NPS Form 10-900 (Oct. 1990)	RECEIVED RECEIMED 2280
United States Department of the Interior National Park Service	APR - 3 2008 00 \$ 1/6 2098 / SR
National Register of Historic Places HISTOR Registration Form	IC PRESERVATION OFFICE NAT. REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and d National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (National Register Bulletin 16A). Comple by entering the information requested. If an item does not apply to the property being docume architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and sub- entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, wor	te each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or ented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, categories from the instructions. Place additional
1. Name of Property	
historic nameOld Schoolhouse	
other names/site number	
2. Location	
street & number35 Brainerd Street	not for publication
city or townMount Holly Township	🖸 vicinity
state New Jersey code NJ county Burlington	code 005 zip code 08060
3. State/Federal Agency Certification	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,
As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,	
□ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for register Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 □ meets □ does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this prope □ nationally ☑ statewide □ locally. (□ See continuation sheet for additional comme □ Muu, 1000 Signature of certifying official/Title □ Date	ring properties in the National Register of CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property rty be considered significant
Amy Cradic, Assistant Commissioner Natural & Histo State of Federal agency and bureau	ric Resources/DSHPO
In my opinion, the property is meets indices not meet the National Register criteria. ( comments.)	See continuation sheet for additional
Signature of certifying official/Title Date	
State or Federal agency and bureau	
4. National Park Service Certification	
I hereby certify that the property is: Signature of the Keeper	Date of Action
Pentered in the National Register.	11/26/2008
determined eligible for the     National Register     See continuation sheet.	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
determined not eligible for the	
Register.	
🗋 other, (explain:)	
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Old Schoolhouse

#### Name of Property

Burlington County, New Jersey County and State

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5. Classification					
Ownership of Property (Cireck as many boxes as apply)	Category of Property (Check only one box)	Number of Res (Do not include pre	Number of Resources within Property (Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)		
🛛 private	🖄 building(s)	Contributing	Noncontributing		
D public-local		00	0	buildings	
public-State public-Federal	☐ site ☐ structure	0	0	sites	
		0	0	structures	
		0	0	objects	
		0	0	Total	
Name of related multiple p (Enter "N/A" if property is not part	roperty listing of a multiple property listing.)	Number of con in the National	tributing resources pre Register	eviously listed	
<u>N/A</u>		1			
6. Function or Use					
Historic Functions (Enter categories from instructions)			Current Functions (Enter categories from instructions)		
EDUCATION/school		•	RECREATION & CULTURE/museum		
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7. Description				······	
Architectural Classification (Enter categories from instructions)		Materials (Enter categories from	instructions)		
Colonial		foundation_BRICK			
		walls_BRICK			
		walls	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
		roof WOOD/shir	ngle		
		other		. <u></u>	
		-			

Narrative Description (Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

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see attached continuation sheets

#### Old Schoolhouse

#### Name of Property

# 8. Statement of Significance

- X A Property is associated with events a significant contribution to the bro our history.
- B Property is associated with the live significant in our past.
- C Property embodies the distinctive of a type, period, or method of co represents the work of a master, high artistic values, or represents distinguishable entity whose comp individual distinction.
- D Property has yielded, or is likely to information important in prehistory

#### **Criteria Considerations**

- A owned by a religious institution or religious purposes.
- B removed from its original location.
- C a birthplace or grave.
- D a cemetery.

- E a reconstructed building, object, o
- **F** a commemorative property.

# Burlington County, NJ

County and State

Applicable National Register Criteria (Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property	Areas of Significance (Enter categories from instructions)		
for National Register listing.)	A: education		
A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.			
□ B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.			
C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses			
high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.	Period of Significance		
D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.			
Criteria Considerations (Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)	Significant Dates		
Property is:	1815		
A owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.	Cianidicant Devec		
B removed from its original location.	Significant Person (Complete if Criterion B is marked above)		
C a birthplace or grave.			
D a cemetery.	Cultural Affiliation N/A		
E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.			
<b>F</b> a commemorative property.			
□ G less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.	Architect/Builder unknown		
Narrative Statement of Significance (Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)	)		
9. Major Bibliographical References			
Bibilography (Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on on	ne or more continuation sheets.)		
Previous documentation on file (NPS):	Primary location of additional data:		
preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested	State Historic Preservation Office     Other State agency     Federal agency		

- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- X recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey **≱J-100**
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

- 🗀 Federal agency
- Local government
- □ University
- X Other

Name of repository:

National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of New Jersey

Old Schoolhouse

Name of Property

			·····
Acreage of Property less than one acre			
UTM References (Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)			
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Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.) see attached continuation sheet			
Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.) See attact	ched continuatio	on sheet	
11. Form Prepared By			
name/title Joan Berkey, Historic Preservation Consultant			
organization	date	May 20, 2008	
street & number1003 Bartlett Avenue	telephone _	609/927-7950	
city or town		zip code	21-1137
Additional Documentation Submit the following items with the completed form:			
Continuation Sheets			
Maps			
A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the prop	perty's location.		
A Sketch map for historic districts and properties having	large acreage or	numerous resource	S.
Photographs			
Representative black and white photographs of the prop	perty.		
Additional items (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)			
Property Owner			
(Complete this item at the request of SHPO or FPO.)			
name <u>National Society of The Colonial Dames of America</u>	in The State of	New Jersey	
street & number180 Burrs Road	telephone _	609/267-6996	
city or townWestampton	state <u>NJ</u>	zip code080	)60

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Projects (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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Old Schoolhouse Burlington County, NJ

#### **Narrative Description**

#### Summary Description

Built in 1759, the Old Schoolhouse is a 1-story, side-gabled red brick building designed in a modest interpretation of the vernacular Georgian style. Constructed with a patterned-brickwork façade (south elevation) of Flemish bond with glazed headers, it has a rectangular footprint slightly more wide than deep. The school's symmetrical façade has a center entrance flanked by 6/6 double-hung wood sash windows with board and batten shutters on each side. The interior features a single classroom heated by a large fireplace on the rear (north) wall. Restoration architect, G. Edwin Brumbaugh (1890-1983) from the Philadelphia area, restored the building in 1958, replicating many of the building's original elements, re-creating the fireplace based on the dimensions of original extant foundations, and raising the roof to its original configuration.

The school stands on a small city lot in the heart of Mount Holly, a medium-sized, unincorporated town located in Mount Holly Township, Burlington County, New Jersey. The county seat, Mount Holly is located about 7.5 miles southeast of the Delaware River. The building is within the boundaries of a State and National Register-listed historic district comprised of a significant collection of public buildings and residences reflecting the borough's late 17<sup>th</sup>-century founding by English Quakers and its subsequent development through the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries as first a commercial center and then as the county seat. Set back about 16' from the street and abutting a brick sidewalk, the school faces south onto Brainerd Street, a narrow one-way thoroughfare with late 19<sup>th</sup>-/early 20<sup>th</sup>-century office buildings and a Gothic Revival style church (built in 1883) to the west and mostly Federal style residences with Victorian alterations to the east. [photo #1] The school stands on level ground with a small grassy lawn to the rear (north) enclosed with a modern wood picket fence.

#### **Exterior Description**

The school has a rectangular footprint 24'2" wide by 20'1" deep; it is three bays wide with a center entrance, and two bays deep. [photo #2] The gable roof is covered with wood shingles laid 8" to the weather and has a boxed cornice with no returns on the south (façade) and rear (north) elevations. Each gable end has tapered rake boards with a 3/4-inch bead along the bottom edge. The eaves along the south gable end of the building are outlined with glazed

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**Old Schoolhouse** Burlington County, NJ

headers; this appears to be an original decorative treatment (often called a pediment-outline<sup>1</sup>), although roughly two-thirds of the bricks above the headers are new and date to the 1958 restoration. The decoration was not repeated on the east gable end. [photo #3]

The building's brick walls are laid in Flemish bond with glazed headers on the façade and in American bond on the other three walls. There are two signed, carved bricks, one on each side of the front door at eye level: that to the left (west) of the door reads "I [J] Budd 1759" while that to the right (east) of the door reads "A. Smith." [photo #4] Windows are 6/6 double-hung wood sash flanked by board and batten shutters that are hung with wrought iron strap hinges on pintels. The shutters and windows were replicated from the originals in 1958. The front door, also added in 1958, is double-thick and consists of six raised panels (2/2/2) on the outer face and vertical flush boards (unbeaded) on the interior face; it has a hand-fashioned wrought iron thumb latch and lock plate cover added at the same time.

A large brick chimney stack emerges from the middle of the rear wall on the north roof slope. [photo #3] It is made from a combination of original bricks and ca. 1958 bricks that are similar to the originals in color and texture.

## **Interior Description**

The interior features a single room with plaster walls and a plastered, vaulted ceiling that is approximately 10' tall at its highest point. [photos #5 through #8] Floors are random-width yellow pine held with hand-hammered, T-head nails and laid north to south over sleepers that are spaced 23" to 25" on center. Around all walls is a 4" high wood baseboard with ½" bead. The interior face of the door is decorated with wrought iron nails placed in even rows on the rails and stiles. The door is hung on wrought iron strap hinges with pintels. [photo #5, figure 11 in the *Supplemental Information* section]

The fireplace along the north wall has an opening that is 5'1" high, 11'1" wide and 36" deep. [photo #6] The opening is topped with a 17" high mantel that has 5" high cove molding placed under the mantel shelf. A red brick hearth (not original) extends 12" beyond the chimney jambs and there is a wrought iron crane mounted on eyes set into the east chimney jamb. Rails with wood pegs are found on the exterior faces of the chimney jambs and on each side of the front door. [photo #5, #6, #8]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Paul Love, "Patterned Brickwork in Southern New Jersey," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, July 1955, Vol. 73, #3, Whole #282, 183-184.

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**Old Schoolhouse** Burlington County, NJ

Windows have 3" wide wood trim with a  $\frac{1}{2}$ " bead and a 7" deep wood sill.

#### **Original Appearance and Subsequent Alterations**

The school probably originally had 6/6 double-hung wood sash windows identical to those it has today; frames are reproductions based on two surviving original frames extant in 1952. [fig. 10] Each window also originally had a single shutter or blind as evidenced by wood dowels that anchored the shutter hold backs. These dowels, one each per window, are found *in situ* (but not used) at the window sill height and are set in the mortar between the bricks. It is not known if the original door was board and batten or paneled, but either would have been in use in the 1760s in this locale.

According to the account books of the Female Benevolent Association [FBA] of Mount Holly, which owned the building from 1815 until 1951, the building was repaired many times during their 136-year tenure.<sup>2</sup> Many of the entries note simply a payment for "repairing school house" while others are more informative. A new floor was installed in 1815, "hooks for window shutters" were either replaced or newly installed in 1820, and the Cain stove was replaced with a new stove in 1829. Another new floor and new joists were installed again in 1836. Other repairs in 1836 included a new door and door frame, repairing and repainting of windows and window frames and the building was whitewashed, possibly for the first time, in 1839. In 1848, after determining that the cost to build a new school was too expensive, the FBA decided to rehabilitate it. The Association's minutes note:

After consulting several carpenters, who declined doing anything fearing the walls might fall down, Jesse Coleman undertook the work and put a new roof on in best manner, declaring the walls now better than many new houses.<sup>3</sup>

Coleman<sup>4</sup> changed the roofline in 1848, removing the original rafters and boxed cornice and dropping the roofline about 12." He then spiked the new rafters to the oak planks which formed the cove ceiling, forming a "crude and rather ineffective trussed roof construction, which was,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The account books are still held by the Female Benevolent Association of Mount Holly and were graciously transcribed for this nomination by Patricia Fletcher. Other transcriptions were made in the 1950s and are found in the G.Edwin Brumbaugh Collection, #34, at Winterthur Museum Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Female Benevolent Association minutes, 1848.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Possibly Jesse Coleman (ca. 1802-aft. 1860) who is enumerated in the 1850 Federal census as a 48-year old carpenter living in Mt. Holly.

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**Old Schoolhouse** Burlington County, NJ

however, stronger than the original roof."<sup>5</sup> New rafter ends were sistered to the new rafters at an angle, creating an extended eave on the front and rear elevations. [fig. 1, 2, 3] Brumbaugh notes that Coleman retained the original (but cut-back) collar beams as well as the "curved ceiling boards" the latter of which might imply that the original ceiling was boarded rather than plastered. Itemized expenses for the 1848 work show payments for bricks, paint, hardware, new plaster walls, new shutters, and lumber for a new fence.<sup>6</sup> It is possible that the immense chimney on the north elevation was removed at this time and replaced with a small stove chimney at the east gable end.

The floors were partially re-done in 1865 (and new joists installed again), the interior was replastered in 1866, a tin roof was placed over the wood shingle roof in 1872, and in 1907 the building was given a new chimney.<sup>7</sup> A drawing of the building included in Woodward's 1883 *History of Burlington County* shows it with a painted exterior and a small chimney at the east gable end. [fig. 1]

The Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) photograph and drawings show the building then known as the Brainard [sic] School—as it appeared in the mid-1930s. [fig. 3, 4, 5] At that time, the school retained its 1872 tin roof and 1842 roof line, had two solid shutters per window on the façade and west (side) elevation, and a board and batten door. The building's brick was painted a "mud" color and the windows in the east gable end were bricked in. A small brick chimney, which likely served a heating stove, is seen at the east gable end.<sup>8</sup>

HABS found two board and batten shutters, which probably date to the 1848 rehabilitation, on the rear (north) elevation and included a scale drawing of one, along with its strap hinges and rattail metal hold back. [fig. 4] Vents, added at an unknown date but probably in the mid-1800s when ventilation in school buildings was advocated, were noted on the east and west (side) elevations in the gable ends.

After taking possession of the building in 1951, the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of New Jersey [hereafter referred to as Colonial Dames] hired Moorestown (Burlington County) architect, Henry Petty (1908-1993), to restore the building. He inserted tie rods and a new plate in the gable ends to help correct the bowing of the front and rear walls. He

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> G. Edwin Brumbaugh, "Preliminary Report on the Restoration of the Old School House in Mount Holly, New Jersey," 4-27-1955, Winterthur Collection #34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Minutes, 4-7-1848.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> FBA minutes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> John Brainard School, 35 Brainard Street, Mount Holly, Burlington County, NJ, HABS-NJ-100.

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Old Schoolhouse Burlington County, NJ

also installed new windows (sash and frames), a new cedar roof, and a new floor, re-plastered the cove ceiling, and reproduced the shutters, sash, and interior trim. [fig. 7]

When it was discovered that Petty had not used the original window frames, which he had removed, as a model for reconstruction and had installed a new cornice and gable ends that were not historically appropriate, the Colonial Dames decided in 1958 to hire G. Edwin Brumbaugh, a restoration architect from the Philadelphia area, to tear out most of Petty's work and restore the building to its original appearance in time for its bicentennial celebration in 1959.

Brumbaugh raised the roof back to its original height, recreating a historically appropriate boxed cornice on the front and rear elevations and adding new brick in the gable ends where the original brick along the eaves had been removed in 1848 when the roof was lowered. He replicated the board and batten shutters that probably dated to the 1848 rehabilitation, and also replicated the window frames, using exact measurements taken from the originals that had been salvaged after Petty removed them. [fig. 10] Brumbaugh installed a vapor barrier under the building to control the dampness that had caused the joists to rot repeatedly over the years. He also replaced the board and batten door seen in the HABS photographs with a paneled door.<sup>9</sup> Original shutter hold backs and hinges were repaired or replicated by Donald Streeter (Iona, New Jersey), who also made hand-wrought nails, a thumb latch, and strap and pintle hinges for the front door.<sup>10</sup>

In the course of his work, Brumbaugh uncovered a stone foundation wall which he interpreted was to support a fireplace hearth, but which more likely supported a raised platform for the schoolmaster. Brumbaugh then built a fireplace based on the foundation's footprint. [fig. 8, 9] His drawings show that he removed the gable end vents, reopened the east gable end window openings, and added steel I-beams along the front and rear plates into which stabilizing tie rods were inserted. He replaced the floor and baseboards, dropping the floor (which had been raised at an unknown date) to its original height. The plaster ceiling installed by Petty in 1952 was retained and "white-coated," but the plaster walls were removed; rocklath was placed on the walls and then covered with three coats of plaster.

Brumbaugh's specifications for the restoration of the building show that he carefully oversaw the removal of the exterior paint and demanded that any new masonry work was to "match the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Brumbaugh's drawings are in the files of the Colonial Dames of the State of New Jersey and can also be seen in Collection #34, Winterthur Museum Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Interestingly, Streeter was a descendant of one of the Shinn brothers from Mount Holly who was a Cain Stove subscriber for the schoolhouse in 1765. (see section 8)

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**Old Schoolhouse** Burlington County, NJ

character of the old adjoining brickwork" in terms of "joints, bonding and all details." He also specified that as much original masonry as possible was to remain.<sup>11</sup>

#### Integrity

The Old Schoolhouse retains a moderately high degree of integrity, having most of its original exterior brick envelope intact, except for: (1) a 1' wide strip along the gable ends where the original bricks were removed in 1842 and (2) replacement bricks that were re-installed in the 1958 restoration. The back wall, which was in ruinous condition in the early 1950s, was rebuilt using as much original brick as possible. Although the present window frames are not original, they are exact reproductions of the originals that were documented by HABS in the 1930s and found extant in two openings in the early 1950s. The board and batten shutters documented by HABS were probably those installed in 1848 and—like the window frames--were also reconstructed during the 1958 Brumbaugh restoration. Similarly, the fireplace on the rear (north) wall—also added in the 1958 restoration—is not original to the building either, but is an appropriate replication in terms of size with the fireplace that was there originally if the stone foundations supported a fireplace (as Brumbaugh surmised) rather than a raised platform. The fireplace's simple mantel is historically appropriate for the time period. Like the floors, the original plaster walls and ceilings were replaced at least twice in the building's history prior to its mid-20<sup>th</sup> century restoration, and the same was done in 1958.

#### Setting

The school stands on a .06-acre lot in the heart of the unincorporated town of Mount Holly in Mount Holly Township, Burlington County, New Jersey. Set back about 16' from the street with its west (side) wall abutting the west lot line, the building faces south onto Brainerd Street and fronts on a red brick sidewalk that stretches from the building's façade to the curb. Brainerd Street runs between High Street (which is the main, commercial thoroughfare through the town) on the west and Buttonwood Street on the east. A modern,  $3\frac{1}{2}$ '-high wood picket fence is placed about 4' to the east of the west lot line to enclose the rear yard and has a 3' wide gate located at its southernmost end near the northwest corner of the school. The gate opens onto a 3' wide sidewalk of modern red bricks placed along the entire length of the school's rear wall. A row of *Euonymus* acts as a buffer between the fence and the church parking lot which abuts the schoolhouse lot on the west. Another wood picket fence encloses the approximate 8' wide east side yard along the brick sidewalk. The rear (north) lot line is defined by a 1.5' high concrete

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Brumbaugh's specifications for the work are in Collection #34, Winterthur Museum Library.

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# Old Schoolhouse

Burlington County, NJ

block retaining wall behind which is a ca. 1930 cement block garage that is not on the schoolhouse lot. A Federal-style frame house with Victorian-era alterations abuts the east side lot line.

The lot is level and has no landscaping across the front of the building. There is a rose bush (*Rosa*) on the east side of the building, and a butterfly bush (*Buddleia*) with daffodils (*Narcissus*) on the west side of the building. The flat, grassy rear yard has a large sycamore tree (*Plantanus occidentalis*) in the center, with three holly trees (*Ilex opaca*) grouped in the northwest corner at the rear of the lot. A partially-submerged stone walkway lined with red bricks, laid in the early 1950s, leads from the back of the school near its northwest corner to the rear of the lot along the west side fence.

Neighboring buildings across the street and to the east are mostly 2- and 2½-story frame and brick, 1- and 2-family houses built during the Federal period and altered during the Victorian era with bay windows and full-width, 1-story front porches. Immediately to the west, but separated by a 100' wide parking lot is the Gothic Revival style First Methodist Episcopal Church, built of stone in 1883. The county court house complex is located a block and a half to the northwest, while the central business district is located one-half block to the southwest. Also on the same block is a 2-story brick Quaker meeting house, built in 1775, and burial grounds; the meeting house is sited about 400' northwest of the school at the southeast corner of High Street and Garden Street. At the easternmost end of the street, on each side, are modern 2-story condominium complexes built in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century on the site of two public schools which were torn down. The west end of the street, which incorporates the central business district along High Street, features several late 19<sup>th</sup>-/early 20<sup>th</sup>-century, 2- and 3-story office buildings.

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#### Old Schoolhouse

Burlington County, New Jersey

#### Summary Statement of Significance

Built in 1759, the Old Schoolhouse in Mount Holly is the oldest surviving building in New Jersey constructed to serve primary education, and the only one room schoolhouse to survive from the colonial period. Erected by Quaker, Episcopalian, and non-denominational subscribers who sent their sons and daughters there to be educated, the Old Schoolhouse significantly reflects the grass-roots type of primary school education that was typical in New Jersey through the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. From 1815 until 1848, the Female Benevolent Association of Mount Holly operated a free school for the town's poor children in the building, a use that significantly coincides with the only type of public education funded by the state—for charity or poor schools—during most of that period. After 1848, it was used as a private school, then as an adjunct classroom by the public elementary school until 1913. Within these contexts, the Old Schoolhouse is of statewide significance under criterion A in the area of education.

#### **Historical Background**

#### Education in Colonial New Jersey

In contrast with those in New England colonies, most notably Massachusetts, New Jersey's early settlers comprised a diverse group of nationalities and religions. Among them were Dutch, Scotch, English, Germans, and Swedes who worshiped in the Dutch Reformed, Anglican, Quaker, Baptist, Lutheran, and Moravian faiths. All came with the "firm conviction of the value and importance of education."<sup>1</sup> In most of New England, public elementary education was mandated by colonial law, the earliest being a 1647 Massachusetts act which ordered that every town having 50 or more householders should appoint and pay for a teacher of reading and writing, while towns of 100 or more householders were to provide a Latin (grammar) school to prepare youth for the university. This was the first law in the New World wherein a colony asserted its right to require communities to establish and maintain public schools.<sup>2</sup>

No such colony-wide legislation was enacted in colonial New Jersey, and not even the very liberal *Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders and Inhabitants of West New Jersey in America*, adopted in 1667 (which among other things created an elected assembly and addressed American Indian rights and universal suffrage), contained any provision for education.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> David Murray, *History of Education in New Jersey* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899), 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919), 17-18.

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#### **Old Schoolhouse**

Burlington County, New Jersey

However, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>-century records show that schooling was an early and important component accomplished with varying degrees of success by the state's settlers on a local basis. The 1661 charter establishing the village of Bergen, now part of Jersey City in Hudson County, granted among other things, a tract of land to the freeholders "for the minister, and the keeping of a free school for the education of youth..."<sup>3</sup> The 1669 charter of Elizabeth (Union County) mentions a 100-acre tract of land to be set aside for education and in 1677, Newark (Essex County) hired John Catlin as a schoolmaster and charged him to "do his faithful, honest, and true endeavor to teach the children or servants of those as have subscribed, the reading and writing of English, and also arithmetick, if they desire it..."<sup>4</sup>

In 1682, the Quaker-dominated West New Jersey legislative assembly representing the southern half of the state granted the Island of Matinicunk in the Delaware River to the city of Burlington for the use of "educational purposes" forever with the express purpose of "encouraging Learning, [and] for the better education of youth."<sup>5</sup> The East Jersey proprietors, who oversaw the northern half of the state, passed legislation in 1693 and 1695 that allowed any town to choose three or more men to determine the schoolmaster's salary and, with the consent of a majority of residents, levy a tax to pay and maintain the schoolmaster.<sup>6</sup>

Records show that classes were held in a variety of buildings, among them churches and houses. For example, a church served as the first school for the town of Woodbridge (Middlesex County) until the schoolhouse was built around 1701, and James Farrill advertised the opening of a school in "the house of Mrs. Elizabeth Witt" in northern New Jersey in 1756.<sup>7</sup> One of the earliest references to a purpose-built schoolhouse in New Jersey is found in 1743:

Adolph Shuart says that Fauconier gave order there should be a place for a school, that his letter was shown to Mr. Forman, that they have heard Laroux's intended to get the place, but desire that it may be left for a school house as before, for all joined in clearing the place and building the school house.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Murray, 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Murray, 9; Thomas Woody, *Quaker Education in the Colony and State of New Jersey* (1923, reprint, New York: Arno Press & the New York Times, 1969), 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Murray, 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Murray, 12; New York Mercury, July 12, 1756.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> \_\_\_\_, Minutes of the Board of Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey from 1725 to 1744 (Perth Amboy, NJ: General Board of Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey, 1960), Vol. II, 243.

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This schoolhouse was located in Romopock (now Hackensack and vicinity), a large tract of land in Bergen County that was granted in 1704 to Peter Fauconier & Company.<sup>9</sup> A few decades later, the 1765 minutes of St. Peter's Church in Perth Amboy (Monmouth County), mention the need for a schoolhouse because the barracks in which the school was being held would no longer be available.<sup>10</sup>

Where primary schools existed in New Jersey in the colonial period, they tended to be town or neighborhood schools carried out on a subscription basis and it was not usual for them to have an exclusively sectarian clientele.<sup>11</sup> In New England, one of the earliest subscription schools was founded in 1635 in the town of Boston.<sup>12</sup> In New Jersey, construction of the Old Schoolhouse was funded this way, as was a similar school in 1773 in Perth Amboy; of the latter, its subscribers paid £1 each, which entitled them to have one scholar attend the school. The more well-to-do were invited to subscribe larger sums in order to help their poorer neighbors.<sup>13</sup>

Government-supported educational initiatives were spotty in the late colonial period. Although the College of New Jersey (Princeton University) was established in 1746 and Queen's College (Rutgers University) in 1766, there was still no province-wide effort to provide general elementary education. In 1757, the province's royal governor was directed that no schoolmaster would be permitted to keep school in New Jersey without a license issued from the Bishop of London. This was probably not enforced, because two years later the governor issued a proclamation that allowed local justices of the peace, rather than the Bishop, to issue the necessary license.<sup>14</sup> The colonial legislature authorized lotteries in 1761 and 1762, but they benefited only the College of New Jersey.<sup>15</sup>

After independence, New Jersey's 1776 constitution made no mention of education, and it was not until 1816 when the state formally acknowledged its educational responsibility and established a fund to support free public schools. In that year, a permanent state school fund was begun, and in 1820 permission was granted to levy taxes "for the education of such poor children as are paupers."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibid., Vol. II, xli.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Murray, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Telephone communication with Bob Craig, New Jersey Historic Preservation Office, 6-23-2008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Robert Freeman Butts, A Cultural History of Western Education: Its Social and Intellectual Foundations (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1955), 250.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Murray, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> New Jersey Archives, First Series, IX, 68-69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Murray, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Woody, 5; Murray, 29; Cubberly, 145.

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Other New Jersey schools specifically known to have been established by subscription include one near the head of the Raritan River (1782), the Morris Academy (1791), and the Somerville Academy (1801).<sup>17</sup>

#### The Influence of Quaker Educational Policy

George Fox (1624-1691), co-founder of the Religious Society of Friends (commonly known as Quakers), urged his brethren in 1667 to establish schools so that "young men of genius in low circumstances may be furnished with means to procure requisite education."<sup>18</sup> William Penn (1644-1718), a Quaker philanthropist who encouraged Friends' settlements on both sides of the Delaware River in the late 1600s, wrote often about the need for educating youth, commenting that "the prosperity and welfare of any people depend in great measure, upon the good education of youth..."<sup>19</sup>

Despite the apathy at the provincial level to provide basic education, minutes of local Friends' meetings show that schools were established in both East and West New Jersey Quaker settlements in the late 1600s and early 1700s. For example, in 1722 the Burlington Quarterly meeting agreed that the "Burlington Friends may have the use of the new meeting house to teach school in provided they can have a schoolmaster that is in unity with Friends, and when it shall be so employed the said Burlington Friends to keep it in repairs, as to windows."<sup>20</sup> Conversely, Burlington Quarterly Meeting minutes of the 1740s through the 1760s record that permission was granted to hold Friends' meetings in at least four schoolhouses.<sup>21</sup>

Education among Quakers did not become an urgent concern until the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, however. At the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1746, it was agreed that the "settlement and support of schools for the instruction of your children at least to read and write, and some further useful learning to such whose circumstances will permit" should be encouraged at the lower meetings. Minutes also show that Quakers were concerned that their children were being negatively influenced by teachers and students outside of the faith.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Murray, 129-30, 89, 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Woody, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Woody, 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Burlington Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 26/IX/1722 as quoted in Woody, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Woody, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Woody, 22-24.

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The influential Philadelphia Quaker, Anthony Benezet (1713-1784), wrote in 1758 that the "education and training of youth" was second in importance only to "preaching the Gospel."<sup>23</sup> That same year, John Woolman (1720-1772), who lived in Mount Holly (Burlington County) and was one of the most famous and widely-admired colonial Quaker ministers, wrote in *Considerations on Pure Wisdom and Human Policy; on Labour; on Schools; and on the Right Use of the Lord's Outward Gifts*:

Children at an Age fit for Schools, are in a time of Life which requires the patient Attention of pious People...A Care hath lied on my Mind, that more Time might be employed by Parents at Home, and by Tutors at School, in weightily attending to the Spirit and Inclinations of Children, and that we may so lead, instruct, and govern them...to help them on their Way to become the Children of our Father who is in Heaven.<sup>24</sup>

Like Benezet, Woolman was an ardent abolitionist, and in the 1760s taught school, possibly in the Old Schoolhouse.

In 1778, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting issued its strongest pro-education stance yet and encouraged each meeting "where the settlement of a school is necessary" to provide a lot of ground and build a house on it that would entice a "staid person with a family" to come and teach their children, "perhaps his whole life..."<sup>25</sup> After 1778, more Quaker schools were established as local meetings could afford them, many erecting a one-room frame or brick school house on land purchased for that purpose. The minutes of the 1779 Burlington Quarterly Meeting give the following tally of schools, Quaker-run and otherwise, found within its domain at that time:

As far as we can find there are about six schools necessary in Burlington Monthly Meeting, five of which are provided for with masters who are Friends, in Mount Holly about six, and only one teacher provided—in Chesterfield about five schools and two provided with masters—At Egg-Harbor two, neither of which are—and at Kingwood and Hardwick two schools and one master wanting...<sup>26</sup>

Thus, in southern New Jersey there were numerous schools established by the last quarter of the  $18^{th}$  century, and they reflect a mix of private and parochial operations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Letter of Anthony Benezet to Samuel Fothergill, 1758, as quoted in Woody, 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Amelia Mott Gummere, *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922), 390-392.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Woody, 24-25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Burlington Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 30/XI/1778, as quoted in Woody, 26.

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#### The Founding of Mount Holly in Burlington County, NJ

Mount Holly, located in Mount Holly Township, Burlington County, New Jersey, was founded in the early 1700s. Originally known as Bridgetown, it was settled first by Quakers from nearby Burlington City, which had been founded in 1677 by William Penn. Mount Holly enjoyed an advantageous location at the head of navigation of the north branch of the Rancocas River which drains into the Delaware River. With the establishment of saw, grist, and fulling mills in the 1720s, and an iron works in 1730, the town soon rivaled the earlier settlement in terms of population and importance as a business center. The Quakers in Mount Holly erected their first meeting house in 1716 just northwest of the town center and the Episcopalians erected their first church there in 1742. By 1752, the town was sufficiently large enough that 34 residents formed the *Britannia Fire Company*. The second oldest library in the state, the *Mount Holly Free Library*, was chartered in 1765.<sup>27</sup> In 1794, the unincorporated town became the county seat.

#### Founding of the Old Schoolhouse in 1759

Population figures for residents living in Mount Holly during the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century are not known to exist. But, Quaker minister John Woolman noted in his ledger book the names of 45 Quaker heads-of-household who attended the Mount Holly Meeting in 1756.<sup>28</sup> Since approximately 51% of the Burlington County's population was cited as being Quaker in the 1745 census, it might be inferred that the town and its environs contained about 90 households, certainly a large enough group to warrant the establishment of a school.<sup>29</sup> A school had been operating there earlier, as the following advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* dated November 2, 1749 attests:

Any school master or mistress that shall come well recommended to be of sober behavior and can spell well, and write a good common hand, may find encouragement for the keeping of a school by applying to William Foster, near Mount Holly in West Jersey.<sup>30</sup>

On June 26, 1759, five trustees and a group of "diverse others of the inhabitants of Mount Holly" entered into an agreement that established a school and gave the five trustees the power to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>E. M. Woodward, *History of Burlington County* (Philadelphia, PA: Everts & Peck, 1883), 175-177; Alfred M. Heston, *South Jersey a History, 1664-1924* (NY: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1924), 616-618, 626; George DeCou, *The Historic Rancocas* (Moorestown?, NJ: s.n., 1949), 80-81, 152; Henry C. Shinn, *The History of Mount Holly* (Mt. Holly, NJ: Sleeper Publications, ca. 1957), 41, 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> John Woolman, Ledger #2, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, (Phi) 737, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Peter Wacker, Land and People (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1975), 183.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> New Jersey State Archives, First Series, XII, 583.

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"purchase a lot of ground and take a deed for the same." Accordingly, on September 26, 1759 the trustees purchased a 1/10<sup>th</sup>- acre lot on the north side of New Street (now Brainerd Street) that measured approximately 50' wide by 93' feet deep and cost £8, 10 shillings.<sup>31</sup>

The five trustees—Henry Paxson, Esq., John Munrow, Alexander Ross, John Clark, and John Hatkinson—were among the town's notable citizens. Paxson was a local business man and farmer who served three terms as a member of the colonial assembly from Burlington County and was both a judge and a justice of the peace in the 1760s.<sup>32</sup> Munrow owned extensive lands and was a judge in 1767; Alexander Ross was a physician from Scotland; John Clark owned a wheelwright's shop; and John Hatkinson was an innkeeper.<sup>33</sup> The article of agreement seems not to have survived into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, so the names of all of the school's original subscribers are not known.

#### The School and its Patterned-Brick Architecture

The school was probably built in the fall of 1759. Its patterned-brick architecture, composed with glazed headers set in Flemish bond on the façade and outlining the eaves of the west gable end, was characteristic of many brick buildings, mostly houses, found in the southwestern New Jersey counties of Burlington, Salem, and—to a lesser extent—Gloucester and Camden. Settlers into these counties, most of them Quakers from England, brought a tradition of brick-making and brick building with them to the New World. With an abundance of clay-loaded soil, brick-making emerged almost at once, and brick houses became relatively common during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Using glazed or vitrified headers, which are the glazed or burnt ends of the bricks that have changed color to a dark blue or deep bluish gray, South Jersey masons produced designs in what is today called "patterned brickwork." The term may be applied to a bond in which vitrified headers are substituted for plain headers, to an all-over design which is called a "diaper," to a single small unit such as a diamond placed at the top of the gable, and to the rendering of dates, initials, and other designs in the gable end. The Old Schoolhouse follows this tradition, having Flemish bond on the façade accented with glazed headers and the eaves in the west gable end outlined with them.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> West Jersey Deeds, Liber T, 179-81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Henry C. Shinn, The History of Mount Holly, 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Will of John Munrow, 5-6-1786; Louise Bird Ralston, "The Old School House in Mount Holly," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, January 1954, 30-32, 36-37; Shinn, 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Paul Love, "Patterned Brickwork in Southern New Jersey," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, vol. 63, #3, July 1955, Whole number 282, p. 182-183.

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Patterned brickwork is found in buildings (mostly houses) along the eastern seaboard from Connecticut to North Carolina, with one isolated example in Louisiana; they range in date from the 1670s to the 1830s. Although the greatest concentration is located in the New Jersey counties of Salem and Burlington (with over 100 examples), there are at least 3 in Connecticut, 4 in New York, 4 in Pennsylvania, 6 in Delaware, 31 in Maryland, 15 in Virginia, 11 in North Carolina, 1 in Kentucky, and 1 in Louisiana. Many nationalities are represented among the builders of these houses, including the Dutch, Swedes, English, and French.<sup>35</sup> In southwestern New Jersey, patterned-brick houses were overwhelmingly built by English Quakers, and the buildings range in date from the late 17<sup>th</sup> to the late 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The first use of patterns on brick wall surfaces with brick headers of a different color is generally attributed to France in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, although England's Herstmonceaux Castle, built in 1441, shows tentative designs in its patterned work. The Bishop's Palace in Hatfield (built in the late 1400s) is thought to be the forerunner of the fuller development of brick patterned work in England. By the 16<sup>th</sup> century, patterned brickwork was in full stride in England for major buildings, and in the 17<sup>th</sup> century for minor buildings.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, examples abound in 16<sup>th</sup>- and 17<sup>th</sup>-century English vernacular houses that show owners' initials (husband and wife) and the date of construction carved on the front door lintel. Many of these examples are found in Yorkshire, an area of England from which many of Delaware Valley's Quakers immigrated.<sup>37</sup>

Varieties of many of England's designs appeared in the American colonies beginning in the 1670s, but they were not confined to those areas settled by the English: Flemish checker bond was common in those parts of New York, Delaware, and southern New Jersey originally settled by the Finns, Dutch, and Swedes, while in New York and along the Hudson River Valley, the Dutch used examples of diamond diapers, dates, and initials.<sup>38</sup>

According to historian Michael Chiarappa, 18th-century West New Jersey's brick building tradition was a "profound expression of the region's social and cultural context" that represented the economic power of West New Jersey's Weighty Friends, a term that generally designates Quakers who had exceptional wealth and/or a substantial leadership role in their respective local and monthly meetings. He also argues that not only did patterned brickwork underscore their influence within the larger Quaker community, but it was also a "territorial response to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Love, p. 183-184.
<sup>36</sup> Love, p. 184.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Michael Chiarappa, "The First and Best Sort: Quakerism, Brick Artisanry, and the Vernacular Aesthetics of Eighteenth-Century West New Jersey Pattern Brickwork Architecture," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1992, p. 373.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Love, p. 184-185.

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eighteenth century West New Jersey's increasingly diverse ethnic and religious population." Chiarappa believed that the successful farmers—who were largely landed, controlling native born elites—set themselves apart, both individually and as a group, by making the focal point of their "home farm" a conspicuously built brick house.<sup>39</sup>

Chiarappa notes that patterned brickwork is not a sectarian Quaker architectural characteristic, however, and of the buildings he studied, 72% were erected by Quakers, 6% by Swedish Lutherans, 6% by Baptists, 5% by Presbyterians, 3% by Episcopalians, 7% by undetermined religious affiliation, and less than 1% by Roman Catholics.<sup>40</sup> It is interesting to note, then, that of the five trustees charged with purchasing the schoolhouse lot, two were Quaker and three were Episcopalian, a percentage that might suggest local building traditions and social customs more than religious affiliation determined the Old Schoolhouse's appearance.

The school's one-room plan and one-story massing was typical for schoolhouses of the time period and was emulated in later schoolhouses in Burlington County including that in Burlington City (brick, built in 1792, extant), Rancocas (brick, built in 1822, extant), and Springfield (frame, built ca. 1800, not extant).

#### Signed Bricks

Of particular interest are two signed, carved bricks, one on each side of the Old Schoolhouse's front door. [photo #4] The practice of embellishing a brick house with signed and/or dated bricks is not limited to the scattered extant examples among patterned-brick houses erected along the New Jersey side of the Delaware River, and other colonial examples are found in New Hampshire, New York (Hudson Valley), Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina, all areas which had patterned-brick houses, as well.<sup>41</sup>

The earliest documented New Jersey example is found in the Abel and Mary Nicholson House, built in 1722 in Elsinboro, Salem County, New Jersey. Individual bricks on either side of the main doorway are inscribed with the date as well as family initials and the initials of Quaker neighbors. The exterior of the house also has the date of its construction (1722) formed with glazed brick headers and an interwoven diamond/diaper pattern of bricks in the east gable end.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Chiarappa, p. iii-iv; p. 6.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 443-447.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> See the Warner House, Portsmouth, NH, http://www.warnerhouse.org/; other examples cited in E-mail correspondence posted in response to this author's query on the Vernacular Architecture Forum from John Larson (3-14-2008), Sherri Marsh (3-17-2008), Lucy Wayne (3-17-2008), John R. Stevens (3-17-2008), Dave Brown (3-18-2008), and Michael Lynch (3-18-2008).

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Later patterned-brick houses, particularly in southern New Jersey, also featured glazed headers that formed the date and/or the initials of the owners in the gable end.

The Thomas Sinnickson House, also in Salem County, is a patterned-brick house built around 1760; next to the front door is a brick with the initials HS, while adjacent to a second floor window are two other bricks, one carved with "DM" and the other "M Wood." [see fig. 14 in the *Supplemental Information* section] Limited research at the time HABS documented the building in the 1940s was unable to determine the full names of those on the signed bricks.<sup>42</sup>

Bricks on each side of the Old Schoolhouse doorway are carved with the names of two men, both of whom may have been founding subscribers:

"I. [John] Budd 1759"—John Budd (1708-1789) was a founding member of St. Andrews Episcopal Church in Mount Holly in 1765. He also helped to found the fire company in 1752 and the Mount Holly library in 1765. His occupation is not known, but he and his wife raised three daughters, all of whom were around marriageable age when he subscribed to the building of the school. It is not known if he subscribed to insure an education for his grandchildren or not, but he and his son-in-law, Joseph McCullough, were among 25 who purchased a stove for the school in 1765.<sup>43</sup>

"A. [Aaron] Smith"—Aaron Smith (ca. 1730-1810), a hatter, was a member of the Mount Holly Monthly Meeting and married Mary Crispin in 1753. He and Mary had eleven children, of whom the three oldest were near school age at the time of his subscription to the school. He was a close friend of John Woolman's.<sup>44</sup>

Although neither is among the five trustees authorized to purchase the schoolhouse lot in 1759, both are listed as subscribers who purchased a stove for the school in 1765 (see next). It is not known why no other bricks are inscribed with names, neither is it suspected that the two men were the builders.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> NJ-753.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> George DeCou, *The Historic Rancocas* (Moorestown, NJ: The News Chronicle, 1940), 102, 152; Henry Shinn, *The History of Mount Holly* (Mount Holly, NJ: The Mount Holly Herald, ca. 1957), 40-41, 43; *Articles of Subscription for the Purchase of a Cain Stove* (1765).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Aaron Smith family records, Mount Holly Monthly Meeting Records, 158. (Burlington County Historical Society); Gummere, 113.

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#### Cain Stove Subscription

A subscription agreement in the possession of the Old Schoolhouse's current owners shows that in 1765 twenty-one townsmen bought 25 shares to provide a Cain stove for the school. The stove is named for the figures of Cain and Abel which appear on the side of a cast-iron, woodburning heater. [fig. 12]

Among the twenty-one were the original five trustees who purchased the schoolhouse lot. The remainder represents a cross-section of Mount Holly farmers and businessmen. Of the 21, ten were Quakers, five were Episcopalian, and the rest undetermined. Thirteen (13) were among the founders of the library company in 1765 and ten were among the founders of the fire company in 1752. Of their known occupations, one was a physician, five were innkeepers, one a tanner and farmer, one a cooper, one a wheelwright, and one ran a fulling mill. [see chart on page 10 of Supplemental Information section]

#### John Woolman, Mount Holly's eminent Quaker minister and teacher

Mount Holly resident John Woolman (1720-1772) was a devout Quaker minister and abolitionist. Because of his life-long work to end slavery and his insightful journal, he is one of the best-known, most highly-revered Quaker ministers of the American colonial period. He was also an ardent believer in the value of education, and discoursed on a variety of other subjects that showed his compassion for the poor, animals, and children. Woolman led a modest life in keeping with the Quaker tenets of simplicity and moderation. His journal, filled with observations, essays, and sermons, is not only considered to be an important spiritual document, but also a classic in English literature as shown by its inclusion in the *Harvard Classics*. Woolman was a successful storekeeper in Mount Holly, but gave up the business to lead a more simple life as a tailor, farmer, traveling preacher, and towards the end of his life as a school teacher.<sup>45</sup>

It is highly likely that Woolman taught school in the Old Schoolhouse. After his death in 1772, Friends' testimony stated that he "several times" opened a school "for Friends' children and others."<sup>46</sup> Woolman wrote a primer that went through at least three printings and his account book shows that he taught school in Mount Holly during the mid- to late 1760s with charges

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Gummere, ix-xviii; Wickipedia, accessed as http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\_Woolman on 5-19-2008;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> as quoted in Gummere, 101-102.

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noted against fourteen men for "schooling thy children," often supplying paper, and "providing part of thy share of wood for the school."<sup>47</sup>

Historians have speculated that Woolman taught either in the Old Schoolhouse, or in such other buildings as the Quaker meeting house or his own house, because the first Quaker school was not built in Mount Holly until 1783, several years after Woolman's death in England in 1772.<sup>48</sup> Quaker minutes for the Burlington Monthly meeting do not mention the Mount Holly meeting house being used for a school, nor do they speak of Woolman's school as being under the care of the meeting.<sup>49</sup>

Regrettably, pages 40 to 199 of his account book are missing, as is a separate account book of his solely for school charges, so the list of parents whose children were taught by him is incomplete. Similarly, no diaries, journals, letters, or account books of Mount Holly residents have been located which specifically mention Woolman teaching in the Old Schoolhouse.

However, Mount Holly residents listed in his account book are both Quaker and Episcopalian, and of the fourteen men whose children he is known to have taught, five had purchased one or more shares of the Cain stove in 1765.

Perhaps the most convincing argument in favor of Woolman's teaching at the Old Schoolhouse is found in his account book: the same year (1765) that fulling mill owner and fellow Quaker Josiah White purchased one share of the Cain stove subscription to heat the Old Schoolhouse, he is also noted in Woolman's account book as owing Woolman  $\pm 1/7/8$  for "schooling thy children."<sup>50</sup> At the time, White's two youngest children—John (age 17) and Joseph (age 15)—appear to have been Woolman's pupils.<sup>51</sup> Would it make any sense for White to help purchase a stove that his children would not use?

The potential connection between the Old Schoolhouse and Woolman is significant because neither Woolman's house nor his shop, both of which were located in Mount Holly, survive. However, even though the evidence in Woolman's account book suggests it was highly likely

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Gummere, 108-109; John Woolman, *Ledger #2* (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, (Phi) 737), various entries for Edward Andrew, Thomas Conrow, Jabez Eldredge, Thomas Bispham, Abner Woolman, John Manro [sic], John Hatkinson, Josiah White, James Dobbins.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> See Gummere, 108; George DeCou, *Pamphlet #2: Historical Sketches of Mount Holly and Vicinity* (Mount Holly, NJ, 1936), 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Ralston, 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Woolman Account Book, entry dated 4<sup>th</sup> month of 1765.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Charlotte Meldrum, *Early Church Records of Burlington County* (Westminster, MD: Family Line Publications, 1995), 177, as cited in Marks Family Tree, #I16784 at Ancestry World Tree Project, ancestry.com.

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#### Old Schoolhouse

Burlington County, New Jersey

that he taught at the Old Schoolhouse, it has not yet been irrefutably proven. For that reason, significance of the Old Schoolhouse under criterion B cannot be argued at this time.

#### Other Schools in Mount Holly

As previously mentioned, the Quakers built a schoolhouse around 1783, also on the north side of Brainerd Street, south of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It no longer stands. Around 1810, an academy, known appropriately enough as "The Academy," was erected at the east end of Brainerd Street, at the junction with Buttonwood Street. It, too, no longer stands. Built by subscription, the Academy was a response "by those who desired better advantages for their children than were afforded" at the Friends' school or the Old Schoolhouse.<sup>52</sup> Academies offered a more diverse secondary education that included studies in Latin, Greek, English grammar, geography, philosophy, and advanced arithmetic including algebra and geometry.

Other private schools abounded in Mount Holly in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, with classes conducted in private homes as well as in the Masonic Hall building. There was a "select school for young ladies" as well as one school, known as the "Baquet Institute," where young women were taught English, French, and the classics. In 1883, when the first thorough history of Burlington County was written, there were in addition to the public schools, four private schools operating in town, as well as a school for "colored children."<sup>53</sup>

#### The Old Schoolhouse Becomes a Free Public School for the Poor of Mount Holly

On March 15, 1815, the heirs of the school's original subscribers gave the schoolhouse to the Female Benevolent Association of Mount Holly.<sup>54</sup> This philanthropic organization had begun one year earlier, when a group of Mount Holly women "formed themselves into an association to endeavor to afford some relief to the poor and distressed or such as may stand in need of assistance in any way."<sup>55</sup> They also considered "opening a school at some future time for the instruction of poor children."<sup>56</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Woodward, 187.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Woodward, 187-188.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> The agreement was not recorded, but the original document is in the possession of the current owner. The Association was formally incorporated by an act of the State Legislature in 1844.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Female Benevolent Association of Mount Holly minutes, 1-26-1814.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Ibid.

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#### **Old Schoolhouse**

Burlington County, New Jersey

The idea of organizing to provide free education for the poor was not a new one. One of the first in this country was the Manumission Society, organized in New York in 1785 for the education of African-American students, followed in 1801 by the first free school for poor white children there. The Benevolent Society of the City of Baltimore for the Education of the Female Poor was founded in 1799, followed soon after by the Male Free Society of Baltimore.<sup>57</sup> Other early groups were established by women devoted to improving the temporal and spiritual welfare of a diverse client base that ranged from orphans, to widows, to prostitutes. In New Jersey, benevolent societies were established in Morristown (1813), Salem (1814), Princeton (1816), and Moorestown (1818) among other towns.<sup>58</sup>

With the gift of the old schoolhouse to aid their cause, the Association opened a free school in 1815 using donations of money, books, and other items for its operation. Teachers for the first year were "several young ladies, members of the Female Benevolent Society [sic]" who taught 30 scholars.<sup>59</sup> Association minutes note that "annual subscriptions for the free school" were also collected, probably as pledges from members and others with an interest in supporting the school.<sup>60</sup>

Subscriptions and donations provided the sole support of the school until 1833, when the Association received a share of the State School Fund that had been instituted by law in the 1820s for the "education of such poor children as are paupers."<sup>61</sup> The share of the state fund given to the free school never averaged more than about \$70 a year, and the school had to close its doors twice for want of funds.<sup>62</sup>

The free education offered by the Association was greatly needed. A report in 1828 concerning the state of common schools in New Jersey noted that there were 120 schools in Burlington County with an aggregate number of 2,857 pupils. Among the schools were:

...four boarding schools; one free school in Burlington, and one charity school in Mount Holly, under the direction of, and supported by, a number of benevolent families in that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Cubberly, 86-88;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> John Frelinghuysen Hageman, *History of Princeton and Its Institutions* (Philadelphia: J.P. Lippincott, 1879), 234; Lynn Wenzel and Carol Binkowski, *More than Petticoats* (Guildford, CT: TwoDot, 2003), 26; Anne Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana, ILL: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 18; George DeCou, *Moorestown and Her Neighbors* (Philadelphia, PA: Harris & Partridge, 1929), 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Twenty-third Annual Report of the Mount Holly Free School, 1847.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Female Benevolent Association of Mount Holly minutes, 4-3-1824, 7-2-1825;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Cubberley, 21; Murray, 37-39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> "Report of the Brainerd Street School House Committee," October 1951, p. 2; Cubberly, 145.

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Old Schoolhouse Burlington County, New Jersey

town. The committee regrets to state the fact that there are about 400 children nearly destitute of schooling, besides a number who are altogether without education.<sup>63</sup>

The charity school operated by the Association thus filled an important niche within the community as the following statistics show: in the eight months the school was open in 1837, 45 boys and 53 girls were taught; in 1838, 93 children were taught, and in 1843, 32 boys and 23 girls were taught.<sup>64</sup> The Association's annual report of 1847 noted that about 1,000 different children had received instruction since the Association began the school in 1815.<sup>65</sup>

Operation of the free school was suspended in 1848 after the first public school was built in Mount Holly on the same street. Its construction was the result of the passage of several state acts in 1845 and 1846 that established dedicated funding for public schools and reflected the first state constitutional provision for free public education in 1844.<sup>66</sup>

### Uses for the Old Schoolhouse after 1848

Association minutes show that the school was "occupied as a schoolroom" under the direction of Miss Addie Atkinson beginning in 1865 and lasting until 1879 when she fell behind in her lease payments. Atkinson is shown in the 1870 census as "teaching school" and in the 1880 census as "at home."<sup>67</sup> Its use prior to 1865 is not known, but the Association's treasurer's reports show the building was maintained regularly.

Later tenants were mostly women, probably teachers, but none were specifically identified as such in the records. Woodward's 1883 *History of Burlington County* states that the Old Schoolhouse was under the direction of the same professor who commanded the public school, and that Addie Atkinson was running a school elsewhere in the town at that time.<sup>68</sup> Thus, it appears that the public school system began using the building shortly after Atkinson vacated it in 1879. The minutes book for the Female Benevolent Association covering the years 1888 to 1918 is missing, so most of the uses for the school during those thirty years are unknown. The schoolhouse was used by the public school as an auxiliary classroom for elementary school students at least until 1913 and although the Board of Education paid rent for the building from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Murray, 157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Female Benevolent Association of Mount Holly minutes, 2-3-1838, 1-5-1839, 1-6-1844.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> "Report of the Brainerd Street School House Committee," October 1951, p. 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Twenty-third Annual Report of the Mount Holly Free School, 1847; Murray, 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> 1870 census, Burlington County, Northampton Township, p. 46 (she is shown as Mary J. Atkinson, a school teacher); 1880 census, p. 7C.

<sup>68</sup> Woodward, 188.

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1922 until 1925 according to the Association's records, it is not known for what purposes the Old Schoolhouse was used.<sup>69</sup> A music teacher, Mr. Edrell Demarest, rented the building during the 1920s,<sup>70</sup> after which time the school was used by the Junior League, as a club room for the Women's League, a meeting room for the Cub Scouts, an art studio, and in 1950 as a shop.<sup>71</sup>

#### The School's Erroneous Association with Presbyterian Minister John Brainerd

The Old Schoolhouse eventually became known as the Brainerd School and local tradition beginning in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century held that the Rev. John Brainerd (1720-1781) built and used the school. Brainerd, who lived at various times in Mount Holly, was a contemporary of Quaker preacher John Woolman and is best known for his work as a Native American Presbyterian missionary. He served as superintendent of a 3,000-acre reservation established for the Lenni-Lenape tribe in 1758 in Brotherton near present-day Indian Mills in Burlington County. Between 1761 and 1772, Brainerd bought several large lots of land on both sides of New (now Brainerd) Street, at least two of which bordered on the Old Schoolhouse lot.<sup>72</sup> On a lot to the immediate west of the schoolhouse lot, he built a small Presbyterian Church (no longer standing). Between 1834 and 1839, the name of New Street was changed to Brainerd Street, a name it continues to hold.<sup>73</sup>

Brainerd's biography, published in 1865, states that he also erected a school near his church in Mount Holly and that may have started the tradition that the Old Schoolhouse was the school he established in 1767.<sup>74</sup> By 1883, Woodward's *History of Burlington County* asserts without question Brainerd's association with the Old Schoolhouse and shows a woodcut of the building as it looked then. [fig. 1] The Historic American Buildings Survey of the 1930s documented the building as the *Brainerd School*, but cautioned that its association with Brainerd might be tenuous because his school was reportedly destroyed by the British during the Revolutionary War.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Bunny Bauer, "Historic Mount Holly School to Mark 200<sup>th</sup> Year Soon," *Mount Holly Herald*, 4-3-1958, 1; undated newspaper article found in the Female Benevolent Association records, "More About One-Room Schoolhouse," ca. 1958. Board of Education minutes for that time period have not been located.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Association minutes, 1-8-1927, 8-4-1928, 7-5-1930

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Association minutes, 4-2-1938, 7-1-1944, 1-5-1946, 5-4-1946, 1-7-1950.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Ralston, 40.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Deeds: 5-12-1834, Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church to Joseph Stokes, and 5-31-1839, John Dobbins to Trustees of the Methodists Episcopal Church, as cited in Shinn, *The History of Mount Holly*, 76.
 <sup>74</sup> Ralston. 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> HABS, NJ-100; see Alfred M. Heston, ed., <u>South Jersey: A History 1664-1924</u> (NY: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1924), Vol. II, 625.

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The Female Benevolent Association further perpetuated the myth by installing a plaque on the building in 1950 that referred to it as the Brainerd School in which John Brainerd taught.

Title work and extant historic documents clearly show, however, that the Old Schoolhouse stands on land which was sold to a group of trustees in 1759 for a schoolhouse lot, and that the school was given to the Female Benevolent Association by the heirs of the trustees in 1815.<sup>76</sup>

# The Old Schoolhouse is Donated in 1951 to The National Society of The Colonial Dames of America in The State of New Jersey

By the 1940s, the Female Benevolent Association was interested in divesting itself of the small schoolhouse that needed continual maintenance (repainting, new floors, new door, damage from termites, etc.) and insurance despite its lack of a full-time use. In 1947, the Association approached the Mount Holly Board of Education, which declined to "take over possession of the old Brainard [sic] School House," a decision later repeated by the Burlington County Historical Society.<sup>77</sup> In 1951, the National Society of The Colonial Dames of America in The State of New Jersey expressed an interest in assuming stewardship of the historic schoolhouse, recognizing that its preservation was not only a worthy cause but was also in keeping with the Colonial Dame's mission to preserve, restore, and interpret significant examples of historic American architecture.

The Colonial Dames were deeded the property in June of 1951 and by that fall had selected a Moorestown architect, Henry W. Petty, to commence a restoration of the building. The goal of restoration was to re-open the building as a museum with "permanent and special exhibits of 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century school books and other materials relating to early education in New Jersey."<sup>78</sup> In 1958, when it became apparent that an architect who specialized in restoration was needed, they hired G. Edwin Brumbaugh to oversee the work, raising more than \$12,000 to bring the schoolhouse back to its original appearance in time to celebrate its bicentennial. Brumbaugh met the deadline, completing the work in October of 1959.<sup>79</sup>

G. Edwin Brumbaugh (1890-1983) was an architect best known for his restoration and historic preservation work in the Delaware Valley. He received a B.S. in Architecture from the University of Pennsylvania in 1913 and eventually came to specialize in restoration, spurred by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> West Jersey Deeds, Liber T, 179-81; Articles of Agreement with the Female Benevolent Association of Mount Holly (original possessed by the Colonial Dames).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Association minutes, 4-5-1947.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Burlington County Deeds, book 1109, p. 4; Report of the Brainerd Street School House Committee, 1951, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> New York Times, 10-29-1959.

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#### **Old Schoolhouse**

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his interest in historic architecture. Several of the best known Pennsylvania sites restored by Brumbaugh include Ephrata Cloister (Lancaster County), the Daniel Boone Homestead (Berks County), Grumblethorp (John Wistar Residence, Germantown), and Gloria Dei Church (Old Swedes Church) in Philadelphia. He also served on the Independence Architectural Advisory Committee for restoration of Independence Hall.<sup>80</sup>

Since its restoration, the school has been furnished with desks, chairs, and other items appropriate to its interpretation as a late 18<sup>th</sup>/early 19<sup>th</sup>-century schoolhouse. Costumed docents allow school children in visiting groups to don reproduction clothes of the period, experiment with period equipment, learn lessons, and play games.

<sup>80</sup> Philadelphia Architects and Buildings website,

http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar\_display.cfm/93470, accessed 6-23-2008.

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Woolman, John. Ledger #2 [Historical Society of Pennsylvania, (Phi) 737]

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Old Schoolhouse Burlington County, New Jersey

# **Geographical Data**

### Verbal Boundary Description

The boundary comprises block 52, lot 15 as shown on the current Mount Holly Township tax map.

#### **Verbal Boundary Justification**

The boundary of the nominated property is the one with which it has been associated since the schoolhouse was sold to the present owner in 1951.

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National Register of Historic Places photographs

**Old Schoolhouse** Burlington County, NJ

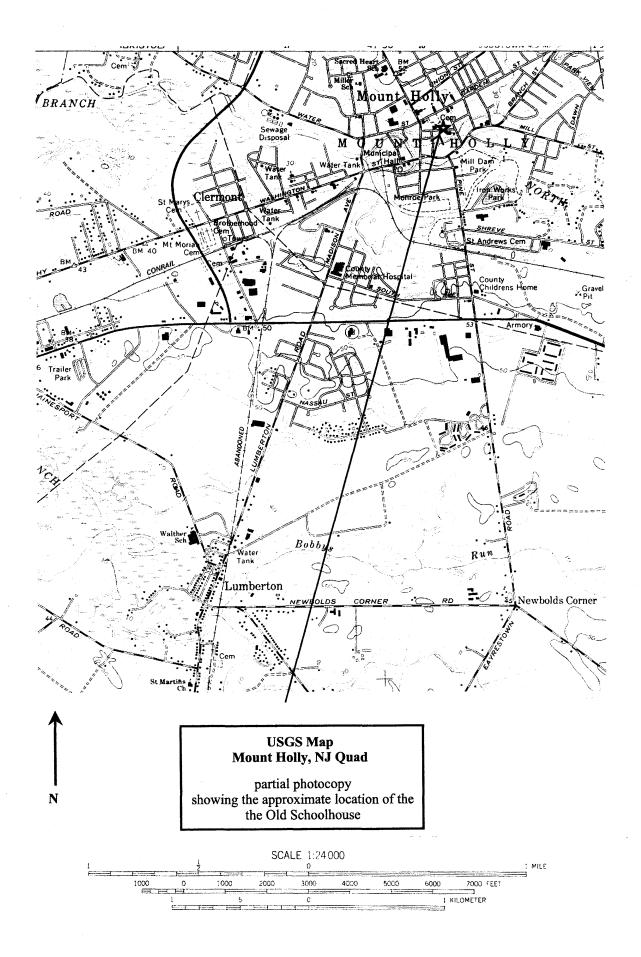
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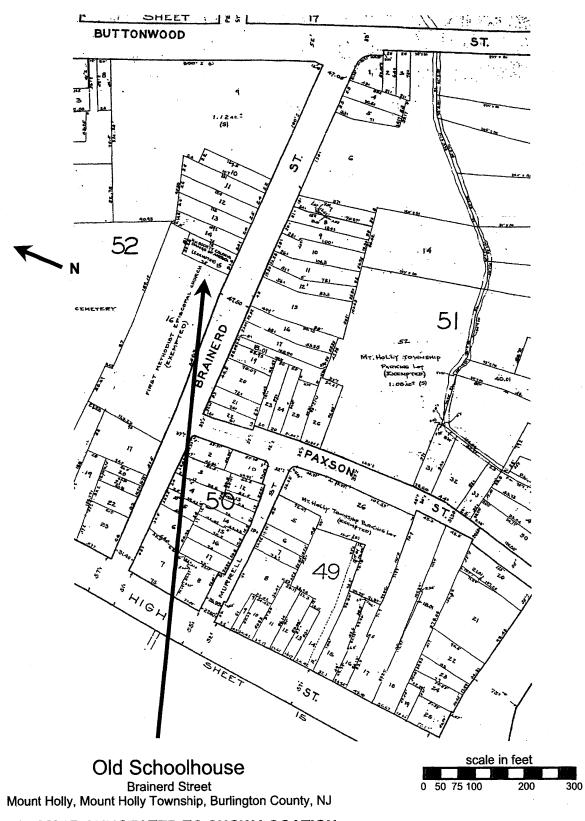
- 1. Name of Property
- 2. County and State
- 3. Photographer
- 4. Date of Photograph
- 5. Location of Negatives
- 6. Location of Digital Copies

Old Schoolhouse Burlington County, New Jersey Joan Berkey February 2008 Joan Berkey 1003 Bartlett Avenue Linwood, NJ 08221 Joan Berkey NJ State Historic Preservation Office

#### Photo # and Description of View

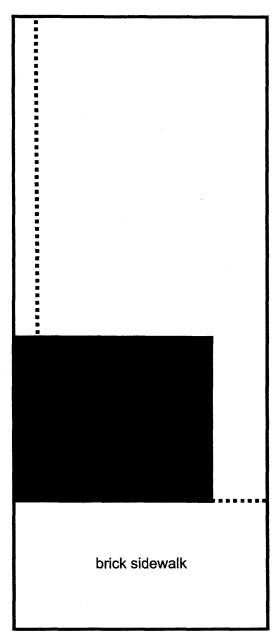
- 1. Exterior view showing streetscape and setting; view southeast
- 2. Exterior view showing the façade (south elevation) and west (side) elevation, view northeast
- 3. Exterior: view southwest showing the rear (north) elevation and the east (side) elevation
- 4. Exterior: composite photograph showing the signed bricks on the front of the school, view north
- 5. Interior: view southwest showing the front door and the west gable end
- 6. Interior: view northwest showing the reg-built fireplace on the north wall
- 7. Interior: view east showing the east gable end
- 8. Interior: view southeast showing the east gable end and the front door opening on the façade (south elevation)





# TAX MAP ANNOTATED TO SHOW LOCATION

block 52, lot 15



**Brainerd Street** 

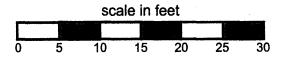
# Old Schoolhouse

Brainerd Street Mount Holly, Mount Holly Twp., Burlington County, NJ

#### SITE PLAN



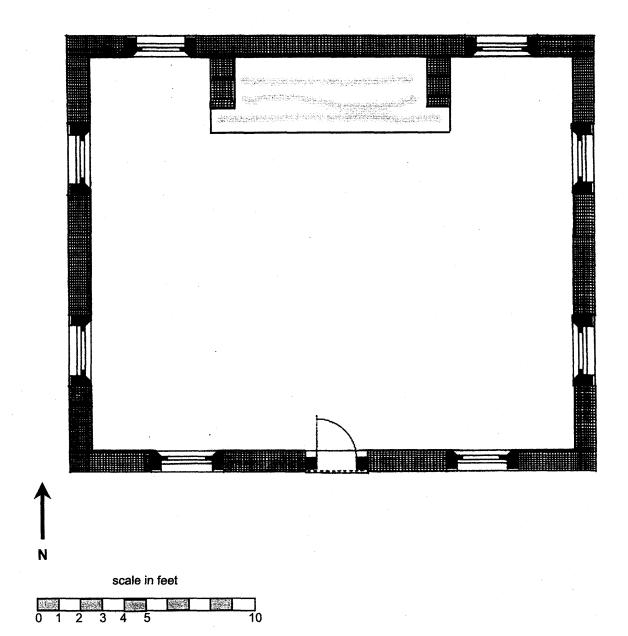
•••••• picket fence



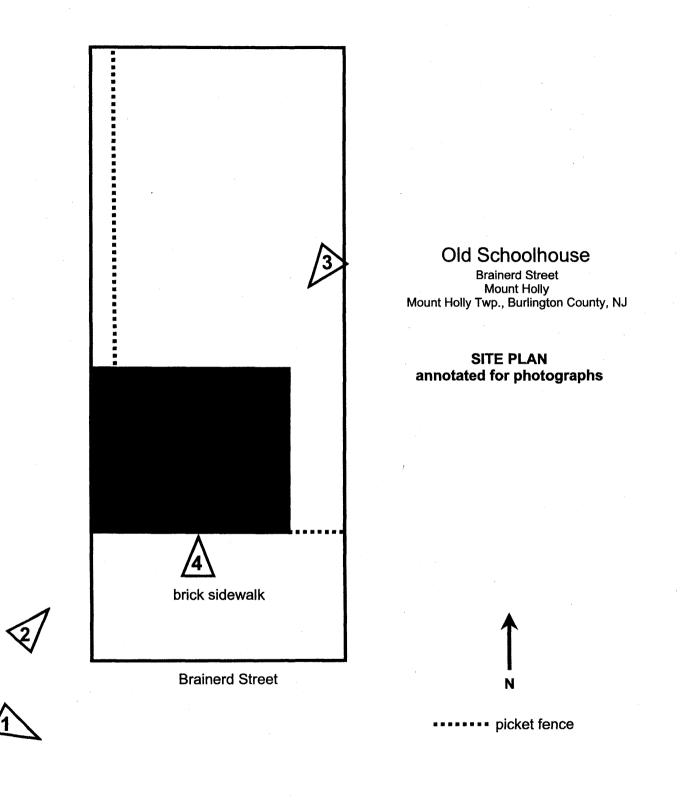
Joan Berkey, 2008

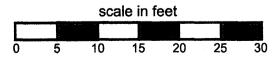
# **Old Schoolhouse**

Brainerd Street Mount Holly, Mount Holly Township, Burlington County, NJ



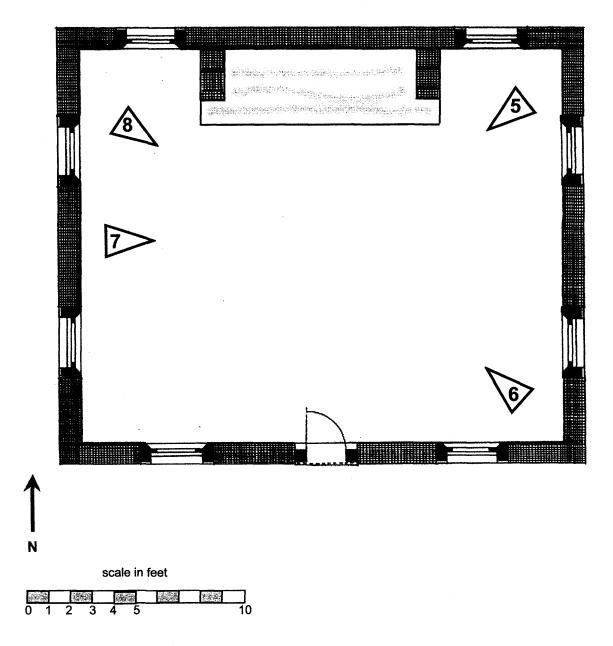
## **FIRST FLOOR PLAN**





Old Schoolhouse Brainerd Street Mount Holly, Mount Holly Township, Burlington County, NJ

## FIRST FLOOR PLAN annotated for photographs



Joan Berkey, adapted from HABS floor plan, 2008

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#### Supplemental Information



#### Figure 1: the school as it appeared about 1883

This woedcut shows the building as published in Woodward's 1883 History of Barilogston Coursty (p. 187). Note the double shutters, the small chimney at the east gable end, and the lack of windows on the east gable end. View northwest.

BRAINARD SCHOOL-HOUSE.



Figure 2: the building as photographed in 1916

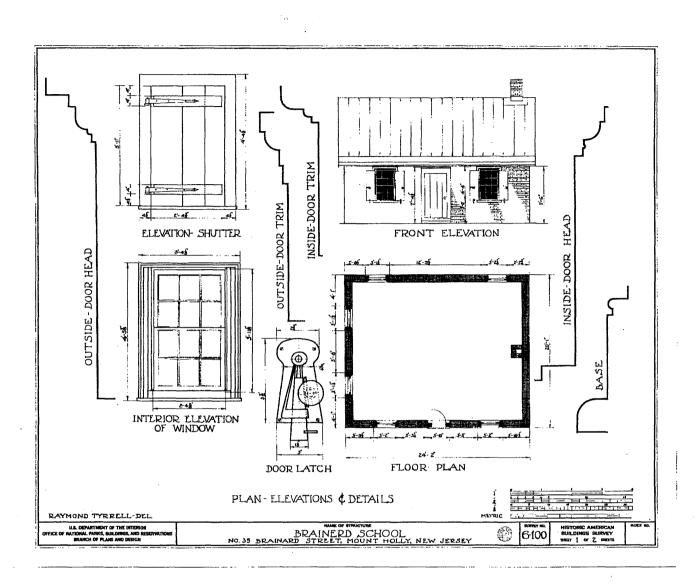
This view, from a newspaper article dated 1916, shows the painted brick exterice, a standing scam metal reof (which had been added in 1872), and a board fence along the cast side,

(Mt. Holly Herald, Historical and Industrial Edition, 7-1-1916)



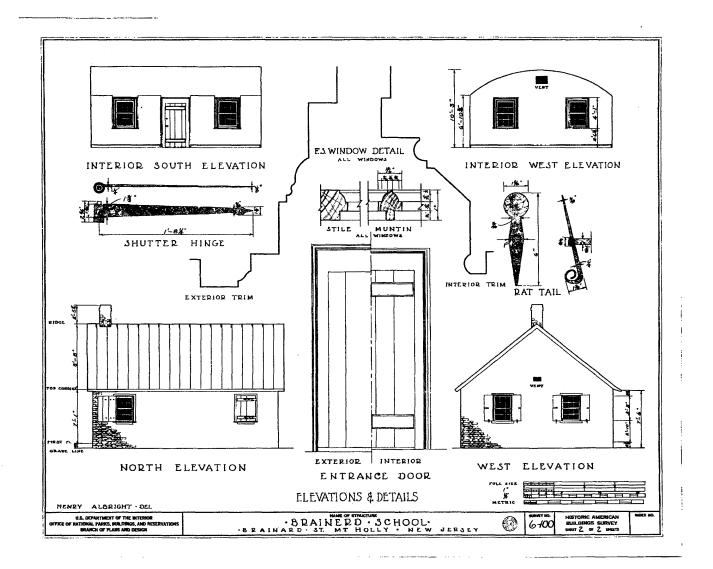
#### Figure 3: Historic American Buildings Survey ca. 1934 photograph

This phospraph, looking northwest, shows the roofline as it was altered in 1842, the 1872 standing seam metal roof, the beard shutters on the floade windows, brickeds windows and chaimey at the easy aphle end, a patient dispate, and a beard and betten door. The bases to the left is no longer standing. *Litrary of Congress, Prints and Photography Division, Biotecie American*, Biotecher Swrey, WA-100.



### Figure 4: Historic American Buildings Survey, sheet #2

Showing the plan, front (south) elevation, trim profiles, door latch, windows, and original board and batten shutter.



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### Figure 5: Historic American Buildings Survey, sheet #3

Showing exterior and interior elevations, molding profiles, and other details.

...



Figure 6: photograph taken ca. 1950

As shown in George DeCou, The Historic Rancocas, p. 101.

BIC BRAINERD SCHOOL UNDER REPAIR



n of Meant Helly were alarmed this week to be contractors. Their fears were asjustly fer Dames of America, were merely inserting the historic Brainerd Bobe he roof of the h hough because o atown architect, augervised the reconstruction and I work historic bearing. The building was built in 1589 Indiana, and in 1815 came into being as the tawn's fir

Figure 7: newsmaner article, cs. 1952, showing the first 20th century reconstruction of the roof

Note that even at this late date the building is attributed to Rev. John Brainerd. (archives of the Female Benevelent Association of Mount Holly)

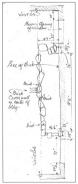


Figure 9: Brumbaugh's field drawing of the original fireplace foundations

(Winterthur Library, collection 34)

Figure 8: foundations for the original fireplace as discovered and photographed by restoration architect Edwin Brumbaugh in 1958

The rear wall of the building is seen to the right. (Winterthur Library, collection 34)



#### SECTIONS CUT THROUGH ORIGINAL 1759 WINDOW FRAME AND SHUTTER





Figure 10: section of the original window frame and shutters

Prepared in 1958 by Edwin Brumbaugh, architect, and on display in the Old Schoolhouse.



Figure 11: rear face of the front door showing the decorative nail pattern

(Joan Berkey, 2008)



Figure 12: panel from a Cain Stove, on Ioan from the Philadelphia Museum of Art and displayed in the Old Schoolhouse

(Joan Berkey, 2008)



### Figure 13: 1876 Scott Map of Burlington County, Mount Holly inset

The arrow points to the Old Schoolhouse. Note the public school at the east end of the block.

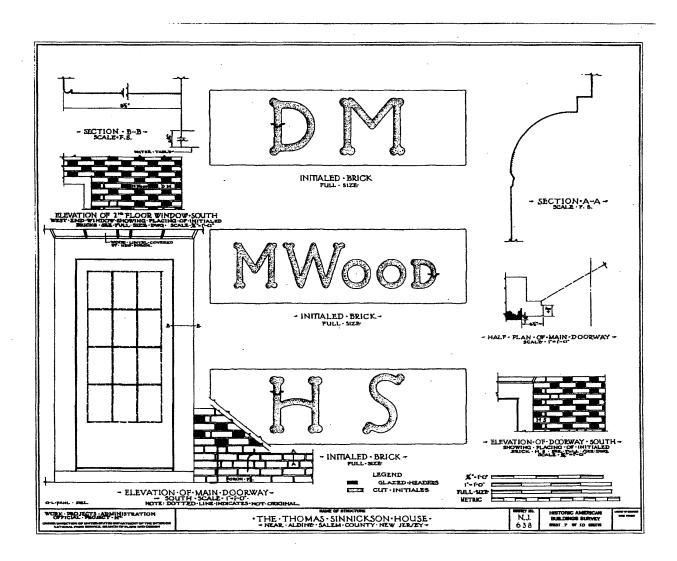


Figure 14: initialed bricks from the ca. 1760 Sinnickson House in Salem County (Aldine vicinity), New Jersey as recorded by the Historic American Buildings Survey in 1940

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, #NJ-638.

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Name	Religion	1759 trustee	# of stove shares (1765)	Library Company (1765)	Fire company (1752)	Occupation if known	Woolman taught his children	Heirs sold in 1815 to FBA
Henry Paxson, Esq.	Quaker	Yes	2		yes	Tanner, farmer		yes
John Munrow	Epis.	Yes	1.5	yes			yes	yes
Alexander Ross	Epis.	Yes	2	Yes		physician		yes
John Clark	Epis.	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	wheelwright		yes
John Hatkinson	Quaker	Yes	2	Yes		innkeeper	yes	yes
John Bispham	Quaker		2	Yes	yes		yes	
Josiah White	Quaker		1		Yes	Fulling mill owner	yes	
John Clifton	Unkn.		1	Yes				
Thomas Shinn	Quaker	,	1		Yes	innkeeper		
Daniel Jones	Epis.		1	Yes		innkeeper		
Ebenezer Doughty	Quaker		1					
Samuel Clark	Unkn.		1		Yes			yes
Aaron Smith (brick)	Quaker		1	Yes		Hatter & farmer		
Earl Shinn	Quaker		1	Yes			yes	yes
Zachariah Rossell	Unkn.		1	Yes	Yes	Innkeeper		
Joseph McCullah	Unkn.		1					
Aquillah Shinn	Quaker		1			cooper		
John Budd (brick)	Epis.		1	Yes	Yes			
John Forker	Unkn.		1/2	Yes	Yes	innkeeper		
James McIlhigo	Unkn.		1/2	Yes	Yes			
Adam Forker	Quaker		1/2			Carpenter?		

# Chart Showing Statistics about the Twenty-One 1765 Cain Stove Subscribers

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 $\mathbf{N}^{(i)}_{i}$