his failure to have developed a master plan for the school. Increased enrollment, which the school needed to survive, and the shifting attitudes of the post-World War II era, over which the school had no control, were combining to make increasingly unrealistic the dream of a cozy, homey, unquestioning managerial style.

Roderick Cox, a high school history teacher who joined the faculty just after the war in the great teacher-hiring boom, had a vivid recollection of a meeting with Edwin Zavitz at which they discussed Cox's recommendation that a failing eleventh-grade boy be asked to withdraw from the school. "We've got to keep him—he's part of the family," the headmaster had replied. It was a poignant symbol of the era on which the sun was setting.

For the moment Stone chose to resist the parents' nomination of themselves into a role in the school's decision-making apparatus. In a draft reply to the group, which was headed by Elizabeth Ball, wife of Senator Joseph Ball of Minnesota, he offered only a general accounting of the school's budget: Eighty percent of the income, which came entirely from tuition payments, went to teachers' salaries, pension payments and Social Security, he said; when maintenance costs and debt payments were added on, the remaining surplus available for investment in the future was about two and one-half percent of the total budget. But he carefully did not say what the total was.

"The Board also believes that no useful purpose would be served to open for general inspection the school's account books, since to do so would require extra time from the school staff which is already sufficiently busy," he explained. "Furthermore, there is much in the books and auditor's reports of a private nature relating to the accounts of each patron. In short, the Board suggests that it is operating the school as economically and efficiently as possible under present circumstances. Nevertheless the Board members have offered their services to discuss the school and its financial set-up with any prospective contributor who may have some query to present."

As the 1950s began, the Sidwell Friends institution that had changed the least in the fourteen years since the death of Thomas Sidwell was the Board of Trustees. Seven of the trustees, including chairman Stone and Helen Zartman, the secretary-treasurer, had served on the Board since it was enlarged to fifteen members in early 1937; an eighth member of the Board, Gilbert Hall, had been Thomas Sidwell's lawyer, and Alberta Wilson, whose ties to the school went back to 1891, had only just retired from the Board

and was still accounted an honorary trustee. Except in the most unusual circumstances the Board met only twice a year, and most of its managerial functions were conducted by an executive committee composed of Stone, Zartman and two or three other trustees resident in Washington who seldom chose to differ with whatever recommendations the chairman might make to them. It was not a group well-equipped to meet the great challenge to Washington schools, public and private, in the 1950s—the call to abandon racial segregation.

As the pressure to admit Negroes began to build, a good bit of it coming from members of the Friends Meeting who insisted that the school's stance was not compatible with Quaker principles, Austin Stone sometimes chose to contend that the principles they cited were newly fashioned by johnnies-come-lately to the Friendly persuasion who knew nothing of Quaker schools or the Quaker past. In fact, though, the Board had had nearly ten years' warning that the issue would one day be in its lap, warning served on it in at least one instance by its own veteran member, Hadassah Moore Leeds, the chairman of the education committee of the Friends General Conference.

In June, 1943, she had sent Stone, along with other leaders of Friends schools, a circular letter on behalf of the committee, urging that the school review its approaches to the question of racial justice. "Many educators," she wrote, "are alive to the concern for racial justice which is growing and gaining momentum among students . . . Forethought is necessary for meeting this concern, as well as wisdom, naturalness, and human understanding. There are many indications that the colored races will not long continue to accept the status of inferiority to which they have been subjected." The letter came to Stone as no surprise, since he was a member of the committee that sponsored it and had been present when Arthur Jackson, another Philadelphia Quaker who had been involved with Sidwell Friends over the years, proposed that the committee explore the matter. In his reply Stone assured Leeds that Sidwell Friends had established a school committee to study the matter and report back, but no record of its membership or report, if any, has come to light.

That same summer of 1943 Stone received a shocked letter from John R. Kellam, a Silver Spring, Maryland, Quaker. He had heard that a Negro man (who in fact happened to be a Quaker also) had been barred from the Sidwell Friends tennis courts because

of his race. "Realizing that the Sidwell school serves the educational needs of persons of every creed as well as persons of Quaker faith, I can see where it may be felt necessary to avoid antagonizing some patrons who agree with racial segregation for Negroes," Kellam went on. "However, can we afford to disregard our own Inner Light for that purpose? Is any enterprise worth that sacrifice of conscience? If I were presented with the alternatives my decision would have to be the discontinuance of racial distinction, even if it meant the end of a Friends' educational institution."

As the years passed after those first warning flags, the pressure on the school to change its stance increased. Bona fide applications were submitted by the parents of prospective Negro students, some of them members of the Friends meeting. The earliest in the school's records came from Dr. Alonzo deG. Smith, a Washington physician who sought a place in the school's summer camp in June, 1947, for his six-year-old son and applied the following spring for his admission to the third grade. Edwin Zavitz's support of the Smith application failed to sway the trustees, however, or at least Austin Stone, the trustee who mattered. "We are very grateful to you and other Friends who share your point of view," Smith wrote the headmaster, "and hope that through the efforts of those like you the time will soon come when an individual will be judged on merit, regardless of racial origin. Not for our boy especially, but for Christian justice and fair play we trust you will continue to bring to the Board the human urgency of its taking such a forward step."

WASHINGTON IN THE 1940s and early 1950s was an intensely segregated city. Negroes were not admitted to downtown movie theaters or restaurants. They were not employed as bus drivers or streetcar operators or bank tellers or department store clerks. At the National Theatre, then the city's only legitimate theater, they were permitted to appear on the stage but barred from the audience. At Constitution Hall, the concert hall operated by the Daughters of the American Revolution, blacks were banned on the platform but allowed in the audience. Many of these rules were of relatively recent origin, having been devised and put in force during the Wilson administration, but some Washingtonians saw them nonetheless as deep-rooted and unchangeable as the natural law. James Austin Stone was one such resident.

Yet change was under way regardless. The wartime influx to

the capital of newcomers from other parts of the country had diluted the influence of those white Washingtonians whose assumptions were southern. And many people, especially those allied with churches, were simply changing their minds. Among Quakers, the American Friends Service Committee worked tirelessly to break down patterns of prejudice and discrimination, especially among young people. Sidwell Friends students attending AFSC gatherings with pupils from other Friends schools discovered that their alma mater and Baltimore Friends had acquired a distressing notoriety among their sister Quaker institutions because of their segregated admission policies.

In the fall of 1952 Beauvoir School, the elementary school on the grounds of the Washington Cathedral that prepared pupils for St. Albans and for the National Cathedral School for Girls, admitted Negroes for the first time, prompting a discussion by the Sidwell Friends trustees. Helen Zartman's minutes record the results:

"Admission of colored students in the Sidwell Friends School was discussed, with reference to the recent decision of Beauvoir, one of the National Cathedral schools, to admit them. On motion of Mr. Johnson [Nelson Trusler Johnson '06], seconded by Mr. Lincoln [G. Gould Lincoln '98], it was voted that nothing had occurred to cause the Board as now constituted to change its mind on the admission of colored students. Twelve members of the Board were present when this vote was taken, one vote being withheld.

"At 6:30 the usual popular fall dinner of ham and spoon bread was served in the dining room, with a cake at dessert time to commemorate the thirty-third wedding anniversary of the Chairman and Mrs. Stone, who joined the group at this time . . ."

The withheld vote was almost certainly that of Hadassah Leeds, who kept up a steady pressure on Stone to soften his position. But Zartman's failure to record anything of the discussion in this and subsequent Board considerations of the integration question conveys an impression of unanimity in Board sentiment that according to others was absent almost from the beginning, despite the vote. In others' recollections, John Putnam Marble, another of the Quaker trustees, would flush almost purple with fury every time he had to hear again Stone's insistence that his racial views were well within the bounds of Friendly principle. Equally eager to move the school to a nonracial admissions policy were trustees Albert Atwood and David Fell, and most of the others within the first year or two of

active discussion were ready to change as soon as the chairman could be persuaded. Only Thomas Eagan stood with Stone in favor of keeping up a color bar indefinitely.

Leeds offered the most detailed spelling out of her views in a letter she wrote Stone in May, 1954, and asked him to read to a Board meeting she could not attend at which the segregation policy was again up for review.

"From the beginning I have felt that Washington offers a peculiarly rich field for the exercise of what appears to me to be the right course for Friends Schools to follow in the matter of racial integration," she said in the heart of the letter. "We have certain policies in regard to the admission of any student to the school. These policies are maintained for the purpose of keeping up the scholastic standards, for the development of a strong sense of social responsibility and for the exercise of the spiritual antecedent of education. It seems wrong to exclude any student who measures up to our standards and for whom we have room in the class for which he applies. I know we have a good school. I think it is a good Friends school. I hope it may always be a good Christian school."

Stone wrote back reporting that her letter had been duly read at the meeting and adding that those present had decided to continue the school's policy unchanged for the 1954-55 school year. But he continued to brood over her comments and a few days later wrote again:

> I try to understand whatever line of reasoning my friends use in reaching their conclusions, whether I agree with those conclusions or not. I am frankly puzzled as to how some of my friends reach the conclusion that it is unchristian not to admit Negroes to schools where there are both white girls and boys. In the ultimate, I know of no reason why it should be considered unchristian to try and maintain a family relationship on a white basis. Crudely, I would not consider it unchristian of me if I endeavored to do what I could to prevent my children from marrying Negroes . . .
>
> One way of endeavoring to maintain a white family and white descendants is by planning for an environment. I would not think it unchristian to select an environment for my children in which their acquaintances and future husbands and wives are suitable from the standpoint of race as well as morals, etc. In fact, I would feel distinctly guilty if I had not tried to provide my children with the opportunity of associating with other young people whom they might freely invite

> to our home. I would feel that it was not unchristian to plan for such an atmosphere.
>
> As our young people are led, so will their future homes reflect their training and associations. I do not wish to lead them to disregard race in their homes. Is my thought in this regard unchristian? I hope not. It was my father's also.

Stone's father, Dr. Isaac Stone, was one of the most distinguished sons of nineteenth century Lincoln, Virginia, a brilliant surgeon who acquired at least some of his training in Europe—Vienna, according to the recollection of his cousin, Dr. Thomas McPherson Brown. But his views on race, assuming his son accurately described them, and those of Austin Stone were notably out of touch with the main tradition of the Loudoun County Quaker community from which they sprang. Goose Creek, Virginia, as it was known before its name was changed to honor the assassinated president, was the last stop on the "underground railway" for fleeing slaves before they crossed the narrow strip of Maryland to the north and then reached Pennsylvania and freedom. Their usual hiding place was the Brown family farm that ultimately passed into the hands of Dr. Brown's father, T. Janney Brown, and subsequently of his children.

In 1949 the lessons of the Quaker past induced the preponderance of the members of the three Washington Friends meetings—the Florida Avenue Meeting, the Hicksite Alexandria Monthly Meeting and the Orthodox Meeting at Thirteenth and Euclid Streets (which survives today in the Adelphi, Maryland, Meeting)—to adopt a joint statement on race relations:

"It has been the deep-rooted belief of our Society, expressed again and again during the past three centuries, that we are brothers and children before God, before whom our petty differences fade away . . . We have often found our worship enriched because people of all races and conditions share our fellowship.

"We believe that discriminations based on color or race or origin or sex have no place in a society motivated by religious and democratic ideals . . . We welcome, we support, and we urge prompt and friendly lowering of discriminatory barriers in education, in employment, in transportation, in public meetings of all kinds, and in the exercise of the full rights and duties of citizenship."

BY 1953, WITH NO SIGN OF ANY CHANGE in admissions policy emanating from the Sidwell Board of Trustees, Washington Quakers,

particularly Quakers belonging to the Florida Avenue Meeting, began to express their disapproval to the Board with increasing forcefulness. An informally constituted committee of concerned Friends met with the Quaker members of the Board in the fall of 1953; they paid personal calls on all the trustees resident in Washington during the winter of 1953-54; they circularized the Board with a statement supporting desegregation prior to its spring meeting in May, 1954. At that meeting the Board again voted no change in policy, only to be confronted within days by the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated public schools. Private schools, of course, were not affected directly by the ruling, but it was hard for many kinds of Americans to ignore the high court's general comments on the poisonous social effect of racial exclusion in school admissions policies. The volume of protests and endorsements of desegregation submitted to the trustees increased markedly, coming now not only from Quaker activists, but also from alumni, parents, teachers and others.

The Board convened on November 17 to ratify and endorse what perhaps was Austin Stone's greatest triumph in his years as Board chairman, and even on that occasion a significant portion of the discussion was devoted to integration. The triumph was a complex real estate deal in which he finally had persuaded Gertrude Harrison to sell "The Highlands," the Grayson estate at 3825 Wisconsin Avenue, to the school for $600,000, and then had won agreement from the Equitable Life Insurance Company to buy the school's playing fields west of Wisconsin Avenue (which the school had bought back from Christian Heurich's estate in 1946) for $750,000. The result of the bargain was that the school not only acquired what is now Zartman House; it also had $150,000 to replace the lost playing fields with new tennis courts and playing fields south and east of the historic house.

The Board did not announce its real estate coup until February 7, 1955, after the final negotiations had been completed and the sales agreements executed. The Board also had something else to announce that day, an item Stone sought to slip in as a literal understatement to the announcement of the Grayson acquisition: "Secondly, the Board of Trustees has decided that the present policy as regards racial integration will be continued for the school year 1955-56 . . ."

The ploy didn't work. By now Sidwell Friends had lost its last Quaker ally, for Baltimore Friends had announced the previous

autumn that it was beginning a one-grade-a-year desegregation of admissions and was committed to nonracial standards in faculty hiring. Moreover, the seemingly offhand announcement masked a passionate debate that had flamed through two meetings of several hours each and ended with a seven-to-seven deadlock. Someone sent a copy of Stone's letter to the newspaper ("The news value could not have been important," said Stone testily), and a news story followed.

"Then the deluge came," Stone said later. He and Robert Lyle received an outpouring of letters, most of them vigorously critical. School parent Willard Kiplinger sent the headmaster perhaps the most stinging: "Dear Bob . . . Why don't you brief your announcement of Feb. 7 as follows: 'No niggers, so enroll at once'?" Angry parents active in the Parents Association laid plans to poll the patrons as to their attitudes on desegregation. And once again the concerned Quakers of Florida Avenue, now officially representing the Monthly Meeting for Business, were asking for an appointment to review their concern with the Board. They were led by Calvin Keene, who was Jesse Holmes Professor of Philosophy at the Howard University School of Religion, a chair created in honor of the one-time Friends teacher who had gone on to a distinguished career at Swarthmore and to be a founder of the American Friends Service Committee.

Stone continued to grumble that Florida Avenue had never contributed a dime to Friends School, but Albert Atwood urged him to stop sniping at his adversaries in the meeting. "I think you have done valiant work for the school," the veteran trustee wrote him, "and I like you very much personally, despite some differences between us on policy, but I can see nothing gained by your continuing to try to score points against these people."

There were of course some messages of support for Stone, congratulating him for standing firm against pushy outsiders in defense of the school's traditional way of conducting its affairs, but they were far outweighed by word from the critics. During the summer a faculty committee chaired by Middle School social studies teacher Richard Abell reviewed replies to a survey of other private schools on their experiences with integration and concluded that the policy change would be "practicable." It "must be based on a plan" and "must be done firmly," the committee reports said. Finally, and tellingly, in late fall James E. Forsythe, who had been seen for a decade as the faculty's exemplary Quaker, wrote the trustees urging them to act.

"As a member of the school faculty I have publicly and privately supported the thesis that it is of the utmost importance that such a decision be arrived at by methods, and according to principles, which are in harmony with the beliefs and practices of the Society of Friends," he said.

"I write this to the Board of Trustees to express my hope that its members may feel that the time has now come when the admission policy may be broadened to admit qualified negro applicants for admission. Were such a decision to be made, I would feel released from a burden of frustration and misunderstanding and would feel new joy in teaching."

John Putnam Marble and Nelson Johnson had died during the summer and two other veteran trustees, Elsie Palmer Brown and Margaret Wister Meigs, had retired. Their successors were all a generation or more younger, ready for change. Stone recognized the drift of events. He told Hadassah Leeds, who had been widowed and recently remarried and was now Hadassah Parrot, that he would resign from the Board if Negroes were admitted to the school. The president received a sharp rejoinder for his candor: "If thee should resign from the Board because a measure which thee does not approve be adopted, it would seem to me unworthy action from one whose principles are so high. It would appear as more of a disservice to thyself than to the school, whose policies thee has so ably directed."

And so the day came in January, 1956, when the trustees again voted on the question of the segregated admissions policy. This time they decided by a large majority to adopt the Baltimore Friends one-grade-a-year integration of admissions and to open the kindergarten to qualified Negro applicants in the fall of 1956.

On February 2, just as he had warned he would, J. Austin Stone submitted his resignation:

> I am 68 years old, a birthright Friend. I have been associated with Friends in education since 1897. First as a pupil and later on as an advisor member and finally as an incorporator and Trustee of Sidwell Friends School, the corporation. Approximately twenty years of service as President of the Board has now been completed. So I believe that I have had sufficient acquaintance with the School and its background to warrant me in writing this letter.
>
> I have heard recently persons, some of them members of the Society of Friends, stating what Friends believe and what the historic position of Friends has been. To all of such discussion which is used

> to advocate integration in a coeducational school on the college preparatory level, I must frankly answer that it is without foundation or merit . . .
>
> Throughout the discussion on this subject over the past few years, as climaxed by the decision of the Board last week, I believe a great disservice has been done to the community at large. A generous history of first class value in the field of education for nearly seventy-five years under the name of "Sidwell" is to be changed by the adopted policy. As a long time Washingtonian, I do not feel that I could look my friends in the face and remain to carry out the new program. . . .
>
> So I request that you will accept my resignation from the office of President and from membership on the Board of Trustees effective as of today. . . .

Predictably the Board declined to accept his resignation immediately, and eventually Stone was talked into remaining as a trustee. But it was the end of an era. In May the trustees proceeded to elect a new president, only the second in the Board's twenty-two year history. Their choice was not the person Stone had been grooming as his successor, Vice President Mary Kenworthy ("as capable as most men," Stone had described her earlier that year in a private letter), but a non-Quaker, John L. Barr Jr., a school parent and a graduate in the class of 1935.

The following autumn Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, one of the Senate's most outspoken segregationists, and his wife transferred their two children still at Friends to Congressional School in Arlington. A few other parents also chose to take their children elsewhere, but others were waiting to take their places. There had been 735 enrolled in 1955-56. There were 745 in 1956-57, including one Negro boy, Guilford Queen, in the kindergarten.