society a $20,000 publications fund gift, Nov. 5).

President to have a gold medal struck to present to George Peabody in the name of the American people.

March 30: Barnas Sears, Brown University president, named first PEF administrator.

March: Queen Victoria's miniature portrait presented to Peabody, Washington, D.C., by British ambassador.

April 13 in North Danvers and April 18 in Georgetown, Mass., Peabody greeted by hundreds of schoolchildren.

April 20 letter giving $15,000 for a public library in Georgetown, D.C.

April 25 most likely date of George Peabody-Johns Hopkins conversation about Johns Hopkins' later philanthropy.

May 1: left New York on Scotia; landed May 9 at Queenstown (now Cobh), Ireland.

June 26: honorary Doctor of Civil Law degree, Oxford University.

July 17: honorary Doctor of Laws degree in absentia, Harvard University.

1868

(Jan. 8): dedication of Memorial Church, Georgetown, Mass., built to honor his mother's memory.

Feb. 24 or 25: interview with Pope Pius IX, Rome, Italy, and gift to San Spirito Hospital.

March: presented to Napoleon III and Empress Eugenia, Paris, France.

April 13, South Danvers (Peabody's birthplace) renamed Peabody, Mass.

Queen Victoria's miniature portrait arrived April 28 and was displayed at the Peabody Institute, Peabody, Mass.

Christmas: Peabody saw in Washington, D.C. the U.S. Congressional medal awarded him.

1869-70


June 29 letter added $1,384,000 to the PEF (over $2 million total).

July 14: Peabody spoke at dedication of Peabody Institute Library of Danvers.

July 16 reception for Peabody at Peabody Institute Library of Peabody, Mass., where Oliver Wendell Holmes read his poem, "George Peabody."

July 23: Prince of Wales unveiled sculptor W.W. Story's statue of Peabody on Threadneedle St., near Royal Exchange, London.


Gave $60,000 to Washington College (R.E. Lee, president), later renamed Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.

Peabody's last will (Sept. 9) left $16,000 to two George Peabody & Co. clerks; $15,000 to 3 U.S.A. estate executors ($5,000 each), $50,000 to 2 British estate executors ($25,000 each); the remainder to family trust, estimated between $1.5 million and $4 million.

Sept. 29: left New York on Scotia, reached Queenstown (now Cobh), Ireland, Oct. 8; gravely ill, he went to business colleague and friend Sir Curtis M. Lampson's home, 80 Eaton Square, London, where he died Nov. 4.

British cabinet decision Nov. 10 for Monarch to return remains to the U.S.

Temporary burial in Westminster Abbey, London, Nov. 12 to Dec. 11; remains transferred to Monarch at Portsmouth. Pres. U.S. Grant ordered U.S.S. Plymouth from Marseilles to Portsmouth as accompanying vessel. Ships left Portsmouth Dec. 21, sailed south to Madeira, west to Bermuda, north to Portland, Maine (Jan. 25); remains went by train from Portland (Feb. 1) to Peabody, Mass.; Queen Victoria's third son, Prince Arthur, attended burial service.
Harmony Grove Cemetery, Salem, Mass., Feb. 8. Funeral costs (less unknown British/American government costs) totalled over $9,000.

1900 Peabody elected to New York University Hall of Fame; bronze tablet unveiled at rotunda, University Heights campus, 1901; Peabody bust unveiled, May 20, 1926.

Biographical Sketches of Authors

Betty Parker and Franklin Parker met at Berea College, Kentucky, in 1946, she entering from Decatur, Alabama; he, from Asheville, North Carolina. Married in 1950, they taught together at Ferrum College, near Roanoke, Virginia, 1950-52. Graduate study at Peabody College of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1952-56, led to Betty's M.A. degree in English and Franklin's Ed.D. degree in History and Philosophy of Education.

Franklin Parker taught History of Education, Philosophy of Education, and Comparative and International Education at State University of New York-New Paltz, 1956-57; the universities of Texas (Austin), 1957-64; Oklahoma (Norman), 1964-68; and West Virginia (Morgantown), 1968-86 (where his title remains Claude Worthington Benedum Professor of Education Emeritus). He held post-retirement positions as distinguished visiting professor, Northern Arizona University (Flagstaff), 1986-89, and Western Carolina University (Cullowhee, NC), 1989-94.

Betty Parker taught high school English and social studies, college English at Belmont College, Nashville, and Reading, University of Texas (Austin). She was associated with the American Friends Service Committee (Southwest Region) before doing a full-time research and writing with Franklin Parker. They studied national education systems in southern Africa (1957-58; 1961-62), Russia (1971), China (1974, 1978, 1986), Britain (16 visits), other European countries—resulting in 20 mostly reference books, including Education in the People’s Republic of China (1986) and Education in England and Wales (1991).

Related Publications

Franklin Parker. "Legacy of George Peabody: Special Bicentenary Issue" [reprint of over 20 articles], in *Peabody Journal of Education*, LXX, No. 1 (Fall 1994), 210 pages. (Order from Peabody Journal of Education, Peabody College of Vanderbilt University, 113 Payne Hall, Post Office Box 41, Nashville 37203), $20 each for Libraries and organizations, $15 each for individuals, $8 each for 40 or more copies of same issue.